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Negotiating Multiculturalism:

Identities, Organizations, and Bureaucracy in Higher Education

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Negotiating Multiculturalism:
Identities, Organizations, and Bureaucracy in Higher Education

by

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Dedication

For Ariel and Hershey.

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My parents have served as a great sounding board in life and helped me to contextualize those challenges that redirected my initial path. I thank my father for his

Negotiating Multiculturalism:
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Abstract: Through a case study conducted at a large public University this dissertation explores how educational institutions and bureaucracy shape student organizing around issues of race, gender and sexuality. This project utilizes in-depth interviews with 30 University students and staff members affiliated to a Queer Student of Color (QSOC) agency to understand how organizations emerge to join formal bureaucracies and what the consequences are for organizational operations, relationship building and internal membership. This dissertation demonstrates that entry into a formal bureaucracy required strategic communication and disrupted existing structures, causing resistance from progressively centered organizations. Once formally associated to a University Multicultural Activity Center (MAC), Queer Students Of Color and Allies (QSOCA) faced pressure to adhere to institutional guidelines that shifted organizational focus and programming. While such membership provided institutional space, material resources and coalition building opportunities, the bureaucratic structure was unable to manage conflict and challenges in shared decision making processes. Furthermore,

bureaucratically employed resources resulted in pressure for QSOCA to distinguish members, leaders, and advisors causing the organization to reconsider meanings and responsibilities of Allies.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

CAMPUS DISRUPTIONS

Late into the night of Apr 3, 2013, Texas A&M University (TAMU) student body
president John Claybrook left the 65th Session of the Student Senate teary eyed with deep
emotion. After three hours of opposing testimony among an overflowing room, the
TAMU student senate had passed bill SB 65-60 with a 35-28 vote. SB 65-70 initially
titled the "GLBT Funding Opt-Out Bill" stated that "students who object to funding the
GLBT Resource Center through their student fees and tuition for religious reasons be
allowed to opt out from funding same" (Texas A&M Student Senate 2013). Enactment of
the bill would result in loss of funding for the student service office that was established
in 2007 as the Gender Issues Education Office and remained one of the several units
situated under the Dean of Student Life at Texas A&M University. According to the
GLBT Resource Center website, the office is "a resource and referral center for gay,
lesbian, bisexual, and transgender Aggies and their straight supporters." (Texas A&M
University 2012). The office was estimated to serve 1200 students on campus (KUT
2013) and "educates all campus and community constituencies on GLBT issues through
programming about sexual orientation and gender identity/expression, advocacy,
leadership and visibility" (Texas A&M University 2012).

The bill received wide attention as it was introduced by a well-known student that
previously had been a strong contender for Student body President. Tensions on campus
were high throughout the week the bill was to be voted upon. The bill manifested during

the TAMU's "GLBT Awareness Week" and initially argued on the basis of religious grounds for releasing students from the estimated $1.85 in student activity fees applied towards the GLBT Resource Center. Less than 24 hours before the bill was voted upon, it was renamed to the "Religious Funding Exemption Bill" and the language was amended to instead address "various services" to which students objected for "religious and moral purposes." Opponents of the bill argued that the last minute amendments were a failed attempt to thwart unwanted criticism that the bill was discriminatory.

Reports suggested that the senate proceedings were difficult for Claybrook. Despite knowledge of the bill in advance, the Student Body President was still mulling over whether to veto the bill when it was passed by the student senate. In response to the student senate vote, in an editorial of the TAMU student newspaper *The Battalion,* Claybrook was encouraged to veto the amended bill as given the broadened language, "Moral objections can be abused to creatively abstain from using student fees for virtually anything" (Batt 2013).

The bill would impact student life but would also have a rippling effect for Texas A&M University administrators given as staff and resources were supported by the student service fee in question. As a result, the Chancellor of the A&M System, the University President, the Board of Regents, and the Texas A&M Chief Financial Officer were formally copied on the bill.

Claybrook vetoed the bill and stated in an open letter "The sentiment towards the bill has not changed and has caused great harm to our reputation as a student body and to the students feeling disenfranchised by this bill" (Texas A&M University Student Senate

2013). Despite this, the initial passing through Student Senate was not a surprise to many as a comparable bill had similar success in 2011. Given such a history, Princeton Review ranked Texas A&M University in 2011 and 2012 as one of the top 20 LGBT unfriendly Universities in the nation and continues to remain on the list (Princeton Review 2014). The rankings derived from an annual survey of 126,000 students at 378 colleges and Universities in which students were asked to convey their experiences by rating their schools on various topics.

The Texas A&M vote occurred just days after Texas State Representative Bill Zedler (R) filed an amendment to cut funding from the state's appropriations bill targeting public universities with "Gender and Sexuality Centers and Related Student Centers.[1] A similar amendment was filed by Wayne Christian (R) District 9 in 2011 and required public universities to provide equal funding to promote "family and traditional values" centers.[2] Such legislative amendments University Student Senate bills convey a reluctance to provide support to the LGBTQ student community despite a history of need.

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[1] The amendment assumed that such centers promote unhealthy behavior:
> An institution of higher education may not use money appropriated to the institution under this Act or any property or facility of the institution funded by appropriations under this Act, to support, promote, or encourage any behavior that would lead to high risk behavior for AIDs, HIV, Hepatitis B, or any other sexually transmitted diseases." (Texas House of Representatives 2013).

[2] Christian's amendment stated:
> Funding of Student Centers for Family and Traditional Values. It is the intent of the Legislature that an institution of higher education shall not use any amount of appropriated funds and or state property, facility and or building to support a gender and sexuality center or other center for students focused on gay, lesbian, homosexual, bisexual, pansexual, transsexual, transgender, gender questioning, or other gender identity issues (Texas House of Representatives 2011).

The clashes discussed above include overt strategies to reject funding and the continued institutionalization of LGBTQ initiatives, particularly at a conservative institution. However, LGBTQ organizations and its members face several challenges resulting from the bureaucracy associated to being incorporated into seemingly more progressive institutions. This dissertation explores the experiences of an LGBTQ of color student organization throughout institutionalization into a university's bureaucracy in the U.S. Southwest. This dissertation will analyze the organization's emergence within an institutional space, the navigation of administrative and collegiate expectations, as well as discuss the distinct modes in which power subsequently materializes among students and organizations.

More specifically, through a case study conducted at a State University of the South (SUS)[3], this dissertation explores how educational institutions and bureaucracy shape student organizing around issues of race, gender and sexuality. This project utilizes in-depth interviews with 30 University students and staff members affiliated to Queer Student of Color and Allies (QSOCA) agency to understand how the organization emerged to join the Multicultural Activity Center (MAC) and become part of the formal bureaucracy. Such consequences were evaluated through analyzing impacts on organizational operations, relationship building and internal membership. Although QSOCA was successfully incorporated into the University bureaucratic structure, student members encountered new challenges resulting from bureaucratic rules, expectations, and

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[3] Pseudonym

conditions. As a result, institutionalization was not a final victory and instead a transitional period in which the organization was confronted with navigating the institution in new ways.

The research included participant observation and interviews with those students and organizations working closely with QSOCA. The Multicultural Activity Center (MAC), formally the Multicultural Research Center (MRC) maintained a staff with a director, three full-time organization advisors, and an office manager/administrative assistant. Within the MAC, several race and ethnically identity-based organizations existed prior to QSOCA's membership. These organizations included the Asian American Council (AAC), the African American and Black Student Association (AABSA), American Indian Council (AIC), Latino Leadership Affairs (LLA), and Student for Equity Alliance (SEA). Queer Student Initiative (QSI) served as the other formally affiliated LGBTQIIA organization on campus and was housed under student government with no other formal office space. The Gender and Sexuality Resources Center, similar to the MAC was overseen by full-time staff and operated in the same division. Although full-time staff informally assisted and advised LGBTQIIA organizations, the GSRC did not have a formalized annual budget for providing funding to specific organizations like the MAC.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

This dissertation is established in theories of bureaucracy associated to organizations and institutionalization, while informing literature on identity, multiculturalism and social movements. Despite recent research on multiculturalism in

higher education (Ahmed 2012), a large gap exists in drawing connections between these fields of sociology, particularly in the U.S. and within the scope of student organizing.

Bureaucracy and Higher Education

Throughout the last decade, the public has become increasingly concerned with rising bureaucracy within US universities and colleges. Across the nation news articles cite the trend of rapidly growing university administration while academic staffing in research, teaching, and service has had slower growth. *The Baltimore Sun* cited 2007 federal educational data in an article titled "College's Bloated Bureaucracy," noting that the number of full-time administrators per 100 students increased by 39% between 1993-2007, whereas academic staff by only 18% among 198 top public and private universities in the United States (2010). At the University of Maryland, the gap was even greater as the number of full-time administrators per 100 students increased by 68%, in comparison to just 16% growth for fulltime teachers, researcher and those in service (2010). *The Wall Street Journal* cites similar data from the Department of Education, finding that across higher education institutions in the U.S. growth in administrative employees was 50% faster than that of instructors from 2001-2011 (2012). Much of this concern stems from rising costs of tuition, as educational costs have increased more rapidly than even health care costs (2012).

Background: The LGBTQ Movement in the US

The Lesbian and Gay Movement in the United States is recognized by several phases. Although organizations such as the Society for Human Rights existed in Chicago during the 1920's, the first recognized phase is categorized as the "homophile" movement from 1950-1969 supported by three notable organizations appearing after WWII: the Mattachine Society, ONE, Inc. and Daughters of Bilitis (Redinger 1996). Such organizations focused on reducing prejudice through educational programs and informing the community itself to "its history, current legal status and psychological health" (1996, xii). The movement argued for the removal of sodomy and "sex offender" laws and reduction of harassment from police. The "homophile" movement is characterized primarily working "within the system of existing social structured to effect change in a rational and gradual manner" (1996, xii).

The "Gay Liberation movement" arrived with the Stonewall Riots on June 28, 1969 when thousands of New Yorkers publicly fought back against a police riot of the gay bar. This era countered the homophile movement's more passive approaches with strategies of open resistance and public confrontation. The Gay Liberation movement expanded opposition to laws that discriminated Lesbian and Gay individuals in such arenas as employment, child custody, and housing. This era led to the creation of nationally recognized organizations including the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the Gay Right National Lobby, and the Human Rights Campaign Fun. The Stonewall Riots also sparked LGBTQ student movements on campuses across the nation and the first recognized gay organization, the Student Homophile League, was established at Colombia University (Renn 2010).

With the rise of the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS), the 1980's marked a new phase in the LGBTQ social movement as several groups came to prominence including AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP), Queer Nation and Lesbian Avengers. Throughout the 1990's Bi-Sexual, Transgender became more prominent, as well as other identities such as Questioning and Intersex. In order to included various sexual and gender identities, the term "Queer" became a way to reclaim a label while strengthen and uniting a community. During this time period youth centers, straight-ally high school organizations, and University resource centers were established to serve the needs of LGBTQ students.

Many narratives of LGBTQ history have been criticized for discounting the contributions of specific LGBTQ communities, such as the Transgender Community and Queer People of Color (QPOC) (Dunn and Moodie-Mills 2012). Furthermore, there has been tension within LGBTQ movements about who is chosen to represent, what issues are brought to the forefront, and what disparities can be overlooked.

LGBTQ Communities of Color Today

A 2012 report by the Center for American Progress's FIRE Initiative found that gay and transgender communities of color have greater barriers to quality health care and are at a higher risk of financial instability (Dunn and Moodie-Mills 2012). The report indicates that the risk results from a combined impact of institutionalized racism and policies that do not include provisions for those that are gay and or transgender. Many schools and places of employment do not acknowledge legal relationships of gay and

transgender parents to their children, therefore limiting access to family tax credits, health insurances and other safety net programs (2012).

Subsequently, LGBTQ communities of color have lower levels educational attainment. For example, Census data shows that one quarter of all Hispanic gay and lesbian couples survey completed some high school while only 40 percent of black same sex couples completed some form of post-secondary educations (2012). This substantially contrasts the education attainment of their white counterparts as 67 percent of white same-sex couple report completing some form of secondary education (2012).

In addition to various socioeconomic factors, harassment attributes to lack of school engagement and subsequent educational success. LGBTQ students of color who had experienced high amount of harassment based upon sexual and racial identities had on average a half point lower grade point average than those who did not experience harassment according to a study by the Gay, Lesbian, Straight, Education Network (2012). The Gay, Lesbian, Straight Education Network also found that such harassment often goes unreported. Less than half of LGBTQ students of color report such incidents. Furthermore, very few of incidents reported upon are follow-up upon (2012).

Gay and transgender people of color also have lower rates of pay as well as higher rates of poverty, unemployment and underemployment, and are more likely to be uninsured (2012). Twenty-nine states do not have laws preventing employment discrimination based on sexual orientation (2012). Furthermore, thirty-four states do not have bans on laws prevent employment discrimination based on gender identity (2012).

9

Universities as Sites for Organizing

This dissertation focuses on a case study of QPOCA's formal entry into the Multicultural Activity Center at State University of the South[4]. This research offers a contemporary depiction of the LGBTQ movement on a college campus later through Queer students of Color experiences. Do these students of color campus organizations reflect growing tensions between identities groups within the movement or is this awareness of intersectional identity expanded by common developmental and college experiences?

Such an exploration can offer insight into how institutions encounter emerging[5] categories of race, gender and sexuality requires us to examine the concept of "multiculturalism" and whether individuals and organizations can truly work in solidarity without a shared understanding of the term.

In *Forging Gay Identities*, Armstrong argues that the LGBTQ movement in San Francisco from 1950-1970 was paradoxical in that it drew strength from a perceived diversity of associated identities, while in reality, it was hegemonic by catering to upper-middle class whites (2002). Understanding space and location has become more important in Social Movement literature. Armstrong's suggests that the urban centers like San Francisco and New York are the birthplace of the modern day movement. However, through a serious of essays on LGBTQ organizing in mid-size cities, scholars

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[4] Fictitious name.

[5] This is not to say that such identity groups are recent constructions, but that institutionally they have not yet been recognized in common practice.

argue that much advancement in the movement can be seen on the local level (Padilla, 2004). This research offers a way to consider University spaces in a new light, particularly state-sponsored flagship Universities that have growing out of state population. What relationship does the University have to the state and does this impact how they relate to Queer Students Of Color and Allies (QSOCA)? Should Universities be seen as cosmopolitan sights, beneficial for social movements, with the capability to attract a variety of social actors?

Diversity Initiatives in Student Affairs and Higher Education

As the civil rights movement brought attention to inequities in primary and secondary education during the late 1960's, Universities and colleges were also met with demands to increase the diversity of student populations. Well-known initiatives included affirmative action and diversity recruitment programs, and throughout the 1970's a growing population of University students of color demanded that their histories be represented in academia through ethnic studies curriculums.

With the increased diversity on University campuses, student life also became a primary space for contestation over racial tensions (Barr and Sandeen 2006). Throughout the 1960's and beyond, residence halls, fraternities, recreational sports, dining halls and student organizations became sites in which white upper-middle class students shared intimate spaces with students of color and those from various other backgrounds. And, although students of color were attending colleges and universities at unprecedented

numbers, institutions often failed at providing proper social, academic, and financial support to retain this burgeoning population (Barr and Sandeen 2006).

As a result, Universities created student affairs systems and structures to manage the growing diversity in student life. Staffs were officially charged with a "commitment to diversity," that was quite a transition from prior Students Affairs agendas. The student affairs profession had historically taken a back seat to promoting progressive ideals. For example, throughout the 1930's, student affairs followed a "Student Personnel Point of View" handbook that guided practitioners on counseling students through the rigors of academic life and individual development. A 1937 edition of the handbook promoted moral and religious values, but was not concerned with the University's or student population's impact on greater society (Barr and Sandeen 2006). Little changed in the following decades. Although increased access to higher education resulting from World War II and the GI Bill resulted in the handbook expanding guidance towards increasing student social and professional skills, it was still tempered by the conservative tone of the 1950's (Barr and Sandeen 2006).

It was not until the Civil Rights movement that "The Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students" was published and openly promoted support for diversity in Student Affairs. Among many initiatives, Universities hired staff with community specific experiences, secured financial resources for diversity based programming, offered mediation services for community groups, and established culturally/ethnically-based support offices. These offices, often described as multicultural, multi-ethnic, or

diversity centers, were charged with the mission of promoting a multicultural logic beneficial to students and the campus.

By the mid-1990's such offices were well established on many campuses hired staff to advice specific identity groups and address cultural diversity. Fried (1995) argues that cultural diversity initiatives were limited to race and ethnicity and often overlooked gender, religion, and sexual orientation.

A MULTICULTURAL ACTIVITY CENTER AT STATE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH (SUS):

The Multicultural Activity Center is one current example of an ongoing diversity initiative at State University of the South. Albeit later than many other Universities, the State University of the South established the center (originally the Minority Resource Center) in 1988 to address students of color needs. The center arose from explicit student demand and was created as an agency of the University's Student Association with a yearly budget of around a thousand dollars. The original statement of purpose was "to assemble, process, and disseminate any and all information pertinent to the retention and matriculation of Black and Hispanic students at" State University of the South. The center was governed by a board of Directors, consisting of student leaders from the campus African American and Latino communities. The original goals were:

"I. To create a centralized resource center which will house all pertinent written information.

II. To create an informational exchange network among and between minority student organizations and the minority community.

III. To aid in the exchange of information between the minority community and the University.

IV. To facilitate the dissemination of information among the minority community.

V. To make this center as approachable as possible by utilizing a staff of minority students"

(Minority Information Center Information Packet, 1994).

By 1994 the Minority Resource Center became more institutionalized, increased their budget, had a full-time Director, and expanded its services to Native American students. The Minority Resource Center had held numerous programs including registration mixers, minority leadership weekends, graduate school preparation seminars, and minority/faculty student receptions.

However, with increased exposure, other ethnic communities wanted institutional representation, forcing students to reevaluate the mission and purpose that initially served primarily African American, Latino, and more recently Native American students. During the late 1990's Asian American students demanded that they too should be considered a special interest group within the Minority Resource Center but many of the center students were ambivalent or even resistant to the idea that Asian American students were considered "minorities." Similarly, such conversations about the definition of "minority" were being held around the country in relation to debates about affirmative action.

Eventually the Asian American interest group, as well as another united multi-ethnic community group, became incorporated and officially recognized agencies within the Center. During that time, the Center also changed its name from "Minority Resource Center" to "Multicultural Activity Center" (pseudonyms created to protect anonymity).

According to current center staff members that were present at the time, the name transition from "Minority" to "Multicultural" occurred to comfortably allow these groups to participate in the center.

From late 1990's until 2009, the Multicultural Resource Center increased full-time staff but continued to officially sponsor solely the five student agencies: African American Agency, Latino Leadership Coalition, Longhorn American Indian Coalition, Asian Desi Pacific Islander American Coalition, and Equity and Diversity Coalition. The students groups, often deemed progressive in nature, also continued to have strong institutional ties as they are provided with a full-time staff advisor, office space, reoccurring funds and other institutional resources that student most students group do not have.

In 2008, another debate came about the incorporation of a fairly new student group known as Queer Students of Color and Allies (QSOCA). Much of the concern was over whether an LGBTQ community group, of color, could be included in the concept of "Multicultural." Many students questioned whether a spaced designed for "Multicultural" groups was open to LGBTQ identities and programming. Prior to this, the six agencies were based upon race/ethnicity issues except one that was a unity agency mostly comprised of leaders from the other agencies. In September 2009, the student group officially was incorporated as the 6th agency within the center.

An important marker of QSOCA, is their "of color" intersectional identity and how both peer and institutional support services relate to this community and its members. For example, QSOCA's incorporation into the center forced students and

administration to think outside of solely ethnically defined organizational and staffing models. For some students, QSOCA's programming that included holding the first Drag show on campus, protesting Chic-File fast food, and supporting LGBTQ equal rights initiatives, was sometimes a difficult task to support because they challenged their own values and/or community norms that made it difficult to serve as genuine allies. See Table 1 for QSOCA Organization Profile.

Table 1 for QSOCA Organization Profile

Number of Leadership Team Members	5-7
Number of General Members	15-20
Number of SUS Students Attending any Given QSOCA Events	10- 450
Major Events	Street Party, Queer Prom, Drag Ball, Queer Students Leadership Training, Staceyann Chin Book Reading
Incorporation into Multicultural Activity Center	2009
Established on State University of the South Campus	2007
Annual SUS Sponsorship Budget	Approx.: $11,000

METHODOLOGY

Epistemological Assumptions:

Case studies of involving qualitative methods are uniquely suited for interpreting bureaucracies, the embedded power of institutional processes and individual agency

(Feagin, Orum and Sjoberg 1991). Robert Zussman argues "qualitative research…, works best when it works from cases rather than samples, when it is opportunistic rather than systematic, when it specifies rather than generalizes, and when it struggles to find unconventional ways of linking research to concept" (2004: 352). By analyzing qualitatively the process of institutional incorporation for QSOCA, we can see the implicit ways that bureaucratic power evolves and shapes categories of identity. Furthermore, we can see whether individuals within the bureaucracy have latitude to negotiate and manage institutional rules.

In studying bureaucracies I hope not to succumb to looking too closely at individual actors instead of identifying larger structural issues (Sjoberg and Jean Miller, 1973). Sjoberg finds that tendency of secrecy promoted by powerful administrators often leads researches to such conclusions and ultimately hinders the research process (1973).

Using an epistemological approach closest to the reflexive sociology discussed by Pierre Bourdieu (1992, 1998) and Michael Burawoy (1998) I reflected upon my positionality. Following Buroway's four suggestions towards a reflexive science I conducted participant observation, extended observations over time and space, historicized observed processes, and theorized (1998:15). I also conducted in-depth interviews with students and administrators so as to gain information not available through observation.

Case Study:
With a purpose of considering the past, current and future course of multicultural initiatives in Higher Education, in particular through the Queer Students of Color and

Allies organization (QSOCA), I undertook a twenty-two month study of the experiences of students, administrators, and allies affiliated with Queer Students of Color and Allies at University of the South. QSOCA was an ideal organization for a case study because of its context within the broader higher education landscape (timing, location, history of development and affiliation).

During the time this research was developed, students nationally had increased dialogue significant to issues regarding Queer People Of Color (QPOC) and formalized gatherings through QPOC organizations and conferences. Simultaneously, several public Universities had reorganized existing multicultural and diversity initiatives into larger more discrete diversity divisions. Undertaking a case study about queer students of color and incorporation into existing multicultural strategies was timely and relevant.

Queer Students of Color and Allies is affiliated to a large state University located in the south of the United States. In order to further protect the anonymity of the participants, the University has been given the name pseudonym University of the South. University of the South is located in a mid-size liberal city, greatly influenced by the enormous student population of both this Research university and a handful of Research 2 and smaller public/private universities in surrounding areas.

In this project, I explore the experiences of students who participate in an LGBTQIIA people of color organization recently affiliated to a large state University in the south. I also consider the experiences of the administrators who have worked in various capacities with this organization. The project utilizes in-depth, semi-structured interviews with twenty six students and four administrators to understand what are the

institutional challenges of working within such an organization, how are allies utilized, and whether this newly found institutional represent has yielded desired results. Findings derive from issue-focused analysis of interviews and observations involving coding, sorting, local integration, and inclusive integration as discussed by Weiss (1994). Although the proposal laid clear expectations of the research and progress, the final dissertation is a product of "emergent design" as described by Meloy's (2002) notes on methodology. Through the various analysis processes, themes emerged, some becoming more significant while others waned.

Methodological and Data Triangulation:

Participant Observation

I conducted participant observation of QSOCA organizational activities including bi-weekly student groups meetings and public events. I participated in over twenty-five hours of QSOCA activities throughout Fall 2012 and Spring 2013. My participation level with the group was that of a general ally member in which I believe trust was built as described by Loftland and Loftland (1995). Although not required, I spoke with the Multicultural Activity Center Director and she was supportive of this role. She was the interim Director when QSOCA became a sponsored agency, was promoted to full-time director shortly after. Observations required reflexive approaches and evaluating both formal and information interactions as described by Nason and Golding (Symon and Cassell 1998: 236).

Interviews

I conducted thirty interviews overall with over 35 hours of data. Interviews included ten in-depth interviews with current QSOCA student members and alumni. I included a range of experiences from highly active co-directors, to student members that attend only the weekly meetings or major events. I also conducted seven in-depth interviews with students in organizations that work closely with QSOCA or participated in the decision making process of whether to sponsor QSOCA. This included students in other Multicultural Activity Center agencies, as well, as student leaders in prominent ethnically based organizations. Furthermore, in order to understand QSOCA's positionality within the larger LGBTQ on campus, I interviewed two students who were general members or leaders of other LGBTQ interest organizations on campus. In addition to students, I wanted to gain an institutional perspective from administrators. Therefore I conducted at least three in-depth interviews with key administrators who either worked with QSOCA and the MEC or were involved in the incorporation discussions. Such administrators include the current and former primary and secondary advisors of QSOCA, as well as, full time staff. See Appendix I for Demographic Characteristics of Respondents. See Appendix VII for organization names and acronyms. All individual and organization names are given pseudonyms. See Appendix II-VI for interview schedule. The questions included in Appendix II-VI were used as a guide for interviews. Instead of relying on a specific order of questions, I engaged in ethnographic interviewing. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1983), ethnographic and survey interviews are both structured. However, ethnographers reflexively ask questions,

20

whereas survey interviewers standardize how and when they ask questions (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983).

