Institutional Pathways to Racial Integration in Non-Dominant Organizations

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ABSTRACT

Even when racially diversified, American organizations remain dominated by whites. The color line regularly reasserts itself through racialized structures and social patterns. Many academics therefore argue that racial integration does not work. However, this argument has two limitations. Theoretically, the argument conflates integration with desegregation. Most diverse institutions are integrated in principle but desegregated in practice. Whereas desegregation dismantles racial barriers to entry, it leaves existing structures unchanged. Integration, by contrast, makes changes that facilitate the structural inclusion of people of color. Empirically, the majority of research is drawn from studies of predominantly white organizations. Theories of colorblind racism show how such organizations can be expected to sustain white hegemony. By contrast, I analyze two years worth of ethnographic, interview, and survey data from two organizations where whites are not dominant: a church in the inner city and a residential college at an elite university. Drawing on theories of race, social recognition, and organizational diversity, I present a model of integration which articulates how different institutional pathways result in different equality outcomes as measured through the inclusion of people of color.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation, as with any worthwhile endeavor, was made possible only through the support and encouragement of many. I am grateful, first, to my committee. Isaac Reed, as co-chair, offered important theoretical advice at key points and was instrumental in directing me towards the social recognition theory of Axel Honneth, to which I am greatly indebted. My writing is much the better for his clear and thorough criticism. Milton Vickerman, as co-chair, was always willing to offer encouragement, to serve as a sounding board, and to advance thoughtful considerations that helped develop my thinking where it was still half-formed. His knowledge of the literature and his anticipation of scholarly objections pushed me to strengthen my arguments. Sabrina Pendergrass was present from the beginning of my project and offered useful insights on research design as well as data analysis.

I owe an intellectual debt to James Hunter, who encouraged me in the pursuit of meaningful social science as moral inquiry. Finding a mentor who shared an interest in the problem of pluralism and the pursuit of common flourishing was a godsend. My sociological imagination was also enriched by the intellectual community at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture. A graduate course on race, gender, and critical theory taught by Lawrie Balfour was influential in shaping my thinking on integration, and I am thankful for her constructive criticism of my early thinking on the relationship between racial integration, social recognition, and vulnerability. Much needed help on survey design and understanding Qualtrics was generously provided by Thomas Guterbock.

The companionship of fellow travelers helped to combat the sense of isolation that often comes with graduate school. I am very grateful to friends at UVA, especially Megan Juelfs, Tony Lin, and Andrew Lynn, who shared an interest in thinking across disciplinary and categorical boundaries, considering the social justice implications of knowledge, and sharing life together. They helped me in countless tangible and intangible ways through the challenges of graduate school, including reading and commenting on various parts of this dissertation.

Most importantly, this dissertation would not exist if not for my family. My wife, Hannah, has been a loving, supportive, and sacrificial companion from the beginning. We met under a shared commitment to pursuing justice for communities of color when we were both teachers in the inner city. I began a PhD in sociology through her encouragement. And I was able to press on through major life events like my mother's terminal illness and my filial obligations because of her unwavering moral support and care. When we were both exhausted, we were gifted with my daughter, Ellery as a beacon of light in our life. She has been a constant source of joy and wonder in her precocious creativity, open-heartedness, and vibrant zest for living. She also embodies in her interracial heritage the aspirations of a better future to which this dissertation is dedicated.

Dedicated to my wife, Hannah, who made everything possible,

In memory of my mother, and,

In pursuit of equality and solidarity for all: *E Pluribus Unum*.

"Now if one notices carefully one will see that between these two worlds, despite much physical contact and daily intermingling, there is almost no community of intellectual life or point of transference where the thoughts and feelings of one race can come into direct contact and sympathy with the thoughts and feelings of the other… Here there can be none of that going down to the people – the opening of heart and hand of the best to the worst, in generous acknowledgment of a common humanity and a common destiny."

W. E. B. Du Bois (1903)

"It is by way of the morally motivated struggles of social groups – their collective attempt to establish, institutionally and culturally, expanded forms of reciprocal recognition – that the normatively directional change of societies proceeds."

Axel Honneth (1995)

"Unlike the ideal of assimilation, integration does not view disadvantaged communities as the only ones that need to change. Integration aims to transform the habits of dominant groups."

Elizabeth Anderson (2010)

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RACIAL DYNAMICS OF DIVERSITY IN NON-DOMINANT INSTITUTIONS

Introduction

This dissertation is a comparative case study of *non-dominant institutions*, diverse organizations that are not predominantly white or white normative. The study examines cases in two civic spheres that have been central to discussions of diversity and racial integration: higher education and religion (Emerson and Smith 2000; Espenshade and Radford 2009; Kim 2011; Lehman 2004). I develop a theoretical model of *institutional pathways* for incorporating diversity by analyzing data from two years of fieldwork (involving ethnography, interviews, and a survey) at Incarnational Community Church, a Latino-origin church focused on serving the poor in the "hyperghetto," and Verdant, a residential college with a large population of internationals and people of color[1]. I employ the concept of *non-dominant institutions* because conventions which identify integration with white-dominant spaces do not accurately reflect my cases.

This research was motivated by several goals. First, I wanted to discover the conditions that enable integration to occur in organizations by empirically comparing in-depth ethnographic data from two cases and synthesizing social theories at the micro and meso levels relating to racial stratification, social closure, and social recognition. Second, I wanted to establish corresponding criteria by which integration in organizations can be measured in terms of the *structural inclusion* of people of color and the underlying realignment of social positioning in organizations as *racialized social fields*. Third, I wanted to explore the potential of organizations where whites are not dominant to promote outcomes characterized by increased equality and

[1] The names of institutions and respondents have been anonymized.

social cohesion. Finally, I wanted to build a model of the incorporation of diversity that prevents integration from being reduced to related concepts like desegregation.

I employ the extended case method (Burawoy 1998) to problematize existing theory, which tends to conflate integration with assimilation and desegregation. I argue that this is because empirical studies of integration focus on predominantly white institutions. Theories of colorblind racism and whiteness studies predict the tendency of majority-white institutions to sustain white hegemony (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Doane 1997; Hughey 2010a). By contrast, I am interested in non-dominant institutions and their potential for promoting the *structural inclusion* (social, cultural, and functional inclusion) of people of color. Inclusion in decision-making and social networks have been shown to be especially important for making integration work (Fredette, Bradshaw, and Krause 2016; Weisinger, Borges-Mendez, and Milofsky 2016), though my research shows that cultural inclusion may shape the basis of the other forms of inclusion.

I employ the language of field theory to frame structural inclusion as changes which reposition racial groups within the social field of institutions to equalize their influence on norms, practices, and social networks (Bourdieu 1984). Since my focus is on racial positioning, institutions are described here as racialized social fields, or *racial fields*[2]. To analyze institutions as racial fields, this chapter explains how integration should be conceptualized qualitatively along two dimensions rather than being reduced to diversity, assimilation, or desegregation. To measure integration in solely quantitative terms misses the racial dynamics that shape outcomes

[2] Field theory tends to treat other fields as subordinate to class. However, I consider race to be as important to shaping social structure in America (cf. Bonilla-Silva 2001; Omi and Winant 1994). Discussions of how race fits into field theory have tended to focus on its relationship to habitus or cultural capital (Devine-Eller 2005). By contrast, I focus on race as its own field of social positioning (cf. Emirbayer and Desmond 2015; Jung 2015).

of racial stratification. I then consider how integration entails the reduction of social distance and the undoing of social closure between racial groups. Finally, I theorize how different institutional pathways to the incorporation of diversity shape integration outcomes.

An important caveat is that I focus on organizational integration. Residential segregation features prominently in the concerns of sociologists as a primary manifestation of structural inequality (Charles 2003; Iceland and Wilkes 2006). By studying integration in organizations, I do not presume to speak to patterns of residential segregation or structural inequality except inasmuch as I believe that the same process of social closure connects all of them. The focus of this dissertation is on the institutional cultures of organizations. While my data can show how individuals and institutions are influenced by larger societal patterns, it cannot show how institutions, in turn, affect the racial patterns of society. The goal of my dissertation is, therefore, not to demonstrate the role institutional integration plays in enacting larger structural changes, but to focus on the processes of integration within the organizations I study.

In chapter 2, I move from structural considerations of integration to its intersubjective basis. I connect integration to the role of social recognition as described by feminist scholars, activist scholars, and recognition theorists in determining the *social, cultural,* and *functional inclusion* of people of color. In terms of social inclusion, who is at the center or the periphery of organizational structures and social networks? In terms of cultural inclusion, whose horizons of value are normalized or marginalized? In terms of functional inclusion, who has power to effect change? I theorize the way integration involves the simultaneous decentering of racial ingroups and identification with racial outgroups in order to undo social and moral closure, as well as conditions that make this more or less likely, such as dispositions of shared vulnerability.

I consider segregation, whether residential or institutional, to be both a primary cause and consequence of structural inequality in America (Anderson 2010; Massey and Denton 1993). In turn, I view social closure to be a key factor behind segregation (Massey 2007; Tilly 1999; Weber (1922) 1978). And, as I elaborate in chapter 2, the social recognition of people of color should be considered an important aspect of undoing social closure (Honneth 1995). I thus consider social recognition to be a part of what is needed to change structural inequality in America. However, as debates over the importance of recognition versus redistribution illustrate (Fraser and Honneth 2004), it is only part of a much more complex puzzle. More importantly, my data is limited to showing the role of social recognition in shaping integration outcomes within my cases. It cannot speak directly to overcoming structural inequality or structural racism at the societal level.

Nevertheless, social theorists remind us that actors do not encounter structural inequality, suffering, or racism as abstracted from their day-to-day social worlds (Skotnicki 2019). Instead, these macro phenomena are embedded within, and mediated through, organizations, institutions, and the intersubjectivity of social interactions (Bonilla-Silva 2012, 2015a; Honneth 1995; Ray 2019). W. E. B. Du Bois, for example, articulates how the macro structure of racialized society is closely linked to the lived experience of racialized subjects in his theory of double consciousness (Itzigsohn and Brown 2015). In this way, I believe that illuminating the micro and meso processes of social closure and social recognition in organizational settings brings to light the processes and pathways by which actors sustain or challenge not only the racialization of the organizations themselves but racial inequality more broadly as well (Ray 2019).

In chapter 3, I describe the case of Incarnational Community Church (ICC) by drawing from ethnographic data and interviews collected over the summer of 2015. This multiracial urban church is located in a "hypersegregated" black and Puerto Rican neighborhood and has an outsized influence as the heart of a network of churches and non-profits who serve the poor. ICC succeeds in drawing whites into a non-dominant space under the leadership of a Puerto Rican pastor. Structural inclusivity is reflected in leadership, worship practices, and social life across racial and socioeconomic lines. The perspective of whites is decentered and the perspective of people of color is demarginalized through a multicultural approach with a Latino flavor and organizational values which prioritize engagement with diversity. However, whites are more effectively repositioned relative to Latino/as than blacks in the racial field.

In chapter 4, I describe Verdant Residential College based on ethnographic research, interviews, and a survey collected over the course of a year and a half from 2017-2018. A social outlier at a largely white and affluent elite university, Verdant is a haven for people who feel marginalized, such as racial and socioeconomic minorities. It serves an important function as a safe space for those who do not feel like they belong elsewhere. Yet, while diversity is welcomed in its casual, laid back environment, inclusion across lines of difference is uneven due to an individualist approach to integration that minimizes institutional intervention and leaves tacit norms unchallenged. Active residents are the most integrated, with a greater representation of whites and Asian Americans. The most salient differences here are between domestic and international residents, as students from China experience social and cultural exclusion.

As such, in my conclusion, I synthesize my findings to theorize a model of different institutional pathways for the incorporation of diversity. I differentiate between orientations

regarding diversity, modes of organization, and outcomes regarding racial equality. Both of my cases reposition whites and people of color through the equalization of status in the organization. Where the literature on diversity in white-dominant organizations leads us to expect desegregation, ICC achieves integration through a pluralist orientation (reflexive vulnerability) organized around the institutional convergence of whites and people of color. By contrast, Verdant relies on a cosmopolitan framework (laissez faire tolerance) organized around the individualized celebration of diversity, leading to a more variegated pattern of patchwork integration and segregation, in line with what May (2014) calls integrated segregation.

Integration as Change in Social Structure along Vertical and Horizontal Dimensions

Proponents of diversity and their critics present two sides of the same isomorphic view of integration in institutions. Organizations celebrate the increased presence of people of color without evaluating whether structural changes have been made to incorporate them, employing colorblind discourses of diversity and tolerance (Bell and Hartmann 2007; Berrey 2015). Yet quantitative diversity by itself shows little correlation to equality (Webber and Donahue 2001). Critics, accordingly, demonstrate how racial stratification is sustained under the guise of diversity, and associate integration with white hegemony (Hughey 2010a, 2010b; Ray 2019). Both perspectives reduce integration to what is, for all practical purposes, desegregation, and the assimilationist orientation that underlies it (Hartmann and Gerteis 2005; Thomas and Ely 1996). However, I argue that integration and desegregation are different institutional pathways.

Leaders of organizations (and the scholars who study them) typically view organizations as race-neutral organizations while scholars of race and ethnicity have largely neglected the role

of organizations in sustaining or shaping structures of race (Ray 2019). By contrast, Victor Ray argues that organizations are better treated as "racial structures that reproduce (and challenge) racialization processes" (2019:27). In doing so, Ray follows the lead of Omi and Winant, who argue that organizations are key to the "process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" (2015:109). By viewing organizations as being nested within racial fields (Emirbayer and Desmond 2015; Jung 2015), racial structures can be understood as "schema-resource couplings" (Ray 2019:33) which produce power differentials by treating whiteness as normative and neutral.

Segregation has two dimensions, the horizontal, characterized by spatial and social separation, and the vertical, marked by hierarchical role segregation (Anderson 2010). The reduction of integration to desegregation means that spatial and social distance are conflated and racial hierarchy is ignored altogether. As illustrated in figure 1, spatial proximity is not enough to undo the boundaries which sustain social distance between whites and people of color (Massey 2007; Shibutani and Kwan 1965; Wimmer 2013). As illustrated in figure 2, desegregation brings people together in shared physical space by removing racial barriers to entry. However, because this occurs without changing underlying racial fields, members of different racial groups remain socially segregated within the organization (Bowman and Park 2015; Muro 2016). Furthermore, desegregation does not address the vertical dimension of power, leaving racial hierarchy in place.

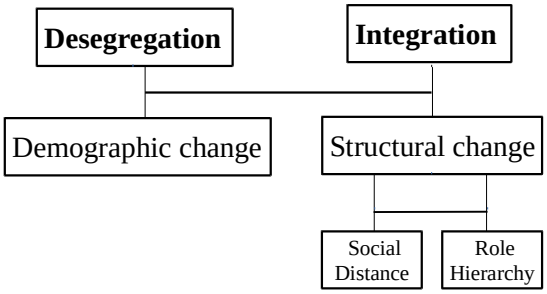

Figure 1. Types of Organizational Change

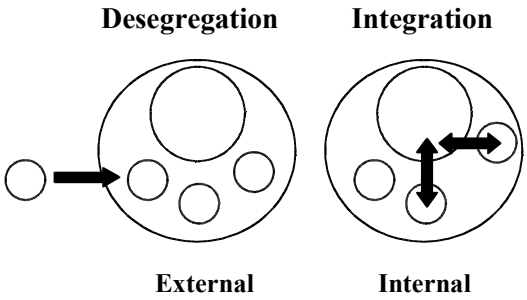

Figure 2. Types of Boundary Change

Elizabeth Anderson (2010) describes desegregation and integration as different stages in the incorporation of minorities. As illustrated in figure 1, desegregation addresses spatial distance but not social distance or role hierarchy. As illustrated in figure 2, it leaves an unequal racial field when it comes to influence in leadership, institutional norms, and social networks because it is only concerned with access to the organization. The vertical dimension of power is only addressed in social integration.[3] While Anderson sees desegregation and integration as progressive stages of incorporation, however, I view them, as depicted in figure 3, as distinct institutional pathways beginning with different orientations regarding diversity, moving into different modes of organization, and resulting in different outcomes. Correspondingly, in order to change outcomes, institutions must first change their orientation and mode of organization.

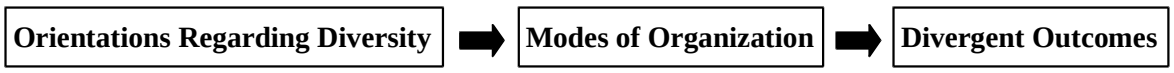

Figure 3. An Institutional Pathway for the Incorporation of Diversity

[3] Social integration here should be distinguished from its more common usage describing the process by which newcomers are incorporated into the social structure of a host society, placing the onus on individuals to adapt to existing customs, social relations, and practices (Alba and Nee 1997). Instead, I use it (and integration as a more general term) to refer to structural adjustments in racial fields made by institutions, not individuals.

As shown in figure 4, integration can be understood as both a specific organizational outcome and the institutional pathway that leads to that outcome. Likewise with desegregation. As an outcome, integration is about achieving racial equality and social cohesion. As a pathway, integration involves making the structural changes necessary to make progress towards equality. By contrast, desegregation is focused on quantitative (demographic) diversity. As a pathway, it focuses on removing barriers to entry. Desegregation opens up external boundaries but leaves internal boundaries unchanged by retaining white-dominant leadership structures and social networks. While critics are right to identify the orientation behind many cases of "integration" as assimilationist, in this framing, such cases are actually cases of desegregation rather than social integration (Darity and Jolla 2009; Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013; Muro 2016).

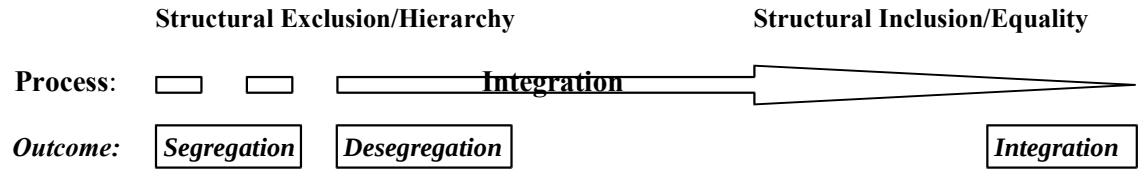

Figure 4. Integration as Process and Outcome

Anderson's definition of integration is, "the free interaction of citizens from all walks of life on terms of equality and mutual regard in all institutions of civil society, and on voluntary terms in the intimate associations of private life" (2010:95). This requires not just spatial and social repositioning, but the restructuring of underlying racial fields (e.g. status and influence). In instances of desegregation, the perspectives of people of color are not incorporated because leadership roles, norms, and social networks remain dominated by whites. I argue that this is because dominant orientations regarding diversity and their associated modes of organization

preclude structural inclusion by minimizing the role of difference (Hartmann and Gerteis 2005; Thomas and Ely 1996). Organizations thus sustain structures of white privilege by keeping racial fields static despite changing demographics (Berrey 2015; Edwards et al. 2013; Ray 2019).

Braunstein, Fulton, and Wood (2014) discuss how integration research tends to focus on homogeneous groups who incorporate quantitative diversity. This is not surprising, since the majority of cases of integration involve people of color joining white-dominant organizations (e.g. Chaves 2011 on religious congregations). Such desegregated institutions often continue to operate out of the same orientations and modes of organization from when they were homogeneous (Allen 2016; Hartmann and Gerteis 2005), expecting conformity from people of color under white leadership. People of color are more likely to be color conscious and aware of the effects of segregation (Anderson 2010; Emerson and Yancey 2011; Wingfield and Feagin 2012). However, their perspectives are not incorporated because the assimilationist orientation behind desegregation conflates whiteness with the status quo (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Doane 1997).

Extending Elijah Anderson's (2011; 2018) distinction between black, white, and cosmopolitan public spaces to organizations allows us to describe the way many "integrated" institutions operate as extensions of white spaces, homogeneous and explicitly white normative, or as cosmopolitan spaces, more diverse, yet fragile, superficial, and still implicitly white normative. I consider both to be what I call, *white-dominant institutions*, where whites remain at the top of the racial hierarchy and people of color are expected to conform to racialized norms that are often invisible to whites and presumed to be race-neutral (Doane 1997; Hughey 2010b; Perry 2012). By contrast, what I call, *minority-dominant institutions* operate like Anderson's

black spaces to disrupt the marginalization of people of color. However, they often do so by creating parallel and segregated social institutions, such as black churches and black fraternities.

Race scholarship often presents a binary choice between white-dominant institutions and minority-dominant institutions. Integrated institutions are presumed to be white-dominant and minority-dominant institutions are presumed to be segregated. But I consider white-dominant institutions to be desegregated rather than integrated. I introduce *non-dominant institutions* as a third option to describe my cases. While whites continue to be active in the organizations I study, they do not hold a hegemonic position and the organizations are not socially or culturally monolithic. There is a convergence of racial field positions between whites and people of color. I argue that this is because different institutional pathways for the incorporation of diversity present different possibilities for undoing social closure between whites and people of color, and thus result in different outcomes regarding racial equality and social cohesion.

Integration as Change in Social Closure, Social Distance, and Social Boundaries

Because integration has frequently been associated with assimilation, the conflation of the descriptive and the normative at the macro level which has occurred in assimilation theory (Alba and Nee 1997) also operates in practices of integration at the micro and meso level. We see this in the influence of Milton Gordon's (1964) classic model, which treats the incorporation of ethnic minorities into the mainstream as a multifaceted process with seven dimensions. Though the model did not have Latino, Asian, or black populations in mind, it has still been the dominant influence on integration (Alba and Nee 1997; Feldmeyer 2018). The key dimensions have been cultural assimilation, or acculturation, and structural assimilation, a misleading term

which refers to assimilation in social relations. Whether in terms of cultural conformity or social acceptance, the direction of influence is seen to be of minorities moving towards the majority. Yet, only acculturation is treated as inevitable.

Assimilation is expected by Gordon to result in cultural convergence but social pluralism. In other words, racial fields remain largely unchanged as white hegemony prevails alongside the social segregation of minority groups. While Gordon's model is helpful for showing the multifaceted aspects of incorporation, it largely operates on the horizontal plane of integration, and portrays a desegregationist dynamic. Even when broadened to include "a more differentiated and syncretic conception of culture" (Alba and Nee 1997:834), such as the expansion of what is considered normative, the theory presumes that assimilation operates unilaterally in the direction of the mainstream. The descriptive thus presumes the normative, as it places whiteness at the explicit social and cultural center, and implicit structural center. To the degree that integration succeeds in this model it is in terms of conformity to an existing racial hierarchy.

The lack of attention to socioeconomic and residential assimilation in Gordon's model suggests that there is little change in overall racial field position in assimilation. This can be seen in the way "structural assimilation" is limited to subjective social relations and fails to address the shifts of ethnic and racial boundaries necessary for structural inclusion (Alba and Nee 1997). Racial hierarchy remains static. In seeking to remedy the shortcomings of Gordon's theory, Alba and Nee draw on ethnic stratification theory (Shibutani and Kwan 1965). Its key insight is that the reduction of social distance precedes "structural" assimilation, rather than following it. Social distance is seen to be institutionalized in ethnic stratification orders, such as the color line, which

tend to be long-lasting once established. The authors problematize the assumption that assimilation is inevitable, as well as the presumption that assimilation entails greater equality.

Given the way ethnic stratification is rooted in an evaluative moral order which is established by the dominant group and perpetuated by its institutionalized power, it is seen to be highly durable (cf. Massey 2007; Tilly 1999). Ethnic stratification theory argues that the reduction of social distance requires changes at the ecological level, such as the transformation of values to challenge what was taken for granted and discredit white supremacist ideologies (cf. Warren 2010; Wimmer 2013). A limitation of this theory, as I see it, is its reliance on a conception of social distance as affective distance, which lends itself to making the reduction of social distance solely about reducing individual prejudice, bias, and subjective feeling. Instead, I situate social distance – as the subjective facet of social relations – within a larger structural model of racial stratification through social closure, and its undoing through structural inclusion (Simmel 1971).

Because most of these theories operate at the macro level, they can overlook how actors' perceptions and actions are mediated by social organizations and institutions, as organizations coordinate our social lives, experiences, and relations in important ways, especially along lines of race (Lichterman 2005; Warikoo and Deckman 2014; Warren 2010). Victor Ray (2019) offers a complex theoretical account of how racialized organizations enhance or diminish the agency of different racial groups and legitimate the unequal distribution of resources through the implicit privileging of whiteness as a credential and the racialized decoupling of formal commitments to equity from practices and policies which reinforce, or at least do not challenge, existing racial

hierarchies. It is thus also important to pay attention to how social closure and social distance are sustained, and possibly reversed, in institutional structures and interpersonal interactions.

Social stratification is driven by two mechanisms, the classification of groups of people into unequal categories and the institutionalization of unequal resource allocation on the basis of those categorical lines, or social closure (Massey 2007; Weber (1922) 1978). Weber also described this more descriptively as monopolistic closure, when the formation of racial groups on the basis of perceived affinities is used to justify the "monopolization of social power and honor" by dominant groups in both material and symbolic senses (1998:18).

Consequently, the central dynamic of integration is not the reduction of spatial distance but the undoing of social closure[4]. As I describe in chapter two, structural inclusion – which is how I measure integration outcomes – has three facets (see figure 5). One of these facets, social inclusion, relates to the reduction of social distance. However, structural inclusion includes more than just the reduction of social distance. Structural inclusion entails the undoing of social closure through the re-positioning of people of color relative to whites in organizations' racial fields through their increased status (cultural inclusion), influence (functional inclusion), and social positioning (social inclusion).

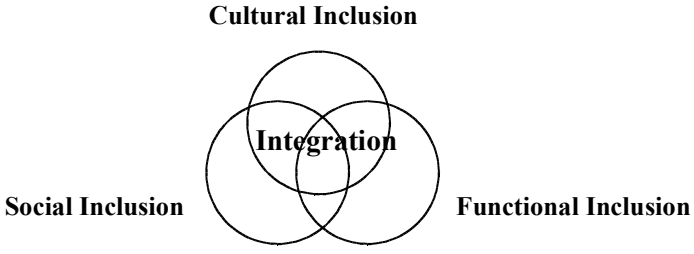

Figure 5. Integration as Structural Inclusion

[4] However, these are not unrelated processes, as spatial (e.g. residential) segregation can be understood as both a cause (Massey 2007) and a consequence (Tilly 1999) of social closure.

Because social closure is so closely connected to processes of classification and boundary drawing, I turn briefly to boundary theory. In its most elaborate form, ethnic group formation theory describes how social boundaries are formed, maintained, and changed (Wimmer 2013). The theory describes strategies for boundary change that can be employed by strategic actors within constraints like institutional incentives, the relative power and interests of different groups, and existing alliances. Consensus is more likely when groups share overlapping identities, interests, and/or strategies. Segregation is a major obstacle to this. Massey and Denton (1993) argue that a key distinction between contemporary black (and Puerto Rican) segregation and older ethnic enclaves is that the latter were heterogeneous and fostered interethnic coalitions because of the way different groups' interests overlapped. By contrast, hypersegregation forces issues to cleave along racial lines as blacks are socially and spatially isolated.

An implication I draw from this is that non-dominant institutions are likely to employ different strategies than white-dominant ones because of differences in interest formation among constituent groups and differences in perspectives on diversity. I see non-dominant institutions as being more likely to employ strategies that change the location of the boundaries themselves (e.g. expansion, contraction, or changing underlying normative principles through normative inversion or equalization) while white-dominant institutions are likely to focus on changing individual positions but leaving boundaries intact (e.g. individual boundary crossing or changing the focus to other social divisions by emphasizing local community or universal commonalities). These strategies are enacted through different ways of organizing difference, which differ regarding how and which positions shift on the racial field as well as the direction of change.

Institutional Pathways and Their Effects on Inclusion

Thomas and Ely (1996) present three different modes of organizing difference in the workplace that I extend to other institutional settings. They observe that many attempts to increase diversity backfire due to their focus on increasing demographic representation; rather, diversity goes beyond identity-group affiliations and should also be understood as the varied perspectives and approaches which members of different identity groups bring with them. The inclusion of diverse perspectives associated with different racial backgrounds matters more than the presence of diverse people. It requires the redistribution of power and racial field positioning. Inclusion is so important for integration that some scholars treat inclusion and integration as interchangeable terms (Lewis, Diamond, and Forman 2015; Tienda 2013). These modes have strong associations with different orientations regarding diversity (Hartmann and Gerteis 2005).

The dominant mode of organization according to Thomas and Ely (see figure 6) is a model of colorblindness focused on equal opportunity, fair treatment, and compliance with legal requirements. The staff gets diversified but the work does not. Rooted in an aspiration to conformity, it pressures employees to ignore important differences. This corresponds strongly with assimilationist orientations that see diversity as divisive or even dangerous (Hartmann and Gerteis 2005). Organizations are unable to learn and people of color are kept from identifying strongly and personally with their work because they cannot bring all of who they are. Membership may be diversified, but internal racial boundaries and fields remain unchanged. Race is subsumed under an organizational identity (Edwards et al. 2013; Marti 2005, 2015) in which white hegemony continues to shape institutional dynamics (Bonilla-Silva 2012, 2015b).

Figure 6. The First Institutional Pathway: Desegregation

The second mode of organization (see figure 7) is built on the acceptance and celebration of differences, and pushes for access to more diverse clientele (or membership) by quantitatively diversifying the demographics of the organization. However, it highlights cultural differences without incorporating them. While the first approach subsumes difference, the second trivializes it and encourages a form of tokenism instead (cf. Warikoo and Deckman 2014). Diversity here is treated largely as a matter of taste rather than of substance, akin to a form of symbolic ethnicity (Waters 1996). There is a strong affinity between this mode of organization and the orientation of cosmopolitanism, which defends diversity only up until the point where it places constraints on the individual or the organization (Hartmann and Gerteis 2005). This parallels the way many diversity initiatives lack true institutional support in practice (Berrey 2015).

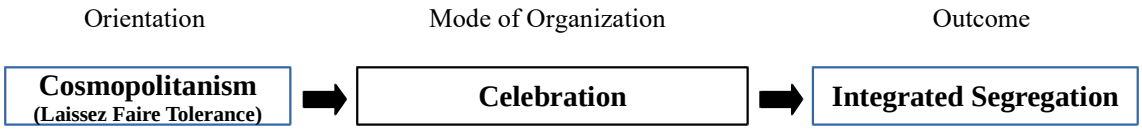

Figure 7. The Second Institutional Pathway: Integrated Segregation

The third mode that Thomas and Ely find in their empirical data is a paradigm that internalizes difference in a convergent way. This paradigm incorporates the variety of employees' perspectives which are drawn from the cultural backgrounds of their identity-group

affiliations into the work of the organization. Unlike the previous paradigm, it recognizes that there are meaningful differences associated with background, in line with an orientation of interactive pluralism (Hartmann and Gerteis 2005). It manages difference by internalizing it to learn and grow from it such that teams operate "with" their differences instead of "despite" them. This approach offers greater potential for equalizing boundary-changing strategies like transvaluation and collective repositioning. By contrast, the first two paradigms tend to employ strategies like individual boundary crossing or changing focus which leave boundaries intact.

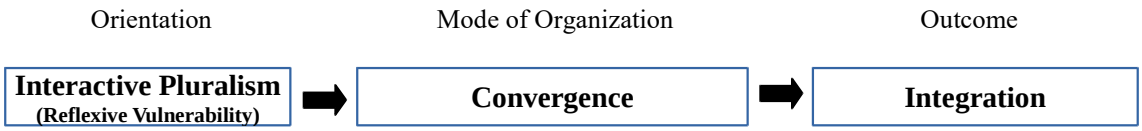

Figure 8. The Third Institutional Pathway: Integration

I theorize that orientations and modes of organization make up the institutional pathways which determine integration outcomes of desegregation, integrated segregation, and integration. Variations of these paradigms are repeated in multiple studies. In higher education, Warikoo and Deckman (2014) describe outcomes at two elite colleges generated by different institutional orientations, or "cultures of diversity." One approach celebrates diversity but does not engage it, while the other seeks to educate students about racial justice through intensive engagement. In the former, students uniformly, but superficially, come to appreciate diversity through cultural events but leave largely unchanged regarding racial attitudes or relationships. In the latter, stark divisions emerge between students of color who appreciate the tone of empowerment and others who feel alienated by it. Despite their differences, neither approach changes the racial field.

Meanwhile, also in higher education, Armstrong and Hamilton (2013) highlight the way institutional pathways can lead to different outcomes for students from different racial and socioeconomic backgrounds. Students of privilege, primarily white and middle class, have the social and financial resources to pursue the dominant pathway at the college they study, the "party pathway." This pathway of social reproduction entails a form of social closure that centers on the importance of socialization and networking, with an attendant emphasis on homogeneity and endogeneity around race and class. These institutional arrangements not only reproduce inequality but also segregation, affecting even those who choose not to pursue the pathway, because of the larger influence of Greek life on campus (as is relevant in the case of Verdant).

In the case of religion, Paul Lichterman (2005) unpacks the mutual influence of social ties and social interaction on one another through distinct cultural patterns of engagement he calls "group styles." He points to three distinct styles of "being together" that he observes in his study of nine religious advocacy projects. The first is a colorblind approach that ignores difference and affirms commonality. The second is a therapeutic form of individual self-critique, which remains self-centered and personalist, promoting individual internal deliberation rather than external engagement and structural change. The third, which Lichterman attributes to the one successful case of establishing bridging social relations, is a paradigm of social reflexivity, in which one becomes aware of one's positionality. Group styles show how particular views of diversity (orientations) determine how diversity is engaged in practice (modes of organization).

These studies support the idea that dominant approaches to organizing difference operate out of orientations that ignore substantive difference and sustain the status quo, as associated with colorblindness and assimilationism, or trivialize difference by celebrating it without

incorporating it, as associated with cosmopolitan versions of tolerance (see figure 9). Such approaches leave stratified racial fields intact by reinforcing social boundaries along lines of race rather than changing them. While there may be individual crossing of boundaries, the boundaries themselves remain largely unchanged. Racial empowerment approaches, too, can sustain existing racial fields and even strengthen boundaries when they promote the interests of people of color in ways that alienate rather than involve whites. By contrast, approaches that attempt to shift the boundaries themselves are more likely to result in outcomes characterized by racial equality.

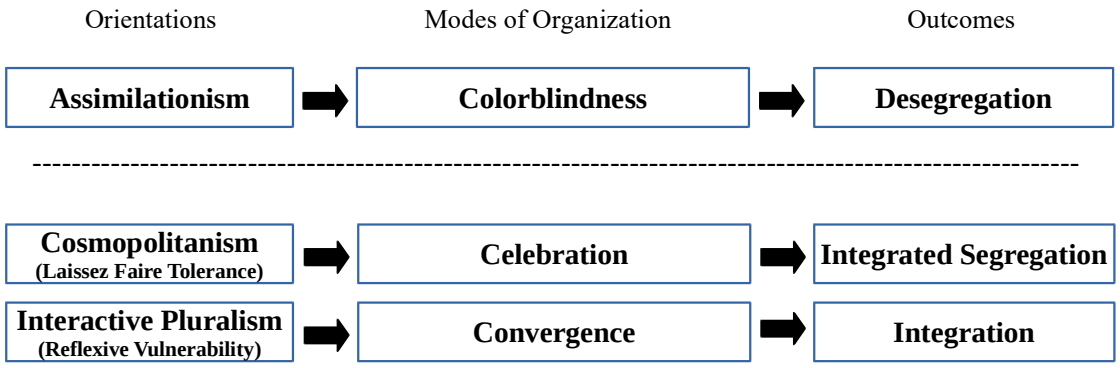

Figure 9. A Comparison of Institutional Pathways through my Cases[5]

In my cases, ICC is organized around an interactive pluralist orientation of *reflexive vulnerability* and a mode of convergence which equalizes the social status of whites and people of color around a shared dynamic of mutual vulnerability. Whites are decentered and the perspectives of people of color are valued, though the cultural inclusion of blacks is more qualified. Verdant, by contrast, is oriented around a cosmopolitan orientation of *laissez faire*

[5] This figure visualizes the connections I have been drawing between my adaptation of Hartmann and Gerteis' (2005) typology of orientations with Thomas and Ely's (1996) modes of organization and the resultant outcomes. I leave out a fourth orientation, fragmented pluralism, because I see it as a segregationist paradigm.

tolerance and a corresponding mode of celebration which seeks to equalize the racial field by establishing a safe space for all. However, its individualist approach to inclusion does not address social and cultural challenges faced by international students and results in pockets of integration and segregation. These cases stand in contrast to the assimilationist orientation and conformist mode of organization of white-dominant organizations described in the literature.

The Racial Dynamics of Integration: White Normativity and Black Alterity

This study is built on the understanding that outcomes of diversity in organizations are determined by how difference is viewed and organized, and that racial dynamics both shape the possible modes of organization which are employed (Christerson, Edwards, and Emerson 2005; Lewis et al. 2015; Ray 2019), and are, in turn, shaped by them (Lichterman 2005; Turner 2006). An accurate assessment of institutional diversity requires not only an examination of the conditions under which it is enacted and the processes that drive it, but an evaluation of the racial dynamics which express the relative position of whites and people of color in racial fields. Race structures every aspect of institutional life (Bonilla-Silva 2012, 2015b; Edwards et al. 2013; Hughey 2010b) just as it does society more generally (King 2002; Omi and Winant 1994). This does not just express itself along social or structural lines, but also cultural ones, as race carries symbolic as well as material consequences (Lewis 2004; Nagel 1994).

A clear connection is drawn between racial dynamics and institutional orientations, modes of organization, and outcomes by Christerson, Edwards, and Emerson (2005) in their study of six diverse religious organizations. They find that white dominance is highly institutionalized in their cases. People of color are both more aware of the necessity for

compromise and more willing to compromise in an interracial setting. Whites, by contrast, are accustomed to being in control. When they do not have control of the organization, when their preferences and customs are not accommodated, or when their ability to reproduce their cultural practices and values in their children is hindered, whites are more likely than non-whites to express concerns or to leave. Despite this, whites are largely unaware of their privileged status or how their actions perpetuate white dominance, and are highly sensitive of being made aware of it (DiAngelo 2018).

Critical whiteness studies argue that whiteness has become a normative cultural status identified with the mainstream and that this cultural dominance over other groups is sustained by the economically privileged position of whites (Doane 1997; Lewis 2004). White privilege means that the position of whites in racialized social systems "shapes their self-understanding, interactions with others, institutional practices, and access to material resources" (Lewis 2004:629). Some argue that, even in spaces where they are not the majority, whites need to be catered to in order for integration to work (Edwards 2008). Any challenge to the racial equilibrium is resisted by whites (DiAngelo 2018). Whites have a difficult time acknowledging the salience of race because of three features of their position: white structural advantage, white normativity, and white transparency (Emerson and Yancey 2011).

Due to the normalization of whites' cultural practices, ideologies, and location, whites, unlike nonwhites, do not need to justify their way of being or doing. "Whites uphold practices and beliefs that sustain their dominant position in the racial hierarchy" (Emerson and Yancey 2011:12-13), often without realizing it. Despite this, whites do not assume that what they are doing is particular to their social position, but rather normative for all. Correspondingly, they

typically lack a racial consciousness, assuming that only other groups have distinctive cultures and ways of being.[6] This has important implications for integration, as whites assume that their norms and preferences are non-racial and neutral, as opposed to minority norms and perspectives, which need to be deracialized. Colorblind approaches sustain white normativity while simultaneously professing that there is no such thing (Bonilla-Silva 2001, 2003).

What these studies suggest is that, in order for diverse institutions to be integrated, whites need to be decentered and white normativity needs to be deconstructed through structural inclusion (see figure 10). However, this needs to be done in a way that does not alienate whites, or they will simply leave. This may be harder or easier depending on an organization's racial makeup. Lee and Bean (2007) argue that racial boundaries are fading more quickly for Latino/as and Asians than blacks, and that blackness remains the fundamental racial construction in American society, suggesting that the contemporary color line is structured around a black/nonblack divides. This implies that, to the degree that society's racial dynamics affect integrated institutions, the inclusion of blacks may remain the most challenging obstacle because of the way they anchor the bottom of the racial hierarchy in America.

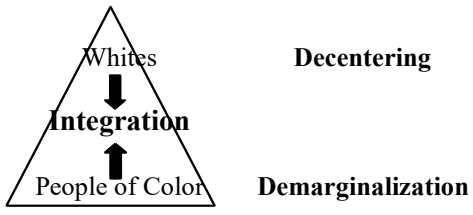

Figure 10. Integration as Racial Field Realignment

[6] This parallels the way the dominant liberal framework of tolerance in the West is presumed to be a neutral vantage point from which to judge other frameworks. The tolerant are presumed to be objective and acultural and the tolerated to be subjective and cultural (Brown 2008).

However, Lee and Bean also focus on the expanding nature of whiteness rather than its decentering. As I have argued, this is an assimilationist rather than integrationist perspective. They consider how it is easier for Latino/s and Asians to move towards whites than blacks. Integration requires movement in both directions. Is it also easier for whites to move towards Latino/as and Asians? Moreover, the categories for Latino and Asian can obscure important differences (Lee 1993). ICC exists in a predominantly black and Puerto Rican neighborhood. While Latino/as, overall, experience less segregation from whites than blacks, dark-skinned Latino/as experience similar rates of segregation (Bonilla-Silva 2004). Meanwhile, Verdant includes both Asian-Americans and Asian internationals as its residents. While the former are among the more integrated, the latter are among its most segregated.

THE INTERSUBJECTIVE BASIS OF INTEGRATION

In this chapter, I apply Axel Honneth's (1995) theory of social recognition to explain the necessary conditions for social integration[7]. I argue that the recognition of social others, in general, and racial others, in particular, is the basis for the social equality that characterizes integration. Failures of integration are largely due to failures of recognition. Recognition of racial others and their circumstances, choices, and contributions is what enables them to be treated with equal agency, value, and respect in integrated institutions. Without this recognition, social norms and structures remain racialized, devaluing the experiences and perspectives of minorities while leaving white hegemony and normativity unquestioned. However, the social closure that underlies dominant modes of social organization creates significant obstacles to recognition, preventing the social, cultural, and functional inclusion of racial minorities.

