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A Moral Economy of Academic Minority Inclusions

Ethnography and Values of Inclusion at UC
Berkeley

Master's thesis in Social Anthropology

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ABSTRACT

Scholarly discussions on the value of minority inclusion within the university places emphasis on confrontational struggle between claims for regulative facilitation of student wellbeing and claims for individual academic freedom. In this study, I explore diverse academic and social relationalities on the value of inclusion at University of California at Berkeley. I examine the social conditions by which these inclusionary practices emerge, how and for whom they are expressed, as well as the immediacy of reactions they generate. With the pursuit of topical representation and relational variation, this ethnographic study seeks to nuance scholarly discussions on the value of inclusion by addressing the following questions: What agentic roles do minority students claim in the construction and implementation of inclusionary practices at the university? In what ways do administrators and facilitators of learning engage in and promote the production and performance of inclusionary practice at UC Berkeley? In turn, how are such promoted inclusionary practices and sentiments perceived and utilized by the students they are meant to serve?

Firsthand fieldnote representations of various ethnographic contexts depicting diverse informant relations to the value of inclusion provide the empirical opening to reimagine the concept of a particular kind of moral economy as well as to expand its analytical power. In doing so, I understand this moral economy of minority inclusion to be the production, distribution, implementation, and circulation of inclusionary academic and social regulations and sentiments, emotions and values, and rights and obligations at UC Berkeley. I argue that this moral economy of inclusion depends on its participants' own reproduction and rearrangement of demographic hierarchies through the assignment of deterministic positionalities coupled with a promise of agency by which claims for rights- and obligations to inclusion circulate.

Key words: Inclusion, moral economy, university campus, topical representation, reflective sensitivity, exclusion, moral rights, group identity, minority students, rites of institution, arbitrary hierarchy, subjugated knowledge, microaggression, predestination, responsibility, impression management, parasites, allyship, privileged students, self-monitoring, moral virtue, moral agency

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Chapter 1

Expressions of Academic Minority Inclusion: A Moral Economy of New Times

Ethnographic Vignette: From the Unwitting Seed to the Exploring Flower

Nearly four years ago, I enrolled in a social sciences theory class at the Bachelor's level after hearing a lot of hype about the productive and engaging learning environment. The rumors turned out to be true: seminar activities that included break-neck speed recitation of founding theorists stimulated a deeper level of engagement with serious content while retaining an air of competition and irreverence. It was fun and I learned a lot every week. The weeks passed, and at mid-semester the seminar instructor became ill. A substitute stepped into the instructor's role. He decided to reorganize the plan for the seminar session. The following topic "Emotional Labor" was the same, as were the readings by Karl Marx and Arlie Hochschild. At the seminar the substitute divided us into two teams with the aim of spicing up discussion. He started reading aloud statements that stereotyped job performances, such as saying that it is easier to be a nurse than a doctor, and thus incited a polarizing atmosphere about emotional labor. One team had the task of defending such arguments while the other team was given the task of opposition. Initially, some of us made creative arguments that we would never have. At some point in this process of serious-play over a topic that we typically would not partake in outside of class, came a most radical statement:

"Emotional labor is so easy, that it makes sense that mostly women do that work. Since it is easy to do and since mostly women do it- they should be given low salaries for it."

My team had to create arguments for this statement. The first thing I said was:

"Oh my god, this is not easy!" My other teammates started laughing. The girl on my team who had the task of writing down our arguments then put down her pen and pushed the notebook towards me. I pushed it back. This went on for a few seconds until the instructor came over to encourage us to begin. So, we came up with three arguments over the statement. By this time, the other team had been waiting for us to finish. Again, my teammates started staring down at their desks. I understood that they would never utter the words written in that notebook. I did

not mind. Our arguments focused on how education time reflected how much one was willing to invest in one's career – the more time you invest in your education, the higher the payoff; salary. We used comparative examples such as pilots VS flight attendants, caretakers VS medical doctors, and preschool teachers VS professors. We did not create an argument for the gender distinction integrated in the statement. However, we deliberately chose the three examples above because those occupations are not known for their gender diversity. We argued that it is not a secret that pilots make more money than flight attendants, that medical doctors make more than caretakers, and that professors make more money than preschool teachers. Based on this common knowledge, people that willingly choose to do emotional labor already know what they are getting themselves into, in terms of salary expectations.

I argued for about two minutes for the statement, while everyone else in the room laughed. That is, everyone except for one person. This person was apparently the leader of his team. He tried to stare me down during the entirety of my two minutes with his chin tilted down to his neck. This was an extremely weird, almost animated expression, so I thought he was joking. But he kept staring at me with the killer-look. Once I was done, the room became quiet for a few seconds. To demonstrate that I had nothing left, I said:

“I have nothing left.”

What happened next was beyond me. The loudest voice expressed through the still animated face yelled:

“Are you crazy? ... What is wrong with you? Are you really that dumb!”

“Absolutely not, no.” I always smile, in every situation, especially situations like this. He continued to express himself:

“Okay, but do you have any idea how many people you just offended? My mother is a caretaker, all my aunts are caretakers, even my grandmother was a caretaker! And you dare to sit there and discriminate against my family! They work so hard every day to take care of people that can't take care of themselves, and you talk about them like this! That labor is love, all of them deserve raises, they deserve more money than pilots, more money than soccer players, more money than professors, because they work harder than them! That's a fact, okey! You should be ashamed!”

During this self-expression, I was in utter shock, but I kept smiling because what else was I supposed to do? Try to defend myself? Explain that I – together with my two group members

sitting next to me – did what the instructor asked of us? Ask if he was dumb? Apologize for discriminating his family? Then I would have to apologize for discriminating against my own family as well. In my mind, this guy had gone crazy and tried to drag me down to a level of name calling, and I was not about to join him. Still, I wanted to let him know that I know that my smile was a silent, but aggravating form of participation. I looked over at the seminar instructor; he held his notebook in front of his face. I do not know if he was laughing behind his notebook or if he was a coward and tried to bury his head in the sand. This situation was ridiculous to me, and I could not understand where this emotional outburst came from. He knew nothing about me, but everything about the fact that we were all given a task to do in class. Yet he knew enough to question my sanity, my abilities to learn, my abilities to express empathy, and ended the outburst by literally trying to shame me. This experience was left without any understanding on my part. I could not understand what that was, where that emotion came from, what I had done to extract that response.

Fast-forward two years, this experience was revived in my memory while sitting in a sociology lecture, learning about the fact that no scholarly critiques of feminist theory were worth any mention in the lecture due to their misinterpretation of the theories they were criticizing. Maybe the lecturer was afraid of eliciting emotional outbursts if the critics were included in the lecture. I had no idea. But I did know that what the lecturer did was bold because she admitted it herself before receiving the longest applause ever by my fellow students. This observation was not ridiculous; rather it was interesting to me, still something I could not understand, but this time, I at least wanted to try. What agentive level of participation is expected of students in deciding what is not worth for them to know? What is it about certain perspectives that make them intolerable to the level of having to shame the presenter of those perspectives? How does the value of inclusion play a role in determining what is to be excluded from academic exploration? In what ways do normative academic practices contribute to the perpetuation of social inequality within the borders of the academy? The best way for me to explore these types of academic settings and sentiments (my own included) was for me to do it ethnographically. Those two initial experiences as a student in the social sciences at a university in Norway became the seeds to what I now consider a growing flower in the field of the anthropological understanding of the university as a political arena.

Diverse Relationalities to the Value of Inclusion:

Previous Research & Master Thesis

Inclusion, a concept pertaining to ideas and practices of social justice and often considered a potential lens of empowerment through participation and access (Gidley and Hampson, 2010), is my central frame of reference in this project. Specifically, I am concerned with the scientific, public, and everyday discourses where the value of inclusion becomes overwhelmingly employed as a regulatory vehicle towards equality, or as a constraining roadblock in so-called freedom seeking projects. In this study, I will focus on how members of the academy at UC Berkeley relate to the value of inclusion. Specifically, there is a polarizing academic discourse on what the value of inclusion implies for the production of academic excellence. On one side of the discourse, scholars argue in various ways that the value of inclusion at the academy in practicality will increase the opportunity to produce academic excellence. On the other side of the discourse, however, scholars argue – also in various ways – that the value of inclusion at the academy in practicality will reduce the opportunity to produce academic excellence.

The various ways in which referential scholars have used the value of inclusion to argue for its role in increasing the opportunity to produce academic excellence rest on the notion that only when members of the academy experience high levels of social wellbeing and legitimation of their ideas and divergent perspectives, can they without disruption focus on teaching, learning, and doing research at the best of their abilities- hence, produce academic excellence. The value of inclusion can then take the form of faculty ‘supporting graduate students’ constant fight against epistemic violence, and administrative support of students’ fight for social change (Dhillon, 2018: 2; Broadhurst and Martin, 2014; Pérez, 2019). It can take the shape of monetary support of minority student and faculty safe spaces (McCabe, 2009: 147; Revilla, 2010; Pittman, 2012; Maldonado et al., 2005). Inclusion is to some scholars the implementation of activism as pedagogical teaching for students (Kezar, 2010); and working toward making minorities experience their voices as having significant effects on organizational and administrative decisions (Mor Barak and Cherin, 1998; Fuentes, 2019). Again, this is not just about the pursuit of institutional equality through inclusionary practices, this individual and regulatory path toward social and epistemic inclusion is also about broadening the notion of what it means to produce academic excellence.

On the opposing side are the scholars who use the value of inclusion to argue for the decrease in academic freedom, and consequently, the reduction of opportunities to produce academic

excellence. These scholarly contributions rest on the assumption that inclusionary practices tailor-made for minority members of the academy replace or challenge the freedom of both the subjects of inclusion as well as those that already are included. In other words, the assumption is that inclusionary practices will not indirectly horizontalize the vertical spectrum of academic excellence, but rather administratively reorganize its enduring hierarchical structure. For these scholarly contributions, inclusion can take the form of institutionalizing cultural politics and unintentionally sidelining the pursuit of knowledge and truth (Rata, 2013: 329; Hundscheid, 2010). It can take the potentially intrusive shape of self-regulation of individual conduct through inclusionary practices such as speech-codes (Hicks, 2011). Inclusion practices are financial distributive detours – based on the assumption (‘with no scientifically proven outcome’) that investing in an inclusive campus culture will lead to the production of academic excellence – toward the endpoint of academic excellence, instead of directly using those finances to fund research projects (Gilbert, 2016). Lastly, including and supporting scholarly contribution based on the scholar’s demographic background rather than engaging in it and challenging it based on its academic merit encloses the scholars’ opportunities to develop understanding of new perspectives, and reduces the individual into ‘an *inclusion*, a thing: symbolically and literally enclosed’ (Kolshus, 2018: 2; Dave, 2011: 9).

As evident by reading the two paragraphs above, inclusion is a slippery concept to define (Dobusch, 2014). Something all scholars above have in common, however, is their lack of diverse empirical foundation, that is, lack of investigation of diverse relationalities to the value of inclusion, empirically – which possibly might be a reason why the academic discourse surrounding the object of inclusion at the academy is polarized. Maybe I should take a cue here from James Clifford (2013), and be less invested in discovering what inclusion is, and rather focus on what sentiments and expressions it activates around it. What is it about the value of inclusion that brings out such strong emotions amongst academics? What agentive roles do minority students claim in the construction and implementation of inclusionary practices at the university? In what ways do the administration and facilitators of learning engage in and promote the production and performance of inclusionary practices at UC Berkeley? In turn, how are these promoted inclusionary practices perceived and utilized by the students they are meant to serve? Finally, under what social conditions do these inclusionary practices in practice emerge, how and by whom are they expressed, and what immediate reactions do they receive? *My overall thesis quest then becomes to explore the diverse academic and social relationalities to the value of inclusion at University of California, Berkeley.*

Conceptually Framing the Moral Economy of New Times

From its initial religious universal utilization as a synonym to divine order given by God or the human condition (Götz, 2015), through the most cited and ridged scholarly utilization of the concept; E. P. Thompson's 1971 article "The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century", to the multitude of moral economies one finds today – the moral economy is itself a moral-economy in terms of the scope of tolerable (Fassin, 2009: 1248) management and utilization of the concept by scholars in their analyzes. In this short section, I will briefly present the relevant genealogy of the concept of moral economy, that is, relevant for the thesis of this project, without explicitly revealing the connections between the genealogical contributions and my own thesis. Following this short genealogy, I will attempt to synthesize all the relevant aspects of the multitudes of moral economies into the moral economy of new times – a moral economy of inclusion, this is where the connections are made explicit, analytically.

Götz (2015) writes in his article "Moral Economy: its conceptual history and analytical prospects" that E. P. Thompson was the first to author the concept of moral economy with a scholarly contribution when he used it to describe the confrontations in the marketplace between the common people and the old fashioned paternalists during a period of hunger in pre-modern England. Because of this scholarly contribution, academic predecessors' claims of the concept usually refer to E. P. Thompson's article "The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century" (1971), even in cases where their application of his moral economy is far stretched (Götz, 2015). Prior to E. P. Thompson, moral economy was mostly used by priests and religious writers referring to something universal; the divine order of God, or a rule of behavior given to the human condition by God (Götz, 2015: 147).

This universality is in stark opposition to how Thompson restricted his use of the concept, he consistently reminded scholars in his writings – specifically scholars that actively utilized his idea of moral economy – that his notion of the moral economy of the poor had to be understood in its historical context of the pre-modern English marketplace (E. P. Thompson, 1991). Further, moral economy was a framework for norms and obligations between different 'classes', a vertical relationship – not horizontal – where the old-fashioned paternalists had to accept social accountability for their violation of the subsistence rights of the poor. If the prices of essential goods in the market were not set, it legitimized riot with the purpose of setting the price. Similar

to E. P. Thompson (1971), Scott (1976: 3) in his study of Southeast Asian peasants, defined moral economy as a “notion of economic justice and working definition of exploitation”. He focused on the desire for security amongst Southeast Asian peasants, a security that was the foundation for their claims to subsistence rights as moral rights. Exploitation in this case was interpreted as violation of their moral rights, as a breach of the already up-to-the-nose tolerable scope of consented exploitation (Scott, 1976). To summarize then, both Thompson and Scott focused on the economic framework of moral economy in which the economy was embedded in a dialectic relationship of moral expectations of rights and obligations of accountability.

Around twenty years later, in 1995, Daston wrote an article called “The moral economy of science”. In this article, she asserted that science has several moral economies that are “constitutive of those features conventionally (and to my mind, correctly) deemed most characteristic of science as a way of knowing.” (Daston, 1995: 3). Specifically, she exemplified how ‘empiricism’, ‘quantification’, and ‘objectivity’ required moral economies – which Daston (1995: 4) defined as “... a web of affect-saturated values that stand and function in well-defined relationship to one another.” In her first footnote, she thanked two of her colleagues for pointing out to her that her moral economy diverges significantly from E. P. Thompson’s, as if she was not aware of his moral economy (Fassin, 2009). The divergence lies in her lack of concern for pre-modern traditional societies, and her focus on science and privileged scientists’ evaluative quest for scientific truths, no longer a moral economy of the dominated classes. Also, Daston (1995) defines moral economies as values, something that E. P. Thompson (1991) explicitly excludes from his definition because, he argued, if they were included, moral economies would turn up everywhere.

Ten years later, Fassin (2005) wrote about the moral economy of immigration police in France, where he focused on how victim categories tended to determine immigrants’ opportunities of staying in the country. It was a moral economy where compassion for the most eligible physical victim regulated the allocation of scarce relief resources (Fassin, 2005). Immigrants legitimized their existence in France using their ill biology (publicly promoted compassion), not their threatened biography (publicly accepted repression) (Fassin, 2005: 372). In 2009, Fassin also attempted to synthesize E. P. Thompson’s, Scott’s, and Daston’s somewhat opposing understandings of moral economy, and came up with this definition “We will consider moral economy to be the production, distribution, circulation, and use of moral sentiments, emotions and values, and norms and obligations in social space.” (Fassin, 2009: 1256). He

acknowledged that, in doing so, he would risk de-politicizing the concept. The reward, however, was according to Fassin, that the concept could now be generalized to apply to groups beyond dominated classes.

Lastly, I want to include in this genealogy an article (together with its comments) written by Karandinos, Hart, M. Castrillo, and Bourgois (2014) titled “The Moral Economy of Violence in the US Inner City”. Despite receiving commentary critique for applying E. P. Thompson’s notion of moral economy to ethnographic accounts that displayed very little resemblance to the historical context of the pre-modern food riots in England, there are still relevant aspects of their article that should be included here. It is the way their informants relate to the value of violence as a *risk* and a *resource*. If the residential members of the inner-city neighborhood participated in the moral economy of violence, they would risk transgressing in the moral economy of violence if violence was committed at the wrong time or against the wrong person. However, if the use of violence was legitimized contextually, then the act itself would be viewed as a badge of legitimizing honor in their participative role in the moral economy of violence (Karandinos et al., 2014: 6). Also, the residential members’ sensitivity to real and imagined insults (Karandinos et al., 2014: 10) was an important trigger to participation in the moral economy of violence.

A Moral Economy of Inclusion

I consider the moral economy of inclusion to be the production, distribution, implementation, and circulation of inclusionary academic and social regulations and sentiments, emotions and values, and rights and obligations at the University of California Berkeley (Fassin, 2009). Membership of UC Berkeley as a student, administrative staff, or faculty conveys a sense of privileged position relative to non-membership. Because of this, the moral economy of inclusion strays away from E.P Thompson’s (1971) moral economy that focused on the poor, and follows Daston’s (1995) moral economy that focused on the privileged academics. However, it does so only to an extent, because at UC Berkeley – as will be ethnographically demonstrated in the next chapters – the demographic positionality of my informants is the most prominent factor influencing their participative role in the moral economy of inclusion. There are hierarchical relationships based on demographic categories underlying all active participation in the moral economy of inclusion. Individuals and groups with identifiably low positionalities in the demographic hierarchy are incentivized by the circulation of inclusionary moral rights to expect their claims for moral rights (protecting their moral rights) to be obliged

and accounted for by individuals and groups with identifiably high positionalities in the demographic hierarchy (E. P. Thompson, 1971; Scott, 1976).

Because of these incentivized inclusionary expectations, participation in the moral economy of inclusion is both a resource and a risk regardless of one's demographic positionality. It is a resource for individuals with an identifiably low demographic positionality because the distribution of inclusionary academic regulations can in some cases override the distribution of scarce academic resources for the purpose of including minority members – almost as if the regulatory inclusion of their excluded categorical membership is a compassionate debt paid through the moral economy of inclusion (Karandinos et al., 2014; Fassin, 2005). At the same time, participation in the moral economy of inclusion is a risk for individuals with an identifiable low demographic positionality because resistance, expectations, and claims for accountability and responsibility for inclusion must be credible and legitimized with a transgressive violation of their moral rights (Scott, 1976). Any perceived cynical intentions could convert legitimized claims for moral rights into self-serving transgressions in the moral economy of inclusion. Further, participation in the moral economy of inclusion is also a resource and a risk for individuals with identifiably high demographic positions at the university. A resource because accounting for their privilege through obliging inclusionary regulations and sentiments can legitimize their virtuous moral role as representatives of an inclusive campus culture despite their demographic position representing the opposite. A risk because unintentionally transgressing in the moral economy of inclusion can legitimize resistance and callouts against their transgressive participation (Scott, 1976; Karandinos et al., 2014).

Because of these risks amongst both minorities and privileged individuals participating in the moral economy of inclusion, an emergent sensitivity to real and imagined insults are triggers for and against participation (Karandinos et al., 2014). For minority members of the university, a real insult and violation of their moral rights often end up ignored because of the rational judgement of their credibility and virtue that would follow if they participated in the moral economy of inclusion through resistance or callout. For privileged members of the university, an imagined insult of minority members' moral rights can trigger their participation in the moral economy of inclusion to take accountability for that imagined insult, as if their participation is judged by some divine order transcending the social space (Götz, 2015) – making them account for transgressions they never made in fear of making them and being called out for it.

As evident, the moral economy of inclusion is solidly influenced by the heterogeneous genealogy of the concept presented above, instead of one applicative framework. However, the surpassing influence on my conceptualization of the moral economy of inclusion is the ethnographic data I collected at UC Berkeley, and consequently, a moral economy of new times was required.

The Historical Dynamic Relationship between UCB Students and Administrative Practices

In this section I will introduce you to the history of one of the top ranked public universities in the world, UC Berkeley, focusing on the dynamic relationship between students and the administration. Beginning with the Free Speech Movement in the mid 1960s that originated at UC Berkeley campus and spread across university campuses around the US, followed by the Third World Strike during the late 1960s where students of color fought for representation in student admissions and course curriculum – inclusion of political and social minorities on campus has historically been a long and active process. I will chronologically present in more detail these two historical happenings before shedding light on contemporary historical events where the students and administration of UC Berkeley conflicted.

According to many of my informants, the Free Speech Movement is the activist legacy they have to live up to. In 1964, during the Vietnam war and Civil Rights Movement, students at UC Berkeley were organizing and participating in protests outside campus. For the university administration, these protests – despite their occurrence outside campus borders – were directly linked to the student organizations being able to recruit new members by tabling at Sproul Plaza on campus. The Dean of students sent out a letter to all student organizations announcing that tables will no longer be permitted in that area. Additionally, recruiting participants for off-campus political activity, and taking positions on off-campus political issues were also forbidden. These administrative prohibitions of students' political activity on campus sparked resistance across student organizations, and led to mass protests and student sit-ins in the administration's building (at the time) Sproul Hall. Many students were arrested and suspended, but the movement continued and gained traction from students across the US. After months of

student demands and administrative responses, the university administration finally accepted the proposed demands for freedom of speech for students on campus¹.

In 1968, the AASU (African-American Student Union) demanded a black studies program created by and for them. They experienced alienation from and resentment of the conventional educational assumptions of the courses they were offered at the university. Their demands were met, and by the fall semester of 1968 five new black studies courses were implemented in the College of Letters and Sciences with stipulations. Students were outraged by the stipulations, and occupied Moses Hall in October 1968, now increasing their demand with wanting a Black Studies Department. The university offered a program, and the students refused to accept. In January 1969, Dean of the College of Letters and Sciences accepted the students' demand for a department on the conditions of there having to be 50% white people, and no students on the department's Implementing Committee. On the other side of the Bay Bridge, student activists at San Francisco State University who organized for a Third World College became the inspiration for the AASU to refuse the dean's offer. They too, now under the activist name TWLF (Third World Liberation Front) demanded their own Third World College at UC Berkeley and planned to shut down the university with a strike until their demands were met. The Third World College would operate as a department and contain four programs; African-American Studies, Chicano Studies, Asian Studies, and Native American Studies. Their strike was supported by many university faculty members and the campus unions.

After two months of strike, the university was forced to institutionalize Ethnic Studies department with its four programs. The TWLF still continued their strike to ensure that the promise would be fulfilled. Almost a year later, spring semester 1970, Ethnic Studies department had been institutionalized. In 1972, the African-American studies program coordinator Ron Lewis was dismissed from his position and replaced with William Banks, a decision made by the university Chancellor Bowker. Faculty and students organized protest meetings to demonstrate their resistance against the Chancellor's invasion of the Ethnic Studies departments' autonomy. Rumours spread that Banks was the university Chancellor's puppet, and that together they had planned on transferring the African-American studies program from the Ethnic Studies department to the College of Letters and Sciences. These rumours were denied. However, during the following months, Banks would revise the curriculum and hire more and more tenured full-time faculty. These administrative changes made the Black Student

¹ <https://fsm.berkeley.edu/free-speech-movement-timeline/>

Union boycott the African-American studies program, and in 1972 the program only had 93 enrolled students (compared to 421 the year prior). Eventually, in 1973 Banks admitted that he was not opposed to severing African-American studies from Ethnic Studies, and in 1974 the transfer happened. African-American studies went from being a program in the department of Ethnic Studies – a department that was supposed to represent the 1968-students' demand for a Third World College – to a department in the College of Letters and Sciences. The Third World College never came to existence at UC Berkeley, and in 1974, William Banks was tenured by the Chancellor for his administrative efforts, with his first and only book published in 1996. My reference for this story of the “origin of African American studies at UC Berkeley” is Ula Taylor (2010).

In 1996, proposition 209 was approved in the state of California prohibiting state governmental institutions from considering race, sex, or ethnicity specifically in areas of public employment, contracting, and education². According to UC Berkeley's Division of Equity and Inclusion, after proposition 209 took effect, the number of Chicano/Latino, Native American/Alaska Native, and African American undergraduate students dropped by half³. This proposition has sparked conflict amongst the student population. In 2011 the Berkeley College Republicans organized an anti-affirmative action bake sale at Sproul Plaza, selling cupcakes with the pricing based on the buyer's race⁴. This ignited a mass student and staff protest on Sproul Plaza. A year later, the ASUC senate (Associated Students of the University of California) passed a bill supporting a Day of Action every February 13. in favour of overturning prop 209⁵. Fast forward to my fieldwork at UC Berkeley in the spring semester of 2018, the ASUC in mid-April passed the STARR referendum (Student Transformation through Academic Recruitment and Retention) with 5216 student votes. The referendum raises the student tuition fee funding the bridges Multicultural Resource Center from 3\$ to 26\$ per semester for all 30 000 undergraduate students. The referendum author and ASUC senator stated in an interview that she would amend the referendum to include a date on which the policy will end if proposition 209 is repealed⁶.

² <http://www.dailycal.org/2018/02/02/prop-209-affirmative-action-uc-berkeley-enrollment/>

³ <https://diversity.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/diversity-snapshot-web-final.pdf>

⁴ <http://www.dailycal.org/2011/09/23/uc-berkeley-college-republican-bake-sale-elicits-cries-of-racism/>

⁵ <http://www.dailycal.org/2012/02/09/asuc-senate-initiates-day-of-action-to-protest-prop-209/>

⁶ <http://www.dailycal.org/2018/04/13/starr-referendum-enrollment-clarification-act-pass-asuc-2018-elections/>

November 8, 2016, Donald Trump became the president of the United States. One of my informants and member of the ISO (International Socialist Organization), Veda, recalled that day as the worst day of her life. She had never seen that many militarized police uniforms on campus before. That night, hundreds of protesters marched from the university campus all the way to Oakland City Hall⁷. The proceeding months after Trump's presidential victory, several protests on campus took place against conservative student organizations' invited guest speakers. February 2, 2017, twelve days after Donald Trump was inaugurated as president, he tweeted "If U.C. Berkeley does not allow free speech and practices violence on innocent people with a different point of view - NO FEDERAL FUNDS?"⁸. The university administration was put in a difficult position; how were they supposed to protect the wellbeing of their minority students who experienced the invited conservative speakers' free speech as hate speech, while at the same time protect divergent and controversial political ideas under the guise of free speech?

The last week of September 2017 – the week of midterms – politically conservative student organizers had invited several controversial guest speakers to campus on what they promoted as the "Free Speech Week". One of the guest speakers was Milo Yiannopoulos, a self-identified 'dangerous Jewish faggot' who during his last visit to UC Berkeley threatened to call ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) on students without legal citizenship or visa⁹. The days leading up to the Free Speech Week ignited mass protest amongst students. Eventually, one day before the weeklong event, the student organisations that planned it ended up retracting their affiliation altogether¹⁰. Still, Milo together with a couple of other guest speakers – despite being disinvited – proceeded with the event. By this time, the university administration together with the university police department decided to shut down Sproul Plaza in fear of riots on campus¹¹. The riots still happened, however, instead of Sproul Plaza, it was in Downtown Berkeley, and more interestingly, instead of students, it was adults who went to war against each other in the streets. A big clash between Antifa and alt-right protestors occurred five minutes away from campus, with teargas being sprayed, rocks thrown, and physical fights erupting¹². The Free Speech Week was 20

⁷ <http://www.dailycal.org/2016/11/09/berkeley-protest-erupts-trump-wins-presidency/>

⁸ <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/827112633224544256>

⁹ <http://www.dailycal.org/2017/09/21/uc-berkeley-students-harassed-after-milo-yiannopoulos-publicly-identifies-them/>

¹⁰ <http://www.dailycal.org/2017/09/23/berkeley-patriot-canceled-free-speech-week-uc-berkeley-announces/>

¹¹ <http://www.dailycal.org/2017/09/25/uc-berkeley-estimates-free-speech-week-costs-will-reach-800k/>

¹² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L7on-BcK-54&has_verified=1

minutes long, but the university administration ended up spending over 800 000\$ on militarized police protection of campus.