An ethnographic approach to interviewing was beneficial in this case as interviewers introduced new information or concepts that I wanted to follow-up upon. This reflexive approach allowed me to gain further understanding from such information. As interviews progressed, themes began to emerge in the data set and I included questions related to such topics in subsequent interviews.

Ethical and Political Considerations

The study received IRB approval through the expedited process, as the methodology and research population met this category's guidelines. The most important factor being that this study poses few risks to participants. Before attending QSOCA meetings and interviewing group members, participants were informed that the projects research involved the intersectional identities of QSOCA students and their experiences in joining the Multicultural Activity Center. To protect anonymity, all University administrators and students were given pseudonyms within field notes, jottings, analysis, and any writing with public access.

No compensation was given to those observed, interviewed, and whom I participated with in the field. I did not censor my observations, interviews or experiences. Although pseudonyms protect individual and company anonymity, the Queer Students of Color and Allies organization as a whole may still be recognized in the writings.

Using reflexive sociology as an epistemological approach enabled me to describe the complex and often contradictory relationships I observed and partook in. As a result, I aimed for accuracy to ensure that communities were portrayed fairly. Furthermore, the methodological approaches taken were inspired by collaborative ethnography, in which participants were approached less as "informants" and more as "co-intellectuals" in that many may authentically be able to recognize and identify sociological "data" given their proximity and relationships to the subject matter (Lassiter 2005).

I recognized the possibility that I could witness unethical behavior, including severe discriminatory attitudes during interviews and the field experience. I decided that barring exceptional circumstances, such as student or staff endangerment, I would not report them. Furthermore, I acknowledge that this research could have significant social or political impact as it may shed light on how institutional processes shape communities and vice versus.

ORGANIZATION OF MANUSCRIPT

The major findings of this research are examined in the following chapters. In chapter 2 I discuss the history of QSOCA's incorporation into the MAC, highlighting positions of resistance to change in larger organizational structure. Once incorporated, I further explore the implications of a more formal affiliation to the University including impact upon QSOCA's operations, programming and agenda.

Chapter 3 identified issues of identity, power and organizing within a shared space. Race, ethnicity and cultural sociologists have found that space can reaffirm and

reproduce hierarchies of power among identity groups (Puwar 2004). However, social movement theorists such as Boyte and Evans (1992) have found that "free" spaces can provide opportunities for groups to learn how to bridge differences and develop a capacity for common action through a shared communal life. The Multicultural Activity Center supported by the larger education institution, was deemed as a place for groups that had previously little representation on campus. Through observation community programs, events and activities, as well as through interviews with student group members, this research explores contradictions occurring within deemed "progressive" institutional spaces.

Chapter four looks deeply into how bureaucracy impacts internal organizational affiliation and membership. Who is considered in and out of the group? How is an organization ally defined? What happens when allies take on different levels of membership given that the larger institution offers incentives that may cause power issues? The role of professional staff identity is discussed.

Chapter five concludes the study by summarizing and connecting the multiple ways bureaucracy impacts social incorporation of a progressive organization. Such impacts should be taken under consideration before an organization chooses to formally associate to a larger institution.

Chapter 2: Acclimating Organizational Operations

Yeah, oh yeah, I remember going to church and crying and asking for prayer. And you know this is one of the most difficult things I've had to do at the MRC and I've dealt with a lot of difficult things but working, I mean managing this transition and QSOCA was the [inaudible] because there's just so much emotional… I don't know, it just took a lot emotionally. Yeah.

– Patricia, Former Director of Multicultural Resource Center (MRC)/Multicultural Activity Center (MAC)

This chapter explores the struggles faced by Queer Students and Allies (QSOCA) to become part of the larger university bureaucratic structure. In doing so, the impact of bureaucratic ritualism is exposed in decision-making processes among students. As an independent student organization, QSOCA applied to and was approved membership into the Multicultural Activity Center (MAC) only after much contestation from those students and organizations embedded within the existing structure. In exploring this history, the bureaucratic nature of the MAC is exposed despite the center's recognition for being uniquely progressive and serving as a forward-thinking space within the larger institution. While college students have been seen as change-agents, particularly within a political organizing framework, the hesitance surrounding QSOCA's formal inclusion conveys how bureaucratic conditions alter such stances. Students are actors within an embedded system and therefore succumb to the tendencies of bureaucracies. Among various bureaucratic conditions, students consider the impact of resources, space, and staff support. Maintaining existing structure became the desired end for many of the social actors, taking priority above coalition building, social justice and advancing organizational missions.

Secondly, although new to the MAC structure, QSOCA was not immune to bureaucratic rationalization. Following admittance into the MAC, QSOCA needed to adjust operations to meet institutional needs including reporting and compliance requirements. This chapter details the bureaucratic requirements, the benefits of adhering to them and their impact on QSOCA's agenda. Students detail how University requirements at times countered or hindered initial programming, content and activities of organization. As a result, students give examples of bureaucratic ritualism in which they follow organizational rules they were not invested in. Furthermore, QSOCA students wrestled with the organization's identity. Varying perspectives of the organization's purpose are discussed to include educational, social, and political perspectives.

BUREAUCRACY THEORY: SUPPORT AND CONTENTION

Evolving from the more traditional organizational forms found in Feudalism, Max Weber introduced the concept of bureaucracy to identify administrative structures with rational and legal authority. Weber believed that organizations ran more effectively by utilizing rules and regulations to govern processes (Weber 1968). Weber's ideal type for bureaucracy includes the following six characteristics: 1) activities and duties are specified by jurisdictional areas with specialists completing tasks 2) organizations are hierarchical and therefore entities and individuals will have oversight of others within a system (with the ability for subordinates to appeal), 3) high ranking officials create clear, concise and stable rules that are documented and archived to govern organizations, 4) the organization owns means of production, and a delineation exists between personal and

office property, 5) officials should have a full career within a system, are selected on technical qualifications and compensated with salary accordingly 6) the system should be impersonal, rules and regulations are applied consistently without bias based upon individual attributes. Several have critiqued bureaucracy for the consequences associated to such characteristics.

Merton (1957) suggests that while bureaucracy promotes technical efficiency, pace, expert control, and stability, it depersonalizes interaction. Through ritualism, bureaucrats prioritize adherence to rules and regulations to an extent that may interfere with the achievements and purpose of the organization (1957). Given strict adherence to rules and regulations, bureaucratic actors are seen as less agile, less likely to adjust to new processes so as not to alter existing rituals.

Two contradictory and contemporary critiques of bureaucrats have emerged as derivations from such characteristics (DuGay 2000; Parker 1993). The first depiction is of the bureaucrat who is cunning and constantly drafting regulations (DuGay 2000). The second depiction being of the "idle loafer" in which bureaucrats waste taxpayer money through non-essential activities (Osborne and Gaeblar 1992). While the above examples derive from DuGay's "In Praise of Bureaucracy" and are in reference to political actors, such examples offer insight into interpreting bureaucratic structures and action. In the above cases, the ethos and morality of the bureaucrat is questioned as well as the larger bureaucracy. The first depiction of contemporary bureaucrats relies heavily upon the overall critique of the rationalization within bureaucratic structures (DuGay 2000).

Weber's rationalization is interpreted as a central theme for human conduct within bureaucratic studies, with a tight association to the "iron cage."

Institutionalization and bureaucratization increased within social movement organizations after the 1960's. Changes in the field of politics, as well as political issues being more global have initiated institutionalization of social movements (Bauman 2000; Beck 1992). Meyer and Tarrow (1998) attribute the increase to a pragmatic approach for organizations after the mass movement of student activism collapsed after the 1960's.

Hensby, Sibthorpe and Driver (2011) evaluate the critiques of institutionalization and bureaucracy within new social movement organizations (SMOs). Scholars critiqued modern social movement organizations for highly bureaucratic and centralized processes that reach a broad base but required a shallow depth of activism, such as financial contributions. Bureaucracy in effect reduces innovation. Furthermore, referred to as the "protest business," it was assumed such practices attracted passive members. Hensby, Sibthorpe and Driver (2011) found that this was not the case, as young active members remained due to "brand loyalty" while still engaging in more active "DIY" organizations. In summation, student members could not be generalized, although many were reflexive regarding participation, conscious and trusting of the organization's capacity, and drawn in through marketing and branding made possible by bureaucratic processes (2011:82).

Similarly, academic institutions have become increasingly institutional and bureaucratic as student populations increase with in them (Wilson 2012). Wilson argues that as public control of Universities increase, the University must adapt to accountability requests associated to financial management, productivity, and efficient management. As

a result, the institutional structure becomes more hierarchical and specialized. As discussed in chapter one, administration takes on a larger financial cost to meet accountability measures.

As the case study involved includes review of an organization that serves an often silenced population, literature of "heroic bureaucracies" may provide useful in providing additional context to QSOCA and the MAC. Couto (1991) defines heroic bureaucracies as those that "provide subordinate groups new resources that impacts later for political change and increased equality (1991). While Couto cautions that the term should not be applied too broadly, as heroic bureaucracies derive from exceptional circumstances, heroic strategies can be applied to traditional bureaucracies. The case study reviews the Freedmen's Bureau, the Farm Security Administration, and Office of Healthy Affairs, finding that heroic bureaucracies are distinct by seeking profound change through experimentation substantiated through precedence. Traditional bureaucracies, however, tend to act in accordance with precedence (1991). Furthermore, heroic bureaucracies utilize grass roots strategies including implementing programs through local leaders and emphasizing leadership development for constituents (1991). Constituents were often given the opportunity to make decisions regarding the implementation and administration of the programs. Critiques of heroic bureaucracies include paternalism, as constituents are assumed to need assistance, and sustainability (1991). Couto finds that heroic bureaucracies often last between 4-6 years, either normalizing or ending (1991).

Institutionalization of diversity in Universities has taken on new forms through

bureaucratic practices as described by Ahmed (2012). Ahmed's account of diversity work within higher educational institutions in the UK provides relevant insights, particularly to performance culture and the meanings of diversity. Primarily, Ahmed finds that performance culture resorts to accountability, not substance (2012). As long as institutions can document a paper trail and convey that processes were followed as deemed, requirements are met regardless of outcomes. As a result, equality and representation regarding those of marginalized communities is often overlooked in an attempt to meet bureaucratic protocol (2012).

The recent utilization of "diversity" as a term and an initiative within universities results from practitioners desire to move away from older terminology. Despite this progression, Ahmed finds that "diversity" has become overused and takes on little meaning. Ahmed finds issue with diversity not being a "scary word" as it has become institutionalized and no longer a representation to reflect inequality. Instead it has become a component of "feel good" politics, accompanying multicultural and cultural enrichment initiatives (2012).

Recent History: Students Counter University Appointments and Bureaucracy

This section reviews the State University of the South (SUS), the Division for Diversity Initiatives (DDI) and the MAC existing organizational structure to give context of the institutional and bureaucratic dynamics existing prior to QSOCA joining the MAC. The below history conveys a muddled set of interactions in which administration

attempted to operate by utilizing key tenants of bureaucracy. Such attempts were thwarted by students. The process involved several perceived missteps by the institution followed by strategies to mitigate student concern.

The years prior to QSOCA'S entry into the Multicultural Activity Center were transitional. The Multicultural Activity Center, previously the Minority Resource Center, had been positioned under various administrative units within the University since inception. Initially students organized in the early 1980's within separate ethnic identity based student agencies under the University's student government. The agencies grew and in 1987 became supported by a fully operational Minority Resource Center housed under the Dean of Students Office.

In 2005 the State University of the South created a portfolio for diversity and hired a Vice Provost (Dr. Samuels) to lead related efforts. By carving such distinctions diversity work became a specialized set of responsibilities within the larger bureaucracy. As of 2006 the portfolio was formalized and the Division for Diversity Initiatives (DDI) was created with Dr. Samuels appointed as the Vice President. During this time the University shifted many offices, including the MRC, from the Division of Student Affairs to the Division of Diversity Initiatives. Patricia, the MRC (to become MAC) director from 2008- 20012 was a DDI staff member at the time and explained the transitioning and impact on office relationships:

> ….in 2006 he was promoted to Vice President and then one of the fist things was, SUS President is like "Create; we've got to create a portfolio." So literally he was looking, grabbing at these different units and I know by him taking those specific units, the Student Organization Center, Student Services for Disabilities, Minority Resource Center from Dean Of Students it was a huge controversy and you know

caused a lot of heartache between DOS staff and DDI staff and it was already a lot of tension and that was 2006.

Given that SUS is a large bureaucracy with over 3,000 academic staff and 21,000 administrative staff, staff were not accustomed at that time to large sweeping changes to the organizational structure of their divisions. The Vice President was a newcomer and making rapid changes in a non-bureaucratic fashion.

Despite this, the nature of the new organizational structure added layers of bureaucracy for the MAC. Patricia continued to explain that the restructuring decreased student access to senior University administrators as additional staff members were added. Instead of directly reporting to a Dean or Vice President, the MRC had a more dense organizational hierarchy to work through. As commonly cited in the critiques of bureaucracy, personalization with staff and students decreased. The Director conveyed a common perception that bureaucratic "layers" were added intentionally to avoid direct communication regarding student needs. Patricia stated that the MAC felt they were getting "the short end of the stick" in funding and once they started to communicate this to him, additional layers were added.

Students became involved in additional bureaucratic matters of full-time employment. Given the nature of the center and student's historic representation in campus issues, their opinions were regarded when making staff choices related to the MAC. Differing from other University director level positions, student's vocal feedback mattered.

To complicate bureaucratic matters, race and identity also became significant as students wanted to ensure their community's organizational interests were supported through such changes. During this transitioning process it was exposed that under the supervision of a previous director (Ms. Barnes), MRC student agencies were unevenly allocated funds. As a result, the administration aimed to move Ms. Barnes to another position. Patricia noted:

> …and then so they started working behind the scenes to help Ms. Barnes [Director of MRC] which, and, um, well, it completely backfired on him, because it was pitting the Latino students and the Black students, and so well they figured out what it was doing they joined forces and turned on him and then so you know and it so ultimately she took the position and then he tried to put in Dr. Yan, which the students-

Student reaction to the non-transparency was powerful. Dr. Samuels selected an interim Asian American staff member who many students had worked with in various capacities. Patricia describes their reaction to this appointment:

> ..which pissed the students off even more and, I mean, went off and you know it was really ugly because the Asian American students turned against her in a nasty public way, like James just went in on her and how she's incompetent, she's not, I mean just really nasty things.

The comment was surprising as the student in reference was Asian American and may have had additional community interaction with Dr. Yan. Previously, students had advocated for additional support from within their communities. Patricia explained these negative reactions occurred in the other communities as well. She felt Asian American students were tougher on staff of their own ethnicity and she saw the same happen with the Latino students and Latino administrators placed in new positions. Patricia described it as "really nasty, I mean just as a public fight you know, you know, people of color on

people of color." Students would say they newly appointed administrators were not fit for the job or that they did not have enough student affairs experience even though they had numerous related experiences. The administration's strategies did not work according to Patricia and so Dr. Samuels responded negatively to the students' choice to appoint an existing MAC staff member as the director. She quoted him as stated "That's absolutely not going to work."

Patricia explained that although Dr. Yan and others had connections to their communities, students in the Center were strongly opposed to Director positions being filled without their consultation. She specified:

> I think the main reason they didn't want Dr. Yan is because Dr. Samuels made the decision without consultation of students. So one of their biggest issues is that he was making all these decisions without consulting the students, he was you know, moving around money, and all this other stuff, doing these things that were in a nontransparent way, so they couldn't really trust him, then he was, you know started attacking, they felt like he was attacking Mrs. Barnes and trying to push her out and then pushing, you know, using what the Latino students were saying, you know and pitting them against the Black students, because the Black students were Mrs. Barnes side support.

The administration needed to increase trust from the students. To lessen student dissent, the administration adjusted and reduced the number of bureaucratic levels overseeing the MRC. Patricia explains "And so one of the agreements that Dr. Samuels makes with students is that the MRC will be a direct report to him and so it wasn't gonna be under these layers." Secondly the administration needed to select a director that met both student and institutional needs. Patricia was a DDI employee and had been a student leader in the MRC from 1999-2003, as a result students knew her through various organizational affiliations. A student approached her and asked if she would be willing

to help. The student stated to Patricia "we can trust you, we can trust Dr. Richmond [Patricia's supervisor]." According to Patricia, the response from higher administration was "You know this might be our only hope to calm this down." As a result, Patricia kept her existing role as an Executive Director for another office and took on the addition Director position of MRC as interim. Several months later Patricia's existing Executive Director role ended as subordinate offices had been dismantled. Patricia was told:

> Okay, we can do you being the Director and then [create] SDI, it's a direct report to me, you know nothing really changes but your title," and so you know I was like well, that's a great idea but the students have to be on board with wanting me because that means we have to launch the search for the Director.

In reviewing this case of the MAC Director position, it is clear that neither the University administration nor students could rely upon their existing tactics to achieve a desired goal. Student had initially wanted another Director, but could not get approval from administration, and vice vs. The process required students and administrators to compromise. Students selected a bureaucratic insider they could trust while administrators could not freely appoint.

Resistance to QSOCA's Emergence: Bureaucracy or Self Interest

While the previous section addressed how the larger bureaucratic decision-making process impacted students, this section will focus on the bureaucratic nature of decision-making amongst organizations within the MAC. The decision to approve or deny QSOCA's application into the space serves as a prime example of such processes involving high-stakes. Additional student run agencies to the MAC structure was not

commonplace and only five existed since the center's inception in the early 1980's. Each agency addition impacted funding, space, and operational processes for those organizations and students existing in the MAC. This section will convey student worries of such impact, thus highlighting the influence of bureaucratic constraints. Student participants desired to maintain the organizational structure so as to keep existing practices and institutional resources. In many cases, student leaders prioritized bureaucratic needs above progressive organizational agendas.

The initial idea of incorporating a LGBTQ organization into the Multicultural Resource Center had been introduced to the Director by a staff member Maria who advised two of the MRC student agencies. In trying to recall the conversation Patricia stated "I'm not quite sure of how those conversations went, but I have the feeling that this was something that Maria really wanted as a student. "According to Patricia:

> .. I started hearing it first from Maria, and she was really saying you know, "we need to have QSOC." It was QSOC at the time, in the space, and she was just starting the conversation and so she went to, she partnered with the GSRC and took a couple of the students to the Queer conference? I can't remember what the conference was called in California, I think it was California, and during, when they were there it stated to have this conversation about the steps we would take to get QSOCA as an agency in the MRC and I know that she, I think she really pushed that conversation with the students, it helped them think through it and so when they got back from the conference they gave me a letter, I actually have the letter.

The letter of intent included a formal letterhead with a QSOCA logo in which symbols of gender speared out of the "O". As noted by Patricia above, the initial organizational concept was Queer Students of Color (QSOC), but added on the Allies with the formal letter of intent. The letter of intent stated: "QSOCA would like to formally become part

of the Multicultural Resource Center, and gain access to resources, contacts, and community that the MRC offers, in addition to our affiliation with the Gender and Sexuality Resource Center." The letter added, "QSOCA exists to contribute to the self-empowerment and visibility of people of color, queers and their communities at State University of the South."

Furthermore, the letter of intent outlined long-term, intermediate, and short term goals for the organization followed by describing a proposed organizational leadership structure:

> Long-term Goals: Staying active, dissolving stereotypes around campus and the city community, raising awareness, networking and offering resources for queer students, students of color and allies, creating a safe space for all people, building community, empowerment, recruitment and retention, funding and building recourses for a potential scholarship in the future and contributing to the University through presence.
>
> Intermediate Goals: Hosting events to reach of to POC, queer students, queer oo cultural organizations, non-out people [events they might feel comfortable attending], more recruitment and retention, scholarship logistics, cultivating participation of transgender individuals, representation and visibility on and/or around campus in queer people of color friendly environments, learning to get funding and other member education training, and update how-to reference guide.
>
> Short Term- Goals: Summer Meetings for roles/Elections, creating/maintaining a website, tabling and advertising for events and organization, finding a space on campus increasing our accessibility to students, planning for summer orientation and other end of semester summer events, lay foundations for large scale events for next year [Queer Olympics (find co-hosts), King/ Queen Show, Queer Prom #3], identity education for members and non-members, community building, and meetings with GSRC/MRC to learn about resources and potential opportunities. (QSOCA Letter of Intent)

Later in the interview Patricia recalled the discussions with Maria and added "Okay, so as a student, I think that was something she wanted as a student and the

problem was MRC at the time and you know [sic] and plus you know, the Queer students weren't really welcomed, or didn't feel welcomed in the environment after." I attempted to get clarification with Patricia regarding the "problem" in the MRC and she added "as a student, yeah, there wasn't gonna be support from the top. So when there was a regime change, you know, because it was early on, I was really new, I think Maria saw this as an opening, an opportunity because it would be supported by the leadership so she talked to students and she helped them…" It was unclear whether the former staff director would have been amenable to the possibility of QSOCA joining the MRC, however, I asked Patricia why she decided to proceed:

> Because I personally believe that that they, the students belonged in the space and they needed to be supported just like any other marginalized community. In this particular instance they're, they're in a double marginalized space they're not only Queer but they're students of color and so, and I said you know there's no reason not to support this group of students because they are marginalized just like other students are and there, there's no, no support on campus they way they were gonna get the support from MRC because you know the GSRC doesn't support the student groups the way that our agencies would support it.

When we returned to the conversation of QSOC's letter of intent, Patricia explained that Maria, a full-time staff advisor was a catalyst in prompting the discussion among students because, as Patricia explained there was no structure to keep the organization and there was no sustainable funding. Maria and Patricia hoped that by being in the MRC they would have structure, consistency and the funding. She met with some of the QSOCA students early on and they had concerns about bringing the organization into the MAC. Students were concerned how people would respond, whether they would be rejected. She talked to them about some of the possible questions and concerns they would receive

37

especially with money because the budget would have to divide up accordingly. This was also during the time when budget cuts started happening. Patricia said "let's go for it, let's just, present it and see what, you know what the students say" and then Maria sent the QPOCA letter to the list serve.

The list-serve included MRC full-time advisors and the student leaders in the five affiliated agencies. In describing the letter's reception, Patricia states "So there wasn't- it wasn't received well." I ask "So the letter goes out, and folks read it, who are the folks that come to you and like what are the different agency reactions? Did they have official responses or casual responses?" Patricia that a casual approach was taken in the beginning. There was a lot of pushback from the African American Black Student Association (AABSA) and the Asian American Council (AAC). Patricia believed it had to do with the leadership in the Asian American Council in particular. The Latino Leadership Alliance (LLA) was different because the advisor (Maria) advocating for them. Patricia believer her strategy was to garner individual support that when the student were discussing it, she already knew she had students in support. LLA would be on board from the beginning.

Patricia clarifies with AAC "So [exhale] so if it was bigger it may not have been all AAC but the illusion at the time was not for [it]." Patricia explained that she collected votes from individuals (not by agency) and included both students affiliated to the MRC agencies and students who were not affiliate to agencies but utilized the MRC space. I asked about the student reasoning for not supporting QSOCA's entry. One of the reasons was that students thought and argued that the MRC was a race-based space. And because

it was a race-based place there was no room for other identities to be supported, or it wasn't part of our mission.

Another reason was resources. The MRC would have to financially support another agency and students did not believe this was feasible. Patricia decided to have the students vote on whether QSOCA should be admitted as an agency into the MRC. In retelling this process she admitted, "So which now seems so ridiculous, voting on people's fate." She explained that she thought this would help the students process the decision. They had open forums where people cane and presented their concerns and ideas to the staff. They also had a meeting with the MRC students and QSOCA. She was really concerned about this because she did not want it to be "a bashing QSOCA session." During the session, comments included "Well maybe we should have a Queer representative in each agency," which became a popular idea. Patricia thought this was a ridiculous idea. She added "That's like saying let's have a Black representative in the [predominantly white Spirit group]." She noted that several student in the African American Black Students Associate kept pointing to an openly gay member, adding that "Let Shawn, Shawn can be our Queer representative."

As we continued to discuss, Patricia scrolls through her email records of students votes and reads some of the statements, "My vote is no. I believe for the decision of this magnitude there should be more time given to think about the opportunity." Patricia prints a letter and summarizes it before handing a total of six to me:

> So let's see, this summarizes some of the reasons… to take responsibility… I'm not sure… [laughter] Anyway so a lot of it had to do with division of resources and the fact that the MRC was race-based, and then of course people tried to like

"Oh we don't have enough time to debate about it, let's push it back another year… " Or what was some other stuff… yeah, so those are the main things like people are just not really wiling to you know, "Oh it's not about being homophobic it's other things" so you'll really try to avoid, coming processing…

The sample provided by Patricia included a variety of stances with various levels of details. The letters represent a student worker, and students from AABSA, and LLA. Patricia did not have any archived letters from AAC and AIC.