An important corollary of social closure is moral closure. When racial others are treated as social others in competition with our group, they are also treated as moral others who are placed outside the bounds of our moral universe, precluding our recognition of them. Even as social closure sustains existing social arrangements which favor the dominant group, moral closure prevents members of the dominant ingroup from recognizing racial others by relegating outgroup members to the status of moral objects rather than moral subjects. As long as racial

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[7] By social integration, I do not refer to the general sense in which the term is employed by David Lockwood (1964), as the principles by which actors relate to one another, in contrast to system integration, as the relationships between parts of society or institutions. Rather, I refer to the more specific sense in which social integration is used by Elizabeth Anderson as a form of racial integration characterized by "comprehensive intergroup association [which] requires the full inclusion and participation as equals of members of all races in all social domains" (2010:112). Social integration is integration characterized by structural inclusion.

others are treated as Simmelian strangers, they will, at best, be tolerated rather than recognized, put up with rather than lived with. The reversal of moral closure is difficult because it is sustained by a combination of human factors like self-interest, willful ignorance, indifference, and inertia, and by social and psychological processes of classification and boundary-drawing.

Drawing on Erinn Gilson's work (2014), I argue that modes of social organization which acknowledge the situational circumstances of social others (their conditional vulnerability) and enable an openness to persons, perspectives, and practices from social backgrounds other than our own (our dispositional vulnerability) are better able to enable social recognition. The process of moral identification which makes others legible as fellow subjects, treating them as both different and equal, requires the disruption of established frames of legibility that make the dominant group's circumstances and perspectives the normative basis of comparison. Without a disposition of vulnerability, we either tolerate differences without truly accepting them, continuing to keep them at a distance in an unspoken value hierarchy, or we trivialize differences by subsuming others' identities, experiences, and perspectives under a superordinate identity.

Dominant social conditions, modes of organization, and forms of subjectivity promote a repudiation of vulnerability by presenting it solely as a negative condition of susceptibility to harm, and thus, something to be rejected rather than experienced and embraced. This repudiation not only stigmatizes vulnerability, but vulnerable social others. By idealizing invulnerability, it sustains the moral closure to vulnerable others that prevents their recognition and perpetuates social stratification. It does this by marginalizing experiences of vulnerability and inequality, privatizing the responsibility for addressing them, and closing us to empathy for the plight of others. Reversing moral closure requires reversing the repudiation of vulnerability. This occurs

when institutions foster an openness to being affected by others, and having our identities, interests, and interpretation of the world changed by engaging with the experiences of others.

In both cases I study, the extent of social integration is dependent on the organization's ability to foster the social recognition of racial others through engagement with diverse others. Incarnational Community Church is a Latino-origin congregation with a focus on serving the local impoverished community of color. It is built on a communal ethos that values intimacy, integrity, and interdependence. Every individual is seen to be equally in need of others through a narrative of shared brokenness, but is also valued for bringing different contributions. Leadership choices, worship practices, and social structures all model vulnerability. This sustains a grounded community, both inside and outside the walls of the organization, which enables the inclusion of people and perspectives from diverse backgrounds. Because whites and blacks start at different points relative to vulnerability, they have somewhat different experiences in this environment

By contrast, Verdant Residential College exists in the tension between choice and community created by a cosmopolitan ideal of tolerance. While tolerance sustains diversity at Verdant, its emphasis on individual freedom limits engagement with difference. First, by treating diversity as a matter of choice, difference is welcomed but practically trivialized, as it becomes viewed as an optional personal decision than an inescapable feature of life. Moreover, default social norms are left uninterrogated. Second, by also treating engagement as a matter of choice, it allows many residents to avoid interaction with people, perspectives, and practices that are different from them. This short-circuits the shared experience and social reflexivity needed to truly identify with others and their experiences. The end result is a community divided between a self-motivated, integrated core and disengaged, segregated subgroups.

Social Recognition and Racial Integration

The Importance of Intersubjective Recognition

One of the most comprehensive formulations of the importance of recognition for social life comes from critical theorist Axel Honneth (1995). Honneth sets out to correct accounts of social struggle that reduce it to being just about material interest, arguing that social struggles are frequently motivated by the desire for recognition in response to experiences of disrespect. By disrespect, Honneth means the denial of recognition to minority groups that manifests in forms of exclusion, denigration, and insult. Equality in any sphere, especially in integrated institutions, requires more than redistribution or representation, but also attending to the patterns of exclusion and devaluation experienced by minorities. As such, recognition theory is not about identity politics as mere cultural accommodation, but about how material equality cannot be pursued without corresponding attention to social and symbolic equality. As Joel Anderson notes:

> Justice demands more than the fair distribution of material goods… Regularly, members of marginalized and subaltern groups have been systematically denied recognition for the worth of their culture or way of life, the dignity of their status as persons, and the inviolability of their physical integrity (Anderson 1995:x).

In order to provide an empirical foundation for the struggle for recognition, Honneth turns to the social psychology of George Herbert Mead. Mead shows how the cognitive and moral formation of individuals both depend on seeing oneself from the perspective of a generalized other, a representative member of one's social system. Since "individuals can only become conscious of themselves in the object-position" (1995:74), taking on a decentered perspective is required to form one's self-identity. Likewise, socialization occurs as subjects acquire the normative perspective of their interaction partners, adopting their moral values and

applying them to themselves. However, in both cases, the generalized other is a member of the ingroup. The question for integration is how to extend this perspective-taking to outgroup members who have been kept at a moral distance and treated as strangers (Simmel 1971).

Decentering is even more necessary for the recognition of those outside of our moral boundaries. Scholars as diverse as Bryan Turner, Paul Lichterman, Judith Butler, and Adam Seligman show the importance of decentering for social integration. Group norms and practices of reflexivity enable us to build outward-oriented social ties (Lichterman 2005) and to acknowledge the differences which continue to matter to people without erasing them in a superficial gesture towards tolerance (Seligman, Wasserfall, and Montgomery 2015). At the same time, the use of ironic distance from our own culture enables us to acknowledge difference without having to fully agree (Turner 2006), but rather expand our frames of intelligibility to include difference, and different others, within our sphere of moral obligation (Butler 2009). This is particularly challenging for whites because of white normativity.

Honneth's central argument is that social groups struggle for mutual recognition in three spheres of social interaction, and that this has its basis in intersubjective experience. The process of becoming autonomous individuals depends on the development of self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem, which can only happen fully when recognition is granted by others. "One's attitude towards oneself emerges in one's encounter with an other's attitude towards oneself" (Anderson 1995:xii; cf. Cooley 1902). These three forms of recognition emerge out of primary relationships of love, legal relations of rights, and the solidarity of communal values. Honneth thus focuses on intergroup relations through the lens of interpersonal dynamics.

The first, and foundational, type of relationship according to Honneth is intimate relations (what he calls love) because it develops the self-confidence on which everything else is built, such as the capacity to trust oneself and one's environment and the ability to express one's needs. Honneth highlights the way children and parents recognize each other as being united in mutual dependence. Love emerges from children's need to "strike a balance between symbiosis and self-assertion" (1995:98) with their caregivers through the transition from absolute dependence to relative dependence. If the caregiver's care is reliable, the child develops confidence in the social provision of needs and the capacity to be alone. In this way, primary relations are fundamentally important, forming the basis of both personal independence and the subsequent ability to form social relations.

The other relationships of rights and solidarity are primarily about group relations. In pre-modern societies, one's social standing and moral status were both bound up in one's class, as rights and responsibilities were derived from one's status group. In the modern period, however, moral status and social standing have been separated, as the legal establishment of rights for individuals has become detached from role expectations. While a principle of equality has thus emerged, its zone of application remains incomplete. Rights are meant to ensure that the exercise of the capacities constitutive of personhood is unhindered, thus fostering a sense of self-respect as the claim to universal human dignity and moral agency is recognized. However, this principle does not always align with practice when determining who counts as morally responsible persons, what qualities constitute such persons, and what preconditions are necessary for participation.

The last relationship is what Honneth calls solidarity through 'communities of value.' As part of the modern shift from honor-based societies to prestige-based societies, social standing is ostensibly no longer attributed to the group but to the individual for her accomplishments and abilities. Honneth argues, however, that human beings also need to be recognized for what makes them special even as they desire to be treated equally. Whereas a subject's self-respect is based on the recognition of universal human dignity, self-esteem requires being valued uniquely for one's contributions. The latter depends upon an evaluative frame of reference that comes from one's own community. Because the guiding ideas of modern society are so abstract, the measure of social worth is always filtered through particular value horizons. This then becomes a site for struggle as groups vie for recognition of their ways of life.

For Honneth, social relations of symmetrical esteem, by which he means freedom from collective denigration and the opportunity for everyone's contributions to be recognized, are a prerequisite for solidarity. Solidarity, in turn, is the context for developing self-esteem. However, the particular values that are endorsed by society are contingent on social struggle. Unlike other defenders of the politics of difference, for Honneth, self-esteem is tied to the capacity to contribute to societal goals. He puts his finger on an essential condition for social integration here. Efforts to promote solidarity without symmetrical esteem place all the requirements for sacrifice on minority members while leaving little room to recognize their contributions. This lends itself to the inability to recognize the contributions of marginal groups like immigrants or blacks. Such solidarity is therefore achieved at the cost of highly inegalitarian arrangements.

Honneth describes three forms of disrespect that can do great injury to one's identity. Each of them is a form of the denial of recognition. In the denial of love, abuse damages the

subject's trust in herself and the world due to her inability to control her own body or trust her sense of the environment. In the denial of legal rights, functional exclusion or social ostracism damages the subject's self-respect by restricting her autonomy and depriving her of the status of moral agency because she is not an equal partner in interaction. Finally, in the denial of solidarity, cultural denigration downgrades certain forms of life or belief through a hierarchy of values, damaging the subject's self-esteem by removing the ability to attribute social value to her abilities and contributions. These experiences not only endanger self-realization, but lead to experiences of shame that motivate the struggles of social groups and drive social change.

In sum, Honneth's argument is that the development of individual autonomy is the purpose of rightly ordered societies, as individuals' capacities, and their self-conceptions of possessing certain kinds of status, is socially derived and based on social position. Through particular forms of recognition from others which are established via relations of love, rights, and solidarity, subjects experience autonomy, dignity, and value. Intimate relations (love), as expressed through a principle of need, establish the trust in ourselves and in our environment that enables us to interact confidently with others. Legal relations (rights), as expressed through a principle of equality, endow us with the power to participate with agency in civic life. Social relations (solidarity), as expressed through a principle of merit, ascribes worth to our particular contributions. If we are treated with disrespect, this becomes the moral basis for struggles between groups in ways that cannot be reduced solely to material interest. Rather, groups will contest the evaluative basis by which their autonomy, dignity, or value are denied or denigrated.[8]

[8] In his debate with Nancy Fraser over the relationship between redistribution and recognition, Honneth makes clear that, in his framework, all ordering forces in society, whether social or systemic, are given evaluative force through principles of recognition (Fraser and Honneth 2004). Redistribution can be understood as an application

The Role of Recognition in Integrated Institutions

While Honneth's theory may seem overly psychological at first, Honneth does not stay at the intersubjective level, but rather uses it as the phenomenological basis for understanding larger social and political conflicts. In fact, his focus is at the political level of social and civic life. When considering progress towards social integration, Honneth argues that such progress can occur in two ways (Fraser and Honneth 2004). The first is through increased individualization, as individuals are given an increased capacity to legitimately articulate different parts of their personality. The second is through increased social inclusion, by expanding the inclusion of different subjects into the circle of full members of society. However, Honneth jumps directly from the micro to the macro level of social analysis, ignoring the meso.

In his focus on the political structure of society, Honneth bypasses mediating institutions. The picture he paints is one in which groups relate to one another primarily as homogeneous cultural and social units within a larger polity, as closed communities within a pluralistic society where the only thing that is shared is the law. Diversity occurs for Honneth at the political rather than the institutional level. He thus tacitly accepts local segregation. In this context, the legal adjudication of claims becomes the basis for recognition. Yet it is at the institutional level that the promise and the problems of integration are most tangibly felt. Honneth does not adequately distinguish between formal, political recognition and informal, practical recognition, but the former is not enough on its own. De jure recognition is often de facto disrespect (cf. the decoupling of formal commitments from actual policies and practices, Ray 2019). It is at the level of practical, not legal, recognition that integration succeeds or fails.

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of the equality principle or the achievement principle, as cultural valuations shape economic distributions. Social conflicts are thus definitional, as groups contest established evaluative models in which they feel devalued.

This is where civic and social institutions come in. As mediating spaces between members of different racial and social groups that enable them to come together under the auspices of a common purpose, civic institutions are among the rare spaces where people from diverse backgrounds make a choice to gather together and interact across social lines. They thus hold the most potential for developing practical recognition. However, increased diversity alone does not automatically translate into recognition. Frequently, it does not. The orientations regarding diversity and modes of organization employed in diverse institutions are highly consequential for determining the outcomes of integration (Ghaziani and Baldassarri 2011; Lichterman 2005; Thomas and Ely 1996). The failure of diversity is often a result of continuing under modes of organizing difference designed in a context of homogeneity (Allen 2016).

Recognition theory aligns with Weber's classical theory of social stratification ((1922) 1978), which distinguishes between three separate dimensions of stratification: class, status, and power. Integrated institutions must equalize the relative social position (class), prestige (status), and influence (power) of members from different social groups if they are to succeed. This is supported by empirical studies of diversity which show that structural inclusion is essential to the success of integration by connecting minorities to the core of social networks, respecting different perspectives, and incorporating diverse practices in organizations (Christerson, et al. 2005; Fredette et al. 2016; Thomas and Ely 1996). Recognition theory is useful here for interrogating the three facets of structural inclusivity (social, cultural, and functional) of integrated spaces once the theory is translated to the meso level of institutional settings.

Honneth's first form of recognition can be adapted to understand social inclusivity in integrated spaces by extending the interplay between symbiosis and self-assertion from primary

relationships to all social relationships. There is a tension between the degree to which subjects subsume themselves under a larger institutional identity and the degree to which they assert their particular identities. This can result in a trade-off between feeling free to be themselves and finding belonging. Does the institution foster social connection across group lines to connect people of color to the social core? What is the cost, and to whom? Extending a Weberian analysis of class relationships to race, does the institution change the social standing of people of color? Practical recognition requires more than establishing relationships, it requires transformed social dynamics in those relationships (O'Brien 2001; Warren 2010).

The second form of recognition, rights, can be adapted to assess the functional inclusivity of integrated institutions. At the heart of Honneth's conception of legal rights is the idea of shared moral agency. At the institutional level, the question of agency has to do with power and influence. Who is able to exercise agency in decision-making and determining, not just what is done, but how it is done in the organization? Who is represented in leadership, and what are the qualifications by which leaders are selected and measured? What kinds of institutional structures and practices exist and who do they favor? This matters both for determining who is more likely to have their preferences met and who is more or less likely to exit when their preferences are not met. This is important because whites are both more likely to express their dissatisfaction and to leave if their dissatisfaction is not addressed (Christerson et al. 2005).

In the final form of recognition, that of solidarity, we return to the tension between the universal and the particular. "Integrated" institutions have frequently operated under assimilationist principles in which white normativity suppresses differences in the perspectives

and experiences of minorities while normalizing the particularities of the white middle class as universal precepts. What Honneth prompts us to ask, in line with Weber's category of status, is to what degree individuals of different backgrounds feel that their persons and perspectives are respected? Is merit ascribed to different cultural approaches? What evaluative frame of reference prevails? Is the institution a space free of collective denigration and forms of devaluation? Is it open to the contributions of members from different backgrounds towards shared purposes, as, for example, in welcoming different learning styles in schools or worship styles in churches?

Another way to frame these evaluative questions is to look at them from the perspective of disrespect, or the failure of recognition. The institutional equivalent of the denial of love is the formation of asymmetric social relationships, or the lack of them altogether. Do members of certain racial groups have a harder time establishing significant relationships, or find themselves on the social periphery? Do power imbalances remain in the relationships that are fostered between whites and people of color? As regards the denial of rights, is there functional exclusion in integrated spaces, as with lack of substantive representation in leadership or lack of agency in shaping institutional practices? As regards the denial of solidarity, do organizational norms value diverse contributions or denigrate certain forms of life or manners or belief, and hence the value of particular backgrounds and the people who identify with them?

By translating Honneth's theory to institutions, the importance of paying attention to the tension between the universal and the particular through minority experiences of recognition is made evident. More than redistribution, which may bring about short-term equality without long-term equity, or representation, which may diversify people without diversifying perspectives, integration requires social recognition to change the frames of evaluation underlying our social

structures and relationships. We are vulnerable to the way the actions and perceptions of others affect the exercise of our capacities and our sense of self. At the same time, vulnerability is also the basis of bringing people together on egalitarian terms. The question that Honneth leaves unresolved is how such recognition occurs at the practical level. How can institutions foster the conditions for practical recognition where it did not previously exist? An answer is offered by the way a disposition of vulnerability opens up internal social and moral boundaries.

Vulnerability as Condition and Experience

The Importance of Vulnerability in Social Life

As Erinn C. Gilson (2014) indicates, underlying all of our social, political, and ethical theories is the idea that we can be affected by others. Vulnerability is a fundamental feature of human life, inherent in both our physical and social being. However, because it is primarily seen to be the precondition to harm, vulnerability is typically portrayed as something to be avoided rather than experienced, avowed, or understood. In this way, vulnerability is seen to be a condition of passivity. Subjects therefore deny their vulnerability and ignore their culpability in perpetuating structures that distribute vulnerability unequally, losing the capacity to be affected by others and narrowing their sense of moral responsibility. Vulnerability, and vulnerable others, are consigned to a marginal status. As a result, a highly stratified society can distribute life chances unequally even as those who benefit from this distribution deny that it does so.

Inequity becomes entrenched to the extent that vulnerability is seen as a negative and fixed state. This conception involves a facile association between vulnerability and powerlessness that causes us to repudiate vulnerability rather than be seen as weak and

powerless, rejecting it in ourselves and rejecting our responsibility to vulnerable others. In order to break the conflation of vulnerability with weakness, it is important to distinguish among different forms of vulnerability as they fall along two axes of difference. Along the first axis, universal vulnerability is set opposite to context-specific forms of vulnerability (Gilson 2014). Gilson calls the former ontological vulnerability, indicating the unavoidable receptivity and openness of human life. This universally shared aspect of vulnerability is contrasted with situational forms of vulnerability that are contingent on specific political, social, and economic arrangements, and are, thus, variable across groups.

Distinguishing between ontological and situational forms of vulnerability enables us, first, to see that there is an aspect of human vulnerability which is universal by nature of our shared physical (Fineman 2004) and social (Butler 2004) constitution. To deny this universality is to disidentify with others by denying something fundamental that is shared by human beings, short-circuiting the empathy and engagement that is necessary for recognition to occur. This can happen by denying vulnerability in others, and thus, to some degree their humanity, as when whites assume that blacks feel less pain, or when refugees are portrayed as invasive threats rather than pitiable victims. This can also happen by denying vulnerability in ourselves, as when the dominant group sees itself solely as benefactors rather than as having anything to gain in return. The former generates ethnocentrism and alienation, the latter, paternalism and subordination.

By contrast, failure to acknowledge situational forms of vulnerability results in the maintenance of social stratification under the guise of equality. This can be seen in the conflation of equity and equality that occurs under the rhetoric of colorblindness, which ignores how social structures have historically granted some groups more opportunities at significant cost to others.

Differences continue to matter, and treating everyone the same when they are not on a level playing field sustains existing inequality behind the guise of fair treatment. For example, a policy of colorblindness maintains the structural and social hegemony of the dominant group, typically whites, while ignoring the experiences and perspectives of more vulnerable minorities. All of this occurs while masked behind the language of equality and the erasure of difference, as the perspective of the privileged is made the baseline rather than the perspective of the vulnerable.

On the other axis of the typology, Gilson draws a distinction between vulnerability as experience and vulnerability as condition, thus breaking the conflation between vulnerability and powerlessness. On the one hand, subjects can be in an objective condition of vulnerability without subjectively experiencing it as such. Many working-class Americans, for example, see themselves as middle class and behave accordingly, whether their material situation reflects this or not. On the other hand, subjects can feel subjectively vulnerable when they are not objectively vulnerable. This can be seen in the phenomenon of white fragility, when whites who cannot cope with being confronted by issues of race argue that they are the true victims (DiAngelo 2018). Gilson's typology shows how vulnerability and powerlessness are distinct phenomena that intersect in particular configurations but should not be conflated with one another.

If we fail to see this, we will also fail to see how vulnerability can manifest in a variety of conditions. Gilson argues that a damaging effect of this is that vulnerability becomes naturalized as a uniform property that pertains only to people who are deemed to be lower, such as women or people of color. Not only does vulnerability become a condition that is marginalized, the people who experience it are marginalized. Even when integration occurs under such conditions, minorities retain the status of stigmatized stranger, existing at an

unbridgeable moral distance. What Gilson does not consider, though, is the opposite possibility of how the privileged can come to view themselves as the truly vulnerable and threatened ones. In the context of integrated institutions, this can manifest as whites focusing attention on the sacrifices they are forced to make while ignoring the more significant costs minorities have to pay in order to integrate.

If vulnerability is a shared human reality manifested through particular structural arrangements, then social integration requires acknowledgment of both the universal and the particular in the experience of members. Integrated institutions bring together people who are exposed to different degrees of vulnerability and experience life differently because of where they are located vis-a-vis social structures which distribute opportunity and life outcomes unequally. As a result, stark racial differences exist in views over issues like discrimination, racism, and the Black Lives Matter movement (Emerson and Yancey 2011; Parker, Horowitz, and Mahl 2016). To focus only on the universal is to suppress important experiential differences in favor of superficial solidarity. To focus only on the particular is to perpetuate social divisions within institutional spaces by prioritizing the experiences of some over others.

Gilson's work analyzes how vulnerability is treated as a condition, but also begins moving us beyond that towards what she calls an ethic of vulnerability. Because I focus on how vulnerability operates practically as a particular organizational orientation, I highlight vulnerability as disposition rather than as ethic. A disposition of vulnerability is more than the acknowledgment of vulnerability, or the reversal of its denial. It is the embrace of vulnerability as praxis in the way social structures and relationships are constituted. More than acknowledging conditions or experiences of vulnerability, it also generates new forms of vulnerability that foster

identification across social and racial boundaries in integrated spaces. Dispositional vulnerability is thus more than a set of principles, though this orientation often rests on a particular ethos; it leads to a mode of organization that promotes recognition and the internalization of difference.

Willful Ignorance as a Form of Moral Closure

Gilson (2014) builds a case for how the repudiation of vulnerability is not simply a matter of conscious choice, but the result of habit and enculturation. Social conditions preclude ethical responses to vulnerability by promoting the ignorance of vulnerability, a pervasive form of ignorance that underlies other oppressive types of ignorance. The failure to address vulnerability then becomes a key part of perpetuating oppressive social, economic, and political relations. Therefore, adopting an ethic of vulnerability is crucial to establishing more just and equitable social relationships. Ignorance is understood here as a form of closure to being affected by others in ways that one cannot predict or control, ways which challenge and destabilize one's socially established sense of self. In this way, ignorance is a key component of what I am calling moral closure, the disidentification from others that causes us to reject any moral obligation to them.

Gilson draws upon the epistemology of ignorance to argue that ignorance is no mere lack of knowledge, but something that is actively produced and maintained. Four types of ignorance arise under different conditions – knowing that we do not know yet not caring to know, not knowing that we do not know, not knowing because others do not want us to know, and willful ignorance (Tuana 2006). Ignorance of vulnerability is best understood as willful ignorance, which is a kind of ignorance that is actively cultivated and maintained because it

appears to be in one's best interests. Willful ignorance is the consequence of a history of choices; it is not merely a result of a set of interests, but also shapes those interests in the first place. It reinforces itself due to a disinclination to experience the discomfort or disruption that comes from awareness. It is thus more than unconscious bias, but something the subject is implicated in producing.

Gilson connects the ignorance of vulnerability to Beauvoir's (2011) explication of the effects of 'bad faith' as a condition of oppression. Bad faith causes subjects to view themselves solely as subjects, to take freedom as a given rather than a capacity that can be denied, while reducing social others to objects and naturalizing their inferiority. An oppressive effect of the reductively negative understanding of vulnerability is that it is often disavowed and projected onto others with whom one disidentifies. Conceiving of vulnerability as solely negative maintains ignorance of conditions of vulnerability, thus sustaining moral closure and making it difficult to recognize the vulnerable. This can be seen, for example, with explanations of poverty that ignore structural constraints and stigmatize the poor, blaming them for their circumstances.

As Gilson shows us, we learn the habits of invulnerability in social contexts because there is a social utility to mastering invulnerability as a central feature of the ideal form of subjectivity under present socioeconomic conditions. The price is a disavowal of vulnerability, seen solely in its negative connotations of weakness and powerlessness, and the subsequent disavowal of the vulnerable. The habits and practices through which we seek invulnerability contribute to constituting the norm of invulnerability that, in turn, supports the practices. These norms are undergirded by reductionist patterns of thought which bar from view many salient features of the world, operating out of preemptive closure instead of seeing the whole. The

consequence of this reductionism is an 'economically rationalized' sense of humanity that distances us from the vulnerable and values efficacy over empathy. We become incapable of recognition.

The ignorance of vulnerability functions as the basis on which we build other kinds of ignorance. Ignorance is thus an aspect of moral closure. In seeking invulnerability, we ignore the constitutive aspect of vulnerability, the way in which we become who we are through openness to others. Invulnerability then precludes recognition by closing us off to others, maintaining social structures that privilege some at the expense of others. For example, the refusal by many whites to acknowledge how social location shapes life outcomes facilitates the preservation of white privilege. Nor does this involve only ignorance about others, but also ignorance about oneself, one's share in history, and the way that history has shaped one's present. By failing to comprehend the processes through which we become invulnerable subjects, invulnerability is made an unacknowledged norm rather than a value that can be interrogated and challenged.

The Reversal of Moral Closure: Identification with Others

Social Closure, Moral Closure, and Frames of Intelligibility

So far, I have made an argument for the importance of social recognition as the basis of egalitarian social structures, which can only occur when moral closure towards racial others is reversed. Recognition theory acknowledges the intersubjectivity that constitutes human life, showing how we are not only socialized into pre-existent social norms and structures, but are dependent on others for the development of our self-conceptions, the exercise of our capacities, and the creation of equitable social conditions. Since integration is characterized by the

realignment of racial fields through structural inclusion (Anderson 2010), social recognition is essential to its success. Without it, organizations disrespect the perspectives and experiences of people of color, disregard the challenges they face, and devalue the contributions they bring. As I have argued, this characterizes desegregation rather than integration.

In relying on a political account of social conflict, however, Honneth leaves unanswered the question of how practical recognition is extended in everyday interactions. This is important because, as Gilson outlines, neoliberal social structures, norms, and forms of subjectivity enshrine an ideal of invulnerability that denies vulnerability, sustains inequality, and, generally, prevents the recognition of racial outgroup members through willful ignorance. In this way, they operate as a racial project that simultaneously serves to organize resources along particular racial lines and to explain away racial hierarchy (Omi and Winant 1994). Even when legal recognition is extended, it is regularly subverted in everyday practice. Moreover, the process of classification itself makes recognition of others a challenge, as the existence of social boundaries generates a sense of moral distance from those on the other side of the line (Zerubavel 1991).

A major obstacle to achieving recognition for social and racial others is moral closure, of which willful ignorance forms a key component. This is not a naïve form of ignorance, an unthinking prejudice, which simply requires education in order to be overcome. It is a form of ignorance that the subject is implicated in maintaining due to self-interest. Therefore, this account also acknowledges that self-interest prevents recognition. We do not see because we do not want to see, because it serves our interests not to see, and because to see would require us to act differently. Furthermore, there is an ethical component to willful ignorance. It is not just that we do not see certain structural arrangements. We do not see certain people. We close ourselves

off to them. This disidentification from outgroup members enables us to keep them at a social and moral distance, tolerating them because we refuse to truly incorporate them (Brown 2006).

However, ignorance cannot explain the gap between principle and practice when greater awareness is fostered (Krysan 2000). Another important aspect of moral closure is indifference to others. Studies of the most extreme manifestation of ethnic conflict, genocide (Owens, Su, and Snow 2013), lend insight into how passivity comes about as a result of social processes. Elites exclude groups from the 'moral universe of obligation' (Fein 1979:8) and strategically frame them for political purposes (Gagnon 2004) through their dehumanization or demonization (Goldhagen 2009). Social norms enforce conformity (Arendt 1994) while abstract social structures channel responsibility away from the individual (Browning 1992). Ideology plays a role (Mann 2000), but so does lack of interethnic engagement (Kopstein and Wittenberg 2011). As the recognition of social others is denied, so is any sense of moral responsibility for them.

The obstacles to recognition seen in moral closure can thus be summarized in four ways. The first obstacle is the self-interest of dominant groups because their privileges are sustained by maintaining social closure regarding other racial groups (Tilly 1999; Weber (1922) 1978). Nor is self-interest only the province of the majority. Blacks are also ambivalent about equality for others when it challenges the gains they have made (Hochschild 2006). Second, willful ignorance underlies the unequal distribution of vulnerability and opportunity, enabling inequality while masking it, and doubling down on injustice as those who are victimized by structural arrangements are then stigmatized for being victims (Gilson 2014). This is made easier by the social isolation that results when dominant groups like whites, and honorary whites, segregate

themselves from disadvantaged racial others, thus insulating themselves from the experiences of inequality (Anderson 2010).

Third, indifference to the plight of others is generated by a combination of multiple factors, including the aforementioned self-interest, ignorance, and intentional actions of elites. This indifference is also sustained by the framing offered by symbolic boundaries which provide moral valuations that turn social others into moral others who are seen to be outside the bounds of our ethical obligations. An example of this is how some human life is deemed grievable while others are not, as with American victims of terrorist attacks in contrast to victims of American drone strikes (Butler 2012), or valuated differently, as with white lives versus black lives, American citizens versus migrant caravans. Finally, racial categories continue to exert effects through inertia that have policy implications outside of intentional actions taken by individuals. These factors work together to sustain existing racial fields regardless of demographic changes.

Given the challenge of moral closure, what transforms the range of our moral imagination, ethical concern, and openness towards social others? If the theoretical accounts I offer of social recognition and vulnerability are correct, there is an indissoluble relationship between social distance and moral distance (Douglas 1966). Social closure entails moral closure. In contrast to Michele Lamont's (1992) separation of symbolic boundaries into distinct kinds, with moral boundaries as distinguishable from socioeconomic and cultural ones, I argue that all symbolic boundaries carry moral valences. Classification always entails valuation (Mohr 2004; Steensland 2006). At issue, then, is our disidentification with social others through their framing and its consequences on our treatment of them (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Lamont and Small 2008).

Perceptions matter. What is perceivable, knowable, and recognizable is determined by the frames of intelligibility which delimit our ways of perceiving (Butler 2009). Perceiving social others as human beings whose lives are worth recognizing is dependent on their framing, as can be seen with the bias towards dominant groups hidden inside tolerance discourse (Brown 2006). Because of this, Judith Butler argues that a more implicit grasping in the form of apprehension needs to occur before recognition can occur. Social others must be apprehended as intelligible by fitting them within pre-existing conceptions of what constitutes a life, as part of what Abend (2014) calls the moral background, before they can be recognized. Recognition cannot occur until the other is seen as a fellow subject (Beauvoir 2011). Practically speaking, therefore, identification with social others needs to occur *before* social recognition can take place.

Racial Justice Activism and Identification with Others

Support for this argument is lent by studies in social psychology. McFarland and his colleagues created a construct called the Identification With All Humanity (IWAH) scale in order to measure the impact of identification beyond one's ingroup on social action (McFarland, Webb, and Brown 2012). They cite Monroe's (1996) conclusion regarding the common characteristic of individuals who rescued Jews during the Holocaust as sharing the perspective 'of belonging to one human family' (1996:205). They also connect this with Oliner and Oliner's (1998) discovery that the distinguishing characteristic between Holocaust rescuers and non-rescuers was the possession of the quality of 'extensivity' wherein they extended their concern to other people, having both emotional empathy and a sense of responsibility toward them.

Using IWAH, the researchers ran a series of ten studies that demonstrated the utility of the construct while revealing some interesting findings about what identification with others can predict. The key findings are that "identification with all humanity is more than an absence of ethnocentrism and its correlates and more than the presence of positive qualities such as empathy, principled moral reasoning, general morality, or the value of universalism" (McFarland et al. 2012:849). IWAH was able to effectively predict the level of concern over global issues, the priority given to human rights over national self-interest, the willingness to invest national resources to defend human rights, less ethnocentric valuation of human life, greater knowledge and desire to learn about global humanitarian concerns, and a willingness to give to international relief efforts. The construct was validated with regards to two humanitarian organizations.

What is relevant for my argument from this series of experiments is that they demonstrate an important link between the reversal of moral closure and the achievement of social recognition, as demonstrated through the way changed identities lead to changed interests and actions. The interests of others become our interests when we identify with them and see them as fellow moral subjects. This occurs when we become open to the disruption of our sense of self, others, and the world. As others become legible to us as part of a shared moral community, they move from the status of Simmelian stranger to Meadian generalized other. Identification here does not imply the erasure of difference but the embrace of it. Identification is also the basis for a realignment of racial field positioning, as others become seen as moral equals. This is how an ethic of accountability is developed by white racial justice activists (Thompson 2001).

Scholars who study white racial justice activists uncover several key factors which explain how whites come to identify with, and hence act on behalf of, racial others. Substantive interactions with people of color are very important, ranging from casual interaction to building relationships, from community involvement to mentoring and leadership by people of color (McAdam 1998; O'Brien 2001; Pinkney 1968; Thompson 2001; Warren 2010). Activism develops when principles become personal, as whites come to feel the injustice being perpetrated against others, whether through firsthand or secondary exposure (Thompson 2001). These disruptive experiences of injustice cause whites to experience value conflicts and moral shocks which serve to trigger action (Warren 2010). Whites can no longer sustain indifference to others or ignorance of their plight when they come to identify with them and their experiences.

Involvement with organizations is an important part of mobilizing many to action, serving as pathways to identification. Organizations create shared goals which unify their members, both in the goals themselves and in the shared work that achieving such goals entails. Moreover, they sustain support for white activists who become rejected by their original friends and family, as these activists find their boundaries of identity shifting to include racial outgroup members. As part of this process, accounts of racial justice activism also highlight the role of moral convictions. Warren (2010) and Thompson (2001) notice the importance of moral identity to their activists, as well as the construction of a shared moral vision. This moral vision provides a telos that brings together difference without suppressing it under a subordinating identity. In part, this is due to important leadership by people of color.

To show how all these factors fit together, Warren (2010) presents a Head, Heart, and Hand model that functions as a cyclical process with a series of non-sequential steps. These

steps, in no particular order, include a moral shock which creates the impulse to act when injustice is perceived, the development of cross-racial relationships which are able to establish a sense of empathy, work within multiracial communities that contributes to a larger moral vision for the future, and the broadening of a sense of group identity and boundaries such that this vision comes to encompass whites' interests as well as blacks'. Whites themselves come to have a stake in the game as their own identities and interests expand. Racial justice activism thus involves a broadening of whites' sense of both identity and interest to include blacks. All of these steps are about generating an openness to racial others and their experiences.

The importance of interactions, relationships, and a shared moral vision to identification makes sense if we consider how segregation isolates groups and contributes to moral closure. The undoing of moral closure requires engagement with social others. Efforts at reconciliation generally operate under the premises of intergroup contact theory (Hughes 2018). Contact theory states that interpersonal contact between members of different groups under non-threatening circumstances can reduce prejudice and foster positive relations between majority and minority group members. The conditions for such contact are that it is frequent enough to lead to personal interaction, cooperative in pursuit of a mutual goal, supported by authorities, laws, or customs, and takes place between people with equal status (Allport 1954). The account offered by contact theory aligns with the one offered by recognition theory.

Critiques have been leveled at how contact theory operates under the idea that attitudinal change will straightforwardly result in behavioral change (Emerson, Kimbro, and Yancey 2002). This ignores the way racism is more than prejudicial attitudes and actions but a structural presence in society (Bonilla-Silva 2015a). Contact theory is thus seen to prioritize agency over

structure in a way that fails to address key structural obstacles to positive social contact, such as group segregation, a segregation that is far more widespread in practice than laws would suggest (Hughes 2018). However, contact theory implicitly allows for the need to address structure, as one of its conditions is equal status between members of different racial groups. Furthermore, a meta-analysis with 515 studies has demonstrated that intergroup contact typically reduces prejudice, even when ideal contact conditions do not exist (Pettigrew et al. 2011).

Regardless, the account offered in this section is not one in which attitudinal change is all that is needed, but one in which a reversal of moral closure is generated by identification with racial others, only then resulting in behavioral change. That identification is fostered by processes generated through specific modes of interracial contact as elaborated by Warren's model. Organizations operate as channels of redefined community when people come together with racial others and build a new sense of group identity organized around multiracial identities and shared ideological convictions. Seminal experiences of injustice, significant relationships and leadership from racial others, and shared goals contribute to this shift of identity and interests. Whites act on behalf of blacks when their identity shifts from 'black or white' to 'black and white.' This is not an identity that subordinates difference, but one that encompasses it.

The negative evidence for this is how people are able to ignore or even participate in events like genocides and mass killings by viewing racial others as mere objects, and hence, as not located within the boundaries of their moral obligation. Similarly, military personnel learn to dehumanize their enemies in order to be able to kill them on the battlefield. Ethnic slurs, racial epithets, and other derogatory group references all serve to create moral distance from outgroup members. The reversal of moral closure requires a rewriting of the intelligibility of racial others

as human lives and moral subjects (Butler 2009). It is for this reason that ethical convictions, whether religious or humanist, are important to accounts of activism, as well as a moral vision that binds activists with those they are acting on behalf of. This leads to the construction of a larger moral community that encompasses blacks and whites alike.

Vulnerability as Disposition and Praxis

What I am arguing is that the primary obstacle to social integration is the moral closure caused by the dominant group's disidentification from racial outgroups. This moral distancing makes racial others illegible to us, incapacitating us from apprehending them as fellow moral subjects worth recognizing. By placing them in a separate moral category, they are placed in a separate category of treatment, as when those in poverty are viewed as immoral and treated with disdain. Tolerance is a sign of failure rather than a marker of success, as unassimilable others are sustained within our midst without truly incorporating them, and an implicit value hierarchy is established that raises those who tolerate over those who are tolerated (Brown 2006). In this way, institutions that do not promote recognition may become desegregated but not integrated, as they remove external barriers to entry but leave internal boundaries and underlying racial fields intact.

Successful social integration requires the inclusion of minority perspectives and practices as well as minority persons into social structures and social norms, which only occurs when they are recognized. Social recognition begins with a more basic moral inclusion, or the reversal of moral closure towards others. The practical recognition of those who we have not previously recognized depends on our apprehension of them as fellow lives and moral subjects. This occurs when we see the way in which they are shared lives with us, co-constituted in shared

ontological vulnerability, both physically and socially. And this, in turn, is enabled by modes of social organization that embrace and enable dispositional vulnerability, and its attendant openness to learning from others. An orientation of vulnerability is a precondition of social integration.

Vulnerability (as a disposition) is best defined as openness to being affected, and affecting, others in ways that we cannot control (Gilson 2014). It challenges us with its unpredictability and uncontrollability, as it exposes us to that with which we are unfamiliar or uncomfortable. Yet, understood in this way, vulnerability also becomes the basis for enlarging our social world through empathy, learning, and connection. Instead of viewing vulnerability simply as a passive condition, it can be adopted as an orienting disposition which sustains the discursive generosity necessary to truly engage with difference (Seligman et al. 2015). This allows us to articulate an understanding of vulnerability that challenges the social arrangements and forms of subjectivity which perpetuate inequality, and speaks to its positive potential for bridging social divisions through mutually constitutive openness and the reconfiguring of identities and interests across racial and social lines.

The Epistemic, Ethical, and Institutional Bases of Dispositional Vulnerability

There is a reorienting power to vulnerability when it is taken up as an epistemic and an ethical position. Taking up a deliberate disposition of vulnerability involves making the intentional choice to open oneself up to possibilities that had been previously closed. It involves the willingness to face the disruption of one's identity, one's interests, and one's interpretation of the world. As Gilson (2014) suggests, vulnerability can be an open-ended position that makes

possible love, affection, learning, and self-transformation. She calls this 'epistemic vulnerability,' which begins with being open to not knowing as a precondition of learning. Epistemic vulnerability entails an openness to being wrong[9] and venturing one's ideas, beliefs, and feelings nonetheless. It thus entails both reflexivity towards oneself and humility towards others, and is the basis of reorienting oneself into a disposition of vulnerability.

Different institutional orientations and modes of organization can encourage or discourage a disposition that is open to affecting, and being affected by, social others. Thomas and Ely (1996) articulate three different modes of dealing with diversity in the workplace which can also translate to integrated institutions more generally. The dominant paradigm is one of assimilation, focused on equal opportunity and fair treatment. Rooted in a colorblind orientation that aspires to conformity, it pressures employees to ignore important differences. The result is that organizations are unable to learn and improve and people are kept from identifying strongly and personally with their work. The second paradigm is built on the acceptance and celebration of differences. However, it typically emphasizes cultural differences without incorporating them, thus having little practical impact on the organization.

In both of these approaches, vulnerability is precluded by preemptive closure. In assimilation, institutions remain closed to difference in general, as new groups are slotted into existing structures without adjustment. In acceptance, new groups are celebrated superficially without really examining the differences they bring. In contrast to the approaches dominated by

[9] This is comparable to the idea of epistemic humility in the philosophy of science, which acknowledges that, because our knowledge of the world is always filtered through a priori faculties, any pronouncements we make about the world require a degree of humility. Epistemic humility may be a precondition of vulnerability, as the acknowledgment of one's epistemic limitations opens one up to the perspectives and experiences of others.

colorblind assimilation or superficial acceptance, Thomas and Ely present a third paradigm. The third mode of internalization recognizes and incorporates the variety of employees' perspectives which are drawn from the cultural backgrounds of their identity-group affiliations into the main work of the organization. It manages difference by internalizing it to learn and grow from it such that teams operate "with" their differences instead of "despite" them. The authors see this as the most successful paradigm at managing diversity.