As history has demonstrated, the relationship between students' fight for inclusion and freedom and administrative responses has been a dynamic process that lays the ethnographic foundation for the data I collected during my stay at UC Berkeley.

The Outline of this Thesis

In chapter two I will introduce you to my methodological struggles, decisions, restrictions, and data selection process. Chapter three is the first content-chapter, here I will analyze a student protest of the exam as a ritualized performance that violated the limit of agreed exclusion in the moral economy of inclusion, and hence legitimized resistance. Further, I will elaborate on the meaning of recreational student organizations, groups, and safe spaces for minority students on campus. In chapter four and five, I shift the perspective from students to administrators and facilitators of learning. Chapter four will go in-depth and focus on an administrative microaggression workshop for graduate student instructors (GSI). The workshop teaches GSIs how to make their classrooms as inclusive as possible in the most effective way. Analytically, I will focus on the tension between the administrative expectation of 'effectivity' and the moral economy of inclusion's expectation of accountability. Chapter five is, relative to chapter four, an empirically expanded outlook on how facilitators of learning relate to and promote the obligation of inclusion to each other. In chapter six and seven I shift the perspective back again to the students. Chapter six will focus on how three minority students diversely relate to the inclusionary academic sentiments, emotions and regulations circulated in the moral economy of inclusion. Chapter seven – the final content-chapter – will focus on the self-identified privileged students' expressions of acknowledgement of their privileged positionalities. In chapter eight I will try to explicitly make the red line of this thesis visible by summarizing the parallel and complimentary relationship between the ethnography and the analysis. The limitations of this thesis will also be discussed, and suggestions for further research that might shed exploratory light on my restrictions will be promoted.

Chapter 2

Qualitative Research at an Academic Institution

Reflective Sensitivity on Value Judgements

“Regardless of the position one takes on the possibility of separating empirical observations from value judgements in the course of social-scientific analysis, one has to acknowledge that the choices social scientists make about what to study in the first place, and the way they define clear objects of study out of the ever-shifting reality of social life, are always driven by the values they hold to be most important.” (Robbins, 2013: 448)

This recollection of Max Weber’s argument about the values social scientists are driven by in their quest to carve out an aspect of social life for research purposes was significant for the course of this project. Every step of this project revolves around the role of values in the academy. From my initial experiences as a student in Norway, I unintentionally entered a battlefield between arguments and values where the distinction between those two categories became fuzzier and fuzzier as I continued to introduce myself to this field. Argumentative values were what I consistently stumbled upon in my interaction with scholarly contributions to this field of knowledge production. My reference to scholarly work in the previous chapter suggest multiple point of views, where the concept of judgement varies frequently on issues such as how the academy should be, how research should be conducted, on how the university should handle student protestors, on how admission criterions should look, on how funding should be distributed, and on how academic conduct should be regulated. Reflective sensitivity is a phrase I coined to refer to being very aware of the fact that my project is not only about the people I met during my fieldwork at UC Berkeley, but also about the fact that the authors of any references included in (and excluded from) this text could also easily have been my informants. I can even go further and argue that this entire thesis can be read as a testimony of an informant who is both a student of and studier of the academy as a value system.

The Pursuit of Topical Representation & Relational Variation

Even though no one knew about the initial reasons for why I was so interested in this topic (how I was put off by my fellow classmate’s emotions), it still felt as if everyone knew, because I knew. As if by me merely choosing this as my research focus, and moving to Berkeley for

this, I automatically had to prove that my main quest was to attain some sort of understanding about the diverse academic relationalities to the value of inclusion at the university. To prove that I was interested in learning about this – as opposed to moralizing about it – I put an extreme amount of pressure on myself to work extra hard on getting a detailed and diverse pool of fieldnotes. It is extremely easy to moralize about information relevant to one's own life and activities, therefore, the pressure I put on myself was also a great motivator, almost like the main purpose of this entire project. By that, I mean that I wanted to explore as much as possible (relevant to my research focus) while at Berkeley, with no analytical restrictions, in order for me to be able to state that my analysis is *grounded in detailed and diverse ethnographically collected data*. Based on reading the scholarly literature and history of Berkeley, as well as my own experiences as a student, this research topic is – to employ a word from the anecdote that begins this thesis – polarizing. Consequently, focusing on one single group of people at a university with more than 36 000 students would restrict my opportunities of coming home with a diverse pool of relevant fieldnotes.

The pressure I put on myself, as I stated above, to prove my research intentions to an imagined audience is partly the reason why I walked away from my preliminary research plan which was to focus on one single group of students and their relation to the value of inclusion at the university. I had an immense amount of possible data to explore. Remember that I went to Berkeley, a university town near San Francisco, with thousands of students all over the gigantic campus every day. They are very busy, with different classes every day, study groups, organizational meetings, clubs, sports, work, hang outs, and more. I quickly realized during the first month of my fieldwork that focusing on one student organization and its members for six months would not give me enough diverse data related to the value of inclusion. It would just give me data on one group of students who have one thing in common; their relation to the value of inclusion (members of the same organization that struggles for inclusion), and completely different lives outside this commonality. I would have a lot of variation in topical data, but at the same time a lot of 'trivial' data. The struggle I am trying to describe here is how to establish a balance between data variation and data relevance. I tried to establish this balance by thinking more practically about my fieldwork.

Here is the short version of what I tried to describe above. If I were to focus on one group of people, I would risk losing access to relevant data for my project, but gain access to much more variation in terms of my informants' everyday lives beyond their membership in a student organization. With that variation in field notes, I could write an MA about how my informants'

personal lives connect to their activism and struggle for inclusion. However, that is not my topical focus.

If I were to focus on several groups of people where the connecting commonality between these groups was my topical focus, I would risk losing access to topical data variation, but gain access to relevant data. Here is where I lay out the argument for why I viewed the risks in this paragraph less detrimental than the risk in the previous paragraph. Focusing on several different types of groups with one commonality (all informants have *a* relation to the value of inclusion in the academy), I would argue, gave me access to *variation in experiences related to the value of inclusion at the university*– which is my research focus. This type of variation would be unexplored if I decided to focus on one specific group of people and their *common* quest for inclusion through the establishment of safe-spaces at the university. Similar to Wadel’s (1991) methodological crossroad – of having to decide between focusing on several communities or one person and his relations – I had a methodological decision to make. However, Wadel (1991) and I had different methodological struggles that influenced our contrasting decisions. We both ended up gaining access to the information we wanted; in his case interactional data between unemployed and employed individuals, and in my case a diversity of relations to the representable value of inclusion at the academy.

Groups and Informants

I have conducted my ethnographic fieldwork from early January to late May, or one academic semester at UC Berkeley (Spring2018). Some of the key activities of my participatory observations include:

- ✚ *Two student-led academic courses: Deconstructing Whiteness; Demystifying the Research Process*
- ✚ *One academic professor-led course: Sociology of Gender*
- ✚ *Four politically oriented student organizations: International Socialist Organization (ISO); Queer Student Union (QSU); Bridge-USA; Berkeley College Republicans (BCR)*
- ✚ *Two officially recognized and defined safe spaces on campus: bridge Multicultural Resource Center’s safe spaces Multicultural Community Center (MCC); Queer Women of Color safe space*
- ✚ *UC Berkeley administrative and facilitative inclusion seminars, events, lectures and workshops*

Sociology of Gender was my first observational encounter. My Norwegian roommate for the first two weeks – Fatma – told me about the classes she was taking, and I asked to follow her to the sociology of gender class. This course is about gender inequality in the world from a sociological feminist perspective. The second group that I discovered was the ISO. On Sproul Plaza, every weekday, student organizations would stand and hand out flyers about their organization, trying to recruit new members. In mid-January, I was recruited to the ISO. I was also invited to *Bridge-USA*'s first debate by John – one of the officials at the organization – while they were tabelling at Sproul Plaza.

At UC Berkeley, you can create your own (DeCal) courses as a student as long as you have a supervising professor signing it off and overseeing that everything is following regulations. *Deconstructing Whiteness* I found at the DeCal Expo in the ballroom of the ASUC building. Becky and Joanna – two white female Ethnic Studies and Anthropology undergraduate students teach it. Both created this course as their contribution to the dismantling of whiteness and acknowledgement of their own white privilege. There is this space, a very colorful and art-filled space in the first floor of the MLK. The MLK is the ASUC building; the officially recognized student association of the university. This colorful space is part of bridges Multicultural Resource Center: MCC (Multicultural Community Center). It is open for all and is a safe space for underrepresented students on campus. The MCC is not an organization but works as one – not like a student organization, rather like a small NGO. Students can apply for internships here and get paid for it. The MCC is most known for organizing political and social events for students of color. Here is where I also discovered the *queer women of color safe space*, as well as *the Queer Student Union* during the big queer welcome back party in February.

For various reasons, my observation of the BCR (*Berkeley College Republicans*) were limited in comparison to other groups mentioned above. For example, BCR meetings are not public for security reasons. Their events, however, are public, so I went to as many of them as I could. I was attending this workshop about microaggressions that I found after noticing promotional posters about it hanging all over campus. Here, one of the girls at my table told me – after I had explained my anthropology research project – that I should come to her DeCal because she was “demystifying the ongoing violence the anthropology department at UCB is perpetuating” referencing the story of Ishi. This is how I discovered *Demystifying the Research Process* and met its course creator Ivana.

The data I collected and selected for this thesis utilizes two ethical notation practices (Barrett and Green, 2011): first, utilizing actual names of institutions and groups, and second replacing key informant names with signature naming devices intended to retain analytical identification. In replacing informant names with signature names that retain the identity of my informants, the names of my informants convey a sense of their actual identity. To give one example, Fatma is from Norway. More specifically, Fatma and I discovered that we went to the same high school at the same time, but we had never met prior to coincidentally ending up at the same apartment in Berkeley. Fatma was born and raised in Norway, but her background is Turkish. A friend of mine during high school, named Fatma, who grew up in Norway with a Turkish background is the reference to my signature naming of my Norwegian Turkish informant as Fatma.

Further, their ages are moderately changed, I do not disclose any background information about them that would risk any type of identification. Sensitive information close to my informants are excluded from this thesis. Fieldworkers build relations of genuine trust and accountability. If I sensed that my knowledge of students' sensitive information could compromise their wellbeing, or if they explicitly told me to not share information they termed as sensitive, I would make sure not to share it.

What I have not changed, however, are the names of the organizations and spaces (campus buildings), and the name of the university itself. This is because of their vital relevance for the ethnographic understanding of this thesis. The ethnography is specific to the groups I have observed and participated in, not generalizable to other groups at UC Berkeley or other universities in the US. Historically, if I were to not disclose UC Berkeley's past as a site of administrative and student conflict, I would have been deceptive in terms of concealing the relevant reality of my field site based on an abstracted and imagined belief that it would protect the anonymity of my informants. Moreover, comparatively, scholarly contributions to this field of knowledge that have decided to not disclose the names of the organizations (Broadhurst and Martin, 2014) they have collected data from at UC Berkeley have still described the groups in a manner that makes it extremely easy to know the names of these groups, without knowing their members. Further, not disclosing the name of the university (McCabe, 2009), I would argue, does not extend the already anonymized security of one's research subjects, rather, it solely disrupts the opportunities for the reader to get an understanding of the local, which is in the field of anthropology significant for ethnographic understanding.

Locus

During the beginning of my fieldwork, I would walk around all over campus, into as many buildings as I could. I have an entire folder of photos of the campus buildings, the insides, posters hanging on the walls, the lack of posters on the walls, the parks, the recreational spaces, cafés, different centers for student wellbeing and learning, the nature, the squirrels, the vegan and animal rights slogans written on the ground, and more. For a more visual understanding, see my UC Berkeley Instagram¹³. But the UC Berkeley campus feels huge, and after only a few weeks, I began restricting my locus to areas of the southern campus, notably, near Sproul Hall, the location of daily student public events, protests and the like. I started understanding that there were certain spaces on campus that were more populated than others, and one of these spaces was the most populous—upper Sproul Plaza. Later on, during my fieldwork, whenever I had spare time in between classes or meetings, I would sit around Sproul Plaza and observe the student flow. This was where all the student organizations were tabelling daily. This is also the same space where the national university campus Free Speech Movement began in the mid

1960's. The Photo to the right (figure 1) I took from the seating area at the Bear Kiosk on the opposite side of Sproul Hall (white building in photo). I usually sat on the benches right behind the Sproul Plaza tents.



Figure 1

¹³ <https://www.instagram.com/anthrometi/>

On the right (figure 2) I present a UC Berkeley online campus map with my own drawing around the areas where I spent most of my time. This will be demonstrated in a colorful manner. Sociology of Gender is the **yellow** spot, QSU is **pink**, ISO is **red**, Deconstructing Whiteness is **green**, Demystifying the research process is **brown**, Bridge-USA is **blue**, the MCC and queer female POC safe space is **purple**, and upper Sproul Plaza is **orange**.



Figure 2

The picture above is a cut out of the full campus map- depicting one fifth of the entire campus. The workshops, public lectures, seminars, and events that I attended were a bit more spread out, but mostly centered around this outlined section (depicted above) of the campus. Here is a small photo (figure 3) of the entire campus, just to show how big it is. My home at Berkeley cannot be seen on this map because it is on the street right outside the border, but I will put a small star outside the map to show exactly how close it is.

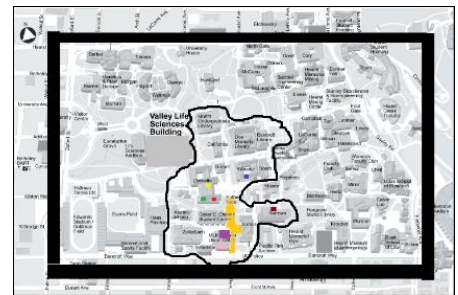


Figure 3

Role(s) of the Academic Researcher

Most of the groups I followed met up once a week. I did manage to develop relations with people in two of the student-led academic courses, three of the student-led organizations, the professor-led academic course, as well as the two officially defined safe spaces. These relations enabled me to collect ethnographic data on my informants' everyday relation to the political life of UCB (beyond the confinements of their respective group belonging), diffusing the risk I took when deciding to spread my anthropological focus to more than one group (Frøystad, 2003). There are several approaches to select from within the ethnographic method. My main approach was moderate participation (Spradley, 1980: 60) for two conflicting and complimentary reasons. The first being that my methodological aim was to gain interactional data between my informants, with my anthropological presence affecting these interactions as little as possible (passive observation). The second reason was that I still wanted to actively experience what it was like to be an active recreational student at UC Berkeley through

anthropological participation and imitation. At the safe spaces, and QSU, I would actively participate, as myself first and foremost, and not the ‘observing researcher anthropologist’.

My role was also greatly influenced by the demographic context of the situations and groups I was observing and participating in. Let me say a few words about my own background in the context of opportunities my own identity provided for gaining insight into various fields of data. I was born in Sweden to Ethiopian nationals who migrated to Europe nearly a decade prior. Until the age of five, I lived in the rural town of Luleå after which my family moved to Oslo, Norway. I have long, black, thick and curly hair, and brown skin. When I went to UC Berkeley, I arrived one week after president Trump had made his comments about “shithole countries” and referencing “Norwegians” as his ideal immigrants. Whenever I let people know that I was from Norway *and* an anthropology student, it became the ice-breaker, and they immediately wanted me included in their groups, almost like a trophy they could present to the Trump context that filled the space up. It is difficult to describe how much Trump’s tweets were alive at Berkeley, people would talk *to* the tweets with each other. The irony of potentially being identified in the US president’s terms as an ethnic from an undesirable country and at the same time, a national from a highly desired country, I refer to more below.

My appearance was in my estimates the biggest aspect of me that gave my informants a good enough first impression to not only allow me to observe and participate in their groups, but also to make them approach me and ask if I was interested in joining their groups or hanging out. However, with the opportunities also came assumptions and expectations of my role. Assumptions that I was a young woman of color who had come to Berkeley to join the struggle against racism, assumptions that I wanted to take the emancipatory knowledge from Berkeley and go back home to NTNU with the quest of decolonizing my department. The common denominator between all the assumptions was that they assumed that I had experienced the same minority experience in Norway as they have in the US; the histories, the situational context, the ‘violence in the departments’, and the ‘white supremacy’, and because of this, they would rarely give any examples of what they were describing. Whenever this happened, and it happened in all the groups I observed and participated in, I used my ‘Norwegian fieldworker-card’ and distanced myself from the common ground that had afforded me access into the room. This ‘card’ was always present, but not always activated. My English accent is Norwegian, and everyone knew my research project, yet, most of my informants treated me as an international student. The conflicting but complimentary relation between my roles as the anthropologist, the

student, the woman of color, the privileged Norwegian, the ignorant foreigner, and the decolonizer both enabled and challenged my access to relevant data.

Data Selection for Each Content-Chapter

My fieldwork at UC Berkeley was evidentially non-traditional in terms of focusing on one group of society and the members' relation with each other. My decision to focus on several groups – who not necessarily know each other – influences all parts of the architectural structure of this thesis. Part of my ethnographic methodology is to provide the reader with firsthand fieldnote representations that in their own contexts concentrates specific relations to the value of inclusion. To make it easy for my readers to follow the paralleling and complimentary structure of analysis and ethnography, I have decided to make the ethnographic accounts – which in this thesis are fieldnote representations – presented in each chapter visually distinct from the analysis. I do this, not because I view the ethnographic accounts as evidence, rather because they are for my readers the represented stories of my experience at UC Berkeley that I will in this thesis analytically understand. The following nine-page section is the methodological backstage of my project.

Testimonies of Exclusionary Experiences of Chapter Three

Data Collection

Most of the ethnographic data I have *collected* regarding experiences of exclusion are spoken accounts from my informants. This means that I have not been there and observed the situations they describe as exclusionary, however, I was there when they described them. One common denominator between most of the accounts is that the students describing their experiences are doing it in a very similar setting: in a physical and social space where their identities are celebrated as the main cause for the space to exist. The spaces are, however, different, that is, the accounts come from members of different demographically defined groups. From the socialist organization (class), to the queer WOC safe space (gender, race, sexuality), to the queer student union (sexuality), to the academic class called 'Demystifying the research process' (POC, and gender-non conforming identities), to the 'sociology of gender' class (gender). In chapter three, I will *present* one ethnographic account of students protesting their exam as a legitimized expression of resistance to the facilitative violation of their moral right to inclusion. Additionally, the recreational and academic student spaces for minority groups mentioned above play a distinct role in the reproduction of the moral economy of inclusion, therefore, I will elaborate on the sentiments, values and emotions that circulate in these spaces.

Data Selection

By reading the beginning of the paragraph above, it might seem as if I am introducing you to the data that will be presented in chapter three. To be very clear – I am not. That paragraph mostly introduces you to the data regarding experiences of exclusion that I have collected while at Berkeley. Yes, most of the data collected are spoken accounts, but they are all scattered in various specific contexts that would take more space than I can afford for chapter three. Initially, I wanted to present six different spoken accounts of exclusion, to demonstrate that there is a pattern in both how and where the experiences are shared. In the data selection process for this chapter, however, I was in a weird ambivalent state of being overly confident in the amount of accounts of exclusionary experiences in my fieldnotes (which is the main reason for this chapter to even exist), while at the same time doubting the data as anthropologically legitimate - as I was not really there when the exclusionary interactions occurred (Frøystad, 2003). Remember this last sentence.

Fast forward to a meeting I had with my advisor, sharing my doubts regarding the data collected. I was advised to not worry too much about that, and rather view the data as ‘Testimonies’, hence the title of this section. I left that meeting very eager to re-read all the data from a different angle. What I noticed was that I actually have observed one incident of exclusion during my fieldwork, and I remember at the time of the incident how I experienced that incident – from the perspective of an observer – as highly exclusionary. But somehow, after coming home from Berkeley – and consistently focusing solely on the spoken accounts of exclusion in my notes, as well as internalizing an assumption that only certain demographic kinds of people can be excluded (as most of the accounts in my notes regarded members of minority groups or females on campus) – I had totally disregarded this observed incident as exclusionary. This observation of exclusion was mine, and it might be argued that it is not my moral right to decide that what I observed was exclusion (Czarniawska, 2005), however, for now I will claim that moral right.

I did not really know what to do with chapter three after ‘finding out’ about this observation. Was it the ‘magic of serendipity’ (Howell, 2017), had I discovered by accident and wisdom something I was not in quest of? To an extent, yes. I discovered this observed incident of exclusion during my writing process- months after coming home from my fieldwork while re-reading a fieldnote I had read several times before, only this time, my antennas were working to pick up my own taken for granted assumptions that I had developed during my extended stay at Berkeley about the possibilities of exclusion. Should I include the observation in the data

selection? But that would disrupt the entire structure of this chapter, even the title of this section was supposed to be the title of the entire chapter. Not only that, the person excluded as well as the setting in which the exclusion occurred disrupt the pattern I presented in the first paragraph of this section.

The decision to include that observation in chapter three was both a compromising and inspiring decision. Compromising because I had to rethink the entire structure and validity of this chapter. Inspiring because by me including this observation and the consequential complexities it brings with it for my analysis, it also opened my eyes for a methodological field in the data selection process that made me much more aware and attentive to the relational aspect of ethnographic accounts, not only within each chapter, but also between them. Therefore, the two experiences of exclusion presented in chapter three vary methodologically. It is important for me however to specify here that the observed example of exclusion that will be included in chapter three still needs to be understood from the patterned context of the excluded testimonies that I have collected, as an additional dimension to the story of exclusion, not erasing the validity of the exam as an exclusionary ritualized performance.

The Methodological Construction of Chapter Four & Five

Data Collection

While at Berkeley, the hardest information for me to attain was observation of and participation in administrative practices on campus. Coming from the outside with no real connection to the university other than my wish to do fieldwork there, my requests to sit in on administrative meetings and workdays were easily denied. Even my attempt to gain access to the Chancellor's building California Hall was denied by the security guard at the entrance. The Chancellor's building is where the administrators of the administrators have their offices, that is, the people that run this university. I was interested in gaining access to this building because I wanted to observe what the people in the first floor – Division of Equity and Inclusion – were doing on a daily basis for the maintenance and development of equity and inclusion at UC Berkeley campus. Sproul Hall, however, is where the administration of the administration used to have their offices, up until the 1960's. Here is the short and paradoxical story for why they moved to California Hall (taken from the university's online page).

Built in 1941. Robert Gordon Sproul graduated from Berkeley in 1913, then worked his way up at his alma mater from cashier to president (1930-58). Sproul was the first Berkeley alumnus and the first native Californian to serve as university president. The neoclassical building, designed by Arthur Brown, Jr., housed the offices of the chancellor and other top administrators until the 1960s, when they were repeatedly occupied

by students from the Free Speech Movement. The chancellor subsequently decamped for more-secure California Hall. <https://access.berkeley.edu/sproul-hall>

With the knowledge of my methodological struggle to gain access to administrative practices in mind, the question becomes, how in the world did I gain access to this private administrative workshop for graduate student instructors in chapter four? What was the methodological backstory? How did an anthropology student from Norway with no real connection to the University of Berkeley get to sit in and observe a private workshop for GSIs in the top floor of the center building on campus, Sproul Hall?

About three weeks prior to this workshop, I was sitting in my room after a long evening of writing fieldnotes. By this time, I had made it into a tradition every night to reward myself with a couple of hours on social media or Netflix or whatever after writing fieldnotes. This night, I was surfing on Facebook, and happened to notice an event suggestion on my homepage. I clicked on it because I saw that the location of the event was Dwinelle Hall, a building I had spent a lot of my time at with various groups and organizations. The organizer of this event was the Mixed Student Union on campus, a student organization for individuals who identify as racially mixed. This was the only thing about the event, other than the location that really caught my attention enough for me to press the 'attend' button. I also happened to be the only one who was attending. My thought was that maybe I could get to know the organizers and start hanging out with the Mixed Student Union. That is not how this story went, however.

Fast forward to the event. A professor at the university had been invited to hold a talk about his new book. The book was about people who identified as mixed in Europe, the professor was himself a mixed individual from Europe, but had worked as a faculty member at Berkeley for decades. The attendees at this event reflected the attendees at the Facebook event, I was the only one who was not a member of the MSU amongst the audience, containing a total of four audience members (including myself). This might be the reason why the talk was more of a discussion. The professor even decided to sit amongst us in the classroom and disregarded his PowerPoint presentation. For some reason, he was very interested in how we all identified ethnically, more specifically how I identified, as I was from Europe. He was so interested, that he wanted me to walk with him to his office, and so I did. There, he introduced me to his colleague who he shared office with, and asked me tons of questions about my MA project. He said that he really wanted to help me with access to spaces I struggled getting access to, and so I shared my struggles with the administrative offices. To make a long story short, this professor and I ended up having three more meetings, he even introduced me to one of his advisees, a Danish mixed graduate student who I met and hung out with twice. After that, she would

forward me event email invites that she received from the administration, and one of those emails happened to be about this private microaggression workshop. The workshop was still private. An administrator was guarding the entrance to the workshop and asking every attendee to show their Cal 1 card (Id.) before letting them in. I did not have an Id as I am not a student at the university, so I presented myself as a Norwegian anthropology student with my research project here. As soon as I mentioned Norway, her face lit up, she made a reference to wanting more ‘Norwegian immigrants’ like me and invited me to attend the workshop. To make the methodological story of chapter four into one sentence; I went from the most public Facebook event with one attendee (myself) – to a private invite-only administrative workshop at the top floor of Sproul Hall, amazing when you think about it. This story goes to show that sometimes, what you struggle the most with methodologically, can coincidentally be attainable if you just roll with the flow of information.

The story above is so coincidental that there was no way for me to rely on those type of chains of events in terms of gaining insight into administrative and facilitative work. I therefore quickly understood that I had to spread my methodological focus and attend as many publicly promoted administrative and facilitative workshops, events, lectures, conferences, and meetings as possible, anywhere on campus. The two criterions I had for attending such events were that the organizers of them had to be either administrators, or facilitators (faculty) of learning, and the topic had to somehow be related to my project. The thought was that if I focused on what they produced (events) for the public, maybe I could – by extension – get an understanding of how and why they produced it. Chapter five will therefore be dedicated to short excerpts of invited academics promoting their inclusionary programs and sentiments to their UCB academic and administrative audience; what I argue are circulating inclusionary ideational products of the moral economy of inclusion on UCB campus.

Data Selection

Since the title of chapter five is called “The Value of Inclusion and its Academic Reach”, the empirical data presented in it are of Berkeley administrator’s or facilitator’s invited academic guests from other university institutions in the US. The commonality between these various empirical excerpts is that they all assume, promote and encourage their Berkeley audience to embody and uphold a certain moral obligation to the value of inclusion in their academic practices and conduct. To make the variation clear, I will select three disciplinarily diverse academics, at three disciplinarily distinct Berkeley campus events, and show how they all represent the commonality in the previous sentence – a commonality they also share with the

main character of chapter four; Matias the administrator who is training GSIs how to make their classrooms as inclusive as possible.

The ethnographic focus in both chapter four and five are on the administrative and facilitative relationalities to the value of inclusion in academic practices. I chose the workshop for GSIs as the ethnographic representation for chapter four because it demonstrated how much the facilitative administration of learning (the Teaching Center at UCB) worked on legitimizing the importance of the value of inclusion on campus. It was also selected due to the fact that Matias the administrator had done research himself for six months on experiences with microaggressions on this campus. The disciplinary variation of the GSIs was also part of the reason why I gave this workshop its own chapter, as well as the fact that the GSIs had ambivalent roles as both facilitators of learning while at the same time being students of the university.

Another aspect that centered this workshop out from the rest of them was the geographical location, Sproul Hall. Comparatively- the rest of the events (also those not included in chapter five) were either disciplinarily restrictive or geographically peripheral- this workshop, however, represented the geographical center (and academic variation). The workshop also gave me access to observe and participate in an ongoing administrative approach to uphold the value of inclusion in academic practices. Gaining access to a private workshop such as the one in chapter four was also what I struggled the most with, and once I got access, I was not about to exclude this information from the project. This workshop most importantly – compared to the three other external excerpts in chapter five – is the only workshop where we get insight into an ongoing retraining effort – or reengineering if you will – of academic practices for the sake of upholding the administrative value of inclusion. But almost all the informants in both chapter four and five are administrators or facilitators, what about the students? The last two content-based chapters will explore the various ways in which the students of UC Berkeley that I met and hung out with relate to the moral economy of inclusion both academically and socially.