A younger student leader in Latino Leadership Affairs wrote "Yes we are a space for all groups it aligns with our MRC purpose and not having them in goes agains[t] what we stand for." Another student involved with LLA first wrote, "At this point, the only comfortable vote I can make is "no", but that does not mean I am not in support of the queer community. " However, twenty-one minutes later the student sent a correction and stated "Sorry, but after serious dialogue on the QSOCA issue I change my vote to yes." In opposition to QSOCA's potential affiliation to the MRC, a student from AABSA wrote:

> "As of right now I vote "no" on making QSOCA an agency in the MRC. I feel that this is a perfect time to address the homophobia in our communities. I see the MRC as a race based center, and thus we muse serve EVERYONE in our respected communities, whether they be homosexual, muslim, business majors, etc. If we give QSOCA their own agency, I fear that the divide will persist forever. Therefore, I would rather fix what is wrong within us, than to give up before we have even tried."

Additional lengthier emails indicated student concern. See Appendix VIII and IX.

Once tallying all student votes, it was somewhat close. Patricia recalls "it wasn't like 70/30, it was more like a 40/60. And it was a little disheartening but you know there was no 50/49 or 51.9%. It wasn't that close but it wasn't that far." Given the contention, I

asked Patricia what her concerns were at the time of QSOCA joining. She was concerned that they would not be accepted and would be marginalized and ostracized. One of the first things she did was ensure there new advisor with them at the student/staff fall training. During this fall training there was a portion dedicated to LGBTQ issues. One problem that occurred, according to Patricia was that they may have over-programmed on LGBTQ training. They had a colleague from the GSRC do a whole workshop and then the MAC brought in Jamie Washington, in which a lot of what he focused on was LGBTQ issues. As a result, most of that staff training dealt with issues of related to the LGBTQ community (versus race, religion etc.). Patricia received comments including "Y'all are stuffing this down our throats" even though it was not intentional. She remembered talking to some of the students and saying, "Let's really make sure QSOCA feels welcome." She fondly recalled the other agencies creating a cheer "I love it when you call it QSOCA" and embracing them, making them a feel a part of the team.

Managing the QSOCA transition into the MRC was emotionally difficult for Patricia. She described relying upon her faith to help her through this difficult process.I asked what kept her moving through that process and she replied "Because I knew it was right, I mean I knew it was the right thing to do and that people will generally come along and I knew it wasn't going to be easy but I knew it was the right.

Bureaucracy and Organizational Operations

The below subsections address how bureaucratic protocol shapes the operations of QSOCA through student employment, effectiveness expectations, and conduct requirements given by the institution. Such examples highlight limiting intersections of bureaucracy and student organizing.

Training Students as Workers

Having a student organization affiliated to the Multicultural Activity Center offered many benefits for both students and the organizations they represented. Faezah, a seasoned leader in the Asian American Council (AAC) explained the draw. She perceived the MAC agencies to have lot of students who had a lot of power to come up with idea. The student could run with these ideas, do whatever they wanted to do, and bring it on campus as they had a lot of support from the advisors and within the office. She described the staff support as more guidance and not anyone telling them this is what you should do. She described it as having an organic method of thinking. She liked that students knew about different cultures and she wanted to learn after meeting all the MAC students. She felt like she had things in common with a lot of the students from as simple as TV shows. It was those things in common that helped her to start building relationships.

Faezah explained that this type of organizational experience was not common on campus. In other groups, there were more students leading the organizations but the

activities were similar, routine with the same philanthropies and speakers. She saw the MAC activities as more exciting and relevant. Faezah gave an example of the affirmative action court cases students were organizing round in the MAC. She liked the MAC programming was based on current events.

Furthermore, the structure of affiliation included employment opportunities for two leaders from each agency. As a result, many agency students considered the MAC an employment space. Manuel, a QSOCA student explained "I do see this as a professional space. Students get paid here, it's a job. Some don't get paid like me, but there's at least two officers in every organization ([inaudible])." I asked if other students perceived the space similarly and Manuel responded:

> I don't know. I don't know if they see it that way. I know QSOCA does because they talk about it all the time. We say we might not like each other sometimes but this is still a work space and we're still having to work. But at the same time, I don't want it to feel like work. It shouldn't feel like work. It should feel like something that I want to do. It should make me happy. A lot of times I feel like it's just work; just have to do it because I'm an officer, which is not good, in its own sense.

Despite the ability to respond to current events and the increased access to University services, students were expected to operate as student leaders in a bureaucratic environment. QSOCA students needed to learn various new skills in order to effectively organize and program and this often placed great pressure on them. Anissa recalls planning for two QSOCA events in which they applied for funding from different places on campus. Given their limited preliminary budget, they asked for money from other MAC agencies. They learned how to co-sponsor with other office and organizations. However, this type of work was not exciting for the students. Anissa gave an example of

43

a luncheon in which they partnered with the Gender and Sexuality Resource Center on campus and the Latino Leadership Association. She became frustrated with the planning process "I just know during the, Lisa and I felt like there were a lot of pointless meetings and people were really high strung about it and always stressing. "I asked why they were pointless and she responded:

> like, we wouldn't go over anything new, we would just go over what we already had and the list of things and assigning jobs to people, what to do, sometimes like we wouldn't, it would just be a repeat of the last meeting and nobody had done their job that they were supposed to do the previous week so it just seemed pointless.

I asked if that was part of the reason that she wasn't as involved as chair and she responded "I was supposed to be the chair but I didn't do it [laughter]." I asked Anissa to expand upon the reasons that she decided not to be chair. She felt really new to everything. She explained

> I'd never been in anything like that before, and when we would go through the list of things that had to get done, and like who wants to do this, and who's gonna take care of this, like everybody seemed like they already had connections with other people and other organizations and like "oh, I can talk to so and so and they'll help," or "I've already talked to blah blah blah," and like, everybody was just raising their hand and oh, I'll do this or I got this, whatever, and I just felt like was just kind of thrown in there,.I didn't know what I was doing and I felt like I didn't know people and I had never interviewed, like some of the other organizations that there were interviews for like funding, some people had already done it before and gotten good responses and were gonna do it again and I never, I actually never sat through a funding meeting, um, only Lisa did I think and, yeah, I just didn't know how I got what I was doing so I was, 'okay, you go ahead and do that,'

Anissa added given this formality, she thought people would be more mature and accountable for their part of the work. However many people did put in their part of the

work and expected one person to do it all. It was lot of pressure for one person and she responded, "well if you're not gonna help then I'm not gonna help either, like this is not fair. " Anissa admitted this became a pattern for her. Anissa had expected there to be work but n conclusion, she explained, "I guess I was not prepared for the work."

Another QSOCA leader Omar, also felt overwhelmed:

> Oh, goodness. For the first event that we held, which I did Queer Prom, I felt it was a mess and then my officers, Lisa, showed up late, another officer and her girlfriend showed up drunk, the other one I didn't really want to bother because she was finally having a good time, and Brie wasn't in town. So, I was trying to make it all perfect and everything and then people were cursing at me, people called me a dumbass, I like broke down and went behind the doors and started crying, like this was the worst thing ever and so one of my friends followed me and Ezra was there and she was like, "Well not everything is gonna be perfect, me and Nikita had this and that and me and Nikita—" and I'm like, Well, you had Nikita, I don't have anybody on this damn team. And it's also when I told myself that I didn't want to be an officer again. It was, I didn't want to be part of a mess, like, I was a big planner, I wanted to plan ahead, that was the main thing I wanted to do, but they were getting on me because I was the speaker for QSOCA, which I have no problem being like a representative and speaking, but actually typing the emails,

Although not paid for the position, students in the MAC were treated as staff and expected to act professional as they presented the center. Omar, much of the tension arose from lack of training:

> I have really bad grammar, like, I'm just like run on sentences, shortened words and everything and I'm like, I can't write to like Dr. Samuels or other people that we're gonna ask for money for or invite because I don't want to sound stupid. So that's one thing, that's why I didn't go for another officer position because … like, well, until you work on your emailing, and then I'm like, 'Well, then…'

I discussed with Omar the importance of support and referring to his the full-time advisor and other officers. He explained that he did ask some of the other officers for help. He

asked for templates to create funding letters and the response was that others would do it instead. As a result he became unenthusiastic about his duties and thought "That's cool with me because I didn't want to do it in the first place." He explained that later on he found out that no one did send a funding request letter to Dr. Samuels for one of the events he was planning.

Overall, lack of preparedness to complete agency work impacted students moral throughout the organizations and well a perspective students likeliness to join the leadershership. As a newer QSOCA leader, Sai explained that it was:

> just really hard to work with people, and they didn't' like it, and they wanted to quit, um, and I was like, 'well, I don't know if I really wanna join,' um, but I kinda got dragged into one of their committees last year, someone just told me come to this meeting and didn't tell me what it was for, and so I ended up going and up, I mean I enjoyed it but I didn't want to be an officer because [inaudible] people who were really dramatic um, but I mean I guess, new year, new people and I think that what surprised me the most was people that I work with um, I mean there are some rough patches because of course not everyone's gonna get through perfectly, but I try to you know help make the space a safe space for other students as well, so,

Programming and Productivity

Several of the student leaders revealed a stress in creating programming that adhered to both institutional regulations, as well as substantiating the dollars spent for the events they held. Some students believed these expectations were fairly reasonable. QSCOCA leader Sai explained that expectations were mostly programming related, throwing events for the agencies and their members, and having member retention. She believed the "as long as we're doing what we're expected of," holding students

46

accountable, and "making sure that we're doing programming and being on point with whatever position we're assigned to," they would meet expectations.

However other QSOCA leaders felt differently. Dane, 21, identified as lesbian and genderqueer, was a former student leader of QSOCA and served as a leader for several other LGBTQ organizations. Dane conveyed "there's so much pressure to get people to come to our events and always to have it bigger and bigger and bigger, I feel like, they know this, they probably won't say it but they know it too we essentially lie about how many people come to our events." I clarified and asked "inflate?" Dane responded:

> Yeah, we inflate it and like not usually by a small number either, like it's usually a hundred plus and just when that becomes like the big issue instead of like, how good was this, like what kind of quality was this like did we talk to people afterwards like what did people learn, like that bothers me on a fundamental level. It bothers me that numbers are what we care about and like that's what people are prioritizing, that shouldn't be what this group is worried about you know?

I asked if MAC staff help to inflate the numbers or was it all students and Dane responded "It, it was a bit of both." Recalling how busy event were, sometimes with nearly a thousand participants, I further asked if it was something outward they said or was it "just, oh, we'll add on a few here and there?" Dane responded "Also kind of both." Pausing, Dane then added "It depended on the event but I've heard both kind of happened, it's sort of a given at this point, like you inflate the numbers." Dane added that other organizations may also deal with this issue, and added "you figure they learned it from somewhere." I asked Dane to expand on why students would inflate participant numbers:

47

Like they wanted to make it seem like we had more people at our events and we were getting more all the time because they want more funding and they don't want to loose funding, like that's always the big fear that we're gonna lose funding or like that we don't really fit into the space and we're gonna be penalized somehow, it's just, there's always been this tension and like this stressful need to like make everything perfect and look better than it really was like. And it's not even that QSOCA's not popular or the events aren't well attended, but there's just so much pressure to make it seem like we're even more popular now than we were and all that stuff that we started lying about numbers like we will do anything to get more funding and to feel like we really are part of the MAC, like we'll do just about anything.

Dane added that there was extra pressure on QSOCA given the early resistance from organizations about their formal affiliation. She felt like every year it got a little better as other student began to understand why intersectionality is important and why QSOCA was there. QSOCA had one of the smallest budgets in the center and Dane reflected "so much pressure to make it clear that we belong there, that we need more money."

In the first few years of incorporation, the annual budget was around $11,000 for QSOCA. With this amount, the students were able to put on several meetings, a few small social events, one large drag show, and a welcome event that drew over 500 students. I asked why they would want additional funds given the success of their current programming. Dane replied "No. That's never been a question. The, the answer has always been we need more money." She added that the money would go towards more events including speakers, panels, to provide food at meetings, while still offering staple events. She added

I think the belief is more money equals better event, to some extent that can be true but I also think there's nothing wrong with what if the event is just as good as

it was last year or different or if you put your money into stuff in a different way, you know? Like more money doesn't necessarily equal better in some situations I think.

She continued to explain that they spent more money on Queer Prom, but she had liked the event more when they had spent less. In an attempt to make the event larger, they held it later and opened it up to the Queer college community outside of QSOCA and the MAC. As a result, several students had "pre-gamed" and many arrived intoxicated. She believed that high school students started showing up and possible some were intoxicated, which created a very awkward social dynamic. As a result, she explained that with regards to student leadership "it seemed like nobody was really in charge." She reaffirmed "Yeah, like that's what I mean, like I think we put more money into than we had the year before but not a better result." Dane added that what made better event usually involved planning earlier, making sure everyone was doing what they're supposed to do, and using money in really creative ways. She added "but the way QSOCA and I'm sure a lot of MAC organizations have to operate is that more money is better event."

Dane believed the paranoia regarding funding derived from the student leaders, not full-time staff. Students were very aware of institutional funding and current events however. Dane explained:

Yeah. And I know the year before in terms of the MAC being defunded like, that was a huge concern everybody had, um…William, Monica, all of them were a part of that, like any rumors the students started spreading like they just became part of it, so…and I ended up just talking to Nelli about that because we kind of tried to calm that down 'cause everyone was really panicking about this and Dr. Samuels had never communicated anything about that.

49

Dane added:

> It was a very, it was just strange and its been something we have been working towards all the time trying to get people to just calm down, your organizations, have a good time, like no one's defunding you. Worry about the Texas lege for that, not not Dr. Samuels

Dane explained the motivation and rational behind showing productivity:

> For us to get money we have to put on programs that show diversity on campus cause we are part of the Division for Diversity Initiatives, I think that's what it is, SDC something, Student Diversity something, I don't know, Equity SDI, something. But we have to show programs and we have to show the amount of people who actually go to them and we have to put down numbers and we have to show that the program is successful. So we don't have to worry about people showing up or not showing up if you don't have that pressure. You could just do what you want but in this case we have to constantly try to make our programs better and better each year.

I asked Dane if this was "bad thing or a good thing" for the organization. She believed:

> I think it's a bad thing because we're not focusing on our issues, our real issues that are going on on campus and we're not actively trying to fix them. We're just putting on our programs and just going through the motions. Which I don't feel like it's a very successful thing at all.

Dane believed this focus came from the people (student leaders) before they who were pressured to put on programs that were supposed to show diversity on campus and highlight the accomplishments of SUS. Dane believed it was "a goal that the Student Diversity Center just has for us and so that just kinda got pushed onto their agenda."

As a result, she believed that this encouraged the new officers coming in to outdo what the other programs had done before. She added "So we keep the Same traditions, but we just make it better."

To make it "better" was no so difficult for programs that had already occurred. Dane explained that "Because it's more planning, we know what's gonna happen, we

know how to put the rooms and other things, that logistics have already been done are very simple to execute." Furthermore, the full-time staff advisors (such has William) had not given this requirement or guidance to the students. Dane affirmed "We just came up with the notion that pretty much we should always be doing better than we did last year. We're not content with how it came out last year and we should always make it better." Dane explained that the MAC doesn't tell them they need to make the programs better, but offers suggestions on how to when asked.

Indicators of a successful program included number of students attending and money fund-raised. Dane explained:

> We just have to show, like the amount of money that we put into the program also kinda exhibits how well it's doing. Because if we are able to put more and more money and get more and more sponsors and it becomes a tradition, then obviously the program is doing well because every year we're getting more money and actually able to make it bigger and better every year with more and more money. And that's kind of logistics because we do have to, I think we have to send back a report of how much money we used per program and how much went to it and then we have to show logistics on how well they did and things like that. I think at the end of the year.

Focusing on productivity caused stress. Dane believed it put a toll on the students who headed committees as they are trying to do the best for the program and their communities, while also for the MAC by using money wisely. It was really stressful as well because student leaders have to secure co-sponsors and these events required they planned early. Dane added "we have to show results. I mean too, you know our budget is tight and so every year we have like a yearly evaluation by the DDI to see if, you know, do these agencies still warrant the money that we give them?"

51

Given the annual budget received, Dane explained that administrators needed to know it was a worthy investment. Dane added that QSOCA projects bring out big numbers and have positive impact for the communities they want to represent. Students from the other agencies indicated the same. The Asian American Council also relied upon participant numbers for conveying success. Each year they held a welcome program for Asian American students in which over 800 would attend. One participant responded that they were "making sure people are pounding down the doors and they're not gonna be able to see it unless the whole house is packed." She added it's a good thing, especially since we spend nearly ten-thousand dollars on it. You better have a lot of people there." Similarly, the Asian American Council hold and institute, and productivity in this case is "turning out leaders that do go on to other organizations." For Amy and the Asian American Council leadership, they did not see this pressure as negative:

> Um, well I mean it's not a bad thing. Obviously you want great results and I'm never gonna be unhappy with that. But to a certain level it also hampers a little of our willingness to try smaller things or to try new things because it's like, "It's not been done before, are we really gonna get what we need out of this?" But I think that is less of an institutional pressure as opposed to our own desire to produce results. So we are sorta working in tandem with what they want, 'cause we do wanna have results, we do want to have people come out. We want people to be informed. We want people to become leaders. So yes, there is a little bit of that.

Despite the pressure, Dane believed that a QSOCA program could still be successful without increase funding. Dane added that it depended how it was executed and how it was organized. Dane said "I never thought how much money you put into a program showed how good it was." Dane had been in organizations before QSOCA where they did not have a lot of money but still were successful in educating and

increasing awareness among participants. Dane added "And that's what I feel like is the most, you could have a lot of money into a program and have people show up, but if they leave with nothing, then it's not worth it."

Dane gave examples of both successful low cost programs and unsuccessful high cost programs regarding QSOCA's ability to educating constituents. Dane referenced the LGBTQ Leadership Institute in which participants attended weekly sessions in the fall to learn about emerging issues in the community. They left informed and this was only a fraction of the cost in comparison to their larger events, including a talent show. Dane described the last talent show as not as successful as participant left not understanding it was focused on Queer People of Color that highlighted diversity on campus.

 Despite this stress, many believed they were still in a better position as the resources allowed them to put on large events, which would not be feasible without continual University sponsorship and affiliation. Dane explained:

> I think we're in a unique position that it would actually benefit us more than it would be an adverse thing, because the organizations on campus don't get money and so they can't put on Drag Ball, they can't programs that are extremely well done or executed because they don't have the money or time to do so. And then when you have a group of seven people working on a project it's not that hard to get things done.

Programming and Suitable Behavior

Upon joining the MAC, QSOCA represented the State University of the South in all events. As a result, all language, behavior, and activities were expected to be professional. Dane believed QSOCA had to center language a lot, and it almost impacted

how real they could sound as students. Occasionally Dane slipped up including at the prior drag ball:

> I basically said that I- I was in charge of doing something on body positivity and I was talking about commercials that essentially um fooled people into thinking that there's something wrong with their bodies to get them to buy things and I said it was "bullshit" which you know I almost got in trouble for later but it's true and I don't regret saying it because that is bullshit and everyone should love their body and learn to love it and grow with it, etcetera.

Dane added, **"**So, that was just me being real, but yeah generally you have to watch your language at events." In fact Dane was approached after by the QSOCA Director of Operations and the full-time staff advisor and reminded to watch the language. In recalling the situation, Dane hoped that Dr. Samuels would never hear about it.

Other participants indicated similarly. When asked if had there had been any institutional dynamics, like rules, regulations or policies that have impacted organizational work, AAC leader Amy replied that there was a general pressure from the University and DDI to act in a specific way. Amy expanded:

> So the Division for Diversity Initiatives is very institutionalized, very specific in how it's structured and it has all these different [ranges][57:03] and we're the only anomaly, this little crazy bunch over here that is student-run, student-led and all these other initiatives are faculty-led, staff-led and so I feel like the Division for Diversity Initiatives and the University always has to be like, "We gotta keep them under control. None of those crazy business." And so, and also by nature the fact that we do want to, our space is meant to rebel against the system, but we are within the system. So we have to be very conscious about, sorry, the rules that we set up and how we act around them. We can push buttons. We can't really shake too much. Like when we sit down to meetings with administrators or with Dr. Samuels - very, very careful about what we say. And being very courteous and very respectful because he is our supervisor. .. You know, he could cut is if he wanted to. We would start a ruckus, but he could if he wanted to. He

had the power to do so, so there is that hanging over us. So sometimes we can't have as radical an idea if we wanted to because we have to keep in mind that we are bound by certain rules. Not to say that we're going to do anything crazy. But with had , you know at YBO we knew that Dr. Samuels was coming so we can't have any lewd performances or you know, gotta clear the music, make sure there's no profanity in there. Or, you know, there's some things we can't do, make sure that we have an educational component to it, you know. All these different things. But they're usually smaller checks, and so these are things that we normally keep in consid- at least with us. We try to not go too crazy. And so these are smaller checks on our behavior and making sure that this is in keeping with the University and like say the President comes, he wouldn't be offended by anything.

Even thought high level administrators such as the President of SUS were not typically in attendance, student still had to "watch" their behavior as the MAC more recent interim Director was in line with the other administrators.

Because students represented the University and some were paid for agency work, expectations were heightened for QSOCA students. Many conveyed needing additional training to create large-scale events expected of MAC agencies. While participating in the planning of such events, student admitted the work to be tedious and often overly bureaucratic. Furthermore, students experience increased pressure to show success through quantifiable metrics as money fundraised and participant attendance. Finally students were expected to behave professionally as they represented the University. Thus, many had to curb language, attire, and behavior. Such dynamics impacted organization programming. Students wondered if centered language adjusted their ability to relate to students, while increased focus on metrics detracted from a social justice focus. Furthermore, students were surprised at the amount of work the leadership team required. All three dynamic attributed to increased stress and "burn-out" for students not expecting

such an intensive experience. Overall, this subsection conveys the difficulty in addressing QPOC organizational and community needs while adhere in bureaucratic protocol. The social justice and community building agenda is limited so as to fulfill institutional expectations.

Finding Purpose on Campus and Social Justice

As QPOCA began to organize at the University, members articulated different expectations they had for the type of programming offered. Omar, a leader in the organization felt that the meetings were not social enough. Omar followed-up with attendees, who told him that they found the meetings unorganized and they did not enjoy it that much. He would track participants and noticed people stopped coming. He stated "The meetings were really boring. I tried to hold one at a meeting but it was just like a brief meeting introducing the icebreakers and then I think we had a person speaking that day. They were really fun, they're no longer fun anymore…" Omar added that QSOCA just wanted to "educate everybody and then the education is like core, it's like Dallas's school system."

I asked Omar to explain the difference between when meetings were "cool" versus how they had become. Omar explained:

> We have in the past, the first year I was in QSOCA, we had bonding, we had some education, we had some news, but it was everything in one meeting and it was all done within an hour. For us it's like one topic and then that whole hour and then we have an ice breaker and that's it, or if they do do something they want to try and inform everybody they half ass it like, there was, I don't know if you remember Nikita's PowerPoint about being sex positive and how she went into all those categories and everything, they tried to do it again this year but it

56

was just so… like, empty there was not information for anybody to walk with everyone was like oh, I'm really bad I could have done this one blindfolded. And I just feel like it was really half assed I feel like people half assed a lot of stuff, like there was certain thing that the wanted to worry about and then were was other things that they didn't give a shit about. I feel like our meetings were kind of one of them.

Patty also was attracted to QSOCA for the boding opportunities. In retelling the first meeting ze attended, Patty found it to be a relaxing meeting and described it as and introduction to reviewing what QSOCA is, what it stands for, and ze was really interested in. The people and the officers seemed really passionate about it, they seemed really excited, and Patty met a lot of new people that night as they went bowling in the Student Union afterwards. It became a bonding experience as afterward a bunch of people that ze met there up staying out all night socializing and playing games together, getting to know each other. Ze had never really met a lot of people here SUS and did not have many friends there. For Patty, it was a really interesting experience and a lot of fun. Patty added "I could really see myself doing this a lot more," thinking it's going to be like this all the time. Patty wanted to partake in activism and explained that after coming out ze wanted to do work or the LGBTQ community, mainly advocacy and some activism. Patty wanted to have their voice heard so as to bring visibility to the invisibility within the Queer community.

Unlike Omar, Patty thought QSOCA offered a good balance between types of programming. In response to whether QPOCA prioritizes a type of programing, Patty offered:

I don't think so, I feel like we try to have more of a balance of each because this year in terms of our community meetings we're trying to have a balance of

57

educational activism and social events so we want people to kind of get a lot from QSOCA but we also want them to join themselves so that they're not too overbearing by what they learn so they also can come and enjoy themselves and hang out with people that they meet here or like get to know the officers better, so they seek a lot of fulfillment from coming to the meetings but also they tend to enjoy doing it as well, so I feel like we try and balance it out as much as we can.