Epistemic vulnerability involves the ability to put oneself in, and learn from, situations in which one is the unknowing, foreign, and even, uncomfortable party. Seligman, Wasserfall, and Montgomery (2015), in their work with pedagogical programs that train people to substantively engage differences of race and religion, elaborate why this is important. Living with difference means that we no longer control the experience. We must continually engage a social other with an openness to the discomfort this entails. The problem with attempts to search for common ground is that it is not in general terms that human beings seek recognition, but in very particular terms. The liberal democratic tactic of trivializing or aestheticizing difference exempts us from engaging with it, as conflicting views are reduced to different matters of taste which we can safely ignore. Yet, principled indifference is not the same as genuine acceptance or "living with."

Communities Engaging Difference and Religion (CEDAR), the program run by Seligman and his colleagues, demonstrates that creating a shared space of living together differently requires shared experience, reflective practice, and intimate social spaces. In other words, it involves institutional modes that encourage individuals from different backgrounds to adopt a posture of dispositional vulnerability vis-à-vis one another. This challenges both the

market model of interests and the communitarian view of common visions. An integrated space requires a commitment to allow difference its public face and expression, with the attendant discomfort that comes from suspending judgment of others and becoming self-reflexive. Importantly, this does not mean rejecting particular commitments, but, rather, taking others seriously on their own grounds. This idea connects closely to the work of Bryan Turner and Judith Butler.

Bryan Turner (2006) asserts that irony, reflexivity, care, and acceptance are needed in order to live in an integrated society. An emotional distance from our own culture is required in order to respect other cultures. This 'ironic distance' does not mean we have to abandon our own normative commitments, but that we place them at a remove when we engage others. What is essential for recognition is the opportunity for mutual reflection, dialogue, and critique, which cannot happen when one is wedded firmly to one's own position. Recognition of the other does not require complete acceptance of the other's values and ways of life, or even the reconciliation of views, but rather that we respect the other's arguments and their intellectual force. What this means is not that we reject our own commitments, but that we do not apply them to others when engaging them. Rather, we take them on their own terms as we also expect them to do for us.

In similar fashion, Judith Butler (2009) argues that apprehension of others requires a form of social critique that involves the suspension of judgment. As a practice of reflection that aims not to judge, but to bring into relief the framework of evaluation itself, social critique must begin by refraining from judgment. Again, this does not mean abandoning one's commitments, but disregarding the security of relying on a normative framework as if it were a given, and hence, the certainty with which judgments are made within that framework. This involves

making a shift from judging a world we refuse to know to seeking to know a world by refraining from judging (Gilson 2014). It is the effort to move away from the preemptive closure entailed by thinking in terms of existing frameworks. These scholars are not advocating a moral or intellectual relativism, but rather a discursive generosity that takes the positions of others seriously and allows a reflexive evaluation of one's own thought from other perspectives.

Epistemic vulnerability is not just openness to altering one's ideas and beliefs, but openness to altering one's self and sense of self. In this way, it rejects the closure of the self that defines invulnerability. To be epistemically vulnerable is to be open to the revision of the self and conceptions of the self since such alteration both comes from changes in what one knows and precipitates such changes in knowledge (Gilson 2014). This does not just require the suspension of judgment of others, but also the reflexivity to examine one's own commitments and frames of intelligibility. Below, I discuss how practices of reflexivity in group contexts are central to enabling the formation of bridging social ties (Lichterman 2005). This openness is important, as identification with others requires a shift in conception of not only one's social location vis-à-vis racial others, but one's identity relative to those others.

Epistemic vulnerability goes hand in hand with ethical vulnerability. Gilson's (2014) reconstruction of vulnerability draws on the French philosopher, Helene Cixous, and her notion of a 'feminine economy' (Cixous and Clement 1986). By refusing to assume that others are a threat and that the self must be secured from others, one can embody a posture of nonclosure that is rooted not in submission, but rather in confidence and comprehension. A particular kind of self-dispossession takes place, not in the sense of letting oneself be possessed by another, but rather in refusing to orient oneself towards the acquisition of more capital and the demonstration

of one's superiority. Instead, to open ourselves up to others and their effects on us is also to open ourselves up to transformation in relation to those others. Vulnerability, then, is a form of strength that is not synonymous with mastery or dominance, but rather 'force in fragility.'

Lichterman's work on how different religious groups build outward-oriented social ties has particular bearing on the dynamics of recognition and vulnerability (2005). Lichterman sought to test the neo-Tocquevillian argument, what he calls the social spiral thesis, that "the style of interaction inside civic groups affects the kinds of relationships that members can cultivate outside" and that "broader ties cultivated by civic groups help to empower civil society" (2005:11). What he finds is that different kinds of social cohesion, defined by different group-building customs, shape the types of outward-oriented relationships that members of groups are able to develop. Groups that practice social reflexivity to "talk reflectively, self-critically, about their relations with their wider social context" (2005:15) are better able to foster outward-oriented social ties. Groups thus create and sustain social ties through communication patterns.

Customs, which exist apart from beliefs or ideologies, influence the kinds of conversations that groups are able to have. Customs shape the meanings of words or phrases, which in turn shape possible lines of action. Lichterman argues that the social capital argument deployed by Robert Putnam to measure social ties and norms cannot capture the meanings which make them relevant. After doing an ethnographic study of nine liberal and conservative Protestant religious groups who seek to contribute to social welfare, what Lichterman finds is that "interaction helps to create network relations *in culturally patterned ways*" (2005:43). This is important because there are different styles of group cohesion or "togetherness" that are more

common than reflexivity, and are demonstrated in different degrees in the various groups he studied. These other patterns tend to preclude the formation of bridging social ties.

One style is to ignore social inequalities and differences by highlighting the common humanity of individuals, the end result being that there are no differences to discuss. This is a boundary-making strategy of emphasizing universal commonalities (Wimmer 2013). Another style involves cathartic self-exploration, which is oriented towards individuals' self-formation rather than group formation. Neither of these styles fosters bridging social ties. Drawing from Dewey and Addams, Lichterman emphasizes the importance of custom and the role of experience, especially discomfort, in promoting discovery. He elaborates on how a group's shared customs, or modes of interaction, have power apart from individual beliefs. Lichterman shows how culture structures people's abilities to communicate "as a set of publically shared, symbolic patterns that *enable and constrain* what people can say and do together" (2005:55).

This is not to say that belief does not matter, but that "vocabularies acquire particular meanings and uses in interaction, *through the customs of group life*" (2005:57). Different forms of civic customs enable different kinds of civic engagement. For example, Lichterman distinguishes between a plug-in style of volunteering which does not foster interdependence or engagement and a style of partnership which does. "Social reflexivity is a collective practice of imagining; it requires talking about differences and similarities straightforwardly, in the midst of forging relationships beyond the group" (2005:47). This in turn depends on a group setting that fosters it. Additionally, this requires a willingness to engage with ambivalence and uncertainty. Social reflexivity is not an abstract process, "people have to picture themselves and their groups

in relationships with some larger social context, and be willing to ponder those relationships critically, even self-critically" (2005:260).

Underlying Lichterman's analysis is the importance of dispositional vulnerability, or the openness to disruption, to the reflexive mode of interaction that enables bridging social ties. In my first case, Incarnational Community Church, this can be seen as vulnerability is enacted in corporate practices which both reflect, and shape, dispositions of vulnerability. This vulnerability is sustained by a shared moral vision rooted in brokenness and a resultant ethos of interdependence, both of which promote a posture of nonclosure. In my second case, Verdant Residential College, dispositional vulnerability is largely precluded by a culture of tolerance that successfully creates a space of safe diversity but lacks a cohesive sense of identity to generate a larger sense of community, promotes comfort and safety over challenge and disruption, and values freedom and choice over engagement with difference.

Incarnational Community Church: A Culture of Dispositional Vulnerability

To understand the way vulnerability can operate as an organizing principle, I examine the case of Incarnational Community Church (ICC). ICC is organized around a culture that emphasizes the interdependence, integrity, and intimacy of its members. As an inner city church, it shares the mentality of the urban stoop culture around it, in which intimate life is displayed outside, as one's front steps become an extension of one's living room. Through the imagery of shared brokenness, ICC acknowledges the commonality of members' vulnerability and promotes a posture of nonclosure. Congregants are encouraged to bring all of who they are, blemishes and

all, before the community, as integrity is valued over impression management. As a result, ICC also generates new forms of shared vulnerability in its social structures and practices, enabling its members to express a different kind of confidence that comes from acceptance, not closure.

This acknowledgment of ontological vulnerability has two subsequent effects. First, as leaders and members present themselves in communal life as vulnerable together, they are enculturated into a posture of humility. This posture helps to prevent dogmatic certainty or self-promotion, and the preemptive closure that comes with it. As a result, it enables members to listen to each other's experiences and perspectives with a suspension of judgment by creating the kind of intimate social space that allows for shared experience and reflective practice noted by Seligman and his colleagues. Second, this also promotes the acknowledgment of the situational vulnerability experienced by social others, as the contact situation enables firsthand encounters with the seminal experiences and moral shocks that Warren describes as transformative forces.

More than fostering a reflexive environment, a culture of dispositional vulnerability also results in the formation of an ethical community characterized by interdependence, as members come to rely on one another and on their institution in substantive ways for both material and spiritual needs. In this way, an ethos of vulnerability works to reverse the moral closure that keeps members from identifying with one another, instead generating a broader moral universe of obligation and making legible the lives of social others. As this happens, practical recognition of others is made possible, as demonstrated in inclusive leadership and worship practices that internalize diversity. This environment is particularly impactful for members coming from majority backgrounds, such as whites, as they become exposed to experiences of vulnerability, and the perspectives that arise from them, that they had previously been insulated from.

To different degrees, for members from different social locations, a culture of vulnerability is emancipatory and empowering. For members coming from more privileged social locations which generate continual pressures for performance, it is particularly emancipatory. To recognize and acknowledge vulnerability in *others* involves acknowledging vulnerability in *oneself* and making oneself vulnerable to others. Subjects are thus emancipated from the need to continually present themselves in a favorable light by performing an idealized, invulnerable self that is always in control, always successful, and always driven by self-improvement. Instead, subjects relinquish the need for mastery, experience the freedom to fail, and hence to explore, and are enabled to seek and receive support from others. This is not always an easy lesson to learn, but it is a freeing experience when it occurs.

This emancipatory force not only frees the subject, but also changes the nature of the relationship subjects have with social others. Instead of a singular relationship in which one side, for example, whites, are always providing the skills and capital to meet the needs of the other side, minorities, a role reversal is enabled. This occurs in at least two ways. First, it revalues the relevant skillsets and experiences possessed by minorities that are typically devalued by dominant social structures, such as perspectives and skills on how to live with, and help others navigate, vulnerability learned by those who live in close proximity to it. Second, it enables people of color to be the providers and whites to be the recipients of support. The equalizing power of this reversal cannot be underestimated. I am not making a general correspondence between whites and advantage, or minorities and disadvantage. In the case of ICC there is a particular correlation between the social class and racial background of its members.

For members coming from less advantaged backgrounds, the culture of vulnerability is particularly empowering. This empowerment results from the fact that there is a normative inversion of values, experiences, and perspectives that, in various ways, prioritizes the vulnerable, and those associated with vulnerability, including racial minorities, the poor, and those with less social and human capital. While it would be going too far to say that ICC devalues education, accomplishments, or skills, it relativizes them in light of its values. A willingness to serve others is more important than having particular skills, empathy is prioritized over education, and action in the present matters more than past accomplishments. ICC has a bottoms up perspective that inverts the power hierarchy. As one leader put it, "The elders exist to serve the congregation, and the congregation exists to serve the [local] community."

The identity and interests of the congregation are reshaped in light of this dispositional vulnerability. While a larger institutional identity is generated, this identity does not subordinate racial identities but continues to value racial and cultural distinctives. The normative inversion around vulnerability enables boundary-changing strategies that equalize the social position of different racial groups (Wimmer 2013). Interestingly, the resultant frame of intelligibility comes much closer to the vantage point of disadvantaged minorities. This could lend credence to theories which suggest that those who experience inequality firsthand have a more accurate understanding of how inequality is perpetuated by social structures, as whites' exposure to minorities brings them closer to a minority perspective. At the same time, ICC's mission is to serve the poor. It, thus, draws whites who are already predisposed to such views.

While ICC is largely successful at implementing the social, cultural, and functional inclusion of minorities, there are still challenges. For example, it has diversified the leadership,

musical styles, and repertoire of its worship, internalizing black influences in all of these areas, yet some African Americans still feel that the 'Black Church' experience is missing. This is important both because the 'Black Church' is viewed to be a distinct mode of worship and community and because it is seen to not have been incorporated successfully at ICC. At the same time, even though many whites come specifically to participate in an institution that explicitly declares that it exists to serve the local population of color, they can still feel neglected at times by the lack of emphasis on white preferences. Finally, despite evident structural inclusion, social integration only extends outside of church for half of its congregants.

Verdant Residential College: The Limitations of Tolerance

In contrast to ICC, Verdant Residential College is organized around a culture of cosmopolitan tolerance that emphasizes freedom, choice, and self-expression, as long as this does not infringe on others. The result is a laid-back culture that genuinely welcomes people from different backgrounds but often leaves them to their own devices and, frequently, hinders real engagement with difference. In some cases, this is precisely what residents desire – to be left alone to pursue their own interests, to gather with their own kind, and not to have to be stretched any further than they already are. In other cases, residents would prefer more intentionality in helping them navigate the social dynamics of crossing cultures and engaging with social others. For still others, there is a frustration at the unrealized potential for deeper community. Verdant is thus a diverse institution that is made up of an integrated core and various segregated subgroups.

One reason for this can be found in the latent function that Verdant serves as an alternative space for marginal students who do not feel like they identify with the mainstream

student body at their university, which is predominantly white and wealthy. Offering a reprieve from the need to conform, it is a place where racial, cultural, and socioeconomic minorities can find a refuge and be themselves. Paradoxically, however, this hinders the development of dispositional vulnerability as the establishment of a safe space precludes seeking experiences which introduce discomfort, such as those resulting from engagement with difference. For many of its residents, diversity is more important symbolically than substantively. In this way, the success of Verdant at fostering a safe space challenges its ability to be an integrated space.

This can be seen in the way that cross-cultural dialogues and social awareness events are sparsely held and not well-attended, despite diversity being a frequently expressed value by residents. In fact, for all of the pride that residents take in being a residential college marked by concern for social awareness and sustainability, more excitement and participation is generally generated by social activities that are about having fun. Though efforts are made to have cross-cultural dialogues on race, nationality, sexuality, and other topics, such dialogues only attract minimal interest. The level of dialogue sustained at such events also varies widely, from superficial to significant. This is not to say that there is not genuine interest, but that it is unevenly distributed among segments of the residential population.

This alludes to one of the frustrations of faculty and student leaders alike, which is the lack of participation in events and community of a large minority of students. While concern is mainly focused on a visible segment of residents, International Chinese students, they are not the only population that is less active. This lack of participation is seen to be tied to self-segregation. It is fair to say that some of this division is generated from the desires of the inactive students themselves. But some of it also stems from the feeling by such students that Verdant does not do

enough to help them navigate the challenges of crossing social and cultural norms. This highlights two weaknesses of modes of social organization premised on tolerance if integration is the goal. Integration, and the engagement with difference that it entails, requires something from the institution and the individuals that organizations operating out of tolerance seek to avoid.

From individuals, integration requires a willingness to experience disruption and discomfort, and a commitment to sustaining this experience long enough to learn from it. As Seligman and his colleagues (2015) note, intimate social spaces alone are not enough. It is also necessary to build a base of shared experience and reflective practice. However, at Verdant, residents can simply choose to avoid either interacting with one another, or doing so in a manner that generates vulnerability. From the institution, the conditions need to be put into place to sustain such interactions, and for them to occur in a vulnerable manner. Instead, the priority is on individual freedom and noninterference. This institutional mentality resists the imposition of external requirements on its residents, both by administrative fiat and by individual desire.

Verdant is largely successful at enabling students to be themselves in ways that they do not feel free to be on the rest of campus. Because faculty and residents desire to establish a space where everyone is free to be themselves, the institutional culture prioritizes comfort over challenge, choice over community, and self-exploration over social engagement. The irony is that, despite identifying as a living and learning community, in many ways learning and community are both made harder at Verdant by the success of the institution in fostering an alternative space of safety, comfort, and nonconformity. As an institution, Verdant creates the conditions for those who choose to take advantage of it to develop practical recognition of social

others, most notably by active core members on the student council. However, as an overall institution, the general climate is one of laissez faire disengagement or superficial interaction.

As an institution that does not have a strongly defined identity, Verdant lacks a binding agent to hold its diversity together. Its identity is left deliberately vague, centered on themes of sustainability and social awareness. There is an explicit rationale by the principal not to impose a top-down identity on residents but to let them choose for themselves. This means that Verdant holds different meanings for different residents, as a place that values sustainability and diversity, a place where one can gather with similar others, or a place where one can live in quiet and isolation. As a result, the only common ground for residents to stand on is choice itself. Sub-communities that integrate within it do so on the basis of particular interests, such as studying for shared classes or participating in the student council. The development of practical recognition is limited, as tolerance often sustains pockets of difference within a larger welcoming umbrella.

DURABLE PATTERNS OF SEGREGATION IN A DIVERSE METROPOLIS

Challenges to Integrating Institutions in Segregated Cities

Incarnational Community Church (ICC) is located in an inner city neighborhood in Philadelphia, a diverse, yet highly segregated metropolis. As the fourth most segregated city in America, Philadelphia's social divisions have been marked by patterns of residential segregation for more than a century (Du Bois 1903). These spatial divisions both reflect and reproduce its social divisions, especially at the intersection of race and social class. While studies of integrated institutions often treat them as isolated units, social institutions are embedded in larger environments that affect their possibilities for integration and the resulting stratification outcomes. External factors such as urbanicity, neighborhood racial composition, and geographic reach should be considered in addition to the internal factors that are given more attention by the literature on multiracial churches (see discussion in Edwards et al. 2013).

As with other major cities, the potential for integration offered by Philadelphia's urbanicity is offset by a history of federal, state, and local policies which promoted racial inequality through residential segregation, and then, did little to dismantle the resultant social and spatial patterns when further discrimination was prohibited (Rothstein 2017; Sampson 2012). The role of residential segregation in generating and sustaining inequality is well documented in the way it isolates residents of color from social and institutional networks capable of providing financial, social, cultural, and human capital (Charles 2003; Massey and Denton 1993; Sharkey 2008). The lingering effects of exclusionary zoning laws then continue to shape the makeup of local institutions because such institutions draw primarily from extant neighborhoods, sometimes formally, as with public school districts, and sometimes informally, as with local churches.

Scholars have documented the way patterns of racial desegregation in metropolitan areas primarily involve the movement of black households into non-black neighborhoods (cf. Chaves 2011 for a similar pattern in churches); by contrast, non-blacks do not move to predominantly black neighborhoods (Madden and Ruther 2018). Integration is limited by the ability of white middle-class households to avoid communities of color as a consequence of race-based neighborhood stereotyping regarding associated housing values (Ellen 2000). This is exacerbated by the limited mobility of middle-class blacks, who are unable to avoid becoming a buffer between poor black neighborhoods and middle-class white ones (Patillo-McCoy 1999), and by the immobility of poorer residents, who are disproportionately people of color trapped in intergenerational patterns of inequality (Howell and Warner 2017; Sharkey 2008).

Even in neighborhoods that are more racially diverse, spatial proximity frequently fails to translate into social integration. For example, residents in a comparable neighborhood in Baltimore reported that their neighborhood was spatially diverse but socially segregated (Rich 2009), in line with what May (2014) calls "integrated segregation." In ICC's local neighborhood, streets are commonly divided between Puerto Ricans living at one end and African Americans at the other, with little social interaction occurring between them. Indifference and the avoidance of other racial groups is common. As one African American respondent described it, "It's just two different worlds. Hispanic, Puerto Rican, you never saw. Outside of going to the store or something like that." This pattern of social closure is continued in institutional spaces, as increased spatial proximity does not translate to increased social proximity.

As for spaces of public integration, or cosmopolitan canopies (Anderson 2011), these tend to be located in well-off or gentrifying[10] common areas where whites feel safe. However, such integration is generally transient at best, as people only spend brief interludes in cosmopolitan canopies, then return to more homogeneous spaces in which they spend the majority of their time. Demographic shifts between daytime and nighttime illustrate the reduced interracial contact that occurs between work spaces and homes (Hall, Iceland, and Yi 2019). Such integration can also be illusory, as seen in incidents like in Philadelphia in 2018 when a Starbucks employee called the police to arrest two black men who were waiting for a friend. In such incidents, canopies revert quickly to white spaces, as "N-word moments" tear off the veneer of civility to make clear the continuing subaltern status of people of color (Anderson 2018).

Going as far back as W. E. B. Du Bois, there has been a tradition of empirically based research that plays close attention to the dynamics of race and space, and its implications for social life. Du Bois' work included a detailed empirical study of Philadelphia over a century ago which highlighted a number of challenges to racial integration, including the stigmatization of African Americans, residential segregation caused in part by white preferences and in part by disparate opportunities for blacks, the differential treatment of African Americans in employment and education, and the shifting of blame by whites for structural problems to perceived issues of moral character (1903). The work of contemporary ethnographers shows that much of what Du Bois described can still be applied to the experience of people of color today.

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[10] Gentrification is often associated with processes of residential integration, with the displacement or marginalization of local residents, particularly people of color. There is little consensus among qualitative and quantitative scholars on the scale or significance of gentrification (Brown-Saracino 2017). However, it is an important offsetting factor that should be considered in assessments of integration and its consequences.

One such contemporary snapshot of Philadelphia life is presented by Elijah Anderson in the introduction to *The Code of the Street* (1999). Anderson walks the reader through a cross-section of the city as seen along the length of one of its major thoroughfares, Germantown Avenue. What is revealed is a complex social ecology that exists on the continuum of segregation to desegregation to integration. At one end, Chestnut Hill is an affluent, largely white and educated, but increasingly diverse, neighborhood dominated by norms of civility, positive public interaction between races, and a general feeling of goodwill, tolerance, and safety. At the other end is the "hyperghetto," an area of intense poverty and racial segregation, segmented into black and Latino pockets, but otherwise interchangeable in the prevalence of despair and the threat of violence that lurks under a surface of lively sociability.

Even in an area that seems to model successful social integration, racial field positioning remains unequal. In Chestnut Hill, the black middle class feels obliged to display material markers of their status in a way that the white middle class does not. Few shops employ black people. The inability of some whites to make distinctions between blacks of different social class, or between those who are out to commit crime and those who are not, lends an edge to race relations. Nevertheless, factors that predict diversity suggest that it would be in a neighborhood like Chestnut Hill, or adjacent Mount Airy, composed of middle-class whites and blacks (cf. Perkiss 2014 on its history of residential integration), that we would expect to find a multiracial church. By comparison, the "hyperghetto" would appear to be a much less likely place, as integration would require importing difference, specifically middle-class whites, from outside.

However, it is in just such a neighborhood that Incarnational Community Church (ICC) is located. ICC is an outlier in important ways. First, it is a racially and socioeconomically

diverse organization in an economically depressed and isolated community. This is not a gentrifying area, but the "hyperghetto," with few amenities to draw outsiders. Integration occurs, first, by bridging African American and Puerto Rican residents who live in close proximity but operate in separate social spheres and, second, by importing whites and college-educated attendees. ICC is a non-dominant church with a Puerto Rican-inflected culture which avoids white normativity and white privilege by promoting a local emphasis under leadership of color. Finally, ICC is part of a network of interlinked institutions that generates a web of social and economic investments in the community while establishing overlapping spheres of mutually-reinforcing integration.

Social Integration in Non-Dominant Institutions

External Factors: A Regional Draw with a Local Emphasis

The literature on diverse churches (also called "multiracial" or "interracial") is dominated by churches that begin as (and remain) predominantly white congregations. Studies find that such churches tend to reproduce systems of racial stratification which uphold white normativity despite increased demographic diversity (Edwards et al. 2013). However, the social dynamics of diverse churches that originate as congregations of color is less clear. By contrast, Incarnational Community Church began as a Latino church and was 40% Latino/a, 40% white, 15% black, and 5% Asian at the time of my fieldwork. ICC's demographic makeup has shifted many times since it began in 1987 because it draws commuters as well as people from the local community and because it sends its members out to start new churches (nine at last count), thus

changing its makeup. Yet, through it all, it consistently pulls in people interested in racial integration.

While ICC is located in a highly segregated environment, it is noticeably more diverse than the racial and socioeconomic composition of its neighborhood, which is mainly Puerto Rican and African American, with 44% of residents living below the poverty line. The key to this diversity is the extensive geographic reach that ICC has, drawing in the involvement of whites and college-educated people from around the city. Unlike the typical pattern of non-whites moving into white spaces, the direction of movement at ICC is of non-blacks moving into a non-white space. Impoverished communities and the institutions found in them are usually cut off from outside social and institutional networks in a way which perpetuates a cycle of racial inequality and homogeneity (Camille 2003; Massey and Denton 1998; Sharkey 2008). In this, too, ICC exhibits a very different pattern through its connections to outside institutions.

As a result of these connections, ICC has increased its diversity and expanded its social network over the years. College students have been drawn from the University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, Bryn Mawr, and Drexel University. A cohort of Asian medical students from Philly's teaching hospitals became active members. Students came from the seminaries where Pastor Miguel teaches. Others came through time in service programs like AmeriCorps' City Year or connections to affiliated non-profit organizations. While this influx has at times led to a larger percentage of commuters, the church has always returned to a local balance because its focus is consistently on the local neighborhood. Importantly, ICC's leaders never sought out external involvement. Members were drawn on their own by the church's mission or reputation. ICC is able to avoid catering to white privilege because leaders do not cater to commuters.

A commonly used tool to measure the relative racial distribution across neighborhoods is the dissimilarity index, which can be interpreted as the number of people from one racial group that would need to move to another neighborhood to make the racial distribution equal. A naïve reading of this index would assume that integration simply requires a redistribution of people without redistributing power and recognition. While scholars are typically more nuanced when it comes to analyses of residential neighborhoods, this remains a common reading when it comes to organizations, where increased demographic diversity is often assumed to mean equality and inclusivity (see discussions in Hughey 2010b; Weisinger et al. 2016). When inequality is then revealed, "integration" is decried to have failed, when, in fact, many organizations were never integrated to begin with, but only desegregated (e.g. Lewis et al. 2015).

Scholars have shown that the capacities to realize their preferences regarding integration is significantly greater for whites than people of color, particularly blacks, (Johnson and Shapiro 2003). Whites have more freedom to choose where to live and send their children to school, and their choices constrain those of others. For integration to work, then, whites need to, first, be willing to enter where people of color are, and second, stay when they arrive (Ellen 2000). Some scholars argue that this translates into the need for organizations to be more attentive to whites because whites express their preferences more strongly and are more likely to exit when their preferences are not met (Christerson et al. 2005; Edwards 2008). However, this is a description of desegregation rather than integration. For an institution to transition effectively to the latter, underlying racial fields need to be changed by decentering white privilege.

ICC has been able to increase its diversity without giving preferential status to whites because it does not succumb to the pressure to cater to their preferences. New members at ICC

are taught that "they are not joining the church, they are joining the local mission of the church." Whites who are drawn to ICC embrace such sentiments. Karen, a 33-year old white woman is typical in saying, "I don't want to be entertained." Rather, Karen appreciates ICC's "missional" focus. Whites come with a clear understanding that they are participating in an institution with a mission to serve people of color. Started by a team of Latino/a and white leaders, ICC's core values include reaching and reflecting the neighborhood, raising up local leaders, living and working in the community, addressing poverty and systemic injustice, valuing diversity, fostering racial reconciliation, and starting ministries that make an impact for the gospel.

These values can be grouped into two categories, one which specifies its target population, and one which articulates its purpose. The first set of values, which articulates ICC's target population, describes the church's "parish" model. The church takes responsibility for the welfare of people in its local neighborhood, or parish. Because the parish is primarily composed of people of color living in poverty, Puerto Ricans and African Americans, they are its target population. This population is the one that ICC feels it is meant to serve, to incorporate, and to be represented in its leadership. As Sam, a 70-year-old female elder puts it, "[Congregants] can live anyplace, but the ministry is all focused on the parish. Not that we don't minister to each other too, but in terms of our outreach, everything is focused on the parish." This has important implications for racial field positioning in the way it decenters white privilege and demarginalizes the perspectives of populations of color, regardless of the church's makeup.

The other set of values, which articulates ICC's mission, reflects what leaders describe as an orientation of shalom. Shalom is a Hebrew term meaning 'wholeness' with a connotation here of restoration. At ICC, faith is seen to be intertwined with social justice, lived out in the

daily work of restoring broken people and social structures. This has two features which are relevant for integration. First, ICC promotes a holistic orientation which addresses social and economic problems as related, but not reducible, to spiritual issues. Members see their faith, work, and personal lives as implicated in issues of social justice, whether because they initially shared this orientation or because they are influenced by their time at ICC (cf. Warren 2010). Second, members focus on making a difference through local organizations, with an awareness of the significance of social structure that is absent in many white churches (Emerson and Smith 2000). The majority of members work in fields like education, health care, non-profits, and social work.

The parish model of church and the institutional orientation at ICC help explain its focus on the priorities of racial minorities and on social justice as it is worked out at the meso level of organizational structures. Those who are drawn to the church, especially whites, often share characteristics with white racial justice activists who learn to identify and work with people of color (Thompson 2001; Warren 2010). While for some, this occurs before they arrive, for others, it is developed during their time at ICC. These two sets of values are practically combined through an emphasis on local renewal and placemaking. At ICC, the focus on social as well as spatial proximity to the community encourages members to be present in the neighborhood they are seen as serving. Faith is seen to be lived out in the day to day amidst one's neighbors.

Simon, a white lawyer in his 60's who attends ICC and serves as the executive director of a non-profit legal clinic in the city, describes this local parish emphasis:

> *I think that we're all drawn together for the common mission of serving the people in the neighborhood. So it's not a church where people come from the outside and then go*

home. It's a church where they're really encouraged to stay in the neighborhood, live in the neighborhood, and also to draw people who live in the neighborhood.

One thing that is notable about ICC as an organization is that it does not see its primary purpose as being to serve the needs of its congregants but rather its local neighborhood. At ICC, the target population is not members, but non-members. As Sam mentioned, "Everything is focused on the parish." While this common mission can serve to unify members from different backgrounds behind a common goal (Pettigrew et al. 2011; Warren 2010), it can also lead to congregants, both white and black, feeling neglected at times. However, this is a trade-off members are generally willing to accept given that they were drawn to ICC because of that mission. As Karen says, "I'm not [ICC's] target. I know that and I'm happy with that."

ICC shares a philosophy expressed by John Perkins, the civil rights activist who founded the Christian Community Development Association (2019). Perkins argues that social justice is not limited to bridging social differences and redistributing opportunities; it involves sharing the pain of others by living in their midst. People can only offer effective solutions to social problems when they understand the real problems of the poor by living among them and identifying with them. The culture of local involvement at ICC stems from a similar commitment. ICC thus manages to not only draw whites and the college educated into local involvement, but does so in a way which has not lead to gentrification or the spatial or social displacement of residents. Real estate trends over the last decade show stable median sales prices and home sales, and there are no markers of gentrification (e.g. new coffee shops or restaurants).

Extended Footprint: A Local Ecosystem Working against Urban Poverty

ICC exists as part of an interlinked network of social organizations, both formally and informally connected, which form a localized urban ecology that seeks to benefit the local neighborhood. These organizations, and the people moving between them, have a synergistic influence that is larger than the impact any one of these organizations would have alone. As Simon notes, "If there's a magic here, it's that. The churches and the other organizations work together. There's kind of a synergy among the people who are all in the helping professions." In many ways, ICC operated as a catalyst for this network. When the congregation moved into the old preexisting church building in 1996, there were only a few other local organizations that were addressing issues of poverty and inequality in the resource-poor area.

Local residents complained about the poor quality of local schools and about limited access to health care. They were concerned by the increasing levels of violence and the peddling of drugs on street corners, as well as by the prostitution that occurred in and around the heavily littered public park on one edge of the neighborhood. A massive, empty warehouse that had once served as a thermometer factory loomed across from the church building, a memento of older days when the neighborhood was full of working-class families sustained by the manufacturing sector. Adjacent to it squatted a junkyard which residents uniformly detested but could do nothing about. While the junkyard had been illegally placed there, just off one of the commercial thoroughfares running right through the middle of the residential neighborhood, it stayed in operation due to connections with local politicians.

In the inner city, the way a neighborhood is defined by its residents often bears little resemblance to official zoning designations. The immediate neighborhood around ICC which is

experienced as its local community is a roughly square-shaped area measuring a quarter-mile to a third of a mile on each side, spanning four city streets by ten, and enclosed by geographical boundaries. On one side is a large park which is used heavily for recreational purposes, both licit and illicit, littered with debris but also sporting updated playground equipment due to a citywide campaign to renew public parks. On an adjacent side is a major multi-lane highway, one of the most dangerous roads in America. The borders of the other two sides are shaped by two thoroughfares, both commercial streets filled with small shops, drug stores, eateries, and corner stores. ICC stands at the geographical center of this neighborhood.

In the twenty-some years that have elapsed since ICC moved into the neighborhood, significant changes have taken place, many of them due to work done by ICC and its members. In 1992, before it moved to this neighborhood, ICC established a non-profit community center to provide for local needs in its original location like job training, economic development, after school programming, legal assistance, referral services, and food assistance. In 1997, the community center moved with the church to sit on an adjacent street. Then in 1999, responding to a demand expressed by residents for better educational options, Pastor Miguel met with members of ICC to start a Pre-K-8 school which began to operate out of the church building a mere four months later. The school now serves 200 students, with 70% coming from low-income families and more than half raised in single-parent homes. It also has a full waiting list.

A second K-8 school was started subsequently in an adjacent neighborhood by members of ICC who were concerned by the low educational outcomes of Philadelphia's poorest demographic, Cambodians, a group that has a 70% high school dropout rate. The school focuses on addressing the economic and social challenges facing Cambodian families in Philadelphia.

Beginning in 2002, and through the subsequent years, ICC started nine other local churches in adjoining neighborhoods, all sharing its value commitments. Two of those churches eventually closed, but the other seven are still open and active in their local communities. Also in 2002, free legal clinics for underserved communities, staffed on a voluntary basis, began to be offered by members of ICC who were in the legal profession. In 2012, this expanded into a fully licensed non-profit serving 9 locations in Philadelphia through 130 affiliated attorney volunteers.

The legal clinics are now run out of a small office in the ministry center which ICC created out of the old warehouse across the street. A funding agreement with an independent cleaning business was established in which the church sold the warehouse in return for a long-term lease. The business, which was also drawn there by connection to members from ICC and hires recently incarcerated locals, occupies half of the space. The ministry center, which occupies the rest of the space, houses multiple organizations and programs, including ICC's counseling ministry, urban seminary classes offered in partnership with a nearby seminary, a vocational high school started by members of ICC and its fellow churches in response to a need for practical skills training and college preparation in the community, and a local bike shop which teaches local youth how to use its tools for free to work on their own bikes.

Meanwhile, in 2011, a new state-of-the-art health center funded by a multi-million dollar federal grant was built next to the ministry center. First established independently in another location in 1982 to meet the need for affordable health care for the poor Latino community, its current executive director, a member of ICC, located its expansion site here. The expansion site has since become the health center's main site. In addition to offering opportunities for local employment, this has made health care much more accessible to the local community through the

use of a sliding scale for payment. Between its three sites, the health center cares for over 14,000 patients from communities which are almost all designated Federally Medically Underserved Areas, with two-thirds of households living with incomes at or below 200% of the poverty level.

Besides involvement with local organizations, there has also been other impacts on the neighborhood. At one point, several members of ICC bought a home facing the park, and made it their business to patrol it at night in an effort to curb the drug sales and prostitution that occurred there. Not directly due to ICC, but in part through member involvement in stakeholder meetings and planning groups with other local organizations, the park has largely been cleaned up, with grants beautifying it, replacing playground equipment, and enabling a farmer's market to run during warmer weather. More directly, through persistent activism on behalf of members of ICC and its affiliate churches in coalition with neighbors, the illegal junkyard was finally shut down in 2017. Various members of ICC and its affiliates also teach in the local community college, serving a population that is 99% first-generation college students and 96% low-income.

In this way, ICC creates a web of social endowments in the neighborhood. Sister Lisa, a long-term resident, says, "If the church weren't here, the community would have crumbled down. It would have been like Baltimore." By its presence, whether through action or affiliation, it has created or connected with other organizations to provide an array of services. Many of the staff of these institutions are members of ICC and the churches which it started. Moreover, these connections facilitate close working relationships and organizational reciprocity. For example, the church building doubles as a pre-K-8 school and the health center allows the school to use its gym for its students. The community center serves many of the same students in its after-school

and arts programming. The ministry center houses the vocational high school. Some of these organizations, like the health center and legal clinics, then extend connections across the city.

Beyond the provision of services, this network also matters for racial integration. This occurs, first, by modeling what is possible through the diversity within each organization and, second, by offering a holistic experience of integration that spans overlapping areas of residents' lives. Each organization is intentional in having diverse representation on its staff, encouraging the social recognition of people from different backgrounds, and seeking to serve the interests of locals in ways that improve life outcomes across the neighborhood. The interconnections across these organizations then serve to make integration a more holistic reality. Rather than a transient experience of integration that only occurs in one part of their lives (cf. cosmopolitan canopies), residents move from one integrated space to another, as the health care provider, school, church, and community center are integrated in ways which connect to each other and the neighborhood.

This is not to say that each institution succeeds perfectly, simply that they are intentional about pursuing integration and that their overall impact is significant. The perceived track record among locals is different for each organization. The elementary school that operates out of ICC's building is seen by residents to be a great model of integration in the makeup of its staff and student body and in its approach towards the community despite having an all-white administration. The health center, by contrast, has a more mixed record, in part, because it requires employees to be bilingual and speak Spanish and, in part, because some residents see the employees as embodying a suburban culture that is not receptive to the community that they are in. The point is not that these institutions perfectly enact integration, but that their collective pursuit of it creates a synergistic effect in the local context that is larger than the sum of the parts.

Social and Functional Inclusion Through Vulnerability

Internal Factors: Relative Equalization, Collective Repositioning, Normative Inversion

Upbeat worship music with a Latin rhythm wafts through the windows of the unassuming old church. Walking through the metal security door, I encounter a radically different world from the barren sidewalk outside. Two older Latinas warmly greet people at the door. A tall, young Afro-Caribbean woman walks over to welcome a pair of middle-aged white men sitting by themselves. The old wooden pews slowly fill with people from all walks of life – black, Latino/a, and white, more and less well-off, single mothers, families, the elderly, and lots of children. It is a mélange of color and movement, more akin to a rambling family picnic than a structured service. At the front of the sanctuary, seven leaders are praying – an elderly black woman, a white woman, two middle-aged Latinos, a Korean man with a military bearing, and an elderly white couple.

Incarnational Community Church is a racially and socioeconomically diverse church that aims to be an inclusive institution. Congregants notice how it not only closes gaps in social distance but structural differences in power. As Willow, a black congregant in her 50's, puts it, "There's a lateral feel. It doesn't feel like there's different levels of people at ICC." Leadership is representative of the congregation's diversity (and major decisions require unanimity), worship is varied in genre and style (though flavored by a Caribbean beat), and events celebrate the diversity of cultures in the church. Interviews and participant observation show that a majority of congregants feel socially recognized. Most also have relationships across racial and class lines,

with many extending outside of church. It is not unusual to see interracial relationships (I observed 10 interracial couples in a 150-200 member congregation) or persons of mixed race.

There is a high value at ICC placed on what one white female elder, Sam, calls "co-equal leadership." Leaders not only work to make sure that people from different racial and gender backgrounds are represented from the front at all times, they work to share power and to respect different perspectives. This is demonstrated tangibly by a key leadership practice of requiring unanimity for important decisions. In one illustration of this practice, leaders deliberated together over two years before radically changing the church's position to accept women as elders, respecting differences in opinion and the need to think seriously about the issue. Not only did leaders respect one another in this process, with some (including Pastor Miguel) changing their perspectives along the way, congregants also respected the process, including those who had sought the change. In these ways, ICC shows general evidence of social and structural inclusion.

The elders include three Latinos, two white men, two white women, one black woman, and one Asian man. Another black elder was amicably sent off to replace a pastor at an affiliated church. Deacons include three Latinas, three black women, two Afro-Caribbean women, and two white men. While the demographic differences between elders and deacons appear hierarchical on paper, there is little distinction in practice. Congregants respect leaders, not as authority figures, but as people who dedicate themselves to serving others. Leaders are seen more as moral examples than as status superiors. This is reinforced by the way elders and deacons can regularly be seen doing manual labor at the church, giving repairs in congregants' homes, helping

neighbors with errands, and visiting attendees at home. Respondents agree that there is a bottoms-up orientation at ICC. People don't need to ask permission to "do what needs doing."

Unlike most multiracial churches, which conform to white norms (Edwards 2008), ICC has a starting point in Latino – Puerto Rican – culture. A number of factors combine in a distinctive way to generate a highly communitarian orientation; these include a strong emphasis on lived experience, the centrality of prayer, the belief in God's intervention in daily life, and the importance of the local church community as a primary social network (Martinez 2012). ICC also incorporates features found in many black churches, such as a longer service[11] (2+ hours) with an extensive time of prayer and singing and a more effusive flavor in worship (most congregants participate in singing and many clap or raise their hands during up-tempo music selections), as well as features that are more characteristic of white churches, such as a didactic style of teaching used by some leaders and worship that relies on guitar and piano without the use of a choir (Edwards 2008). Despite efforts at multiculturalism, however, cultural inclusion remains elusive, particularly as regards the Black Church experience.

Looking at ICC as a racial field, it quickly becomes apparent that the perspective of people of color carries normative weight, leading to a color-conscious environment. Blacks and (darker-skinned) Puerto Ricans often share experiences of segregation, discrimination, and disparities in life outcomes (Massey and Denton 1998). These shared experiences, and the perspectives rooted in them are expressed from the pulpit (a sermon given in the aftermath of the Baltimore riots after Freddie Gray's death was particularly notable) and in regular conversations.