The Methodological Construction of Chapter Six Two-leveled plotline

Chapter six is called “Negotiating positionalities in the Moral Economy of Inclusion; Minority Students’ Testimonies” because the ethnography in this chapter focus on three minority students that are negotiating their relation to the value of inclusion based on their perceptions of others around them at the university doing the same. There is a classification

paradox of data selection. As the anthropologist, you are supposed to let the collected ethnography on its own organically select itself into presentable relevance, even though you are the one doing the authoritative selection. The small amount of data that I select to be included out of 800 pages of fieldnotes, into my construction of the readers' story of Berkeley has to be relevant, comprehensible, and comparable for the reader. The reader has to be able to understand the relations not only within each chapter, but also between them, this means that the ethnography in each chapter cannot be selected in vacuum, they have to be selected with the goal of giving the reader a story, a plotline, so that they can be able to follow and understand it. The plotline has to be two-leveled: for each respective chapter, as well as for the entire book. Based on this, let me now introduce you to the methodological construction of the plotline in chapter six.

Simren and Maria go from one story to part of one story

Jose was a very late arriver to chapter six. The chapter was originally about Simren and Maria, my two housemates. That was their primary relation. Their secondary relation was Goffman (1959). Simren was the cynical actor contemplating backstage, and Maria was the impressionable audience member who did not believe the protesters in chapter three. This chapter was supposed to only revolve around these two individuals (the protest in chapter three was at this point still part of chapter six). I already knew what chapter seven was going to focus on: the allies, the white students that participate in the moral economy of inclusion through acts of allyship. Because of chapter seven, I started to doubt chapter six in its original form. How would my presentation of Simren and Maria in chapter six influence the reader's interpretation of how minority students relate to inclusion practices? Will the reader believe that the moral economy of inclusion is about duplicitous students manipulating people and practices to gain academic resources? Because that is not accurate, and I do not want to give anyone the perception of that being the case. Here is where the role of the second level of the plotline enters the construction of this chapter (but does not control the construction, as evident in the fact that Simren and Maria are still here). Instead of writing a chapter about two housemates that have an ambivalent relation to the value of inclusion at the academy, why not interpret their expressions in a broader context?

Jose -- The Missing Link

The struggle I was in during the construction of chapter six is almost contrasting to the struggle described earlier about the construction of chapter three. In chapter three, I wanted to

present only representational data on exclusionary testimonies and discovered an observed experience of exclusion that I initially thought would tarnish the reader's belief in the 'realness' of the testimonies of exclusion. I still ended up including the data and understood that it was an important aspect of the story in chapter three, not a part that stands on its own, but has to be understood within the empirical context of that chapter. In chapter six, however, I was struggling with the fact that the already selected testimonies (Simren and Maria) would tarnish the readers' belief in the genuine worth of the value of inclusion for the people this value is supposed to serve the most at UC Berkeley – minorities. It became very apparent that chapter six was missing a vital part of its story. Jose became the perfect candidate to fill in the empty spot for chapter six. He was the missing link to not only the chapter's plotline, but also to the chapter's role in the project's plotline.

For the chapter's plotline, Jose was a comparative point of departure to Simren, opening room for a discussion around the differing relationalities to the value of inclusion, how when these relationalities conflict with each other without both parties knowing it, they can have great consequences. Further, Simren became a comparative point of departure for Maria and her suspicion of people that are (in Maria's eyes) doing what Simren is contemplating, and a discussion around the credibility and negotiating sacrifices that it takes to perform certain roles in the moral economy of inclusion. All three individuals are in similar situations, but they deal with them differently, which gives me an opportunity to build a chapter that explores the three individually negotiated relations to the value of inclusion through their perspectives of each other. The result is hopefully a relevant, comprehensible, and comparable chapter for the reader (in its own vacuum). For the project's plotline, including Jose in this chapter was a nuancing approach to the portrayal of minority students' relation to being included. Jose also provide an alternative agency-driven understanding of the academic meaning of inclusion. Introduced straight after the external academics in chapter five, Jose sheds an 'appreciative' light on the administrative and facilitative focus on inclusion at the academy. Together, Jose, Simren, and Maria relate to the value of inclusion in a diverse manner. They all come from different disciplinary backgrounds; they all speak on matters that will make the reader re-interpret the expressions of previously introduced informants from the perspective of these three individuals.

The Methodological Construction of Chapter Seven

Chapter seven was created out of a pattern of behavior I noticed while at Berkeley. This pattern of behavior was extremely obvious, as I have myself been subjected to it on several occasions, as well as observed it in various situations. It is the behavior demanded by the

protesting students in chapter three, the behavior encouraged and promoted by both the administrators and facilitators in chapter four and five, the behavior that strengthened Jose's academic confidence and put off Simren in chapter six, the academic and social conduct incentivized by the moral economy of inclusion; the patterned behavior of acknowledging one's privilege through acts allyship. Chapter seven is, however, not only centered around the individuals expressing this conduct, but also the situational context in which these expressions emerge, as well as the various reactions these expressions receive. This paragraph demonstrates how the previous chapters have presented relationalities to the value of inclusion in a one by one format. To some extent, I can argue that the exam protest in chapter three was a clash of relationalities to the value of inclusion; however, I did not present it as so. Chapter seven is where I focus on three various interactions between different relationalities to the value of inclusion at the academy that have in common their emergence through acts of allyship.

Just by reading the previous paragraph, it becomes evident that the pattern of these expressions of allyship is not only apparent through the expression of the behavior itself, but also through the manner in which my informants in the previous chapters in various ways relate their words, experiences, or acts to that specific behavior. It will also in the preceding chapters be presented by me as something other than this patterned behavior, as this is an 'exploration of', not 'definition of' -type of project, even in its written form. The pattern not only lies in the behavior itself or other informants' relation to the behavior, but also in the predispositions for that behavior to be expressed. The individuals expressing this behavior are identifying themselves as demographically "privileged"; they are all white students.

This is also the last content-chapter of my thesis. During the construction of this chapter – in terms of what data to select, how to make it relatable to the rest of the chapters, how to honor the high position of representing the 'final content-chapter' – I wanted to explore if there was a way for me to select data that could tie up all the 'loose ends' from the previous chapters, empirically. By 'loose ends', I only mean relationalities to the value of inclusion in the academy that have been presented empirically in a situationally secluded manner. To make it very clear, I am not at all arguing that the 'loose ends' are empirically of lower quality than what I am trying to do with chapter seven. Rather, they represent empirical aspects of what in chapter seven will be understood by me as holistic situations where more than one relation to the value of inclusion are interacting. Only in that way, I believe that I have saved the best for last – meaning that – only in that way can the previous content-chapters be understood as ethnographic 'buildups' to the data selected for chapter seven.

The three individuals expressing awareness of their white privilege through acts of allyship are (1) member of QSU – Mia – a second year white sic-gendered lesbian undergrad (not selected major yet), (2) member and administrator of Bridge-USA – John – a third year white sic-gendered heterosexual undergrad in Political Science, and (3) course creator and instructor of Deconstructing Whiteness – Becky – a senior white sic-gendered heterosexual undergrad in Ethnic Studies. The situations in which the acts of allyship took place are the spaces where we frequently met as members of groups; the QSU meeting with Mia, a panel discussion event organized by Bridge-USA with John, and one of the Deconstructing Whiteness classes with Becky.

Methodological Restrictions

My methodological restrictions have been discussed in this chapter, but more from the perspective of how I methodologically dealt with them, not extensively on how they still restricted my thesis. In this section, I will therefore not focus on how I dealt with the restrictions (as that has been done above), but on what they meant for my project, anthropologically.

The first methodological restriction is perhaps the most anthropologically relevant. The fact that I decided to (based on my research focus) focus on several groups instead of one specific group of informants restricted my opportunity to have one main informant, build genuine relationships every day with the same small group of people, learn their everyday routines as a group (Spradley, 1980: 43), and individually beyond their relation to their respective groups (Frøystad, 2003). However, those descriptions of a traditional anthropological fieldwork are themselves restrictive to my specific fieldwork at UC Berkeley. I was not primarily interested in one group of informants, but several, not one key informant, but several. The groups I focused on never met every day, and the individuals I met I did manage to build genuine relations with beyond the confinements of our group belonging.

The second methodological restriction was something I could not control; my appearance and status as a student. In certain respects, it could be argued that I, similar to Briggs (1986), was confined to a role my informants gave to me and I in turn accepted. In terms of ethnographic material, my appearance and status sometimes restricted me from organically gaining information underlying my informants' generalized statements. Instead of the, again, traditional anthropologist who does not know the language, who in field is taught the histories, practices, and values of the natives, I was instantly treated as the native who already knew of and had experienced all these things. This was however somewhat expected, as I knew I was doing

fieldwork at a place with people that looked like me and did what I was doing (studying). Additionally, all anthropologists have to ask questions every day in field, the difference in my case is that my informants usually expected me to already know the answers to my questions. That was my restriction, I would in certain situations fear that my questions were perceived as critical, and therefore sometimes risk-analyze them.

The third methodological restriction was my difficulties in gaining access to the private administrative everyday practices. This restriction is still a restriction. I did not manage to gain that specific everyday access no matter how I dealt with it methodologically. Many students and professors I have quoted in my fieldnotes have been very critical of the workings of the administrators on campus for having too much power and using it in a superfluous manner in their everyday activities. I never was able to explore these claims.

Chapter 3

Minority Students Struggle for Academic Inclusion:

Claims to Moral Rights

Scott's (1976) conceptualization of Moral Economy focused on the desire for security amongst the Southeast Asian peasants as the foundation for their claims to subsistence rights as moral rights. He used the analogy of a man with water up to his nose as the constant state of insecurity the Southeast Asian peasants lived under. This analogy referred to the already up-to-the-nose tolerable scope of consented exploitation amongst the Southeast Asian peasants (Scott, 1976). In their article examining dining rituals at Cambridge University, Dacin et al. understand rituals as "performances which legitimate the concept of social stratification through the repeated enactment of roles and boundaries." (2010: 2). Bourdieu's (1991: 118) "Rites of Institution" similarly argued that the most important division rites draw is the division between those who are subject to the rite and those who are not. What happens when the moral rights of safety and inclusion amongst minority students at an elite university in the US are violated by a ritualized academic performance such as the exam? Under what social conditions are minority students' claims to moral rights legitimized? And what scope of exclusion is tolerable for the moral economy of inclusion to nurture? In this chapter, I will understand the exam as a ritualized performance that legitimate the concept of tolerable social stratification which under specific circumstances violate the moral rights of minority students at UC Berkeley, and consequently legitimates resistance. Following, I will shortly look at the spaces in which these claims to moral rights are legitimized. Lastly, I will explore the tolerable scope of exclusion these spaces require for the nurturing of moral rights in the moral economy of inclusion.

The Exam as Exclusionary Ritualized Performance

The story of how I came understand the exam as a ritualized performance began at a seminar where I had submitted the extended empirical account below. It is a transcript I wrote of a video sent to me by my housemate Maria during my stay at Berkeley. The video depicts, from the audience's perspective in a lecture hall, a handful of Chicano minority students protesting their exam in an Ethnic Studies Class called 'Below the Border'. Maria was herself sitting in the lecture hall, prepared to take the exam. As will be demonstrated, the protesters received no support by the professor and their fellow students. As we were sitting in the seminar and

discussing this lack of support, my professor repeated that it was because of the exam, that it is impossible to disrupt an exam and expect support. These gestures of my professor focusing on the exam as a type of sacred practice, outside of mundane time, raised the possibility of considering this type of practice through the analytical lens of ritual performance. While the classical anthropological focus of rites of passage in ‘primitive’ or pre-industrial societies focus on religious settings (van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 1967; Geertz, 1957), Bourdieu recognizes an arbitrary boundary in which rites tend to concentrate or legitimize (1991: 118). In this sense, the exam is a sacred act worthy of analysis in terms of ritual. In this section, I analyze the exam as a rite of institution that maintains and legitimizes the tolerable scope of exclusion of minority students’ experiential knowledge as academic knowledge, masks conflict, and undermines resistance within the university institution of UC Berkeley (Scott, 1976; Bourdieu, 1991; Dacin et al., 2010).

The Context around this exam was the Free Speech Week. Sproul Plaza had been shut down, and hundreds of armed police officers were guarding its borders. Several professors had already decided to reschedule their lectures and exams in support of the safety of their minority students who feared the alt-right protestors that were marching the streets of Downtown Berkeley. The Ethnic Studies Chair had even advised the faculty about the stressful situation students of campus were under. The video begins calmly, with the protestors claiming the stage and taking turn reading their manifest, which I also have a copy of. In the video of the protest, it seemed as if the exam was the explosion of all the tension they had built up due to the various attacks on their wellbeing. In this context, the exam represented the fact that the person administrating the class (professor) did not care about the minority students’ disadvantaged positions enough to consider them in his decision-making, not even enough to let them take the test home. While they took turn reading the manifest, a student in the audience (lecture auditorium) interrupted one of them and asked:

“Is this a filibuster?” This comment made most of the students in the lecture hall laugh, and the protesting students very angry because they lost the attention of the room, so one of the male protesters yelled: “How bout you respect somebody talking! How bout you white students shut up!” One of the female protesters added: “Ya’ll fucking take so much space! ... You listen, you have to listen, OK! Listen to us, OK! You talk so much already, OK, so listen!” A second protesting male student added: “Why are you taking this class, learning about our community if you’re gonna speak all over us?!” The first protesting male pointed his finger toward the audience and yelled: “You’re all trynna silence all our voices!” The female protester added:

“Are you trying to silence us right now? Is that what you’re trying to do?” The student in the audience with the initial interrupting comment answered: “No, I’m trying to take my test!” The first protesting male: “Oh my god, we’re trying to live our lives, trying to live our lives! Calm down, white boy with privilege!” And then they continued reading the manifest. Here is the manifest:

To Professor S,

Problem:

Today, we received an email from UCPD about a right-wing rally happening today from 2PM. This demonstrates once again the violence against students of color who are targeted by both police and right-wing protesters.

We as students of color feel that this class is doing an injustice to our community. Having a midterm at this time is not only stressful but fails to consider the very communities this course claims to serve. You have not recognized the severity of the current situation on campus and outside of campus, which is sanctioned violence. With the lack of Latin American courses offered on campus, the failure on your behalf to be critical of your positionality, and our experiences as people of color who are directly affected by many of these topics, we believe that this course has not allowed for our opinions or concerns to be heard. We see the conversations in class are dominated by one particular lens and not pushing students to be critical about their positions and disregarding all the narratives within the most marginalized of our community who come from below the southern border. It is harmful to participate in this academic setting where, for example, some leaders that the professor highlights as leaders of change have caused violence on communities we come from. Many of us are registered under Ethnic Studies and Education thinking this class would take into consideration our perspectives of these histories/realities, but has not done that. In fact, this class lacks the critical analysis to understand how dehumanizing and violent “Hate Speech Week” is and how many students were triggered by all the actions this university keeps making against the safety of students of color.

We are aware that the Ethnic Studies Chair advised the department about the stressful situations that students are forced into by the university and this was disregarded by you since we still have to prepare for a midterm and attend sections/classes.

You stated from the beginning of the course that now more than ever, it is important to be taking a course that covers issues and politics in regards to the Southern Border. Yet, collectively,

there has not been a platform readily available to us folks who are directly affected by the current climate. With the sudden heavy militarization of our campus, many of us are distressed, which directly affects the safety of our Black and undocumented students. We find it difficult to focus on succeeding at a campus that facilitates more funding for police at a PROFOUND \$800,000 spending budget when many of us are having complications with financial aid packaging and department budgets.

As a studier of our homelands, you already know the degree of devastation that has affected our families and communities. Mexico experiencing a destructive earthquake in Mexico City, Oaxaca, Chiapas, Puebla, Tabasco, and Morelos and the most impoverished communities are not receiving the necessary aid or funding that they need to survive and recover. People are still trapped and missing. Similarly, Puerto Rico is struggling to complete basic necessities or needed humanitarian efforts after a Category 4 Hurricane destroyed the whole island. People are still missing, stranded and 77,000 are in danger of dying from a broken dam. Furthermore, today is a day of remembrance for the 43 missing students of Ayotzinapa.

Demands:

-Since the test will not be cancelled, then postponing the exam will be best or instead of an exam we are requesting a take home essay with significant time to prepare. Our well beings are put on the line because of our emotional, mental, and physical stress that this university is compounding with what is already going on in our everyday lives.

-The essay should allow students to challenge the material and allow students to engage with the content beyond memorizing details that can feel disconnected for students who feel this information relates closely to.

-The content of the class and the way it is being taught is not satisfactory, and even if it is only the sixth week, we feel that we haven't had the opportunity to interact with the texts and information. We demand that you make and hold space to center the voices of students of color.

SOME OF OUR CONCERNS:

-Why is he romanticized with Mexican culture to the point that Mexico is a model nation?

-How has Prof. S. been held accountable about his position coming into this space and not centering the experiences of people of color?

- How can we have GSI's prepare us when they don't know the content or format of the exams?

- No mention of race and doesn't give accurate representation of gender

-How does this class hold up to the initial goals of Ethnic Studies?

- When you address DACA, do you also know that there are more people that did not qualify for this so called “opportunity”?

- Did you know that there are 11 MILLION undocumented people in the U.S? (and they are not only students)

- If this a Southern Border, why are we not addressing Puerto Rico/Venezuela and their current situation?

After the resisting students were done reading the manifest, they elaborated on the fact that the department of Ethnic Studies let students – “mostly white students” – from other disciplines take this class, reducing the opportunity for them as POCs to share their experiential knowledge relevant to the class material. The professor responded that he was not about to get into a debate about that now, that he was proud of the students that showed up, that this university is truly related throughout Latin America, that students who were protesting in Chile, Guatemala, and Mexico were truly risking their lives, but still took their exams. Therefore, he had to continue with the exam to “keep the integrity of the institution you are a part of! For fifty people, or a hundred people, or even a thousand people to be able to shut this enterprise down, I think is deeply flawed.” As the professor had rejected the students’ demands, a female protester calmly responded that the professor did not know what he was talking about because he never experienced any of it through a “brown body”. The professor started pointing at her, saying “Don’t tell me that, don’t tell me that!”. The male protestor who earlier said that they were trying to live their lives kept repeating “Yes! Understand your privilege, understand your privilege, understand your privilege!” “No, do not tell me that, because on Thursday, you are going to see the people that I have worked with, that I was very close with, from these communities.. [interrupted]”. The girl responded “You can live with as many people you want, at the end of the day you’re not a person of color, you’re not experiencing these experiences, you’re a white person, you navigate in this world differently than people of color.. [interrupted by first protesting male]” “We are not professors or administration that can just forget about all this, we’re not professors who can just go about our daily lives, go to your nice house, go get fed, go get fed by, go to the southern lands overseas..”. The professor said that he would let the students take the exam, and continue the conversation with the protesting students outside in the hallway. The protestors decided to reject that suggestion and leave the lecture hall, not taking the exam. As they were leaving, the same protesting female who was angered above, remained onstage and started yelling at the audience:

“I don’t know why you’re still like sitting down ya’ll. I don’t understand. I really don’t understand! Y’all can take your fucking test, but people are dying out there! ... Remember my face as well! Ya’ll can take your test, but this university keeps protecting white supremacists, and ya’ll are protecting them too!” They left, and the professor continued: “As I said, I’m deeply proud of everyone being here, to do what we do as a university, whatever happens outside. I flew back from New York and walked across campus twice, to assure myself that there wasn’t any issue that ought to prevent this exam from taking place, ehh, or our class from taking place on Thursday.”

Again, it seemed as if the decision to not reschedule the exam in this context was the tipping point of consented exclusion (Scott, 1976) that legitimized the minority students’ resistance for their moral rights to be acknowledged. If not for the Free Speech Week – which by the resisters was called the “Hate Speech Week” – the exam could have easily been just another exam. The conflicting relation between the background setting and the performative aspect of this exam is also necessary to unfold in terms of the expectations it put on these resisting students. All the protestors came from countries ‘below the border’, the professor was a ‘white American studier of their homelands’. Throughout the previous lectures, the protestors had experienced that the professor was romanticizing the hardship their families were living. The performative expectation of having to conform to a subservient student-role where the academic knowledge of the professor and his class material had to be memorized and written down as if they were just students ‘trying to take their test’ and not ‘trying to live their lives’ violated their moral right to live that life.

The option to take the test has to be understood through the lens of the resisting students. The ritualized performance of the exam is possibly one of the most explicit demarcation of roles within the academy. During an exam, students are supposed to demonstrate the academic skills developed through education passed down the academic hierarchy from their professor. Deviating from or opposing the formative confinements of class material selected by the professor can result in disciplinary sanctions such as getting a bad grade, or even failing the exam (Dacin et al., 2010). The explicit hierarchy of what is legitimized as relevant academic knowledge always privileges the professor, and part of the developed academic skills of the students is to be able to recognize what is legitimized as relevant academic knowledge based on the professor’s merits. To paint an equality-based and color-blind performative brush over the exclusion of the resisting students’ experiential knowledge, the exclusion of the university’s funding of the Free Speech Week and the police presence as influencing their performance, the

exclusion of acknowledgement of the hierarchical demographic positionalities in the classroom, and the natural disasters in the resisting students' homelands was what made the students resist.

Continuing with the ritualized performance of the exam – as if all the students had the equal opportunity to perceive the exam as 'just a test', and not a juggernaut of normative exclusion perpetuated against them and their community – is what made them resist. In this case, the exclusion stems from various experiences, mostly the experience of not having their continuous negative experiences validated as real enough for anyone around them at the university to actively include those negative experiences in their decision-making (Dhillon, 2018; Burman, 2018; Mor Barak and Cherin, 1998). These students were willing to resist the transgression of their moral rights of inclusion to the degree of their resistance risking the scarce opportunity of academic excellence they already had – the opportunity to actually take the exam instead of failing it (which they automatically did once they left the lecture hall). The professor was more interested in maintaining the institutional structures by 'keeping the integrity of the institution he was part of'. By continuing with the ritualized performance of the exam, the exam 'concentrated the difference between academic knowledge and experiential knowledge, institutes the difference, while at the same time instituting academic knowledge as academic knowledge, and experiential knowledge as not subject to this ritual operation' (Bourdieu, 1991: 118). The fact that the professor rejected their demands to adjust the ritualized performance of the exam – which by looking at the video, it seemed as if they never expected that rejection – became another addition to their list of concerns, and in my argument, strengthened their perception of the university as a site of demographically defined hierarchical arbitrary divisions of academic opportunities with themselves at the bottom of that hierarchy, and the 'white boys with privilege' at the top.

Notably, the resisting students' claim was for their professor to treat them differently than the rest of the students. Not because they were special, but because they perceived that some of their fellow classmates already were afforded special privileges beyond the professor's facilitative control; the white privilege. This relation to the value of inclusion – the relation of equitable inclusion where needs are met instead of treating everyone as if they have the same need – goes against the meritocratic performative setting of the exam. But how is it then that this relation to the value of inclusion is viewed by the resisting students as something to legitimately disrupt their exam for and demand implementation of by their professor? Under what social conditions are minority students' claims for moral rights such as equitable inclusion legitimized?

Recreational and Academic Spaces of Legitimizing Minority Moral Rights

In this section, I argue that the exam emerges as a specific site of minority struggle through individual participation in spaces of legitimacy surrounding moral rights. These spaces are: academic classes, student organizations, and various zones of distinction, such as safe spaces. To begin with some background: applying to UC Berkeley as an undergraduate student is first and foremost about applying to the university as a whole. Selection of disciplinary majors are usually done between the second and third year. This can in some cases lead to lack of disciplinary belonging during the initial undergraduate years. Many of my undergraduate informants that I followed for full school days – specifically those that had not chosen a major yet – did not even say hi to their fellow classmates. They did not know them. Additionally, the majority of the minority students that I have met and built relations with did not come from demographically diverse communities before attending UC Berkeley. Valeria in the queer WOC (women of color) safe space for example grew up in Texas and went to middle and high school with according to her ‘only other Chicanos’. Interns at the MCC (Multicultural Community Center) also shared the same experiences as Valeria. Going from being a member of the majority residential and educational group to being a member of the minority residential and educational group is such a sudden and visible everyday alteration that also can contribute to experiences of lack of belonging (Maldonado et al., 2005).

With the lack of both disciplinary and community belonging, minority students have to actively find belonging elsewhere such as for example dorms or student groups and organizations. The assigning of dorms usually disregards the students’ disciplinary and community belonging (unless students actively apply for theme housing programs¹⁴). Something minority students have the privilege of choosing is what student organizations and groups to join. What used to be physically, socially, and symbolically close to them – their identity and community belonging – is now only symbolically close to them, and physically and socially lost. A way for them to regain the social and physical closeness, or belonging if you will, to their community and identities is to join student organizations and groups at the university that celebrate those identities and communities in which they left behind. They are still experiencing exclusionary normative academic practices such as for example the legitimizing notions of the exam, but at least they have each other to lean on. Together they can create their own parallel academic platforms that legitimates their experiential knowledge as

¹⁴ <https://housing.berkeley.edu/theme>

relevant to the production of academic excellence as well as focusing more generally on affirming the belonging of minority students at the university. This is a very straightforward pattern of observation I have made amongst the members of the minority student organizations and groups that I have participated in, it is also a reliable observation relative to previous research on recreational minority student organizations and groups (Maldonado et al., 2005; Revilla, 2010; McCabe, 2009; Jones, 2011; Padilla et al., 1997).

At the Queer WOC safe space for example, the focus on affirmation of community belonging is so strong that even our therapist was a queer woman of color. This approach to fostering community belonging, specifically in this group, evidentially worked as during our last session the therapist asked everyone to summarize what we got out of this group. Everyone responded with these sentiments “sense of belonging”, did “not feel like outsiders”, “less alone”, “community”, “shared experiences”, “less anxiety about school”, and “shared queer identity”. Academically, this sense of community belonging is also fostered. At Demystifying the Research Process, our class instructor, Ivana, would repeat every week that we should stop trying to do research for our departments and rather focus on doing it for our communities, because, as she responded when I asked her about it:

“Research to me at this university is an active site of violence- and that is the point of departure for our research to even begin! So we have to learn our histories first, and then the practical aspects of the research process, because historically our knowledge- the knowledge of our communities and identities- have been extracted, commodified and stolen in the name of western research and exceptionalism, and we have to demystify that historical process before we can begin to build on the collective heritage of our ancestors.”

The recreational and academic minority student groups are the spaces at UC Berkeley that celebrates the communities and identities in which the normative academic practices such as the ritualized performance of the exam exclude. Here, minority students’ sense of community belonging is actively fostered as an equitable need for their opportunities to achieve academic excellence. These are the social conditions where their claims to academic inclusion as their moral rights are legitimized and affirmed, and the moral economy of inclusion is nurtured through this legitimizing process. But how strong is the need to foster and celebrate academic inclusion as a moral right? And what scope of exclusion is tolerable for the moral economy of inclusion to nurture?

Nurturing the Urgent Need for Academic Inclusion: Reproducing Hierarchies through Exclusivism

As noted in chapter two, part of my method is to incorporate firsthand fieldnote representations that provide the reader with an empirically grounded understanding of my following analysis. This fieldnote excerpt is of a Queer Student Union meeting where the activity is to critically watch YouTube clips of LGBTQ community members.

Mexican ally to the QSU – Sofia – wanted to clarify the intention with this meeting: “Like, the goal is to try and criticize our own actions within the community that contribute to the exclusion of people that don’t identify as within our static socially constructed categories!”

We saw another promotional clip about the Queer and Trans POC conference that is happening in two weeks at Berkeley. Mark the self-identified mixed queer commented: “It was just OK, I’ll give them credit for at least trying, but still, it’s so obvious that they’re not quite where we’d expect in 2018 considering non-gender conformity!”

Again, this comment received several snaps from the rest of the members. Now we were watching a video of the trans actress known from the show Orange is the new Black- Laverne Cox. She has become a public spokesperson for the trans community, and in this clip she was doing an interview where she spoke about a black trans activist from the 70’s who warned the black community about white feminists taking over their cause- how everyone were laughing at her back then, but that she was right about it, that she saw it happening before everyone else did. Laverne Cox said: “Don’t let the white feminists take over our movement!”