I asked Patty whether in terms of having a voice and being politically active, how would ze categorize QSOCA and StandUp in comparison to one another. Patty explained that Stand Our was more activism, advocacy for the Queer community, but QSOCA was the only organization at SUS that addressed issues faced by the Queer People of Color communities. As a result, educational aspects of QSOCA focus on those issues whereas StandUp focuses more on direct action and advocacy, voting and lobbying. Patty added that StandUp isn't limited to just that, StandUp can also branch out into intersectionality, ally training and learning about QPOC and TPOC issues as well, because a lot of advocacy is involved with being an ally to those communities. Patty stated that they're interconnected but at the same time the focuses are somewhat different.

While Patty perceived QSOCA to be educational, other leaders felt QSOCA meetings were too social and did not provide enough education or activist opportunities. David explained a lack of engagement and participation from the community, partially attributed to the structure of the meetings and programming:

I've served in leadership teams before, in high school, all the way to the top like as a president and stuff, and it becomes a routine. And it's become that now. And it's not a routine that I dislike, but it's also not a routine that I like. So I don't get real excited to go to QSOCA meetings. I go to QSOCA meetings like oh I have to be there, not because oh I'm excited for that. And I feel like it's the same with the community that we have, quote un-quote community. 'Cause there's no one person who's come to every single meeting, I don't think. Some meetings we have a lot of people, some meetings we don't. And I feel like people come

because they feel like they need to, not because they want to, unless it's like a social gathering. And I think a lot of it might also have to do with the leadership team. I think, you know, hearing the history of QSOCA, I think we've made a big step in the right direction, but at the same time, I don't know. I just feel like the community isn't what I would want in a community. I want people who want, 'cause even in our community like, if you haven't noticed, they just kinda sit there and hear us talk at them. There's very few of them that actually engage in conversation. It doesn't even seem like they're having fun, a lot seem really stoic. They stare at us while we're talking. It's just a routine. That's pretty much what it feels like to me now. And to me, the core value of it is like the social justice component, which is something I've become really, really passionate about in the past year. And I feel like we kinda forget that sometimes. And kinda looking at things and how they're all connected. For example, I get really annoyed with people when they complain about first world problems kind of things, like, "Oh my Starbucks coffee isn't hot enough" or "My iPhone is crapping out." Grrr. Things like that really annoy me sometimes.

Anissa also agreed and was frustrated as attendees were more interested in the social

aspects of the organization:

…like, it's just that there weren't a lot of people at our meetings and like there was a lot of people the first one or two meetings but then like our meetings didn't go well and so they don't come back and it just kinda seems like people just wanna hang out, they don't wanna do actual work for the community, they just wanna hang out. Which is important, like it's important to have this space where people who are marginalized feel like they're safe to be in, and the other people that are similar to themselves, but I was under the impression that QSOCA was like for like activism and you know, community stuff, not just like hanging out.

Anissa explained later in the interview that she was not in it for the "big events" and

wanted a mixture: She added "I wanted it to be an educational activisty thing but in the

form of community building and spreading knowledge to people, also doing some stuff

but not like, not either or, just a good balance. "Early on Anissa realized that other

students had different experiences and expectations for the organization:

..one of the main roots of issues is like personality types, and then like, how people are on different levels, like when we had the retreat in the beginning of the year, there was like the [social justice] just learning level and then, I don't

remember the levels and I was like, full-on activist level and a lot of people were so, people were on different levels of what they saw as activism, and some people in the group kinda just wanted to have fun, basically. Wanted to do like, drag. Um, and all the fun events just hang out and have fun and other people were like, we must educate, we must change the world so like from the start, there were a lot of different goals for QSOCA

I asked if QSOCA provided community or activism based programming the prior year. Anissa explained that the QSOCA tried to hold activism focused events but the outcome was quite different. Anissa replied:

> .., it's just that we spent a lot of time and effort and money on like big events, like DILO and the advertising for that was not good 'cause there weren't a lot of people there and then there was the Cherie thing, the Gloria Anzaldúa thing, where we had Cherie come in and she was like, $10,000 just to bring her, it was like $18,000 total and that took a lot of time from QSOCA, there was a lot of focus on that and then like the actual event itself was mostly like faculty who already knew of her and her work and they like, and then she didn't even do anything except like read from her book. So it's like, oh, and yeah.

I asked Anissa to clarify whether she would consider the above to be activist events. She replied:

> …I mean there's different types of activism. Um… I just think sometimes it gets too academic, um, and I guess I prefer it to not be that way 'cause I think it's important for an event to be accessible to everybody, I feel like the luncheon was a bit of a turnoff to a lot of people, it seemed really formal and it was.

In trying to figure out how Anissa conceptualized what's academic, what's political, what's social, and what's acceptable, and what she want out of the programming, I asked what would have made it better, or what would have made those events if anything, um, more "activisty." She responded:

> I mean, like with an event, there's not a lot you can do other than like spread knowledge with that kind of event, so I guess maybe like if you had like donations or something, I think community service and like events for people or like really

different, like we we had a poetry slam kind of thing, like it was sort of an open MRC but not really, we had people who had poems or whatever they wanted to come up and speak and people actually liked that, um, I think it just depends on how you presented, present it in like a really formal, wordy way, it's gonna turn off people, if you make it more fun like a poetry slam, people will be interested and they can speak up for themselves and they can just take in but its more of like attractive. I think DELO was really good too it's just that we didn't have people there. Like, he was really funny, he had a lot of good things to day and he was really informative and educational but in like a really casual, lighthearted family, then there was also the problem of Cherie, when she spoke from her book, she had like this entire Transphobic passage that people were not happy with.

Anissa described the audience response to the passage she described as transphobic:

No, actually, I was expecting a lot of different people from the audience because It was like a question and answer thing, um, and no body really, I expected several people would stand up and say something but I guess actually like some older White person stood up and like said, "I'm so glad you said that," like agreeing with her, but I know a lot of people were upset with it and talking about it for a while after that but nobody confronted her, I don't know if it was because they thought it would be rude because she was like this major guest of honor, and like, maybe just because of who she is, I know she's kind of intimidating, I don't know.

I inquired whether QSOCA or attendees were concerned about how Cherie Moraga's passage represented the organization. Anissa stated "I don't know about that. My guess from the people that I talked to is that they uh, underst- they would understand that that's her opinion and not QSOCA's views, um, but one of the members of QSOCA was really upset about it, talking about how bad it makes us look."

Although no formal conversation was had with University staff, Anissa explained that she heard an advisor in the GSRC was upset and explained "I don't think anyone said anything about it actually. I think it was just more like, "oh, we should be more careful next time," because it was from her new book. And I don't think a lot of people had read it.

Advisors also questioned the programming and meaning of Agency work within the MAC. George, a former advisor of LLA and former interim Advisor of QSOCA believed that student turnover impacted the tone and agenda of the agencies:

> from the outside looking in, this old guard versus the new guard, this is the last remnants of the kids who were sophomores and juniors when I left that are still trying to hold what they feel was the old traditions down because they still have relationships with the older kids who graduated already, versus the new kids who didn't know shit about anything and they just wanted to be more part of something.

Although turnover is faced in both bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic organizations, the bureaucratic application and training process in the MAC brought in less activist oriented students. George added:

> They don't want to instigate, they don't want to fight for their people, because they just want to do stuff for the community, they didn't know that part of the deal was you had to go and like boycott Chic-fil-A, like they're not about that. Like, you know how we used to be very critical of like, "Oh, we're gonna do Origami for Chinese New Year," that's really what they wanna do.

To further clarify I asked "More uh, cultural programming?" He promptly responded "Cartooning, cartooning, cliché." I questioned whether he was broaching the concept of "multiculturalism" and he added "Not just cliché, but very like, limited, sombreros for Mexican culture, it's like you…." I finished his sentence and stated "essentialistic." He added "Yeah. And minimalize it, it's not about struggles and issues, it's about, it's forgetting all the struggles, issues, challenges that the community faces that are attached to those things, you wipe that part out, that's what they want." George added:

> I think he had made comments about Dr. Samuels about how there aren't any White people in the MAC, it's like, I recognize that yeah, we want more diversity in there but… is White people coming in the, "Okay, now we're diverse." There's never gonna be a lot, a lot of White people in there. Like ever. Because they're so

like, their diversity centers in Michigan or California, you'll see more White people but that's because they're more progressive White folk.

George questioned "So what the hell does that mean," and added :

> So are you going to judge the volunteer service learning center because there aren't a lot of Latinos or Black people that go in there? Mostly they have White people who like are doing service, know what I'm saying. It's like the one day of the year where they do shit with Asian American people or the one day of the year you're like, and I'm not shitting on Marcella, 'cause Marcella's cool.

George added, "It's like you're holding this particular institution that has a very unique responsibility on campus to a different standard or to this absurd standard that only inside your head." George added:

> But I also think the way SUS does it is very messy, and kinda silly and convoluted, that everything is like, the fact that GLIO [Greek Life and Intercultural Office), that the way they are all structured is silly to me, like GLIO doesn't exist anymore right, they pulled that, but why are you doing Change Institute, that should be under the auspices of—No- no-no

George asked rhetorically "Does it make sense that you have all these multiple groups doing the same programming is silly." I asked why he thought multiple entities provided similar programming. His reply was "I know you want people to have jobs and something to do, you have 60000 kids, I'm sure if you stop focusing on those 15000 or not even 15000, if you stop focusing on those 8000 that like do everything on campus and worry about the other 42000 then like you'd have more people involved on campus."

George added "But that's not the way SUS functions, that's just not the way the campus."

George added:

> … and as progressive and liberal, I'm probably one of the most progressive liberal dudes you know, um, I'm really beginning to question the purpose of multicultural centers or the existence of these divisions, because I think it's bullshit, I think they project the for people to believe the you care about diversity

but we don't give a fuck about it, but this is your way of pretending to care, and Dr. Howard used to say this really awesome thing, "Once you institutionalize something, you domesticate it, you neutralize it."

George added "he would say it off the cuff, when he got [here] he said it like three times and I wrote it down somewhere but I used to talk to Patricia about it too that it was like…" He continued:

> Just the idea that once you institutionalize something, you domesticate it, you weaken it, then you like, you pretty much immobilize it, once you institutionalize it, you domesticate it. And this has been happening to MAC slowly but surely, more rules, more rules, more structure, eliminate money, eliminate money, now you have to beg for more money, it's like then you can't fuckin do anything. Why the fuck does it matter if these kids are throwing a party where the money's gonna go back to their giving organizations because there're some institutional rules and restrictions, but now that they have to have fuckin' cash on hand that they can give to organizations, you know like, if they want to close the bank, if they wouldn't be allowed to open a goddamned bank account and bank, you wouldn't need this problem. No, they have to use the MAC. Why, why, like what is the point, and it's because he wants to have more power and control. What the fuck, who cares, we should be more about the mission of what these kids are doing, not who is in charge of what.

George explained his understanding of cultural competency "cause the roots in cultural competency learning about other people and just like learning at it like history book context like oh, this is why people do this, oh this is why people do the historical context about why." I asked George, "But do you think that really so when you're talking about the MAC do you think it's really moving toward a cultural competency level?" He responded "Fuck no." I clarified "or intercultural." He responded "and you'll be seeing pagodas and fuckin' dragons and…."

As a member organization of the MAC, QSOCA was expected to program for welcome events, leadership institutes and events similar to those that the existing

64

agencies had coordinated for their own communities. Many of these events were cultural or "multicultural" in nature and did not address social justice issues in general. QSOCA students contemplated the purpose of their organization and various perspectives emerged in interviews. Some believed QSOCA could still be an activist organization, while others wanted QSOCA to focus on social programming. Many believe QSOCA's impact was educational programming given little awareness about QPOCA issues. As a result, the non-consensus over QSOCA's purpose impacted leadership and member satisfaction as expectations were inconsistent. Some leadership team members left or became less active became of a lack of social justice and activist activities. Others also became less active because not enough social programming and community building was involved. Furthermore, George's perspective highlights a frustration of multiculturalism. Activities highlight cultural difference in acceptable ways without addressing injustices for marginalized groups.

Overall, this subsection conveys the difficulty in meeting programming needs of an institution that may be more social in nature, while still addressing an activist agenda. The activist and social justice agenda is curbed so as to appeal to a larger student population.

QSOCA and LGBTQ Organizational Climate at SUS

A few of those interviewed were student leaders of 5-10 LGBTQ campus organizations while enrolled at SUS. These students offered a perspective of the LGBTQ campus organizational climate, QSOCA's role within the community, beneficial

partnership and arising tensions. Such observations, offer insight into points where bureaucratic constraints created tension among organizational relations and where they did not.

Sai explained that StandUp was more political, Hang Out was very social and QSOCA was a mix of political, educational, and social "um, 'cause that's how the structure has been this year and that's how I kind of like to run it." Sai identitified the organization as a mix as they had alternated between different types of meetings, intentionally doing educational, social and political activities. Sai was in charge of the activist and educational meetings and headed the activism committee in which she worked around community organizing. Sai explained:

> What's really interesting about QSOCA is that it's so different from StandUp, reason being is because StandUp is super grass roots, it's not tied to anything, we don't have any funding from anywhere, we have to raise own money, we have to do our own organizing, our own lobbying, everything is just based with us but you know the thing that I'm okay with is that being associated with QSOCA, um, and having advisors, I honestly do feel like I really care about these organizations like especially as much as we do, um, I … I'm okay with it because you can only get so far doing grass roots work because you know you need money to do things and sometimes that money just doesn't come easy and um, you know, I appreciate and feel very privileged to be able to have an organization and institution that allows us and a lot of amount of money to provide these events and these activities that may go against the institution itself but otherwise raise awareness around communities that are otherwise marginalized.

Sai explained that the institutional financial support given to QPOCA allows students to focus on more on programming and being able to give back to other activists who "work day and night to work and to strive to make their communities better." Sai gave the example of a luncheon in which they honored Cherríe L. Moraga. She added

Cherríe L. Moraga. had such foundational teachings and feminist thought and she was never really recognized for that, so for instance one of the events that I'm extremely tied to, you know it's very early, second, second year of it is the Gloria Evangelina Anzaldúa luncheon honoring Queer feminists of color um, and you know I feel like one of the most rewarding aspects of having this money is to honor those people who don't get recognized for their amazing work that they're doing, so you know kind of giving back to those who give back is what I really appreciate.

In prior interviews, students had discussed a perception that QSOCA events were popular and mainstream given the type of programming and institutional affiliation. Sai acknowledged that conventional student programming was also important for "just getting people to recognize that our community is here." She added:

I also really appreciate that because you know you can, you can go out, you can make your own signs, you can protest, you can rally, and that does get attention you know but sometimes having a huge event in front of the gym with pizza and performers sometimes gets more people and that's you know, bribing them to come to your event but at least they're gonna know who threw it kind of a thing.

I met with Tristen, a white gay identified student leader, who attend QSOCA meetings frequently, although this was not his primary activity. He was a very motivated student and approached community work with great intention. I asked how it was possible to be involved in such a capacity with so many organizations? He responded "How, I mean I- I just wanted to be the part of the community and there's a very large segment of the community that goes to all these meetings but they're not- there's overlap but not entirely- so they each have their own little niche." He added that he joined the Queer Students Alliance because one of his goals was "to unify the structure of all of the

Queer organizations" given that they were spread out. He wanted Queer Alliance to

include a council of all the different LGBTQ organizations but felt he would need

personal connections with members from each. He noted that the personal connections

would be made through involvement in meetings and organizations in general. He added

"talk to them, so that's what I did."

Tristen explained that building coalitions across campus LGBTQ organizations

was difficult. His following detail of the community building process conveys the

administrative nature of such organizing.

> I started talking to all these people and I got monthly meetings of all of the
> people. Basically a representative from every organization that I could find there's
> like 15 of them. And, it worked because it was information sharing, it was sharing
> of, "Hey, we're having this event let everyone else know about it," I made like a
> Google group email thing so that everyone could email about it see it and so that
> sort of happened and it got more formalized towards like the middle of the
> semester when I was finally able to bring everyone in. I don't know what
> happened because then I took the spring off. If I had stayed, it would've been
> much more formal and I think better but because I left, it- I- it's kind of fell apart
> because I haven't had the time to institutionalize it yet, unfortunately.

Tristen envisioned Queer Alliance to be "at the top" of a network that would include both

the Registered Student Organizations (RSOs) and agencies. RSO were the student run

organizations which abide by University policies but are not supported with institutional

staffing, offices and resources like Agencies. Currently there are 1287 RSOs at SUS.

Agencies like QSOCA initially start as an RSO but also have additional support through

more formal affiliation. In the LGBTQ community on QSOCA and Queer Alliance had

such statuses, with QSOCA having an annual budget of over $10,000 annually and Queer Alliance much less. A few RSO, such as a Gay Business Student Association, are able to secure financial resources through business donors.

I asked Tristen if students were aware of these differences, particularly referring to resources. His response was, "I mean it depends on who you're talking to, right?" Tristen indicated that the average underclassman would not know the different. I asked further if the students in a leadership capacity knew that QSOCA has a stream of money that comes in every year. He believed that probably and added, "if people thought about it for five seconds because if you think about events, and the speakers, and everybody that QSOCA brings in, you can't just do that as an RSO, I mean you could, but it would be a major undertaking but they have funding so it changes that a little bit."

Similarly I asked Patty whether ze thought community members knew and understood the financial benefits of being affiliated to the MAC. People who consistently attended QSOCA events knew that they were an agency under the MAC as it was often discussed and promoted. Patty was unsure however, if students understood that funding was provided by the MAC.

Although some interviewees from other organizations inferred tension over unequal financial resources, Patty explained that typically there is no animosity. Students understand how QSOCA is able to put on many social events while helping out other organizations that don't get funding from the University. Patty added "we're not greedy or anything so we're always willing to branch out and help out other organizations that need our help as well." QSOCA created opportunities for LGBTQ organizations to co-

sponsor and apply for funding through them. As a result, campus organization like StandUp went to QSOCA to put on events for Coming Out Week and Pride Week. Patty believed there's a good relationship between the two.

Some tensions existed between Queer Alliance (QA) and QSOCA, the only other LGBTQ affiliated organization on campus to be recognized formally as an agency. They had additional layers of student bureaucracy (student government) review their operations but less staff support. Queer Alliance did not have a full time staff or a formal space for offices, although they often used the GSRC. Tristen explained Student Government's limited supervision over Queer Alliance:

> If we have to do oversight if we do any of the logo shit that has SUS, then we have to gather their approval. Our budget has to be approved. SG gives us our budget. And all of our spending has to go through SG. But in terms of oversight, or like being actual advisers, no. No. Officially it's there, but no. Like in practice the advisers have been an informal relationship with the GSRC but formally on paper that relationship does not exist. At all. And I think that that kind of holds people back.

Tristen gave an example of how a lack of institutional support impacted their welcome event known as Queer Carnival (some believed this event challenged QSOCA's welcome event.) As a student leader he had spent time in DC but returned for summer classes. Students had done little planning for the Queer Carnival. Tristen asked a GSRC staff member about the status of planning, whether a date had been set, etc. Because it was not her formal job duties, she could not speak to the planning and replied "oh I don't really know, I just kind of assumed that Queer Alliance has all of it on it, I guess I should talk to them. I've been emailing Ken, but he hasn't but he hasn't responded," and that sort of thing. Tristen commented 'You know where it it's not really at her job description per se

to be their advisor." For the Queer Alliance, they would have to rely on inconsistent occasional staff support. Tristen have another example in which an advisor helped "with cutesy stuff Queer and Trans Conference, which I was [in] charge of planning and but that was me seeking peer advice. Not a "I'm your advisor so I'm going to check in on you." I mean, there was back-and-forth but it was predicated on me wanting, and seeking out help from Chris."

Tristen, a white identified student leaders of the LGBTQ community, discussed another emerging tension arising from the overall "whiteness" predominated in the other LGBTQ organizations on campus. This dynamic particularly played into the relationship between Queer Alliance and QSOCA. Tristen explained that it was a cyclical situation as students of color joined QSOCA, and subsequently did not join other organizations, causing a lack of diversity:

> …….it's interesting, interesting thing because, most people are not crazy like me and most people do pick well I'm gonna go to these meetings and that's what I'm gonna be a part of-you know they limit their sphere of you do. I get that, particularly people who are people who were there low income or who are or if you live far away or if you have jobs and all that stuff, that is going to play how you're gonna be a student organizations. And so a lot, I mean looking at it empirically, a lot of Queer students of color decide to be in QSOCA. But the opportunity cost of that is that they don't decide to be in the other Queer organization, which means that it kind of happens acts as like, not like a brain drain, but the People of Color drain on the other organizations, which then become more White. Which is, I understand, what- which, I think is that, I mean I understand why it happens, but and that's not a bad thing, but the effect of the other Queer organizations being really White is a problem, because then you're a limiting diversity and especially with all the like really racist White Gay people, like out there, should not be like the job of People of Color to end racism whatever but I think that it's so much harder to hold that sort of beliefs and stereotypes if you're if you're around People of Color than if you're not. You know if you're in an all White environment then it's pretty easy to think certain things and never be challenged

Tristen acknowledged that students of color should not be held responsible for the lack of

diversity in the other organizations:

> And I think that's partially like one thing though it would be nice if there were People of Color there, and also the White Queer people who aren't racist should do a better job of being allies and talking about that shit, even if it's not within the you know what I'm saying, but that's difficult. So, I also think that that also plays into it to where, and Queer Alliance exec board is almost like all White Gay guys

As a result, Tristen summed up the Queer Aliance membership and programming as

having a "heavy emphasis on White people for a number of reasons." He believed this

played into the tensions with QSOCA .

Nikita, former QSOCA leader and SUS addressed this tension more directly. She

believed community tensions arose over competition for membership despite QSOCA's

unique focus:

> Anyway, so, there's always been tensions between QSOCA and Queer Alliance. And mostly because people involved in Queer Alliance do not understand why QSOCA exists. You know? Like they're just like, I feel like there was a competition between, and not so much other orgs, because they were doing completely different stuff and whatever. But we both are trying to get people to come to our events, we're both fighting for the same funding and we're both basically fighting for the same community to show up to shit. So there was like a lot of competition in that. So that like bred some tension there, you know. And then on top of that, Queer Alliance ideally was supposed to be 'the' Queer org, and QSOCA I guess, because it's so, I guess, narrow in its agenda, being Queer People of Color, not just Queer folk, just POC folk, not Queer folk of color, we weren't supposed to be the Queer org. Does that make sense?

Nikita was explaining that the issue was not only about membership, btu also about

notoriety and which organization would be seen as "the" Queer organization on campus.

QSOCA's events were creative and different than other student events. Nikita believed

QSOCA had "kicked it up a notch." She added "Maybe I'm just like talking out of my

ass, maybe I'm just idealizing the work that we did but I don't think anybody else, in people afterwards have done the same level of work that we've done, you know." She gave an example of their welcome event called Street Party in which they had more attendees show up than the Queer Alliance's welcome program. She noted that all of QSOCA's events were successful with the exception of Queer program. She concluded " So there was already tension between the two groups. Here is this fringe group coming up and, being QSOCA, ideally, although I don't think we should be fringe."

Nikita added that QSOCA was overshadowing Queer Alliance. She noted that whenever someone used to contact the Queer community on campus, like would contact Queer Alliance, but Queer Alliance was not doing that much. Nothing would happen. As a result, outside campus community people started contacting QSOCA and then QSOCA became like base.

As one of only two formally sponsored LGBTQ organizations on the SUS campus, students and organizations viewed QSOCA as having privilege in funding and resources. Often the additional resources allowed QSOCA to hold events and activities that other organizations could not, including Queer Alliance. Other tensions arose from notoriety among the community, and issues of diversity among the two organizations. The above tensions stem from the staff and financial resources given through formal incorporation with the University. While such tensions should not discount the positive impact of additional resources, changing dynamic should be taken into consideration. The tensions increased focus on programming competition, who could throw the larger event

73

and bring out more attendees. While these are markers of a successful program by institutional standards, they may not indicate success in promoting other QPOC community initiatives.

Contributing to the National Movement: HRC Comes to Campus

While institutional affiliation impacted inter-organizational relationships within the LGBTQ campus community, such affiliation also brought organizations like QSOCA and QA into closer contact with national non-profit social movement organizations. Institutionalization with SUS University brought increased expectations to network with and advocate for national movements. Tristen, who was active in LGBTQ political advocacy clarified the relationship between campus organization and national. From a practical standpoint, when they brought in speakers, the campus organizations were tying students to broader initiatives. Students also participated in LGBTQ conference, such as Creating Change and the National Equality march. Students participating in such events often joined connected initiatives such as "Join the Impact" and "Get Equal," a nonviolent grassroots disobedience organization. Tristen noted that they were organized by state chapters and this state had a very active chapter. He added that it's very White, it's because the people that are doing it, although they understand nonviolence shit, they don't really understand what it means to have your organization be antiracist. As well as the problems and intricacies of arrestable nonviolent civil disobedience in communities of color." Tristen noted that such organizations don't take into account the impact of strategies on various communities of color. He added "it means one thing for me as a

White person to get arrested but if I were a Black man to get arrested that's a completely different thing. And they don't really do that. " Because of this. QSOCA did not work with them, nor did the city and state-wide people of color LGBTQ organizations.