[11] This is also true for charismatic churches more generally (Edwards 2008), but ICC is not a charismatic church. It is a member of the Christian Reformed Church, a conservative denomination.

There is also an intersectional basis for this social recognition. Class is normatively inverted[12] at ICC. The priorities and experiences of those living in poverty are centered. Even when ICC's congregation has incorporated significant numbers of the middle class, the leadership has resisted changing its focus to that of the economically privileged. Pastor Miguel continues to preach in the vernacular of, and to the concerns of, poor and working class attendees.

However, this is not to say that everything is equal. The normative inversion of class and the color-consciousness at ICC are combined with the relative, rather than absolute, equalization of race. Relative equalization means that ICC has a flattened racial hierarchy; groups are closer to one another in relative power and agency. However, a hierarchy remains, however flattened, with Puerto Ricans at the top and blacks at the bottom. Despite a common tendency in social analysis to treat these two groups in tandem, as well as some overlap in racial self-identification, there is a sense of differentiation between the two groups at ICC. This manifests itself to congregants along cultural rather than structural lines. As Blake, a middle-class African American, shares, "I get the sense that the Latinos that are there relate to the Anglo culture more. At least, there's an aspiration. There's more of a gravitation that way, than pulls to our way."

Some black respondents share that ICC is more successful at promoting their social and structural inclusion than cultural inclusion. In this way, the racial field is also shaped by a collective repositioning of racial (and socioeconomic) groups. Whites have been displaced from social and structural dominance by Latino/as, as has the middle class. However, whites (and middle class members) continue to exert cultural influence in congregational life, enough so that a few black respondents see the church as having more of an "Anglo culture." From my

[12] In what follows, I draw from the language of ethnic group formation theory, which describes normative inversion, equalization, and collective repositioning as different strategies of boundary change (Wimmer 2013).

observations, the cultural influences at ICC are actually quite mixed, with a Puerto Rican starting point, but notable white and black influences. However, it is also clear that, while on a social and structural level there is a "lateral feel" across racial groups, some black congregants describe a greater likelihood of experiencing cultural exclusion than whites, Latino/as, or Asians.

At the same time, respondents who see ongoing challenges also share about how ICC continues to make inroads with regards to inclusion. Tremaine, an African American lawyer, says, "When we come together, we're still fractured by our culture, by our ethnicity, and by our economics. But we also recognize that there is an appreciation of diversity. I think our leadership pushes to break down barriers so that we can get to know one another." Pastor Miguel offers an assessment of integration at ICC that acknowledges its limitations while suggesting how such barriers are broken down:

> I think we've been able to do fair with it. We would maybe get a C+. I think the common ground is vulnerability, both by the leadership and by the people that are coming in. We're looking to find something in a mutual way. It's not just one. I think love makes a world of difference in the middle of all of this. People know you're genuine.

The deliberate movement across these divisions "in a mutual way," marks ICC as a color-conscious community that is reflexive about the racial dynamics of integration. However, interviews and observation confirm that ICC is more successful in terms of bridging social relationships and structural positions of leadership than in including the Black Church experience. This is despite its intentionally multicultural approach. At the same time, it should be noted that while Pastor Miguel gives ICC a grade of only C+ when it comes to integration, this is relative to the high standard of perfect equality. ICC still displays a greater degree of social, cultural, and functional inclusion than its white-dominant counterparts in the literature.

It is important for social integration at ICC that diversity means more than demographic representation, or increasing the presence of particular kinds of people. It also entails the distribution of power across racial groups and the recognition of racial others as social equals. Caroline, an African American woman elder, explains the approach at ICC: "Not something just statistically diverse, but really diverse. Church leadership that's willing to step aside to let people from different backgrounds grow and try things. A church that has a heart for diversity and indigenous growth." What is it that enables this push to enable "real" diversity which includes not just the "statistical" presence of people from different backgrounds, but the opportunity for them to take up leadership to "grow and try things"? What helps to "break down barriers"?

I argue that the pathway from diversity to greater inclusivity here is, in Miguel's words, the mutuality that comes from vulnerability. An orientation of reflexive vulnerability enables the social recognition of people from different backgrounds. This recognition enables a corresponding mode of organization that internalizes difference, as manifested in the pursuit of diverse people and perspectives in leadership, the inclusion of different elements in worship, and the formation of social relationships across racial and class lines. ICC promotes a status-leveling environment demonstrated through inclusive worship practices and enactments of interdependence. Yet, despite a multicultural approach, ICC's approach does not work as well in fostering the cultural inclusion of African Americans. Reflexive vulnerability illustrates how integration outcomes depend, not on how diverse a space is, but on how diversity is organized.

An Ethos of Reflexive Vulnerability: Sustaining Social and Functional Inclusion

Rafael, a Puerto Rican pastor at one of ICC's affiliate churches who is married to a Chinese wife, inverted Schopenhauer's porcupine dilemma to describe the culture of ICC:

> We're all like porcupines in the desert. Porcupines have quills, they hurt. We can choose on a cold night to remain apart and not try to prick each other. But in remaining apart we end up dying because of the cold. Or we can choose to come together and realize that we're going to prick each other. It's going to be hurtful, but we will continue. We will survive. We'll learn what it looks like to walk together. That's what the church is.

Originally advanced to describe how human intimacy is bound up with vulnerability (as susceptibility to harm), the philosopher Schopenhauer (1951) believed that people would settle for weak relationships rather than risk being hurt, relying on a code of politeness to maintain a tolerable but safe distance from one another. By implication, this also leaves little responsibility for others. Rafael, however, comes to a very different conclusion, welcoming vulnerability (as a disposition of openness) as an integral part of human life, both in the human need for community and in collective responsibility for others. Reflexive vulnerability embodies a posture of nonclosure that is open to being transformed by others rather than treating them primarily as sources of threat, thus promoting social inclusion. It also generates a collective sense of obligation that sustains functional inclusion, internally, and social justice work, externally.

A particular understanding of human ontology forms the "landscape of meaning" which impels congregants' embrace of reflexive vulnerability (Reed 2011). Brokenness is seen to be an unavoidable part of the human condition. Community is necessary to live in the midst of that brokenness together and collective responsibility is assigned for addressing the structural causes of brokenness. While the language of brokenness is common in religious circles, it is frequently limited to being a spiritual problem to be overcome. At ICC, it is also a social and material

reality to be addressed together, reflecting the church's emphasis on shared experience and social justice. Reflexive vulnerability shapes integration at ICC by enabling congregants to feel recognized, generating a sense of identification with others that supersedes differences of race and class without suppressing them, and sustaining a shared commitment to making a difference.

Congregants from all backgrounds uniformly expressed a desire for reflexive vulnerability. A typical response comes from Janice, a 38-year-old woman from a middle-class Jewish background, who contrasted her experience of openness at ICC with another church that set aside private cubicles for prayer:

> The intention was great that you don't have to feel shame, you can have it confidential. It didn't suit me at all. I need to let it all hang out because I'm a mess. I need people to know that, and I need to be with people who are a mess too, so we're not alone.

Janice does not see her life as a mess, she sees *herself* as a mess. To cover up the mess is to cover up herself. She wants to be with others who don't act as if they have everything put together but are up front about who they really are. Nor does she want to compartmentalize herself and perform. Rather, she prefers to "let it all hang out." As I detail below, corporate prayer practices at ICC encourage vulnerability and transparency. This openness creates possibilities for social inclusion across lines of social and racial difference around worship rituals that provide experiences of shared brokenness.

Willow, an older African American woman who grew up in an adjacent neighborhood, emphasizes the way ICC is able to avoid creating status hierarchies and sustaining social differences because it reveals, rather than hides, the brokenness of its attendees:

> They expect you to sin every week. That just blew me away. Before, you know, your sins, your failures, you try to keep hidden in other churches. I grew up in a church where no drinking, no dancing, no makeup, no jewelry, no pants on women. So I came from that. And all it does is force you to hide the stuff you do.

The congregation evinces a willingness to pursue a form of communal life that is messy and uncomfortable, but open and honest. Congregants often know about significant issues, such as who is working through a divorce, who is dealing with mental health issues, or who has been having financial difficulties. This knowledge generates a sense of mutual dependence that fosters social inclusion, prevents the development of a sense of moral exclusivity by making brokenness a common feature of everyone's lives rather than a marker of individual failure, and enables the congregation to address tangible material and social needs – as I detail later.

Reflexive vulnerability establishes a wider "frame of intelligibility" (Butler 2009) which enables the inclusion of a broader swath of people as fellow moral subjects, enabling an identification across racial and socioeconomic lines. This is best encapsulated in a description of Pastor Miguel given by Charles, a 45-year old Australian émigré:

> Miguel sets a vision for people, they can be different. And you can live a life different, which is what I think brought in a lot of people. To say, I've got a place for you to be. Miguel's somebody that gives a lot of time to people who have no status according to the world. Which means that a family with very little can come in and feel incredibly welcome. And a family with a lot can come in and feel wanted as well.

Ethnographic observation bears this out. In conversation after conversation, no matter who Miguel speaks to, from whatever age, race, or background, people come out feeling respected. Miguel also sets his sights on engaging people on the margins. He can frequently be found pulling aside individuals who are going through something to sit and pray with them. While small, these acts are valued by congregants, who feel personally cared for. Importantly, this moral inclusion is associated with their social and functional inclusion in the church.

Reflexive vulnerability is modeled first by the leadership. Congregants recognize a leveling of social status that begins with the pastor being seen to put himself on an equal footing

with them. Shaela, an Afro-Caribbean teacher in her 30's from St. Croix, expressed how this vulnerability brings people together through the recognition that it enables:

> He was the first pastor I'd experienced that expressed that he was human and in need of Jesus as well. It wasn't a stretch for me to be able to relate, and to be open and honest. Whether it was with him or in a small group, the feeling was that we are all sinners saved by grace, and we will all continue to be sinners saved by grace.

Seeing herself to be in a common position of dependency with her pastor translates for Shaela into the erasure of status differentials; no one is above anyone else, including religious leaders. This form of vulnerability helps to disrupt status hierarchies built on moral superiority, and thus, leads to the inclusion of racial and social others in social networks and positions of power. When no one is morally superior, everyone's perspective has something to contribute to the life of the congregation. As an orientation, reflexive vulnerability also promotes a form of social organization that internalizes difference. One important way it does this is by intentionally seeking to incorporate people and perspectives from the margins.

Reflexive vulnerability is not simply a therapeutic mode of religious practice, but a social dynamic that addresses issues of representation by causing leaders to recognize the need for people and perspectives from underrepresented backgrounds. Nick, a black elder emeritus, remembered when a white elder said to him, "Brother, we need you here." Nick said, "It just resonated with me, it echoed." So he stayed. Then, the elder approached him about becoming a deacon. Finally, Pastor Miguel asked him to become an elder. Nick discovered his role in helping ICC learn "how to minister to the black community." Similarly, Angela, a Haitian-American on the worship team, remembers a time when she was about to leave the church. However, an elder told her, "No, you need to be here. We need diverse people." For Angela, "That's what kept me here. Just one person showing that love. She said it's okay to be different, and we need it."

While reflexive vulnerability promotes relationships that cross racial lines and diverse representation in leadership, however, black congregants are still more likely than others to feel culturally excluded. I explore possible reasons for this at the end of the chapter. At the same time, the same black respondents signal that there is no racial prejudice on the part of leadership and are uniformly appreciative of Pastor Miguel's leadership. My observations sustain this conclusion. The leadership is intentional about black representation among elders, deacons, and the worship team. Efforts are made to include styles of worship and song selections like gospel music and spirituals. Furthermore, Pastor Miguel is no stranger to African Americans. Though Puerto Rican, he was ordained in a black church, previously lived in a black neighborhood, and is respected among the black church leaders he teaches in his urban seminary courses.

Enactments of Reflexive Vulnerability: From Orientation to Organization

Reflexive vulnerability is not simply an example of charismatic leadership or personal belief. Regular practices turn this orientation into an organizing principle that internalizes difference. It does this by promoting the social and functional inclusion of people of color while decentering all congregants' perspectives and introducing transformative discomfort. Eliasoph and Lichterman (2003) alert us to pay attention not just to *what* practices exist in an organization but to *how* those practices play out, and to the customs which shape them. While I also observed reflexive vulnerability in play in interpersonal interactions, I focus below on the organizational practices which provide the framework for social and functional inclusion. Scholars have shown that corporate rituals like prayer can function as bridging practices to bring people together across racial and socioeconomic differences (Braunstein, Fulton, and Wood 2014).

Praise and Worship (Music)

Worship is in full swing. The worship team is comprised of three Latinos, two black men, a black woman, and two white men. Various leaders also stand at the front, including an Asian man, a white woman, and a Latina. Attendees wear everything from tank tops to button-downs. As the music plays, many stand still but there are also many raised hands and numerous individuals who clap and dance. A few shout above the driving beat of the music while others appear to look inward. Several people are especially expressive. One Latino prays out loud in Spanish while another jumps up and down exuberantly. An older black woman marches around the aisles speaking in tongues as a young Jamaican woman bursts spontaneously into balletic dancing down the aisle. As the service goes on, the music reflects a diversity of styles and genres.

Reflexive vulnerability is evident in both the form and content of the worship. There is no uniformity to what people do, but a sense of absence from constraint; congregants clearly feel able to worship freely. One member's words is representative, "I've experienced a freedom in worship that I haven't experienced in other churches." Respondents coming from a range of backgrounds contrast the worship at ICC to the prescribed rigidity in some churches and the demand for emotionality in others. What they find instead is the capacity to both be themselves and to step back and appreciate others being themselves in different ways. Difference is internalized in both formal and informal ways.

Informally, congregants express that there is little pressure to conform, but an openness to different expressions and representations of worship. This is significant for integration because the personal experience of worship plays a key role in determining whether people feel

like they belong at church, and struggles over worship (including what have been termed "worship wars") are often an expression of competing norms. Importantly, ICC is able to do this for a wide range of people. Formally, leaders make intentional choices each week to incorporate difference by varying the genres of music and the styles of worship (the repertoire ranges from hymns to Spanish songs to spirituals), and making sure the people leading up front are representative of the congregation in terms of race and gender. As Charles noted:

> I'll say "Wow, it's quite amazing what it does for them." Or switch to a hymn and see another group of people really engage. Or switch to a Spanish song and see another group engage. I'm like, "Alright they're hitting all these different groups."

ICC is intentionally organized in a way which attempts to represent and include everyone. This fosters a sense of interdependence among congregants as they engage in different styles of worship every Sunday, even ones they are not comfortable with, while seeing what it does for others. One white congregant shared, "It enables me to be myself while others are also able to be themselves. But we are also able to come together and learn from one another." Even while seeking to include everyone, ICC also decenters everyone as it moves through its worship rotation. Non-Spanish speakers learn to sing in Spanish with subtitles. Whites are introduced to heavily rhythmic songs. Latinos attempt to sing gospel music. However, the effort at inclusivity also brings greater potential for discomfort, some of it transformative in the positive sense described above, but some of it leading to increased dissatisfaction.

What works for members of one group may not work for members of another group. Charles, while acknowledging what inclusion did for others, didn't care for many of the worship styles himself. A Puerto Rican respondent thought the overall culture was "too Hispanic" while his Mexican counterpart was irritated at how Latino culture can be conflated with Puerto Rican culture. In contrast, two black members thought that the culture was too white. Though members

acknowledge the effort to provide something for everyone each week, cultural inclusion remains elusive. Respondents like Blake reveal a racially polarized view of culture, in his particular case, attributing the lack of a "community-feel" to the "cultural difference" between "a gravitation that way" (whites) and "our way" (blacks). This is despite the fact that worship at ICC shares many similarities with the worship patterns of black (as well as white) churches.

Preaching

An elderly man with warm eyes and a close-trimmed grey beard stands in front of the sanctuary at floor level wearing a Guayabera and trousers. Speaking on the importance of prayer and the obstacle of pride, Pastor Miguel repeatedly applies his message to himself first before turning it to his listeners. "What God is saying to me, God is saying to you." At various points, he appeals to the congregants, "Are you with me?" There is a general murmur of agreement with an occasional, "Amen!" Finally, Miguel invites them to stand in prayer, starting off with his own prayer, "Our pride is reigning over us. God wants to strip you of your pride. Would you bring us a spirit of helplessness and help your children, heal my brothers and sisters?"

Pastor Miguel is able to develop a rapport with people from a wide range of backgrounds. One elder commented, it is helpful that he is not white, "which means the oppressor when you're dealing with a community like this." Beyond the credibility associated with being a person of color, Miguel is also able to relate to people from very different backgrounds. Frequently, leaders have an audience that they are better able to relate to. However, as a Puerto Rican who grew up in the barrios, served in the Marines, and worked blue collar jobs,

and then proceeded later in life to earn advanced degrees, teach at seminary, and write books, Miguel is able to draw on a variety of life experiences to relate to everyone, whether black or white, middle class or poor. People with very different experiences all find that Miguel is able to speak to them. There is also something disarming about the way Miguel is able to personally identify with anyone.

The way Miguel does this is through a posture of vulnerability. Preaching at floor level, he presents himself as one with his congregation in their struggles. Describing the reason, the pastor says, “I’m a shepherd but I’m a sheep as well. You're a sheep as they are, and you go through the same crap and everything, the struggles. They have to understand how weak you really are. If not, they may find themselves putting you on a pedestal.” This vulnerability reaches across racial and class lines. A middle-class African American, Blake, expressed a common response, “The main draw for me was Pastor Miguel. I love his pastoral heart and humility.” This vulnerability is also enacted through the use of vernacular language. While highly educated and accomplished, Miguel speaks in a way that any congregant can identify with. Other elders who preach also model vulnerability but are less adept at speaking in the vernacular.

Pastor Miguel’s preaching style is warm and intimate, as if he were sitting at a table among a group of friends. It is neither didactic, as is the style of many white churches, or exclamatory, as is the style of many black churches, but warmly personal. In being honest about his own hardships, whether it is a health issue, a spiritual struggle, or problems within his own family, respondents shared how Pastor Miguel allows those who are most vulnerable to feel like they are welcome and on the same level as others. Miranda, a 44-year-old African American woman on disability, said:

> Pastor Miguel said that some people are suffering from spiritual depression. I started to understand what was wrong with me. I wasn't crazy, that's why none of that medicine worked. I was just grieving spiritually from the abusive relationship I'd been in for so long. It gives me hope.

Pastor Miguel's openness about his own struggles with issues such as seasonal depression made Miranda feel affirmed instead of judged. There is room for failure at ICC. Miguel's vulnerability also enables his congregants to relate to one another. As Mark, a white male says, "ICC teaches you to love people. Miguel is one of the first to wear his sin on his sleeve. He'll say when he's struggling or having a challenge. It's okay to be messed up and go to ICC. We're all messed up." By acknowledging his need for his congregants as well as their need for each other, Miguel models a posture of interdependence that creates a sense of social inclusion for attendees. When preaching, he frequently calls, after describing his own struggles, "Are you with me?" Miguel's question and the congregation's affirmations are a shared act of solidarity that creates the "lateral feel" described by Willow, where there are no levels of people at ICC.

Once again, the orientation of reflexive vulnerability that is demonstrated in Miguel's preaching is also reflected in the church's organization. As with praise and worship, ICC is intentional about representing different people and perspectives through its preaching. While Miguel is the primary preacher, the preaching rotation also regularly includes people from other racial backgrounds, including men and women, those with higher and lower levels of education, and a variety of racial backgrounds such as Colombian, Korean, Puerto Rican, and white. This organization is also true in other aspects of the worship service. The men and women who come up front to read the Bible, lead prayers, give announcements, and collect offerings are intentionally selected to be representative across lines of race and gender each week.

ICC is similar to other congregations of color, such as black churches, who emphasize the collective aspect of faith over the more individualistic orientation found in many white churches (Putnam and Campbell 2010). In this way, it decenters individuals by encouraging congregants to think of their identity and interests in larger communitarian terms. However, there is a difference. In ethnic congregations, communitarianism occurs within a racially homogeneous context so that the collective mindset is only applied to the racial or ethnic ingroup. By contrast, ICC's orientation around reflexive vulnerability operates through a mode of organization that internalizes difference in its environment of greater diversity to include racial and ethnic others in its sense of moral community. Moreover, it does so in a way that engenders an openness to difference rather than requiring uniformity as a prerequisite of solidarity.

Public Prayer

Pastor Miguel calls up Johnnie and Maddie, a young white couple, and asks the elders to come around them. The couple stands in front of the sanctuary as leaders gather around in a circle and lay hands on them. Then Miguel extends the invitation to anyone who cares about them to join them. People start standing and coming forward; soon there are thirty people of all ages, races, and socioeconomic backgrounds clustered around them, their arms reaching out to the young couple to pray for them, like the multicolored spokes of an extended communal wheel.

Public prayer practices also embody reflexive vulnerability. One way this occurs is in Pastor Miguel's calls for corporate prayer after a sermon, asking attendees to pray together with those near them. In this way, congregants are drawn into each other's lives. Again, the greater

diversity at ICC combines with its reflexive vulnerability to foster structural inclusion in a way more homogeneous churches that are also community-oriented do not. ICC also regularly practices public intercessory prayers. While not an unusual practice in other churches, the call to come up to the front has a particular flavor at ICC. The types of people and prayers vary widely, showcasing diversity. Examples I observed included this young white couple who were preparing to get married, a Puerto Rican couple who were setting off to start a new church, an interracial black/white family where the father was receiving a needed kidney transplant, and an interracial Peruvian/white couple who were going on a mission trip to Guatemala.

In the version of this practice described above, Miguel calls up the elders and extends an open invitation to others who care about the individuals to come up and pray over them. The result is typically a circle of 20-30 people of all racial and socioeconomic backgrounds laying hands upon those receiving prayer. The prayer enacts unity and vulnerability through an explicit demonstration of interdependence. At one and the same time, this practice models the idea that everyone needs, and deserves, to receive prayer and that everyone is able to offer prayer, leveling everyone in the room. The salient feature is who is involved; namely, everyone. Young and old, rich and poor, black and white are present in the circle as both leaders and congregants. This is a visible embodiment of structural inclusion as people of all kinds are included in corporate prayer.

In another version, the church elders stand at the front of the sanctuary – men and women of all races – and the pastor invites anyone who wants prayer to come up after modeling it by sharing his own prayer requests. Songs with titles like “I Surrender”, “Healer”, and “I Am Not Alone” are played while a long multi-hued line of people forms down the center aisle. One morning, I observed multiple displays of inclusivity as congregants approached their elders.

Instances of emotional connection across social and racial lines showed that these were more than perfunctory rituals. A white woman elder and a young, tattooed Latina clasped one another with desperate strength while tears streamed down both faces. Two elders, one middle-aged Korean and the other white and elderly, hunched over a kneeling young black woman as if to shield her. Another black woman elder quietly cradled a wizened Latina in her arms.

Above, we see three examples of the way reflexive vulnerability supports a mode of organization that internalizes difference. Lichterman (2005) argues that it is culture in interaction that matters for understanding different possibilities for community. Customs influence the kinds of conversations that groups are able to have and the kinds of belonging they are able to enact. Customs shape the meanings of words or gestures, which in turn shape possible lines of action. There are different styles of group togetherness that are more common but do not lead to bridging differences. For Lichterman, it is social reflexivity that enables relationships to spiral outward. At ICC, customs shaped by reflexive vulnerability imbue practices ranging from praise to preaching to prayer with a style of togetherness that not only draws people together from very different kinds of backgrounds, but does so on terms of social and functional inclusion.

Effects of Reflexive Vulnerability

Reflexive vulnerability enables several effects that bear on social integration. I highlight four here that were reported by congregants and confirmed by my observations. Widespread social inclusion is demonstrated by the way most congregants develop significant friendships across racial and class lines. A limited aspect of cultural inclusion is seen in the way ICC's color

conscious environment leads to growth among whites in racial awareness. Functional inclusion can be seen in the way ICC not only seeks equitable representation in leadership but redistributes resources and social capital among congregants. Moreover, this is not only directed internally but has external consequences. Finally, reflexive vulnerability establishes a supportive community for those involved in the everyday work of challenging poverty and inequality.

Social Inclusion: Interracial Interactions and Friendship Networks

In the front pew, an older white woman watches over a little black girl in a vibrant purple dress. In the back, a heavyset Latino gently holds a sleeping white infant as he sits next to her parents. A young Latina gives a deep embrace to an elderly black woman as she walks into church. And, at the back of the sanctuary, three women stand side by side in unselfconscious intimacy. A tall, young, black woman drapes her arms around the shoulders of two older women, one a wizened Latina and the other middle-aged and white. The young woman's head is turned, touching foreheads with the white woman as they speak together quietly over the music while the Latina tenderly holds the younger woman's hand where it drapes over her shoulder.

While ICC is no different than any other social institution in having cliques among its membership which can occur along racial and socioeconomic lines, it also has a high degree of interpenetration in its patterns of social interaction and friendship networks. As to social interaction, observers on a Sunday morning would be hard pressed to find pockets of color or privilege that remain concentrated. For every instance of a homogeneous cluster in the pews there is a corresponding heterogeneous grouping. Often enough, the apparent homogeneity is due

to the cluster being a family unit. Striking moments of interracial intimacy, like the ones I depict above, are commonplace. Moreover, there is a constant ebb and flow of people and a general sense of welcome expressed in simple greetings and substantive conversations alike.

Nor is social inclusion limited to social interaction. It can also be seen in the formation of social relationships which extend beyond Sunday mornings. According to respondents, reflexive vulnerability enables the creation of social ties that bridge social and racial differences by equalizing the social status of those involved. Shaela, the Afro-Caribbean woman, said:

> People that come here come from different walks of life. Everyone brings something different to the table. Everybody experiences things differently. It's been awesome to learn about people's differences as well. It's like this weird balance between not mattering, and it makes everything richer. It doesn't keep us apart, it brings us together.

The balance between difference mattering and not mattering is important to social inclusion at ICC. Attendees do not want to be treated as colorless, cultureless individuals who are simply pale imitations of whites. However, neither do they want to be essentialized along lines of race to become caricatures of racial stereotypes. They are well aware that race matters, but also that there are multiple black communities and Latino communities, not just one. By contrast, reflexive vulnerability promotes an attitude towards others and the differences that they bring as a source of added value which also avoids reducing them to their race.

The equalizing power of reflexive vulnerability is expressed in a part of the church's history as told by Janice and Tim, a middle-aged white couple who are long-time members:

> Even before I felt connected to the community, stuff came out and there were some public things happening in Mickey's family. Nobody tried to hide it. He spoke about it from the pulpit. He laid it right out there, "Listen, this is what they did and this is who they are. This is my family, and this is messed up." It started this whole summer of confessions and repentance. I've never seen that anywhere else. I can't explain the connection between that and them embracing outsiders like us, but maybe it has something to do with, "Now everybody knows, we're all messed up." It really changed that summer.

When Tim and Janice joined the church 17 years ago, they encountered skepticism towards outsiders because whites were not expected to stick around in the inner city. As a result, they did not feel welcome. However, after the pastor placed the transgressions of his own family before the congregation, a chain of events led to them feeling fully embraced. In an unexpected kind of positive disruption, the pastor's vulnerability removed a barrier for everyone to also be vulnerable. People began opening up to one another in novel and challenging ways.

According to Kyle, a 36-year-old elementary school principal who comes from a large white family in rural poverty and is raising his own family in the neighborhood:

> The transparency and honesty of people is refreshing. People call themselves our kids' grandma. Sam is Grammy Sam and Ella is Abuela. We really feel that family. It's more than surrogate family. You really feel a family attachment with people who truly care.

Vulnerability is seen by Kyle to establish a community that crosses boundaries. Sam and Ella are both from very different backgrounds from Kyle, yet have literally come to act like adoptive grandparents to their son. One is middle-class white and the other is working-class Latina. An essential element of integration is trust, and that is what Kyle associates with reflexive vulnerability. This trust extends beyond Sunday mornings to the rest of the week.

Most of my respondents shared that their closest friends included members of other racial and socioeconomic groups from the congregation (cf. 81% of whites and 70% of blacks in America who say that all or most of their close friends are their own race, Pew Research Center 2015). This suggests that, for many, integration extends further than Sunday morning. Pastor Miguel estimated that this is true for half of the congregation. My observations bear this out, showing that this is put into practice not only in instances of personal friendships, but also in congregants' involvement with small groups, socializing with neighbors, and working at or using

services at connected local organizations. In my observations of the neighborhood, I frequently saw members of ICC's congregation continuing their relationships in other contexts.

Functional Inclusion: Internal Redistribution of Resources and Social Capital

I have already discussed functional inclusion in light of intentional representation in leadership. However, reflexive vulnerability also results in the redistribution of resources and the sharing of social capital. In this, it goes beyond common Christian usages of vulnerability as an individualized spiritual condition to also include social responsibility for the material circumstances of people in the community. Four stories illustrate this.

Angela, a 62-year-old Haitian-American social worker, shared how the church supported her in a dark time for her family:

> They held me, they prayed for me, and they embraced me. Had I not had that, I don't know what I would have done. That is true love. [My son] was in the hospital for schizophrenia. They were just there. Pastor Juan went up. Richard went up. I had to apologize to Sam, I kept calling her all night long. She didn't care what time it was, she said "That's what we're here for." You're not going to get that everywhere.

When she was at her most vulnerable, Angela found people who were there for her. There were people she could turn to when she didn't know what to do, among them a bi-vocational Puerto Rican pastor/handyman and a pair of elderly white elders. Given the stigma of mental health issues in communities of color, this support was especially important for Angela.

Javier, a 44-year-old Latino, was raised in a poor, single-parent home but is now an outfitter in a shipyard who is finishing up a Master's degree.

> At the age of 26 I was sent to prison. Being incarcerated for five years, the community communicated with me. It was on a personal level. When I came out, they accepted me with open arms. [They] helped me financially through the church. [They] helped me get my first home. They gave me a leg up, and I've never stopped or turned back.

Not only did the congregation come around Javier relationally, and support him through letters and prison visits while he was incarcerated, they also gave him significant financial support when he came out. The community met him in his material need and enabled him to get his feet under him, and now he is excited to be able to reciprocate in his own financial giving back to the church.

Jose, a 28-year-old Puerto Rican found himself in a tough place when he lost both his job and his home at the same time. Pastor Miguel told him, “We can’t have you leave.” A day later, Sarah came up and offered him a place to stay for free in her nearby home. Jose said:

> Real recognizes real. And that's very true at Incarnational Community Church because the people within the community, they see that the people that are here trying to help really are here just trying to help. And they respect that.

ICC does not just promote a belief in vulnerability; respondents share that it also addresses the effects of that vulnerability. According to Jose, who grew up in the neighborhood, this authenticity is recognized by people in the community. Jose continues to live in Sarah’s home rent-free.

Finally, Willow, a 54-year-old African American, spoke about what happened when her husband left her. She had only just started attending the church:

> The morning that my husband left, I was a mess. These women who I didn't even know came around me and prayed with me. They were like, “Call me if you need anything. What do you need?” Pastor Miguel said, “Where do your children go? If you need they can go to our school. Do you need any money?” I was saying, “I'm not a member here.” And they said, “Oh, but you're a Christian.” It blew me away, that they were offering me finances and free tuition. I had never encountered that. And I'd gone to a church where they were much more affluent. I don't think that would have ever happened [there]!

As these stories demonstrate, reflexive vulnerability is not merely an orientation of recognition; it can also lead to tangible practices of addressing needs, including the redistributing

of resources and various forms of capital. Moreover, as Willow shared, it can disregard not only racial and socioeconomic boundaries, but even those of organizational membership in doing so.

Nor does this occur only spontaneously. Respondents are able to share the needs of their neighbors and often see them met. In a formal fashion, funds are regularly meted out through the church's deacon's fund to help neighbors with things like paying rent or meeting medical expenses or covering funeral costs. Multiple organizations have also been established to serve the neighborhood, including two elementary schools, a community center, legal clinics, and a community bike shop. Partnerships have been developed, like with a nearby health center. A 2008 plaque from the neighborhood that was presented by a local block captain shows that these efforts have been recognized by local residents; it hangs in the sanctuary to commemorate the contributions of the church to the local community.

It should be noted that there is some tension about how these efforts are viewed, by church members and local residents alike, whether they are seen as the congregation doing things *for* the neighborhood (no matter how positive) or as doing them *with* the neighborhood. There is a significant difference in the relationships generated by a patronizing style of intervention as opposed to a collaborative style of partnership. Moreover, this has consequences for whether groups have the capacity to build social ties outward. Evidence suggests that social relationships with neighbors is mediated at ICC more through personal connections that individuals in the church have established than through the church as a whole. Specific individuals create personal bridging ties with local residents, which then affect the way residents view the church.

Functional Inclusion: Sustaining External "Biblical Justice" Work

As noted earlier, the effects of reflexive vulnerability are not limited to, or even primarily directed within ICC as an organization. Rather, it is externally oriented. Leaders tell new members that they are not joining the church but its local mission. ICC draws, and shapes, a certain kind of person that is interested in making a difference to address the causes of inequality and vulnerability. Sermons connect personal spiritual struggles with larger social justice concerns. As a result, a significant majority of the congregation is involved in work that tackles urban poverty in fields like education, health care, social work, and ministry. Congregants are not only motivated to do this type of work, but also to learn from those they work with. As Sarah, the mixed-race executive director of the non-profit health center, puts it:

> I wanted to make my world be integrated – my love for healthcare, my love for this community, my love for God. It's about participating in God's restorative work in this neighborhood. A lot of my thinking has been broadened or even flipped and changed by being part of the community. But also by being able to process it through the church.

Congregants regularly talked in positive terms about the opportunity to participate in what they saw as a larger work of restoring broken people and broken places, and, at the same time, to see themselves learn and change in the process. The orientation of nonclosure shaped by reflexive vulnerability leaves members of ICC with a sense of obligation and a desire to not only improve the world but to learn from those they are working with.

This improvement is not seen primarily in terms of political advocacy or in terms of material redistribution but in terms of improving opportunity at the systemic level, and hence, working within local institutions and organizations. As Tremaine, the black lawyer puts it, it is the difference between "social justice" and "biblical justice":

> The Bible speaks volumes about creating opportunity. Very rarely do you see Scripture place a great deal of focus on redistribution. It's more about overcoming struggle. That's how I tend to distinguish between social justice and biblical justice. Equity of opportunity.

Members of ICC work in schools, hospitals, non-profits, and social work agencies across Philadelphia because they believe this is where they can generate greater opportunities for racial and socioeconomic equity. At the same time, members are not naïve. Philadelphia is known for its highly problematic social systems such as its public schools and criminal justice system. Working within these systems is extremely challenging. Yet, ICC provides a supportive community for those doing such work. As Shaela says:

> Over the years that I've been in ICC, there have been tons of teachers. I really feel supported by ICC. I am honored and blessed to walk among teachers who see this as their mission. Even when I do feel like I want to quit, I feel like this is my mission now. It's not just a job. Even though some days I'm like "This is ridiculous and we're not getting paid enough. We're working without a contract and Johnny just kicked me in the shin." I think that ICC does a really good job of walking alongside you in your mission.

Shaela is typical of congregants at ICC who do not see their work as just a job, but as a mission. Importantly, she does not feel alone, but supported by the many others who are doing similar work to her. Mark, who is a principal of another public school, agrees:

> Worshiping with people who care about the city is important to me. I would say it's helped my resolve. I'm dealing with some of the most difficult people. These are parents of children who have some of the most extreme mental health, behavioral, and trauma issues. I'm dealing with the biggest problems in Philly coming through my door every day. I'm there because I care and I love them, but that doesn't make it easy. I feel like all the challenges and things that wear people out, I think that ICC has helped me and my resolve in dealing with that.

Mark describes the inequality he experiences everyday as a principal of an underfunded school that is 150 years old and "falling apart" with "some of the nicest schools in the world 5-10 minutes away." As a public education advocate, he believes in the purpose of education. "I know that life is harder without an education. I want people to have opportunities, to have hope." At

the same time, the daily challenges wear him down, just as it does for Shaela. Yet, in ICC, members like Shaela and Mark find a supportive community who "care about the city" together.

(Qualified) Cultural Inclusion: Expressing Racial Consciousness

ICC fosters a color-conscious environment that positively affects interpersonal racial dynamics. As Yingli, a working-class Chinese woman, said, it enabled open conversations about racial identity:

> Can you handle that I'm Chinese? Can you handle issues that I bring up? How I'm not just a stereotypical Chinese woman? These things are a huge part of my identity. Over the years I've had multiple conversations with people about racial identity, racial integration. People have been supportive.

For congregants like Yingli, the congregation provides a forum to navigate their racial identities and to foster respect across racial groups, though some wish it was more explicitly mentioned from the pulpit. Miguel used to be more forward in his sermons on issues like racism, but has left it more implicit as he has aged. Still, these conversations continue to appear in side conversations through the self-disclosure of interracial friendships. And when events occur like the shooting of Freddie Gray in Baltimore or Michael Brown in Ferguson, the role of race is explicitly addressed from the pulpit.

Denise, the pastor's daughter, noted that it was important to "love your heritage, your diversity. We're Puerto Rican and that's important to us, yours should be to you too." For some, like Sarah, who has a mixed Mexican and white background, this meant learning to celebrate both their own marginalized heritages and the cultures of other ethnic groups. "It's allowed me to embrace more [Mexican culture]. I've loved also learning about Puerto Rican culture and African American culture." Beyond simply celebrating cultural products like food or music, reflexive

vulnerability also enabled respondents, especially whites, to grow in racial awareness. Johnnie, a 25-year-old white teacher, said:

> To sit there and hear these stories, not just one story, but story after story after story. To say that life is different for you. The realities that you deal with are different from the everyday realities that I deal with. To see the church respond to Ferguson and all of the chaos that's ensued in Baltimore and a lot of the racial tension. [It] was a real realization to say that there are significant differences purely based on race of how you have to live life and how I get to live life.

For respondents like Johnnie, the vulnerability of people of color in the congregation enabled tough conversations about race and fostered a moral obligation to listen. They resulted in an education about the ways different members live life shaped by experiences of race, disrupting colorblind understandings of the world, of others, and of themselves. This models the discursive generosity required by social integration (Seligman et al. 2016), in which congregants are willing to be uncomfortable, to be the unknowing party, and to reflexively learn from those with different experiences and perspectives.

Sam, a 70-year old white elder, shared about the way her world was turned upside down this way when Pastor Miguel helped her learn to look beyond colorblindness:

> Miguel brought me a book called “Pedagogy of the Oppressed” by an exiled Brazilian socialist educator. I cried when I went through it, because I started seeing myself. I [had] learned how to read the Bible through white middle-class eyes. I didn’t see things because I had my blinders on. Rather than learning their culture, [I was] invading them by putting my culture on them and saying “This is the way it should be.”

Through her long-standing friendship with Miguel, Sam opened herself up to Miguel’s rebukes about how white privilege was causing her to import white normativity into how she saw and approached people in the inner-city barrios where they first met to do ministry together. This was highly disruptive to her middle-class white sensibilities. It even led to a long period of shame at being white, which Miguel had to help her work through in order to love herself again.

ICC's color-consciousness sometimes lead to dramatic change in people's attitudes and behaviors, just as it did for Sam and her husband, a middle-class white couple who spent decades working in Chicago's barrios and Philadelphia's inner-city. Willow, who is black and grew up in urban poverty, initially disliked Simon, an affluent white lawyer from the suburbs, whom she saw as extremely arrogant. However, she saw a remarkable transformation take place in him:

> Watching him transform just blew me away. [He] closed his [law] practice [to start a non-profit]. He was so serious about doing this. Just to see this man change. It was so real and so impressive. It impacted me like nothing else, really watching God transform somebody. Now we're like friend friends. I'll email him back and forth.

Simon and his wife made major life changes in their time at ICC. He left his law practice and they sold their home in a wealthy suburb to move into a middle-class black neighborhood and start a legal clinic that serves disadvantaged communities. Simon is now one of Willow's closest friends. Simon acknowledges that he remains a bearer of privilege, but he is now a conscious advocate for minorities, working closely with black and Latina co-workers.

While there are significant personal and interpersonal consequences of a color-conscious environment, at an institutional level, ICC still grapples with the challenge of cultural inclusion. Despite adopting an intentional multicultural approach that seeks to include elements of worship from different traditions and backgrounds and working to improve representation, black congregants are more likely to feel excluded when it comes to cultural norms of worship. The church leadership is aware of the issue. As Pastor Miguel puts it:

> I think what's happened is we don't have enough up-front [black] leadership at times. When there is, it helps folks who are there. Because we don't have the experience of the Black Church, there's also a missing – the ethos and the experience [of] African American gospel sound. We don't have that. We would love to have that. The problem with some of that of course, on one side is homogeneity in the black community is very strong.

My observations, combined with the responses of black congregants, suggests that there is some truth to Miguel's theory. There are times when the representation of black leaders from the front is limited. Furthermore, the experience of Black Church worship is missing. One elder admits, "We're not very good with the black sound, but we're trying." More than just a sound, there is a deeper "ethos and experience" connected to black worship that Miguel recognizes is lacking. In the final section of this chapter, I discuss this further.

Blacks and Whites in Brown Space

Societal Dynamics in Interpersonal Interaction

ICC manages to draw both blacks and whites into a space that is neither predominantly, nor normatively, black or white. This is important because the social distance between blacks and whites remains the greatest between any racial groups in American society (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Warren and Twine 1997; Yancey 1999). Moreover, racial integration takes place in only 14% of American congregations (Edwards et al. 2013) and tends to occur through people of color entering predominantly white churches (Chaves 2011). Integration in churches thus typically occurs on terms that favor white normativity (Edwards et al. 2013). The alternative is often segregation. By contrast, I argue that ICC is able to creating a status-leveling environment that decenters whites to promote the redistribution of power and representation, and their underlying basis in social recognition, through an orientation of reflexive vulnerability.