All the POC students in the room started laughing. Mia, the only white girl in the room looked up from her phone once she heard everyone laughing and started automatically laughing herself. This meeting was shorter than usual, about 45 minutes shorter to be exact. Before the meeting was over, the Mexican sic-gendered heterosexual ally to the LGBTQ community- Sofia had an announcement. Apparently, she was a board member of QARC (Queer Alliance Resource Center). She proudly announced that April 5-6 was their big annual POC (people of color) queer and trans conference, that they were desperately needing volunteers to accommodate the attendees that would be coming from out of town to attend the conference. She said that if any of us were considering to volunteer, that we should let her know as soon as possible- preferably right now before we leave today. The second announcement was that some of the board seats in QARC were going to be open, that we should consider applying.

One of the only two white people in the room. The one with skinned short hair, and always wearing baggy workout clothes- Robin (seems as if he works out every week before these meetings) raised his hand and asked: "Is it possible to volunteer if you're not a POC but still Queer and trans? I really wanna contribute with something!"

Sofia replied: "Oh, I'm not really sure about that to be honest! I would go talk to the organizers if I were you, but in the meantime I'm gonna say no, I don't think that's possible, sorry." The way she said it was ice cold. She was holding a regular sized notebook with both her arms crossed over it, and her head tilted a bit to the side while she said it.

The room became very quiet after that response. Sofia asked if we had any more questions regarding the conference, so I decided to raise my black hand and ask: "Is it possible to be a volunteer if you're not really a student at the university, and just an ally to the queer and trans community?" I pointed at myself for clarity.

"Absolutely! We actually have a bunch of people coming from outside of the university to participate in the conference, so if you could contribute with shelter that would be so awesome!" The meeting was over.

The situation at the QSU perhaps does not represent the 'up-to-the-nose tolerable scope of exploitation' that Scott (1976) wrote about, nor the tolerable scope of exclusion characterised in the ritualized performance of the exam. This form of tolerable exclusion depicted in the exclusion of Robin happened within the minority community amongst themselves, not by wealthy peasants with economic power or tenured professors with academic power. How can this form of tolerable exclusion occur at a QSU meeting specifically dedicated to "try and criticize our own actions within the community that contribute to the exclusion of people that don't identify as within our static socially constructed categories"?

We have to understand the multiple levels of oppression and privilege that determine participation at the QSU. Every meeting, the concept of intersectionality was generously used, we even had one entire meeting dedicated to the instruction of the concept. Intersectionality as it was taught to us at the QSU meeting depicts a traffic intersection of exclusion based on the multiplication of demographic identities. For example, if a person is a lesbian black woman, then she stands at the intersection of three crossing roads of multiple oppression and exclusion. The queer and trans POC conference is an attempt to foster inclusion and legitimation of an intersection of minority identities' lived experiences as relevant academic knowledge. I want to specify that I do not use intersectionality as an analytical concept, rather as an empirically

contextual point of departure. Between 80 to 90% of the QSU members are identifying as people of color, with interestingly me as the only black member. There are only five white identifying members with two of them attending this specific meeting. Robin stands at the intersection between two minority identities; ‘queer and trans’, but he is privileged with his white community belonging which in this situation overshadowed his minority membership. All POC members of the QSU except Sofia and I identify as either queer, gay, trans, or lesbian. This means that none of them except Sofia and I occupied both of the privileged demographic positions as heterosexual and sic gendered, however, we were still female POCs.

What is difficult to understand is why Robin was excluded by Sofia, and I included. Out of the three intersecting demographic categories in which the conference celebrated, it seems as if there is a celebratory hierarchy amongst them (disregarding their intersectional nature) where the need to foster academic belonging and legitimation is more urgent for certain demographic categories than others. In this case, people of color and their experiential knowledge was more in need of the celebratory and legitimizing focus than trans and queer people, so much so that even the inclusion of a person who is not of color would dislodge the conference’s nurturing focus from the group most urgently in need of it; people of color. From this hierarchical perspective of demographic categories’ urgency-need of inclusion, Robin – who visibly looks like a male – at the conference would stand at the intersection between two privileged identities: white and male. The sacrificial exclusion of Robin was for the greater cause of legitimizing minority students’ most urgent need of POC inclusion as a moral right – that required the demographic *exclusivity* of people of color – to be nurtured (Goodin, 1996: 247).

In the moral economy of inclusion, minority students’ struggle for legitimation of their most urgent need for academic inclusion as their moral right can in some cases require the exclusionary offering of their own members for the sake of fostering those moral rights. This exclusion of Robin, and the normative manner by which it occurred, I argue is a symptomatic consequence of the solidified perception of the university as a site of hierarchical demographic divisions. When the university is seen as a place where minorities are excluded, and they have been able to establish their own parallel communities centered around the celebration of their identities in which they feel the university is still excluding, the distance from celebrating ones community to excluding people from that celebration based on the same fundamentally arbitrary demographic division that motivated the establishment of the community itself – can be very short. In the moral economy of inclusion, the objective of equitable inclusion depends on the reproduction of demographic hierarchies.

Chapter 4

Microaggression Workshop: An Administrative Engineering of Inclusive Allies

As detailed in the previous chapter, Ethnic Studies Professor S violated the tolerable scope of exclusion by proceeding with carrying out the course exam during Free Speech Week. The violation in turn legitimized resistance amongst minority students of the class who argued claims for their moral rights of equitable inclusion. Such claims were rejected by Professor S, while the resisters received no support. In this chapter, I shift the perspective from the minority students' relation on the value of inclusion as a moral right, to administrative relations of the value of inclusion as a virtuous obligation that needs to be managed effectively.

In what follows, I draw on ethnographic fieldnotes gathered during a GSI (Graduate Student Instructor) training workshop to show how attendants are instructed about “awareness” of microaggressions in the classroom. From the informant perspective, microaggressions may be understood as unavoidable acts (speech, gesture) that occur in everyday life and whose affects within interpersonal action produce forms of inequality and injustice that are often associated with hate speech. Analytically, we may refer to these acts as a category of speech act in John Austin's terms in that they represent words that do things (1962). Nevertheless, as they are also considered unavoidable, such acts fall under the rubric of habitus in Pierre Bourdieu's framework, in which action may present itself as a naturally occurring phenomenon, mobilized through “regulated improvisations” (Bourdieu, 1977: 78) that index social relations as they unfold.

In the present case, microaggressions are seen as unintentionally distributed by GSIs through the routine practice of teaching undergraduate students. In this way, the delivery of academic knowledge is encumbered with a surplus of exclusionary affects that require some kind of healing through instructor acknowledgment and treatment. According to Matias, a key practitioner in the treatment and healing of microaggressions, whose administrative workshop I describe below, the stated goal behind training GSIs is about becoming “aware” of the microaggressions when they take place, that is, to effectively self-diagnose the routine distribution of microaggressions. What is important here, is the temporal aspect of treatment. The delivery of microaggressions, according to Matias, should be acknowledged as soon as possible, in fact, as close to the moment they occur in real time. The importance of doing so, of

catching these microaggressions at the time and space of their distribution is to avoid their cumulative impacts, as they are expected to simply pile up over time.

To return, by catching these microaggressions before they have a chance to accumulate, the workshop aims to give GSIs more confidence in their role as instructors of courses where the practices of microaggressions will be routinely committed. That is, learning to acknowledge, recognize and even seize these microaggressions during their routine distribution is part of professional development in the context of class instruction. Awareness of acts of transgressions in the workplace and university are increasingly common and comprise both a large time and monetary investment on the part of companies and universities to ensure safe and productive relations and spaces among employees and students¹⁵.

One unique aspect here – distinct from the larger increasing media attention and service industry surrounding implicit bias and sensitivity training – is that most of these services are oriented toward prevention of lapses in judgment, that is, they aim to create social interaction through expectations that non-compliant behaviors can be effectively curbed prior to interaction, and therefore, understood as affectively distinct from the distribution of knowledge or social interaction. In this chapter, however, I examine how GSIs are trained to understand that microaggressions is an inevitable condition of academic instruction in the classroom and that instruction itself, typically considered a process of enlightened development is in fact, a condition of disciplinary dangers that require thoughtful exposure. That is, the workshop teaches GSIs how to effectively act on these ‘inevitable transgressions’ that are a part of the enlightenment process. Before moving on, I want to contextualize the background setting of the workshop; the space, the instructor, as well as the GSIs.

The workshop is at the third floor of Sproul Hall. In a big conference room filled up with at least 70 chairs in two row sections, giving space to walk the aisle. On the left side of the room are windows covering the wall. From the windows you can get an overview of Sproul Plaza. Matias, the instructor of this workshop is a post doc in the Sociology department at the university. He also works at the GSI Teaching and Resource Center as an instructor. Hispanic descent, short brown hair, professional clothing (suit pants and white tucked in shirt), round

¹⁵ <https://www.cnn.com/2018/06/20/silicon-valleys-diversity-problem-is-its-achilles-heel.html>
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/18/business/starbucks-racial-bias-training.html>
<https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2017/10/16/athletics-department-culture-overhaul/>
<https://ucnet.universityofcalifornia.edu/working-at-uc/your-career/talent-management/professional-development/managing-implicit-bias.html>

glasses. He looks very young- like a babyface on a male body. His pronouns are he/him. The graduate students who attended this workshop are spread out in the room. There is a hipster group of white guys sitting about five rows behind me. They are sociology graduate students. Nobody else sat on our side of the room. On the right side of the room – more people were seated. In the first row next to my row – I saw the only familiar face today. It was not Ella – the grad student who sent me this email (she never arrived) – it was the older middle eastern man who came to last week’s Sociology of Gender lecture. On the row behind him sat a younger white woman, wearing a psychedelic dress, with all the colors in the world in her dreadlock hair, several piercings in her face, and tattoos covering both arms. Behind her again, sat a group of Hispanic students. I was the only black person in the room. There were no Asians here.

Acknowledge the Harm Inflicted on the Individual:

Taking Responsibility for Violating Moral Rights

The process of how and why this workshop was created has contextual relevance. Remember above, where I implied that there is a difference between how the professor in chapter three dealt with his transgression in the moral economy of inclusion and how the administration in this chapter deal with their transgression. This workshop represents an administrative obligation to upholding the value of inclusion, a value most in need of being obliged to once it has been violated.

The email invite stated that this workshop is designed to help GSIs understand the character and consequences of microaggressions, and to help them begin to develop the tools to confidently address them in their role as instructors. For those who attended any one of the similarly-themed workshops during the Fall or Spring conference for first-time GSIs, this will be an opportunity to revisit some of the topics discussed there, as well as address any issues that may have emerged in the course of their teaching since. For other GSIs, this workshop will provide a basic understanding of microaggressions and an opportunity to reflect on them in the context of their own teaching. As the workshop began, Matias asked us to raise our hands if we had ever been at a similar workshop or seminar. About half the people in the room raised their hand. He followed up: “Ok, what did you get out of the seminars? Did you go out with more confidence in terms of how to deal with this as a GSI, or were you more confused?” One of the guys in the group behind me raised his hand and said: “It was very hard to understand the practical aspect of that seminar, you know, to leave with actual steps on how to deal with a situation like that.”

Matias continued to explain that before this workshop, the GSIs only had to take online course requirements. This online training was according to Matias highly criticized by not only the GSIs but also several faculty members for reproducing stereotypes. The most recurrent critique was that the online trainings: "... Immediately trigger victim-blaming and stereotype narratives" One example he used was when the online trainings used case scenarios in trying to combat rape culture on campus. The cases went like this: A very drunk girl at a frat party wearing a very short and tight dress... "There's a host of problems when it comes to these sorts of trainings, so when we became aware of the issues with our online trainings, we really wanted to show that we genuinely cared about making it right... We surveyed grad students. Out of that survey, we invited some of those students to join focus group interviews. All the informants were people on this campus. Some of them were even those who criticized the online training."

Matias admitted that his administration unintentionally committed a transgression with their online training, or a microaggression if you will. This legitimized not only student but also faculty resistance. Comparatively, the professor in Ethnic Studies never dealt with resistance from his fellow colleagues. Instead of simply changing their online training, the administration, led by Matias, spent six-months' worth of administrative resources on doing research on the concept of microaggressions to 'show that they genuinely cared about making it right'. The end-result is this workshop as an additional requirement, along with the revised online training for GSIs to attain the certificate of teaching. Why did they care so much about exceeding the responsibility of 'making it right'? Would it not have been right enough to just change the online training? Is there something they had to prove? Their moral virtue of representing an inclusive campus culture? Would the 'issue' have 'accumulated' if not made exceedingly right? Campbell and Manning (2014: 22) write in their article "Microaggression and Moral Cultures" that "... the distinction between offender and victim always has moral significance, lowering the offender's moral status." A responsible approach for the administration to literally 'show' their backstage process of 'making it right' (redemption) and reconstructing their moral status would be to include the offended in that process. By inviting some of the GSIs who criticized the online training to the administrative focus groups, the GSIs could see for themselves the extent to which their resistance was legitimate.

Matias explained that the two major questions he wanted to understand was 1) What do you do if you commit microaggressions? and 2) what do you do if your undergrad commits a microaggression? He then presented what the literature he read had answered. The literature

he had focused on was conflict management and how to effectively apologize. He pointed to the PP slide that had the three different approaches listed up: (1) Change attitudes/Behavior, (2) Improve social ties of women and minority. To this he added: "This is undoubtedly the best variable to measure diversity!". (3) Assign direct responsibility for diversity. Now, Matias went in depth on all three approaches. The first approach: "The first approach sees the problem as a question of prejudice and biases, like 'white employers don't hire minorities'. The strategy most used to combat this would be workshops like these, you know, the 'diversify media-diet'. I am very skeptical towards this approach, because it's really hard to train away someone's prejudice and biases, so as a sociologist I am very skeptical to this approach! ... Specifically, we know that white managers- once they hear the words diversity and inclusion, they start thinking that we are out to get them, which is actually understandable, that you get a defensive reaction."

The second approach: "This is by far the best way to reduce exclusion in the classroom, by hiring more minorities and women! Right now, that is of course illegal here in California to hire someone based on their race, gender et. Cetera, but that does not mean that we don't have diversity officers included in our hiring processes at this university. They are really working hard to represent and promote the hiring of more women and minorities, but that will take time! The problem with this approach is that we know that most people find their jobs through their social network." The third approach: "Ok, no one is responsible for diversity at this university. For example the hire committee with no diversity workers go and end up with the white guy from Harvard. So this is the best strategy- to hire diversity workers to have that responsibility. Of course, the sources of exclusion within your departments are structural. There is a small part of literature that argue this strategy is effective if done right!"

All three approaches Matias presented to us derived from the literature he had read. His ambivalence to the first approach – which he himself to some extent is utilizing, while at the same time is criticizing the use of – revolves around the proactive attempt to reduce others' prejudices and biases. Matias explains that it is difficult to train away someone's prejudice and biases. He singled out white employers as the defensive subjects in which this training would be difficult to use. Proactively trying to train away others' prejudice and biases implies a prejudice and bias of knowing the measurable extent to which others' prejudice and biases affect their behavior, making it very hard to train away something that needs to be utilized by the trainer for it to be trained away. The two other approaches were structural, however all three

approaches were proactive in terms of reducing the possibilities of committing microaggressions – either through training it away or regulating it away. Before presenting us with the three approaches from the literature, Matias made sure to let us know what he wanted to understand about the concept of microaggressions. He did not want to explicitly understand how to reduce the possibility of committing them, rather how to deal with them post actively, after they had been committed. These three approaches were therefore a form of introduction by Matias on how previous research had suggested proactive methods for responsibly reducing possibilities to commit exclusionary transgressions against women and minorities within university institutions.

Matias continued by presenting that there was a difference between microaggressions and hate speech, referencing the political divide between the left and right- how it was specifically relevant to UC Berkeley. Now he defined the concept of microaggressions: “It is something that unavoidably occurs in everyday life, there is no difference in effect between microaggression and hate speech- they both produce inequality.” He wanted to illustrate this by showing a video of John McCain during one of his political campaigns against Obama. A woman in the audience got to ask McCain a question, but used her opportunity to call Obama an untrustworthy Arab. McCain took the microphone back and said that Obama was not an Arab, but a decent family man. This last comment made by McCain was the microaggression. The recipients of the microaggression were Arabs. Matias went on to the next example: “Asking a Latina where she is from after she had answered California.”

The GSI with the dreadlocks raised her hand and commented: “Yes, you still invoke this thought out in the world, you know, even if it was never your intention, the connection is still out there, it’s like you have these thick boots and you’re stepping on somebody else’s sandals, you know, that still hurts them!” Matias responded: “Exactly! So microaggressions are usually implicitly stated- as we saw in the McCain example; they are often unconscious, unintentional, and most importantly they have a cumulative effect. Now we’re gonna move onto the cases. Now remember that all these cases are real experiences from GSIs at this university.”

Based on Matias’ definition of microaggressions, it is understandable that his exploratory interest of how to post actively deal with microaggressions strays away from the mainstream implicit bias and sensitivity trainings where the goal is to curb unintended insensitive behavior prior to social interaction. The way his administration dealt with their online training transgression was by accepting responsibility for making a mistake, spending six months on

learning about the causes and consequences of those type of mistakes, and including this knowledge as required professional development for GSIs. If not for this unintentional transgressive experience, the administration might not have explored the post-transgression perspective on how to deal with microaggressions. In the moral economy of inclusion, sometimes committing transgressions and violating moral rights might – in contrast to becoming sensitive to imagined insults as argued in chapter one – lead to the understanding of transgressions being an inevitable condition of academic instruction, where the goal is not to curb imagined insults, but rather catch real insults before they accumulate.

Effectively Caring about Microaggressions: Directing the Team Performance Backstage

In the section above, Matias explained that the university administration, once they became aware of the issues with the online training, wanted to show that they “genuinely” cared about making it right. To show this, he spent six months doing research on GSI’s experiences with microaggressions in their classrooms at Berkeley, as well as reading a lot of literature on the concept of microaggressions, “conflict management”, and “how to effectively apologize”. In the previous section, I hinted to the analytical interpretation that once the administration was called out for committing a microaggression, they retreated from the transgressive instruction practice of their online training to go *backstage* and work on regaining their legitimacy as representatives of an inclusive campus culture. Backstage, as in Goffman’s dramaturgic perspective on social life (Goffman, 1959). Here, we have to understand the workshop as part of the backstage setting in social and physical space- as an extension of the administration’s work on gaining legitimacy as an obliging representative of the moral economy of inclusion. Once the administration had collected enough data to legitimize the cumulative impact of microaggressions, they had to present that data to their field representatives, the GSIs. In other words, the administration created this workshop so that they could gather all their acting representatives from the frontstage classroom, into the backstage setting of the administration, and redirect them on how to become inclusive allies.

Matias explained that his role at the Teaching center was to have these types of workshops predominantly for graduate student instructors, and sometimes for faculty. He kept repeating that what he did the most was to read a lot of literature on this new concept of microaggression. He repeated this to demonstrate the validity of his presentation. Matias wanted to make sure that we in the audience understood where his sources came from. He explained that it was very

difficult to have these workshops and trainings, because there are so many ways to offend someone. Therefore, the pre-work was extensive. The teaching center used Berkeley graduate students and specifically GSIs as informants in their six-month long research on the topic of microaggressions. All the examples that will be presented from his workshop are therefore real experiences from GSIs at this university. “We do have data on what works, what is effective. The data also do make conceptual and valuable distinctions between different approaches.”

The cases were written in descriptive story format on the PP slides, making it our task as audience to figure out what the microaggression was. I did not have the ability to copy the entirety of the case texts, as I had to read them before Matias moved to the next PP slide (they were about half a machine written page each). However, I do have my notes on what the stories were: Case 1. A GSI named Anna wanted to make her classroom more inclusive. She introduced her name and gender pronoun during her first class, and asked her students to do the same. This was because she had learned that assuming someone’s gender based on the way they looked could be experienced as a form of exclusion by students who not necessarily looked like their pronoun. This act of inclusion backfired, as Anna received an email from one of her students stating how that practice of having everyone state their gender pronoun was excluding the individuals who were unsure what their pronouns were and the individuals whose pronouns changed over time.

After everyone read the case, Matias asked what we would do if we were the GSI who received the email. One guy behind me raised his hand and said that this exact scenario actually happened to him too. The way he handled it was to make the pronoun statement optional. I asked Matias if one approach could be to apologize for the impact and clarify the intention behind asking the students to present their gender pronouns before continuing with the class, if knowing the intentions would make it better for the students affected. Matias replied that it absolutely would be a positive asset to state intentions behind activities, but that we should always keep in mind that: “... Nothing works for everyone, always. But there’s no way that continuing teaching class-content from a seemingly neutral approach works! The best thing is to just apologize.”

For Matias, the impact of the microaggression is greater than the intent, therefore, only those impacted can really understand the source of the impact. To show a genuine care about the impact, the transgressors must distance themselves from their intentions, and focus on how to change their academic actions and practices to be impactful and effective in a more inclusionary way, because “there’s no way that continuing teaching class-content from a seemingly neutral

approach works!'. The excerpt below demonstrates the importance of distancing oneself from one's intentions, i.e. from one's definition of the situation. When the GSI shared how he dealt with his microaggression, as the exact same scenario had happened to him too, he essentially shared that he had changed his academic practices without identifying the source of the issue, without going backstage to find out – from the students' definition of the situation – why his performance was discredited.

Matias continued with a follow up question, asking us what the pros and cons were with making pronoun statements voluntary. Another guy, sitting next to this first guy answered that it would make it very clear on who shared their pronoun and who did not. The girl with the dreadlocks raised her hand and said (basically the same thing) that the GSI would be involuntary outing the students who were still questioning their gender identities, as well as fixing the categories that might change throughout the semester.

By asking that follow up question, Matias demonstrated the importance of the second step of the effective apology. If the GSI would have gone backstage and identified the source of the issue with his and Anna's microaggression, the new possible microaggression – and accumulation of the original microaggression – of involuntarily outing someone by making pronoun statements optional could have been avoided.

Matias responded that there was always going to be this dilemma for the GSIs between collective regulations and the individual interests of their students, saying: "The goal is not to use language perfectly, the goal is to be consistent, and when you do make a mistake- apologize, OK, apologize! And there's a specific way to effectively apologize. There are three steps: first you have to acknowledge the harm you inflicted on the other individual, second you have to show that you care about the issue, and third most importantly- find a solution. For example you can talk about it in class and make a discussion out of it. Last year for example, we had a GSI come to us, she was very concerned about mis- gendering one of her undergraduate students. We advised her to send that student an email and ask for their gender. She sent the email and the student was very responsive and excited about the GSI taking her time to ask for their gender pronoun."

In Goffman's own words, the director of a team performance – which in this specific case would be Matias – tend to see the performance "...in terms of whether or not it went 'smoothly', 'effectively', and 'without a hitch', and whether or not all possible disruptive contingencies were prepared for in advance." (Goffman, 1959: 101-102). From this perspective – with Matias being

the backstage director of the GSI's performances frontstage in the classrooms once a microaggression is committed – is it fair to state that the director's goal with the workshop is to give the teammates (GSIs) a performative framework, almost like a loose script, on how to manage the audience's (students) impression of the microaggression's impact in the most effective way, with the three-step apology? In the second step of the apology, we learn as performers that committing a microaggression is disruptive enough for the credibility of our definition of the situation that we have to go backstage and spend time on identifying the source of our discredited performance (from the students' definition of the situation), which according to Matias lies in our performance. We have to 'literally show' the students that we care enough to actively include their perspectives in our understanding of the 'issue'. If the GSIs were to disregard this second step, they might risk losing control over the cumulative impact of their microaggression, or even commit a new microaggression, making this step vital in the process of impression management in the classroom.

From this dramaturgic framework, the 'exceeding genuine care' presented in the previous section becomes more understandable. The administration was never interested in just making it sufficiently right. They were rather interested in diffusing the disruptive impact of their unintended transgression in the moral economy of inclusion. The focus on diffusing their disruptive impact is very much related to their goal of gaining back legitimacy as representatives of an inclusive campus culture. However, that legitimacy is not an end in itself, rather a means to an end. The end being a sense of administrative security in managing resistance by adapting to and upholding the resisters' values. If the value is inclusion, then being as inclusive as possible will reduce dissent – achieving the security of consistency in effectively managing conflicts.

In this section, I have used Goffman's dramaturgic framework, specifically his conception of the backstage as an analytical lens in understanding the importance of the second step of the effective apology. There is a two-leveled understanding of the backstage in this section. The first is that of the team performance and the director, that is, analyzing the workshop as a backstage setting where the GSIs are given loose scripts from the director on how to effectively perform frontstage in the classroom once a microaggression has been committed. This is how the title of this chapter should be understood. As an engineer reprograms old technological devices to better adapt to the new techno climate, so has Matias invited GSIs to a private criterion-satisfying workshop for GSIs only, in the third floor of the administrative building in the middle of campus (Sproul Hall) and re-engineered them to better adapt to the new climate

of microaggressions on campus. The second level of the backstage reflects the second step of the effective apology. This is specifically where Matias encourages the GSIs to spend time outside of the classroom on identifying the fundamentally arbitrary foundation of their performance in the classroom if that performance had committed a microaggression frontstage. Only after going backstage and identifying the source of the issue from the audiences' definition of the situation, can the GSIs be prepared to make an educated decision on how to find a *solution* to the issue of microaggressions in the classroom, that is, an educated decision on how to change their academic practices to make them as inclusive as possible.

Finding a Genuinely Effective Solution to Transgressions Made in the Moral Economy of Inclusion

This section highlights the ambivalence of Matias' instructions on how to genuinely and effectively handle microaggressions in the classroom, and explores how this ambivalence influence the GSIs' attempts to deal with the case scenarios presented by Matias.

Matias continued the presentation by introducing case number two. He explained that the production of academic excellence is at stake once people are excluded in the academy, which is why apologizing for microaggressions shows a commitment to inclusion. Case two was about an African American graduate student named Daniel standing in the faculty hall of his department together with two of his fellow graduate students and their professor- all white. They were all discussing ideas they had for a research project- all three of the students were equally engaged in the discussion, however, Daniel noticed that the professor would never look him directly in the eyes. He also noticed that the professor looked the two white students in their eyes. After the incident, Daniel confided to one of the other two white students, asking what he should do about it. The white student responded that he shouldn't give it too much thought, that the professor was probably just tired.

Matias asked how we would have dealt with this scenario. The older middle eastern man raised his hand and said: "This is obvious that the professor is racist. You have to just follow one rule, to treat every student equal. You have to give the same attention to everyone of your students. You cannot do what this professor did!" I raised my hand and asked if this was the only incident that Daniel had experienced with the professor. Matias said that this was the only incident they knew about from this informant. One of the guys sitting behind me raised his hand and said:

“I’m a white guy, you know, so I try to be very aware of my privilege! And so you want to be empathetic and acknowledge their feelings. Like, I work as a waiter at a restaurant, and when I hear about these types of scenarios, I get anxiety, so I’m gonna be more conscious about my actions- I’m gonna try to give all the individuals at every table I have the same amount of seconds in terms of eye contact, so that no one feels excluded, you know, I think it’s just about consciously balancing your attention in an equitable way!”

Matias then showed us a video of Angela Merkel refusing to shake Donald Trump’s hand- just to show a funny aspect of microaggressions that according to himself is allowed and encouraged. Before we got to read the third case, Matias warned us: “You know, we wanna immerse ourselves in the full complexities of these cases, but there is no way to really know all causes and consequences of microaggressions.” The third case was the most interesting one, at least to me. This case was also the only case from the STEM field. One white male GSI named John had contacted the Teaching Center very confused and distressed due to a complaint he had received at the end of the semester in one of his students’ reviews. At the end of every course, all GSIs and professors receive evaluations from their students on the course. In one of John’s evaluations, a student had given him the worst grade, with this reasoning: “John is taking advantage of his wife’s emotional labor.” This accusation came after John had answered a student’s question in one of the last classes of the semester. It was right before the finals, and all the undergraduate students in John’s class were stressed out due to the amount of work they had to do. John had always kept a professional distance from his students- never talking about his personal life. However, this day, one of the students asked him how he as a graduate student- who has more on his plate than the rest of the undergraduates- managed to get all his work done. John answered that his wife helped him out with organizing his work, saying that she was much more organized than he was. That was the microaggression.