Some national organizations like the Vicotry Fund, Tristen explained, have several problems with diversity but are looking to recruit diverse undergraduate students to broaden their base. He explained "putting it bluntly, they are at the point where they recognize that diversity is a priority, or should be.." This particular organization has a campaign and candidate training. Tristen noted ".If you look like me and my set of identities, then you pay a lot of money and you go." The national organization added scholarships to promote recruitment of women, people of color and Trans people to diversify the leadership pipeline. He was unsure about how he felt regarding "tokenization" but overall felt is was admirable. He added if these national organizations were to encounter QSOCA, "they would be all over that" because "though as an organization they are not really antiracist, they are trying to do that but it's more like tokenization…."

Other organizations like the Human Rights Campaign were criticized greatly by QSOCA. Nikita recalls when the HRC approached SUS students to participate in an on campus visit: "And at any rate, so HRC, being fucking HRC, didn't contact QSOCA. Of course, they contacted Queer Alliance, but I think they kinda went through the g-[GSRC]." Nikita appreciated how the Director of the GSRC's, who was first contacted handled the response. The Director delegated a response to the students. She explained "She's like I'm not touching this. Because it's messy, you know? It's HRC. So she's

like I'm gonna let these students handle this and how they want to do it and that's how we're gonna deal with it." The Director forwarded the email to the QA and QSOCA leaders. Nikita described the initial response "Tristen and I were like, fuck HRC and you also wanted to show a message to HRC that y'all suck, we don't want you on our campus kind of thing." Tristen explained that he responded with seven comments that included: asking why they were coming, did they want them at SUS, he hated them anyway, how were they going to this. He noted that QSOCA agreed.

Nikita explained Tristen's and hers rational:

> Because the whole Prop 8 thing happened and HRC was on the band wagon being like "oh, Black people are so fucking homophobic." Fuck you HRC. You know they don't do any outreach to People of Color and they don't have a lot of People of Color on their board. And the People of Color that they do have on their board are Uncle Toms. That doesn't count, I'm sorry. You know like they're these whack ass Bougis-Ass upper middle class like POC folk who don't know left and right and they probably have like a White girlfriend or boyfriend. Don' count. Sorry. Like Clarence Thomas in the organization doesn't count. Just sayin'. So they were gonna come and they were gonna bring their equality bus, which means - you know what was gonna be on their equality bus? Marriage equality. That's all they were going to talk about.

However, Tristen and Nikita recall that the other QA leader thought HRC was beneficial. Tristen replied that the organization was racist and transphobic. Nikita and Tristen did not want HRC to come but were open to a visit provided they met preconditions. They wanted HRC to understand that "the SUS Queer community is surprisingly diverse, and they can't come in here with their White privilege." Nikita added that HRC needed to be more Trans inclusive as the SUS community had a sizeable Trans community. She added " We just wanted them to know what they were getting into when they came to SUS. Cause us SUS Queers are about our shit. At least I like to think we are, to a degree." This

progressed into a disagreement as Rian became upset and believed they were making too many demands. Nikita added that "Tristen didn't clearly get as upset about it because his identities were not on the line." She added that he was an ally in this situation but it wasn't affecting him. Nikita added that she felt like HRC was personally against her, as she is a Black lesbian. She added "they hate Black folks." As many of her best friends were Trans identified, this also bothered Nikita.

Tristen explained that he planned with the GSRC workshops on Trans and People of Color issues held during the same time as the HRC event. I asked how HRC received the additional programming and Tristen replied "they kind of took it as a front." I asked if HRC noticed and Tristen added "yeah, yeah. Candace was not happy. Candace Gingrich Jones, she's Newt Gingrich's sister she works for HRC. She's like the head of the campus and youth activist, which is weird because she's like 60 whatever."

As a result, the Queer Alliance coordinated activities with HRC while the other organizations held competing activities. Tristen added they could not say "no" to the HRC. He added that the pressure came from HRC's power as they approached SUS with "we will be coming to your school, get this ready for us, right?" Tristen believed "That's not local empowerment that's not anything" but thought it was standard for HRC. HRC did come to campus and Queer Alliance assisted with logistics such as booking rooms. QSOCA did not help with the event.

Nikita believed this tension continued between to the two organizations as QSA was not invited to an LGBTQ organizational fair held after. She added "How do they not invite like the top Queer org?" When QSOCA students attended the event as general

participants, Nikita recalls hearing Katy Perry. She adds "Katy Perry has this favoritism within the White Gay community. Don't know why cause she says homophobic shit all the time. But they love the shit out of her."

I also interviewed Rian, the former leader of Queer Alliance. She believed QSOCA had more leeway in programming. QA could not turn down the HRC request given student government expectations. Rian discussed her experience in programming with Queer Alliance:

> we had to be really conscious of what we were doing, um I don't think we could have gotten away with doing a drag show, like QSOCA does, um I don't think we could have done a like a really safe sex queer seminar kind of thing, um I think even doing like, having uh queer in the title was kind of out there, like it was still like people didn't they would always call it Queer Alliance, they could never say Queer Alliance, um or they would get it wrong and call it GSA and I'm like that's not even…correct.

Rian explained that they also put on large events, such as the Queer State conference, but they are more "tame" and homonormative. She described the programming as being what the average student government thinks you should do as a Gay organization. She explained from her position that they sponsored the HRC event because of expectations from student government.

> Like it's not like, if we were housed at the GSRC we would do way more out there things. But like when the Human Rights Campaign contacted student government was like, you wanna come to campus and bring this bus thing that we're doing and we're going from university to university and who do we need to talk to and they sent 'em to me and I'm like well I'm expected to do this but I don't really like the HRC all that much but I have to do this because that's what my organization is expected to do?

Rian explained the oversight received by student government. She added that although they are not involved in everyday operation decisions, they have a general standpoint on

what the organization should do. She felt like if they tried to be more radical, than the student government would have been more hands on. For example, they wanted to have a safe queer sex seminar at the conference one year and the student government asked to call it something else. As a result, Queer Alliance scrapped the idea all together.

I asked Tristen if full-time staff intervened or assisted with releaving such conflicts among the organizations. He responded:

> Not that I can think of. There are obviously supportive but I feel like they don't think it's within their place to try and do that per se, and I also think that it's a problem, not a problem, but it's due to how everything is institutionalized, right? Like to QSOCA is an agency of MAC. Queer Alliance is not an agency of the GSRC. The GSRC has no agencies. I think that if they were they were all under SDI or something and that might be a different story but because officially Queer Alliance has no institutional relationship to the GSRC, they don't feel like it's within their capacity to try and do that.

He added that it would be difficult for the MAC to intervene as well because Queer Alliance is not an agency within the center. As a result, these dynamics were left for students to negotiate on their own.

QSOCA leadership members maintained their own sentiments regarding HRC, a national organization. Subsequently they were not approached to respond to an official request given affiliation to SUS University. Instead the other LGBTQ university sponsored organization did respond, causing rift as the activities conflicted with QSOCA's agenda. This subsection conveys that while QSOCA experienced an increased in several institutional requirements, the direction of organizing was not determined. Furthermore, the subsection details QSOCA tenuous relationship with other prominent

79

LGBTQ campus organizations given their emergence within the institution. Through the example of HRC's visit, this subsection explores those dynamics.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

QSOCA's entrance into the MAC was contested, as students engrained in the existing structure were hesitant toward change in both resources and space. In conducting the vote the MAC exhibited characteristics of both traditional and heroic bureaucracies. While students who were considered otherwise progressive exhibited traditional bureaucratic tendencies, the institution relied upon student input and voices to make the decision of incorporation. I suggest that the MAC may have started as a somewhat heroic bureaucracy, emerging out of student protest and concern for representation in the 1980's. After several decades of institutionalization, the MAC exhibits a traditional bureaucracy with remnants of heroic bureaucracy lingering through leadership development, empowerment, and experimentation (as seen in student voting within high-stakes decision making processes).

Once accepted into the MAC, QSOCA too became institutionalized and was expected to meet all bureaucratic needs including training students as workers, tracking performance measures, and exhibiting professionalism in all activities. Such rationalization and requirements placed strain on the student members who conveyed a sense of "burn-out." Furthermore, programming and activities shifted focus as students felt a burden to fulfill mentioned requirements. In summation, many still felt these additional responsibilities to be worthwhile as the resources outweighed the

consequences. Organizations without formal affiliation were unable to put on events equal to the scale of QSOCA. QSOCA leaders believe the ability to reaching a broader audience was a better impact than having no or limited events, a trend acknowledged in new social movements. Furthermore, students were still able to adjust and create smaller events that allowed for them to teach about QPOC issues at a greater depth.

Examples to provide palatable cultural programming, as described by George, follows suit with Ahmed's research in the U.K. Although QSOCA had many initiatives regarding equality and social injustices for the community, there was a need to program based on precedence. Annual MAC programming consisted of welcome programs, leadership institutes, and graduation ceremonies that contributed to the community in subtle ways. As Sai explains, there is a value at SUS to passing out pizza and holding large events to increase exposure. The issue arises with performance measures as student agency budgets were rewarded for activities that drew large crowds and could be promoted alongside the larger institutional agenda of promoting diversity.

Student member expectations and attributes differentiated greatly as found in the "Protest Business" research (Hensby and Sibthorpse 2012) Despite affiliation to QSOCA, an institutionalized bureaucratic social movement organization, many student leaders revealed high levels of engagement and a passion for the organizational activities as supported by the HRC example. Students also conveyed an appreciation for the bureaucratic benefits of branding and providing popular events while maintain an interest for more engaging "activisty" programs.

81

Chapter 3: Shared Space, Shared Visions? Inter-Organizational Dynamics

> Right, and so there's a, one additional thing about the MAC is that you learn about coalition building, you learn about politics really, really quickly on a level that I don't think I've seen in a lot of things. I mean sure you could work at the Capitol or work directly with politics, but theirs is a lot different. This is very personal. This is very, very closely linked and that's why it's hard for us to separate our personal and professional.
>
> – Amy, MAC Asian American Council Student Leader

This chapter explores the inter-organizational dynamics occurring after QSOCA was formal institutionalization the University and incorporation into the Multicultural Activity Center structure. As a newly affiliated organization, QSOCA students shared a hybrid physical, political and social space with student members of previously established MAC agencies. While bureaucratic guidelines offered a framework for QSOCA operational practices, it was less clear on providing oversight to agency interaction.

Given proximity and shared interests, formal incorporation allowed for positive collaboration between the QSOCA community and other groups that may not have occurred otherwise. QSOCA students also detailed experiencing everyday acts of exclusion, disruption, and inconsideration while operating in the space. Such disruptions impacted how students related to MAC spaces. This chapter gives examples of such disruptions as well as the various perceptions by QSOCA and other students.

In most interviews students discussed the importance of the Multicultural Activity Center's physical space and their usage. The responses varied with some students utilizing the space at a minimum (as required by their organization) while others spent a

majority of their non-class time socializing, studying, and working in the space. Usage often reflected whether they had negative or positive encounters with other students and staff while working in the Multicultural Activity Center. Although some felt at "home" in the Multicultural Activity Center, many QSOCA students discussed feeling uncomfortable and/or unwelcome. This chapter will review QSOCA student experiences within the Multicultural Activity Center and the impact of such experiences on their comfort levels as they attempt to utilize the newly acquired space. Many of the QSOCA students also accessed the Gender and Sexuality Resource Center (GSRC), located just a floor above in the same building. Slightly smaller and created to serve LGBTQIIA and women's initiatives, QSOCA student responses included comparison of encounters within each space.

QSOCA students and others also detailed the challenges of pursuing student organization goals while supporting the overall advancement of the MAC in such a space. As the MAC operates in many ways according to student decision making, the affiliated organizations also faced challenges in sharing positions on relevant campus political issues, the selection of new full-time center leadership, and supporting one another's social causes. This chapter will give examples of such instances and detail how students negotiated differences.

FRAMING EVERYDAY CONFLICT: THEORIES OF INTERACTION WITHIN BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURES

Traditional sociology has often framed racism, sexism, homophobia and other acts of discrimination within the larger context of structural inequality (Feagin 2010). More

recently, sociology has attempted to look at the everyday interactions of discrimination that occur in both subtle and unsubtle ways (Feagin 2010). Feagin (2010) describes negative campus climates and the encounters of discrimination for students of color in higher educational institutions. Examples included overt racist name calling, black face skits, and parties held on Martin Luther King Jr. holiday with themes utilizing African Americna stereotypes (2010).

Migro-aggression theory also provides insight into everyday interactions described by QSOCA students while working in shared student spaces such as the MAC. Initially utilized by Pierce (1970) to describe subtle aggression towards Black and African Americans, micro-aggression theory has extended to include other marginalized groups included LGBTQ communities. Sue (2010) defines microaggressions as the "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial, gender, sexual-orientation, and religious slights and insults to the target person or group" (Sue 2010, 5). Sue gives examples of microgressions towards LGBTQ individuals which include: a therapist comparing a patient's attraction to the same sex as to another's attraction to animals, thus equating same sex attraction with beastiality (5). Another example includes students using "that's gay" to describe silly behavior, thus equating homosexuality with deviance. Although Sue's taxonomy originates and includes largely categorization of microgressions based upon race, ethnicity, and immigration, it does not address intersectional issues specifically acknowledged and experienced by QSOCA students.

It would be remiss to not discuss the intersectional dynamics of such challenges faces by QSOCA students. QSOCA students, as they often described within interviews, identified with marginalized racial, sexual orientation, and gender identities (as well as others). Although all agencies within the Multicultural Activity Center were created to support marginalized communities and/or address social injustices, many QSOCA students discuss the overlooking of intersectionality. Such consideration of intersectionality is important within methodology that addresses multiple areas of identity (MacKinnon 2013). Intersectionality research does not simply add dynamics associated to singular identities upon one another but analysis the convergence of multiple identities (2013).

Furthermore research of LGBTQ experiences and visibility in higher education is absent (Renn 2010). Research recently increased due to the following four conditions: 1) increased visibility of LGBTQ students on campus 2) decreased pathologizing of marginalized sexualities, 3) increased interested in understanding race, gender, sexuality, 4) need for additional research in campus climate and non-majority students experiences (2010). Renn argues for increased use of Queer theory in higher education research and identifies three contemporary research themes for the LGBTQ student community: visibility studies, changing constructions of sexuality, and climate studies. Renn finds that while academics promote queer research through emerging projects, higher education institutions are resistant to organizational structuring to include queer theory.

Sociologists have been called to further "queer the queer theory" and take a more intricate approach in research (Valocchi 2005). Queer theory should deconstruct

normative understandings of sex, gender, and sexuality, resisting dominant classification systems, including deconstructing existing binaries (2005). Such binaries are cultural constructions of social processes which interpret "social cues, practices, and subjectivities" (2005: 753). Within institutions, Valocchi calls for analysis to consider the permeation of heteronormativity that is embedded within the structure (2005).

Unsettled Associations

Once QSOCA was voted into the MAC, the Director believed that QSOCA students felt welcomed. She felt it was a good transition and that they had strong support from their advisor. Additionally, many students opposed to QSOCA's membership in the MAC had graduated or left since the vote. Patricia believed that none of the students who adamantly opposed the vote were still around. The new student's did not know anything other than an organizational structure with QSOCA, and those students who did return were in support of the organization. Patricia noted that QSOCA entrance helped some LGBTQ students affiliated to other MAC organizations. Patricia explained 'This one particular person who everyone adored and loved in the Black community, I feel like he started getting more comfortable with who he was and I think a lot of it had to do with…" However, despite these transition successes, organizational relationship deteriated over time. Patricia stated:

> And so, so initially, early on I thought the transition was okay, I thought it was pretty good. Now, later on, there started to be issues and there still are issues between the Black community and QSOCA, AABSA and, un-unfortunately, which it's kind of you know that kind of happened a couple years later.

Finding Space

Historically, when the Director had been a student in the MRC (former name of MAC) from 1999-2003, she noted that the agencies were not aware of one another and students interacted less. Patricia, who identified as a member of the Black community, became engaged in the center as a leader of the African American and Black Student Association (AABSA). She recalls:

> …really my memory of MRC at the time was literally more of like a Black space and I wasn't really aware of the difference agencies that were in the space, I think partially because Black students dominated the space, you know at the time it was called Hispanic affairs, I think, was there, but I have no memory of them really being there. Except for later on when we started working together on some UTPD racial profiling stuff but [sigh] for the most part I wasn't really aware of the other agencies; just AABSA. And part of that was because Mrs. Barnes was there,she was the figure head of the Black community.

When Patricia returned to campus and started working at the MRC in 2008 she then began to really understand the MRC and the different agencies within the space. She stated "I was like, oh I didn't realize there was the other identities in the space."

Later cohorts of students from the African American community shared other experiences of relating to the space and commented on changes over time as well. Dmitri, a graduate and active member of the Black Community (although not an AABSA leader) utilized the Multicultural Resource Center before it became the Multicultural Activity Center and moved to a more central campus location. After the move and name change, he explained feeling more comfortable as a Black student in other spaces on campus:

> "Malcolm X Lounge. 'Cause that's where the Black people that I could I identify with would be and you know we'd talk alot and talk about this and talk about you

know what we saw and Flava Flav and all this kind of stuff and it would just be general conversation…."

Dmitri explained the differences between the Malcolm X Lounge and the MAC.

> Yeah, like for instance if you go into the Malcolm X Lounge you could go in there and hear the most um, off-topic conversation about anything like anything like 'did you see what Beyonce was wearing at the at this' or 'did you see or did you hear this latest JZ song' or something like that but then you come to the MAC or the MRC and it's about social rights and it's about what Black people need to do, what Black people don't need to do what's wrong with politics and all that kind of stuff so it's just so it's just a different feel of conversation a different feel of just of environment you know. And I guess it's good in a sense because I think you need different pockets for different people but um the MAC I think a lot of people would say it was where the bougie Black people would go or the uppity Black people would go and I don't really think it's that extreme but it's just a different atmosphere for what people were talking about, you know and different issues.

Dmitri discussed that the MAC space changed with differing directors. He felt that more African American students entered the spaced when Ms. Barnes was the director as more were familiar with her. He also though that Ms. Barnes "drew a different kind of student at the time because MB is very um Afrocentric," and added that students would visit her area as they were just learning about African American issues.

Dmitri was known for being outspoken and very social in the space. He would often start conversations and very lively debates among all of the agency students, though he himself was not in an agency. Dmitri identified as a Black, straight, male, who was an ally to the LGBTQ community. He believed that when he first arrived, the MRC had a diverse mix of people in which each community explored community issues but more recently the MAC "is like Gay rights." He added "the MAC I don't want to say it caters to, but it it's home to the LGB community, but I don't know why that is, I don't know,

88

but that's how I feel." He explained that when he enters the MAC, he mostly see students who identify as part of the LGBT community or students in one of the LGBT agencies, or students that are just friends with those students. He noticed that Latino students still utilized the space, but saw a very sharp decline in Black students coming over to "rub shoulders with AABSA." He discussed noticing that the conversations were different than before. Dmitri noted that students had to be "very safe about the things you say" which he also thought was good as he appreciated creating a space for political correctness. Dmitri explained "I consider myself an ally to the LGBT community because they have a lot of things going on just you know within America about Gay rights and social justice." He believed that the conversations were more candid in the MRC before transitioning to the new space. He described the discussions as "even if you said something that was politically incorrect, people didn't take it that way 'cause you know we were all learning about these different backgrounds and different groups of people and all this kind stuff but now I tell people all the time that the campus is just different." Dmitri added:

> I don't know who, if the campus is picking different people to come to the university but um the campus was more, more filled with people that thought outside the box and weren't, they were not afraid to speak about something if they wanted to speak about something but now it's like everybody is trying to play safe or don't want to step on anybody else's toes or whatever but I remember some of those conversations over there and you know they were conversations that needed to be held after 5 o'clock and off the record and all that kind of things but those kinds of conversations in my opinion are what bring people together and what really educate people on um other people's identities and backgrounds and ethnicities and that kind of stuff but. Like the new MRC I don't really think plays home to those kinds of conversations and I really can't put my finger on it besides um it's just a new student body here, it's just completely different and I guess it's

89

a good because you know I came to school with some crazy people but crazy in a good way because we just put it all on the table. Yeah I enjoyed those conversations that's why I went over there so much but like Vance was a crazy person and I say crazy person in a good sense because because you know you can't get that kind of genuiness from a lot of people, when people are just that open and that candid about issues that people really don't want to discuss but I think the MRC and the SSB was just more, like the guards were down you know and a that's why I really appreciated it more than the MAC but you know I mean they were still good space for growth and conversation.

I asked Dmitri to give examples of the types of conversations had before the MRC moved to the more central location. He responded:

I can just, for example I think if we wanted to talk about let's say we wanted to talk about Gay sex in a very in, a very 50 shades of grey kind of manner like, I think we could have those conversations in the MRC with students, directors, officials, anybody and it was just more acceptable at the time but I think if you wanted to have those kind of, for lack of a better word, raunchy conversations I don't think people or everybody in the MAC would feel comfortable with those kind of conversations. And you know it's kind of that whole guarded thing I was talking about. It was kind of like HBO in the MRC and now it's kind of like PBS which is, and that's just because the campus climate and culture is changing which is a good or bad thing I don't really know, but you know we would talk about Gay sex and sex in general, we would talk about why maybe Gay people should or shouldn't get married, we would talk about issues in the Black community, in a very truthful manner but and maybe our directors or officials or over there were just more lenient then 'cause we had people like um Jay and these kind of people that would join in on these conversations and just let it fly and still keep it at a very respectful level but I don't know, it's just so different.

By 2009 when QSOCA joined the MAC, students were very aware of the other ethnic communities and agencies utilizing the space as they conducted trainings, programming, and social events together. Space and organizational usage within the Multicultural Activity Center shaped interactions with QSOCA and other students. Although many supported QSOCA, QSOCA students conveyed several instances where they felt unwelcome due to subtle and overt exchanges.

On an early summer evening I met Anissa at a nearby coffee shop located on the University's main student shopping street. Anissa was previously active as a leader and general member of QSOCA but had pulled away. Currently she was more involved in other LGBTQIIA organizations.

I asked Anissa to reflect upon working with other agencies as a QSOCA member. After some clarification, Anissa replied, "There were problems." I asked her to expand upon those problems and she stated:

> Um, there's the AABSA… and just a lot of straight guys and AABSA for some reason like, I know people are trying to say that people of color are really homophobic or like the Latino community is more homophobic than the White community or the Black community is more homophobic than the White community, I don't think that, I think that's a stereotype, but it just played out that way in the MAC that AABSA was like, not very like, accepting or kind or uh, what's that word, courteous. Yeah, considerate.

Anissa added that she experienced this with another student from the Latino based agency in the MAC. I asked Anissa to expand upon any experiences or example in which she felt others were not courteous and she responded. She explains not wanting to utilize the MAC space because of the interactions. "Um, no because I didn't really hang out there because I felt odd there, I preferred the GSRC, and the GSRC had its own problems, then I stopped going to either." The tensions arose early in the year at the all student staff retreat in which she explains they were "forced to hang out with each other." She noted that "some of the straight guys just made comments that made some of our members feel uncomfortable, just homophobic stuff." Anissa gave a more detailed example:

Well like when we were having the whole discussion, like MAC discussion, some people just used the word fag like just used it and it made people uncomfortable, um, another thing was like a game we were playing like touchy kinda game and like the two guys like, were being weird about it like oh, I don't wanna touch you or whatever, I think you were there, weren't you there?

Anissa was recalling a trust exercise at the August retreat in which students from various agencies lined up closely in a circle. The activity called for everyone to sit all at once, showing that with close support the circle withstands. Several male identified students were lined up in front of one another, and felt uncomfortable with the closeness of being next to one another (this did not happen with the women). Omar also recalled the situation, stating "Yeah, and then they made us separate boy-girl, boy-girl, boy-girl because three of the straight identified men from the Latino Leadership Alliance and Asian American Council were "being childish and saying they don't want a guy behind them."

Patty, a QPOCA leader who identifies as multiracial, non-binary gender identified, Trans person and Trans-feminine stated "Our interactions I feel are not too bad, I still feel some rough patches that need to be worked out from time to time" and mentioned seeing the challenges in person. Patty gave an example of someone who would argue frequently regarding gender and racial issues:

…there is this one person who comes in there and is very obnoxious, very opinionated, I'm not really sure what specific examples could be provided, I have seen this person, well I haven't seen that specific person but I've seen another person go in there and start an argument with at least one other person within the space and be very – and obnoxious, talking over everyone else to try and get their point across, I have seen situations like that where this one person – a lot of space, is kind of rude to everyone else.

Omar did not feel comfortable as a QSOCA leader in the MAC and added "I feel like people were off-putting I didn't like being in here, I didn't feel like they cared about our issues, I feel they didn't care about us in general, like I heard some off-putting things before and I was just like, "I don't like them now."