However, there are two important caveats that I have deferred discussing until now. First, the fact that ICC shows some success at promoting social and functional inclusivity as a

color-conscious organization is not the same as saying that societal dynamics of race and racism do not enter in, especially at the interpersonal level. One illustration of this comes from a story that was relayed to me by both participants independently of one another. One participant, Nick, is black. The other participant, Simon, is white. Nick relays the story as follows:

> I can remember a time I was in dialogue with a brother and [Simon] came up to introduce his pastor to the brother that I was talking to. And he stepped in front of me, called the brother I was talking to by name, and said, "Oh, I want you to meet my pastor." Never acknowledged me or anything. And I felt insulted. [Another day] I walked up to him and I asked him to recall the time his pastor was there. He remembered it and he remembered talking to the brother I was talking to, but he didn't remember me. Standing there.

While both participants recalled the story similarly, the interpretations of its significance and its resolution are very different. As Simon recalls it:

> I think [Nick] thought I was racist. It took a long time for us to kind of work through that. And me trying to tell him, "You know, I really didn't mean to offend you." And I'm sure that was part his perception of me and part of me just being kind of insensitive to how he might react to that situation. But I think there is in Philadelphia, and maybe around the northeast, a kind of an underlying racial tension that I was oblivious to.

As Nick explains it:

> It's like, still there, there's a gulf between us. There's something about racism that you know that the other side doesn't know. And you read those things because it's something that's been directed at you all of your life. And so when you're confronted with it, you see it right off. But to explain that to the perpetrators of that – they don't see, you know?

The differences of perspective regarding this incident are stark and consequential. Simon views his actions as a matter of innocent, unintended insensitivity within the context of a racially charged city. He doesn't see himself as racist in this instance, just thoughtless. He also considers the matter resolved between them. By contrast, Nick sees the issue as one of straightforward racism; moreover, it is a racism that remains hidden to the perpetrator and leaves one-sided wounds. He added, "[It] made me feel less than, you know?" For Nick, the gulf remains.

I relate this story to point out that, even in an institution that has diverse leadership, is color-conscious, and prioritizes the perspectives of people of color, larger dynamics of race can enter in. Simon reveals the continuing influence of colorblindness when thinking about his interpersonal interactions. While he is not wrong about the racial tensions in Philadelphia, he attributes the conflict to being about insensitivity and oversensitivity. At the same time, Simon is the same person who sold his suburban home and gave up his law practice in order to move into a black neighborhood and run a legal non-profit to serve disadvantaged communities. He is the same person who has become a dear friend to another black member, Willow, who attests to his growth in racial awareness. As a self-acknowledged "powerful, white, suburban, male lawyer," Simon embodies tensions that show how complex issues of race and racism can be.

Apart from this incident, both Simon and Nick struggle at times with feeling out of place. I argue that their struggles reflect the different challenges that whites and blacks face in a non-dominant brown space. On the one hand, whites are accustomed to voicing their preferences and having them met (Christerson et al. 2005). Whites are also more accustomed to people of color joining them on their own terms in white spaces (Chaves 2011). This means that whites can struggle to find their place when they come to a space that is not normatively white. ICC's leaders are unconcerned with white fragility and unimpressed by middle-class credentials. Whites are welcome, but they are decentered in ways that they are not used to. Moreover, privilege itself can also become an obstacle. Simon candidly expresses, "I'm more comfortable with people who are like me. So I have a smaller pool of people who are likely to be friends."

The challenge for blacks, on the other hand, is to *continue* to be decentered, an experience with which they are all too familiar, when they could easily choose an alternative that

caters to them. A history of discrimination and segregation by whites resulted in the formation of parallel black churches (Gravely 1984; Lincoln 1999) which are seen by blacks to operate as islands of freedom in an otherwise racialized society (Murray 1989). Minority-centered congregations have served as safe havens (DeYoung at al. 2003), sources of empowerment (Patillo-McCoy 1998), and places of social support and social capital (Portes and Rumbaut 2006) in ways that integrated institutions are less able to replicate. Black churches, in particular, have a strong communal element which reinforces black racial identity and spurs black empowerment (Putnam and Campbell 2010). ICC offers a communal orientation, but does not reinforce black identity or black empowerment.

Asymmetric Cultural Inclusion

The other caveat to integration at ICC is the asymmetry in cultural inclusion experienced by African Americans. Given the decentering of white privilege, the rejection of explicit racism as a cause by both black respondents and my own observations (though tempered by the aforementioned possibility of implicit racism), and the overall color-consciousness of the church, I consider the following as possible reasons: 1) cultural inclusion is more challenging than other forms of inclusion, 2) there is a failure of translation from leadership to congregation, 3) Latino/as, including Puerto Ricans, are closer culturally – in aspiration or in actuality – to whites than to blacks, 4) there is a contingent but radical alterity in "black culture" – specifically the "Black Church" – that makes it harder to incorporate because of its distinctiveness, and/or 5) important functions of the "Black Church" (or any ethnic church) cannot be served in an integrated institution.

It may seem cavalier to dismiss structural racism and white privilege as explanations for cultural exclusion. However, I believe the data substantiates this. Black respondents validated the fact that the leadership at ICC is intentional about inclusivity and free of racial bias, and nothing I observed in practice showed otherwise. If this is the case, what explains the cultural exclusion of blacks? Two clarifications are important here. First, I do not mean that all, or even most, blacks feel culturally excluded. Rather, I mean that black respondents are *more likely* to feel culturally excluded than other respondents. Second, I do not refer primarily to the exclusion of cultural forms or content but to the marginalization of larger horizons of value that are associated with members of a group. Blake described this as a "gravitation that way [rather than] our way," while Pastor Miguel referenced the missing "ethos and experience" of the Black Church.

First, cultural inclusion may be more challenging than social or functional inclusion. It is one thing to encourage interracial friendships or increase leadership representation. It is another to change the underlying culture and ethos of an institution. By culture here, I refer to the way worship practices and social interactions occur in culturally patterned ways that are different in signification as well as practice. Yet, ICC shares as much, if not more, congruence with Black Church culture as with white church culture: this includes a strong emphasis on lived experience, an overriding belief that God aids congregants in material and spiritual terms in the midst of oppression, a view of everyday reality that sees supernatural intervention as a regular occurrence, and a strong orientation towards social justice (Shelton and Emerson 2012). Despite this, it does not feel like a black church (although I argue it also does not feel like a white church).

I found little evidence to sustain the assertion that Latino/as aspire to be closer culturally to whites than to blacks. Rather, Latino/as had a distinctive cultural pride, especially among

Puerto Ricans. It may be the case, instead, that proportional representation is not enough. As Miguel noted, ICC does not always have enough black representation. While proportionate to the percentage of black congregants, perhaps greater representation in leadership is needed for a population that is often marginalized to ensure that they feel included. Or perhaps greater representation in the congregation more generally is needed (cf. relative group size and niche edge effect, Christerson et al. 2005). As Blake noted, "As an African American, to me diversity means other African Americans." Moreover, implicit racism on an individual level cannot be ruled out as a potential factor shaping race relations at ICC, despite the fact that there is no evidence from interviews or observation showing this to be a widespread phenomenon.

Finally, there are historically contingent, but distinctive, cultural and structural features of the Black Church which are not easily incorporated into an integrated church. Because of America's problematic racial history concerning the treatment of African Americans, and its legacy of slavery, racism, and discrimination, black institutions – foremost among them the church – developed a social and cultural distinctiveness from white (and other non-black) institutions. It is important to note, first, that this is not a necessary, but a contingent, cultural distinctiveness (with shared elements across the seven major Black Protestant denominations as well as with secular black culture). Second, this is not a specifically racial phenomenon, but a process of cultural differentiation that is a consequence of social closure[13]. For example, cultural differentiation was revealed among the working class in 18th century England (Thompson 1968).

[13] I consider this to occur in a similar way as the formation of black cultural alterity more generally, as something that does not occur unproblematically or with totalizing force, yet exerts significant influence, both positive (e.g. political empowerment, Iton 2008) and negative (e.g. self-policing of racial or gender identity, Collins 2005; Davis 1991).

One consequence of the process of contingent cultural differentiation is that there is a highly distinctive Black Church experience that is held together by a "black sacred cosmos" (Lincoln and Mamiya 1990). If Pastor Miguel is right, culture and community may be connected for many black Christians in an explicit way in a holistic package. This connection is alluded to by Blake, who notes the "cultural difference" at ICC before saying, "If I go to a black church, one of the things I feel immediately is the community." In their comprehensive survey of Black Protestants in America, Lincoln and Mamiya describe how the Black Church is the cultural womb of the black community, having a historically unique interplay with secular black institutions. This includes a close connection with secular forms of black culture, most notably black music. Church, culture, and community are deeply intertwined.

If this thesis is correct, then, no matter how similar ICC's ethos is to the Black Church, or how much it works at improving its "black sound," ICC may be limited in its capacity to develop the sense of cultural inclusion that the Black Church can provide for many African Americans unless it moves away from a multicultural approach and towards a holistic Black Church culture which has little room for other variety. This appears to be what Pastor Miguel alludes to when he says that, "homogeneity in the black community is very strong." He continues to say:

> There's a lot of other richness. But if they have that tunnel vision of only feeling safe in the black community then I think it's pretty hard to have them come along. But the danger of that is that they'll go to a black church and have that kind of narrowness to what's happening in this world. They won't know the experience of white, brown, Asian.

Miguel's words could be read as redirecting the blame for cultural exclusion onto blacks themselves. But, I do not believe that to be the case here. As a Puerto Rican pastor who has close ties to the black community, has expressed awareness of ICC's own limitations at cultural

inclusion, and promotes many shared orientations with the Black Church, Miguel holds a high level of credibility with every black respondent I spoke with. Still, this thesis is challenging to consider, since it suggests that blacks, in different ways to whites, may present particular obstacles to integration through their cultural particularity. This certainly requires more testing.

The last potential piece is a point already discussed earlier. At the same time that segregation and discrimination led to black institutions becoming culturally distinctive, it also created the need for them to fulfill social functions which integrated institutions are less capable of providing, such as political mobilization, identity formation, and social support (Edwards et al. 2013). In this, the Black Church is not unique. Other marginalized ethnic groups turn to ethnic-specific churches to accomplish similar purposes. In this case, however, the other societally marginalized group in ICC's membership, Puerto Ricans, form the dominant group in the church. As such, it is readily apparent that Puerto Ricans at ICC feel adequately socially supported and reinforced in their own identities. Interviews suggest that the church attempts to do the same for others. However, while African Americans are as likely to feel affirmed in their racial identities as others, they are less likely to feel socially supported.

At an organizational level, this suggests that greater intentionality may be needed when engaging members of a traditionally marginalized group who are not a numerous group in the institution, even when the institution is free of racial bias. On the one hand, Blake acknowledges, "I feel free and fully welcome." On the other hand, he suggests that leaders need to be more intentional in engaging African Americans. "For an African American coming in, they'd like to see, if nothing else, at least the leadership consistently being intentional in finding them;" if not, "they're going to take that a certain way." My interactions with congregants revealed that as

many white as black congregants felt a sense of social and cultural distance. However, whites are not a traditionally marginalized group. Blake's words suggest that, for integration to work, blacks need to be relatively demarginalized as much as whites need to be decentered.

The experience of social integration, as reflected through an orientation of reflexive vulnerability, is messy. ICC's leaders are among the first to acknowledge that there is more work to be done. Yet ICC has established a space that is more racially and socioeconomically diverse than its local neighborhood or the majority of reported American churches, challenging factors which sustain residential and institutional segregation along the way. It has succeeded in drawing whites into a non-white space and created a color-conscious environment under the leadership of a Puerto Rican pastor. It has done so without gentrification or racial displacement, maintaining a local emphasis and incorporating people and perspectives from different racial backgrounds into its leadership, institutional structure, and social networks. Yet, on at least one key dimension, cultural inclusion, it is less successful at incorporating African Americans.

THE MAINSTREAM AND THE MARGINAL AT AN ELITE UNIVERSITY

Experiences of Marginality and the Failure of Social Recognition

Verdant Residential College is an interesting case of integration because of the latent function it serves as an alternative community for students who do not feel like they belong in their larger university setting. The major public elite university of which Verdant is a part, which I pseudonymously call Selective Regional University (SRU), holds a reputation for being a wealthy, white, and preppy institution with a "work hard, party hard" mentality. The student body is predominantly white (60%), highly affluent (two-thirds come from the top 20% and less than 3% come from the bottom 20%), and regional (70% are in-state residents). Consequently, its campus culture reflects an affluent white normativity in ways ranging from modes of dress to social mores to expectations of achievement. Additionally, there is a social scene centered on alcohol and parties, and over a third of students are involved in a Greek organization.

While diversity is touted as a value at SRU, the university has a long and convoluted history with race, especially concerning African Americans. SRU is an example of how many historically white universities who are viewed as race-neutral have actually been deeply shaped by race in their structures and policies (Bonilla-Silva 2012; 2015b). Even now, racial minorities remain underrepresented relative to the demographics of the state SRU serves as a public institution; Asian and Hispanic enrollment has barely increased over the last decade while the percentage of African Americans has actually decreased, with these groups collectively making up a quarter of undergraduates. Less than 10% of students come from low-income households. Students from underprivileged or minority backgrounds can also experience campus life differently than students from wealthy or white backgrounds do.

Many of my respondents express a view of the university as a white-dominant space (cf. white space, Anderson 2011), a space which is normatively white and tolerates non-whites but is punctuated by moments of acute social disrespect for minorities, racial or otherwise. An illustration of this comes from a dialogue held at Verdant during which several black women shared about how they are regularly seen as less capable than their peers because of their race and gender. One way they experience this is when others evince surprise upon hearing that they have been accepted to SRU, or make allusions to how they are only there because of Affirmative Action. In addition, they report that their classroom contributions are frequently devalued relative to contributions made by their white peers. Nor is social disrespect limited to race; in a parallel account of social class, a white male from a rural town shared how he also experiences disrespect in the denigration of his qualifications and the devaluation of his contributions.

Nadine, an African American senior at SRU from a low-income household working on a Masters in Education, describes how the college experience differs based on social location:

> If you're in any minority or any social class that isn't top dollar, SRU is very different. I think SRU has a lot of cultural norms that, if you don't fit their typical student, you don't know about. So you experience SRU different in that way. My first year, I was in the first year dorms. I was only one of three black women out of three floors of people. I don’t think there were any black men on any of the halls at all.

Nadine refers to the difference in social and cultural inclusion between mainstream students and marginal students (students who are social minorities, who may or may not also be demographic minorities). Not only are marginal students less likely to find people they can connect with socially, they are also more likely to stand outside mainstream norms. This lends itself to experiences of social and cultural exclusion, or what Honneth calls social disrespect. These facts quickly become apparent to incoming students from minority backgrounds. Gustavo, an Ecuadoran from a low-income household studying on a Questbridge scholarship, elaborates:

> Most of the school is filled with almost a copy of the same person. Not to be rude to those people but it seems like there's just a white boy with the same uniform. Khaki shorts, button down in fluorescent colors, and boat shoes. And there's always the same girl. It's like just a photocopy of the same person. I see those throughout the campus. Especially with the fraternity guys and sorority girls, good god. It's just the same clone copy. And everyone tends to have the same ideology, come from the same background. Everyone's middle class white. Or shares some hold of that. [At Verdant], it's like we're different.

As these words reveal, the mainstream culture of white normativity at SRU is powerful and pervasive, reflecting a stratified racial field with middle class whites positioned at the top. It is identifiable through material and symbolic markers, and present everywhere. Students cannot escape it. Thus, for those who do not identify with it, the simultaneous sense of feeling out of place and the pressure to conform are constantly present, making it hard for marginal students to feel like they belong. This is important because belonging is not only a human need, but a component of academic success (Strayhorn 2012). We can adapt Honneth's typology of social disrespect here to the experiences of marginal students through quotes from three respondents.

Bill, a white freshman from a rural background, shares about the sense of social alienation that can come from being on the margins, "I find it pretty hard to fit in. There aren't many people from Southwest Virginia here. I also find myself with just different life experiences from being from Southwest Virginia." Bill's case reflects social exclusion, or what Honneth calls a failure of love, shorthand for significant relationships. Marginal students can find themselves on the social periphery at SRU because college social networks, like social networks more generally, often operate on the principle of homophily (Wimmer 2013). It is harder for marginal students to find people like themselves to connect with when there are less of them present. Even when they establish relationships with mainstream students, they often remain marginalized, since the social networks they join are dominated socially and culturally by mainstream students.

Continuing from his description of the white mainstream culture at SRU, Gustavo admits, “Sometimes I feel uncomfortable just because everyone is so similar. I feel like they're in on something that I don't know about. Sometimes I feel like, oh, I'm obviously not supposed to be here.” Gustavo’s example illustrates functional exclusion, or what Honneth calls a failure of rights, namely, the capacity to act and feel like a full-fledged member of the college community with equal agency[14]. Students who lack cultural capital, such as comfort with the social norms of the dominant population, can feel inhibited from full participation in student life on campus, including but not limited to, involvement with campus clubs, Greek life, and student leadership. Gustavo acknowledges the intimidation factor of being surrounded by “clones” who have “had the same schooling and the same everything” while he remains an “outsider.[15]”

This can also cause students to question themselves and their self-worth. Genevieve, who identifies as mixed-race and an artistic type, says, “I know that I got into SRU. I have every right to be here. I know that there's a place for me here and I have to choose to feel that I'm accepted and I have friends and I have a place.” The uncertainty that underlies Genevieve’s statement points to an experience of cultural exclusion, or what Honneth calls a failure of solidarity, the ability to find value in oneself and the contributions one brings to a community due to one’s background. Genevieve struggles to find validity and value in what she brings to the university, contrasting her racially diverse and artistically-oriented background with a college

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[14] Honneth’s original formulation of rights focuses on legal agency within a political framework, while my usage emphasizes functional agency within organizations. In chapter 2, I applied the principle of equality behind the notion of rights to discuss the capacity for equal organizational participation, as opposed to civic participation.

[15] Compare this to similar dynamics of social exclusion and cultural disparity that have been reported in other educational contexts, whether among low-income or elite public schools (Carter 2005; Khan 2011).

environment she describes as dominated by people who are "preppy," "academically-minded," and "homogeneous." In her interview, Genevieve repeatedly references how her background is different from everyone else's at SRU, and how she is trying to embrace that.

Marginal students thus experience various forms of exclusion on campus, reflected in their feeling out of place, pressure to conform, the burden of being seen to represent an entire group, and encounters with microaggression (Lewis 2012). This is in addition to more overt incidents of discrimination, racism, and prejudice. A common coping mechanism is self-segregation. Many African American students, for example, create a parallel college experience through the use of formal institutions, like black student unions and fraternities, and informal institutions, like preferred dorms and hangouts. Yet, even as this provides belonging, it also perpetuates their isolation from non-blacks. A cycle ensues, as experiences of social disrespect lead marginal students to form alternative communities where they receive the recognition they are otherwise denied. But because this does not change the larger institutional climate; their overall marginalization at SRU continues. It is therefore significant when students choose not to assimilate or self-segregate but to integrate.

Diversity on the Periphery in an Alternative Institution

A Different Makeup: Demographic Diversity and Integrated Segregation

One place where integration occurs is at Verdant Residential College, a space that feels like a home away from home for many of its residents. Paradoxically, integration succeeds here to the degree that it involves separation from the rest of SRU, with success tied to involvement at Verdant over involvement at the university. In this way, Verdant functions as a more welcoming

alternative institution for SRU's marginal students, one characterized by diversity rather than homogeneity. At the same time, Verdant also has its own marginal population, international students from China. Integration exists alongside segregation. The following description is therefore presented as a complex social landscape that is characterized by varying degrees of social integration for reasons of both individual motivation and institutional structure.

As the least well-known of three residential colleges at SRU, Verdant is located on the spatial and social periphery of the university. While students and faculty at SRU are generally aware of the other two residential colleges, they often have a hard time naming Verdant. To the degree that it is known outside of Verdant, residents report that it possesses a reputation as the "weird" residential college. One resident notes, "The way Verdant is referred to by people who don't live here is the weird environmental hippies." Another adds, "There's this stigma that people in Verdant are very antisocial and very stick to themselves." However, Verdantians embrace their "weirdness." Verdant has a different makeup and a different mindset from the larger university population. As to its makeup, Verdant is noticeably more diverse in a range of ways. As Liz, a previous coordinator of studies at Verdant, describes it:

> Verdant was the most diverse, racially, living experience on campus. And one of the things that we noticed, and that we tried to address in terms of extra support for students, was that there was a very high percentage of students who were the first people in their family to go to college. I mean that was white students, but that was also African American students. It was also Asian students. It was students from across the board. They gravitated toward Verdant for some reason.

Sharon, a Questbridge Scholar from a low-income background who is co-president of the Student Council at Verdant, extends this even further, "I think Verdant is very diverse based on a number of things, socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, sexuality. I've found that people here are also more open to expressing those differences than other places." Data from the

university substantiates these claims. Verdant is noticeably more diverse than the larger SRU community on a variety of indicators, with an environment that is demonstrably more welcoming of diversity, and an emphasis on expressive individualism.

Verdant is 67% students of color, a rare example of a space at SRU that is not white-dominant, with twice the representation of Asians and African Americans. Specifically, it is 33% White, 20% Asian, 13% African American, 6% Hispanic, and 8% Multi-Race, with 14% Non-Resident Aliens. Residents also have a median household income that is half that of the larger SRU student body, reflecting much greater socioeconomic diversity; the lowest quarter comes from families that make less than $36,000, while the highest quarter makes over $132,000. 59% of Verdantians are from out-of-state, and 21% are international students, compared to a student body that is 70% in-state. Verdant also has a cross-section of residents from every class year. This is a rarity at SRU, where living arrangements tend to be built around class year.

At the same time, expressing difference is not the same as engaging difference. The degree of interaction with diversity varies greatly. Integration is most evident in Verdant's Student Council, what I call core residents. Ranging in size from 30-50 students, the Student Council is a very socially and functionally inclusive body. Ishmael, one of the co-presidents, is an Iraqi immigrant from a low-income household who openly identifies as gay. Sharon, his co-president, is white and also from a low-income household. The committee chairpersons include four Asians, two whites, and two multiracial students. Council members interact easily across social and racial lines in a laid-back egalitarian atmosphere. This extends to personal relationships as well. Council members are much more likely to befriend people from different backgrounds and to take advantage of opportunities to learn about racial and cultural difference.

For those who value it, Verdant provides opportunities to interact with diversity. Kabibe, an African American freshman, shares, “That’s what I think is key about Verdant. That diversity of many different cultures. And not just the fact that you can see it with your eyes. You can hear it with your stories. That’s awesome.” As someone who initially saw diversity solely in “black and white,” Kabibe learned to appreciate the breadth offered at Verdant. She takes opportunities to engage it, like participating in cross-cultural dialogues with Chinese internationals. At the same time, as I discuss later, structural inclusion for the Chinese remains a challenge.

Nan, from China, shares, “I also know some people who are LGBTQ. I feel there is actually many students who belong to that community who choose to live at Verdant because they don't want to be judged by others.” Damien, a resident advisor from a small rural town, agrees:

> Verdant was the first time I actually had a friend who was gay or homosexual. And I have seven now, all at Verdant. So in terms of sexuality, it's very much accepting. I haven't found a single homophobic person at Verdant.

Diane, an international student from Vietnam on the Student Council, observes, “I know a lot of friends who play with people from other races and have been getting along very well. I also notice that there are a lot of Questbridge students playing with affluent people, and it's been fine.” Gustavo, one of those Questbridge scholars, adds, “I find people from backgrounds similar to mine - struggling, you live under the poverty line. They all seem welcomed and they're thriving here. Same with a lot of people.” Damien contrasts this to SRU:

> When it comes to socioeconomics, when compared to the school as a whole, I would say that Verdant is a shining golden star. Like you definitely still have people who make a bunch of money, but part of having diversity is having those people. But then you also have people, like I have friends in Verdant who were homeless previously. And I have friends who are similar socioeconomics to me, lower SES, high SES. I feel like there's a good distribution.

While relationships across social and racial lines are evident among the Student Council, integration is much more fragmented outside it. Part of this is due to differences of overall participation. In a survey with a response rate of 17% (n=34), a sizable gap is revealed between the percentage of Council members (74%) and non-Council members (27%) who say they regularly participate. Part of the difference in intermingling is due to differences in the degree to which people value diversity. While the majority of respondents (82%) agreed that there was a lot of opportunity to interact with people from different backgrounds, less (62%) believed it was very important to make friends from different backgrounds. Here, too, there was a difference between Council members (68%) and other residents (53%). Yet, while the degree of interaction is partially a matter of choice, it also reflects the institutional constraints of Verdant's approach to managing diversity, which sustains tacit social norms that work better for some residents than others.

The heart of Verdant's social life is made up of events and activities planned by the Council. Informal weekly events, like free bagels and donuts, invite a cross-section of the population to show up for free food and conversation with fellow residents. The informal nature of such events makes them welcoming for everyone, but does not easily entail establishing new relationships. They are built on a model of casual socializing that works better for those who are more socially active and extroverted (something internationals ascribe to a culturally American or "Western" approach), but can be challenging for many internationals and introverts. A pattern I observed repeatedly at such events was that old friends would circle up and acquaintances would make small talk while introverts would remain on the sides and the odd Chinese international would pop in to grab food and then pop back out without engaging anyone else.

Smaller, more intimate events cater to particular shared interests, like mindfulness sessions or gardening initiatives, while others intentionally seek to bring people of different backgrounds together, like cross-cultural dialogues. However, these events are infrequent, and attended by only 5-15 students at a time, varying in the level of engagement they foster. The most consistent of these, Dumplings with Huoban, is a weekly event in which international Chinese students and their American counterparts share thoughts over Chinese food; at the same time, as I will elaborate more fully later, it demonstrates the challenges of integration associated with its mode of organization. Meanwhile, larger events typically demonstrate a higher degree of social inclusion, but participation in them remains limited in scope, as attendance generally caps out at about 30-50 people at an event, most of which are repeat attenders, council members, and domestic residents.

A Different Mindset: Promoting the Freedom to Be Different

According to residents, the difference in makeup at Verdant is connected to a corresponding difference in mindset. Caroline, a white sophomore, says, “It's a very different experience and a very unique experience. One that can't really be replicated anywhere else on campus.” Emily, who self-identifies as lesbian, agrees, “I just think the stereotypical SRU student is different from all the Verdant students I’ve met.” Describing what makes Verdantians different, Genevieve, who self-describes as half white and half Hispanic, suggests, “If you’re not looking for something cool and outside the box, then you’re not going to find it.” Nadine unpacks this further:

> The people who live here aren't what I would deem as typical SRU students. I think we all are so weird. Everybody that lives here, myself included. It's not a bad thing – we represent a different side of SRU that not a lot of people see or know about. So I do feel like we are a lot of very different people that have come together.

Residents value the differences they see at Verdant, but they particularly value the opportunity to *be* different, which is connected to the ability to be themselves and to express parts of themselves that they have to keep suppressed elsewhere. Philip, a white junior, shares:

> It does seem like people can express themselves as they want and be more true to themselves here. One of my friends is now transgender, and she's working through that. Verdant is kind of a supportive place for that kind of thing, or if there's any issues.

Verdant establishes a counterculture for students who see themselves as different. It does this in contrast to SRU, which Verdantians characterize as an institution that operates out of mainstream social norms which fear difference and favor conformity. As Caroline puts it:

> I know there's this weird stigma surrounding Verdant in the rest of SRU. A lot of people are so caught up in this, "Oh I need to fit in," that they're like, "Oh these people are a little different." And I'm like, that's what you need. You need those people who are different. And who offer something different. That's what I like about it.

Verdantians reject the dominant social culture around Greek life at SRU, which involves over a third of SRU's student body as active members. As Natalie, a previous principal of Verdant, puts it, "Greek life is very homogeneous, and maybe there's something about them literally being on opposite corners of the university." Residents express an awareness of what research has also demonstrated; the peer environment of Greek life negatively mediates the relationship between structural diversity and the likelihood of interracial friendships (Kim, Park, and Koo 2015). Kabibe describes how Greek Life is paradigmatic of SRU:

> It's like a different world, you know? The first thing [my boyfriend] said to me that he saw when we were walking [past the fraternities] was, "There are a lot of white people here." I'm like, "Yeah." If you took the demographics of SRU, not Verdant, you would get one's here [hands close together] on diversity, and one's here [hands wide apart] on

> diversity. That just shows you how different Verdant is. That's awesome to me. They can make this little pocket place where diversity is just rife. I love that about Verdant.

Natalie and Kabibe express a correlation regarding the spatial distance between Verdant and the Greek system and their social differences. In avoiding the one, Verdantians are drawn to the other. Greek life has been found not only to sustain segregation but to promote a conformist culture of "white hegemony" that racializes belonging as being and acting white; even when non-whites manage to join such organizations, they are pressured to perform stereotyped racial identities which are treated as inferior (Hughey 2010a). What Verdantians prefer, by contrast, is the much more egalitarian racial field at Verdant (though Chinese respondents point to how this occurs through default American social norms). Muriel, the senior resident advisor at Verdant, who is half-Filipino and half-Iranian, shares how residents' rejection of mainstream SRU culture, and its association with Greek life, is a common sentiment she has observed over her four years:

> Another common thing between Verdant students is that they like how different the community is compared to the overall SRU experience. So I've had a lot of people tell me, "Oh, I would have really hated being in first-year dorms and being around that type of culture." I don't really know how to characterize it. It would be bad of me to say, "Oh, it's the sort of people who go into Greek fraternities and party a lot."

Verdant, then, establishes an alternative non-dominant social space for marginal residents, one in direct contrast to what they see as the mainstream paradigm of SRU epitomized by Greek life. The mainstream paradigm is characterized by Verdantians as a push for homogeneity and conformity that stifles diversity. Speaking to the first, Fatima, a resident advisor from Ghana, describes how Verdant contrasts with mainstream SRU culture:

> I think the one background that might not feel comfortable [at Verdant] is the majority background at SRU, the background that might not have come from such a diverse background... are used to a certain type of people… If you're more secure in what you do, you feel comfortable here. But just go with the mainstream, come here, there's no mainstream. Like there's no mainstream of what people do. People do their own thing.

For Fatima, mainstream students are those who seek conformity, and those who seek conformity may be uncomfortable at Verdant because there is nothing to conform to at Verdant; Verdantians are about blazing their own path and embracing diversity. Not only do Verdantians see themselves as being free to be themselves and to make their own choices, they also see this as enabling them to be more genuine individuals. This is particularly important for those like Rena, a half-white, half Taiwanese sophomore, who have always felt like they fall outside the lines:

> When I was younger I kind of struggled with "where do I belong?" because my heritage is so unique. But then at Verdant I kind of feel a sense of community because we're all super unique. So we're all very accepting of each other. I really, really appreciate that.

Verdant provides a social space that is absent SRU's expectations of white hegemony, thus allowing residents to feel accepted. Residents uniformly value the ability to be different, to "express difference" and have a "different experience" from the one offered at SRU. Difference is thought of in expressive individualist terms, with significant importance being ascribed to the realization of residents' individuality through personal expression (Bellah, Swidler, Madsen, Tipton, and Sullivan 1985). At Verdant, residents are free to express themselves as they wish. As Caroline describes:

> One of the things that I like about Verdant is that everybody's a little quirky. So I feel like I can be quirky and show my quirks. It makes it interesting because I feel like in a lot of situations, people suppress the things that make them unique. And then everybody just blends into a crowd. I really like that about Verdant. I feel like people don't really care [laughs]. They're like, "This is who I am."

While this contrasts positively with SRU's conformist culture, it poses its own challenges to integration. Even as expressive individualism at Verdant manifests as structural inclusion for some residents, it manifests as liberal indifference for others – what some scholars argue is the tendency of individuals in a modern liberal society to disassociate from one another

(Yi 2015). This is because the most commonly valued aspect of diversity at Verdant – more than learning about difference or befriending those who are different – is being free to be different oneself. The primary focus of diversity for residents, who are college students exploring their identities, is on personal expression rather than interpersonal engagement. For many, this involves clustering with those who are similar along lines of shared interests or backgrounds rather than befriending diverse others. This can indirectly result in the exclusion of others.

In this way, Verdant's latent function of being a safe space, which I describe below, also exists in tension with its manifest function of being a residential community. As Sarah, a Jewish freshman on the Student Council, describes:

> I definitely think it's one of the places where live and let live, and everyone is just here. And then they give you opportunities to engage and talk about your diversity. But you're not necessarily forced to talk about it. If you want to, you can go. A lot of people use Verdant just as a place to live and they don't really get involved.

Sarah describes the general hands-off approach to managing difference at Verdant, which begins with an orientation I call laissez faire tolerance. Laissez faire tolerance demonstrates how the residential college's attempts to encourage active participation in its diverse community are contingent on its emphasis on individual expression and student leadership. Laissez faire tolerance is a mode of organizing diversity which favors nonintervention so as to avoid institutional impositions and maximize individual agency. Its goal is to create an organic community of tolerance, a space where residents are free to express themselves along dynamic and self-organized, rather than structurally imposed, lines. It is an intentionally *unintentional* approach which rejects even the label multiculturalism, which implies a planned approach to diversity. As Carmen, the director of studies, says:

> I don't think [we] would use multiculturalism to describe the community. Because we're not even trying to do that. It's like whoever happens to show up at Verdant, you're in.

This results in a mode of organization focused on acceptance, built on an avowedly acultural approach that extends to the organizational identity of the residential college. In a sense, anything goes. Residents articulate competing visions of Verdant which align with its latent and manifest functions; one emphasizes personal agency while the other emphasizes participation in Verdant's larger community. This is due, in part, to residents' different motivations for living at Verdant, as I describe below. But it is also because the administration resists assigning a definitive identity to Verdant. As Carmen puts it, "You have a community that's not built with the usual ideological components, like a nationalism model where you have this core identity." The primary motivation of administrators, in line with expressive individualism, is to avoid constraining the freedom of students:

> There isn't an identity that we're trying to foster. It's a very organic kind of community where anyone and everyone would be welcomed. We've been reluctant to choose any particular theme. Sustainability is a current that runs through Verdant, but it's not something that we are from the top promoting. We're supporting it but we're not leading the charge by any means. The students take initiative and we support them.

As a consequence, Verdantians are better at identifying what Verdant *is not* than what it *is*. Mostly, what Verdantians agree on is that Verdant is *different*. However, difference is largely left undefined. As the principal shared with me, Verdantians who had been interviewed in a self-made video about Verdant had a hard time articulating what diversity means at Verdant. Even when an identity is provided by students themselves, built around themes of sustainability and social awareness, the hold this has on the residents is more ideal than actual. As Karen, the Vietnamese-American chair of the sustainability committee describes:

> Verdant says sustainability and social awareness are its two most important aspects. But actually, in Student Council last year, those were the least emphasized ones. I realized Verdant was just using its money for people to have fun. I mean just random recreation. It didn't make me feel like we were distinctive in any way. It could be something that other dorms could be doing. We're not doing things for justice, or for rights, or for

> sustainability, or any specific type of cause. We're always just holding banquets or things. Stuff that makes us interact with each other in social events, but mostly just for fun.

My observations support Karen's point. The social committee is the largest committee on the Student Council, and the most popular events that draw the greatest participation are social events. The Student Council is given a budget of $26,000 to plan events and activities at Verdant, and are largely free to do as they wish with the money. While distinctive activities with a purpose are planned, like co-sponsoring a Holocaust Survivor talk or volunteering for community projects, the majority of the budget is given over to social events like banquets, gatherings, and even a trip to a theme park. To the degree that this reflects general interest, as filtered through the Student Council, this works well. At the same time, there are also residents who are not interested in, or comfortable with the type of socializing characteristic in these events.

I argue that there are two key consequences of laissez faire tolerance when it comes to integration. First, the promotion of expressive individualism encourages personal autonomy yet leads to significant variance in structural inclusion by emphasizing individual expression over interpersonal engagement. At Verdant, everyone feels welcome, but only some find belonging. Because integration, especially in the aspect of social inclusion, is dependent on social interaction, varying degrees of social interaction map onto varying degrees of integration. Second, the emphasis on individual agency at Verdant leaves structural constraints to integration unaddressed, placing the onus on individuals to navigate tacit social and cultural norms. Integration depends on individual boundary crossing, as Verdant focuses on providing more options rather than removing obstacles. Since no institution is truly cultureless, what actually happens is that dominant social norms are left uninterrogated.

Variegated Integration through Laissez Faire Tolerance

An Institutional Pathway of Inclusive Welcome but Exclusive Belonging

Valerie Lewis (2012) explains how an important cause of racial segregation on American college campuses is that the social energy of students of color is drained by regular encounters with discrimination and with dominant cultures, resulting in the need to self-segregate in order to recharge. Because marginal students are required to navigate a mainstream campus environment in which they regularly experience social disrespect, have to constantly be on guard, and can't escape being viewed as stereotyped representatives of a group, finding a space in which they are able to be themselves without justification is important. However, segregated spaces are not the only spaces that can enable this. Nadine attests to how Verdant works in this way for her:

> I definitely feel more comfortable here than I feel anywhere else on campus a lot of the time. Nowhere else on campus feels like my home, even though I probably spend more time there than here. I feel like, personally, identifying as an African American female, that I do feel comfortable here. I walk around and I do see people who look like me here. I don't feel like I'm by myself or I'm speaking for all people who look like me by myself here.

For students like Nadine, being around people who look like them, feeling free to be themselves, and not having to speak on behalf of a group, are important pieces of making a place a home. This is a space where she does not have to explain herself or her differences. Part of this is provided by the greater representation of people like her. But part of it is also provided by the presence of diversity in general. Gustavo shares, "[Verdant] makes me feel welcomed. 'Cause there's a lot of people from different walks of life. People I can connect to. I find that I can connect to everyone on some level. But if I didn't have this when I was here at first I wouldn't be

able to." Comparing Verdant to settings that lacked racial diversity, Michelle, a Taiwanese-American senior, adds, "I think I need some diversity to feel comfortable. It just didn't feel comfortable for me, that I'm the only one of color or the only one of my type in that situation."

The other side of being able to be themselves is the absence of social pressure to conform to dominant norms, something that many Verdantians feel at SRU. This enables Verdant to feel like a home in two senses. Sharon, the co-president of Verdant, shares about the first sense:

> A lot of people refer to their college or university as a whole as their home away from home. But to me, it's not SRU. It is Verdant specifically that has provided me the sense of comfort. Everybody here, it's kind of like the pressures of having to dress up or having to - I don't know - almost having to perform for your peers – the way you act, the way you talk, what you wear, what you buy, what brand your clothes are – none of that really matters here. We're kinda like, we are home. Once I'm here I know I'm home and I know I'm safe.

Sharon characterizes Verdant as a space where mainstream expectations do not matter. Instead of the pressure to conform and perform, residents describe a comfortable, welcoming atmosphere. Verdant embodies something for these residents that SRU does not, a celebration of the ability to be different. Verdant is a place where many marginal residents feel like they can be themselves. They feel safe and socially recognized. The presence of greater diversity encourages the expression of diversity. Muriel, the senior Resident Advisor, makes an important distinction:

> In residence staff life, we sometimes talk about the difference between a brave space and a safe space. A safe space is where you're comfortable and you are able to express your thoughts freely without worrying about judgment from others. And then brave space is like, OK, you need to put yourself in an uncomfortable position to feel challenge.

The cornerstone of Verdant's approach to integration is establishing a comfortable "safe space." There is a widely-shared sentiment that Verdant is a space where all are welcome to be themselves. This theme surfaces repeatedly, as residents describe Verdant as a "bubble," a

"haven," a "niche," a "pocket," a "reservation," a "sanctuary," and "comfortable," "welcoming," and "down-to-earth." This is a significant achievement, as Verdant establishes a comfort zone for a wide range of students who feel marginal elsewhere. At the same time, the emphasis on safety can result in internal social segregation because it relies on individual repositioning rather than collective strategies of boundary change; the choice to choose safety frequently translates into choosing what is familiar. This is especially so when the social norms of the larger community are uncomfortable for parts of the population.

Hannah, a resident from China, describes this effect:

> For us - for anyone - it's hard to step out of the comfort zone if you are given a chance not to. If you can live a good life, keep all your interests, all what you like, with you being inside your comfort zone, I don't think anyone would give that up for just stepping out of it.

As Hannah explains, Verdant's success in establishing a safe space can inhibit integration by enabling residents to stay within homogeneous groups, especially when they are from the social or cultural minority. In this way, parallel communities are sustained, creating what Buford May (2014) calls "integrated segregation," when diverse groups are physically close yet do not have meaningful interactions with one another. Whether residents display indifference towards social others or interact meaningfully with them depends on both individual and institutional factors. I argue that Verdant's laissez faire orientation and its mode of managing diversity through acceptance inadvertently sustains tacit social and cultural norms by placing the onus on individuals to integrate (Brown 2006), and that this creates an institutional pathway with divergent tracks of social recognition and integration (cf. Armstrong and Hamilton 2013).

This point is driven home by the difference between home as safe space and the second understanding of home at Verdant. Liz, the previous coordinator of studies, shares about how belonging has been important to Verdant from the beginning:

> Verdant always has had the reputation, somewhat lovingly interpreted from within, of that red-haired bastard step child; the place where people who don't belong, belong. Which isn't entirely true. But it was something that Verdant students enjoyed. Because Verdant provided a great deal of support. A feeling of home. And that was our goal. To create a sense of home.

Sharon identifies home with safety and Liz associates it with belonging. Importantly, respondents show that the two are not the same. Almost everyone (92%) shares that Verdant is "welcoming of different kinds of people," creating an important pocket of diversity at SRU. Yet a sizable minority (35%) answers "no" to the question, "I have found a community to belong to," suggesting that while safety is a necessary condition for belonging, it is not sufficient on its own. I argue that this is because welcoming the presence of diversity is not the same thing as interacting with diverse others and developing meaningful relationships with them. While safety requires tolerance – the ability to express and be oneself in a nonjudgmental space – belonging requires more. Tolerance does not guarantee inclusion because it can also manifest as indifference and isolation. Belonging requires social connection and social recognition.

Four Types of Residents: Different Expectations and Different Experiences

A welcome back event for residents takes place in the common hub after Christmas break. Students trickle in for free pizza and casual conversation. The diversity is evident, as is the level of ease with which residents intermingle across social and racial lines. There is a buzz of low-lying conversation in various groups of students throughout the room, which are typically open

to anyone to jump in and participate. However, it is also clear that participants are largely made up of a subset of the same set of active residents I have observed at many other social functions. At least half of the participants, roughly forty residents at any time, are connected to the Student Council. As usual, there are almost no international Chinese students present, a fact that is remarked upon by students and staff alike.