Matias then asked us what we would have done if we received this evaluation. The girl with the dreadlocks raised her hand and said: “Well, his life is very normative, so maybe he could try to make statements that would include people who don’t have partners, or have partners with no normative gender identities, maybe he could have just said I get a lot of support from my partner or something, you know.” Matias agreed and added: “We have to be aware that what we say can be experienced by others in a different way than we intend, that John’s comment takes a life of its own in this social space. Do you intervene now or later once the microaggression is out there? ... I think it depends on how you feel and the context. You know, the politics of language, race, and gender constantly change, so it’s much better to have clarity

I think. The best thing to do is just apologize if you commit microaggressions!” He continued to elaborate on what he meant by being as clear as possible, concluding the workshop by saying:

“... Integrated course design, here you specify what you want your students to learn. Think clearly how you want them to achieve that goal and then- most importantly- take a step back and ask yourself ‘how can I change my course design to make it as inclusive as possible?’”

There is a clear difference between how and what the workshop is presented as by Matias, and how that presentation is received by the GSIs. Matias’ post-transgressive approach is ambiguous, and relative to what Matias is instructing – so are the reactions from the GSIs in the audience. Microaggressions are according to Matias inevitable exclusionary by-products of academic and social interaction. This is the premise on which Matias lays out his three-step apology plan on how the GSIs can manage the cumulative impact of their inevitable transgressions in the classroom. To be clear, Matias explained in his definition of what a microaggression is, that the cumulative effect of a microaggression itself produce inequality, therefore he essentially is teaching the GSIs how they can manage their individual contribution to inequality on UC Berkeley campus.

It is important to specify however, that just because the approach presented by Matias is about securing conflicts, effectively diffusing disruptive impact, and managing dissent, does not mean that it is a cynical and ‘self-serving’ administrative approach to the campus necessity of addressing microaggressions. The approach of institutionalizing ‘care’ can still be genuine (Thelen, 2015; Karner, 1998; Liebelt, 2011). In fact, this effective-response training in how to catch microaggressions before their cumulative impact is itself an instructive demonstration of genuine care. We have to understand this approach from its contextual framework. Not only normative academic instructions, but also intended acts of inclusion in the classroom can be perceived as microaggressions, as made evident in the case of Anna the GSI. Therefore, not being able to avoid the transgressions – as they represent a fundamental aspect of the delivery of academic knowledge, according to Matias – renders Matias to present an ambiguous approach to the GSIs.

Genuinely caring about one’s obligation to an inclusive classroom is according to Matias about accepting one’s inevitable future contributions to exclusion in the classroom, and rather trying to make these exclusionary contributions less disruptive once they have occurred. The GSIs are taught that in order for them to be the builders of the sandcastles, they have to accept

their inherent roles as the destructive waves. When I use Goffman (1959) to understand the workshop, it is to demonstrate that managing perception of cumulative impact is the practical part of the ambiguous approach to dealing with microaggressions, it is not to discredit the motivations behind the approach. This is the less harmonious approach to dealing with microaggressions, because here one has to commit one in order to develop higher levels of sensitivity about real insults. This is essentially how Matias encourage the GSIs to approach the situations of microaggressions:

- If you want to be inclusive, then accept your inevitable acts of transgressive exclusion, your inherent contribution to inequality. If you want to be good, then accept that you will inevitably do bad, and can only learn from your mistakes.
- If you want to be inclusive, then try to focus on managing the impact of your transgression after it has been committed, try to manage the durability of your contribution to inequality. If you want to be good, then try to reduce your victims' valid perception of your 'badness', show that you have learned from your mistake.

Nobody wants to wait for their turn to be perceived by others as committers of microaggressions, indeed violators of moral rights in the moral economy of inclusion. And so, even though Matias clearly states to the GSIs that they must accept the impossibility of preventing microaggressions in their classrooms, it appears that what he is asking from them is too much. Almost as if he is asking the GSIs to give up trying to "use language perfectly", and just accept their future sentencing before the microaggressive crime has been committed.

From this context, of being instructed by the administrator on how to deal with microaggressions after they have occurred, the 'white guy GSI' expressing radical self-restriction in his distribution of eye contact is understood as an equally ambiguous approach as the one Matias is asking of him, only different. The "anxiety" of being accused of committing a microaggression, that is, the fear of committing a possible insult, led the GSI to express a radical sense of responsibility to uphold a sensitivity to possible insults by not taking any chances during social interaction and "giving everyone the same amount of seconds in terms of eye contact". I call it ambiguous because the GSI is doing the exact thing that Matias is trying to convince the group not to waste their energy on doing. Essentially leaving the workshop with a stronger orientation of how to prevent lapses in judgment prior to social interaction.

But truly, it is not ambiguous at all, because who wants to voluntarily accept their transgressive role in legitimizing resistance, that they are 'producers of inequality with no

difference in effect as hate speech'? Matias' three presented cases operated as deterrence samples rather than scenarios for the GSIs to practice his post active approach on. Every time Matias asked the GSIs "how would you have dealt with it?", all but one (who shared how he dealt with a scenario in the first case as it had happened to him too) raised their hands to answer a different question. Instead of answering how they would have dealt with the microaggression, they answered how they would have acted differently than the three case-transgressors to avoid committing the microaggressions altogether. Matias tried to teach the GSIs an alternative approach to implicit bias and sensitivity training but ended up reinforcing the mainstream assumption that non-compliant behavior can be effectively curbed prior to interaction. This reinforcement is to an extent represented in his last comment. The third and final case was so peculiar that while discussing it, it seemed as if Matias started to second-guess his own approach.

Why is it that the scenarios of having to deal with confrontation of one's own act of microaggressions in the classroom is perceived as more demanding by the GSIs than the conscious distribution of awareness of how one's advantaged demographic position guides how one ought to participate in a classroom with minority students prior to interaction? I know this might sound analytically farfetched, however, in exploring this question, I noticed resemblances between the motivations behind the GSIs working hard to avoid committing microaggressions (especially the GSIs with normative, hence privileged demographic intersections of identities), and the motivations behind the combination of Urapmin Christianity and protestants (Calvinism) working hard to manifest heavenly salvation and predestination (Robbins, 2004; Weber, 1958).

Just like Matias presumed that the GSIs unavoidably will commit microaggressions and be confronted with it in their classrooms, so does Calvinism believe in predestination – here, committing a microaggression and being criticized for it is compared to being damned. In Calvinism, nobody knew if they were predestined to salvation or damnation, so they had to dutifully believe that they were saved, and work accordingly (Weber, 1958). For the GSIs, nobody knows when they inevitably will commit a microaggression, so they dutifully believe that it can happen anytime – just like the Urapmin believed that Jesus could arrive at any time (Robbins, 2004) – and thus express enabling acts of inclusion to the best of their abilities.

In Urapmin Christianity, salvation depends on moral self-regulation and avoiding sin as much as possible (Robbins, 2004), while for the GSIs, transgressing in the moral economy of inclusion through acts of microaggressions is what ought to be avoided in fear of academic

damnation and shaming (Campbell and Manning, 2014). Success in worldly activity were clues for heavenly predestination (Weber, 1958), and success in inclusive academic conduct – which in chapter one is presented as both a resource and a risk, and hence overcoming the risk of committing a microaggression while trying to practice inclusion – are clues for academic security of one’s morally virtuous reputation and agency.

The understanding of the university as a site of demographically defined hierarchical divisions of academic opportunities presented in chapter three could be seen as a clue for predestination to transgress in the moral economy of inclusion through committing microaggressions. The demographically privileged students such as for example the ‘white guy GSI’ who tried to be ‘very aware of his privilege’ must work harder on ‘literally showing’ their moral self-monitoring, that is, literally showing how they are contributing to inclusion as a repentance for their original sin of being privileged. One way to do so is by monitoring the number of seconds to look others in the eyes. Perhaps the ultimate clue for GSIs to understand their predestination in the moral economy of inclusion is to explore their position in the demographic opportunity hierarchy and participate accordingly.

I am extra interested in why the GSIs are so focused on avoiding committing microaggressive transgressions through conscious awareness of equitable inclusive acts because the entire ethnography that I will explore in chapter seven is about self-identifying white privileged allies (students) who participate in the moral economy of inclusion (both social and academic) at campus with a very conscious goal of reducing their individual contributions to exclusion through acts of allyship. I could claim the same about the following chapter, however, in chapter five I will not focus on analyzing the ethnography because I want it to speak for itself. I want this because the purpose with the chapter is to – at the level of description – look at how the obligation to the moral economy of inclusion manifests itself in diverse academic disciplines associated beyond the territorial confinements of UC Berkeley; how it manifests itself in distribution of program funding; in selection of research sites and subjects, and in promotion of alternative admission criteria. Chapter five is about the academics, the tenured faculty members from four different universities- one of them being UC Berkeley.

Chapter 5

The Value of Inclusion and Its Academic Reach

This chapter provides ethnography on select presentations by visiting academics to UC Berkeley who speak on topics of inclusion from their distinct and varied disciplinary, gendered, and personal backgrounds. In doing so, I frame my ethnography with the intent of not only presenting a microaggression case study about events concerning inclusion within one university campus, but also signaling toward the widening field of inclusion practices and suggesting that such awareness building is increasingly part of the United States higher educational system.

As presented in the previous chapter, Matias the administrator was unable to get his GSIs to adopt his post-transgressive approach in dealing with microaggressions in their classrooms. The GSIs rather obliged to a sense of responsibility to plan out their academic conduct prior to interaction by showing awareness of possible insults and curbing those possibilities. The workshop was singled out by me for its administrative relation to the value of inclusion – and how that relation is (attempted to be) distributed to the GSIs. In this chapter, I expand my ethnographic focus to include tenured faculty – while at the same time call attention to the way relations of the value of inclusion appear with some frequency in secluded disciplinary events in which these faculty are invited to represent these topics. I divide this chapter into three sections based on fieldnote accounts from three academic events – where speakers had been invited from other US universities. While speakers represent different disciplines, all call attention to the value of inclusion and the importance of upholding inclusion practices as well as inclusionary academic conduct. I want to clarify that this chapter offers a personal ethnographic-exposed experience of three different events at the time that they took place. In what follows, I do not develop analytics but instead allow readers to engage ethnography, and consequently, witness ethnography as argument (Blasco and Wardle, 2007: 97).

The Psychology Department's Need for Male Allies

This section introduces ethnography from Rice University Psychology faculty member Minnie who presents her research titled "Gender & Race Gatekeeping". The UC Berkeley psychology department is the sponsor and here is a short summary of the seminar taken from the event calendar description:

In this talk, Minnie will discuss the role of gatekeepers in preventing individuals, often women and members of underrepresented groups, from attaining their potential. Minnie will review some of her programmatic research on subtle discrimination and will then provide some of her most recent studies and data on gender and race gatekeeping.

This account starts at the last two and a half pages of my fieldnotes from this event. This is where Minnie introduces us with her most recent research on Gatekeeping.

All the seats in the double-sized classroom were filled up by the attendees, and it looked like most of the audience were following Minnie's presentation, taking notes, nodding approvingly, but Minnie – in the middle of her presentation stopped and gave a skeptical glance at the audience: "I see some of you are yawning... What, is my research really that boring? ... I should be the one yawning, coming all the way from the South!" The audience did not say a word, as if they all became speechless. Then she laughed out loud and said, "I'm just joking you guys", and the audience laughed nervously with her. She continued the presentation by describing her research on the gendered difference in letters of recommendation. The study was looking at gatekeeping in the way letters of recommendation were written by professors for young women and men. A term she called "doubtrisers" was presented.

"Phrases like 'this candidate has the potential...' are examples of doubtrisers that we saw more in the letters for young women than for young men. They are adding up to the pile of keeping these women outside of the leadership gate! I want to share a story with you guys. A few years ago, we had a seminar with all our graduate students and 90% of them were girls. I looked at the speaker list, and all the speakers – who were part of the faculty – were men, and I just thought that was strange. I felt that these young ladies needed women faculty to speak for them, you know, so that they could see that they also had some role models... So we began doing some research on psychology departments in the competitive universities such as Harvard, Rice, Columbia, USC, even UCB! We wanted to see if their faculty was represented by gender diversity or not." She went through the PP slides; each slide had a picture of the university, the name of the university, a fraction representing the amount of women faculty

compared to men, and a grade. Her own faculty received a B+ for not having the same amount of women as men. UCB received an A+ “for effort”, but not for achievement. Everyone started laughing at that, because she directed the grade to her “brother colleague” in the front. None of the universities she presented had fully deserved an A+ for achievement: “So, we still have a long way to go!”

She then started presenting her most recent research. It also revolved around her concept of gatekeeping. Minnie and her associates went on Facebook and looked for what she called: “... stereotypical looking African American accounts as well as non-stereotypical looking African American accounts. The features we focused on were mostly the size of the nose and lips, and of course skin tone. What we found was that the more stereotypical African American the profile picture looked, the less friends on Facebook they had than those with less stereotypical African American features. ... Now, is this about rejection?”

She pointed to the PP and switched to the next slide that illustrated four pictures of two people. The first picture was of an African American male with very dark skin tone, a wide nose and thick lips. In the second picture his skin was several shades lighter, his nose was small, and his lips too. The two other pictures were of an African American woman with the same feature differences. Both pictures were manipulated by the research team, and this manipulation was very noticeable. “We decided to create fake Facebook accounts with both stereotypical African Americans, men and women, and non-stereotypical African Americans. Then we began sending out friend requests to hundreds of people... What we found was the same result! The more stereotypical the person looked, the less people would accept their friend requests. The reason why is because of lack of trust. We don’t trust stereotypical- looking minorities purely because of how they look on their Facebook picture! We basically tried out a similar experiment with the STEM advisors at our university [Rice] ... We pretended to apply for counselling by sending the application with the same pictures used in the Facebook study. What was surprising was that we didn’t find any gatekeeping based on stereotypes! And I want to give you guys some context that I believe centers these findings... The study was conducted during the whole ‘Black Lives Matter movement’, so my theory is that the advisors consciously tried to hide their unconscious biases by not discriminating against stereotypical African Americans.”

Minnie stopped talking for a short moment, and then continued, in a more testimonial manner to discuss her political position: “It is obvious that my research is a bit politically guided, I mean my work is to apply my research results to the workplace. And we all probably know how hard it is to keep the politics out of our research especially now that the white house has made

overt racism more accepting, but I think it's really important, I could speak about this for hours, but we don't have that time [points to her wrist], but the importance of having men as allies is extremely important for young women who want to become leaders. I am so grateful for my male allies when I was a grad student, and I even have a grad student who is doing her MA on men who are allies to the women's struggle!" She also had a comment on diversity offices on campus, and the research findings they publish: "It's a whole lot of misguided unscientific research, it breaks my heart because they really could do something important with their positions on university campuses."

Her concluding remarks before she took any questions: "We are all inspired by the power of flight, and we all should get to fly! Genderkeeping and Racekeeping are still going on systematically and unconsciously in our society. For example, there are more Johns and Davids who have CEO positions than women, separately, that is by name, more CEOs with the name David than women, and more CEOs with the name John than women CEOs. And that is not because women don't want to be CEOs ... Even I want to be a CEO!" Minnie began comparing the US with Scandinavia, how "Crazy in a good way" it is to be a woman and minority living in Scandinavia compared to the US. A woman in the audience raised her hand and said: "But they don't have that much diversity [referring to Scandinavia]" Minnie did not address the comment but said: "But their gender equality is really achieving!"

Most people started walking out of the room, the seminar had lasted 10 minutes overtime. One young girl, presented herself as a student living in a Coed asked the last question: "I live in a coed with four guys who say that the house is gender equal, but then they keep joking too much about gender roles, and I'm not sure how to deal with it because I want to say something, but I don't want to seem ..." The girl could not find the right word, so Minnie said: "Sensitive? ... Yeah, I have two boys myself, and I think it starts in puberty, fathers just give their boys high fives, while mothers just watch, the boys in puberty start to develop this sense of masculinity that I definitely will not tolerate with my boys!" "So you're saying I should get creative?" The girl asked, confusingly. "I'm saying don't get tired! The fight is long, find some male allies, stick with good friends, stick it through! Love you sister! Haha, just had to say that!"

The Biology Department's Necessity of a Graduate Student Inclusion Program

In this section, I present ethnography from the University of California Los Angeles Biology faculty members presenting their Biology graduate program titled “Beyond Diversity: Building a Culture of Inclusion in STEM Education”. The organizer of the event was the Biology Department at UC Berkeley. Professor Knowles (UCLA) was the main presenter, while professor Goodman (UCLA) and Professor Carter (UCB) joined the panel as discussants. Professor Knowles used a PowerPoint presentation, where the structure was based on answering three questions (why, how, what). This account begins with Professor Knowles answering her last question (the two previous questions were 1. Why is inclusion in the STEM field so important? 2. How is inclusion in the STEM field done successfully?) and is followed by the panel discussion.

“What are faculty doing to students in the classroom that contributes to the establishment of an excluding classroom?” She listed seven answers to that question in a one-by-one format on her PP slide:

- *Microaggressions: Cumulative effect of ignorant and usually unintended actions and speech perceived by underrepresented students of color.*
- *Using only binary examples: Always giving examples where only men or women are the actors- not acknowledging the existence of trans people*
- *Implicit Bias: Unconsciously acting out of a stereotype- based assumption.*
- *Stereotype Threat: Underrepresented member of a community experience anxiety for feeling the need to represent their entire community in a classroom full of white people.*
- *Negative Generalization: Asking a student of color if they can elaborate more on what it was like for their community when Trump became president.*
- *Competition for Grades: Using the norm-reference grading practice- making all students compete against each other individually.*
- *Language Barriers: Using concepts and theories that are difficult for students of color to understand.*

PANEL

Professor Carter was the mediator of the panel: “Why did y’all ditch Berkeley [all three of them were grad students at UCB together] for UCLA?” Professor Knowles answered:

“Because UCLA is a real community, you know, not just for underrepresented people, but white people also, we back each other’s projects, and inclusion in the workplace is a conscious goal for the entire faculty!”

Professor Goodman had a similar but different story: “I was actually recruited to a position at UCLA, the program that I’m the leader of now was actually lead by an African American professor who retired. And this position was not for grabs for just anyone because the program had to be as rewarding as when the retired African American professor was leading it! So one of the faculty members who was very active in the program really fought for and lobbied for me to get that position, you know, you really gotta understand diversity issues at a deeper level, you really have to care! And the fact that she put in that fight for me to get the position- convinced me that ‘wow’, you know, just like you said [looks at Professor Knowles] - this community has so many real good values! And I also have to point out that we have to stop assuming that there’s a mutually exclusive relation between academic excellence and diversity, because creating a culture of shared inclusive values is really important to continue this hard work! ... I mean like, my god, if we’re working at two of the so-called best universities in the world, why are we expecting so little of our faculty? All we’re expecting is that they’re great researchers... Hello! Why can’t we expect more? 30% people of color, like, come on, let’s have some higher expectations of our faculty! [crowd applauds]”

Professor Carter rose up from his panel chair and went over to the podium to explicitly show that he had something to say: “I speak now 100% for the black faculty at our biology department! ... The single most important thing that has happened here at Berkeley throughout my 30 years is the Biology Scholar Program! ... [He ran back to the panel receiving great applause from the audience... He ran back to the podium]. This is my encore, like Prince, what I wanna share is that my only black female student now, approached me and said I was the only one she could ask for help. Seriously, this student is one of the smartest students I’ve ever had, and she used to get 100% on her tests, so the other students thought that she was cheating, so they excluded her from their study groups! And another thing about that, study groups have become so segregated, we have the Korean Americans, the Blacks, the Whites, the Hispanic, it’s crazy!”

Professor Goodman commented: “The market of values is gonna change now, institutions are gonna put value on this interest! If you go on an interview today, I can guarantee you that you’re gonna be asked what contributions you have made in relation to the concept of diversity! Just think about my own program, how popular it is compared to some other programs that

solely focus on academic achievements- we steal their students and faculty because people are more into these values, the cultural values of faculty and students specifically have transformed universities into now putting value on inclusion!”

“Has your program changed the variety of applicants you’ve received?” Professor Goodman answered: “Out of the best 20 applications we received, 50% of them came from underrepresented students of color. And this is just because we changed one little thing: the biggest and most important recruit-indicator for getting into our graduate program in biology is now how you’ve gotten yourself through diversity! [Everyone in the audience started laughing] I mean adversity of course! That little text about personal merit apparently made a lot of minority students think [raises his hand] ‘eh I’ve overcome adversity throughout my life!’ So they applied! Just small changes like that can transform a lot- without negatively influencing the quality of our candidates!”

The Anthropological Responsibility to Decolonize Research

This section provides ethnography on University of California Santa Cruz Anthropology professor, Andrew presenting his own research methodology: “Race Play”. This seminar was organized by the UC Berkeley Departments of Theater, Dance, and Performance Studies; Ethnic Studies; and Gender Studies, as well as the Townsend Center. This account begins with Andrew’s short presentation of how he relates to and conducts research as a white queer male anthropologist. This presentation came after his colleague – a journalist PhD-holding self-identifying queer Asian researcher had presented his research on the colonization of POC (people of color) gay sexuality.

The Asian student organizer stood up and introduced the other speaker, Andrew the anthropologist. He included the fact that Andrew was an anthropologist, ethnographer, and a gay activist decolonizer. Andrew began his presentation by saying: “First of all I want to thank you [looking at Andy the Journalist] for starting us off with such amazing theorizing! Also, I want to acknowledge the fact that San Francisco is indigenous people’s land that I’m so appreciative of occupying now!”

Andrew first talked about his own conceptualization of ethnography: “It is a relationship that I experience as a very messy, myriad result of us being here in this space... I love the aspect of ethnography where it’s all about intersubjectivity and inter-relations, how they invoke methodological openness.” He continued to explain his previous research, how he collaborated with some other anthropologists to create a series of essays where the motive was to: “...

Challenge coloniality and anthropology by intertwining queerness with anthropology, because at the time, the discipline of anthropology, you know, scholars, trying to contain it, you know, trying to make it a science!”

He took a short break to drink some water. The way Andrew spoke was very hard to follow. He was extremely dependent on his script, and whenever he looked up at the audience to speak freely, he had to repeat where he left off, or correct himself as he looked back down at the script. The words he was using are as long as full sentences, which might be why it was difficult for Andrew to pronounce them, and very difficult to understand them for me at least. After the break he continued to talk about his anthropological analysis of queerness: “Coloniality of anthropology, even the coloniality of the term queer creates different products of knowledge... And I both personally and professionally with my work really had to come to terms with queer whiteness, having to come to terms with my whiteness, coming out in urban areas, no amount of being aware of it doesn’t mean it will go away. These differences are rooted in queer POCs being racialized and sexualized, and it’s not like this is just historical, it’s constantly ongoing!”

He then proceeded to talk about how he chooses his research projects: “Colonialism and queerness always become the first point of departure because whiteness forms the conditions of queerness!” Andrew continued to explain that he could never do research on queer indigenous people because: “Two-spirit activists would always speak back to anthropologists! ... It [referring to doing research on two-spirited activists] would only happen if someone asked me to do it!” He concluded his talk by saying: “We all know that gay whiteness identity is rooted in colonial history, and our responsibility is obviously to challenge it in our academic work!”

As both Andy’s and Andrew’s presentations were over, the two organizers stood up and snapped their fingers, all of us in the audience did the same. One of the organizers said: “Thank you for your talk, very informative about white privilege white supremacy, and whiteness!” We had a small round of questions, and the other organizer asked the first question to Andy. At this point the organizers had taken their seats at the panel table again: “You talked a lot about gay Hollywood, and so I was wondering what you think about RuPaul’s Dragrace, since it is such a popular show, and somewhat diverse?” His answer to this question lasted for about five minutes, the way Andy spoke was extremely fast, making it hard for me to keep up with my notes. He talked about the Asian drag queens in the show, how he meant that they overacted their stereotypes as Asian: “I have a very conflicting relationship to it, because the Asian drag queens are sort of fooling people by playing into that stereotype because these white

people wanna see it, like 'I wanna win so I'm gonna act crazy for the white audience', they engage in self-stereotyping which I think is problematic."

Andrew – in his answer to the question – talked about POC men in Hollywood, how they are "whitewashed": "... Like the 'Asian men are hot too' movement, like, only if they look like white men what the fuck?! ... I've been concerned about, how Dragrace and other popular TV, the appropriation of gay black men's culture by gay white men." He gave an example from his own life as a gay white man: "Like, when I was younger in my college years, I would hang out in the urban areas with my gay white friends, and this was during the period where snapping was the coolest thing, and so I started doing it, and POC queers were like 'what are you doing, what the fuck is wrong with you?', and so I never did it again because I then realized I was appropriating something so sacred to them just because I thought it was cool, when in reality it was a big part of their identity that I just stole..."

A student in the audience, a black self-identified butch lesbian grad student in geography with short hair and glasses raised her hand and asked what the guest speakers thought about the: "Disappearing of critique of the patriarchy within academic writing?" Andrew answered shortly that: "All my ethnographic subjects are within the frame of universal patriarchy!" Andy elaborated, and explained his own personal struggle with wanting to participate in the scholarly discussion about race (specifically black gay men) without taking part in racism. "I am having a hard time positioning myself in that discussion without contributing to structural racism every day!" Andrew added: "Yeah, even monogamy is heteronormative, and I see this pattern in the gay community, that being in a monogamous relationship is supposedly the only real thing, this type of push from gay men only buys into this settler-colonial narrative!" Andy suddenly started talking about gay black men: "Like white people are incredibly afraid of gay black sexuality, and black men in general, like, we reinforce this narrative with for example these HIV commercials with only black men, all this to justify white savage sexuality!" The organizers ended the question round after this. They explained that there was "no more time because the room is no longer ours to occupy".

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, my aim has been to provide firsthand experiences of three different events at the time of the event. What lies in the ethnography is testimony to the argument about the widening field of practice surrounding inclusion awareness as an increasing part of the United States higher educational system. The moral economy of inclusion is a part of the ethnography, and consequently, in this chapter, ethnography is the argument (Blasco and Wardle, 2007: 97).

Chapter 6

Negotiating Positionalities in the Moral Economy of Inclusion: Minority Student Testimonies

In previous chapters, I explore minority students' nurturing of and demand for equitable inclusion as a moral right (chapter three) and the administrative and facilitative encouragement of obliging to and maintaining the value of inclusion in academic practices and conduct (chapters four and five). In this chapter I demonstrate how such nurturing, demanding and obligatory relationalities to the value of inclusion are received by the students they are intended to serve, the minority students. In doing so, I explore – from three diverse minority students' perspectives: Jose, Simren, and Maria – how minority students negotiate their own positionalities in the moral economy of inclusion through evaluating how others around them at the university relate to the value of inclusion.

First, I explore how Jose – a graduate student in the department of Ethnic Studies – renegotiates the arbitrary boundary between erudite- and activist-knowledge through the establishment of alternative sites of knowledge production for the purpose of broadening the notion of groundbreaking research. Second, I explore how Simren – a pre-med undergraduate student – renegotiates her ethnic identity for the purpose of securing her opportunities to achieve academic excellence. Third, through the lens of Maria's perspective on the protesting students in her Ethnic Studies class – I explore the legitimizing grounds of negotiated and renegotiated positionalities' credibility in the moral economy of inclusion.

All three explorations begin with fieldnote representations. First, Jose's Scholar Activist seminar which I argue represents an administratively and facilitatively supported para-sitical space constructed for the purpose of insurrecting subjugated knowledges such as community and identity knowledge into the field of groundbreaking academic knowledge. Second, Simren's testimony in our bedroom of her struggle as an Asian pre-med student contemplating ethnic modification of her suitability to the medical school admissions. Third, Maria's testimony of her experience as a witnessing student in the lecture hall audience when her fellow classmates protested their exam.

The Facilitated Insurrection of Subjugated Knowledges in the Moral Economy of Inclusion

I arrived about fifteen minutes early, and nobody had showed up except for the person who created this seminar called Scholar Activism specifically for graduate students. He was a Hispanic graduate student in Ethnic Studies. At this point, he was just prepping his presentation, connecting his computer to the big screen, he put on some rock music in the meantime. I had literally nothing to do, I asked if he needed help with anything, he said I could rearrange the chairs, and move some of them out, so I did. After that, I just walked around the room and looked at the photos on the wall. The pictures were of supposedly important people that had been in this building. After a few minutes, another graduate student showed up- a white girl in yoga clothes holding a yoga mat. She had a huge box of sandwiches and another box on top of that with fruit and vegetables (and dip). This food could feed at least twenty people. She was helping this guy- whose name was Jose- with prepping for the workshop. She said she worked for the public service center. She is also a graduate student in Gender Studies and her name was Annie.