Omar also gave an example of other agencies interrupting a QSOCA meeting held in the MAC by talking loudly. When the QSOCA co-director of Operation Lisa went to tell them, "Hey, we're having a meeting," someone said "Hey, maybe that's the reason to get louder" as she walked away. The conflict continued, as Omar explained, by students attempting to play the "most oppressed game" in which Lisa replied "No." I later asked Omar to explain what the "most oppressed game" was:

> It's like, well, you can go up to someone and you have issues you would be like putting on a problem with people, you're making them feel oppressed, and they'd be like, "Well, they feel oppressed, well, I'm Black and I'm poor and I'm, I didn't know, she was going off on a tangent but she's not—like, Carley isn't that oppressed. She just… Black. Partially. And then QSOCA is still currently being more oppressed by the other orgs.

In addition to not respecting requests to lower the noise while QSOCA met, Dane explained that there was a "weird tension" between AABSA and QSOCA. Dane added that they would never talk to them, go to their events, take part in ally trainings. Dane mentioned that Monica, the AABSA advisor "made it pretty clear that a lot of them felt like we didn't belong there." Ultimately, many of the people who created the tension graduated, which helped in addition to an all staff/student training the future year in which student bonded.

Arsie, a Leader of the American Indian Council and member of QSOCA, felt uncomfortable with social interaction and content. She explained:

> but there's a TV here, and people love Law and Order SVU and I call that like the rape show, being a person who's being a survivor and like having to work here, and having to like listen to re-enactments and stuff like that, that can be like, that's also an issue and I've been able to talk to Nelli about that, um, that you kind of like, it's triggering like homophobic things that are said here and Queerphobic things, um, but you feel like there's never a time to talk about it, like so I think um… sort of like, that and and I think people not being aware of triggers,

Arsie expanded, explaining that many of the students were not aware of trigger. She believed that AIC and QSOCA were more aware of triggers because they talked about those those issues in meeting amongst one another. She added "I think that's also like a delicate area for us and for navigating the space um, and it'll be, it'll be the same people who are saying homo, Queerphobic things are watching you know, super violent triggering stuff, so yeah."

Other students like Sai found that a large issue was social segregation in the MAC amongst the various agency groups (she also noted this with the GSCRS among other social categorizations.

> it's just cliques everywhere but, it's interesting how everything is like segregated because I mean of course in the MAC you're gonna have a diffusion of ideas because you're from different backgrounds, but it's always like AABSA, AAC, QSOCA, and I try to make it a point to be like, I'm gonna go hang with AABSA people today, kind of like to just break that and it's really difficult because especially in the GSRC like, it's not the GSRC isn't segregated, in regards to um, to like race or ethnicities, it's segregated in regards to what identity people identify as.

Anissa felt the uncomfortable interactions happened because of a lack of understanding s regarding QSOCA student intersectionality. She added "cause I think QSOCA is the

94

only one, only intersectionality Queer and people of color, the other ones are just, except for Student Equity Agency (SEA), they were the only organization that I felt really were understanding of us..Anissa added that when QSOCA had brought concerns to the other agencies, the Student for Equity and Alliance (SEA) agency was the only organization in which she felt concerns were heard. The other agencies, Anissa explained, seemed indifferent. I asked Anissa to explain how SEA was supportive and she responded: "Like the individual people themselves when I talked to them seemed to be good allies and they like had plan for like having that 101 thing, um, it never happened either, but they always talked about plans to have all these Queer inclusive stuff." I then asked specifically about AAC, LLA, AIC, and their support. Anissa responded "AABSA wasn't, was not, the Native American [organization] only had two people, they seemed fine I guess, um, LLA, the other ones were kind of just there." As Anissa identified as Latina and gay, I asked if she bonded more closely with the Latino students in QSOCA. She responded

> Mm, Kinda the same. So more more or less. I don't know, it's weird 'cause like in the MAC, there's that but then like, people don't understand Queer issues very well, and then like, we go to the GSRC, and like, everything's Queer and awesome, but like, there's a lot of White people and it's like, you just, you have to choose what's important to you, it's like you're forced to choose.

> Whether to frequent the MAC or GSRC or both was a common topic for many of the LGBTQ students of color affiliated with QPOCA. Nikita, a QSOCA former leader explained:

> …. honestly I preferred being in the MAC only because like I said, more People of Color. But it was such a in-your-face homophobic space that I really couldn't stand it and normally like, everyone has their preferences, some people can tolerate some things differently. I personally can tolerate homophobia more than I can tolerate racism. To a degree. The homophobia in the MAC space was so

95

bad that's why I was in the GSRC more. I'd rather deal with the stupid White folk up there than I was dealing with the People of Color in there. You know?

Nikita's interview shed light on additional tension that emerged from QSOCA students with multiple racial identities. I had met Nikita for lunch on my way to a conference on a chilly winter day in February 2012. Nikita had moved to a larger, cosmopolitan city after graduation within the state about 3 hours away. This was the same city she had grown up in and where she attended community college before transferring to State University of the South. Nikita was 23 at the time of interview and identified as an aggressive fem and lesbian. Nikita is biracial, one parent is black American and the other is of South Asian descent. Her racial and ethnic identity impacted how others related to her, and subsequently how she felt about the space. In particular, Nikita did not feel included in the African American/Black community, and particularly the associated agency. I asked Nikita if she remembered any tensions or experiences the led her to feel this way and she responded:

> Although I pass as Black, well depending on what situation I'm in – around south Indians I don't pass as Black, but people don't know better, I pass as Black. So that wasn't a thing and we also had another member at QSOCA, her name was Lisa, she was like half Black and half whatever. I don't really know her exactness, I just know she has some Black in her and its pretty obvious so she had some Black in her and you know she actually got really mad one day. She's like "Honestly they never accepted me too and I would love to be a part of your org but y'all won't accept me." And what else is the other factor? It's the Queer factor. You know, like the fuck you know. I remember one time we were having this meeting and we were discussing the name change, the MAC and this one stupid fucking (sighs) I don't want to sound like the anti-feminist just when I went out and said I was like the biggest feminist ever but this stupid cunt was just like "well, I think it shouldn't be considered multicultural anymore because we have QSOCA and that's not really a culture." The fuck does that mean? Like we don't have our culture? It's like we've done so many events which they know about and they never show up and never volunteer but every other friggin' MAC org

will show up and volunteer for it. Umm, that highlights Queer People of Color culture like our language is different; the way we dress is different. Like, it's a culture. Dumb Bitch. So then she says that and then like Ezra and I just kinda sighed at each other cause we're like the biggest bitches in the NUCFLA and so then there's just been other instances like that and then that's another thing like LLA will volunteer and help us out for events and we'll help them out. Same thing with AAC, you know, and not only that but we actually like, LOC and AAC would invite us to shit, and not just like MAC related stuff but like I remember we went and got drinks with LOC after an event that they did.   Like that was cool. And then AAC, you know, we became like personal friends with the people there. But not with AABSA, you know.

Nikita expanded, explaining she was still bitter about interactions with the Black community on campus, particularly when we was very supportive of social causes supporting the Black community, including defending SUS's controversial admissions policies.

> I think the Black community unfairly got painted to be the most homophobic community out there, which is totally fucking racist and highly inaccurate, you know. We're just as homophobic as anybody else. One thing I will admit, yet again I'm generalizing, I believe Black folks are especially more real and like we will say shit out in the open where I feel like White folks tend to be more covert about shit, you know what I'm saying?

Nikita added:
> I believe White folks are a lot more passive-aggressive, whereas like Black people, they're more in your face. So then it kinda contributes to the more, (inaudible) has more homophobic only because we're more vocal about it, you know? But it would make sense. My theory is we wouldn't have homophobic laws if Black people were the only ones being especially homophobic, you know. If White people were so progressive, we wouldn't have any homophobic statutes. Why? Because we don't have the political capital to get that shit passed, so clearly we're not the demons here. I spent a lot of energy at SUS trying to preach that message, you know, and it felt like I was defending my community because I love my community. I love being Black. I'm Black and I'm proud. We may have our problems but everybody has their problems. Same fucking shit. So anyway. And then I had to deal with the homophobic Black community at SUS, you know which wasn't really helping my case at all, you know. MAC was kinda weird because I feel like all the homophobic shit that happened within that space

97

was coming from the Black community in particular, you know? And I don't know what that was about exactly but it was upsetting because like I was never welcomed by their organization and I'm Black. Maybe because I'm bi-racial, but then there's a lot of bi-racial women in the org, so it wasn't that, you know?

Nikita added:

I'm not a part of your community. That's why you took it as that. If you saw me as one of your own, you wouldn't have took it that way. Maybe if you woulda saw that I had some internalized shit, but everyone knows I, you know if I do have internal racism, I do, but like, I mean who doesn't to a degree? But me? Me of all folk? Like I'm doing all this QSOCA work because of the fact that I'm Black. You know, like fuck you. So that pissed me off like high water. You know? Like, what the hell? And there's just a lot of instances like that. You just at a certain point all the QSOCA folks stop hanging out in the MAC. Like literally it was just like whoever paid to be in that space was there. And when I didn't have that position in QSOCA where I was paid I was always in the GSRC.

Not all exchanges in the MAC were challenging for QSCOCA students. David, a

QSOCA leader who identified as cisgender, Latino and bisexual recalled being welcome

as a QSOCA leader within the space recalled being welcomed in the space. He added:

Other people that are here often at least recognizing me by name, saying hello to them or whatever, I think they understand like, "Oh hey, Eddie's cool. Oh he's Bi, oh and he's Latino, oh, Ok." I think I'm not recognized by my identities in this space because of the amount of time I spend here. And the same thing with, I think the only other person from the QSOCA leadership team that's in here often is probably Manuel and people like him too. And they're like "Oh, he's Gay, oh he's Asian, well whatever." It's not like a, you know we're not recognized by our identities. And I think now QSOCA's become more welcomed here because many people understand that like being Queer doesn't make you any different, less than, or, does that make any sense?

Omar added despite challenges, student had impactful interactions:

I mean the fun thing about this area, both areas, really, is that once you get a conversation about one topic, everybody runs with it, like they just talk about it nonstop. So we haven't brought a Queer issue up for quite a while, we've actually been talking about like, immigration and how everybody feels about that and everything, we've just been talking about a whole bunch of stuff.

Omar explained this occurs when "They're just like sitting around, trying to do work and stuff and someone just asked questions and everybody just joined and everything, it's like the fun part about this space." Omar added that one student would frequently come in (non-QSOCA) Omar added "he'll just start the most interesting conversations or whatever out of nowhere and I feel like he – does it on purpose to get everybody to talk." Omar added that he wished some of those student who made homophobic comments were present for these conversations. Another QSOCA leader explained:

> In the MAC I feel like it's more open and everyone's more open to talk about, not just particularly Queer, not Queer People of Color issues. More People of Color issues because it is a People of Color space while in the GSRCC it's more Queer issues so they only talk about Queer issues, they don't talk about Queer People of Color issues and it's more of a White space really. 'Cause even their program coordinators and their advisers are all White. And so a lot of people see the space as being more of a White space, so a lot of people who are People of Color who are Queer don't like going to the space 'cause it doesn't feel comfortable to them because they don't feel like it's a space that's meant for them.

QSOCA students faced a myriad of uncomfortable interactions stemming from the changing center demographics. Prior to QSOCA's entrance, students had organized primarily around race and ethnicity. QSOCA's emergence brought an opportunity to organize around issues of gender, sexuality and intersectionality. During this time, the MAC also became more bureaucratic as the office moved to a central campus location and changed from the Multicultural Resource Center to the Multicultural Activity Center (pseudonyms). Students that had seen this transition associated the change in protocol and formality with QSOCA. However, such changes are indicative of multicultural politics and are due to the formalization of the MAC within the larger institution.

99

The MAC included social and work spaces. As a result, QSOCA students experienced pushback in both everyday, discrete social encounters as dominant, heternormative TV played throughout the day. They also experienced disruptions, both literal and figurative, while meeting in the space. QSOCA attempted to provide trainings to promote awareness, but little could be done to enforce participation. Administrators rarely addressed such specific interactions unless approached. More broadly speaking, issues were addressed in staff trainings, meant to be proactive in nature.

To Collectively Organize: Chik-fil-A Movement

In 2011, Chick-fil-A was noted in several news reports for contributing to organizations actively opposed to the Gay Rights movement, specifically same sex marriage initiatives. Several Universities had Chick-fil-A as a vendor and as a result. several student organizations protested against Universities across the nation. SUS University was no exception. In Fall 2011 QSOCA students began to organize in the Multicultural Activity a boycott of the restaurant, which was located on the same floor and building as the Multicultural Activity Center. Unofficially, the MAC became a "Chick-fil-A Free Zone." However, not all students and agencies agreed with this stance. Several QSOCA students discussed instances in which they would be having a formal meeting and students would bring in and Chick-fil-A in the MAC. In one instance, Dane recalled that AABSA student were eating Chick-fil-A in the conference room located within the MAC while QSOCA met in the main room. This was highly visible as the conference door was clear glass. While they ate, Ezra, the main organizer of the Chick-

fil-A zone, taped a boycott posted on the glass door for students to see. Dane recalled

this also occurring among all students in the Gender and Sexuality Resource Center.

Dane's example conveys that, outside of the MAC, such tensions resided among various

racial and ethnic groups within the larger LGBTQ communities.

> There were just like some people that didn't care and they wanted their sandwiches. I confess I was confused like why the hell wouldn't you boycott them but you know I come from a place of having more financial privilege, I'm well-off. I can afford to have Zen every day if I want to or Taco Cabana or whatever but like not everybody can and like Chick-fil-A is one of the cheaper options there and I came to understand that and quickly stopped saying anything.

> However, in the MAC, the Chick-fil-A tensions became recognized as primarily

between QSOCA and the African American Black Student Agency. During the summer

2012 interview, former Director Patricia discussed the situation from her recollection:

> Well, [sigh],you know since I've left, I know it's kind of gotten worse but I think a lot of it sparked with the whole Chik-fil-A debate [sigh]. You know, QSOCA was um, boycotting Chick-fil-A and … several students [sigh] would come into the space --- Chick-fil-A - now you can't say, "You can't have Chic-fil-A," but, so our position was, "Hey, you know this is one of the initiatives of one of our agencies if you, you know, let's show solidarity and support of them but not have it, well, you know all—all types of people ate Chick-fil-A and it just so happened that we had several Black students who were not necessarily AABSA, who weren't AABSA ,who coming in and eating Chick-fil-A in the space, and it really caused— and you know, in this one particular incident where, a Black student came in during QSOCA meeting with Chick-fil-A was very loud---and it just really pissed off Ezra to the point where he printed out all these posters and posted them everywhere around the MAC and you know just really made him really pissed off and so he associated with this person who was Black, with AABSA which was not the case.

Patricia explained that the tensions increased as AABSA students felt wrongly accused of

eating Chick-fil-A in the space. This was due to misidentification of agency membership

for black/African American students who ate Chiq-fil-A . She explained that the tensions

got progressively worse and that AABSA students responded inappropriately "They would be more outspoken." She added that they would say "'You know, it's not part of my religion, like my religion says this is wrong,' so they would be more open to saying these types of things despite, some of the things that we've talked about in social justice training and that type of thing. "

Because of this growing tension, other students perceived AABSA as not being LGBTQ friendly. Arsie, a Leader of the American Indian Council and member of the LGBQT community did not want to be openly Queer in the space given the tensions. She explained this was due to " a feeling that the greater part of the membership of AABSA and LLA are more likely to say homophobic things, whether or not they mean them." She added "that's you know there's not really a good way to know that but um, there is constantly like homophobic things said in the space."

Other students like Omar, felt as if particular agencies did not care about QSOCA because they did not boycott. He stated "I don't think they care about us being in here, not just sure if they want us here like, I felt like a lot of the orgs did not want us here except like LLA and SEA" and also added AAC to the ally list.

In addition to issues of affiliating Black students correctly with AABSA, students felt like the Chik-fil-A conversation was difficult to have because it involved long seeded stereotypes of African Americans and chicken consumption. One of two white LGBTQ identified student leaders in QSOCA noted in reference to the African American community:

I think Chick-fil-A in a lot of ways markets more to that community actually if I'm not mistaken, and it's like something that they can like afford like I don't know like in some ways it's really useful if you don't have a lot of like financial privilege in the first place. It's just, it's sad you know they bring you in and they use your money against you but…they didn't want to do that, like they wanted to be able to eat their sandwiches in the space without like a bunch of angry queers yelling at them, it's pretty understandable. Um, Ezra Bolton didn't take well to that.

However Nikita, a former QSOCA leader, who is bi-racial and identifies as a

Black woman stated "I hate this being over chicken. I really hate that it's over chicken.

Like, oh my God, but.. it was." She added, "I mean honestly, this has nothing, it just so

happens to be about chicken." Nikita added:

But it's not over Black people like chicken. It's more over that they don't care about our issues and they don't like QSOCA so they're not gonna listen to what we have to say. I remember someone said, umm, ok, so we wanted to ban Chick-fil-A from the MAC's space because honestly it was making a lot of Queer folk in there uncomfortable. You know because it's just in your face like I don't give a fuck about you and your identity, so all this other stuff, while they're eating their fucking chicken. So, Ezra took it as a personal initiative as his and I knew it was gonna be testy so I just kinda, you know?

Nikita continued to explain how the Chick-fil-A movement took off in the MAC:

I said Ezra you do this. I'm busy. (laughs) Oh girl, let me tell you. So Ezra was all hot and heavy about Chick-fil-A and he like put on all the, like he laminated all these reasons why Chick-fil-A sucks and he like put it on the tables and so like when they're eating their Chick-fil-A right there in front of their face they can see why Chick-fil-A sucks. And they would do it and then we'd have QSOCA meetings you know or a QSOCA event at the MAC and they'd all be eating Chick-fil-A while we're doing it which is a complete violation of the fact that hey, we're using this space and you're completely not respecting it. There was multiple incidences where we were having a meeting and they would sit there and they won't move. You know and it's just like it's kinda like a well-known thing if someone's having a meeting you give them their space to have their meeting. They wouldn't do that. And so whenever we'd go up and tell them, hey, you know like, keep it down we're having a meeting then they'll get offended and I remember like afterwards they, someone said that QSOCA's afraid of Black folk

and that they took it as, you know, oh that we're just, cause you know how Black folks get accused of being loud.

Nikita added:

> Umm, they took it as that. Which I think is total bullshit because I was the person who told them that they needed to calm down. And I felt like me being a Black woman, but then I was just like, oh wait a minute, I'm not Black to you.

Former Latino Leadership Agency full-time staff advisor George stated that it was not specifically the black community or AABSA within the MAC who ignored the boycott. He added that was more of a religious issues, and those students who were more religious in the space happened to be black identified (two reference were of African descent). For George, the Chick-fil-A boycott added a new dynamic to the agency. Before this, most students could agree on some shared racial oppressions as they were mostly non-white. However, QSOCA's stance challenged dominant religious ideologies, in which some students were privileged. He explains:

> So they were opposed to it on their religion, even though we talk about stuff all the time, see and that's the thing QSOCA brought in a different dynamic, it wasn't just a racial thing. Race [inaudible] cool because they have a common enemy, White people, and they have to internalize it. There Jesus, their whatever is a part of the problem then they didn't want to have to fuckin' deal with it. And I think that's when they started to question their own, like there are no longer the oppressed [under] the oppressor, they are no longer the oppressed and then that started fuckin' with people and they didn't want to hear it.

George had conversations with students about this. He told them "It's like do you know how White people talk down to you about Black people, that's the same way you're doing to QSOCA." Student replied "No, no its not the same thing" and he told them it was. George noted it was very difficult for students to internalize that, "because people

don't know history, the fact that Trans and LGBT people have been burned at the stake, stabbed, killed, they were some of the ones that were targeted by the Nazis first." George added:

> So again I think it's because people. You know, especially it's easier now in the US for people to still talk about race because it's so normalized in society people are afraid to do the religious part. Religion is a fuckin' problem. Coming from an Atheist background, and the, religion fucks with a lot of social justice because people, that's their faith, that's what keeps them going as a positive thing, but it's also very very negative in people well, and again in MAC, people never really wanted to address religion. We kind of did a little bit because of Muslims but like we didn't address Atheism. I mean I did, I would talk to people about it and I managed my comments, I never shitted on people's religion. In my personal life, I talk about religion as an imaginary friend. I was fuckin' like when people are like "Oh, Jesus," this is your imaginary friend. You're imaginary friend should not tell me if my girlfriend should use birth control or not. It's your fuckin' imaginary friend that doesn't mean fuckin' anything to me, and even then I always fuckin' fuck with people like Leviticus, Leviticus says if you get a tattoo you get stoned to death. Everybody who has a tattoo should be fuckin' dead by now because if you're really Christian, it says that shit in the Bible too, stone somebody. But now, people pick and choose what they want to be offended by.

George was in support of the boycott and was one of the few staff members whose office door they felt comfortable place the signs. However, he did question the initiation of the movement and believed QSOCA should have communicated initially in a more informative way. George stated:

> I believe, to a degree in democracy where, and a very egalitarian society where, where like we all should, like you should have brought this to everyone's attention, and had a discussion about it where everybody was okay with it and you may even need everybody to be okay with that, but, you took away people's opportunities to share their voices and to put their input in.

George was implying that the Chick-fil-A Zone had been created without consensus or discussion with others. As a result, he said that lack of input caused student to "get pissed off and get defensive." He said to Ezra " If you would have just go up and

talk to people, until then this is how we feel and this is… people would've been okay with it because at least you gave them a choice rather then you impose it onto them which there is [inaudible] had a fuckin' shit about. "

Furthermore, George explained the office protocol for promoting the boycott material. The staff had a conversation with Ezra, and asked that he move the posters from the table as they were laminated (good quality) and did not want them to get dirty. It was also inconvenient for the custodial staff to clean the tables as they tried not to get the posters wet or dirty. Instead the advisors asked Ezra to place the posted on their agency office door, in which they shared with SEA and LLA. George recommended QSOCA "as your roommates." The boycott posters were placed on the QSOCA door. When George followed-up with SEA and LLA to inquire whether they were asked permission to put of the posters, he was told no. He explained, "Like, and Ezra just kind of did stuff, and then stuff just kept getting shifted around, and then it got into the whole, people started arguing, fighting over it, and having people felt like they were getting attacked."

Within QSOCA, Dane also seemed unsure about the initial approach. Reflecting upon Ezra' placing the posted on the door while student's were eating, Dane stated, "I couldn't even look at them, I was just like I can't believe you just did that [to Ezra]. I didn't want to look, I didn't want to find out, I just, I am done with this situation, I have seen too much." Danes personal approach differed greatly, "if I see you eating a Chick-fil-A sandwich I'm not gonna sit here and assume it's because you're homophobic or like you want to work against my rights, I'm gonna assume you're hungry." Dane added, "if you're boycotting it I'd rather know that because then we can talk about organizing and

social justice and stuff like but if you're not going to boycott though it doesn't concern me and it shouldn't bother me." Dane hoped that one day SUS will replace Chick-Fil-A with Popeyes,

Although the full-time staff advisor George though more communication was needed, he felt that it was a reasonable request to not eat Chick-fil-A in the space. He also acknowledged that students were openly disrespectful in eating Chick-fil-A when their peers were openly boycotting it. He added:

> ..if a group… feels there's a company that is targeting them, not directly, but they are funding people that are targeting them and attacking them, and they feel that they don't want anything to be a part of this, and they want the people who they're supposed to be in solidarity with to fight on the side with them, or at least support them [inaudible]. I think that's a fair ask-that's a fair ask. But for people to do it, and then not give a fuck-knowing, and there's people who didn't know-and the people who don't know, you know, that's, that's okay, you're at least creating a space where people can ask and talk about it. So you're having this conversation where treating people very different, but I think what was fucked up is that people get it and they were fucked and they made it into like a joke to like bring it in and hide it and sneak it.

QSOCA leader David became more active the year after the boycott but was told the situation arrived at a vote. Each agency was going to vote whether or not they wanted to keep the MAC a Chick-fil-A free zone. Everyone voted yes, from his understanding except AABSA. Because everyone did not vote yes it could not be a space-wide activity. David heard it needed to be unanimous or not at all. During this research, there was not formal documentation or standard operating procedure which documented on how, when, and under what circumstances such decision processes occurred.

Aside from conducting the vote and asking Ezra to move posters, I asked several participants how the University full-time staff managed the situation. Nikita believed that

the staff did not handle it at all and she felt they were not being allies. Nikita felt that the

staff could have handled the tensions between QSOCA and AABSA. Referring to one

full-time advisor, Nikita stated:

> But she didn't want to and honestly because QSOCA made her feel
> uncomfortable. Well, I knew it, you know. I know like I, you can just feel it in
> the air, you know, whenever you do especially Gay shit, then all of a sudden they
> get all awkward. You know what I'm saying? Like you're cool when you're like
> acting straight and looking straight and you know. Now you're being super Gay
> and it's kinda like eeww. You know? So that was that, she could've had a sit
> down conversation. You know a lot of things could have been handled differently.
> But it wasn't handled at all. And honestly she should've really talked to AABSA
> about that shit.