At Verdant, there are four types of resident, who I call core, engaged, disengaged, and clustered[16]. Residents largely see Verdant as welcoming, however their experiences of belonging differ widely. The experience of social, cultural, and functional inclusion – and, hence, social recognition – depends on which type of resident they are. While domestic students are often identified with the first three categories and Chinese internationals with the last, both are represented in all four categories, though in different proportions. The difference can be viewed from the perspective of individual agency or institutional structure. In terms of agency, the difference is due to the degree to which residents opt-in to the larger community, and by extension, diversity, at Verdant. In terms of social structure, the difference is due to the degree to which Verdant addresses obstacles to inclusion.

[16] There is general recognition at Verdant of the existence of different types of residents. The principal, Wanda, distinguishes between "super-users," "internationals," "dabblers," and "introverts." However, her language can conflate distinctions I hold to be important. For example, despite acknowledgment that there are differences among international students, there is still a tendency to lump them together, as their existence as a separate category demonstrates. Likewise, while acknowledging that there are multiple reasons for being partially involved, her use of the term "dabblers" emphasizes lack of commitment rather than external constraints to participation.

The core are self-motivated residents who are highly active and participate fully in the life of the community, and are primarily composed of Verdant's Student Council. They are more likely to say they have found community, to take advantage of opportunities to learn about diversity, to build friendships across racial lines, and to have had a positive experience living at Verdant. These residents make up the most visible part of Verdant's population. They are the ones most likely to be at Verdant because they value social awareness or sustainability. They are also the ones who are most likely to benefit from laissez faire tolerance by taking action on their values, exercising their agency in planning activities, and working to build a larger sense of community and inclusivity. Ishmael, the co-president of the Student Council, is representative of the core. He contrasts the integration of the core with the fragmentation of other residents:

> One of my friend groups is RA's, Student Council. There's Fatima, she's black. She's from an upper middle-class family. Her dad's wealthy. Dan, he's white. He has divorced parents. Mary, she's Asian. She has divorced parents. I'm Middle Eastern. I'm low income, but my parents are divorced as well. There's Muriel, she's mixed race. She's also Middle Eastern/Asian. They're like the core group of people who are most involved at Verdant. They're very diverse racially. But as a large bulk of people at Verdant, they're fragmented.

The core, who make up 20-25% of the population, are the significant success story of social integration at Verdant, at least when it comes to domestic residents, creating an active, diverse, and inclusive community that bridges racial and socioeconomic lines. As Ishmael notes, however, integration does not extend far beyond the core. Moreover, international Chinese are conspicuously absent, represented by only one or two members. Nevertheless, the core are largely identified in the minds of Verdantians with Verdant's community. This can be illustrated through an interaction Verdant's director of studies had with a Chinese resident:

> I said, "You should come out." And she was like, "Well, I'm not part of the 20%." She called it the 20%. I was like, "Huh, what do you mean by the 20%?" She was like, "Well, about 20% of Verdant students belong to the Student Council and go to all the

> activities." And that's when I was like, oh it's well recognized. It's referred to as the 20%.

Members of the Student Council see involvement in the Student Council as a gateway to participation in community. Survey evidence suggests they are right. 79% of Student Council members express that they have found community, compared to only 47% of other residents. It is possible that this is an effect of self-selection, such that Council members are more likely to find community because they are the ones more actively looking for it; however, the social dynamics of this active group of residents likely also foster a greater possibility of positive social connection by creating opportunities for social interaction in a diverse, open, and engaging environment.

One constant concern for the Student Council is how to get more residents at Verdant involved in its larger community. The main answer they have come up with is to get more residents on the Council. This is best encapsulated by a conversation among the Council's leadership after they went through the dorm hallways soliciting new residents to join the council in the Fall of 2017. The dilemma was about what to do with several poorly written applications they had received, accept them or reject them. Because the primary goal was to pave the way for participation on the Council, and by extension, Verdant's community, the decision was made not to let poor applications prevent people from joining, but rather to have a higher bar for continued involvement once people joined. Thus, the bar for entry and exit are both very low.

The second type of resident, the engaged, are more selectively present at Verdant. Whether it is because they are busy, have schedule conflicts, or are involved with commitments elsewhere, engaged residents are less involved than the core. Many of them value the diverse community at Verdant, but they are both less active and less integrated than the core. Whereas

Verdant is the primary community for many of the core, it is *a* community in which the engaged occasionally participate but not *the* community which defines them. For those who are interested among the engaged, Verdant provides greater opportunities to foster interracial relationships and develop awareness of cultural differences. Caroline, a white freshman describes her experience:

> It's not as common on the rest of campus to see as many people of different races talking to each other. There are a few girls from China on my hall. One of them came home with me over Thanksgiving. Conversations that I would never have had. And my roommate, her parents came over from Africa. You're thrown into many more enlightening conversations that feel really comfortable still. Whereas other places, that's an awkward topic.

Caroline's willingness to engage others combines with the greater proximity to diversity and the general atmosphere of acceptance at Verdant to enable her to befriend diverse others, have cross-cultural discussions, and even bring an international friend home to celebrate Thanksgiving. At the same time, much of the integration at Verdant occurs around planned events which the engaged are unable to attend, as such events often conflict with functions held by the university. Students who are busy with coursework or involvement in student organizations find that their commitments can prevent participation. As Jean, an Asian freshman who is active at SRU notes:

> Why is Verdant always planning some activity on a day that SRU will be having some activity too? So some of the big activities that Verdant is planning goes in conflict with some sort of activity the school is planning. Sometimes SRU is having some sort of activity, Verdant is like, we're having this karaoke or movie night or something.

Despite the fact that the number one reason residents said they were not more involved at Verdant was due to schedule conflicts (86% of survey respondents), I rarely heard Student Council members discuss how to change event times or locations to become more accessible for more residents. As Jean noted, planning for events at Verdant typically gave little consideration for what other events might be taking place at SRU at the same time. Jean goes even further to

say that Verdant intentionally isolates itself from the university. In this way, the availability of residents who might have other commitments or a desire to participate in the larger social life at SRU is not taken into account. Importantly, these students are not so much uninvolved at Verdant as they are involved on multiple fronts; many are active in academics, student organizations, or other social communities at SRU.

For the third type, the disengaged, Verdant is neither a community nor a home, but simply a place to sleep. The disengaged tend to stay to themselves and are rarely seen. In their number are many students, both domestic and international, who are present at Verdant for purely pragmatic reasons. Such reasons include single rooms, a quiet space, air-conditioning, or proximity to amenities like the dining hall or outdoor trails. Many non-Student Council members say they are not interested in finding community at Verdant. Verdant does not seem to know what to do with the disengaged, since they are generally content but do not participate in its community, treating Verdant more like a dorm. These residents are also less likely to participate in Verdant's diversity, and have little attachment to Verdant. As Lance, a white junior, says:

> I don't really ever think of Verdant as Verdant, you know? I know that it has a title and strives to have that identity, but I'm just not so much a part of that that I don't ever stop to consider what makes us "us," cause it's not really "us," you know?

In some cases, this is because residents only viewed Verdant as a place to sleep to begin with. In other cases, though, residents are interested in community but found obstacles to achieving it early on. In Lance's case, the opportunity slipped away from him before he realized it. He describes this when asked what he might have wanted to see change:

> I do think making some of the earlier getting-to-know-people-at-Verdant things, to make them actually mandatory. 'Cause I think a big part of why I never cliqued in here is because I found out that people don't actually have to go to those. You could just show up and grab some food and leave. So I did that because I had other stuff going on that week.

Lance's introversion combined with a prioritization of other things like schoolwork to deter him from participating in Verdant's community early on. By the time he got around to thinking about it, he felt like the key socialization phase in which people make friends had already passed him by. Other respondents, particularly Chinese internationals and introverts, also express a desire for more structured social facilitation. In this way, the laissez faire approach to organizing social life at Verdant works well for the self-motivated and outgoing but is more challenging for the introverted, international students from a different social milieu, or students who feel too busy to prioritize community in the beginning. Despite being such a large percentage of Verdant's population, the disengaged tend to be invisible at Verdant. Their absence is minimized by the visibility of the last type of resident.

The final type, which I call the clustered, consists of residents who have established homogeneous friend groups within Verdant but are not active in the larger community (15% of survey respondents who are not on the Student Council spend time with friends at Verdant but do not participate in activities, but the percentage is almost certainly higher since international students are underrepresented in the survey responses). The most visible of these residents are international students from China, though many domestic students also fall into this category. 21% of Verdant's population are international students, the majority from China (though leaders assume the number to be twice as high). According to the principal and the Student Council president, only a small portion participate in the larger community. The rest are generally seen to self-segregate. The degree to which the clustering is due to self-segregation, as opposed to social discomfort, is unclear.

What emerges from interviews is that this final group occupies an outsized presence in the concerns of Verdantians. Despite repeated assertions made by the leadership of not wanting to problematize them, the clustered are consistently presented as a challenge to Verdant's community. The proportion of clustered residents is inflated in the perception of leaders and residents, while disengaged residents are discounted. The absence of the latter from Verdant's social life is eclipsed in Verdantians' awareness by the presence of segregated sub-communities. Moreover, Chinese internationals are disproportionately associated with the clustered. One unintended consequence of this is to create a moral, as well as social, distinction between the domestic majority (as the tolerant) and the Chinese minority (as the tolerated).

Despite universal affirmations by Verdantians of the importance of personal choice and expression, judgments are regularly passed against internationals who "choose" to separate themselves. This is a matter of concern for Carmen, Verdant's director of studies:

> We would never think twice about white students living amongst one another. I just think [internationals are] highly marked, highly visible, and I think we should be very careful about labeling it problematic. I think it's well-intentioned that we want all students to venture outside their like-minded communities. But I don't think we should put undue pressure on racially marked people to do that in particular ways without understanding more about what the students themselves want.

For Carmen, if students want to be in like-minded communities, they should be free to do so. This aligns with Verdant's latent function of being a safe haven. However, this becomes a challenge for Verdant's manifest function of being a residential community, and by extension, integration. The distinctive characteristic of a residential college that sets it apart from regular dorms, according to administrators, is the creation of a sense of community. Respondents of all types except the disengaged desire this. Many of the core want more connection across groups while some of the clustered desire the same connection, yet find themselves stymied by social

and cultural obstacles. I argue that social recognition, and hence integration, is dependent on this connection, which in turn depends on interaction. While the core and engaged feel recognized, and the disengaged do not care, the clustered describe experiences of social disrespect.

Two Visions in Tension: Verdant as Safe Haven and as Residential Community

It is a warm, sunny day. Verdant's annual inter-residence athletic competition is being held on the sprawling lawn outside its residence halls. There is a food truck and a side table with cotton candy, and games are set up alongside several picnic tables. Music plays in the background as people mingle. At the height of the event, there are thirty attendees. At least half of those present are members of Verdant's Student Council or RA's. There is a great deal of intermingling along racial lines. Three women – white, Asian, and Middle Eastern – toss a football, joined by a black male. Four men, three white and one Latino, kick a soccer ball around. Six students of different races and genders play corn holes. There are two notable exceptions. Three international Chinese students – the only ones present – huddle apart from everyone else around a laptop at a picnic table, and five white students sit in a circle on the green.

While participation is a concern for any organization, there is an added challenge for residential colleges because they incorporate two purposes, one residential and one social. These purposes embody the tension between those who see Verdant as a space to live and let live and those who see it as about community life. Representing the former, Nan, from China, observes, "Verdant is a place you can be yourself. You don't need to care about others. Like, it's your own life." Verdant's success in creating a safe haven aligns with those who see it primarily as just

another student dorm, a place to live and let live. Yet it also creates a challenge to bridging social and racial difference because comfort zones are frequently insular. One consequence of this is that spatial integration is more common than social integration, with people from diverse backgrounds maintaining social distance despite spatial proximity. Lance describes this pattern:

> At least on my hall, there's a good amount of diversity. But people don't really talk to each other too much. I don't think that's avoiding dealing with diversity. I think that's just how it is. Last year, our hall was a lot less diverse, but still people didn't really talk to each other.

In principle, Lance's description does not reflect an avoidance of integration so much as it does avoidance of social interaction more generally. However, the latter is directly connected to the former. Social integration entails social inclusion, or building relationships across lines of difference; when there is de-emphasis on stepping outside of one's comfort zone, this makes social connection across lines of difference less likely as well. Even though this is a general trend at Verdant, it is problematized by most Verdantians as being about the Chinese.

For Verdant's administrators, who are committed to affirming the autonomy of residents, participation in community and in diversity should not be a forced decision. Carmen believes that what is important is to understand and enable, "what the students themselves want." However, there are three issues here. First, there are differences in what students want, with some residents' choices to remain apart affecting other residents' desire for community. Second, an explicit valuation of personal autonomy is accompanied by an implicit devaluation of those who are seen as remaining apart. This can be heard in the qualifier which accompanies a common refrain that people "have the right to do as they wish," but that doing so "fragments the community." Finally, the emphasis on choice fails to take sufficient account of the constraints faced by students who desire community but feel challenged by Verdant's social environment.

The philosophy of Verdant is best expressed by Natalie, the previous principal:

> You provide opportunity for interactions to happen for students of different backgrounds. In the end you can't force anybody to do anything. I think the residential college offers an opportunity for someone who wants to. They're interested in not just going to their apartment at night and sleeping with a group of friends that they know. They want to see what they might get out of an experience that at times might be not so comfortable. I think it speaks to a mindset of a person who wants to do that. Chooses it.

In this perspective, the way Verdant enables integration is by creating chances for those who are interested to try something different. It establishes a safe space by fostering acceptance and opening up opportunities for deeper engagement. It is then up to the individual to decide whether to participate. Yet, Natalie's words also reflect an underlying desire for Verdant to be a space that promotes actual interaction with diversity, not just the opportunity for it. It is the student who "chooses it" who is valorized. This represents the other vision of Verdant as a social community, a space where people not only reside but where they also interact across "different backgrounds." In this vision, a residential college is a social institution where people live and learn *together*. Samantha, a white freshman, puts this simply:

> I totally, totally understand people doing their own thing. I get that. But then it comes down to an intentional community. Because an intentional community, it's inherently intentional. It's not going to happen without you putting effort into it. That's the point of it.

For residents like Samantha, the whole point of a residential college is to be a place where people choose to intentionally live together with others, where the exercise of autonomy is directed towards creating community. It is all about "intentional community." Genevieve shares a commonly expressed frustration among active residents:

> I wish people would come out more and contribute to the community that they signed up to be a part of. You say that you want to take part in something, you should stay true to your word and participate. And not just hide in that.

An important point that Genevieve alludes to here is that, with a few exceptions, residents are not simply assigned to live at Verdant. They go through an application process. Therefore, most residents make a choice to live at Verdant. Moreover, Verdant is billed on its website as a "vibrant community" chosen by students for "its active programming and events built around themes of sustainability and cultural diversity." From the beginning, it is presented as more than just a living space, but a community formed around shared activities and diverse experiences. Thus, for residents who find that appealing, frustration is evident regarding those who are not seen as participating. Edmund, one of the few students from China who are active, says:

> If Verdant's really about community and sustainability, then why are these people choosing to live here and not do anything? How do they get in? What do they say in their application? Do they just fake, "hey I love community and now I'm going to join Student Council?" And now they just stay in their rooms the whole day?

The tangible frustration of active residents like Samantha, Genevieve, and Edmund is expressed in terms of a common assumption that residents who do not to participate in Verdant's community choose to stay apart. However, what becomes apparent after listening to residents and observing their interactions at Verdant is that lack of participation is also due to experiences of social disrespect. The experience of Verdant as a residential community and/or a safe haven does not always align with the views of residents on what they want Verdant to be. It is not the case that all those who desire community also experience it, and that all those who do not participate in the community do so because they do not want community. A number of the disengaged and the clustered express an unfulfilled desire to belong that is connected to social and cultural exclusion. They are not integrated because they find social interaction challenging.

Diane, from Vietnam, describes how this affects internationals more: “I don't know why but they just don't feel very belong here. I feel like that happens more to international students than to American students.” In the last section of this chapter, I describe the different patterns of integration among the core and the clustered, with a specific emphasis on Chinese internationals for the latter. I do so because the key social cleavage at Verdant does not fall along race or class lines, but between the core and the clustered. These two types of residents represent the two poles of experience regarding social recognition, connection, and integration at Verdant. This is the key social problematic expressed by Verdantians themselves. However, I then conclude by problematizing this distinction because the experience of prominent core residents shows that, even in what appears to be successful cases of integration, issues of social recognition remain.

A Study in Contrasts: Integrated Core and Segregated Cluster

Social and Functional Inclusion in Student Leadership: Student Council

The six members of the Executive Board, one male and five female, meet in a lounge in the common hub, discussing the agenda for the Student Council meeting to follow. Two residents sit at an adjacent table, working on their homework. At 7:55, a diverse flood of Council members arrive, leaving fifty people crammed into the lounge. After welcoming the new Council members and introducing the leadership, the Council dives into business. Proposals are presented and approved. An RA asks to form an IM volleyball team and a Committee Chair proposes welcome packages for new members. Sharon gives a plug on the importance of voting, and a few more items of business are discussed before the Council breaks up into committees. While each is different in size and tone, a common current of enthusiasm runs throughout the committees.

The Student Council is a model of social and functional inclusion at Verdant, though its emphasis on diversity focuses more on representation in leadership than reflexive engagement with social or cultural difference. Gustavo calls this a "very bland" way of doing things which is "a good thing" because "when things are bland you aren't biased to any one side." At its largest, at the start of the 2017-2018 academic year, there were fifty-five Council members (a full quarter of the residential college). In its first meeting, fifty people were present. Of the fifty, twenty-four were white, nineteen were Asian (four of them from Southeast Asian/Indian backgrounds), five were African American, and two were Hispanic. Thirty-three were new members. While diverse, whites and Asians were overrepresented relative to other racial minorities and internationals. This underrepresentation is particularly consequential for Chinese internationals.

At the same time, differences in representation do not appear to be due to structural impediments to participation. The Council actively pursues the involvement of diverse residents to join the council and virtually never rejects applications to become Council members. At the start of the 2017-2018 academic year, Executive Board members (the core leadership of the Council) actively sought to recruit new residents to apply and join (Gustavo jokingly described being "hounded"). This included Ishmael personally soliciting several Chinese internationals. Chinese respondents generally show more interest in academics and other pursuits at SRU, and never intimate any feelings of being excluded from participation on the Council. In this, the Student Council takes its role seriously in representing Verdant.

As Ishmael writes in an email which introduced the new Council members:

> Student Council isn't like most other student governing bodies because we explicitly base ourselves within the fabric of our community at Verdant, with our ultimate purpose being to make leaders and foster fun, creativity and a meaningful and engaging lifestyle in our community. Verdant in itself is unique because we have people from so many

> different walks of life so that ultimately rather than expecting anyone to conform to any tradition or ideal, Verdant really absorbs the person you are, with the values, passions and talents you have to bring as a gift to us all. That is the very thing we strive to achieve on Council as well, and the many new Council members on board will make that more so the case.

The agenda of inclusive representation presented in Ishmael's email is reflected in the operation of the Student Council, such as in the makeup of its leadership, its procedures, and its openness to participation by non-Council members. The Student Council is composed of an Executive Board and numerous committees. The executive board for the 2017-18 academic year included Ishmael, a Middle Eastern male, and his co-president, Sharon, a white female, both from low-income backgrounds, along with four more women, two white and two Asian. The committee chairs were made up of an Indian male, a Vietnamese-American female, a Chinese-American female, a Chinese female (she had been born in America, grown up in China, and then moved back to America), two white females, and two racially mixed males (one half-black and half-white, the other half-Asian and half-white).

As with representation of the Council more generally, the makeup of the Executive Board and the committee chairpersons are primarily driven by individuals' interest levels in taking on leadership roles. The meetings, which occur weekly on Sunday evenings for roughly an hour and a half, are laid back, open, and democratic affairs. They are not only structurally inclusive in terms of representation, they are inclusive in welcoming the participation of the wider Verdant community. Council meetings take place in the open lounge spaces of the common hub, the main indoor common area at Verdant, with the six-person Executive Board meeting taking place before the larger Council meeting. Residents can, and do, walk by and overhear all the discussions and decision-making. Furthermore, residents are invited to sit in on meetings and to participate if they so choose. There is thus a high level of transparency.

As Ishmael adds at the bottom of the email to residents:

> Even if you are not formally on Student Council, you can still attend meetings, submit proposals for ideas and initiatives (this also means Student Council can fund your ideas and initiatives, just let us know what you have in mind!) and help us out with holding our programs. Verdant is an inclusive and engaging community, and our Student Council is as much the case itself. Also know that you can apply again next semester!

Functional inclusion is also demonstrated in the democratic style of decision-making in the Council. All Verdantians (not just Council members) are welcome to submit proposals for events, activities, and improvements at Verdant. Such proposals are presented before the Council, along with the proposed budget, and submitted to questions and comments. Then the Council holds a blind vote on whether to pass the submitted proposal. As with Council applications, proposals are very rarely rejected. The entire atmosphere is laid back. Typically, feedback is minimal, with few people having concerns. Yet members are clearly comfortable jumping in to get clarifications or suggest changes. Regardless, voting tends to lead to agreement by a significant majority. In my observations, there were never more than a few hands raised in rejection to any given proposal. The generosity of the allocated budget appears to prevent conflict over allocation of resources.

The functional inclusivity of the Student Council also translates into social inclusivity, both within the meetings and in other aspects of social life. Before and after meetings, and during the moments when the Council breaks up into specific committees, there is a great deal of ebb and flow as Council members move around and interact with each other. A great deal of social ease is displayed between members crossing racial and social lines at each meeting. This ease is also seen in social events and interactions at Verdant, which are disproportionately attended by core residents like Council members or resident advisors. As noted, Council members are more

likely to value diversity, befriend people from other racial and socioeconomic backgrounds, and participate in the social events that are planned and implemented by the Council.

However, the Student Council does not explicitly address the social and cultural differences of residents. Even when it does, discussion tends to remain at a superficial level. In one dialogue about cultural differences, the discussion largely revolved around cosmetic differences concerning how people celebrated the holidays. In another meant to discuss race, participants were very reticent and little was substantively said. One consequence is that the Council operates out of similar tacit norms as those that occur in Verdant's social life more generally. Here too, as in Verdant's general social scene, Chinese respondents share that the Student Council is too large and intimidating to participate in. This phenomenon is also observed by non-Chinese residents like Sarah, whether in Student Council or in general interactions:

> I would say the bigger the personality you have the more you say in things because it's just the more you talk. So in Council, obviously there's a lot of people who have ideas, and once they're prepared and present, they definitely have an equal voice. But if we're just going improv and talking about something, people with the bigger voices usually have more of a say. For instance, at the beginning of the year we usually have hall talks. It's usually the people who are more comfortable speaking who say the most.

While presented as a forum for student leadership, the Student Council does not explicitly exercise governance. It mainly exists to plan, vote on, and implement social events funded by the generous budget that is provided by the residential college. At the same time, the Council exerts significant influence in shaping the general identity and initiatives at Verdant, and in fostering a particular kind of social space and residential experience. As I described regarding core residents, it is seen uniformly by residents to be the representative community of Verdant. When combined with the fact that it is made up of more active and invested residents, the Council's influence on Verdant's social life through its example and through its event-planning

is only matched by that of resident advisors, who, up until the end of that calendar year, were not allowed to be Council members during their tenure as RA's.

Ironically, Muriel shares that both groups' efforts to foster community was previously a source of tension due to competition, because the Student Council and the resident advisors both focused on large-scale events and would plan events to occur at the same time. Several things have led to more positive relations, including a greater proportion of RA's who previously sat on the Council, and a close relationship between Muriel and other RA's with Council leaders like Ishmael. More specifically, Muriel has also overseen a shift in focus such that RA's and Council focus on different aspects of building community at Verdant:

> There's the overall community between all the buildings that are in your res colleges. 'Cause sometimes there's not a community on your hall. So one of the things that we've been focused on that I've really been encouraging RA's to do is to focus on building the community on your hall and Student Council builds the community overall.

Despite a more holistic effort between Council members and RA's to promote community at Verdant, the problem of involvement, and by extension, social interaction and integration, remains at both the "overall" community level and the "hall" community level. Muriel acknowledges that RA's face discouragement trying to promote participation:

> When [RA's] get discouraged, "Only two or three people came to my program," I say, "Well those are the two or three people that you want to focus on. Those are the people that are coming to you and they want to be involved in what you're doing in the hall. And they want to get to know you." Yeah, it sucks. You spend a lot of money to plan an event and only one person comes. But I say, that's your opportunity to really get to know that person and perhaps get them out of their shell if they don't come to those area-wide events.

Muriel sees the social events planned by RA's as another avenue of facilitating involvement that may draw in different individuals than the larger events planned by the Student Council. As such, it may seem to be more accessible, for example, in being smaller and more

intimate, to international Chinese residents. But comments from residents suggest that many times it is still the same people attending hall events as larger events. Still, regardless of the levels of actual participation in hall events, RA's themselves are generally viewed by residents to be approachable, helpful, and open to suggestions from residents. In this way, as with other aspects of Verdant, welcome and belonging are once again demonstrated to be different things. This is a result of the way difference is organized around acceptance rather than engagement, taking a passive approach which relies on individual action and not institutional intervention.

Verdant's Major Social Cleavage: Chinese Internationals

The general inclusivity of the Student Council notwithstanding, the Chinese do not see Verdant as being more (or less) welcoming than SRU. Instead, respondents express discomfort with what they see to be an American style of social interaction at Verdant with a focus on small talk and shared interests (which are often not shared by the Chinese). Communication is a frequently expressed obstacle, with language barriers making conversation difficult. Moreover, Chinese internationals are more likely than others to view Verdant as socially intimidating, and to prefer more structured facilitation of social life. While some self-segregate from the beginning, others encounter a social milieu that is less comfortable for them and are left to their own devices to navigate it because of Verdant's laissez faire approach to managing diversity; for these students, fragmentation is due less to preference and more to social pressure.

While Verdant creates a welcoming safe haven for diversity, it is less successful at enabling inclusion for the clustered, in general, and for the Chinese, in particular. Jenny, a

freshman from China, describes how, in order to participate, she needs to feel like she has something to contribute. Most times, she feels that she has nothing to offer. “[Verdant] certainly welcomes you to join their community, but I feel like I could be no use to them. Like I could not make contributions to this community.” This is an example of cultural exclusion, the inability to find value in what one’s cultural background can contribute to a community. Huoban, a recurring event I discuss next, offers a significant contrast for Jenny. “It’s like you have your place in Huoban sessions. You feel like you are important there.” The contrast reflects the subtle sense of cultural devaluation that some Chinese experience at Verdant.

Chinese respondents also offer a subtle critique of the way laissez faire tolerance functions at Verdant. Janice, who is a quietly thoughtful participant in Verdant’s social life, observes what she sees to be a lack of real engagement with diversity:

> I think the activities held by Verdant community, they just don't - the diversity, people from different backgrounds, will not create much difference. Because there will be meditation on Monday. Cookies on Thursday. Tuesday is bagel and hiking. It's just about people's interests. Not much about their backgrounds. I think the only thing deal with backgrounds or differences is Huoban. It just focuses on Chinese and American.

Janice describes how Verdant tends to focus on activities that center on shared interests rather than exploring the social and cultural differences associated with different backgrounds. In this way, difference is not substantively engaged for the most part (though there are occasional small-scale dialogues). A practice of laissez faire tolerance, combined with the general social tendency towards homophily, means that residents are more likely to interact, socialize, and build relationships along lines of similarity than across lines of difference. While this appears to work for domestic students in the main, it leaves tacit American norms in place such that Chinese students can feel like their backgrounds do not matter. In this way, diversity can also

stop short of the reflexive understanding that scholars argue is needed to foster real community across difference. Sarah, in recounting an instance of unwitting bigotry, describes it this way:

> We're more diverse but we're not diverse. Well I mean we're diverse but we're not 100% understanding of everyone's diversity. Everyone's diverse in their own way but people just don't understand. They just don't know.

To the degree that the substance of difference is ignored at Verdant, the social divisions between Chinese and American residents are reinforced. Chinese internationals have a harder time finding common ground with their domestic peers, whether in terms of shared interests or in terms of topics of conversation. Respondents regularly described the difficulty of finding things to talk about with American peers. One example is a common feeling among the Chinese that their American peers don't care as much about grades or academics, and therefore don't talk about them, whereas it is a common topic of conversation among the Chinese. Internationals also wrestle with a lack of cultural capital, such as awareness of pop culture references, making even humor a difficult thing to share. Respondents share how social exclusion is often a consequence of cultural exclusion. Andrea, an alumna who was active in her time at Verdant, notes:

> It's just uncomfortable for international students. It's daunting. If there is one of the people you know there with you it would be great. But if you are there alone with a group of people who are fluent in English, who know everything about culture, it's going to be very daunting.

There is a general frustration among the Chinese at the difficulty of communicating intimate thoughts or humor in a foreign language, which makes it hard to establish meaningful friendships with American peers, or even to socialize in an otherwise casual social environment. Even though there is offhanded acknowledgment of such challenges by Americans, they are treated as a fact of life rather than a shared obstacle which Americans can contribute to overcoming. Most Verdantians, whether residents or leaders, persist in the view that the Chinese

choose to segregate rather than are constrained from integrating. The burden of adjustment around language and culture is thus left to fall on the Chinese. As Andrea continues to say:

> You can't communicate with others. You can't say what you want. It's so frustrating. People are so fun in their native language. It's just constraining. I can't express what I want to say most of the time using a different language. It's just frustrating. And it's difficult to create bonds. It's not as easy as in the native language. It's just even harder for international students to enjoy it. Cause we're really conscious about the language.

As is typical of the experience of marginal groups, the Chinese are more conscious of the social and cultural obstacles that they face daily than their American (or even other international) counterparts are. Andrea also alludes to a social challenge for foreign residents, the sense of alienation that comes from being a stranger who does not know anyone else. Gina, another Chinese resident, started getting tears in her eyes as she shared a similar sentiment:

> It's not that we're not welcome but because we walk into some events, you feel like you know nobody there. And then who are you going to talk to? Are you going to be that awkward person in the party? No. So that's maybe why people stop going. People go to events to talk to people they know. If they don't really know you, there's not anything you can do to change that. I feel like people have to find a way to make people mingle enough before you have [events].

A commonly expressed truism at Verdant is that social connection happens through participation at events. Friendships are born from meeting new people at social events. But comments from numerous Chinese internationals showed that this truism was not borne out in their experience. When they attended events, no new social relationships were established. As Gina continued to say, “For international students, you try really hard but you still can't really get close to anyone. I read something in a book saying that people always want to be different. But when you're actually different, you get scared. That's kind of how I'm feeling right now.” While particularly true in the experience of the Chinese, introverts express similar sentiments. Rudy is a

white junior who is on the Student Council but is not socially connected at Verdant. Despite his involvement in leadership, he represents a type of clustered, rather than core, resident:

> From my perspective, [Verdant] feels kind of extroverted. I usually want someone to bring me into a community. I'm most comfortable when a friend introduces me to someone else. I'm very uncomfortable introducing myself. In Verdant, I came here not knowing anyone and I never really got that friend introducing you to someone else kind of thing. So I never really integrated that much into the community.

A designated mentoring program that assigns incoming freshmen with upperclassmen mentors promised to facilitate the social entrée desired by residents who are not comfortable inserting themselves into Verdant's social environment. Unfortunately, the program is very haphazardly administered. Most of the underclassmen I spoke with had never met their mentors. Some spoke with a degree of wistfulness at the lost opportunity to connect with Verdant. Once again, this is because participation, including from the mentors, is left primarily to individuals to self-manage. In this case, the mentees are left with regrets at the lost opportunity due to the lack of action of their absent mentors. In a similar way, the lack of integration from some of the clustered is due, not just to the choices of the clustered themselves, but to the lack of action by the core to effectively pave the way for social interaction across social and cultural lines.

Segregation is also part of a more general phenomenon across all residents, domestic or international, noticed by Edmund. Edmund shares how social networks are already saturated because residents arrive with preestablished social networks:

> This thing actually goes both ways for American and Chinese. Coming in, they are already having their own group. I'd rather have a community where nobody knows each other so everyone is at the same starting point. So they are forced to interact with other people. The worst is you live in a community and you're the only one not connecting with others and they already have their own friend group. Then you're just left out. Cause they already have their connection with each other. Why would they include a stranger like you?

Edmund observes the way previously established social networks can preclude the formation of new ones, describing how many residents come to Verdant already connected via social media networks. Edmund describes this as a general challenge to social integration – breaking out of homogeneous friend groups to develop relationships with social others. “So these two groups, they don't usually interact. Then what's the point of having a diverse group when in fact each group just hangs out within itself?” In doing so, Edmund also refutes the common perceptions that only the Chinese come with preestablished social networks and that they form one cohesive segregated community. Though there are, in fact, separate social media networks at Verdant, only half of Verdantians – typically those with connections to the core – are on GroupMe, the integrated social media network, and, less than half of the Chinese are on WeChat.

Finally, Chinese respondents also allude to their lack of representation in leadership. Though lack of representation is due mainly to lack of interest from the Chinese in participating, it may also be (like social exclusion) a consequence of cultural exclusion. Edmund, who is one of a few international Chinese on the Student Council, observes:

> Currently I think it's not encouraging international students or any proposal related to international students because we don't have too much presence. And then I think Council, they're almost 100% American. I know probably it's not their intention to make the proposals all catering to American culture or mainstream culture. But it's very easy for them to ignore that we should be doing other stuff.

Inadvertently, the kinds of events planned by the Student Council tend to reflect an American social mindset. For example, events focus on large, open, free-flowing social activities in a casual, unstructured environment with an emphasis on having fun. However, as described above, such events can be intimidating to the Chinese, who describe preferences for smaller, more intimate, and structured events with direct facilitation of social connection, and are generally more oriented towards academics than social functions. As Gina noted, “I feel like

people have to find a way to make people mingle enough before you have [events].” While event planners tend to assume that participation will result in social connection, the Chinese tend to feel like social connection should precede participation. However, lack of representation in leadership means that such perspectives are not typically voiced and recognized.

Inverted Social Recognition: Dumplings with Huoban

It is the first meeting of the semester. Ten people sit waiting. The Chinese students cluster and talk among themselves while the non-Chinese sit quietly apart. As the conversation begins, it is primarily Carmen, Rena, and the Chinese students who talk and display signs of social ease. The Americans, with the exception of Genevieve – who continually asks questions – appear largely quiet and even a little lost. Carmen, who is facilitating, orients herself both physically and conversationally towards the Chinese students, turning her body towards them and asking them questions about their history and traditions. At times, she turns and interprets for the Americans. However, there are numerous awkward silences, as well as a general lack of engagement from the Americans in the meeting.

Dumplings with Huoban is noticeable for being the singular example at Verdant of a regular social activity that is intended to reflexively engage diversity. It is presented as “a weekly gathering that brings together Chinese international students and students from the US (and other parts of the globe) for focused cross-cultural dialogue.” Though Verdantians treat Huoban as an exemplar of Verdant’s approach to diversity, it is the exception rather than the norm. There are few other activities that intentionally address social or cultural differences in structured

discussion. The majority of social functions are built around socializing through shared interests, occurring in spite of difference rather than focusing on it. Diversity is welcomed, but rarely engaged in programming, and never on a consistent basis except at Huoban. This is reflected in what the Chinese see as the prevalence of a generalized American mindset. As Janice observes:

> [Verdantians'] ways of thinking, actions, or behaviors are pretty much like American students. Even people have different religious behavior, religious beliefs, they do not act differently or speak, or they express different ideas. I didn't notice much differences in people's thoughts. People all talking about freedom, democracy. Liberal ideas.

While many Student Council members and RA's are individually conscious of the salience of social and cultural differences, Verdant's institutional aculturalism operates similarly to colorblindness by structurally glossing over differences; its laissez faire approach assumes that the environment is socially and culturally neutral, placing the focus on individuals. Yet, Chinese respondents share that, while they feel welcome at Verdant, it is only at Huoban that they feel socially recognized, and as if difference matters. Huoban allows Chinese culture to come to the forefront in a way that respondents appreciate. They feel centered in a way that they are not in the rest of their experience. This, in part, is what manages to draw greater Chinese participation in Huoban (though many Chinese still do not participate). This is expressed directly by Jenny:

> I feel like [Verdant] reflects an American way except for Huoban. 'Cause the Huoban sessions, international students come. International students are important to Huoban sessions, so I feel the need to come.

Implicit in Jenny's words is the idea that the Chinese do not feel socially or culturally included outside of Huoban, highlighting the importance of social recognition for integration, and intentional reflexivity for recognition. However, while Huoban prioritizes the Chinese, it does little to change Verdant's overall social environment. Even though regularly invoked by residents as a sign of tolerance, Huoban does not disrupt the general pattern of social division

between Chinese and Americans. Still, Huoban is symbolically important to Verdantians. For Americans, it showcases Verdant's openness. For the Chinese, it is a promissory sign that Verdant welcomes them. Yet, beyond its symbolism, Huoban is relatively limited in effect when measured in terms of promoting participation, interaction, integration, or institutional change. Difference is not incorporated in a way that shows an effect outside the meetings.

At the start of each semester, Carmen sends out an email soliciting participation, pairing American and Chinese participants into partners, and presenting a schedule of topics for future discussion. Meetings are built around what is intended to be a casual dialogue facilitated by student partners. A typical meeting involves a gathering of five to ten people, which includes Carmen and/or Rena. The remaining three to eight participants are a mix of international Chinese, American-born Chinese, and Americans from a pool of roughly twenty participants throughout the semester. Participation thus involves a very small subset of American and Chinese residents who are open to engaging in cultural dialogue, typically less than 5% of Verdant's population at any one meeting.

Huoban is run jointly by Carmen, Verdant's director of studies, and Rena, a second-year RA with a mixed Taiwanese-American heritage. Meetings take place for an hour every Friday evening at Verdant's common hub. Behind-the-scenes conversation reveals that while Huoban's manifest goal is to promote cross-cultural dialogue, and by extension, cross-cultural friendships, the latent purpose is to get Chinese residents involved. Huoban was created because leaders perceive the problem of integration at Verdant to be due to lack of participation by internationals. The administration's hope is that promoting cultural engagement will encourage greater Chinese

participation and subsequent social interaction between American and Chinese residents. As a result, Huoban represents an atypical administrative intervention.

However, Huoban's impact is limited, whether in achieving its explicit purpose of fostering interaction and integration through cross-cultural dialogue or its implicit purpose of promoting Chinese participation. As regards participation, most Chinese show little more inclination than their American counterparts to participate in activities which promote reflexive discussion about diversity. In part, this reflects a lower interest level on the part of the Chinese to participate in social (as opposed to academic) activities. In part, this reflects a lack of awareness of the benefits associated with these activities. As Andrea expresses regarding her experience:

> I think sometimes people don't go just because they've never experienced it. That's why I say RA's should really drag some people out occasionally. 'Cause I feel like for a lot of Chinese students, we really focus on our work and we're so busy. We pack our schedules literally with all kinds of academic stuff. All the engineering, mathematical, these kinds of stuff. But we rarely see how valuable these kind of small group activities are.

Andrea goes on to suggest that Verdant fails to connect the dots for Chinese residents to see why diversity matters or dialogues are beneficial, things she only learned to appreciate after participating. The dialogues themselves vary highly. Topics range from comparisons of popular culture and hometowns to issues like differing educational systems, gender norms, or politics. At their best, participants engage in thought-provoking exchanges. In a conversation about different educational systems and philosophies, there were nine participants besides myself – Carmen, Rena, three Chinese residents, and four American residents. The facilitators raised interesting points of discussion, such as the difference between active and passive styles of learning, the relative importance of extracurriculars, and the significance of including or excluding ethics in education. Participation was widespread and participants were very engaged with the discussion.

Yet, regardless of the quality of discussions – which often face obstacles like inconsistent facilitation skills, reticence among participants, or lack of reflexivity – integration between Chinese and Americans and social interaction is very limited. Huoban's social dynamics are shaped by the prioritization of Chinese residents. Huoban thus inverts the usual patterns of social and cultural inclusion to promote the social recognition of the Chinese, but in a way that hinders social interactions and reinforces rather than bridges social or cultural differences. Though presented as a space for cross-cultural dialogue, in practice it functions more to affirm the Chinese and their value horizons in ways which are alienating for other participants. Attempts to be culturally inclusive to the Chinese can unintentionally result in excluding others. Once again, social inclusion is contingent on cultural inclusion.

There are several ways in which the emphasis on Chinese cultural inclusion results in a tangible sense of exclusion for non-Chinese. At the start of the semester, Carmen tells participants that they will address each other by Chinese names rather than English ones at Huoban. American participants are given a Chinese name. While interesting as a language lesson and empowering for the Chinese in a reversal of the norm, Chinese names are very difficult for non-Chinese to pronounce, or even remember. This lends itself to a notable hesitancy to address others and a degree of awkwardness in speaking that mirrors the Chinese experience in contexts outside of Huoban. Throughout the meeting, the process of naming, explaining, and practicing Chinese pronunciation also emphasizes the disparity of knowledge and cultural fluency, and by consequence, social ease, between American and Chinese participants, who appear visibly lost.

More generally, those who can speak Chinese and have cultural fluency become cultural and social insiders at Huoban while those who cannot are left excluded. Chinese speakers are

both more comfortable socializing with one another and participating in discussions. Once again, in a reverse of the typical pattern, it is the Chinese who appear at ease as a group and make cheerful small talk amongst each other while American participants tend to sit apart and stay quiet, whether waiting for the meetings to start or during the meetings themselves. There is little informal interaction between Americans and Chinese, who basically do not talk to one another except within the structure of facilitated conversations. Therefore, few cross-cultural relationships are established which extend outside of Huoban meetings.