The room was small, with a big round table and ten office chairs around it. On the walls there were photos of Berkeley alumnus. Nobody came for about ten minutes until one other girl came. This girl I had seen attend at least five different workshops, seminars, and lectures on campus. It was as if she was specifically interested in attending as many events as possible that had anything to do with activism and the university arena. She was black, short skinned hair, round glasses, and a green beanie. I know that she is a lesbian because she has stated it during a previous seminar about decolonizing queer identity in February. She had apparently also noticed me at these events and now asked what I was doing. I explained my research project and she liked it. She wanted to add me on social media so that she could share some events with me and maybe link up, so we did. Her name was A.J, she is a graduate student in Geography.

By now, we were only four people at the seminar, it was 1.15PM, and it was supposed to begin now. Jose wanted to wait just a few more minutes in case someone came late. After a few minutes, another person showed up. A white guy- who went to med-school in San Francisco but took a break year to work on changing the curriculum for pre-med undergraduates at UC Berkeley. His name was Josh. So, it was the five of us: Ethnic Studies graduate and the seminar-series creator, Jose; Gender Studies graduate, Anna; Geography graduate, A.J; Medical School graduate, Josh; and an Anthropology graduate, Meti (me). Before Jose started his presentation, he wanted us all to take a few seconds of silence to acknowledge that we were

sitting on sacred indigenous land. To be clear, the workshop was about how to integrate activist theory and praxis into scholarly activities such as teaching and doing research. His main sponsor was the American Cultures Center. He began by presenting the American Cultures Center, how it was a result of the Anti- Apartheid movement: “They [students] started asking themselves questions like ‘OK, how can we make this experience part of the curriculum?’ ... They ended up coming up with American Cultures here, and all undergrads are required to take at least one course.”

Jose then explained his own experience as a graduate student who actively use activism in his research, how some of his professors and his old commission were critical of his activist approach: “So I said, ‘where are the resources for graduate students who are dedicated to doing research from non-dominant perspectives?’ ... This approach is very interdisciplinary, like, everybody is trying to make it part of curriculum. The idea for this workshop is that this is the beginning of something!” He introduced some key terms within this theoretical and practical approach of scholarly activism: Engaged Scholarship, Scholar Activism, Research Justice, and Critical Pedagogy. After presenting these concepts, without defining them, he said “We have to draw inspiration from these concepts, to think about how we can use them to rethink how our classrooms look like and how we transfer knowledge amongst each other.” He gave a general definition of all the four concepts, saying: “We are explicitly working from the perspective of social movements, from the direct struggle of being in between differential relations of power! For example, I think that all of us are working within the struggle between educational institutions verses grassroots movements.”

According to Jose, members of his dissertation committee took a critical position toward his activist approach in the analytical section of his PhD dissertation. This advisory feedback made Jose question the qualifying grounds on which academic knowledge is legitimized. What about Jose’s activist approach was worth criticizing? Is it not academic knowledge if it emerges from a “non-dominant perspective”? In the 2018 September series of Hot Spots, Roxanne Varzi (2018) argues that forces within academia – academics that is – are the powerholders who decide what counts as valuable academic research; subjectively quantifying their colleague’s work, and by effect rejecting their colleague’s agency and legitimacy. She calls this an abuse of power and a form of colonization. Was Jose’s work attempted to be colonized, and further, was this colonization justified with the arbitrary division between what is legitimized as academic knowledge and what is not (Varzi, 2018; Bolnick et al., 2019; Bourdieu, 1991)?

In stark opposition to the resisting students in chapter three, Jose never demanded facilitative changes, but agentively integrates facilitative alternatives into his own teaching. Jose, instead of talking of academic knowledge exclusion, questioned academic knowledge exclusivity (Goodin, 1996). Possibly the most significant distinction is that Jose is a graduate student while the resisting students are undergraduate students. In other words, Jose is in a position of not only being a student, but also a privileged researcher as well as a teacher. He had more agency to resist the ‘colonization’ of his work by questioning the grounds on which the colonization was attempted and suggesting an alternative approach. Jose’s virtuous approach – which he calls “Scholar Activism” – is in direct struggle, or at the border if you will, between the arbitrary division of erudite knowledge and delegitimized knowledge – a hierarchical border guarded and maintained by the theoretical vanguards – by which he seeks to surge its academic existential transcendence from its human finitude (Varzi, 2018; Bourdieu, 1991; Foucault, 2003; Berry et al., 2017; Grohmann, 2018; Mattingly and Throop, 2018; Dyring, 2018). Is Jose in the process of creating an alternative space – a para-site of knowledge production– within the powerful institutional force of the university in which he himself is complicit with and embedded in (E. Marcus, 2000)?

After spending around thirty minutes presenting the history of American Cultures, Jose moved on to express alternative scholarly methods of producing groundbreaking knowledge for the community, how these methods inspired his seminar-series. Instead of calling people community informants, they should be called community experts- to give them agency. Autobiography was a method used to organize the community for resistance. Elders were now scholars. “No standardized testing of our students, the admission is based on the amount of work you did for your community, you know, how much work do you do for your community, how can you leverage your privilege for your community?” He then said something very interesting: “A lot of the professors in my department die early deaths due to all the trauma they’re writing about and the lifetime of exclusion and oppression they have to experience within their departments, so as activist scholars we also have to be aware of the risks we are taking, how it takes a hold on our physical health, we have to recognize the violence! I therefore want to include hands-on healing as a form of scholarly activism, because scholarly activism can also take the form of just using your hands to heal people with good energy from your hands! It also speaks to the diversity of methodologies within this field of scholarly activism!”

Now, Jose wanted to explain the practical aspects of his scholarly/activist approach in the classroom: “The whole first two weeks are dedicated to building community agreements,

building social bonds, that's what I mean by abolition pedagogy! There's no books, everything related to the curriculum is free printing access, the classes are open to community members, you're encouraged to bring our family members, and this is really important because we always want to connect with the community! The curriculum is also designed with critical activist organizers, you know, their voices are directly heard in that way! And the structure of the classes are very collaborative, students are the educators, each one teach one! So everything about the approach is co-designed and co-taught by scholars and activists!"

With the American Cultures funding, Jose's goal is to agentively include his own experiential and community knowledge into the university as legitimized production of academic excellence. Just like the Biology Graduate Program at UCLA, Jose encourages the rest of us – all graduate students – to fundamentally change the way we teach in the classroom. Rata (2013) similarly to Jose, writes that the integration and pursuit of community knowledge in the academy must serve the interest of the community, and consequently the relation between knower and knowledge is inseparable. This renegotiated boundary of legitimized academic knowledge in which Jose is in the process of establishing with his teachings does not however come without any risks. According to Jose, what we would be risking in adopting this radically alternative teaching approach are our lives. Just like Foucault argued in one of his 1970's lectures on the genealogical quest to insurrect subjugated knowledges – it is impossible to attempt this approach without the "removal of the tyranny of overall discourses, with their hierarches and all the privileges enjoyed by theoretical vanguards" (2003: 8), Jose also warns us of the violent epistemic forces we would encounter within our departments. In the contextual framework of the moral economy of inclusion, gaining economic resources for the purpose of producing and distributing inclusionary academic sentiments does not occur without the expectation of epistemic violence.

Jose presented us with a bibliography of scholarly work that he had collected himself- proudly stating that all authors exclusively were people of color. He really wanted to send it out to all of us so that we could spread the message of Scholar Activism. After giving him our emails, he moved on to present us with several scholarships that based their criterions on how much the applicants give back to their communities. After the presentation was over, Jose asked us: "So, what do you think about your own research projects now?" A.J said: "This has really made me wanna study my own subjective life! I feel like I have so much to contribute with from my own experience as a black queer butch first-generation doctoral student!" Jose responded: "That's so great, yeah I encourage you to do that! My new commission are really supportive about my

writing style! They want me to include my own autobiography into the analytical, they wanna read much more about that from me!” Annie commented: “I feel like there’s a division, like a huge gap between what the university say they do, and what they actually do- especially in terms of the practical aspects of who has the power in the classroom!” A.J replied: “Yes! I really feel what you’re saying! Like, in my department there are no women, only old white men!”

Jose elaborated on his relationship to his advisors: “My new commission is so much better than my previous one! Like, we are really friends in the real world, they genuinely care about me and my wellbeing as a person! They were actually the ones who encouraged me to apply for the AC sponsorship! ... I just wanna make it clear that abolition pedagogy is the future of higher education, I really believe that! What we’re doing now is groundbreaking research!” Josh also had some comments: “I am currently working on the new curriculum about diabetes, which is partly a result of the colonization of the indigenous people, so I’m enjoying the challenge of trying to expand and transform students’ perspective on this topic- since this is a required course for pre-med undergrads!” Josh was eager to get access to some of Jose’s references to see if he could include them in his work. It was my turn to say something about my own project related to activism. I said that I wanted to use activists as my informants- so that their voices could be heard in my research. This is exactly what I am doing - as student activists are my informants. Jose had a recommendation for my research project: “Have you ever thought about becoming a student organization leader? It’s really easy to just create a group and apply for funding! You’ll get a lot more money from our university than your own I would imagine!” I said: “Cool, thanks for the advice!”

Jose has managed to negotiate into existence his academic relation to the value of inclusion in the classroom, all it took was a whole new commission for Jose to gain support of his activist and autobiographical approaches, which in turn motivated him to create this seminar-series to spread his message. But the academic support was not what Jose pointed out, it was rather the social support. The fact that his new commission treated him as a friend and genuinely cared about his wellbeing as a person made him secure enough to actively promote scholar activism despite the physical health risks he expected would follow- which according to Dhillon (2018) is the responsibility of faculty. This academic and social support, it seems based on Jose’s own testimony, elevated his opportunities to achieve academic excellence, that is, academic excellence in the form of him being able to establish an alternative space within the confinements of the institution of academic excellence where everything about the notion of

this excellence is challenged through the insurrection of subjugated knowledges (E. Marcus, 2000; Foucault, 2003; Zaloom, 2018). Out of these spaces emerge new forms of knowledge, thus what Jose is doing is according to himself groundbreaking interdisciplinary research.

In this seminar, Jose has shared his experience of both encountering and producing several components circulating in the moral economy of inclusion. From the initial minor academic transgression of his old commission criticizing his dissertation for being too activist oriented, to his resistance in questioning the qualifying grounds on which the exclusionary division of activist knowledge from academic knowledge was made legitimate, to his new commission displaying a comparatively overwhelming responsibility to Jose's academic and social inclusion, to the economic funding of this seminar-series, to Jose's own establishment of a parasite of distributing academic and social sentiments and values of the moral economy of inclusion – in which the rest of us in the seminar in turn will bring with us in our own academic work.

There is a tension underlying the diverse relationalities to the value of inclusion within the moral economy of inclusion at UC Berkeley, a tension which has not yet been made explicitly visible by me but lurks implicitly in this thesis. It is the tension emerging from conflicting claims of inclusion. As we saw in chapter three, the resisting students wanted their Ethnic Studies professor to give them a privileged space in his lectures where they could share their experiential and community knowledge relevant to the class material, and as they called it “have our voices heard”. Jose has carved out his own space at the university where he invites the public to his seminars so that they together with him can have their community voices heard. But what about the minority students who want their student voices heard instead of their speech representing their communities and identities? What about the students who might experience what professor Knowles termed the “stereotype-threat”? How are facilitators of learning supposed to relate to minority students' conflicting claims about how to include them? Are professors supposed to guess if their minority students want their community belonging acknowledged in the classroom? What if professors guess wrong? The pressure to walk the line between either ‘silencing minority students' voices’ or producing ‘stereotype-threats’ is not what the next section is about. Rather, the next section is in parts about the consequential influence of a professor who did not manage to walk that line, and by effect managed to commit a microaggression with an accumulative effect in Matias' words.

Backstage: The Actor's Strategic Contemplation for Academic Resources

I was sitting on my bed writing field notes, Simren was talking loud on her phone, with her brother. I could not ignore what they were saying, because he was on speakerphone and I was right there in the room. They were talking about the diversity programs, and how to manipulate them to their advantage. This is the sentence that I overheard, which made me turn my music off completely: "I know right... I've heard that I could definitely pass as a mixed black girl because of my curls! Maybe I'll just do it, just check the African American box so that I have better chances of getting in!"

Her brother was cheering her on, calling it a good idea. He justified it with this argument: We all know that your race does not have anything to do with your abilities or skills. This makes race a socially constructed category. But, since the universities have made race into a requirement on the same levels as abilities and skills, then you should be able to – since race is a social construct – identify yourself as any race on the planet and be treated as such by the rest of society. He kept repeating: "I know this is a radical argument, I know" He called it race transitioning. The argument became fuzzy when he defended this parallel: Race change is the same thing as sex transitioning. Here was his argument for that. He explained (and Simren agreed and shared that experience) his experience when they grew up. They grew up in a small town in Arizona (predominantly white town), and whenever they were hanging out with friends (this was when they were kids), he would never get jealous or want to be more like the girls, but he would always want to be whiter, and have lighter hair and all that. Simren said the same thing- that she would feel like boys would like her more if she was a white girl- not if she was a white boy. This experience made them come to the agreement that race had more of an impact on their lives than gender did- making race transitioning a more valid act.

After they hung up, I told Simren that I could not help but overhear their conversation, that it was very relevant to my research. She then came over to my bed and explained that she would always feel like the ugly duckling when she grew up, that her hair was not pretty enough, or her skin shade was not light enough. I said that I could relate to that, but not really because I was black, rather because I was the only black sticking out of the crowd. She agreed. She then explained that when applying to med-school, the different races are competing within their racial category against each other "Asians have to like work extra hard because we're only competing against each other, you know..."

She then asked to show me a page on my computer. It was a statistical page of all the medical school admissions from two years ago categorized into the different races. You could see the percentages of the applicant numbers and those accepted. You could see this based on GPA score and MCAT score. She pointed at one average GPA (2.80-2.99) and MCAT (33-35) score. First, she showed me the amount of Asians admitted: 21,1%, then went to the other page and showed me the amount of African Americans admitted with the same scores: 73,3%. This seems like an extreme difference, and it is. However, if you look at just the numbers that the percentages are representing – which Simren never focused on them while showing the percentages to me – you can see that the number of Asians getting admitted were 16 out of 76 applicants. The African Americans admitted were 11 out of 15 applicants. I do not know if this application difference is an argument for or against this admission practice.

“It’s the diversity programs, like I understand their intent, but reality is that I only compete against other Asians... I’m smart, I’m very smart, it’s just that I don’t have as much time to study as these rich white kids or other privileged kids... You know... I’ve had three jobs ever since I came to Cal, like my parents don’t pay for anything, so I have to pay for all my food, my rent, my textbooks, I get no scholarships, so you know, it’s not easy... And did you hear what we said about like other brown people using their shade to gain privilege? Because you already know once a brown person says they wanna share their experience at Cal- the entire room stops and listens! Nobody wants to be accused of silencing a brown person. And a lot of people take advantage of that! Like I remember my professor only reduced me to a brown girl, and this was a black professor, like she spoke as if that was my entire contribution to the class, and it really offended me, like I am a smart individual first, and especially here at Cal, that’s what you wanna be remembered for, not that you are a female person of color who made it...”

She explained that she almost dropped out of high school to work full time to help out her parents who had very low-income salaries. Her parents came from India to America before both she and her brother were born. She kept repeating that she still understood the reasons for why African American students were getting these admissions: “I do understand that it must be hard when you’re constantly being targeted by the police, and your schools are super bad, so I do understand why they are having a harder time focusing on school, but I also work literally all the time, like I just came from my librarian job, and I only have two hours before I’m going to the clinic! And it’s dead week, like I have no time to study like my peers because I have to pay rent! ... I don’t wanna offend anyone, but I know so many Indian girls here at Cal, who I can tell you do not work as hard on their studying and their parents are super rich and

pay for everything, and they still complain about not getting good grades because of white supremacist professors and feeling like a minority on campus- like Asians are the biggest group, it makes no sense to me hahaha!”

She then told me about her cousin’s cousin, an Indian guy who did his pre-med at UCLA. When it was time for him to apply to med-school, he took advantage of the system. She explained that he was very dark skinned, with thick eyebrows and thick hair. “He really wanted to get into med-school, but it was too hard to compete against other Asians... So he cut his hair very short and trimmed his eyebrows thinner and got into med- school as an African American! He felt like it was his only chance of getting in, because competing against only Asians was too hard, and he is a doctor now! So he had to stick with that lie all throughout med-school, like he had to keep looking like an African America, and after a while, he started feeling like one, like he started noticing that the police would stare at him more than they did when he was Indian... But maybe that was because he was expecting it more and looked at the police more, I don’t know, but yeah... That’s what I was thinking about doing too, because the statistics speak for themselves, like, I know for a fact that I would get into med-school if I was black, and this is America, so why not just use the system to my advantage when it is already set up to my disadvantage!”

I told her she should do it as an experiment, write an article about it, and get rich. We both laughed, and Simren went out to make some food before going to the clinic for her second job of the day. Here is the link to the nationwide med-school acceptance and applicants’ statistics: <https://www.aamc.org/data/facts/applicantmatriculant/157998/factstablea24.html>

Simren is a second-year pre-med undergraduate student at UC Berkeley, also my Indian roommate. Applying to medical school as an Asian minority student is according to Simren not like applying to medical school as a minority student. The statistics in the link above demonstrates an overwhelmingly large distinction between the number of Asian applicants versus all other racial and ethnic demographic groups. In theory, if the admissions criteria of medical school were to only be an applying students’ MCAT (Medical College Admissions Test) and GPA (Grade Point Average) results, then the vast majority of admitted students would be Asians. Fassin (2005) and Ticktin (2011) similarly wrote on the institutionalization of care as resting on an objectification of the suitable subject for care, how these subjects must fit into specific criteria in order to separate them from non-suitable subjects. In the context of the *admissions* statistics of medical school, is it fair to state that being Asian makes Simren non-

eligible for any form of inclusionary distribution of scarce medical school admissions, and leaves her competing in the majority admissions pool against other Asians?

To an extent the scenario in the question posed above might be the case for Simren. However, it seems less likely that the admission practices of medical school actively favor certain minorities over other, and more likely that there are minimum diversity quotas that needs to be met in cases such as this where the overwhelming majority of top applicants represent one demographic group; Asian. Nevertheless, for the individual Asian – specifically Simren – it can be difficult to focus on the explaining numbers instead of the startling percentages in the statistics. Simren only presented me with the percentages (I had to look up the numbers myself), making the story of the US medical schools' distribution of scarce admission positions based on the value of equitable minority inclusion a lot more convincing. Even though this story is somewhat debatable, the accumulative experiential effects of the story are very real for Simren. She is smart enough to gain admission if only she could categorically belong to any other ethnic or racial group than Asian. Simren's experience as a sacrificial academic minority member of the medical school's admissions practices calls to mind a resembling observation of Robin being sacrificed by his fellow QSU member for not fitting the suitable subject category for attendance – or admission if you will – to the Queer and Trans POC Conference.

In the large admission system of faceless applicants with several different demographic categorical belongings, Simren being Asian could make her a non-suitable subject for inclusion. However, at the local level of social and academic interaction in the classroom, Simren is perceived as a minority. She was offended by her professor reducing her academic contributions to her ethnic group belonging. In this sense, the national admissions practices coupled with the local perception of Simren conflicted; she was part of the majority as well as the minority. Simren endured enclosure in an anticipated internal competition against other Asians, while at the same time being enclosed in her professor's perception of her as an *inclusion* (Dave, 2011; Sojoyner, 2017). These two – isolating in their own ways – enclosures have become a burden and an opportunity, something necessary for Simren to escape from (Dave, 2011). Paradoxically, the opportunity Simren sought to escape her burden was to actively utilize and expand her enclosed local position as an inclusion through the construction and impression management of a new – and according to Simren, more urgently in need of medical school inclusion – ethnic identity as African American.

Goffman is known for his dramaturgic approach to the concept identity (Goffman, 1959). When Simren shared about her interaction with one of her professors who 'reduced her to a

female person of color who made it' instead of what she really wanted to be remembered for at UC Berkeley (a smart individual), is it legitimate to claim that Simren's goal of being recognized by her professor (the audience in this case) as a credible smart individual first was not reached due to the moral economy of inclusion's incentivized obligation of minority student recognition upheld by the professor? The professor acted out of the well-intended notion of celebrating diversity, which is what is promoted by campus administrators to faculty members and students. As a result, Simren's identity claims of being noticed as a smart individual first were rejected by the professor. To be clear, the experience of not having her own perceived 'self' recognized by the audience as credible is what made Simren succumb to the forces of the moral economy of inclusion. The role the moral economy of inclusion plays in the unfolding of Simren's ethnic identity (change) as an African American female evokes Barth's theoretical assertion that ethnic identifications are negotiated and renegotiated by both external ascription and self-identification. They (ethnic identifications) are situationally dependent and can change (Barth, 1969).

The moral economy of inclusion stresses the recognition of diversity and inclusion during social and academic interactions on campus. These academic practices have in this specific case put more value on the recognition of Simren's 'diverse' ethnic representation – a brown girl struggling to be a medical doctor – rather than her academic contributions in the classroom. Simren still wanted to find a way for her academic contributions to be recognized but realized that she had to become accustomed to the inclusive audience- and act accordingly. She had seen others successfully take advantage of these inclusive practices and is now contemplating on doing it herself. In this case- Simren's 'self' is not a possession of the actor, nor a possession of the audience, but rather a possession of the dramatic interaction between the actor's minority representation, and the moral economy of inclusion that is both reflected in the medical school admissions statistics (for Simren) as well as taught to the audience (Goffman, 1959). Again, it is not as if the professor dismissed Simren's entire 'self', but rather that the professor only recognized an unmanageable impression of Simren's 'self'. If everything about Simren's presentation of her 'self' was dismissed by the professor, then there would be nothing left for her to even contemplate the strategic construction of her new 'self' as an African American female. "Integral to this process of isolation was forging a distinction between a true, hidden, self and the necessary contrived self that presents itself for social recognition." (Dave, 2011: 14), and once recognition is obtained through the utilization of a contrived self, true image can be unveiled (Athreya, 2019). Simren was looking to maximize her social recognition for

academic security. Even in the description of her brother's argument for why she should race transition: all the arguments for why they wanted to change their race while younger were to gain perceived privileges.

To return, would Simren's quest of changing her ethnic identity from Asian to African American be credible enough for her audience to define and treat her as she wants them to (Goffman, 1959)? Will she "secure" her admission to medical school? Or is Simren too honest about her strategic intentions of dishonesty? Would her contemplative participatory risk as a minority in the moral economy of inclusion backfire and become discredited? Another account that might build on this assertion; that actor's presentation of 'self' is less credible to the audience once they openly express signs of deceitful intentions will be presented in the next section. This next excerpt is also a relevant account of Simren's experience, only reversed. Instead of it being the professor who tries to recognize and include their student – who did not ask for, nor want that recognition – this account contextualizes students who are protesting for recognition by their professor who will not give it to them. Another thing that is somewhat reversed (relative to Simren) is the person who is sharing this story with me: my other housemate Maria, from the perspective of literally sitting in an audience (lecture hall). Lastly, this excerpt – I would argue – exemplifies the role ethnic identity plays in the negotiation and renegotiation of the allocation of academic resources. Consequently, the next section highlights the mutual influence between (1) the role academic resource allocation plays in negotiating and renegotiating ethnic identity (Simren), and (2) the role ethnic identity plays in negotiating and renegotiating academic resource allocation (Maria).

The Audience's Perception of the Actors' Performance

My housemate from the other room – Maria – just knocked on my door to let me know that we had a showing this evening- and that they were going to see this room. I said ok cool. She then asked me what date I had planned on moving out because people had asked her when they could possibly move in to this room. I replied June 2. She asked if I would be going back to Norway then, if my data collection was over, or if I was going to move to another American university. I replied that I would be going home to Norway. Maria asked what my research was about: "Student activists- how they relate to the academic life of the university, what courses they choose, but also the social climate offices and seminars like those at orientation week- how they have mandatory topics on diversity and sexual harassment. Just how this political and social life affect the students' university experience..." She told me that my project sounded very interesting, that she had a couple of experiences herself. She explained how some of her courses

were very political: “It depends on what department... Like Ethnic Studies is the most political department I think! The courses I took there- they shook me!” “Oh, can you tell me please?” I asked.

“There was a course I took last semester, we had a white professor- so you already know how the story goes, but yeah... We had our midterm during the free speech week, and all of a sudden, right before the exam started, like we were all sitting there prepared to take the test, and all of a sudden these students just stood up and started protesting. They were all like ‘We demand to take the test home with us so that we can take our time to dissect it and give you a good critique because we feel so attacked by the massive police presence’. Like all the people who stood up were POC but all Latino, and they kept saying they were under attack by the people invited to campus by this white institution... They even brought up natural disasters like the earthquake in Mexico and the things that happened in Puerto Rico to try to say that they felt attacked from all sides at once... One girl all of a sudden started yelling at us, calling us [the rest of the students in class] white supremacists, that we supported these attacks they claimed to feel... And once they brought up Mexico, it just left a bad taste in my mouth, like it sounded like they used it as an excuse to be bold enough to make such a demand on the day, literally during our midterm time! ... They started calling our professor a bad professor, listing the reasons why- number one: because he was white and had his privilege, number two: that he knew nothing about Mexico- that he kept romanticizing the Latin Americas... He even countered them saying that the government of Mexico would treat their students there much harsher than they do here, but that the universities still have their midterms, that the protesters in those countries still have to take their midterms- even when their lives are in actual danger. That he had participated in protests in Mexico and that he understood where they came from... When he said that, it really triggered them, they started yelling ‘You have no idea what it’s like for us because you will never experience it through a brown body!’... It was just a mess! They even had this manifest they took turn reading aloud- with demands and reasons why the professor was romanticizing Mexico... I can try and find it because they posted it on Bcourses, and I think I still have access to it...”

She went and found it, came back with her computer. I put my email in and she sent it to me. I told her to sit down, because I felt this story was longer. After she sat down, she told me how her own family was in the earthquake in Mexico: “Like my sister was just finishing work when the ground literally started to crack under her feet! ... And she had no internet connection, no WiFi, so I was stressing out trying to figure out her transport from here in Berkeley... Like my

sister went to work the next day, of course traumatized by what happened, but like, the day goes on... And then for them to all of a sudden use that to try to justify why they can't take the test was just... And I also knew some of the people who stood up, like one of my friends was with them... and I was just like... OK... You weren't in all of the lectures, you did not participate in discussions, so why are you really doing this?!"

"Do you know if they were part of an organization, or if they were just classmates?" "I don't know, but I think so. I am in an org called Latin Leadership, and one of my friends there was contacted by one of those people to look over their manifest, so I can ask him what group they are- ask their name for you!" "Thank you so much! Just anthropological curiosity; before you came to Berkeley, did you know about, or used to- when you met new people- present your pronouns?" "Hahahahaha Not at all! It shook me, like when I first came to Berkeley, there were all these new things we had to do. Like, for example we do this 'stand up if you've experienced this, or stand up if you've experienced that' ... Like to see how privileged everyone is, like the different levels of privilege, and I overheard this guy saying 'Not this again, we used to always do this in high school'. He went to Berkeley high... Like I'm from Sacramento, not out of country, not even out of state, and we never used to do these types of activities in my high school! ... Like I have a white friend who is very conscious of her privilege and she likes to say that she uses her privilege to stand up for marginalized people. Like one time she said she had to lecture a cop about police brutality because she was privileged enough to not be a POC because then she never could have said what she said... and I'm like 'OK?' ... But yeah, it's definitely the Berkeley bubble, like just look it up and you will see! It's all about being as outspoken as possible, being as progressive as possible, and active as possible... And I'm more moderate, like I understand where you are coming from, but the midterm incident really shook me, like, I don't agree with the way you approached your somewhat valid claims... Like you could have gone as a group to his office hours, you could have sent him an email, but you decided to do this! ... Just makes me question your intentions, you know."