Nikita added that the approach was more like "I'm staying out of this and I'm just gonna

let it be what it is." Nikita believed that this approach was contributing to what was going

on. She added "I mean, I'm sorry, but you're an advisor, and if your organization can't

let another organization have their space, the hell are you doin'?" Nikita believed it was

because of such issues that QSOCA often stated the MAC was a homophobic space and

did not feel comfortable in it. Nikita described varying staff approaches:

> I mean George honestly as much as like – George is a straight guy and that's just
> how he's gonna be. But he honestly was pretty cool. There's a reason why it was
> on George' door. 'Cause George had thought it should have been up there.
> George thought everything Ezra did was completely appropriate. But George is
> more in-your-face approach activism. He also is a very social justice minded
> person. So yeah totally he was just like, "Yeah, do that." He's kinda the "Fuck
> the system" kind of guy, you know. But Patricia didn't feel like, she didn't want
> it on the tables, clearly. I don't know what the deal was with putting it on the
> doors. Obviously it was Ezra's project.

George, who identifies as Latino, conveyed that the staff had difficulty in managing the

Chick-fil-A controversy given the stereotypical connotations associated with chicken and

the African American community as noted above. He stated, "Nobody was allowed to

handle it. I wanted to fuckin' put it out there but Monica and Patricia thought it was a bad idea." He understood, adding that he was not Black and was also known as the "Atheist" person in the office, and would already take heat for that. He believed that as full-time institutional staff, they should have taken the following approach:

> I think you have to put it on the table. I think you have to. Let's like acknowledge the fact that there is a stereotype of Black people associated with fried chicken. Because there is. And so you put it all out there, there's going to be this unsaid awkward like everybody knows it but no one wants to say it, unless you're like, hey this is what I'm putting out there like, and if I'm wrong, but I think that's part of it.

When Patricia left the MAC and a new interim Director came in, dynamics shifted regarding Chic-fil-A. The interim director identified as Lesbian identify as Black or African American as did Patricia. Patricia believed that the Black students felt like they could not talk to her. As a result, there was this feeling that they were being homophobic. Patricia added it was these little things, growing, going on top of each other and just making the situation worse. Patricia added that the interim director was a different leader than her and more bureaucratic. Some student did not like that, which may have also contributed to lack of communication regarding the boycott.

Following the year of the boycott, I interviewed several students and asked about the relationship between QSOCA and AABSA. Many reported improved relations due to turnover in members and additional joint training and bonding opportunities. Furthermore, the new AABSA leader identified as a member of LGBTQ community and was well liked. A newer QSOCA leader described AABSA as "They're great people, they're very nice, they're very friendly, they're very welcoming, they're easy to talk to.

109

And if you have a conversation with anybody, they're gonna at least be exposed to your perspective and sometimes that's all it takes.

The Chick-fil-A conflict provided an example of organizing within an institutional space. While the University had bureaucratic rules and regulations to guide work in the space, there was little oversight for organizing or managing interaction. The MAC did not have any publish rules or guidelines for starting an office/center wide campaign, but students were expected to consult with one another. Furthermore, when tensions arose between organizations, staff played a limited role in resolving the conflict. No formal positions were assigned to mediate between agencies, but instead, the full-time advisor who was most outspoken was asked to intervene. Furthermore, there was no protocol for addressing controversial topics addressing conflict involving community stereotypes. The staff avoided specific intervention on this topic. Post- incident institutional training alleviated a continued conflict as students bonded and became more familiar with one another. Conflict was also mitigated by circumstance of turnover in which those active in the conflict graduated or left the space in following years.

Selecting a New Director:

In 2012, the full-time MAC director, Patricia took on another position at the University. In the interim, Nelli, the Director of the Gender and Sexuality Resource Center had been appointed. During this interim period, she split her time in overseeing both the GSRC and the MAC. Throughout the year I conducted the majority of interviews, students were participating in a discussion of whether to keep the interim

person permanently or whether to conduct a search. Agency opinion varied greatly, causing tension within the MAC. QSOCA and LAIC wanted to keep her while the other agencies wanted to conduct a formal search and review external. This subsection will review the rationale for differing perspectives, noting that each agency prioritized different characteristics in an ideal Director candidate. This subsection will also highlight the challenges which arise when student organizations are asked to make high-stakes decisions regarding hiring. The primary decision for the students was whether to keep Nelli as the Director or to continue with a search.

In interviews many students discussed how the importance in relating to the director level position, although their organization worked more closely with the full-time advisors. For example, when Patricia had first arrived student discussed that she was very relatable given that she had been a student in the MAC less than a decade before. For Patricia, an LGBTQ community member and AAABSA student leader noted:

> I think for me it was that she was closer to me in age than Mrs. Barnes, and Mrs. Barnes is kinda like this mother figure, you know, and Patricia has that but it's just different because she's younger, she can kinda relate to you a bit more because she went to University ten years ago, and her personality, not saying Ms. Barnes is not welcoming, but I think Patricia's personality is more like, "I'm gonna come to you and talk to you, and get to know your view," and that was kind of, I think what I needed at that moment.

The ability to relate to students remained an important factor in this search. Students in the Asian American Council discussed how her leadership styled affected their organization. Amy, a co-director of AAC, asserted that they wanted the director to bring a sense of "family" to the space for it to work. They had not had many interactions with Nelli and wanted a more vocal leader. They thought she was "wonderful" and

assumed much of her contribution was behind the scenes. Instead they preferred that the new director to be "very, very accessible, very present," who would push to move them further along. Amy believed that that is was easy for AAC to become stagnant and fall into the same programming over and over again. Although great because they built upon programs which got bigger and bigger, at the same time, they wanted to do more. This was especially relevant as they became politically involved with supporting the Affirmative Action Case and registering students to vote. Amy stated "And with that I think we were looking into a director that was also gonna be like that. Not necessarily hyper-critical, but someone who would challenge us and encourage us to grow." She added "Almost like a mother."

Others objected because they thought she was too bureaucratic for the student centered space. Manuel, A QSOCA student who advocated for Nelli, explained that AABSA, LLA, AAC were "used to doing things their way" and could not when Nelli arrived and started enforcing previously established institutional rules. Manuel added, "They didn't like someone telling them how to run things when they've been running it so long and she's like an interim director." Manuel though they should listen to her as she was considered a liaison between the students and the administration. He added "so if she says something doesn't sound good or seem right, you could get in serious trouble, the MAC could get in serious trouble and she could get in serious trouble. So she's just trying to watch out for all of us, or for each organization."

Others found this approach to be prohibitive. George, the former LLA advisor stated,

I think Nelli's a micromanager and she has to be in everybody's shit, yet all the students hate her for being up in their shit, Patricia's approach is like as long as it isn't burned, do what you need to do and just report, and if you have faith and trust in your staff, they know what they're doing, and you don't have fuckin' micromanage everybody…

Many of the QSOCA students believed Nelli's identity as a lesbian impacted many student's decision to search for a new director. Nikita stated:

You could tell, she was just so awkward in the space, and it's cause she's Queer and MAC is homophobic, and they didn't want her as the director and a lot of the other agencies but QPOC was all about Nelli being the director and honestly the MAC and Nelli would have been a great fit.

Nikita added the Nelli had tremendous experience and considered her a "POC" extraordinaire who was well versed and gave good advice. Nikita admitted that Nelli was much more soft-spoken than Patricia who was very outgoing. She also believe this may have been why students did warm up to her as much. She added that "Queer was a factor, was a part of it, and also that she was coming from the GSRC to MAC."

While some believed Nelli was too bureaucratic, Arsie a member of the LGBTQ community and American Indian Council Leader believed that she served the students more than the University and administration. Nelli stated "I feel like the staff advisors want to make the Division for Diversity Initiatives happy, but I think Nelli also wants to make us happy." Arsie gave an example in which her agency had a campus issue in which a student organization threw a cowboys and Indians party. Arsie was pleased with the guidance given. Although the students were heated, she helped them to identify what they wanted as a resolution to the situation. The students wanted "closure" and Nelli provided what they could do to get it. She concluded in stating that she wanted a director

113

who would help students leaders "get a lot out of the space and a lot out of our agencies, to be satisfied with our time here instead of always trying to please our membership or please Dr. Samuels, trying to please our sponsors."

Aside from relational attributes work characteristics, some students believed additional representation of their identity did impact power dynamics within the space. The America Indian Council and QSOCA members expressed feeling marginalized in the space and felt that Nelli was someone they could come to who would advocate for them. Arsie further explained:

> I think Nelli did make that space um… more open, I mean I wasn't here for the transition but um, when you looked at the people who were sticking up for Nelli, it was AIC's leadership and it was QSOCA's leadership and from what I have been told, AIC and QSOCA have never or… have always felt… or have never felt as comfortable in the space as the people in LLA and in AABSA and if you're here at any given moment you know, on any day of the week, um, if you're to just you know visually take inventory of who's here and if you knew who was part of what agency, it would overwhelmingly be AABSA and LLA but… um I feel like if somebody like Monica or Patricia were to come into the space, um as the director, I feel as, I have a strong feeling that it would make QSOCA and AIC less comfortable being here, um… because I think, well I guess we were most vocal about keeping her and um, also because… [long pause], you know I do feel like sometimes um…, the full time staff's identities do and sometimes don't matter, but I think they do matter in terms of who is represented um, because, Nelli… I think Nelli identifies as like Latina but also as Indigenous, that's important to us, to see somebody who identifies you know within your community to be in a position of power and that kind of sets off the balance of, or sort of evens the playing field of who's represented here in terms of students and then who is a full time staff member here so I think I mean I can see how that would make QSOCA and AIC more comfortable being here, you know not just light skinned but people of QPOC community and then people in Indigenous community.

Similarly, Sai from QSOCA indicated that AAC, LLA and AABSA are the bigger organizations while QSOCA, AIC, and SEA are the smaller ones She felt that the latter three tended to band together a little bit more because there are less of them. Sai felt that

114

those who were involved in the larger organizations felt like they had more say, or that they were entitled to a greater vote. When she thought of these organizations, she thought of their specific co-directors who had dominant voices within the space. Sai appreciated that the smaller agencies did not have one dominant voice. In QSOCA they made sure that everyone gets a say which did not seem to be the case for the larger organizations from the outside. During the director search, Sai gave her perspective as the finance director for QSOCA, which she noted also had a lot of power. Whenever she voiced her opinion, she felt like the other co-directors from those organization responded with, "whoa." After the meeting she was approached by two of those leaders at two different times and one said , "you really think that Nelli's like a good fit for this." She responded, 'yeah, yeah, I do.' Sai felt really awkward and weird.

One evening I attended a QSOCA event and was invited for another meeting. I assumed it was a QSOCA leadership meeting, but instead was an all agency meeting to discuss the position. I did not stay for the entirety of the meeting, but interviewees conveyed that AIC and QSOCA supported keeping Nelli while others did not. The other agencies took various stances. Some were certain that they wanted other candidates, while other agencies thought a search was worthwhile and they could return to Nelli if it did not work out. Arsie explained "the director search is so hard because it's personal. Arsie noticed that is was more about personality than identity, which impacted several students decisions:

> I think what played the biggest part in everyone's decision to look for a new director was people's personal interactions with her one on one, uh, um, because I know, I know, Yvette, who is operations director for LLA, um, and Nelli both

115

identify as Queer Latinas, but it doesn't matter, Yvette doesn't like her. Um, so, at the same time, like… um… you know because there's a mixture because QSOCA, a lot of the leadership, um are a part of the QPOC community or the Queer community, and they love her, but I know some other people who are in the QPOC community who aren't exactly in QSOCA and Yvette are in favor of looking for a new director, so I don't think it's identity, I think it's… personality.

Some participants believed that making a choice together impacted the relationships among agencies given disagreements. Sai, a QSOCA student leader, liked having the opportunity to give input but felt like there were several downside. Among those downsides, included being "pitted" against other organizations. She believed alliances and coalition building could be lost as animosity would linger over disagreements. Sai felt like a lot of student in the MAC assumed that QSOCA voted for Nelli to stay in the space because Nelli's a Queer person of color. Said stated "And that's, you know that's not true because I know I personally worked with Nelli the past year and a half and I like the way that she works and I think she's a great addition to the space which you know, obviously isn't what everything thinks." Sai clarified that such tensions were "bumps" along the way and would not prevent QSOCA from co-sponsoring an event.

While the agencies spent weeks discussing the director search, Nelli removed herself from the position. According to participants, she did not want to be a reason for strained relations among the agencies. The next stage in the process was for the agencies to come up with a joint proposal of what they would like to see in the new director, such as a job description in addition to questions they would like the candidates to answer. Manuel describe the meeting:

116

We didn't really get anything done. We just decided these are the questions being asked and this is what the proposal needs to look like, and that's it. And then we got into kinda a heated argument because one of the girls from AABSA said, "If Dr. Samuel's giving us a PhD requirement then the person needs to have a PhD of something, have dissertation or PhD in something in social justice field, like psychology or sociology or something like that. And then Alexis kinda got offended 'cause Lisa is like, "I'm passionate about QSOCA issues and the MAC space and I'm a science major. That doesn't validate anything. It's not what they get their PhD or dissertation in, what experience have they had in the past?" And she was like, "Well the document putting the PhD ([inaudible]).

The credential discussion was also heated because the current interim did not have a PhD. Although she had pulled out of the running, selecting such credentials as criteria would only reaffirm her ineligibility. The PhD did not become a requirement, though certainly would carry weight with administrators at SUS.

Students also spent a great deal of time discussing desired characteristics of the candidates. Many students wanted to put "friendliness" on the job description. Arsie found this problematic. She questioned "how do you account for differences in personality style or communication style or how somebody perceives friendship or approachability/" This processes remaindered her of how they selected the last agency advisor, in which students had various expectations, some which that were reasonable and others not for a full-time position. Arsie describe the director search discussion:

…everything you guys are saying is like so subjective and like can't, you know, quantify or put friendliness on a skill set, you know, er, so… but that was just my experience in and I think this whole thing is just gonna be people's feelings and to be honest when we were searching for Natalie's position, um, it was a lot of the same stuff, we were caught between people who were looking at people on paper, um applicants on paper and then people who were basing you know the decision on did the person give a good interview, um, and I remember being frustrated with that decision, too, but for different reasons, um, so I think, I think sometimes its problematic giving the students that much say, because we're students, we're young, we're all undergraduates, we don't even know for the most part, you

117

know, how we communicate or how you know if we're doing a good job, so when we're trying to hire people who have graduate level degrees, um, and they've been in the workforce for longer than we have, um, I think people's feelings can get hurt and I think people can focus on the wrong things in terms of what qualifies somebody to do a job like this and very unique space, so… [long pause].

Sai was worried that they would have the same problem and be against each other at some point again. Furthermore, they would have only two hours for an interview with a future candidate and then have choose. She added, that students "we're gonna have to get over it even if we don't like them," noting that had ten months with Nelli. If students didn' go up to her and have your own interview to learn more about her by then, she felt they weren't going to learn much from those two hours.

 A formal nation wide search was conducted in which three final candidates came to campus and were interviewed by administrators and the staff. Among those candidate was Monica, the current Assistant Director and form agency advisor. With the student's input, Monica was selected and was serving as the Director during the completion of this dissertation.

Given the hybrid nature of the Multicultural Activity Center, student leaders and agencies were asked to participate in a formal employment process usually reserved to University faculty and staff. Students were asked to draft a job description, create questions, interview candidates and come to a consensus on a candidate emerging from a contentious process. This subsection revealed that students prioritized various qualities and skills, some more subjective than others (such as "friendliness"). While students appreciated inclusion into the formal bureaucratic process, such participation complicated organizational relationships within the center. Given the varying viewpoints of the

118

Director position, some agencies would end up with a Director they wanted while others would not. Students explained the high-stakes nature of this decision and position. QSOCA and AIC, Smaller organizations within the MAC, hoped for an advisor to advocate and shift existing power relations. Students conveyed a sense of uneasiness and unpreparedness in participating in the process as conveyed by Arsie who questioned the compiled list. While access to institutional processes would appear to be beneficial for students, consideration must be taken for the impact on organizational dynamics.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

The institutional nature of the MAC afforded the six agencies space to co-exist socially and professionally, as well as through social movement initiatives. Such a space was beneficial for offering multicultural programs accepted by many. However, the bureaucratic logic of the space could not accommodate arising conflict surrounding controversial identity-based and social justice issues. Chapter three focuses on the inter-organizational conflict and the limited capacity of existing bureaucratic practices to alleviate tensions. In each example, no institutional protocol existed to manage the situation, nor did staff have a specific process to follow. Often times, professional judgments were made by staff members. In the case of Chick-fil-A, a professional judgment was made to not openly address the stereotype of African Americans and chicken consumption within the larger movement. Lack of responsiveness regarding QSOCA's challenging interactions was also a result of navigating somewhat "new"

terrain for the MAC in discussing the intersectionality of sexuality, gender and other oppressions amongst center members.

Whether students preferred bureaucratic tendencies in staff members is unclear as interviewees held various positions. While many QSOCA members indicated they would prefer leaders to help manage organization conflict outwardly as in the case of Chick-fil-A, many of these same respondents preferred the composed style of the bureaucratic director candidate.

Chapter 4: Whose Organization is This?

Membership, Identity and Allies

While chapter three highlighted the difficulty of bureaucracy in managing emerging conflicts between organizations, chapter four offers insight into how bureaucracy impacts organizations internally. Through offering incentives for select leadership position, chapter 4 provides examples of how bureaucracy can create environments that cause disruptions within organizations.

This chapter explores the intra-organizational dynamics occurring after QSOCA was formally added to the Multicultural Activity Center bureaucratic structure. Intra-organization dynamics, primarily competing notions of membership requirements, organizational identity, resulting from leadership selection as well as defining membership and allyship became topics debated throughout QSOCA meetings. The research examines how bureaucratic structure and resources impacted such conversations.

THEORIES ON MEMBERSHIP, RESPONSIBILITY AND ALLYSHIP

Despite the increase of social justice organizing across diverse communities, little research has focused upon the role of "allies" and perceived responsibilities, particularly within progressive organizations. This chapter identifies the impact of bureaucratic structures upon ally participation within organizations. Through an analysis of the General Social Survey from 1973-1998, Loftus (2001) found that since 1990 American attitudes have become increasingly liberal towards the morality of homosexuality and less restrictive for LGBTQ civil rights. Social work research has explored the

development of LGBT "allies," looking closely at the experiences which encourage the "positive attitudes towards LGBT people" (Stotzer 2009). Such discussions assume being an ally is attitudinal in nature and do not include agency or action. Furthermore, while attitudinal suggests a increasing liberal leaning of the general American population, research has not explored the intersectionality of race, What is the general populations perception of issues that specifically impact LGBT people of color.

Ghaziani's research into an LGBT student organization at Princeton University uses a collective identity framework to convey an evolution among LGBT activists to increasingly employ inclusive strategies (2011). Such strategies focus upon building alliances with straight counterparts, and moving away from oppositional tactics that promote identity differences. Similar to this study, Ghaziani interviewed several students affiliated to the LGBTQ organization and reviewed hundreds of historical documents related to LGBT organizing at Princeton University. The research included eighteen interviews with 13 Pride Alliance Officers, and 5 alumni. Of the students, 7 were white and were of color. Although Ghaziani's research may speak to a general trend among LGBT organizing, it does not take address the Queer People of Color Movement, in a "post-gay" strategy is employed far more contentiously. This research found that students demarcated differences among QSOCA members, particularly leaders. Furthermore, given the participation of more white LGBTQ identified allies, than straight of color Allies, race was a greater marker in discussing ally responsibilities. Such research assumes that the concept of ally can be attitudinal in nature and does not imply greater agency or action.

Under consideration is the role of staff in higher education, particularly for those situated as professionals in an emerging "third space" (Whitchurch 2013). The third space is defined as those areas in higher education between the binary of academic terrain and administration (2013). The increasing third space professionals are involved in numerous activities including student life and welfare, widening student support, and community partnerships (2013). In the U.S. they can be responsible for guiding student development personally, socially and academically. Though they may not be confined to a classroom or office, third space professionals are in close contact with students and provide mentorship on a variety of matters. Challenges to such positions include lack of clarity in defining job descriptions, limited professional development opportunities, understanding role between institution policy makers and teams assigned to, developing "mature" relationships with staff, and identifying responsibility of management and leadership amongst different teams (2013).

Membership and Identity

As discussed in Chapter 2, QSOCA had initially started as a student organization without the "A" for Allies within the title. Students believed by adding the "Allies" they would be able to draw additional support for the organization, a strategy commonly employed in other LGBTQ organization on and off-campus. A QSOCA student leader, Manuel explained:

> So I wanted to say, for AAC, AIC, LLA, AABSA, their organizations are very centered around their race. And it's true, they're really centered around their race and they really try to make their race better. The problem is with QPOC is Queer People of Color, that includes all of them and then some. But we can't exclude

the community just to one thing and so they made a decision that the biggest people who can help us are allies, regardless of how that rose, what happened there or not, they are our biggest allies, people who don't identify as Queer People of Color, but they are there at the same time, trying to help our community. And we are a community, but our community is huge. It's huge in that it's not considered one race. It's huge in that we have to include all races and try to find a balance with all ethnicities and races are considered people of color. I'm not talking about Queer People of Color, under each Queer People of Color race is a different type of community in itself. So that's really hard to boundary around.

Patty, a QSOCA student leader explained:

I feel like allies are important to have because you not only get to broaden the understanding of QPOC issues but also you get to have like additional support when you need it, if you need it, if you feel like you need it and it can go out into the public spheres and teach like their comrades like social justice thinking that they kind of take away from QSOCA and kind of broaden other peoples' understanding, because in some people feel like, well, you just have a biased opinion because you're a person of color or you're a Queer person of privilege, but then it's like if they hear from someone who shares multiple identities, they're like, Oh I never thought about it like that, I know it's a bad way of thinking because it's like, Oh, this person's opinion is prioritized about someone else's but at the same time, I feel like it's important to have allies because then you can teach have like a better sense of acceptance, understanding, and other people and other communities as well.

Anissa believed that others defined ally in their own way, how for her there were different levels of allies that she was still figuring out. Furthermore, in some cases it was complex topic in understanding that identities were within the community and which were ally categories. For example, Anissa explained that the use of the term Queer had been used differently amongst Anissa's group of friends. Recently she had a tense discussion with her girlfriend and friend about the meaning of allies and being Queer. Her friend said that Anissa had no right to dictate how someone identifies oneself. They were speaking of a mutual friend who called herself Queer and felt like sh was part of the Queer community. Anissa described the woman's sexuality as

124

"for all intents and purposes, straight, like, it's just difficult to define because like, her for example, she she feels an attraction to women but it's just like a fluidity that she acknowledges but like, I don't think she would ever date a woman, she's always just looking at guys mainly, you know what I mean, she's like straight but anyway, she calls herself Queer she feels like she's part of the community and that's what we were talking about."

Anissa explained that it made her and her girlfriend feel uncomfortable. When she first met her, she kept referring to herself as Queer and Anissa was trying to figure it out for a long time. Anissa added that the more she interacted with her and the closer she got to her, the more she felt okay with it. She never said anything to the friend about it because it did not feel like she could say and she was not sure of her feelings so she waited. After a while she became okay with it. An argument arose when Anissa's girlfriend said amongst her and another friend that one cannot selectively call oneself Queer. Anissa's friend was hurt and reaffirmed "I feel like you have no right to say to someone that they are not what they say they are, if somebody says I'm bi or I'm Queer or whatever, like you have no right to say like 'no you're not,' like it's just for somebody to define for themselves individually." Anissa added:

> "kinda like you can't really judge or play god kind of, um, and my girlfriend kept bringing up the thing of what if the girl says she's bi but she's really not, they make mistakes, and they just use it as a commodity or whatever, and my friend was saying I still don't think you have a right to say, it's still a learning process."

Anissa left the conversation with her friend still really confused about the usage of Queer. She noted it was difficult because people people can "abuse the labels" but she acknowledged not having the right to say to someone you're not a certain identity. She did feel, however, that at times people hurt the community when they identified certain

ways and then do all this "wrong stuff." She felt it made the community look bad and takes steps back in the movement.

QSOCA was the only agency of the six in the Multicultural Activity Center to formally recognize allies within the name. For example when I interviewed Amy, a student leader form the Asian American Council, I asked her if the Asian American Council utilized the term Ally. She replied:

> Not really. Not really and I think because, first of all there is that stigma - oh you're an Asian ally, what does that mean? But I think it's just part of it like we hope that everyone is friends with us. They don't necessarily need to have the "ally" term there that they'll support us. I mean sometimes that's not quite the case, but that's what we hope. And I think that's the same with each of the communities. They're not actively looking for allies because they hope everyone already is and supportive.

However, the only other LGBTQ formally affiliated organization on campus (Queer Students Alliance) also focused on allies. The former president explained the term "Queer" allowed for some anonymity with identity for those who did not want to share but still wanted to participate with the organization. Regarding allies, she felt that they were "awesome" from her experience with them in campus activities. She added:

> You need allies, you can't get anywhere without allies, and… how like, uh, just because that straight person is an ally to me as a Lesbian doesn't mean a Lesbian can't be an ally to that bisexual person, and you know how the word ally is like, it can traverse relationships and so I was always stressing that.