A lopsided social dynamic also exists in facilitation style that excludes non-Chinese even as it includes the Chinese. Both Carmen and Rena are culturally fluent and speak Chinese, enabling them to easily slip into the roles of cultural insiders. When combined with their focus on promoting Chinese social recognition, the result is a facilitation style that is deferential to Chinese sensibilities but highlights, rather than bridges, salient differences. Both leaders intentionally seek to identify with Chinese participants and respect Chinese perspectives while drawing on shared cultural knowledge to participate in inside jokes and comments. Even as they do this, however, other participants are visibly left lost and excluded. As a result, Americans are typically more reticent to contribute in discussion or to socialize. Moreover, the Chinese themselves, with rare exceptions, do not engage the Americans to attempt to draw them out.

Though Carmen and Rena also attempt to act as cultural translators, this often serves to heighten rather than diminish the sense of alienation, as translation almost inevitably works in one direction, translating an aspect of Chinese culture, history, or politics for Americans rather than the other way around. Americans thus find themselves in the position that the Chinese feel elsewhere of having little to contribute. In this way, Huoban functions more effectively as a

space which validates Chinese culture and exposes Americans to elements of Chinese culture than as a space that promotes equalizing cross-cultural engagement. It successfully promotes a pocket of Chinese social recognition, but without noticeably increasing social interaction with other Verdantians. Practically speaking, Huoban has little impact on integration because it inverts the roles of Chinese and non-Chinese rather than bridging the differences.

Despite being atypical in certain respects – active administrative intervention, regular and reflexive engagement with diversity, and a focus on the Chinese – Huoban is illustrative of Verdant's general approach of managing difference through laissez faire tolerance and acceptance. It inverts rather than reverses social dynamics of recognition. Laissez faire tolerance is premised on expressive individualism. Just as residents at Verdant primarily value the ability to be and express themselves – over and above connecting with social others – so the Chinese primarily value the ability to be Chinese and express their culture – over and above cross-cultural engagement. This is not to say that integration does not matter to participants, but that it is contingent upon self-expression. While social recognition is necessary for integration, it leads to self-segregation when groups swap relative social positions rather than equalizing them.

An Insoluble Problem or a Change in Approach?

The observations made above are not entirely novel or unrecognized by Verdant's administration. In fact, part of the college administration's willingness to grant me access to conduct my research, even to the extent of advocating for me before the overall leadership of the university, had to do with their recognition that there is a problem of integration that needs to be addressed. Despite advocating a laissez faire approach herself in her tenure as principal (which

ended at the close of my fieldwork), Wanda describes a nuclear option involving more intentionality about what should happen regarding the residential college. For Wanda, there is a limited time horizon in which Verdant can keep maintaining the status quo:

> What I proposed was that somebody above me had to make a decision. And the decision should be either embrace this - go full on and have it be this amazing experience that was Chinese international and US and cross-cultural and really embrace it. Get a different principal. Or have co-principals. What if I was paired with a Chinese international professor? We could do it together. So I said, I think we need to really embrace it and have Chinese dinners twice a week, whatever, or we needed to blow it up.

For Wanda, the issue is that the cross-cultural aspect of diversity at Verdant is more incidental than intentional. In order to really make integration work – to bridge the social distance between Chinese internationals and other residents – Verdant needs to really embrace its cultural diversity by employing a more active, explicit, and reflexive approach towards engaging diversity. In suggesting this, Wanda acknowledges the need for greater effort on the part of established residents like the core and the engaged, rather than placing all the burden on individual Chinese. Implicit in this is a recognition that the social structure needs to be addressed to place more emphasis on the role of the institution and the majority members of the residential college rather than focusing on individual minority members. This is a much more active paradigm than its current mode of organization around the passive acceptance of difference:

> The non-Chinese students are going to have to spend a lot of time engaging with Chinese students who are more nervous and not proficient with the language and need more one on one, more avenues to engage. That takes time and effort. I don't know that we should assume that all of our students here are up for that. It has to be intentional for it to really happen in my opinion.

Wanda expresses a recognition that without intentionality such levels of interaction will not happen. Without taking active steps, residents will fall into their usual patterns of life as usual, which is more likely to manifest in indifference towards social others than integration.

After having spent five years attempting to address this issue, Wanda's feeling is that the university needs to either take the final step towards integration through intentional cultural engagement or end the residential college altogether because it is untenable to stay in the in-between space created by laissez faire tolerance. In expressing this dramatic opinion, Wanda, shares some feedback from international colleagues:

> A colleague of mine who is a Chinese international himself said, "You do not want this to happen. And it's not for the residential college. It's because it's not good for them to be insular and isolated." And you do not want this to happen. So, there might be that issue. I can imagine why that won't be good, but that's not my area. I have to look at Verdant from my vantage point as the principal. My goals are to increase involvement.

Two separate reasons for changing Verdant's approach are expressed here by Wanda. The first is the reasoning of her colleague on behalf of the marginal group at Verdant, the Chinese. Integration is necessary because isolation is harmful for Chinese students, whether they choose this or are pressured into it due to social and cultural constraints. The second is Wanda's reasoning based on her responsibility as a principal. A residential college, more than a dorm, requires participation to sustain its explicit purpose as a residential community. If the way to achieve this participation means changing its approach, then this is what needs to happen, or Verdant needs to stop being a residential college and revert to being a dorm. Even as she acknowledges the success of Verdant in establishing a welcoming space for diverse students, the sentiment is that the inability to foster Chinese participation constitutes an institutional failure.

INTEGRATION AS CHANGE IN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Institutional Pathways for the Incorporation of Diversity

Integration matters because segregation is a major factor driving racial inequality in America (Anderson 2010; Massey and Denton 1993). Yet, aspirations of equality regularly falter in the face of the color line, with Americans demonstrating a stronger commitment to it in principle than in practice (Cashin 2004; Hochschild 2006; Ray 2019). Thus, much of what passes for integration is limited to desegregation; demographic change is not accompanied by changes to the racial hierarchy (Edwards et al. 2013; Espenshade et al. 2009). Racialized social structures shape the experiences of people of color in the places where they work, learn, and worship even as they remain invisible to whites (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Doane 1997). Yet, while this is seen by many to be indicative of the failure of integration, I argue, instead, that it demonstrates the way many organizations practice desegregation behind the rhetoric of diversity (Berrey 2015).

This dissertation was motivated by several goals. First, I wanted to discover the conditions that enable integration to occur by empirically comparing in-depth ethnographic data from two organizations and synthesizing social theories at the micro and meso levels relating to the role of social recognition in reversing social closure and racial stratification. Second, I wanted to establish criteria by which integration can be measured in terms of the inclusion of people of color and the realignment of racial positioning in social fields. Third, I wanted to explore the potential of organizations that are not predominantly white to promote outcomes characterized by racial equality and social cohesion. Finally, I wanted to build a model of the incorporation of diversity that prevents integration from being reduced to desegregation.

Based on my research, I model three theoretical pathways for the incorporation of racial diversity in organizations (figure 11). This model connects institutional orientations regarding diversity (Hartmann and Gerteis 2005) to corresponding modes of organization (Thomas and Ely 1996) that result in divergent outcomes (Anderson 2010). It thus treats organizations as racialized institutions (Ray 2019). In the model, desegregated organizations sustain racial stratification because they are characterized by an assimilationist perspective and organized on the basis of conformity to white hegemony. By contrast, integrated organizations employ pluralist approaches which incorporate difference through the social and cultural convergence of whites and people of color. More piecemeal forms of integration are also possible when organizations adopt a cosmopolitan orientation that promotes the celebration of diversity through individual expression but does not incorporate it into the organization itself.

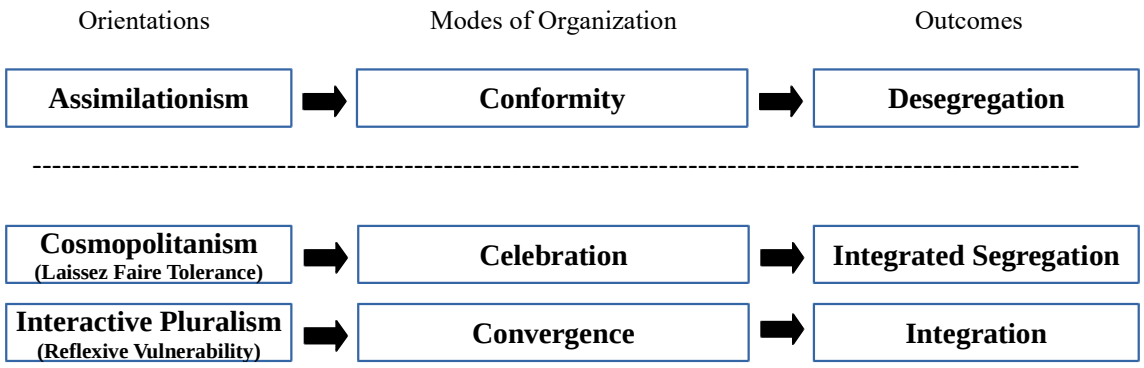

Figure 11. A Comparison of Institutional Pathways through my Cases

I employed the extended case method (Burawoy 1998) to problematize existing theory through the analysis of two empirical cases. I began by challenging the scholarly consensus that integration occurs primarily through ways which minimize race and sustain white hegemony (Darity and Jolla 2009; Hughey 2010a; Edwards et al. 2013). This consensus is based off of a

literature replete with diverse organizations that sustain patterns of racial stratification. Yet the significant majority of these cases are predominantly white. I argue that this consensus leaves theoretical and empirical gaps. Empirically, theories of integration are based off of observations of primarily white-dominant organizations. What about organizations that are not predominantly white? Theoretically, the consensus conflates integration with desegregation. How can we distinguish between organizations that are simply diverse and those which are also inclusive?

I collected two years of ethnographic and interview data, supplemented by a survey, from two non-dominant organizations (not predominantly white) to explore whether they are more successful at promoting integration and in what ways such organizations differ in how they manage difference, in general, and race, in particular. Incarnational Community Church is a diverse congregation in the inner city that began as a congregation of color under the leadership of a Puerto Rican pastor. While whites are now as numerous as Latinos in the church (40% each), they are not the dominant group socially or culturally. Verdant is a diverse residential college which houses a sizable population of international students and where there is no clear racial majority; whites make up no more than a third of the population. Both organizations operate under racially diverse leadership, value diversity, and espouse a goal of integration.

Neither case is characterized by white hegemony. Both decenter whites in relation to people of color. Incarnational Community Church operates out of a pluralist orientation with a shared vision of human vulnerability which prioritizes social justice and values engagement with diversity. Yet, while structurally inclusive and socially reflexive, ICC is better at including whites than blacks. Verdant Residential College prioritizes cosmopolitan tolerance and the expression of individuality, eschewing the imposition of a clearly defined identity. Residents feel

welcomed but exist in discrete pockets of integration and segregation, with international students from China facing the greatest obstacles to inclusion. What I find is that both organizations differ in orientation, in organization, and in outcome from what is predicted by the literature on organizational diversity. They also display different racial dynamics at the interpersonal level.

Findings from my dissertation demonstrate several important contributions which I formalize through a theoretical model of institutional pathways for the incorporation of diversity. First, I illustrate how different orientations and modes of organization can be connected to different outcomes of racial stratification. Second, my cases serve as a counterpoint to the white-dominant organizations in the literature, suggesting the potential of organizations that are not predominantly white for pursuing racial equality. Third, I show how racial equality may require the decentering of whites in order for the perspectives of people of color to be given equal weight. Fourth, I demonstrate a measurement framework for assessing equality through the structural (social, cultural, and functional) inclusion of people of color. In this way, I also show how integration should be understood in qualitative, and not just quantitative, terms.

Integration in Principle but Desegregation in Practice

Integration has become de jure in the workplace and de rigueur in social organizations, yet much of what is labeled integration is limited to desegregation in practice – demographic change without change to the racial hierarchy (Anderson 2010; Christerson et al. 2005; Ray 2019). As such, membership diversifies, but racial dynamics remain the same in organizational structures and social relationships. However, using my cases for comparison, I argue that this does not reflect the failure of integration but rather the tendency of institutions to practice

desegregation under the guise of integration (Espenshade et al. 2009; Lewis et al. 2015; Muro 2016). Unfortunately, this fact is often obscured by the tendency to measure integration through quantitative rather than qualitative indicators (Vallas 2003; Weisinger et al. 2016). More attention needs to be paid to the racial dynamics of social interaction and organization (Fredette et al. 2016; Lichterman 2005).

In this formulation, I consider integration and desegregation to be distinct approaches as well as distinct outcomes. A key difference is the degree of inclusion they offer to people of color. Integration involves increased racial equality through the structural inclusion of people of color (Fredette et al. 2016; Honneth 2005; Tienda 2013). Desegregation, by contrast, sustains racial hierarchy because it involves diversity without inclusivity (Berrey 2015; Webber and Donahue 2001). As a result, desegregation is limited to quantitative change in terms of numerical representation while integration also involves qualitative change (figure 12) – the equalization of racial positioning in norms, practices, and networks and the undoing of social closure between whites and people of color (Anderson 2010; Bourdieu 1984; Massey 2007).

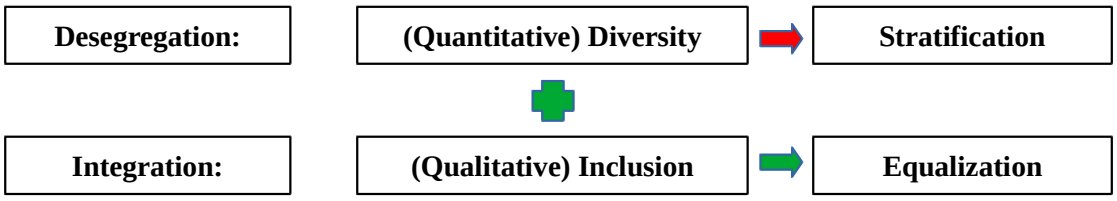

Figure 12. Integration: Equality = Diversity + Inclusion

Integration is distinct from desegregation because the latter dismantles external barriers to entry but allows whites to continue monopolizing internal social networks, institutional norms,

and leadership positions (figure 14). Because desegregated organizations begin with the perspective that demographic change is all that is needed, they tend to adopt a colorblind policy of organizational life which precludes structural adjustments to the racial hierarchy (Berrey 2015; Bonilla-Silva 2003). Desegregation thus closes the spatial distance between racial groups, but not the social distance or racial hierarchy (figure 13; Anderson 2010). Integration, by contrast, not only dismantles racial barriers to entry but also promotes the inclusion of people of color in social networks, leadership, and the shaping of institutional practices (Fredette et al. 2016; Thomas and Ely 1996).

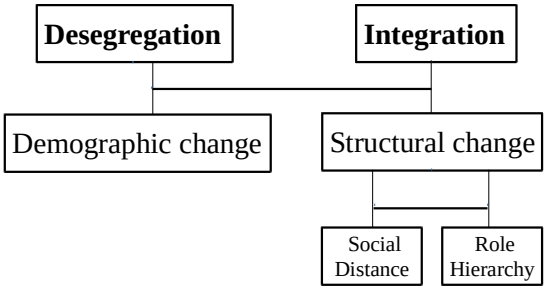

Figure 13. Types of Organizational Change

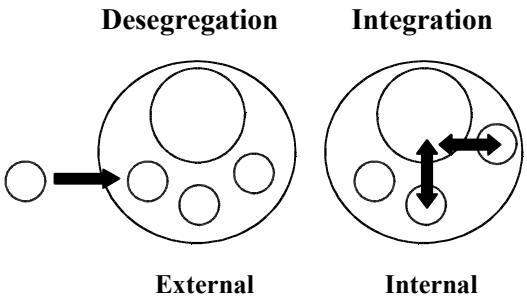

Figure 14. Types of Boundary Change

Desegregation is often viewed as a preliminary stage to integration since integration also requires the dismantling of external boundaries to entry into the organization (Anderson 2010). However, this can lend itself to the idea that transitioning from desegregation to integration can occur without transforming existing social structures (Allen 2016; Bell and Hartmann 2007; Berrey 2015). I therefore believe it is more productive to treat integration and desegregation as distinct institutional pathways. In this formulation, the outcomes of equality an institution can

achieve is constrained by the approaches which are employed (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Lichterman 2005; Warikoo and Deckman 2014). For an institution to transition from being desegregated to integrated requires making substantive structural changes that are better understood as requiring a total change in approach (Anderson 2010; Hartmann and Gerteis 2005; Thomas and Ely 1996).

Measuring Equality Outcomes through Structural Inclusion

I theorize that different institutional pathways result in divergent outcomes of racial equality and social cohesion. Adapting Axel Honneth's (1995) theory of social recognition, I measure these outcomes along three dimensions of structural inclusion in organizations (figure 15). *Social inclusion* refers to the inclusion of people of color (or any minority group) in social networks and their corresponding sense of belonging. *Functional inclusion* refers to minority representation in leadership and their capacity to effect change. And *cultural inclusion* refers to the inclusion of different horizons of value and the increased social esteem of marginal groups. These encapsulate a racial group's influence on the norms, practices, and social networks of an organization and are indicative of its overall racial field position (figure 16) – the status of a racial group vis-a-vis other groups within the social field of the organization (Bourdieu 1984).

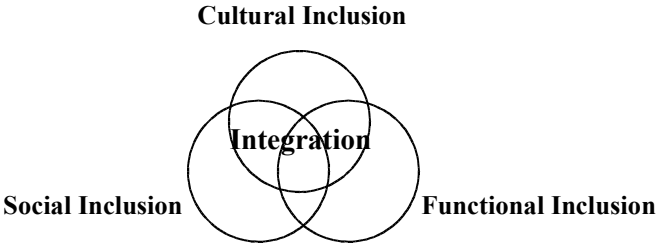

Figure 15. Integration as Structural Inclusion

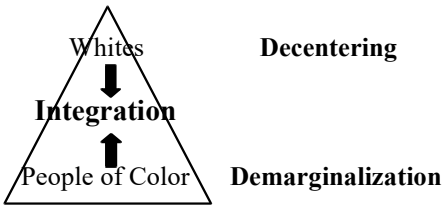

Figure 16. Integration as Racial Field Realignment

In this model, integration bridges social distance and role hierarchy (Anderson 2010) because it is characterized by the structural inclusion (social, cultural, and functional inclusion) of people of color. Social and functional inclusion have been shown to be particularly important to making integration work (Fredette et al. 2016; Weisinger et al. 2016). However, cultural inclusion may be a more fundamental category that provides the terms under which social and functional inclusion are evaluated (Ghaziani and Baldassarri 2011; Sewell 1999). In relation to field theory (Bourdieu 1984), structural inclusion involves the simultaneous decentering of whites as the racial majority and demarginalization of people of color as racial minorities (Warren 2010). The latter should be evaluated separately by racial group with particular attention to blacks because they occupy the most marginal position in America's racial hierarchy.

Structural inclusion then indicates change in underlying racial fields through the equalization of social status between whites and people of color. This requires more than quantitative equality (e.g. proportion of members or leaders) but qualitative equality (e.g. degree of esteem for people and perspectives from different groups). As an outcome, integration entails achieving qualitative parity for all constituent groups while desegregation retains racial hierarchy. In this way, integration and desegregation can be viewed as opposite poles on a spectrum of outcomes. As a process, integration is about making progress along this spectrum

towards the equalization of racial field positioning. In contrast, desegregation anchors one end of the spectrum because its associated orientations and modes of organization reject the necessity of structural adjustment (figure 17).

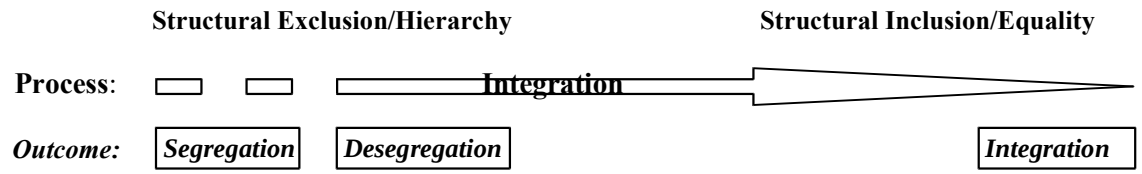

Figure 17. Integration as Process and Outcome

I see integration as involving the undoing of social closure between whites and people of color through social recognition (Beauvoir 2011; Honneth 1995; Warren 2010). Social closure, the linchpin of stratification, involves the classification of people into disparate categories and the unequal distribution of power, resources, and relationships that is then institutionalized along categorical lines (Massey 2007; Tilly 1999; Weber (1922) 1978). Classification and distribution are mutually reinforcing, the former justifying the latter and the latter sustaining the former. Racial others become, not just social others, but moral others who fall outside the bounds of the ingroup's moral obligation (Douglas 1966; Mohr 2004; Simmel 1971). Racial others also become epistemic others, those whose differences are to be tolerated but not learned from or incorporated except in superficial ways (Brown 2006; Gilson 2014). Integration entails reversing this process.

An important element of integration that is not discussed enough is the cost associated with it, and who should bear it. It is often simply assumed that the burden of accommodation should fall on the minorities being incorporated (Alba and Nee 1997; Hughey 2010a). Yet this misses the point of integration, which is to pursue equality as well as solidarity out of diversity.

The decentering of whites is an important step to make room for the contributions of people of color (Butler 2009; Ray 2019; Turner 2006; Warren 2010). In my model, the pursuit of social cohesion through the maintenance of stratification is characteristic of the institutional pathway associated with desegregation. As I elaborate below, its underlying orientation of assimilationism emphasizes individual rather than institutional adjustment. Correspondingly, desegregated organizations are structured in ways which require conformity from people of color.

Even advocates of integration who recognize the problem of racial inequality often present pragmatic reasons why it is people of color who need to make the bulk of adjustments (Anderson 2010). Yet, this pragmatism fails in its purpose. First, it undermines integration in principle, and contributes to skepticism by allowing "integration" to serve as a vehicle for the maintenance of the racial status quo. People of color do not want to be required to shoulder all the costs while whites share cost-free in the benefits of diversity (Emerson and Yancey 2011). As a result, it also fails in practice. "Integration" does not work when the burden is placed primarily on people of color to accommodate. They opt out and choose more attractive alternatives where they do not have to continue to be marginalized (Christerson et al. 2005). Unsurprisingly, there is a far higher turnover rate for members of minority groups in these organizations.

Both of my cases show outcomes characterized by greater racial equality and social cohesion than reports of desegregated white-dominant organizations in the literature, though structural inclusion varies in each case, not only along the three composite dimensions, but as regards different groups. ICC, an urban church in the "hyperghetto," is characterized by a high degree of social and functional inclusion across racial and socioeconomic groups. The social inclusion of different groups is demonstrated by extensive interaction across lines of race and

class in regular social interaction and friendship networks. This manifests as a shared sense among congregants of all backgrounds of experiencing social connection and trust across demographic lines. To the degree that some congregants feel a sense of disconnect, this is also distributed across racial lines rather than concentrated among members of a particular group.

To say that ICC is socially inclusive is not to say that racial dynamics do not shape social interactions but that they occur in an institutional environment which promotes social reflexivity about race. Differences in social location, particularly along class lines, lend themselves to different starting positions regarding awareness of structural racism. While this is not simply undone at ICC, whites in particular demonstrate increasing awareness of the implications of race through relationships with people of color. This is further fostered by a church leadership headed by pastor Miguel. Uniformly respected, Miguel is a Puerto Rican pastor who is seen by congregants to demonstrate a unique credibility to challenge them through a combination of academic credentials and experience teaching, a close history and involvement with black and Latino inner city communities, and a high degree of personal humility.

This leadership also translates into significant functional inclusion at ICC. It begins with the intentional selection and training of leaders from diverse backgrounds and their regular representation in front of the church. At the time of my field work, ICC's elders included three Latinos, two white men and two white women, one black woman, and one Asian man. Another black elder had recently been sent to replace a pastor at a daughter church. The elders operate out of a principle of unanimity which works to safeguard diverse perspectives by making sure key decisions are only advanced with unanimous consent or abstention. Any dissenting opinion in leadership carries significant weight. While this can make some changes slow, it also protects

minority opinions and promotes the development of thoughtful consensus, as was demonstrated in an example when the church significantly reversed its position on women in leadership.

When it comes to cultural inclusion, however, ICC displays important variance between whites and blacks. Based on my observations, it shares a great deal of cultural convergence in worship norms between Latinos and both blacks and whites. As is often more characteristic in white churches, teaching styles focus on intellectual understanding and musical forms center around instruments like the guitar. As is often more characteristic with black church worship, it is more rhythmic, expressive, and experiential in worship and displays elements of call and response. It also has looser expectations regarding time. ICC adopts an explicitly multicultural approach that is intentional to vary its worship repertoire to include everything from hymns to spirituals to Spanish songs. However, when it comes to concrete practices, ICC is less likely to incorporate distinctive cultural forms of black worship (like having a choir).

While white congregants may feel uncomfortable at times by being exposed to different forms of worship, some black respondents feel like something is missing from their worship experience. While this is a minority sentiment, the respondents who express a feeling of cultural distance also express a feeling of social distance that bears paying attention to. For these respondents, diversity is code for black, highlighting a sense of marginalization. While the leadership recognizes this, for pastor Miguel, black cultural inclusion is a particular challenge because of a perceived association between “black community” and “homogeneity.” The implication is that the Black Church experience is distinctive (something black respondents say is instantly recognizable), but also monolithic in a way which may preclude other forms of diversity. It thus remains a distinctive pole of cultural alterity.

Verdant, a diverse residential college on the social fringe of an elite university, is more complicated to describe. This is because it functions by design less as a structured institution with a cohesive identity and agenda and more as a voluntary residential space where individuals are expected to assert their own individual agendas and identities. What this means is that, as an institution, there is only a minimal structural scaffolding to hold together individuals from diverse backgrounds with different visions of what Verdant represents. In this way, as an institution, Verdant cannot be said to be structurally inclusive. Rather, it is welcoming of difference and provides the potential for integration, but often reflects integrated segregation, when diverse groups exist side by side but do not interact with each other (May 2014). This reflects both students' preferences and structural obstacles faced by Chinese internationals.

One way Verdant's integration can be viewed is as a set of concentric rings fanning out from a social center to a social periphery. At its heart, making up 20-25% of the residential college, are the residents who are identified by everyone as representative of Verdant. This core group of residents, most of whom are on its Student Council, are a diverse and structurally inclusive body of students who are active, self-motivated, and interested in making Verdant a community. While not characterized by any particular demographic makeup, the core is heavily weighted towards domestic students. The leadership is headed by two co-presidents from lower-income backgrounds, one a Middle Eastern male and the other a white female. The other four spots are occupied by two more white women and two Asian women. Importantly, the core are the residents who simultaneously value diversity, community, and engagement.

Verdant's approach works well for the core because it offers them the freedom and agency to explore their values and to take action on them by engaging in activities like cross-

cultural dialogues or making diverse friends on the Student Council. The Council offers significant resources for planning activities, which the core makes extensive use of. The engaged, meanwhile, are residents who are interested in life at Verdant but either have other priorities and commitments which conflict with Verdant's social life or are less likely to take action to engage in activities at Verdant. While some adjustments could be made to better fit their schedules, they typically express satisfaction at their social and functional inclusion at Verdant. For the most part, like with the core, these are domestic students.

The disengaged are residents who are not interested in Verdant's community at all. This group has a large share of both domestic and international residents within it who are mainly interested in the practical benefits of living at the residential college like single rooms or air conditioning. This group presents an insoluble, though under-recognized, problem for integration because integration requires intentional engagement across lines of social and racial difference. The disengaged do not face particular institutional obstacles to their participation. For the most part, they are not integrated because they choose not to be. They do not care about inclusion, feeling that the generally welcoming environment at Verdant is enough for them. The final type of resident, the clustered, does face significant institutional obstacles to structural inclusion. Moreover, these residents include a disproportionate number of international residents.

On the social periphery of Verdant, the clustered are residents who show an interest in community, and a lesser interest in diversity. For various reasons, they tend to cluster into homogeneous social networks. Yet, not only do they face greater structural obstacles than other types of residents, they are also problematized by other Verdantians for appearing to hold themselves apart. In reality, the clustered prefer greater structural facilitation of social life than

Verdant offers. This matters in particular for residents from China because their unrecognized social and cultural exclusion makes it difficult for them to navigate social life at Verdant on an individual basis. The Chinese tend to feel less comfortable with the default style of casual socializing and with the sense that they have nothing to contribute culturally. Chinese residents also have a harder time finding common ground over shared interests with domestic residents.

The experience of the clustered, with particular reference to the Chinese, demonstrates the limitations of Verdant's hands-off approach to integration. For those who are comfortable navigating its default social milieu, freedom and agency are easily expressed. Those who are interested in diversity or community can pursue it, while those who are not can avoid it (although I argue that this poses its own problem for the goal of integration). However, for the clustered, all the burden of social and cultural adjustment is left to them to handle on their own. As a result, they withdraw into like-minded communities rather than feel overextended and out of place. In this way, the core and the clustered illustrate the piecemeal nature of integration at Verdant. It is important to note that, unlike the disengaged, the clustered would like to participate in the larger community at Verdant if given more help navigating social and cultural differences.

Having begun by laying out my measurement framework and the different outcomes of racial equality demonstrated in my cases, I move on to analyze how I see different institutional pathways for the incorporation of diversity as causing these different outcomes.

Integration in Practice: Advancing From Demographic Change to Structural Inclusion

Orientations towards Diversity and the Incorporation of Difference

Each proposed institutional pathway begins with the organization's orientation regarding diversity. How the incorporation of difference should be accomplished – what it entails, what forms of difference are included, and the basis on which this occurs – varies significantly under different orientations. These orientations then determine the modes of organizing difference that are employed in that pathway. For this part of the model, I adapt three of the four ideal types of orientations regarding diversity described by Hartmann and Gerteis (2005) in their discussion of multiculturalism. These are differing normative visions concerning the bases for incorporation – whether association happens along individual or group lines and whether social cohesion rests on "thick" substantive bonds or "thin" procedural rules. While their categories are theoretical, I believe they help to capture distinctive facets of my cases and the cases in the literature.

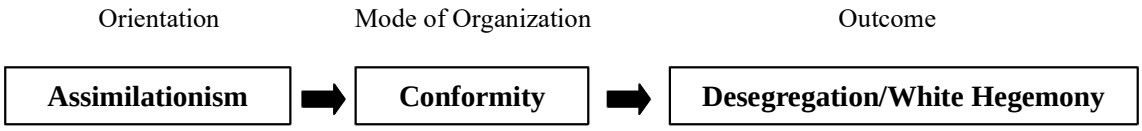

Figure 18. The First Institutional Pathway: Desegregation

The baseline of comparison is an orientation Hartmann and Gerteis call assimilation, the "classic liberal response" (figure 18). Because my emphasis is on its relevance as an orienting perspective, I call this assimilationism instead. Assimilationism treats difference as something to be removed. The emphasis in assimilationism is on conformity to a core identity and minimizing difference, which is viewed as divisive. Organizations who see the problem of racial conflict as

something perpetuated by talking about race hold an assimilationist position. Social interaction is treated as occurring between individuals and institutions in ways unmediated by group affiliation. One effect of this is to minimize differences in experience, perspective, or value related to race (or any background) and to treat them as issues of individual difference. By doing this, assimilationism sustains the status quo of white hegemony and resists structural change.

While assimilationism is typically associated with integration, I argue that this is because "integrated" organizations are frequently desegregated. There is a logical connection between desegregation as an approach and assimilationism as its underlying orientation. This is because desegregated institutions not only place emphasis on demographic change but deny the necessity of structural change (Bonilla-Silva 2003). Such institutions tend to defend the idea that it is individuals who need to adjust, not institutions, by placing an emphasis on race relations over structural factors (Berrey 2015; Voyer 2013). At the same time, there is a logical disconnect between integration and assimilationism. Integration's emphasis on inclusion is incompatible with the monolithic nature of assimilationism since inclusion involves making room for alternate perspectives (Honneth 1995; Thomas and Ely 1996; Tienda 2013).

I see most cases of diverse organizations reported in the literature as operating out of an orientation of assimilationism, whether explicitly, such as churches which subsume racial difference under a religious identity, or implicitly, such as schools which sustain white middle-class norms of academic achievement and deportment. This is to say, most cases are desegregated rather than integrated. The result is the marginalization of perspectives of color and the retention of white hegemony under the guise of institutional neutrality. Yet these cases are also almost uniformly white-dominant organizations. I collected two years of ethnographic

research on two non-dominant organizations because I theorized that organizations that are not predominantly white may have greater potential to integrate due to having greater exposure to the effects of racism and inequality, on the one hand, and less of a stake in protecting white privilege, on the other.

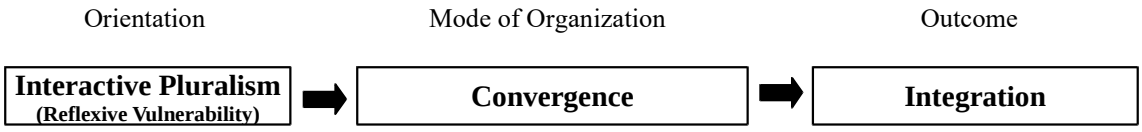

Figure 19. The Third Institutional Pathway: Integration

What I found is that my cases differ significantly in their orientations towards diversity, both from one another and from assimilationist organizations. Incarnational Community Church, an urban congregation in an inner-city neighborhood, approaches diversity through an approach akin to what Hartmann and Gerteis call "interactive pluralism" (figure 19). Instead of the colorblindness of assimilationism which dismisses the salience of racial backgrounds, ICC promotes a color-conscious environment that acknowledges the different challenges faced by people of color and the particular contributions they can bring to social and organizational life. At ICC, people are not abstracted from their backgrounds. Rather, the assumption is that there are important connections between social background, experience, and perspective. Respondents share how they are encouraged to affirm or even rediscover their racial and cultural heritage.

Unlike with assimilationism, social interaction is mediated by group membership. However, the emphasis is not on affirming group-based distinctions, but on interaction between groups. ICC centers on cross-cultural engagement, with value placed on cultivating common

understanding across cultural differences. Members desire to engage with diverse others and to learn from them. At the same time, the dominant language at ICC is not that of race but culture. The language of culture highlights differences in experience and perspective corresponding to social backgrounds but can also serve to essentialize difference along racial lines. This is most notable in the sentiments of congregants themselves, both black and white, when they identify particular forms of worship as culturally aligned according to race (though there is also an empirical basis to distinctive patterns in worship between white and black churches).

Correspondingly, ICC has a decentered and emergent church culture rather than a monolithic culture associated with one racial group. In contrast with white-dominant churches, the starting foundation is Puerto Rican. Moreover, in opposition to assimilationism, the church's approach intentionally includes other racial and cultural elements. There are many convergences between black and Latino cultures (such as expectations regarding hospitality) and between white and Latino cultures (such as teaching styles). Still, ICC has greater success with the inclusion of whites than of blacks, particularly around worship norms. On the one hand, white culture is neither normalized nor marginalized but relativized, something I see as essential to making integration work. On the other hand, a certain degree of black alterity (in cultural terms) remains an obstacle even in a socially reflexive institution without explicit racial bias.

ICC emphasizes the importance of substantive moral bonds for social cohesion but does so in a way which combines an emphasis on mutual respect and the recognition of differences (characteristic of interactive pluralism) with a focus on mutual responsibilities through shared core values (characteristic of assimilationism). It is able to promote mutual respect and mutual responsibility simultaneously through a communitarian philosophy of reflexive vulnerability.

The affirmation of congregants' shared material and spiritual vulnerability underpins an emphasis on interdependence which is manifested in formal and informal ways of promoting the welfare of others. Yet, a recognition of the way experiences of vulnerability are contingent upon social location also enables ICC to differentiate among group-based differences in inequality. Vulnerability serves as a binding agent which recognizes rather than reduces difference.

ICC is able to emphasize shared core values while still recognizing difference because its core tenets involve raising up local leaders, addressing poverty and systemic injustice, valuing diversity, and fostering reconciliation. In combination, these tenets prioritize the experience of the poor and of people of color, resisting the marginalization of race or the imposition of white hegemony. Because whites who join ICC typically do so in adherence to its institutional mission, they are also more open to foregoing white privilege. I see this as a key to integration at ICC. Whites are willingly drawn into a space where they know from the start that they are not the target audience or the majority influence. A shared vision which decenters whites and prioritizes perspectives of color works in combination with an orientation of reflexive vulnerability to promote a leveling of the racial hierarchy, though not its complete undoing.

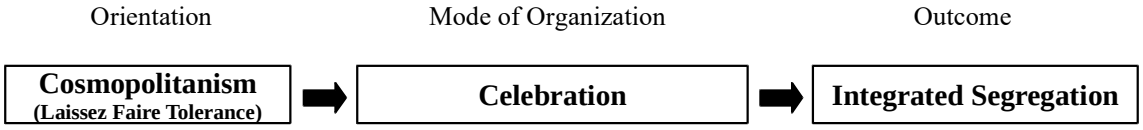

Figure 20. The Second Institutional Pathway: Integrated Segregation

In contrast, Verdant Residential College, a diverse institution on the fringe of a largely homogeneous university, operates out of an orientation that aligns closely with what Hartmann

and Gerteis call “cosmopolitanism” (figure 20). While Verdant recognizes the social value of diversity, it shies away from obligations and constraints, thus defending diversity only insofar as it enables individual freedom. In this way, it is more concerned with the expression of individualism than engagement with diversity. The emphasis at Verdant is on safety, tolerance, and choice rather than mutual obligations. While the manifest function of the college is to create a residential community, its latent function is providing a safe refuge for students who feel marginalized. Verdant thus operates out of a voluntaristic vision in which individuality is more important than group membership or organizational affiliation.

Like with assimilationism, Verdant places a strong emphasis on the individual and on unmediated interaction among individuals and between individuals and the residential college. It relativizes the salience of group identity. This works for domestic minorities who value freedom from two opposing pressures at the predominantly white university: the pressure to conform to mainstream white culture, on the one hand, and the pressure to serve as racial representatives, on the other. International residents, however, especially students from China, struggle with the way in which they are left to navigate cultural and social differences on an individual basis in an environment that sustains Western norms by default. This manifests in formal ways, such as an emphasis in programming on American social interests, and in informal ways, such as tacit social norms that revolve around casual conversation, social extroversion, and group activities.

Verdant also minimizes the salience of organizational identity to the individual in contrast with both assimilationism and interactive pluralism. This is tied to the way it rejects the imposition of a common culture or core identity as constraints on the individual. At Verdant, this manifests through a philosophy of laissez faire tolerance. The residential college’s administrators

employ a policy of institutional noninterference in order to maximize the agency of students. Verdant is presented as a space of possibility where anyone can come and make of it as they will. Because leaders do not want to impose a top-down vision on residents that reflects what they call a "nationalism model," Verdant intentionally lacks cultural specificity or a defined identity, favoring less constraints even if it comes with a weaker vision of community. The result is that the manifest function of community is contingent on the latent function of safety and agency.

Two aspects of laissez faire tolerance bear expanding on as they relate to diversity, equality, and social cohesion. First, despite an acultural approach that avoids cultural specificity, there are still underlying institutional norms at Verdant that have divergent effects on different portions of the population. Verdant avoids setting cultural norms along categorical lines like race or class. In this way, it appears to be a value-neutral space held together by procedural rules (like democratic procedures of voting) rather than substantive norms (like shared core values). To the degree that there are institutional values, like sustainability and social awareness, they are selected by residents and their influence is more symbolic than substantive. Yet, this approach to tolerance is still grounded on tacit social and cultural norms which treat certain forms of difference as foreign, something particularly noticeable to Chinese international residents.

Second, the degree of constraint (or mutual obligation) at Verdant is also correlated with the experience of diversity and social cohesion. Two visions of what Verdant represents exists among residents. One sees Verdant as a residential community in which something larger is created out of the sum of its parts. One sees it as a safe haven in which residents live and let live. The former vision entails a level of mutual obligation which is precluded by the latter. To the extent which residents share the first vision, they tend to experience diversity as well as social

cohesion. The most active members, who I call core residents, are models of integration that interact regularly with diversity and feel a strong sense of community. To the extent which residents share the second vision, they tend to be compartmentalized into more homogeneous and segregated communities and to have less of a sense of connection to Verdant as a whole.

Modes of Organization and Qualitative Parity or Hierarchy

In this model, organizations translate their orientations into specific ways of organizing difference. This is important for three reasons. First, the mode of organization, in turn, determines outcomes of racial equality or hierarchy, as described above (Thomas and Ely 1996; Warikoo and Deckman 2014). Second, the way diversity is managed follows closely from the way diversity is viewed by an organization (Hartmann and Gerteis 2005; Voyer 2013). It should thus come as no surprise that organizations which hold an assimilationist orientation emphasize conformity to a core culture and sustain white hegemony in organizational structures. If difference is viewed as dangerous or divisive, organizations will minimize its salience. Finally, inversely, the way diversity is viewed constrains the available approaches organizations can choose from regarding how to treat diversity. No one should expect an organization with an assimilationist orientation to promote the inclusion of people of color into its social networks or leadership structure.

While scholars describe a myriad of ways diversity can be treated by organizations, I focus on three paradigms that capture the general variations (figure 21; Thomas and Ely 1996). In their study of diverse workplaces, Thomas and Ely describe the dominant paradigm for managing diversity as conformity (what they call “discrimination-and-fairness”), a mode of

organization that employs the language of equal opportunity, fair treatment, and legal compliance. In practice, this is a form of procedural diversity which is concerned with reaching a quantitative threshold of demographic variety. While ostensibly focused on equal treatment in a "colorblind" manner, this paradigm maintains a monolithic organizational culture and achieves social cohesion by enforcing conformity to the established (white-normative) core. This mode of organization has a strong affinity with the assimilationist orientation that minimizes difference.