Jose relative to Simren and Maria is at a higher level of dedication to the legitimization of experiential knowledge as academic knowledge. Comparatively, where Jose struggles to create and share his academic platform with members of his ethnic community, Simren struggles to detach her academic contributions from her membership of an ethnic community, while Maria struggles to legitimize the credibility of her fellow classmates' claims for an exclusive community-based academic platform. For the remainder of this chapter, I will explore negotiating components such as the negotiating sacrifices, the triggering incentives, and the

performative effects of minority students negotiating their positionalities in the moral economy of inclusion. I will explore this from a comparative perspective on Simren's pursuit of academic security and Maria's contextual understanding of her protesting classmates.

For Simren to actively contemplate a new role, the implication is that a change is under negotiation. For Maria's classmates to actively resist a ritualized academic performance, the implication is that a change is under negotiation. What is being sacrificed for the change? What are the negotiating performative sacrifices? In Simren's case, she is putting her ethnic identity on the negotiating table – willing to sacrifice it for her new role as an African American female. In Maria's case, the resisting students were demanding the professor and fellow classmates to put the normative academic practices on the negotiating table, for them to be willing to sacrifice the ritualized performance of the exam for the sake of a more inclusive and safer academic environment. From this perspective, Simren is an external intruder to the moral economy of inclusion, while the resisting students are internal agents trying to expand the moral economy of inclusion.

Why are Simren and the resisting students negotiating changes? What are the performative triggering incentives for Simren to renegotiate her ethnic identity and for the resisting students to negotiate their normative academic practices in the classroom? The findings in the exploration of this question are interesting and serve as complimentary analytical points very much related to the negotiating sacrifices discussed above. Could it be argued that both parties are experiencing the cumulative effects of two contrasting unintended microaggressions in their classrooms? Simren used her experiences of the academic practices focused on inclusion and diversity as elementary grounds for why she negotiated her ethnic identity. In the resisting students' case, they used their experiences related to their ethnic group belonging as elementary grounds for why they negotiated changes in normative academic practices. In both cases then, there is a distinction between what external forces the actors are referencing. Simren is referencing the unfair academic outcome for her as an Asian student dealing with a demographically defined hierarchical division of medical school admissions coupled with her professor treating her as an inclusion (Dave, 2011). She is dealing with the external forces of the moral economy of inclusion. The resisting students are referencing the unfair academic outcome for them as members of minority groups dealing with a demographic hierarchy of whose voices and opinions are legitimized as academically relevant in the classroom. The resisting students are dealing with the external forces of exclusionary academic practices.

Is there really anything inherently wrong with having formalist agendas in an experientially unjust system? Can I even term them formalist? Both parties – it might seem from reading the paragraph above – are dealing with two contrasting external forces. Or is it the same one? Essentially, they are all referencing an external force taking the form as a demographic hierarchy with real consequences for the people at the bottom – themselves. Regardless of the manner in which the perception of this demographic hierarchy was established, it managed to make both Simren and the resisting students perceive their position at the academy as unjustly disadvantaged. To return to the formalist pursuit, it makes sense to display formalist tendencies while negotiating changes that revolves around one's academic future, i.e. changes that revolves around one's opportunities to produce academic excellence.

What about the credibility of these actors' performative approaches? Will the presentation of their negotiations for these different changes be credible enough for their respective audiences (Goffman, 1959)? Both parties expect and expected their acts to be not only credible, but also fully supported by their respective audiences. In the case of Simren, we will not know, because she has not acted out her pursued role yet. In the case of the resisting students, however, it was evident that the credibility of their presentation onstage was heavily rejected by all audience members. The rejection recounted by Maria was grounded in one aspect of their presentation: the self-serving tendencies revealed through the presentation of their demands. These formalist tendencies can also be spotted in Simren's own account of the academic security and benefits she would gain if she changed her ethnic identity. Notice here that ethnic group belonging has nothing to do with the discrediting of the actors' performances. As written in chapter one, participating in the moral economy of inclusion as a minority is not only a resource but also a risk. Any perceived cynical intentions could convert legitimized claims for protection of one's moral rights of inclusion into self-serving transgressions in the moral economy of inclusion.

What would be discredited in the performances, what are their transgressive effects in the moral economy of inclusion? In light of what we now know about Simren's quest of taking advantage of the academic practices of inclusion by negotiating her ethnic identity—if she was to succeed in her efforts to gain admission into medical school as an African American female, then she would be exposing a loophole in the regulatory admission practices, reducing the credibility of the workings of those practices (Provis, 2010). In other words, anyone who has the right look can become entrepreneurial agents and take advantage of the deviations in the barriers between the ethnic groups and expose the instability of an academic system that legitimates ethnic group belonging as relevant to admission criterions (Barth, 1967). Here, what

would be discredited if Simren was to successfully act upon her considered role are the inclusive academic admissions practices, not only because individuals such as Simren can take advantage of them, but also, and more importantly because – regardless of her succeeding or even enacting this new ethnic ‘self’ – this system has the power to influence students into thinking that they have to change their ethnic identity to gain admission.

On the other hand, as well as eluded to above, the resisting students’ approach of taking over an exam and demanding direct changes in academic practices specifically for themselves and their own wellbeing, was what led to the demise of the credibility of the intentions behind their quest to negotiate changes in academic practices. In other words, the changes in exclusionary academic practices that they tried to promote were not delegitimized or unsupported by the audience in this situation – Maria called them “valid claims” – rather it was the intentions behind the students promoting these practices that lost credibility from the audience, reducing their suitability as subjects of care (Ticktin, 2011; Fassin, 2005).

This chapter has focused on minority students’ relation to the value of inclusion as something they negotiate relative to their perception of others’ utilization of that value. Simply said, all three students are relating to a value they view as already implemented at the university, and consequently are negotiating their positionalities relative to how they perceive that implementation. But what about the majority students? Are they also negotiating their positionalities in the moral economy of inclusion? Or are their positionalities even negotiable? As Maria said, her white friend utilizes her privileged positionality – as if that positionality is fixed – to stand up for marginalized people who cannot stand up for themselves. In the next chapter, I will explore this activity of acknowledging one’s privileged positionality in the moral economy of inclusion and utilizing that privilege to – as Maria said – “stand up for marginalized people”.

Chapter 7

Acknowledging Positionalities in the Moral Economy of Inclusion: Privileged Students' Expressions of Allyship

In this chapter, I explore how expressions of allyship make visible conflicting relations to the value of inclusion at the academy. Allyship here refers to the ways and means of an academic and social enabling conduct of inclusion. Such practices may include self-censorship in contexts that would otherwise silence minority voices; apologizing for committing microaggressions, and other practices oriented toward situating the politics surrounding white-privilege. Here, I focus on the (1) expressions of the allies, (2) the situational context in which these expressions emerge, and (3) the reactions these expressions receive. As I demonstrate, this formula of expressions, contexts, and reactions illustrates a paradox: while the moral responsibility of allyship directs individuals to acknowledge an obligatory relation to the value of inclusion, such commitments can also represent an overabundance of caution and render such practices as ineffective in unprecedented ways.

The sections in this chapter all begin with fieldnote representations of three different situations in which allyship was expressed. Focusing on the experiences of Mia, John, and Becky, who were all at different levels of acknowledgment in their expressions of allyship to people of color. Mia is unexpectedly put in a situational trial where she must make her privilege explicitly visible to avoid committing a possible non-compliant transgression in the moral economy of inclusion. John firmly believed he had committed a transgression in the moral economy of inclusion, and effectively tries to repent for his transgression before its impact accumulates. Becky has reached a level of instruction where she is participating in the strengthening discourse of teaching us how to “deconstruct whiteness” in social relations for the purpose of exposing unacknowledged privilege.

The situational contexts in which expressions of allyship emerge convey a fundamental understanding of individual action as taking place in a predetermined arbitrary social order based on a demographically defined hierarchy. The moral economy of inclusion is not just something that exist for no reason. The purpose of its circulation is to equalize the academic field of opportunities to achieve excellence. The field of academic opportunities is arbitrary because of the demographically defined hierarchy – that is – positions in the hierarchy are based on individual membership in demographic categories. Those at the top positions in the hierarchy

are the most included in terms of their exclusively dominating influence on what is to be legitimized as normative academic practices. Those at the bottom positions are the most excluded with the least agency to influence the legitimizing notions of normative academic practices. By effect, they must utilize the majority of their agency to adjust themselves to normative academic practices in order to achieve academic excellence in a field where their influence is scarce. The moral economy of inclusion is applied onto this existing hierarchy. It does not only incentivize those at the bottom to call out exclusionary academic practices, it also incentivizes those at the top positions to acknowledge their surplus of agency and use it to include those at the bottom, in other words: it incentivizes those at the top positions to become inclusive allies.

The ambivalent influence of the underlying determinism of the contextual situations in which the expressions of allyship emerge is characterized by a combination of incentivized fear and a promise of agency. The fear of being accused of passively perpetuating exclusionary practices by not acknowledging how one's demographically privileged positionality has influenced one's achievements in the field of academic opportunities partly pressure students to acknowledge their privilege before anyone else can do it for them. Coupled with this fear, however, is a promise of agency. In acknowledging one's privilege and utilizing it to include non-privileged individuals, it implies that the privileged individual has a surplus of agency in a predetermined social order. Paradoxically, this promise of agency does not only contribute to the purposed quest of inclusion, but also legitimizes the privileged individuals' achievements as less predetermined and more virtuously merited.

Minority students' reactions to expressions of allyship are diverse. A common denominator amongst the reactions in this chapter, however, is that there seem to be an unspoken level of agreement on how the expressions of allyship are to convey the demographic hierarchy of which the acknowledgment of privileged positionalities emerge. If privileged positionalities are explicitly acknowledged through spoken articulation, then the unspoken level of agreement is violated. As the explicit articulation displays a sense of patronizing gaze in which the privileged individual's expression of allyship represents a necessary facilitation for minority students to afford opportunities to utilize their agency.

The Fourth Community Agreement:

a Moral Trial for Mia

Every Tuesday I attend the weekly meetings of the QSU (Queer Student Union). Their meetings are for both queer identifying students, as well as students who identify as allies to the queer community. The meetings usually last one and a half hour and always take place in the top floor of the MLK building. The group is relatively young, only undergraduate students from different disciplines. Almost half of the group have official positions within the organization, the rest are just members. We were about twenty members at this meeting. This meeting Maya and Annie were standing in the middle of the room, waiting for all of us to arrive. In front of them, they had a computer screen with notes on. They are the officials leading this meeting. Their role is to lead the conversation by asking us (groups) questions that we discuss within the groups, and if we were brave enough – to share some of our experiences in plenum with all groups – they would reward us with a candy. Before we were placed in groups, right at the beginning of the meeting, Maya and Annie repeated some community agreements they wanted us all to respect in this space. 1) Always use I statements, never talk about other people’s experiences, 2) Never assume anyone’s pronouns, 3) The one with the mic has the stage, and 4) Acknowledge your positionality in this space, let the people whose voices are less heard- due to their positionality- speak first.

Today’s meeting was about “Relationships and self-love <3”. We receive emails before every meeting stating what the topic of the meeting will be. At this meeting, they placed us into four groups based on the number we got (out of 1-4). Each group had to sit in their respective corner of the room, some sat by the tables, others on the floor. My group sat on the floor. We had an official (student organization leader) in our group, Mark, who took charge and asked us to introduce ourselves each time a new person came (total of three rounds of introduction). The introduction had to consist 1) our name, 2) our major, 3) our pronouns, and 4) our sexual orientation. My group consisted of Mark (who identified as he/him or they/them) and the rest were girls (who all identified as she/her). All of the girls also identify as lesbian, while Mark identify as queer, not gay. Mark is mixed Chinese and white American, two of the girls are white American, three Vietnamese Asians, and I Ethiopian. Maya and Annie did not ask any questions, they were more like scenarios. Here was the first one:

“If you were dating a person who struggled with the systematic oppression of their intersectional identity, in what ways would you show your support?”

Initially, nobody in our group had anything to say about the specific scenario, but then Mark said: "I know that just for me, when I am struggling with something, or having a hard time, I like to have my own space. Like remove myself from people, my roommates know this, so whenever they see me agitated or something, they just know to give me some space until I become normal." He asked if any of us had experiences related to the scenario, or anything we would like to share, and one of the white girls- Mia- said: "This has nothing to do with the scenario, but in high school I dated this girl, she was African American though, but she was not out, so she was like hiding our relationship, holding my hand at school, but never in front of people she knew, it was hard for me because I had just come out, and it felt like I was back in the closet again, like she was ashamed of me or something, I don't know..." Her story was cut short because Maya and Annie wanted to hear our stories in plenum. Nobody had anything to share, so they asked each group to give at least one story, looking at our group first. Everyone in our group looked at Mia who had just shared her story. We repeatedly tried to encourage her to share her experience, saying: "Just share it, you'll get a candy!" Mia replied: "No, I can't..." "But come on! Why not?"

This back and forth went on for a while until Mia quietly said, "Because I'm white". Her entire demeanor had changed. When she shared her story with us, she was open and sounded eager to share, but when she said she could not share, she looked down at the floor, and sounded ashamed and almost sad. Mia said this last sentence with a very low voice, only the people in our group could hear her. Everyone in our group reacted with our eyebrows, including myself. The reaction was like a mix between surprise and guiltiness. Surprise because nobody expected that to be the reason why Mia did not want to share her experience. Guiltiness because we pushed Mia, from two different angles, to reach the point of explicitly confessing why she did not want to share her story. The strongest push was the fourth community agreement which states that we have to acknowledge our positionality and let the people whose voices are less heard – due to their positionality – speak first. Mia fiercely respected this agreement in both her first and last sentence. The weaker push came from us who unintentionally tried to peer pressure her to break our own community agreement. From Mia's perspective, I can imagine the sense of 'set-up with no easy way out' she could have experienced. She had two bad options; either break the community agreement with the unwitting consent of the 'people whose voices are less heard', or confess her undisputed loyalty to the community agreement in spite of the peer pressure to break it from the 'people whose voices are less heard'. She chose the latter option, and it was as if everyone understood her reason, but nobody wanted to hear it like that.

The atmosphere in the group had reached a level of uncomfortable honesty. Another girl in our group ended up giving a general answer to the question, and we moved on to the next group. After this round, everyone in my group repeated that she should have just shared her story, that they understood why she hesitated, but that she still had a valid story to share.

Community agreements are guidelines for how individuals should conduct themselves within the respective community. The community agreements are collectively created during the first meetings of the group. Every member of the community – in this case all members of the QSU – participate in the construction, implementation, and insurance of each community agreement to be upheld by all members during group activities. To ensure that each community agreement is known and followed by all members (including new members), officials of the QSU repeat them at the beginning of every organizational meeting.

Specifically, what does the fourth community agreement of the QSU mean? The fourth community agreement is an inclusionary regulation of participation conduct. It is based on the fundamental notion that the individual perspectives and experiences of people who are members of demographic groups represent their demographic group-affiliated perspective and experience. The individual is – in other words – a representative member of their respective group. Based on this notion, the understanding is that demographic groups that occupy plurality positions within institutions (such as for example the university) and accordingly have more opportunities to share their perspectives and experiences end up dominating topical discourses and narratives within those institutions. Finally, the inherently dominating positionality of certain demographic groups produce and reproduce inequality within the institution, not because demographic groups that occupy minority positions are explicitly denied opportunities to share their perspectives and experiences, rather because those opportunities to share their perspectives and experiences are scarce. The fourth community agreement of the QSU is therefore an inclusionary regulatory attempt to diversify the topical discourses and narratives by letting minority voices speak first (so that they at least are included). But what happens in practicality when no minority voices present in the room have any perspectives or experiences to share? Is the mic passed over to the people whose voices are heard? Or is that a violation of the community agreement because it would mean that a person whose voice is heard actually spoke first and by default did not manage to recognize their own positionality? Mia's expression of allyship emerged in this situational context.

The affective qualities displayed in Mia's expression during our attempts to encourage her to share her story in plenum conveyed a sense of insecurity. She was now looking down at the

floor, her voice became more fragile and low, and she explicitly repeated “I can’t” instead of proclaiming that she did not want to share her story. What can the affect expressed by Mia tell us about her decision not to share? Was she afraid of what would happen to her as a privileged white girl if she shared her story? Afraid of possibly being asked to recognize her positionality? Who was Mia silencing herself for if she already knew that she was the only one in our group who even had a story to share? Did Mia really believe that the same people who unwittingly encouraged her to break the fourth community agreement would turn around and accuse her of violating it? Was her self-monitoring influenced by one of the key features of the moral economy of inclusion: that committing a microaggression and being called out for not acknowledging one’s privilege could happen at any moment – even this very moment – and that she needs to be morally ready for this moment (Robbins, 2004)? Is the moral responsibility for Mia to oblige to the value of inclusion so strong that the possibility of committing an imagined insult (Karandinos et al., 2014) transcends the social space of the community who created the fourth agreement, and becomes subject to some sort of divine judgement of her immorality and benevolence – described by priests and religious writers in the 16th and 17th century as the moral economy of God (Götz, 2015)? What I am trying to point out with these questions is that Mia was put in an ambivalent position in which she had to walk a very thin line – between individual self-protection against risking possible accusations and collective moral responsibility for representing a dominant demographic positionality – to get out of it.

She managed to awkwardly get out of it and overcame her moral trial by not participating socially in the perpetuation of her demographic group’s discursive domination, i.e. by acknowledging her privileged positionality through a non-participative act of allyship. I call this a moral trial because not only did the ‘people whose voices are less heard’ have nothing to share in plenum, but (my group and I) the ‘people whose voices are less heard’ were also the ones encouraging Mia to share her story. Mia’s reason for not sharing her story in plenum transcended our social activities in the group but was still influenced by our presence in the group. Mia’s agentic participation in the moral economy of inclusion (initially unbeknownst to the rest of us) manifested itself in social interaction as a deliberately non-participative embodied experience (Black, 2018).

This social manifestation was what the rest of us in the group reacted to. Up until after Mia confessed she could not share her experience because she was white, we had no idea why she would not speak. I for example – who should have had my antennas up in these situations as this is part of my research focus (Howell, 2017) – thought that Mia was afraid of other members

in the room knowing who her ex-girlfriend was (because over half the members are from San Francisco and the same age), and gossiping about it. The fourth community agreement was in other words nowhere near close to relevant in this situation for any of us in the group, except for Mia. We were even stunned over the fact that Mia interpreted the situation as related to the fourth community agreement, stunned over the fact that the moral economy of inclusion – represented in the fourth community agreement – had managed to penetrate itself into relevance in this situation. This was not what the fourth community agreement was created for, but still, we were all partly responsible for this outcome. We had participated in the construction of the fourth community agreement, the implementation of its participative relevance, and the repetition of its enduring character. We had participated in the buildup of Mia’s final confession and were now sitting face to face with this unrecognizable manifestation of the juggernaut of the moral economy of inclusion. How were we supposed to react if not with understanding?

Mia is not the only one who was put in an ambivalent position, so were we. Once she uttered the words “Because I’m white.”, we were faced with an unwarranted act of allyship. Nobody needed the space to speak first, yet Mia felt as if she had to give it to us. There is this atmosphere of the patronizing gaze (Walcott, 1996) in which those words were expressed, as if we could not speak (even though, again, we had nothing to say) unless Mia stayed silent. As if her story – which described her honest experience as a person accepting (indirectly supporting) to not be in a public relationship for the purpose of protecting her ex-girlfriend’s secret – was too much for us to handle because it took away the attention from the ex-girlfriend who ‘suffered from systemic oppression of their intersectional identity’. We had become “an *inclusion*, a thing: symbolically and literally enclosed” in the minority position in which our fourth community agreement was set to overcome (Dave, 2011; 9). This patronizing gaze, however, was coupled with our own instructions for how we ought to conduct ourselves in this space. Because of this, our reaction to Mia’s expression of allyship had to demonstrate – from an understanding point of view – that her story was relevant to share in plenum, and that the fourth community agreement was not.

The rest of us in the group could not invalidate the moral economy of inclusion’s presence in the situation without showing understanding for its presence, and Mia could not disregard the moral economy of inclusion’s regulatory grip on her participation without fearing its wrath on her neglect. Despite our differences in relating to the moral economy of inclusion, all of us acted and reacted out of acknowledgement of its presence. But what would happen if Mia actually shared her story in plenum? Would anyone around her experience a microaggression

and accuse her of not acknowledging her white privilege? Would the officials have just given her a candy and moved on to the next group? Would Mia still feel as if she broke the fourth community agreement and seized the (unrequested) platform from an abstracted person whose voice is less heard?

The All-White Panel Discussion:

John's Strive for Repentance

I went to the basement of Moffitt library on campus, it seemed like several floors underground, almost like a bunker. The auditorium was not that big. It was very steep however. This was the event of the Young Americans for Liberty, a politically conservative student organization at Berkeley. They were co-organizing this event with Bridge-USA- one of the organizations I have been following. Less than half the seats in the lecture hall were occupied once the event started. The event is called:

“Will Free Speech Survive on College Campuses?”

This was a panel discussion with three adult guests, and John – a student member and board member of Bridge-USA, also the first member I met at their tabelling on Sproul Plaza a few months ago. The three adults were an older female who had been part of the leading student vanguard during the Free Speech Movement in the mid 1960's here on campus, a middle-aged male attorney working for the Pacific Legal Foundation, and an older male political commentator and policy scholar at this university. All three of them had in common that they identified as “politically moderate”. All four of them were white. The only liberal progressive in the panel was John. He is an undergraduate student in Political Science. He also participated in a heated recorded debate a couple of weeks ago when Dennis Prager came to campus on his “no safe space on campus tour”- the debate was a disappointment for John, which he admitted in his self-presentation at this panel. This debate, however, was not heated at all.

One thing during the entire panel discussion that really stood out was when John- a “ginger Irish heritage white guy with privilege” (according to himself) – said that he thought it was very sad that the entire panel was made up of white people. He really wanted to give his space up to a person of color so that they could come and explain to everyone in the audience and the three other white panelists that people of color in general have less free speech- even the students of color at this campus- than every other person who is white in America. He kept repeating that he really felt bad and sad about the fact that him merely sitting in that seat

contributed to the perpetuation of racial inequality on UC Berkeley campus, and that he had spent the entire week prior to this panel trying his hardest to find a person of color to take his seat, but could not find a willing person. His entire body posture had sunken, even the features in his face had drastically changed, he now looked miserable. The most interesting thing was that the Indian members of Bridge-USA, as well as the Arabic members – all of them sitting in the front rows of the audience – started hysterically laughing and pointing at John when he said what he said. One of them even shouted: “Why don’t you just give your student position to my cousin in India and be done with it!” “Ok, whatever... I knew you were gonna do that, but I still had to make my position clear!”

Is John’s situation what Mia feared she would end up in if she shared her story in plenum? Mia’s expression of allyship emerged in a situational context within the physical borders of the QSU meeting space. John’s expression of allyship, however, emerged in a context originating a full week prior to us sitting in that lecture hall. During that week, John tried to actively take responsibility for his privileged positionality in the moral economy of inclusion by looking for students of color to take his seat in the panel discussion and make it into a teachable moment. Like Mia, John was in a situation where no students of color had any desire for a platform, but contrary to Mia who still silenced herself, John remained seated in the panel discussion.

By remaining seated, he was according to himself contributing to the perpetuation of racial inequality on campus. This is a very interesting claim to make, because it actively disregards any distinctions between different ways for individuals to relate to the value of inclusion. There is no difference between 1) actively trying to include minority voices (but finding none), 2) displaying indifference to the value of inclusion, and 3) actively trying to exclude minority voices. All three are – based on John’s claim – clumped together into the third category. According to him, it was his fault that he could not find a person of color who could take a seat at the panel, and by not finding a willing person of color, the ‘look’ of demographic exclusivity was, according to John, the ‘effect’ of his contribution to inequality. Why was he guilty for there not being any people of color in the panel? Why was it his fault? “Why would anyone impose such a moral burden on oneself?” (Kuan, 2017: 41).

Out of all possible causes for why the panel consisted of exclusively white people – as for example the cause indeed mentioned by John that no people of color were interested in sitting in the panel – had John selected the morally relevant cause, ‘turning the arrow of blame toward himself’ (Kuan, 2017: 33)? John had, according to himself, failed to replace his panel seat with a student of color, and by effect failed to promote the inclusion of people of color, and as a

result was now sitting in that demographically exclusive panel engaging in a self-vilifying act of repentance for his perceived moral failure. Antithetical to what he himself had failed to do for people of color – demonstrate his nurturing of their moral right of inclusion – he was now doing to himself. Kuan writes that “one of the many profound ironies moral actors negotiate in responding to the ethical question of how to live” is that “moral learning so often comes at the cost of one’s own wellbeing” (2017: 35). This type of unhappy self-vilification resembles what Matias tried to instruct his GSIs to do.

In John’s desire to be inclusive, he had accepted his acts – even his week-long striving act of inclusion – as being transgressive acts of exclusion and his contribution to inequality. To make the similarity between Matias’ instructions and John’s expression clear; John from his own perspective had committed a transgression – or an unintended microaggression – by sitting in that panel seat making it seem as if his perspective represented all student perspectives on campus. John was now, post-transgression, explicitly taking responsibility and apologizing for it to try to manage the accumulative impact of his contribution to inequality. He was acknowledging his privileged positionality in the panel, demonstrating that he genuinely cares about inclusion by recounting his week-long strive, and responsibly repenting for the failure of that strive – effectively following the three-step apology. But why was John ridiculed and mocked by the students he was displaying repentance to? Why did the students of color point and laugh at his sad expression of guilt? Had John assigned himself too much agency (Laidlaw, 2010)?

From the perspective of the audience, who had no idea of John’s week-long endeavor until he shared it with us, John had assigned himself the enormous agency of being responsible for others’ – specifically students’ of color – human capacity to decide not to bring about change in the observable world. From the audience’s perspective, it seemed as if John was expressing a radical sense of responsibility to uphold a sensitivity to the imagined insult of sitting in the panel as a “ginger Irish heritage white guy with privilege”, by accounting for the imagined insult in fear of it accumulating into his moral damnation (Weber, 1958).

Contrary to how my group reacted to Mia’s expression of allyship, one student of color in this audience yelled at John to give up his student position at UC Berkeley and hand it over to his cousin living in India, as if John had the agency of being responsible for the audience member’s cousin in India not attending UC Berkeley. Obviously, this claim was stated in a taunting manner. Nonetheless, even when being taunted by the students of color at the event – with the mocking statement itself displaying the same sense of patronizing gaze (Walcott, 1996) of

students of color not having any sense of agency unless privileged students utilize their privileged positionality, i.e. their radical surplus of agency to give students of color the opportunity to activate their agency – John still wanted to make his “position clear”. How can he repent for a sin that is not viewed as a sin by the people he claims to commit the sin against? How can John, knowing that the people of color were more offended by him apologizing for something they did not view as an offence, still claim that he was perpetuating inequality against them? Who was he really repenting for? Himself? If John had not repented and made ‘his position clear’, would he be a moral failure destined to not reach salvation in the moral economy of inclusion (Robbins, 2004)?

The Deconstruction of Whiteness:

Becky’s Path to Salvation

The topic of this class was “White Entertainment”. I had made an agreement with myself, prior to this class, to not be as active as last week. Last week, the topic was “Fake Allies”, and Becky and I got into a gentle discussion about the responsibilities of an ally. I was so comfortable with asking questions that it got to the point where Becky ended up agreeing with me even though I had not taken a position on anything. Last week was also when Becky informed us that our course was under official investigation by the university administration for being racist against white people, she also explained that her own family members accuse her of being racist against them. There is this weird sense of privilege I experience in this class. As one of the few POCs in this class called Deconstructing Whiteness, the environment in the room is naturally critical. This nature of self-critique together with my visible brown skin has definitely influenced my sense of comfort in asking questions without submitting them into my internal risk analysis. It is as if my questions are expected, but not wanted. As the anthropologist, this gives me a sense of freedom to question the construction of statements made in class. But as myself, it feels wrong, as if I am taking advantage of other people’s expectation of having me criticize their actions because I am black.

As the class began, Joanna played a YouTube clip of a documentary about Hip Hop culture in the US, how it exists as entertainment for white people. After the video, Becky posed and answered her own questions. “Why won’t they rap about politics and social issues they’re experiencing? ... Because white producers won’t pay them, they won’t get signed to a label, they would have to rap underground and have a part time job on the side to survive! Why doesn’t it make them any money? ... Because white kids won’t buy a record checking their

privilege!” She then called Hip Hop the new age colonialism, saying: “Hyper sexual stereotypes of black women is a reflection of black women in slavery, and also the term genocidal, very important word, it’s important to specify the consequences of this culture!”

After this, Joanna asked us to discuss this topic in smaller groups before sharing our arguments. Our group (I, the only Latina Jen, and the other black girl Solange) was the first group to share what we discussed. Jen sitting next to me shared a story: “I was hanging out with my boyfriend at his dorm, and his neighboring room was filled up with these white boys listening to Chance the Rapper- singing along to all his lyrics, and it was just so cringy, so ignorant, as if they had ever been in the south side of Chicago, or the inner city of LA, like boy bye! We could hear them rap along from our room, like it was ridiculous to me! And they’re talking like super white kids... I’m just like, ‘you don’t appreciate this, you don’t know what you’re talking about- you just think you’re cool or whatever!’” While sharing this, all the people in the room were nodding in agreement. Let me clarify; everyone in the class were white except for myself, Jen, Solange, and the older Asian Diversity worker; Alice. We were all sitting next to each other, except for Alice who was sitting at the opposite side of the room.

After Jen shared this story, Solange asked: “I was just wondering if any of you [looking at the white students, specifically the two course leaders Becky and Joanna], before this class or when you were younger, used to listen to our music like that?” Everyone nodded, and Becky said: “Oh my god, totally! I think we all did!” I then had to follow up: “What changed?” Whenever I ask these type of questions, I like to look at every single one in the room to see their reactions. Both Joanna and Becky were taken off guard. Alice gave a big smile. I had enough time to glance at all the people in the class because everyone was waiting for anyone else to answer. Eventually Becky said: “That’s actually a great question! Ehm, I think that, you know, watching videos like this, and reading on the problematic aspects of our actions and privilege, has made me much more conscious of how real music is! You know.” I nodded. Alice was sitting on a straight line from me at the opposite side of the desk circle, so I could see her the clearest. She could not even look at me, because she was holding it in, she was about to laugh out loud. It was as if she enjoyed this interaction.

The other groups were forgotten, and we moved on to the next video. This time, it was a TMZ video of the polarizing Nation of Islam leader Farrakhan- who argued that LeBron James (currently the best basketball player in the NBA) was a slave because he played basketball for a Jewish team owner. Becky quoted him after the video, saying: “I just thought the way he spoke was so powerful, like when he corrected himself saying ‘when we were slaves... When

we were in a different kind of slave situation', it was just eye opening, a bad source maybe, but a great video, I definitely recommend you watch the entire video!" When she said this, Jen gave Solange a disgusted look, as if Becky had gone too far. Solange responded by miming to me: "Did she just call us slaves?" I just nodded confusingly. Joanna noticed this covert interaction, and quickly introduced the new discussion topic, a clip of a podcast called "Rep. Sweats" referring to the anxiety underrepresented community members experience when watching a new show about people who look like them. The anxiety stems from the way these people are being represented on the TV screen, if they are represented as stereotypes, or if the show is good and immediately is cancelled after one season. As we listened to the podcast, I had to leave and go to my Demystifying the research process DeCal- that was in Barrows Hall, a two-minute walk from here (Dwinelle Hall).

Becky and Joanna are the course creators and instructors of Deconstructing Whiteness – a course I attended once a week from mid-January to mid-May. Both have similar stories for why they created the course. Joanna had been at a service trip last spring break and realized she was one of the very few white students at the trip together with a majority of students of color. During the evenings, the students would talk about the different levels of privilege, and one of the white students had unintentionally committed a microaggression against a student of color. When confronted about it, the white student began to cry. This was the moment when Joanna acknowledged her white privilege – through observing the “white fragility” of her fellow service trip attendee. The students of color were the ones encouraging Joanna to go back to Berkeley and utilize her white privilege to create something tangible where she can teach others about the deconstruction of whiteness instead of something superfluous such as – according to her – going to a non-western country to document on social media their virtuous contributions to help the poor.

Becky is majoring in Ethnic Studies, a department with predominantly students of color. She would participate in discussions like the ones Joanna had at her service trips in her lectures. The experience of being one of the only white people in Ethnic Studies made Becky feel very privileged because she had the opportunity as a white person to learn about other communities and divergent knowledges. She realized that the university offers courses, even full programs on the deconstruction of Latin American knowledge, African American knowledge, Asian American knowledge, and Native American knowledge, all the different racial categories except for Whiteness as if it was the hegemony. Out of this realization, Becky developed the quest to spread the message of what she learned in class to more students outside of her

department. Out of both Joanna's and Becky's respective experiences as privileged temporal minorities emerge the weekly expressions of allyship in the form of the course *Deconstructing Whiteness*.

This specific class was about White Entertainment where we were supposed to deconstruct the problematic aspects of what white people perceive as entertainment. Like John expressed guilt and self-flagellation for him sitting in the all-white panel and perpetuating racial inequality on campus, so does Becky assign the cultural work of Hip Hop to the shameful authoritative confinements of new age colonialism. Surpassing John, however, Becky perceived various aspects of the African American agentive construction of a musical genre – Hip Hop – as a passive and ignorant consequence of white entertainment. In other words, Becky selected a musical aspect of Black culture and assigned it to the passive agency of white people. From this understanding, it seems as if all actions – leading to advantages or disadvantages in the material world – are predetermined (Weber, 1958). Even the successful mainstream musical genre of an ascribed – or predestined if you will – non-privileged group such as African Americans is by Becky described with terms like “new age colonialism”, “reflection of slavery”, and “genocidal”.

From this predetermined perspective, a privileged individual gaining access to self-elevating opportunities and success is a reflection of their unfairly acquired predestined position of privilege. In the moral economy of inclusion, expectations for privileged individuals to uphold the value of inclusion can lead to the experience of guilt for one's passive actions contributing to the perpetuation of inequality. Out of this guilt emerges a radical agency to actively deconstruct one's passive actions – to see how those actions contribute to the perpetuation of inequality. When Becky answered my question on how she managed to change the way she listens to Hip Hop, she essentially claimed that she had activated her agency to deconstruct the transgressive elements of her passive actions. Gable (2014: 251) writes that “Guilt requires self-flagellation – a constant wallowing in a crime while also fleeing the scene of that crime.” Becky's self-flagellation of her inevitable crimes for passively transgressing in the moral economy of inclusion is her way of fleeing those crimes. The same can be said about John, his guilt and explicit self-blame was also in a sense a way for him to avoid being accused by others for perpetuating racial inequality, because he accused himself. But when does the activity of using one's privileged surplus of agency to responsibly self-monitor one's passive actions for the purpose of avoiding transgressions go too far?

Does it go too far when Becky repeats a “powerful” quote about LeBron James being in a different kind of slave situation? At what level of deconstruction can one perceive LeBron James playing basketball for a team owned by a person that happens to be a white Jewish man as a passive activity that perpetuates racial inequality equivalent to slavery? The fear of being accused of not acknowledging her privilege seem to lead Becky to overcompensate the acknowledgment of her privilege by actively searching for relations far beyond herself where the assignment of blame for perpetuation of inequality can be made by her. Is this an extreme version of Ljunggren’s (2017) concept of *elitist egalitarianism*? He describes how members of the Norwegian elite, in acknowledging their elite affiliation, try to balance this out with a widespread egalitarian ethos (Ljunggren, 2017: 564). Becky is explicitly acknowledging her privileged positionality but goes beyond trying to balance it out with a widespread egalitarian ethos, and instead reassigns the agency of minorities in their production of successful cultural work to the exploitative authority of privileged groups and individuals. Why is she so vested in expressing allyship through the construction of exploitative relations for her to expose? Is Becky as the class instructor speaking a strengthening discourse and teaching us students how to actively deconstruct the sinful nature of whiteness in a diversity of relations, even a relation where the world’s greatest basketball player, half billionaire, entrepreneur, and philanthropist can be a modern day slave because his employer is a white man (Robbins, 2004)?

Both Joanna and Becky wanted to utilize their privileged surplus of agency to create something tangible. By participating in the moral economy of inclusion beyond silencing themselves like Mia did, beyond asking for permission to participate at events like Robin did, beyond equal distribution of eye-contact like the white male GSI, beyond curbing possible research fields like Andrew did, and beyond apologizing for perceived transgressions like John did – Becky and Joanna have constructed a para-site (Marcus, 2000) where they are the instructors of how to deconstruct social relations, reconstruct exploitative relations, and assign agentive blame. They are – in opposition to the rest of the allies in this thesis – required to disperse themselves from the self-regulatory conduct in their participative approach in the moral economy of inclusion. In their approach of instructing us on how to discover exploitation in social relations that explicitly does not make exploitation visible, they are reaching a higher level of taking responsibility for their privilege – essentially appointing themselves as the vanguards of the moral economy of inclusion. In Becky dispersing herself from the self-regulatory conduct, she is also by effect dispersing herself from the self-protective avoidance of committing microaggressive transgressions but doing it for the greater cause of joining the

resistance of exclusionary normative practices – prosecuting a diversity of others, including herself.

In writing about my own sense of temporal privilege I experienced in the Deconstructing Whiteness classes, I wrote about it as an ambiguous experience of immoral freedom. The experience of taking advantage of being enclosed and treated as an inclusion (Dave, 2011) resembles on interactional level what Simren is contemplating to do in her medical school application. This experience of temporal privilege for me as an anthropologist who happens to be dark skinned depended on the deterministically privileged students' expression of agency in assigning me the privileged platform to ask critical questions without the fear of losing access to this group. As I wrote in the ethnography, it felt wrong to take advantage of people's expectations of having me criticize their actions, because I would indirectly comply with the deterministic assumption of my agency depending on the mercy of the privileged students' authoritative facilitation.

Hearing Becky repeat the quote from Nation of Islam leader Farrakhan was not only uncomfortable for me but also for Solange. I could not understand how Becky could perceive that quote as anything other than inappropriate. Solange even believed that Becky had just called us slaves. The confusion of hearing her repeat that quote, knowing her intention of exposing exploitative relations but still not understanding how those intentions could be related to the repetition of that quote made me uncomfortable. Interestingly, Solange and I did not mention anything to Becky, and she did not notice our reaction, but we were insulted. I believe the appropriate terminology for what we had experienced is a microaggression. Had Becky in her attempt to teach us how to deconstruct whiteness committed a transgression without even knowing it? And had Solange and I, in not reacting, measured our legitimate risk of credible offence, and determined that our experience of the microaggression was not credible enough because we had already taken advantage of this enclosed temporal platform of privilege?

The path to salvation for a self-identified privileged individual in the moral economy of inclusion is a path of responsibility accumulation. Born into a position of privilege with no possibilities of absolving oneself from that privilege, a privileged individual participating in the moral economy of inclusion must express a radical sense of agency in both finding and seizing responsibility for possible insults, imagined insults, constructed insults, and real insults. The more transgressive offences one can find and assign blame for, the greater the possibilities are for salvation from the shameful original sin of privilege.

Mia, John, and Becky are all participating in the moral economy of inclusion through expressing various levels of agency. Mia is expressing agency in how she overcame her trial by refusing to share her story that possibly could have insulted the rest of us. John is expressing agency in how he repented for his panel participation imaginatively perpetuating racial inequality on campus. Becky is both expressing and assigning agency in her path to salvation through speaking the message of strengthening others' awareness of agentive responsibility for privilege. This form of surplus agency, however, is paradoxically coupled with a fundamentally *deterministic* understanding of why that agency exist. In a predetermined positionality of privilege, where the expectation in the moral economy of inclusion is for privileged individuals to take responsibility for their privilege, is the agency embedded in privileged individuals' claims for responsibility the experience of control necessary for this predetermined positionality to voluntarily be occupied (Kuan, 2018; Jackson, 2018)?

Even the question posed above is paradoxical. How can one voluntarily accept a predetermined position if it is predetermined? How can one acknowledge one's privileged position without reproducing the reality of that privileged position as legitimate? These differing forms of dependable agency are – like expressions presented in previous chapters – in diverse ways integrated in the circulation of the value of inclusion (Narotzky, 2016). The inherent self-attribution of blame for one's predetermined positionality contributing to the perpetuation of inequality – a blame that at the same time acquires a sense of authoritative agency over non-privileged individuals' opportunities to exert agency – in many ways resembles the exclusivist decision of QSU member Sofia. Acknowledging and utilizing their privileged positionality in attempting to break down a demographically defined hierarchy of exclusion and inequality is itself an attempt that depends on the reproduction of a demographic hierarchy. The underlying self-ascription of an authoritative power that needs to be mercifully utilized for minorities to have their moral rights of identity and community agency through equitable inclusion protected ensures the continuous reproduction of that demographic hierarchy in which privileged students depend on in their quest to acknowledge their positionalities through expressions of allyship.

Chapter 8

Conclusion: summary, critique and reflection

Ethnographic, Analytical, and Connecting Summary

My quest in this thesis has been to explore diverse relationalities to the value of inclusion at UC Berkeley. Each chapter offers an ethnographic perspective on the value of inclusion. Such perspectives fall under vigorous unitary categories which may be titled as: the articulation of patterns in external circumstances, real group relations, demographic membership, academic status, and social conduct. These so-called units of social construction rely upon ethnographic realism for the aim of representing relationalities to the value of inclusion.

The analytical outline of this thesis first and foremost rest on the reimagination of a moral economy based on the value of inclusion. Opening with an oppositional introduction of scholarly contributions to the concept of inclusion, followed by a quest to explore how diverse groups and individuals relate to the value of inclusion at UC Berkeley, the exploratory requirements for my analytical understanding evidentially were diverse. Excluding the synthesis of moral economies, the analytical understanding in this thesis feature ritual performances, rites of institutions, group identity, team directors, impression management, negotiating credibility, para-sites, insurrection of subjugated knowledge, predetermined salvation and damnation, and moral agency.

The ethnographic context of this thesis provides a complex image of exploring multiple scenes of informant relations to the value of inclusion. From a video transcript of a student protest, to the activity of critically examining exclusionary YouTube videos at a student organizational meeting, to participating in an administrative graduate student instructor workshop at Sproul Hall, to observing academic seminars as an audience member, to participating in a new graduate seminar series with great hopes, to confessional testimonies in my bedroom, to temporally privileging discussions in the classroom. These are not the diverse relations of inclusion, rather the diverse ethnographic contexts in which the diverse relations to inclusion emerge in this thesis.

The spaces mentioned above are spaces where different levels of contestation emerge. The politics of inclusion can be thematized through different lenses: interpersonal identity claims; nurturing of community and identity needs; subjugated epistemological struggle; individual

academic contributions; white privilege self-flagellation, and recognition of exploitative relations. I will now briefly focus on the connecting similarities between the diverse relationalities to the value of inclusion and try to explicitly make the red line of this thesis clear. Most of these connections I would argue are not coincidental, however they were definitely not intended while I wrote them, meaning that I discovered most of these connecting similarities after all chapters (excluding chapter eight) were written and re-read. In following my methodological lead: by taking an analytical leap of faith through exploring the diverse relationalities to the value of inclusion as both parts- and layers of the ethnography, paradoxically, complimentary similarities of my diverse exploratory analytical faith revealed themselves (Willerslev and Suhr, 2018).

In chapter three, I described the protesting students' perception of their exam as representing the 'juggernaut of normative exclusion perpetuated against them and their community'. In chapter seven, I described how Mia's explicit "because I'm white" confession was for the rest of us in the group 'an unrecognizable manifestation of the juggernaut of the moral economy of inclusion'. In chapter three, I understood Sofia's rejection of Robin as an 'observed experience of exclusion'. In chapter seven, I – without explicitly explaining why – understood that incident as an expression of allyship because Robin raised his hand and asked for permission to attend the queer and trans POC event despite him not being a POC. In chapter three, I understood the Ethnic Studies professor as a transgressor in the moral economy of inclusion. In chapter six, the protesting students were understood as the transgressors. In chapter three, the demographic hierarchy of minority exclusion is what made the protesting students resist. In chapter six, the demographic hierarchy of minority inclusion is what made Simren change her ethnic identity.

In chapter four, Matias tries to instruct GSIs how to apologize for microaggressions after they have been committed. In chapter seven, John's post-transgressive apology is perceived by the audience as a proactive protective expression of his moral virtue. In chapter three and six, the protesting students and Jose – in different approaches – wanted to have their community voices heard in class. In chapter five and six, UCLA professor Knowles instructed STEM professors to avoid making underrepresented students of color experience anxiety "for feeling the need to represent their entire community in a classroom full of white people" through what she termed "stereotype-threats", and Simren was offended when her professor reduced her to a "female person of color who made it".

Finally, in chapter seven, Solange and I experienced a microaggression committed by Becky. And in chapter one, I could not understand why this guy in my class was so emotional. Now I understand that I had committed numerous microaggressions in the classroom, and they all offended him to the point where he was willing to risk having the rest of us judge his credibility for the greater cause of legitimizing his family's moral rights to dignified compensation for their hard emotional work. This thesis, and all the *diverse* perspectives and relations – to the value of inclusion, how to handle transgressions, and how to take risks at the academy – have made it significantly clear that the reactionary scholarly contributions to this topic can gain nuanced insight into the variety of perspectives on the academic value of inclusion by expanding methodological restrictions: focusing on pursuing topical representation through relational variation, and being reflectively sensitive to one's critical exploration of the diversity of repugnant others including oneself (Harding, 1991; Lennon, 2018; Carey, 2019).

Final Arguments & Critical Reflections

The moral economy of inclusion depends on its participants' own reproduction of demographic hierarchies. In both minority students' claims for equitable inclusion as a moral right and privileged students' claims for responsibility to include as a moral obligation, their common quest to dismantle and level out a demographic hierarchy through the deterministic assignment of demographic positionalities in turn reproduces a demographic hierarchy. Through the moral economy of inclusion's replacement of minority resources with minority needs, and privileged exploitation with privileged responsibility, it has reconfigured and rearranged a demographic hierarchy, while still operating with a fundamentally arbitrary hierarchical logic. This arbitrary hierarchical logic – in certain instances – makes it difficult for an outsider such as me to discover any clear distinction between exclusionary and inclusionary practices at the academy, however, the ability to discover a clear distinction depends on whose relation to the value of inclusion one highlights as most relevant.

The academic focus on diversity and inclusion does not in my findings suggest any direct external censoring of individual academic freedom. Rather as this thesis has made explicitly clear; individuals *willingly* participate in the production, distribution, implementation, and circulation of inclusionary academic and social regulations and sentiments, emotions and values, and rights and obligations at the University of California Berkeley. Willingly, as synonymous with wholeheartedly, deliberately, cynically, purposefully, reluctantly, unwittingly, dutifully, submissively, and unhesitatingly. All individuals included in this thesis

navigate through the measuring of how safe they want to be relative to what they are willing to risk for that safety. Some want to be safe enough to not be offended. Others want to be safe enough to take risks. Most, however, want both at the same time.

The moral economy of inclusion is the outlining framework of this thesis. However, as it is inspired by components of many moral economies from a variety of scholarly contributions, and is not an applied framework where it follows the leading guidelines of one moral economy scholar, it could still be argued that the moral economy of inclusion is not a sufficient analytical portrayal of a moral economy. What might be lost by the synthesizing of these scholarly contributions with the object of inclusion? How does the moral economy of inclusion expand the analytical power of the moral economy concept?

The historical context of the marketplace in which E.P. Thompson (1991) argued that his notion of the moral economy of the poor should be understood together with a primary focus of the marketplace in both its pre-modern and modern conceptualizations would be to some extent lost with my focus on the value of inclusion. In this sense, the moral economy of inclusion upholds the analytical conceptualization of Daston (1995) more than E. P. Thompson in her emphasized focus on values. Yet, I would argue that the value of inclusion to an extent regulates the circular management of academic resources, and consequently enhances the analytical power of the concept by broadening the application to the study of a value's influence on subjects' relational management of academic resources, resources that are not primarily needed for economic subsistence, rather for academic subsistence.

The moral dimension in the moral economy of inclusion resides in what minority students are willing to risk for what they believe are their moral rights – what they at least deserve – when their tolerable scope of normative academic exclusion is violated, as well as what privileged students are willing to risk for what they believe is their moral responsibility – what they at least can use their surplus of agency for – in their quest to protect the moral rights of minority student inclusion. The moral dimension of the concept of moral economy is thus broadened to also reflect the self-identified privileged students' desire to participate in the construction of the notion of the good, and in that pursuit realize their moral selves. The political dimension of the moral economy of inclusion has focused on how groups and individuals in various ways seek to level out a historically maintained demographic hierarchy that persist at an institution where one at first glance would think all members are privileged to belong in, and I would argue has therefore not been lost, but rather incorporated into the moral dimension.

Moving on from the outlining framework of the moral economy of inclusion, I will now highlight other aspects that this thesis can be criticized for. First, the lack of historical context. In chapter one, I consciously selected historical events at UC Berkeley that were of primary relevance for this specific thesis, however, the larger US history of colonization, slavery, and Jim Crow is undeniably of primary relevance for this thesis. The historical changes in the US that enabled minority students to even apply to and attend universities are in many ways the effects of the mutually influencing relationship between collective resistance (politics of inequality) and institutional planning and structuring of the nation (policymaking) (Hochschild, 2007). This historical legacy is embedded in the social relations described in this thesis, and accordingly differentiates its regional ethnographic context from for instance Europe. One can therefore argue that this thesis is ahistorical in its analysis, however, that critique can be countered with the explicit ethnographic focus on how members of the academy today vigorously protect these inherited moral rights, and further struggles to renegotiate the boundaries between those moral rights and the tolerable scope of exclusion.

Related to the critique above is my decision to not primarily focus on myself – and how I affected all attained and unattained information – in the content chapters. Said more explicitly, I never discussed how this thesis could look, and unquestionably it would look completely different if I was white, if I was a man, if I was Asian, Hispanic, ten years older, if I grew up in the US, or even just came to Berkeley straight from Ethiopia. Maybe this critique could have been avoided if I changed my ethnographic writing style, and instead consciously tried to write fieldnotes in a journal format where I include my own comparative experiences as a first-generation immigrant to Norway from Sweden with Ethiopian parents, if I more explicitly include comparative experiences of my preconceived notions prior to fieldwork.

Maybe that comparative perspective could enable the reader to always remember that these are my fieldwork experiences, and that these experiences are subjective and reflect my background knowledge as a minority student and an anthropology student. I have tried to do that. It always felt forced, I would spend minutes thinking out sentences, overanalyzing if they represented a journalistic writing style, and end up with fieldnotes that were so far from my own style – which I would claim is simple and descriptive, risking the readers' perception of it being unreflectively objective, judgmental, and authoritative – that they stylistically felt involuntarily made up. Instead of trying to force out a style that did not represent me, I instead just wrote without overanalyzing how it looked, but always being aware of how it could look as if I am explaining a field instead of describing my experience of my field, but at least I was

honest in my writing style. This style does not exclude my own thoughts, reactions, or actions, it does the opposite (Emerson, 1995). My ethnographic writing style does not explicitly separate my thoughts, actions, and reactions from their embeddedness in particular settings and place them on a presentable stylistic platform. It could be argued, however, that my analytical understanding is separated from the ethnography, because visually it is.

From a phenomenological perspective, my decision to construct a visible distinction between the analysis and the ethnography in this thesis can be criticized in the same vein of critique as the paragraph above as well as the ‘evidence-trap’ discussed in chapter two. In defending my decision of visually dividing analysis and ethnography beyond quotes, I have to confess that I believed, based on previous master theses I have read, that this was how it was supposed to be separated. This belief also fit well with my aesthetically organizing struggles with this thesis, and most of all my conviction of my fieldnotes – written while there; usually as situations occurred; and fully transcribed months before this writing process began – being paramount information in which I could not contaminate with my analytically trigger-happy self through rewriting them into patterned narratives. Yet, my preconceived notions of both writing ethnography and of myself admittedly restricted me from spending more time evaluating this separating decision.

Further, this comparative perspective of anthropologist and field site maybe comes more naturally for western anthropologists doing fieldwork in non-western countries. Maybe differences and similarities between oneself and informants, between one’s home and field site are more explicitly noticed and described if one is doing fieldwork at a place that is perceived as far away geographically, socially, and organizationally (Howell, 2001)? Has my fieldwork at UC Berkeley – a western university with thousands of students and employees – restricted my opportunities for participant observation to the extent of me resorting to surveys and interviews? Absolutely not. In fact, the surplus outcome of spoken and testified accounts must be understood in their methodological context; participant observation at a university where the most common activities I participated in and observed were verbal. I would argue that my very brief introduction of all the groups I spent my time with is indefensible. In hindsight, I feel guilty for not dedicating a full chapter to the introduction of the groups and individuals, but one has to prioritize, and sometimes valuable and deserving content is excluded.

Besides the methodological restrictions discussed in chapter two and the reflections above, there are two more dimensions that I argue could have enabled me to give myself and the reader greater understanding of not only my specific thesis, but also the overall topics this thesis touch

on. The first dimension is time. If I had spent more time at the university – as in years – I could follow my informants and trace participatory changes in organizations, selection of majors, changes of living situations, organizational changes, and university administrative changes. For example, how did the ISO members deal with their organizations' national dissolution in March of 2019? How will Simren identify ethnically in her medical school application? Has Jose's seminar and Scholar Activism gained more traction? Exploring these questions takes more time than one semester, however, doing it could have enabled both mine and the readers' understanding of how temporally representative my thesis really is.

Lastly, what I have consciously decided to exclude from this thesis is probably one of the most time-consuming activities of the majority of my informants; social media. Trying to track and organize the public activity of my informants online would take more time than my fieldwork in the material world, and although social media is not at all separated from what I have participated in and observed at Berkeley, I decided to leave it alone. This is also partly because I did not want to stalk people – even if they would have given me their consent – without them explicitly seeing me. If I were to include more generally social media patterned activities I have observed, the reader might have gained more insight to the social media world of hashtags, cancel culture, apologies, political conflicts, and identity affirmative virtual spaces.

Future Research

In light of my lasting limited encounter with the university administration, doing ethnographic research that solely focus on administrative everyday work related to university diversity and inclusion offices would shed light on my restrictions as well as my informants' suspicious perception of these offices and their research. Considering my explicitly non-comparative perspective, doing comparative ethnographic research at a US university and a university in a welfare state such as Norway would highlight similarities and differences on the mutually influencing relation between regulatory practices and value-priorities amongst academic institutions and affiliates from a comparative perspective.

The moral economy of minority inclusion at UC Berkeley is an analytically synthesized conceptualization of diverse moral economies, however, fundamentally it is grounded in detailed and diverse ethnographic fieldnote representations. This does not mean that this reimagined moral economy of minority inclusion is not a fruitful and original analytical contribution to new research within the academy as well as beyond the academic ethnographic field. The sentiments, actions, values, and regulations represented in this thesis transcend

University of California at Berkeley and reach the world of politics¹⁶, media¹⁷, Hollywood¹⁸, International companies¹⁹, fashion retail²⁰, and other university institutions²¹. Additional research on diverse relations to the value of inclusion across a variety of ethnographic fields within and beyond the academy can contribute to a collaborative scholarly development of generic knowledge on the value of inclusion. With this knowledge, scholars can begin to explore what these diverse relations to the value of inclusion reveal about the contemporary life of institutions commonly associated with the ambience of competition.

¹⁶ <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/05/us/politics/joe-biden-controversy.html>

¹⁷ <https://www.latimes.com/business/hollywood/la-fi-ct-stankey-diversity-warner-media-20190321-story.html>

<https://www.rollingstone.com/tv/tv-news/megyn-kelly-nbc-fired-blackface-747389/>

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2016/diversity>

¹⁸ <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2017/feb/25/did-oscars-so-white-work-looking-beyond-the-diversity-drought-in-hollywood>

<https://globalnews.ca/news/4825983/kevin-hart-apologizes-again-oscars/>

¹⁹ <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/aug/08/google-fires-author-anti-diversity-memo>

<https://qz.com/work/1595743/microsoft-is-overhauling-how-it-investigates-hr-investigations/>

²⁰ <https://www.columbiaspectator.com/arts-and-entertainment/2019/02/18/gucci-ceo-addresses-companys-blackface-scandal-institutional-diversity-in-fashion-at-columbia-event/>

<https://www.elle.com/runway/g23062788/rihannas-savage-x-fenty-show-2019/?slide=44>

²¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/jun/15/harvard-sued-discrimination-against-asian-americans>
<https://ucla.app.box.com/v/edi-statement-faqs>

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