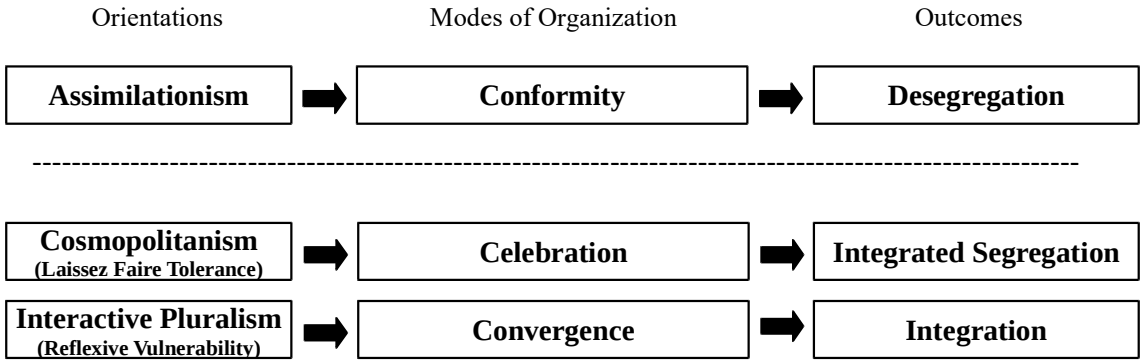

Figure 21. A Comparison of Institutional Pathways through my Cases

As, I see it, the bulk of organizations in the literature on diversity display some variation of conformity; people are diversified, but other things stay the same. Social and cultural movement all occurs in one direction, towards the core. This can be seen in the way multiracial churches continue to operate under predominantly white leadership, white norms of worship, and white preferences (Edwards et al. 2013). This can also be seen in the way college curricula, traditions, and symbols are left with a strong white imprint (Bonilla-Silva 2015b). Demographic diversity fails to translate into the substantive inclusion of people of color (Berrey 2015; Tienda 2013). The downside for organizations is that they do not benefit from the potential contributions

of people of color. The downside for individuals is that people of color are kept from identifying strongly and personally with the organization because they cannot bring all of who they are.

My cases differ significantly from conformity in their modes of organization. Verdant employs an organizational style I call celebration (cf. Thomas and Ely's paradigm of "access-and-legitimacy"), a paradigm built on the celebration of individual differences but not its incorporation into organizational practices or structures. Tacit norms and divergent expectations result in a segmented patchwork of integrated and segregated pockets. ICC, by contrast, operates out of an organizational mode I call convergence (cf. Thomas and Ely's paradigm of "learning-and-effectiveness"), which manages difference by internalizing it, incorporating a variety of perspectives associated with the cultural backgrounds of members' identity-group affiliations. As opposed to conformity, which places all of the demands of accommodation on people of color, convergence requires accommodation from everyone.

Because I argue that the mode of organization employed follows from the organization's orientation regarding diversity, many of the salient distinctions have already been discussed. I focus here on three aspects of the organization of difference that warrant further discussion: an organization's degree of institutional coherence, its approach to culture (or substantive difference in general), and its emphasis on promoting comfort or challenging its members. All of these have bearing on the larger question of the place diversity occupies in the organization, and its attendant consequences for racial equality and social cohesion. The different modes of organization can be understood as rejecting diversity by promoting colorblindness (conformity), relativizing diversity by treating it as an individual rather than institutional concern (celebration), or resignifying diversity by incorporating it into organizational structures (convergence).

Once again, I use the pathway of desegregation as the baseline of comparison. Under its mode of organizing around conformity, strong institutional coherence sustains social cohesion at the cost of racial equality because the core identity and values of the organization are monolithic. Conformity displays a very weak acknowledgment of cultural or categorical difference. To the extent that it recognizes such difference, it is solely to minimize it in favor of social and cultural conformity in one direction – towards the core. Conformity favors maintaining comfort and stability, leaving little room for disruption of established norms. In this way, it is inherently conservative regarding change. In practice, this means that institutional norms, leadership, and practices are largely unaffected by demographic change. It follows that conformity lends itself to the structural exclusion of people of color. As an approach, conformity precludes inclusivity.

In contrast to conformity, Verdant is organized around the celebration of diversity. Celebration differs from conformity by promoting weak institutional coherence but is otherwise similar in demonstrating a weak practical acknowledgment of culture and placing emphasis on comfort over challenge. Its deliberately weak identity is intended to make Verdant more of a marketplace of options that resists imposing hierarchical values on its residents. However, the absence of institutional coherence offers its own challenges. Verdant lacks a coherent identity for its residents to organize around, making social cohesion difficult. This enables opposing visions of the residential college to exist. Residents who desire the establishment of a community of engaged diversity are frustrated by peers who want only to live and let live. This results in the fragmentation of residents into integrated and segregated groups.

Furthermore, its weak treatment of culture leads to a similar result as conformity even if it takes a radically different approach. At Verdant, cultural diversity is meant to be safeguarded

by a weak institutional structure that is acultural. The goal is to be a value-neutral ground for individuals to express their differences. This serves Verdant's desire to be a welcoming space for marginal students, but creates two obstacles to integration. First, since there is no truly acultural institution, Verdant ends up operating under tacit rather than explicit cultural norms, norms which are more comfortable for domestic residents than international ones but are not available for interrogation. Second, because difference is not substantively incorporated into the life of the organization, it is practically trivialized. In a way, diversity becomes a mere voluntary feature of social life instead of an essential and substantive component of it.

This latter point is illustrated clearly by the very different responses exhibited by Chinese internationals to Huoban, the one venue where culture plays a prominent part, in comparison to other activities at Verdant which largely sideline issues of diversity in favor of shared interests. The Chinese feel like the only place their differences actually matter is at Huoban. This is compounded by the focus at Verdant on comfort. Paradoxically, Verdant's emphasis on comfort and safety, which serves it well in welcoming marginal students, also disincentivizes the engagement across lines of difference needed for integration to occur once they get to Verdant. This is because such engagement presents the attendant possibility of discomfort and challenge. If residents come to Verdant looking for safety, the logical move is to find like-minded clusters of people from similar backgrounds, not step out of one's comfort zone.

By contrast, ICC's mode of convergence shares a strong institutional coherence with assimilation, but differs from the other two modes by demonstrating a strong acknowledgment of culture and an emphasis on challenge over comfort. While ICC is characterized by institutional

coherence, it functions in a very different way than organizations which operate under conformity. The difference is in having a core identity established around the prioritization of equality and social justice. If Verdant deliberately avoids having anything more than the weakest identity so as not to impose on its residents, ICC has an unabashedly strong identity that members are expected to take or leave, one which entails serving the poor under the leadership of people of color. This provides a foundation for social coherence that does not sacrifice racial equality but demands it from the beginning, and also introduces the idea of challenge.

Verdant exists as an institution that seeks to be a welcoming haven for all, and thereby rejects the imposition of a hegemonic set of values. By contrast, at ICC, potential members are told from the beginning that they are not the target of ICC's mission and that if they become members they will be joining the mission of the church to serve the poor. ICC is not concerned with catering to the preferences of its members. In direct contrast to Verdant, members align with the mission, not the other way around. In alignment with this approach, ICC draws and shapes members who are willing to accept a challenge and are open to experiencing discomfort. This is important because integration requires a level of social reflexivity and engagement with racial others that is prevented by a focus on comfort. The desire to engage diversity that exists among the core at Verdant exists throughout the organization at ICC.

This is connected, finally, to ICC's multicultural approach to diversity. There is a clear recognition at ICC that differences in experience are connected to differences in racial and cultural background. Unlike under conformity, social and cultural movement does not occur in only one direction. Under convergence, the decentering of whites and the demarginalization of people of color result in a new emergent center. And unlike under celebration, diversity is not

left to play out only at the individual level. Rather, different perspectives which are drawn from members' identity group affiliations impact organizational structure and practice. This does not occur simply and may even be contradictory at times, as the black experience shows. But ICC is not afraid of change or disruption. It often deliberately initiates it, as for example, when it sends out core members and leaders to start new churches and then has to rebuild itself.

I have sought to make a case for how organizations operate out of different institutional pathways for the incorporation of diversity. They begin with different orientations which have strong affinities to particular modes of organization, resulting in divergent outcomes when it comes to racial equality and social cohesion. I measure this through the structural inclusion of people of color as indicative of the racial field positioning of people of color relative to whites in organizations. I argue that desegregation and integration are distinct pathways, and that the former is often mistaken for the latter. Under this model, white-dominant institutions from the literature tend to operate on the basis of desegregation. By contrast, I compared my findings from two cases of non-dominant institutions to show how they operate out of different institutional pathways which result in integration and integrated segregation as their respective outcomes.

CONCLUSION

The Importance of Racial Integration

Through my research, I have built a theoretical model of integration that articulates important differences in organizations' approaches to diversity. By analyzing different institutional pathways for the incorporation of diversity, I have sought to show how different orientations and modes of organization can result in divergent outcomes of racial equality and social cohesion. I distinguish demographic change from structural change by introducing a framework which measures the degree to which people of color are structurally included in social, cultural, and functional terms. Structural inclusion indicates the degree to which racial hierarchies are transformed by the repositioning of people of color in organizations' racial fields. Underlying this measurement framework is an acknowledgment of the importance of social recognition to undoing the patterns of social and moral closure which sustain racial stratification in organizations.

I employ this model to compare two cases of non-dominant organizations, using the white-dominant organizations in the literature as a baseline of comparison. In doing so, I described two different pathways by which integration can occur that differ from what we are typically led to expect, integration and integrated segregation. This research is important for a number of reasons.

On the one hand, I have problematized the scholarly consensus that integration in organizations occurs in ways which sustain racial stratification. I have shown how this need not always be the case, and analyzed the conditions and circumstances under which integration can succeed. On the other hand, I have also problematized claims of successful integration that are

really cases of desegregation. I also believe I have introduced a greater degree of conceptual clarity by distinguishing integration from desegregation as distinct outcomes and processes, and introduced a measurement framework which takes seriously the qualitative experiences of people of color. In this way, I contribute to future researchers' ability to clearly distinguish between different organizational approaches to diversity, measure outcomes of racial equality and social cohesion, and compare between cases of integrated (or desegregated) organizations.

I have also described some of the particular conditions that promote integration in my cases. One of the key factors I see for integration to work is that whites (and whiteness) need to be repositioned in terms of relative power and influence. Because whites are used to being in the dominant social position, they are used to having their preferences carry weight, even when they are not the demographic majority in an organization. Correspondingly, whites are more likely than people of color to demand their preferences be met, less likely to compromise, and more likely to leave if this does not happen. However, my cases show two different ways in which whites can be decentered. One is through a socially reflexive environment with an organizational mission that prioritizes perspectives of color, drawing white involvement on terms of color. One is through an unmediated expectation-free environment that lets individuals shape the terms of their involvement.

My research occurs under the same limitations as other ethnographic research. Limited cases means lack of generalizability through statistical comparison. As such, while my cases can demonstrate that integration is possible in ways which other research has typically dismissed in those cases, it cannot establish a pattern. It can propose a logical generalizability, but further research should look into more non-dominant organizations to see if they exhibit similar patterns

of integration or employ similar modes of organization. Further research should also look into the connection between white-dominant organizations and assimilationism to consider whether there is the relationship I posit here, and to explore what factors can change organizations' orientations regarding diversity. In particular, I make the claim that organizations which begin with an orientation of assimilationism are precluded from reaching outcomes of integration unless they change their institutional pathway. This is a claim that needs to be further tested.

Integration matters. It matters because racial segregation continues to be a key source of structural inequality. As such, integration is too important to be rejected out of hand or assumed to have already been accomplished. This dissertation contributes to its advance by bringing theoretical clarification as to how to conceptualize and measure organizational integration. It shows certain conditions for integration to occur such as the decentering of whites and white normativity, the social recognition of people of color, and the substantive incorporation of diversity into organizations' leadership, social structures, and organizational practices. Integration does not occur by happy accident. It does not happen through demographic change or the rhetoric of diversity alone. Rather, integration requires deliberate structural change to reposition whites and people of color in the racial field of an organization.

The Larger Landscape of Structural Racism

The underlying aspiration of this dissertation is to contribute in a very small way to addressing the problem of racial inequality in America. Empirical studies show the massive scope of structural racism, as institutional structures systematically lead to disparate outcomes along racial lines. Patterned racial disparities continue to be seen in wide-ranging areas like

employment, wealth, home-ownership, loans, education, medical treatment, health outcomes, incarceration, voting, and social mobility (Alexander 2012; Charles 2003; Egede 2006; Oliver and Shapiro 2013; Pager 2003; Patterson 1997; Smith 2001). Whites are consistently found to be at the top and blacks at the bottom. This lends significant weight to the understanding that white elites, and the federal government, have historically engaged in racial projects to organize resources along racial lines (Katznelson 2005; Omi and Winant 1994; Rothstein 2017).

Racial segregation forms an important part of this landscape of structural racism. Most sociological work in this area focuses on the role of residential segregation, which fundamentally structures patterns of intergroup relations and trends of racial inequality, especially for African Americans. Studies effectively show that residential segregation continues to have decisive influence today in both reflecting and shaping the American racial hierarchy as regards race relations and racial disparities in life outcomes (Charles 2003; Massey and Denton 1993). They also lend credence to the black-nonblack division being the most salient racial division today. While other immigrant and ethnic groups have been able to parlay their social mobility into spatial proximity to whites with the attendant economic, cultural, and social advantages that come with it, blacks have consistently been socially and spatially isolated.

This is significant not only for how it leads to unequal access to housing, education, security, and life outcomes for the initial generation living in segregated neighborhoods, but for how there are cumulative effects across generations (Sharkey 2008). Asians and white Hispanics have been better able to escape such environments. Moreover, the effect of such isolation is not just to provide unequal circumstances or deny opportunities; it also makes it very difficult to build interethnic coalitions across mutual interests, as blacks are set apart politically as well as

socially as a group unto themselves. This is problematic for middle-class blacks, but especially significant for the black urban poor. In this way, the problem of residential segregation occurs at the intersection of race and class (Iceland and Wilkes 2006; Massey and Denton 1993).

My dissertation, by contrast, focuses on organizational integration. As important as residential integration is, whites avoid black neighborhoods and move out when black families move in (Madden and Ruther 2018). By contrast, whites find organizations to be more approachable and less threatening venues to engage people of color, particularly blacks. As spatial analyses of locales at different times of day show, racial diversity is much higher in organizational settings than residential ones (Hall and Yi 2019). In this way, I see organizations as spaces with the potential – when organized in particular ways – to foster the conditions to undo social closure. If social closure sustains the segregation and stigmatization of racially disadvantaged groups more generally (Massey 2007; Tilly 1999), then it is necessary to undo it in order to make progress towards racial equality (Beauvoir 2011; Honneth 1995; Warren 2010).

I do not suggest that organizational integration solves the problem of structural racism in America. However, the same processes of social closure which drive residential segregation and the stigmatization of disadvantaged racial groups also drive organizational segregation. As such, if we are looking to understand how to undo social closure, I believe organizations are an important place to begin. If racial inequality is to be overcome at the societal level, blacks, in particular, must be brought to the same starting line as whites, afforded the same opportunities, and be given equal treatment in all spheres of civic and social life. My argument is that this requires, in addition to redistribution and representation, the underlying social recognition of blacks as social and moral equals that only comes when social closure is broken down. What this

dissertation seeks to do is to explore conditions under which the latter may occur while acknowledging that this, on its own, is only a small part of pursuing racial equality.

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APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGY

Theoretical Goals and Logics of Inquiry

For independent reasons, my methodological approach took a similar trajectory to the one employed by Paul Lichterman in *Elusive Togetherness*. As Lichterman (2005) notes, participant observation is often viewed as a single method with a single goal, yet is better understood as a set of techniques that can be employed with one or more logics of inquiry. I began with an interest in a particular subject – racial integration in civic and social organizations – and a critical awareness of the theories people used to investigate and explain it. Theories of assimilation have been particularly influential in describing the typical outcomes of diversity in organizations. However, I had an intuition, driven in part by theoretical critique and in part by personal experience, that other outcomes should be possible in diverse and diversifying organizations that were not predominantly white.

I wanted to pursue this intuition and discover if organizational integration could proceed in ways which genuinely challenged racial stratification. As my research progressed, it became evident that assimilation was not the typical pattern in my cases. There was something about the way my cases viewed racial diversity and organized difference that influenced their capacity to change the racial hierarchy and include people of color. My goal became to explain that process better than assimilation theory or existing theories of organizational diversity could. And so, like Lichterman, I found myself employing two different approaches to address two different goals as my research progressed. Moreover, these were different approaches that are usually seen to be incommensurate: the extended case method and grounded theory.

In recognition of the fact that a few cases are not enough to test theory, I first relied on the extended case method to improve existing theories in ways which would better accommodate my own cases without losing the existing insights they offered (Burawoy 1998). That is what I sought to do at Incarnational Community Church (ICC): to consider the ways in which assimilation theory did, or did not, apply in a non-dominant organization. One of the study's initial goals was to offer a modest improvement of assimilation theory in light of what I learned from ICC. The extended case method analyzes the field site in light of larger social and cultural processes which are first known through preexisting theories, but then reviews and adjusts theory in light of field observations to fit our cases better. What I soon came to see was that a different process from assimilation was taking place at ICC.

I then realized that I was interested in a logic of discovery even more than a logic of verification (Luker 2008). More than just testing, or even extending existing theory, I also wanted to arrive at some logical generalizations, however tentative, about how racial integration works in organizations and how inclusion works when it worked. Participant observation would enable me to see up close the conditions that might matter for shaping outcomes of racial equality. Without focusing on how representative the cases were, I could employ ethnography to identify particular processes and conditions of integration. And, while staying aware of the particularities of my cases and their limited sample size, I could look for tentative patterns in the field that could be generalized logically by pushing them to higher levels of abstraction in formulating theory (Luker 2008), and tested in future research.

This second approach, grounded theory, generates theory through the constant comparative method (Strauss and Corbin 1991), focusing on people and phenomena that we are

attuned to through theoretical interests. Observations were thus named and categorized, subsequently sensitizing me to further observations at the field site. I selected my second field site along the logic of grounded theory, seeking a case that diverged from both ICC and the cases found in the literature in order to find some general patterns. As my research progressed, I found, like Lichterman, that I was applying both approaches. On the one hand, as with the extended case method, my observations and reflections were always in dialogue with preexisting theory, as I tried to understand how, why, and in what ways, my cases differed from what would be expected through assimilation theory. On the other hand, as with grounded theory, I was seeking to establish new theory on how integration worked differently in my field sites.

As Lichterman (2005) highlights, the key difference in the approaches is that, while both employ the constant comparative method in practice, the researcher focuses on different comparisons when seeking to dialogue with preexisting theory or to generate new theory. This does not mean both approaches cannot be applied, if both goals are held in mind simultaneously, but that the researcher needs to be reflexively aware of the choices being made in deciding what cases to study or which phenomena to compare. I was very aware throughout each step of research, whether taking field notes or coding interviews or analyzing data, that research and writing occur in an iterative dialogue between theory and analysis, as each informs the other in turn. This is because I was simultaneously interested in *how* and *why my cases* differed from other cases reported in the literature. In this sense, I treated the extended case method and grounded theory as guides more akin to poles on a continuum than opposing perspectives.

Selecting Field Sites

Given my combined goals for this dissertation, I sought out field sites that varied as widely as possible, both from the cases in the literature and from each other. On the one hand, given my interest in the potential of non-dominant organizations, I wanted to study field sites that were not predominantly white in demographic makeup or institutional culture. On the other hand, given my intuition that integration could result in different outcomes under different conditions than those outlined by assimilation theory, I sought out field sites which demonstrated different degrees of racial diversity and inclusivity. I also wanted cases that represented social spheres that have been particularly relevant to discussions of organizational integration like religion and higher education. Incarnational Community Church (ICC) and Verdant Residential College fit my criteria admirably, though the latter was more of a serendipitous occurrence.

My first field site, ICC, was the centerpiece of a study I conducted of multiple local institutions in a residential neighborhood in Philadelphia in which questions of integration were joined to questions concerning institutional capacity to generate social, human, and economic capital in an economically depressed neighborhood. ICC suited my criteria as a contrast case. In contrast to the predominantly white and/or white-origin congregations that overwhelmingly populate both the American landscape and the academic literature on religious racial integration, ICC originated as a congregation of color and operated under the leadership of a Puerto Rican pastor. It was more racially and socioeconomically diverse than both its local neighborhood and the majority of congregations in America. And, it successfully drew a large number of whites into spaces – both organizational and residential – that whites typically avoided.

Importantly, I have a prior history with this community. I was a member of, first, ICC, and then one of its daughter churches, between 2006-2011. As many ethnographers have experienced, the contextual knowledge afforded by previous connections proved to be invaluable in providing access and sensitizing me to particular phenomena to observe. Access to both the field site itself and, later, to the recruitment of respondents, was straightforward. My history with ICC opened many doors by lending me an immediate credibility in the eyes of the population. At the same time, the potential for a conflict of interest arose. As such, I closely followed the example of ethnographers who have studied cases they had prior connections to in exercising as much critical self-reflexivity and transparency as I could, pursuing accountability with my advisor, and dialoguing with the community about my findings (e.g. Khan 2011; Marti 2009).

My second field site, Verdant Residential College, also matched my criteria by being significantly more racially and socioeconomically diverse than the predominantly white university in which it is located as well as its largely homogeneous peer institutions. Moreover, it had a very different makeup and institutional identity than ICC. A residential college straddles two different worlds and two different goals, goals which can sometimes be contradictory. As a part of the larger institution of higher education, it seeks to promote learning outcomes and critical engagement among its residents. As an intentional community, it seeks to build a space of rest and relaxation. In this way, it exists at an intersection of the public and private spheres, offering interesting possibilities akin to those ascribed to third places (Oldenburg 1989). In their own ways, both cases represented voluntary spaces for interracial interaction.

Verdant was not my original choice for a second field site. Yet serendipity actually provided it as a better alternative than my original choice. At first, I began negotiating with a

different residential college at the same university for access to study integration. While the leadership of the residential college was amenable, negotiations with them and with the administration of the university eventually made it clear that my study could not be conducted under the conditions they required. However, through an indirect connection, I was able to talk to the director of studies at Verdant. Fortunately, both the director of studies and the principal of Verdant were highly interested in my question, as they were troubled by their apparent problem integrating international residents. Moreover, they both had social science backgrounds, and thus had a more realistic appreciation of the kinds of data I needed to be able to collect and report. Through the principal's advocacy to the university, my research was thus made possible.

Conducting Participant Observation

Participant observation enables researchers to grasp social processes in action at the ground level and gain an insider's perspective (Singleton and Straits 2010). For my purposes, more than simply reporting diversity as a quantitative figure, it was far more important to see diversity in action. I wanted to observe which members of which racial groups were able to participate in decision-making, to shape institutional cultures, and to connect to the core social networks in each organization. I was interested to see who was expected to adjust, to conform, and to sacrifice their preferences, and who was empowered to offer their perspectives and to contribute their experiences. Was the onus of adjustment placed on individuals, on particular groups, or on the institution? What did social life look like? How did members of different racial groups feel? How did each organization deal with racial and social and cultural difference?

My typical process was to jot down field notes in a small notebook or other discrete place, like a church bulletin. After I finished my observations, I would also sit in my car and dictate verbal notes to myself into a recorder. Later in the week, I would type up detailed field notes and code for emerging themes. As described in the section on theoretical goals and logics of inquiry, I was guided by a constant comparative approach. I wanted to see how diversity manifested in my field sites, who was included and represented and who excluded in organizational practices and relationships. As I ended up navigating between the goals of extended case method and grounded theory, I was simultaneously interested in how my cases differed from what appeared in the literature and why. These interests shaped the kinds of observations I made and recorded, and had me thinking and rethinking what was notable.

However, these social processes do not stop at organizational boundaries. They can and do extend into areas of the field site that are out of view or to areas outside of the field site. While my goal was to study racial integration at the organizational level, successful integration is often reflected in the extent to which such integration extends outside of formal functions and activities into interpersonal relationships and interactions outside of view. As such, triangulation is necessary to provide more comprehensive detail, whether by observing additional sites or by employing additional research methods. In the case of ICC, beyond the use of in-depth interviews (which I discuss in subsequent sections), I also extended my observations beyond the primary site itself – with formal activities such as Sunday worship services, small groups, and leadership meetings – to affiliated institutions where congregants worked or accessed services.

This included helping out at school activities at a local elementary school, sitting in on advising sessions with clients at a legal clinic, helping to set up for a senior citizen program at a

health center, observing summer camp at a community center, sitting in on seminary classes in the church's ministry center, and striking up conversations with locals at a local bike shop. I also observed services at three other affiliated churches by means of comparison. Observing social patterns at other sites in the local neighborhood in which members of ICC crossed and criss-crossed daily helped me to gauge the extent to which racial integration was a part of their social lives outside of the organizational framework of ICC. These was a significant degree of interconnectivity across institutions with shared leadership across organizations and a flow of people back and forth between them. Elsewhere, I describe this as a local urban ecosystem.

In the case of Verdant, I was faced with a different research obstacle. As a residential college, Verdant had two faces, one public and one private. As an educational institution, it planned and implemented events and activities – formal and informal – in common areas like its indoor Hub and the outdoor lawn outside its buildings, which were largely accessible to the public. As a residential institution, it safeguarded its residents' personal privacy in its dorm-style hallways and lounges. As a researcher, I was limited in my direct observations to observing Verdant's public face, including formal and informal activities and events, leadership meetings, and observation of common areas. The university administration, understandably, wanted to protect the privacy of residents from the intrusion of observation. In a similar way to ICC, then, I could observe what happened in official organizational functions. However, I also needed to have some way of accessing the private face if I wanted to gauge the extent of integration.

Because I could not directly observe additional spaces like I could in the case of ICC, I relied on methodological triangulation instead. As with ICC, I relied on in-depth interviews. But I also supplemented this with an anonymous online survey designed through Qualtrics. It was my

hope to be able to accomplish two things through the survey. First, I wanted to reach a population that I had been less able to access through activities or interviews because of their low levels of participation – international Chinese residents. The survey was not successful at this, as few international residents participated in the survey as well. Thankfully, I was later able to recruit more respondents. Second, I wanted to be able to collect data on residents' experiences of residential life at Verdant inclusive of those parts I was not able to directly observe. With a response rate of 17% (n=34), respondents included 20 whites (58.82%), 2 blacks (5.88%), 14 Asians (41.18%), and 1 other (2.94%). Appendix D includes the survey questions.

Constructing, Conducting, and Coding Interviews

Because I had been sensitized to the ways in which diversity typically continues to sustain structures of white privilege, I wanted to give equal weight to the perspectives and experiences of disadvantaged as well as dominant racial groups. I was less interested in a representative sample than a purposive one because my goal was not to map out the general distribution of responses but to uncover the variation of responses across race and socioeconomic class in my respondents (Singleton and Straits 2010). My primary interest was in racial integration at the organizational level, and I intentionally sampled as equally as I could across major racial groups. In the case of ICC, this meant blacks, whites, and Latinos. The distribution of respondents was 17 whites, 16 blacks, 16 Latinos, 5 Asians, and 5 mixed. I also sought to make sure socioeconomic variation was reflected, and both leaders and congregants represented.

In the case of Verdant, sampling across major racial groups meant Asians, whites, and internationals. While not an explicit racial grouping so much as an ethnic/national one, it was

clear from the beginning that Asian internationals, of which the majority were Chinese, were a group of distinctive interest at Verdant. I also sought out black respondents, but was less successful in finding them. The distribution of respondents was 22 whites, 6 blacks, 2 Latinos, 21 Asians, and 17 internationals. Again, I sought to make sure the perspectives of regular residents and student leaders were included, and, to the extent that it was possible, variation across class year and socioeconomic background.

Altogether, I collected 107 interviews. Interviews typically lasted 1-2 hours, averaging 1.5 hours. I gave interviews anywhere that felt comfortable for respondents. This ranged from coffee shops to homes to offices, from student lounges to picnic tables to restaurants. Interviews were semi-structured, as I used an interview schedule as a guide while often following respondents down interesting pathways to further explore nuances of things they shared. All interviews were recorded on an audio recorder and later transcribed. Half of the interviews in my first field site were transcribed by a transcription service using a summer grant from the Society of Fellows at the University of Virginia, then spot-checked for accuracy. The rest of the interviews were transcribed by me and then coded.

Coding took place through a combination of software (QDA Miner Lite) and hand-coding. On the one hand, the ease of organization and search capabilities of software made that approach attractive. On the other hand, there was something about the tactile underlining of certain sections and sorting of notes into piles by hand that also helped me in the coding process (Foss and Waters 2016). I coded for emergent themes and categories. These themes, such as "vulnerability" in ICC and "safety" in Verdant, then caused me to dialogue with theory, and seek new theory, before returning to the data. For example, in the case of ICC, after it became clear

that vulnerability was a significant theme, I turned to the vulnerability theory of Erinn Gilson and other feminist scholars to understand what role vulnerability might play in integration. This, in turn, caused me to look at my ethnographic data with a new eye to consider the extent to which vulnerability actually manifested in organizational structure and practice.

While I let the themes emerge on their own, I did also keep my ear out for different things between white respondents and respondents of color. Sensitized by theories of colorblind racism and white privilege, I was particularly interested to know the degree to which white respondents and leaders demonstrated awareness of the role of processes of colorblindness, structural racism, white privilege, and inclusivity in American society more broadly and in their organization more specifically. On the other hand, I wanted to see if people of color, who were more likely to encounter such processes first hand, were more sensitive to the way those processes also affected *other* people of color, and the extent to which they felt solidarity across racial lines or pursued their own groups' interests. Through it all, however, I mainly focused on their experiences and understandings of racial integration in their particular cases.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (ICC)

Background

1. How do you identify racially or ethnically?
2. Can you tell me how old you are?
3. And, what's your highest level of education?
4. Would you mind telling me roughly what your family income is?
   Less than $25,000
   25,000-50,000
   50,000-100,000
   More than $100,000
5. Are you married? Do you have any children?
6. Can you tell me a little about your childhood?
   a. Where did you grow up? How diverse was the neighborhood you grew up in?
   b. How was your family's financial situation when you were growing up? (working class, middle class, below the poverty line, or well-off)
   c. What kind of school did you attend? (public, private, religious)
   d. Did you go to church? What kind of church was it?
7. And lastly, how would you describe your politics today?

The Neighborhood

1. How long have you lived in Philadelphia? Do you live or work in [the neighborhood]?

   For non-natives only:
2. Can you tell me the story of how you ended up in this neighborhood?
   a. What draws you here? What do you see here?
3. What problems or difficulties have you faced living or working or worshipping here?
   a. Did you have to make any tough decisions to be here? What were they?
   b. How did you overcome those problems?
   c. What are the positives of being here for you?
4. How has the neighborhood changed in your time living here? Has it been for better or worse?
   a. How has the church/organization been a part of this change?

Work and Activities

1. What do you do now during the day? Are you currently working?
   a. Can you tell me about your work/ministry (what you do during the week)?
   b. Probe for the history/purpose of the organization and the demographics it serves.
      i. What needs does it meet? Why did it come into being?
      ii. What is your/its vision for [the neighborhood]?
   c. *For pastors*, do you do anything besides your church ministry?

        i. What got you involved in these other things?
2. Can you tell me something about why this work is important to you?
    a. Probe for racial reconciliation or social justice/racial empowerment
3. Can you tell me how you came to be doing this kind of work?
    a. Do you do this work as a job, a passion, or both?
4. What kinds of ways are you serving the neighborhood?
5. Do you see your work as connected to the church or separate from it?
6. What kinds of partnerships or connections does ____ have in the community?
7. What other ministries or institutions have you been involved in over the past?

Church

1. How did you come to be involved with ICC?
    a. What are some of the reasons you came to the church?
2. What makes ICC different or distinctive?
    a. What do you think it does well in comparison to other churches?
    b. What does it do to bring people together across their differences?
    c. Are there any challenges it faces in doing so? What are they?
    d. *If attending another church*, how has ICC influenced you/your church?
3. What does "church" mean to you? What picture comes to mind when you think of what the church is? (an image, a metaphor, a scripture passage)
    a. How close does ICC come to that picture for you?
    b. Are there any things that you think it could do better in?
    c. *If attending another church*, what is the relationship of your church with ICC?
4. When did this picture of the church become important to you (e.g. racial reconciliation, social justice/racial empowerment)? How did it happen?
    a. Were there particular influences – people, places, institutions, events, books?
5. It has often been said that Sunday morning is the most segregated time in America.
    a. What do you think about that statement? Is it true? Does it matter?
    b. What does it feel like to be a (black/white/Hispanic) person at church?
6. There are people who say that it's the government's job to deal with problems like inequality or poverty or racism. The church's job should be to focus on evangelism and personal worship.
    a. What do you think?
    b. Does this church do anything about racial reconciliation or problems of race?
    c. Does this church do anything to address issues of social justice or the needs of the community?
    d. Do you participate in any of these things? Why those particular things?

Community and Relationships

1. Who are the people you feel the closest to at church? What makes you feel close to them?
2. Can you tell me about your relationships with people of different racial backgrounds?

   b. Do you have any close friends from another race? Are any of them (not) from this neighborhood?
3. How are your relationships different today than in the past?
   c. What's been good about these relationships? What have you learned from people from different racial backgrounds?
   d. What problems have come up? Has trust been a problem? How do you deal with that?

Wrap-Up

Just a few more questions to wrap up:

1. Do you think you have changed since you became a part of this church? (*If so*) How?
2. What have been the most rewarding and the most challenging things about being a part of this church for you?
3. Is there anything else you'd like to add?

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (VERDANT)

Background

1. Can you tell me how old you are (or what year of study you are in)?
2. Would you mind telling me roughly what your family income is?
   Less than $25,000, 25,000-50,000, 50,000-100,000, or more than $100,000
3. Was coming to [the university] your first time in America?
4. Are you comfortable with American culture?

Overview: The Organization

1. How did you end up living at Verdant? How long have you lived here?
2. Why did you choose to live here? How has your experience been so far?
3. When you think of Verdant, what stands out to you? Is there anything that makes it different from other places at USE?
4. How do you think it does when it comes to dealing with diversity?
   a. Does it do anything in particular to bring people together across their differences?
5. Are there any particular challenges it faces when it comes to diversity? What are they?

Functional Inclusion

1. How comfortable are you in Verdant? Do you feel free to be who you are/to be yourself here?
   a. Is there anything particular that it does which works for you?
   b. Are there things that don't work so well, or make you feel out of place?
2. Are there any problems or difficulties you have faced being a part of Verdant?
3. How comfortable do you think Chinese students feel at Verdant? Do they feel welcome?
4. Do you feel like your opinion matters here in what Verdant does?
5. Do you feel like the *way* things are done includes Chinese students?

Social Inclusion

1. Do you feel like Verdant is a place where you really belong? A place you can find community?
2. Do you participate in the larger Verdant community – like attending events and making friends? How *or* why not?
3. Some people think that Chinese students at Verdant create their own separate community and only spend time with other Chinese students. Do you think that is true?
   a. Why do you think that is *or* why do you think people think that?
4. Is there anything you think Verdant could do to get Chinese students to participate more in the larger Verdant community? Do you think it *should* do anything differently?
5. Has being in Verdant changed the kinds of friends you have?

Wrap-Up

Just a few more questions to wrap up:

1. Has being a part of Verdant changed you? How so?
2. What have been the most rewarding and the most challenging things about being a part of (this organization) for you?
3. Is there anything else you'd like to add?

APPENDIX D: SURVEY QUESTIONS

Start of Block: Opening Demographics

Q1 Please check the option that best applies to you:

I am a returning Verdantiian (1)

I am new to Verdant this year (2)

Q2 Why did you choose to come (or return) to Verdant this year? (Please select all that apply)

Because of the living arrangements (e.g. a single room, a/c, being away from campus) (1)

Because of the opportunity to live with people from other class years (2)

Because of the friends I have at Verdant (3)

Because of the larger community at Verdant (4)

Because of Verdant's focus on sustainability and the environment (5)

Because of Verdant's focus on diversity and social awareness (6)

Because of the Verdant Student Council (7)

Other (please fill in the reason) (8) _____

Q8 Are you planning to return to Verdant next year?

Definitely (1)

Probably (2)

Might or might not (3)

Probably not (4)

Definitely not (5)

Q7 Are you on the Verdant Student Council this year?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q8 Have you been on the Verdant Student Council in the past?

Yes (1)

No (2)

End of Block: Opening Demographics

Start of Block: Main Body

Q26 Please select the choice that best reflects how you feel about Verdant:

	Always (1)	Most of the time (2)	Some of the time (3)	Rarely (4)	Never (5)
Is Verdant welcoming of different kinds of people? (1)					
Does Verdant feel like a place where you belong? (2)					
Does everyone have an equal say in what gets done at Verdant? (3)					

Q23 Please select the choice that best reflects your experience at Verdant.

	A great deal (1)	A lot (2)	A moderate amount (3)	A little (4)	Not at all (5)
How connected do you feel to the larger community at Verdant? (1)					
How much do you think your voice matters at Verdant? (2)					
How many opportunities are there to engage with people of different backgrounds? (3)					

Q10 How has your experience been living at Verdant?

Extremely positive (23)

Somewhat positive (24)

Neither positive nor negative (25)

Somewhat negative (26)

Extremely negative (27)

Display This Question:

If How has your experience been living at Verdant? = Extremely positive

Or How has your experience been living at Verdant? = Somewhat positive

Q35 What are some things that have made your experience positive?

_____

Display This Question:

If How has your experience been living at Verdant? = Somewhat negative

Or How has your experience been living at Verdant? = Extremely negative

Q25 What are some things that have made your experience negative?

_____

Q24 Please drag and drop (if an item fits in multiple boxes, please put it in the first box)

Among the people I talk about important issues with are person(s) who identify as:	Among the people I hang out with are person(s) who identify as:
_____ Asian American (1)	_____ Asian American (1)
_____ Black / African American (2)	_____ Black / African American (2)
_____ Hispanic (3)	_____ Hispanic (3)
_____ White (4)	_____ White (4)
_____ International Chinese (5)	_____ International Chinese (5)
_____ Lower Socioeconomic Status (6)	_____ Lower Socioeconomic Status (6)
_____ Higher Socioeconomic Status (7)	_____ Higher Socioeconomic Status (7)
_____ Politically Conservative (8)	_____ Politically Conservative (8)
_____ Politically Liberal (9)	_____ Politically Liberal (9)

_____ LGBTQ (10)	_____ LGBTQ (10)
_____ Christian (11)	_____ Christian (11)
_____ Muslim (12)	_____ Muslim (12)
_____ First Year (13)	_____ First Year (13)
_____ Upperclassman (14)	_____ Upperclassman (14)

Q27 Making friends with people from other racial or cultural backgrounds is important to me:

Strongly agree (1)

Somewhat agree (2)

Neither agree nor disagree (3)

Somewhat disagree (4)

Strongly disagree (5)

Q28 How frequently have you taken advantage of activities to learn about the experiences or perspectives of people from other racial or cultural backgrounds?

Frequently (1)

Occasionally (2)

Rarely (3)

Never (4)

Q29 How frequently do you have meaningful conversations with people from other racial or cultural backgrounds about important social issues?

Frequently (1)

Occasionally (2)

Rarely (3)

Never (4)

Q42 How would you describe your level of awareness about the kinds of issues faced by people from other racial or cultural backgrounds?

	Very aware (1)	Somewhat aware (2)	Not very aware (3)	No knowledge at all (4)
Before living at Verdant (1)				
After living at Verdant (2)				

Q36 Have you ever experienced conflict with someone from a different background at Verdant because of racial or cultural differences?

Yes (25)

Maybe (26)

No (27)

Display This Question:

If Have you ever experienced conflict with someone from a different background at Verdant because o... = Yes

Or Have you ever experienced conflict with someone from a different background at Verdant because o... = Maybe

Q37 What was the conflict about?

_____

Display This Question:

If Have you ever experienced conflict with someone from a different background at Verdant because o... = Yes

Or Have you ever experienced conflict with someone from a different background at Verdant because o... = Maybe

Q38 How did the conflict end?

_____

Q30 Which of the following best describes you?

I have found a community to belong to at Verdant (1)

I want to find community at Verdant but I haven't found it yet (2)

Verdant is where I live but not where I look for community (3)

Display This Question:

If Which of the following best describes you? = I want to find community at Verdant but I haven't found it yet

Q35 What is preventing you from finding community?

_____

Q31 How involved are you at Verdant? (Please select all that apply)

I regularly participate in events and activities (1)

I interact regularly with my hall mates (2)

I spend time with my circle of friends at Verdant (3)

I am not socially active at Verdant (4)

Q36 Do you want to be more involved?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Display This Question:

If Do you want to be more involved? = Yes

Q37 What has been keeping you from being more involved up until now? (Please select all that apply)

The events being offered don't reflect my interests (1)

Schedule conflicts (2)

Not enough time (3)

Feeling excluded (4)

Other (please specify): (5) _____

Q32 Please select the choice that best reflects what you think about Verdant.

	Always (1)	Most of the time (2)	Some of the time (3)	Rarely (4)	Never (5)
The Verdant Student Council does a good job representing my interests (1)					
The faculty and staff are open to different ways of doing things at Verdant (2)					
The RA's are willing to listen to my ideas and implement them (3)					

End of Block: Main Body

Start of Block: Ending Demographics

Q6 What year of study are you in?

First year (1)

Second year (2)

Third year (3)

Fourth year (4)

Q5 Are you a transfer student?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q13 Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q12 How do you identify racially? (Please select all that apply)

American Indian or Alaska Native (3)

Asian (4)

Black or African American (2)

Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (5)

White (1)

Other (please specify) (6) _____

Display This Question:

If How do you identify racially? (Please select all that apply) = Asian

Or Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin? = Yes

Q16 Please name your ethnicity

_____

Q14 Do you identify as Middle Eastern?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q19 Are you from [this state]?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q7 Are you an international student?

Yes (21)

No (22)

Display This Question:

If Are you an international student? = Yes

Q17 Where are you from?

_____

Q16 To which gender identity do you most identify?

Female (1)

Male (2)

Transgender (3)

Non-binary/third gender (4)

Prefer to self-describe (5) _____

Q17 What is your sexual orientation?

Straight/heterosexual (1)

Gay or lesbian (2)

Bisexual (3)

Prefer to self-describe (4) _____

Q18 What is your family's household income?

Less than $25,000 (1)

$25,000 to $49,999 (2)

$50,000 to $99,999 (3)

Over $100,000 (4)

Q21 How spiritual or religious do you consider yourself?

Very much (1)

Somewhat (37)

A little (2)

Not at all (3)

Display This Question:

If How spiritual or religious do you consider yourself? = Very much

Or How spiritual or religious do you consider yourself? = Somewhat

Or How spiritual or religious do you consider yourself? = A little

Q20 What is your religious preference or identification?

_____

Q39 Do you have a political affiliation?

Republican (1)

Democrat (2)

Independent (3)

not applicable (4)

End of Block: Ending Demographics