During Coming Out Week Queer Alliance had many conversations about allies and coming out as an ally. The leadership discussed how you don't have to be a straight person to be an ally and what is an ally. For Queer Alliance event promotions that board game night etc. they would include "and allies are total welcome!" Rian thought "I'm

126

like, oh my god, okay, that's fine I guess, I guess you're getting it out there and I feel like it's something that needed to be said" because in "LGBTQIA" the A is not always clear and could stand for Ally or Asexual. Rian believed it always needed to be pointed out and Queer Alliance included it in most events. She did not know if this approach would change with whoever would be in charge or making decisions because the overseeing body (student government) did not really put a limit on what they could include.

I asked Rian why allies were important to her and she responded that "...ally to me is like the same thing as having almost a friend, someone who has your back, and who supports you and… maybe doesn't completely understand you, but is trying and wants to and is working toward that. " She felt like that in many situations she had been she was the only Lesbian or the only woman, or the only woman of color. She had always had an ally, or a friend. She affirmed that there was no guarantee that one would always have another Lesbian in the room, but that there was somewhat of a guarantee that she could find an ally for any of her identities or that she could be an ally to someone.

For QSOCA, the organization drew student members who identified as an "ally." Typically in QSOCA community meetings of 15-20, at I observed three -four student allies. However, during their large welcome program event every fall, hundreds of ally students would attend.

In several interviews, I asked QSOCA students to explain the term ally and who would be considered in this category. The responses varied lightly, but most agree the term "ally" represented those who supported LGBTQ initiative, but did identify as both being a person of color (POC) or queer, as well as those who did not identify with either.

Patty stated:

> An ally, I think, as QSOCA terms it is a person who listens to what a specific community has to say, they'll listen on the struggles and the hardships and the intersectionality from a certain community, in this case, the QPOC community and they'll listen and they kind of change their way of thinking and broaden their perspective from when they socialized and they'll not like speak out in support in for these people in this community but they'll speak with them so they'll kind of speak with them in terms of educate others on the issues that they face so an ally as QSOCA terms it is a person who stands with a community helps raise awareness of the issue and also educates others about these issues and also kind of challenges others and their way of thinking so they can kind of get a better understanding about issues of, that the QPOC community faces.

I asked David, a Latino identified QSOCA leader what defined an ally and he responded

"the work." David added:

> I think for me, an Ally is somebody who is, not only – I did this activity once and kinda learned what it means to be an Ally – people always say tolerance is the big component of being an Ally, but through the activity, I learned that tolerance is actually on the negative end of the spectrum. It's not, you know there's acceptance then tolerance and the next part, I think it was like.. help? I don't know, aid, I don't remember the word, the exact word. But basically like them taking the initiative to do something. So to me an Ally is somebody who's willing to not only attempt to understand, 'cause if you think about it, they never really will, despite how much they may try, because they will never possess that identity. But who tries to understand and then does something with that. So somebody who, well I consider myself an Ally to the Trans community 'cause I'm not Trans, I'm just cisgender, but I have a lot of Trans friends. That doesn't make me an Ally. What makes me an Ally is that I'm willing to stand up and not speak on behalf of Trans people, but speak for them in the perspective of an Ally.

> Patty explained, the programming was meant to be as inclusive as possible.

For example, they had recently began programming for an event called "Queer Talent

Show" but pondered whether the name might deter people from joining. Patty thought

students might feel like they had to be Queer identified to sign up to attend with the

existing name. Patty stated "back to what an ally is, you don't have to be like Queer

identified or a QPOC identified person to support these issues, you just have to be

understanding and open minded." Another program called Queer Leadership Initiative was also intended for all students and was a weekly training in the fall for student leaders to learn about LGBTQ issues. Patty affirmed that anyone could be a leader and believed that those who want to learn about the issues they advocate for were "more than welcome to come and learn from us." Patty added "And also it helps build more allyship as well, which is something that we always strive to do in the community and in our organizations well."

Despite considering inclusive programming titles, other QSOCA leaders though they could do more ally programming. David explained that the current ally programming was not the way he thought they should do it. He added:

> I think a lot of what we do is based off of the Queer part. Sometimes we [do] the POC part. We strive so hard to always remember that. I mean sometimes even when we're thinking about bringing in somebody, "Oh why are they a person of color? Oh, no? Well then we have to rule them out." And that's when I'm like but we have Ally in there for a reason. They don't necessarily have to be a Person of Color, just somebody who's doing work in our favor. And we forget that a lot. There's not much that we do, at all, in my opinion.

Manuel found that many of the allies were usually Queer identified and White, but that they did not have any White straight persons. He also found that not many straight People of Color attended, although he believed the programming included many POC topics and was relatable.

Some who identified as white, or those student of color who had took a more open interpretations of ally participation felt that QSOCA could do more to be open to white members. However Omar discussed stressing to other team:

'No, no, no, there's no such thing as too White in QSOCA, you can come, you're still multiracial and everything, it doesn't matter, like, how White you think you are, you'll still come and be accepted,' and he's like, "No, no." he sounded kind of discouraged and I'm like 'QSOCA, Bravo.' Like, separating White people from our organization.

Omar references two bi-racial friends, one white and Latino and the other White and Persian who attended QSOCA meetings as Queer identified students. The first student enjoyed the meetings and continued to return while the second, Carson felt he was "too White" for the organization. Omar added that Cameron thought QSOCA "gave off a vibe, like, people are really into their race and ethnicity" and he wasn't that much into it. Omare believed the organizations were just separating themselves and reifying labels instead of making the organization.

Tristen who identified as white, was active in several LGBTQ organizations on campus, and attended QSOCA general membership meetings believed that QSOCA had a large straight identified base (comparative to other organizations he affiliated with). He believed a couple reasons attributed to this. Primarily, QSOCA's focus is somewhat broad, given its People of Color and Allies, but it's not Queer People of Color and Allies interested in politics. He added "it's just a identity based thing versus an activity-based thing." He also thought the institutionalization of QSOCA, as they are part of MAC, they could draw on their networks with the other center agencies such as the Asian American Council. Despite challenges discussed in chapter 3, Tristen perceived that there were members in QSOCA that were also in other MAC agencies. Furthermore he believed that a year prior, although existing in the MAC, QSOCA was a very Queer organization and would have Queer White people and Queer People of Color. At that time, he thought

they were not as likely to have straight People of Color. Tristen felt QSOCA had remedied that.

Joining the MAC forced QSOCA to reconsidered its audience and membership base. Initially the organization did not include allies and did so in the application process so as to broaden support for membership into the MAC. Once joining the MAC, QSOCA continued to contemplate the meaning of allies and their true purpose within the organization. Institutionalization offered more rewards for increased inclusivity. As QSOCA held events, the institution required measurement of productivity (as described in chapter two). Given this it was beneficial to market and include allies in events so as to increase attendance and other performance metrics. That being said, the focus shifted at times from purposeful, community based programming geared for the QPOC community to meeting the needs of the larger institution. Such shifting made it difficult for QSOCA students to create meaningful events while still casting a wide net for program participants. Utilizing broader terms as Allies also enabled students wanting to keep gender and/or sexual orientation anonymous while still participating in the organization. While QSOCA had expectations for allies with regards to supporting and advocating for LGBTQ issues, general membership did not require specific responsibilities.

Leadership and Identity in QSOCA

One evening in late October 2012, I had attended the first session for the year of the LGBTQ Leadership Institute (QLI) and planned to interview afterwards. I was waiting for the interviewee and I overheard Lisa, Director of Operations speaking in

frustration about the absence of a missing team member. Among chatter between two of the leaders, I heard "Knowing you are an ally and being aware that you are an ally are two different things." Lisa was comfortable with my presence and included me in on the conversation. In finding out more detail, she explained that Dane had resigned from her leadership position as Finance Director that was one of the two paid positions in QSOCA. Dane identified as a lesbian but was also white, and the QSOCA leadership recognized her as an ally and many had felt that she did not recognize her privilege nor completed assigned duties. In her resignation letter she noted that QSOCA conveyed ableism by not being accommodating to her disabilities. Directly after the brief conversation with Lisa, I interviewed Patty another QSOCA student leader who identified as a multiracial and transgender student. Patty implied that there was tension around whether some QSOCA leaders should return for additional terms last year given prior performance. Patty stated

> I feel like every person is given a fair opportunity because they give, they're given an application to fill out and they're given an interview and they're asked several times, "are you sure this is something you want to do?" Like, you understand the duties are going to be presented to you with the expectations that the duties are gonna be uphold, upheld, where you, this?

In addition to fulfilling expected requirements, Patty returned to the discussion of being an ally and leader in QSOCA.

> Going back to what is expected of an ally, in our space, like the whole understanding like you sense of privilege in like, especially in the QPOC environment, like, I hear some allies like, they're welcome to say their opinion but at the same time there's certain boundaries that need to be set up like if you're a White person, you can't come into a QPOC community and talk about the struggles being a White person, and I understand there's intersectionality like with the, your able bodiedness or your able-bodied status, or like your age group or your sexual orientation or your gender identity, but at the same time I think that allies to the community need to be aware of their place of privilege and that they

can't take up too much space because then they start to put themselves in a hierarchy above everyone else by taking up too much space.

Patty implied that she placed herself at the top in the QPOC environment by thinking she had more importance to everyone else in the space.

Taking up too much space was terminology I had heard in prior group gatherings regarding power and privilege. Patty explained what this meant:

> like, one of our guidelines, well, it's not visible but so it's like move up/move back, it's originally written like step up/step back, but to eliminate ableism, we renamed it move up/move back so basically it means like if you're a person who likes to talk out a lot in the space, kind of trace how much you're speaking out so that if you feel like you've talked a lot kind of allowing yourself to kind of move back and allowing someone else to speak up for a change so that you don't take up too much space in the room. That's kind of plays back into what being an ally is, realizing that if you're a person who identified as White or straight or both, or sys gender or any other privilege which identities, realize already how much space you're taking up and kind of. I don't want to say "police" because it's kind of a better way to kind of just kind of… monitor, I suppose, like your actions and what you say and just how much space you are already taking up as well as like what you might say, kind of be mindful of what might be, what your words might be construed as because like the whole impact versus intent that we sometimes also discussed in this, like realize the impact your words can have on others in this kind of setting.

Patty also mentioned that she had been given the position (instead of applying) because Omar, another QSOCA leader stated she was an officer at that moment. In Omar's interview he notes that the position was unfilled and Dane was helping the organization in need of additional leaders. However Patty's perspective differed. Patty had hoped that Dane would acknowledge the privileges she was already experiencing upon entering the organization:

> I don't know why that happened or how that happens, how like the White officer is given higher priority and is basically handed a job like right on the spot

whereas everyone else had to apply and get accepted, yeah, kind of go through the
whole process of trying to get a leadership position.

The positions Dane had been given complicated the issue of privilege and allyship. In the

current year she was paid as Finance Director, and handled the budget required through

the MAC to have events. Patty believed that the Dane's prior QSPCA position as Internal

Relations Director included oversight in regulating the relationships between the officers

and as result this position was situated at the top of the organizational hierarchy. Patty

described this role as an " overseer's position" in which she made sure everything was

running smoothly and that there was no conflict.

I asked Patty to clarify the hierarchical nature of the organization. Before entering

the MAC QSOC had a flat organization structure, in which none of the positions had

authority over another but worked together and shared leadership power. Patty explained

that the positions were still the same and were laid out as a flat organization. Some

people had more power because of they had served as a QSOCA leader longer than

others. Patty mentioned being surprised that Dane felt like she wasn't given enough

power in the organization and. Ze noted this to be "huge obliviousness to her own sense

of privilege because she being a White person who's not like a person of color in this

kind of social setting you're already given enough" as she had more power than people in

the space so. This led to debates during QSOCA leadership meeting in the prior year

about whether it was reverse racism against White people and whether White people

could experience racism. Patty rejected the argument stating "you can't flip the entire

institution of oppression against the people who created and continue to perpetuate it

today." Patty noted that Dane was in six other organizations and the co-director of another politically active LGBTQ student group and felt she already had a lot of power in that sphere.

Anissa described the various reactions to Dane's leadership. Some QSOCA leaders did not mind and others thought it should not matter. If she wanted to help she should be able to. Anissa referred to a leader who just wanted it to be a fun and thought they did not' really understand the more the academic stuff behind the issue.

Another group was in line with Patty's comments and believed QSOCA was for Queer People of Color. They can help, they can listen, and they were of the mindset that "if you are an ally, your job is to sit down, shut up, and listen." Those students felt like having a White person in the group in with that much power took away from the whole concept of QSOCA. Furthermore more they felt like space was taken away from them.

She added that people who were in QSOCA year before, but were "long gone from the University" had concerns about how the White person had the paid position in QSOCA. Anissa believed that being paid increased member's willingness to take on more work and therefore have more control the organization. "I remember one time I said like man, Sade's taking on a lot, and like taking on a lot for like three different people or something, but somebody was like, ze's getting paid for it, so that changes people's level of like what they feel they're responsible for."

Anissa added that former members were infuriated by Dane's position in QSOCA and did not understand how that came to be. She described their reaction as "I don't understand how she thinks that's okay."

135

Anissa was correct. Months later I met with Nikita, a recent graduate of SUS University and former leader of QSOCA. Nikita, who had not known of Dane's resignation, questioned the state of QSOCA's operations after she left stating "Dane, she's a White Lesbian - why is she a paid staff member? Why is she a paid staff member?" Nikita added, "I'm not her friend anymore because of it." I indicated to Nikita that this was no longer the case and she replied "I'm glad she left, but she should have left."

This prompted a larger discussion on leadership in QSOCA. I asked whether an ally, either they be a straight person of color or White Queer person, be on the leadership board? Nikita replied:

> There's one thing taking leadership and there's one thing getting money and one thing having aggressive leadership. I would never, for example, if I were part of a Trans org, I would never run for president, for example. This idea of me as a woman ordering around all these Trans folk is just not right. Not only that, but it varies in different situations.

Nikita gave an example of a former advisor who was not identified LGBTQ but identified as a woman of color. Nikita mentioned that the advisor would ask "Hey where's the color in this" which prompted the students to reconsider programming. Nikita added:

> and then Ezra and I were like, oh yeah, shit, we gotta flavor it up a bit. Whereas Dane, no. On top of that, I felt like that position in QSOCA, in particular,… People of color tend to come from not exactly the most privileged backgrounds, and I felt like the MAC at least provided at least some kind of economic substance for People of Color on campus. So the fact that they gave it to a White person was really alarming. And then she didn't need it. She comes from upper-middle class background. She's not paying her way through college. Completely privileged in every sense and also QSOCA also provides People of Color that space to learn and grow as activists and get that experience (inaudible). She was having experience with Nancy Pelosi. She was also one of the leaders in Queer Alliance and all these other organizations. She didn't need QSOCA. A core

person of color who needed it could've taken that space and then she took it. Not only that, but it's like I said, she, obviously because she thought it was ok for her to take it and for her to make money off QPOC people, she clearly doesn't realize, like I said, the need for a QPOC space. We need our space.

Nikita clarified "I mean I'm not saying White folks don't have anything to contribute to QSOCA or they're not, like there are so many White folks that are down." I asked Nikita to clarify if this included people of Color who are straight and she gave an example of her sister who was straight identified but helped organized in LGBTQ activities in Houston. Her sister did become the treasurer of an organization, but felt forced into the spotlight at times. Nikita noted her sister was like "I don't feel comfortable as a straight person occupying this space. And I'm like you're a great ally, because you realize that." She added "This isn't about you. On top of that, you can't come from experience that a Queer person can. So therefore you're gonna help and do what you need to do, but you're not gonna take centerfold and you're not gonna be telling us what to do." Nikita then explained that there was a PFLAG scholarship in Houston and it was opened up to allies, for those who had done work. She noted that her sister did not apply for it even though she believed she would have gotten it. She added " my sister didn't apply for it because she was like that's money for Queer people who already have a hard time. As a straight person I have other resources, I shouldn't be running for the scholarship." Nikita felt that Dane would've been that person if she were straight, who would've applied for that PFLAG scholarship and gotten it. She added "you just took money that some Queer person should have gotten. They are not in the same position as you. Recognize your privilege. Hello."

To get clarification on the boundaries, I asked if someone that was a straight

person of color who did not have the economic privileges, whether it would still be an

issue? Nikita: replied, "I'd say it would be an issue, but it wouldn't be as big of an

issue." Nikita noted that because of numerous reasons:

> ..she's White, because she's upper-middle class, her life has been a certain way
> that someone like me or someone like Ezra or anybody else aren't on that same
> level, even though I'm middle class too as well. But at the same time I was
> working two jobs. I put myself through SUS, she didn't. She also has a really
> nice resume, not only that but QSOCA was not her focus. Why? Because she's
> White, I mean, why would it be her focus? If it was a White person who honestly
> QSOCA was their pride and glory and that's what they were about, they were all
> about anti-racial justice and then they got the position, I wouldn't be such a cunt
> about the whole thing. Dane's whole focus is not on anti-racism, she doesn't do
> any anti-racism. Whereas and yet she's in QSOCA only because she just likes to
> do Queer shit. But she doesn't recognize the intersectionality of shit. And she's
> also one of those White liberals. And she has all this privilege and money and
> opportunity and she's taking space from.. You know what I'm saying? It says a
> lot.

Nikita added "And I think at the core the MAC is supposed to embody, I feel, a certain

level of anti-racism activism and if you have somebody who doesn't do that, making

money at the MAC that's a problem." Nikita clarified "If Dane is an anti-racism activist

who just so happens to be White, then yeah, fine…"

Nikita concluded "the reason why I joined it [QSOCA]was because it gave me that

one tiny space. It was a tiny space to occupy at SUS that I was not getting anywhere else.

And the you have this White person of White privilege coming in and ruining it."

Not all LGBTQ community members share the same perspective regarding ally's

regarding the role of allies in QSOCA's leadership structure. Manuel stated that his

expectations for ally leaders were:

I think it deals with what you say. So don't mess up on racial slurs, don't do any of that stuff, don't talk about disability as if it's nothing. Andy messed up on a disability and about ableism and temporary ableism and how to describe it to a group of people.....

Regarding Dane's situation, Omar felt that QSOCA was being racist towards White people. He explained in frustration "..I would think that we would accept our allies so we would have someone like, our officers, who identified as White, and they were like, "Well, she's White," and I'm like 'That doesn't matter, it's color,' and I had to defend her every time." Omar explained that he did feel QSOCA was being racist towards white people. Omar added Dane felt dissuaded and contemplated quitting the leadership role. Omar would persuade her to stay as he thought she was helpful, particularly for her efforts in gender and inclusive housing.

QSOCA had lost an officer and Omar told the leadership that they could put her on the team as she would be helpful since she was already a leader of another Queer organization that was working on "really big things." Omar believed everybody was okay with the decision until after she joined. He noted that others would state "She's White," and "White's not on the color spectrum…" Omar stated he would look up the color spectrum and would respond "White is right there, wanna see it again?' Omar who identified as gay and Latino explained that Dane did get the leadership position fairly quickly, but it was due to extenuating circumstances.

I don't remember what officer we lost, who was in Ashley's place, but when they left, I was like, 'Fuck we oughtta get someone in real quick, real quick,' so the first person I thought of as Ashley and they said, "Yeah, she'd be good, pretty cool working with y'all, and then we could work together." She wanted to work with us on StandUp, which would have been really nice to have QSOCA and StandUp both be work on gender inclusive housing but it was just StandUp that

did it. And um, I told, "We'll come in and I'll tell the other officers and everything," and they were all cool with it, at least I thought they were, I

Omar's perspective of race and coalition differed from those discussed above. Omar acknowledged that he did not understand there point of view as "….I can't even guess how they feel, I didn't see color until I got to high school, like I thought everybody was just one big happy thing, foolish me. "

I was able to interview Dane mid-way through the academic year, several months after she quit as Finance Director in QSOCA. Dane had transferred to SUS sophomore year from a conservative Christian affiliated University two hours away. She left her former University because she felt blacklisted for being and organizing in the LGBTQ community. She did not join the QSOCA leadership until second semester of sophomore year, as she was still acclimating in the fall. Dane initially started attending QSOCA as a general member. She described her initial attendance as "the first time was a little intimidating because you could tell that everyone was wondering why there was a White kid there, uh, but I think pretty much by the second meeting everyone was just like well I guess you're coming so, it turned out pretty good…." In retelling her QSOCA membership experience, she appreciated learning about sex positivity and different race theories. During her first year, she explained her experience as "It was my weird way of like letting myself transition easily and then it was just like and I'm done with churches forever, good bye, so I went to QSOCA." We discussed her whiteness and being in QSOCA. She explained:

> It wasn't even a discomfort it was more of almost an awareness like I would catch people looking at me a lot and I noticed that when Nikita was talking she would

just keep kind of looking at me every couple of words like almost as if to say "Are you still happy you're here?" It's like, no I'm good, so um I think it was just people trying to figure out like how was I taking it because obviously this to them it might have been a perspective I'd never heard before and I'm someone who's in a privileged position and what have you and I'm in this group so they were probably just trying to figure out why I was there and how I was taking to the meeting so-

Given this experience, I asked what kept her coming to the organization and she

responded:

I loved what I was learning and it gave me words for stuff that I had noticed throughout my life that had made me really uncomfortable. When I was in elementary school I went I was one of maybe three White kids the rest of it was um black and Latino community and I just kept noticing that I was treated differently? but by differently I really mean better, honestly the teachers took more of a liking to me, they were more invested in my learning and it was always really uncomfortable and weird for me and I couldn't figure out why you know I could never figure out why and then I moved to this predominantly White part of Houston and then everybody was White or Asian and all the White people didn't understand what I was talking about and they had this like different upbringing than I did, and they were really weird about people of color, and I didn't understand that and you know its just it was kind of a mess, and then I got to QSOCA and I started understanding these different dynamics I had seen what that was and how to talk about it.

While interviewing Dane, she acknowledged the privileges she came to realize while

attending the QSOCA events.

And it was just like OK this experience makes more sense, wow I feel really terrible for everyone in my elementary school and I need to be a good ally to these communities like, its ridiculous to have this kind of privilege and not use it for something good if I'm gonna have it, you know, so I would like to use my privilege to essentially help move these communities up, as it were, like to assist them, to stand with them, to help somehow.

Dane described the process of becoming part of the leadership board as awkward.

She stated that she would have run for a position, but hadn't known about the application

141

process. When she arrived to the meetings after Omar's invitation, she felt as if some people expected her while others seemed really confused. For Dane it was really strange and she did not know what to do. Since no one ever made her leave, she stayed. I asked if a conversation occurred to clarify her role and she admittedly stated "No!" Dane interpreted her role as Director of Internal Relations as a mediator between parties if they were arguing, making sure everyone gets along, and just generally assisting the team with everything more or less. More specifically she was supposed to lwrite the agenda on the board every meeting and make sure that the leadership team talked about planning events. She found the mediation piece to be the most difficult. Dane gave an example of three members liking the same freshman boy. She stated:

> And I could almost just leave it at that, but it created a huge rift and a lot of arguments and drama and people, and it started to come out in our meetings and like those two members in particular had weird attendance rates and they were mad at each other the one minute and then OK the next like it was a bit of a mess, it really polarized a lot of people on the leadership team uh and then not everybody liked [the Director of Operation's] style of leading so yeah, it was, it was a mess and I did what I could but-

Ultimately Dan thought she had failed, as some leadership team members did not return the following year because of the strife:

> I mean, no matter what I did, I couldn't get them to stay on track during meetings or enjoy being there or pay attention, or keep coming, uh, it was just kind of a problem that was too big for me, like because it was so personal and it had much less to do with QSOCA and much more to do with their personal lives, it was a bit more than I could handle, so really I just tried to pull more of my own weight in helping other people out with their assignments.

During the course of this research two other Allies served on the leadership team of QSOCA. One participant Kayla, identified as white and lesbian, and I did not hear about any issues related to her leadership position. Manual described her and the role:

> In this case we have one person who is considered an Ally, I guess. Because she is White and Queer, but she's not a Person of Color. She does her job, she's there, she talks about Queer People of Color issues, she understands that she's, she engages in our conversations and she helps make the programs. She's like no different.

During the 2014-2015 academic year, two years after these initial interviews the current Director of the MAC noted that QSOCA was discussing the role of a paid leadership team member who was African American and straight identified. Similar to the situation with Dane, there was tension with this members role and she eventually stepped down.

Prior to joining the MAC, QSOCA had a flat structure. Entrance into the MAC caused QSOCA to adopt the co-director model in which a Co-Director of Finance and a Co-Director of Operations were paid. While these positions are "Co-Directors," meaning they lead equally, the compensation caused differentiation among the leadership group. Paid leaders where seen to have more power, to be more invested, and to have more visibility. As a result, the identity of the paid positions became politicized given the everyday consequences in which only two of many could be paid. QSOCA became more astringent with identifying QPOC students and those who were allies. An unwritten expectation became clear that allies and non-QPOC students should not have paid positions although this was not articulated in any formal documentation. While the MAC's intent to pay students may have initially been a positive one, it is still unclear if

this model is successful for QSOCA given the need to recruit allies to fill open positions. This has continued to be a reoccurring issue for QSOCA. In the 2014-2015 academic year, a straight identified African American woman was hired into one of the paid positions and later asked to resign so as to afford a QPOC identified person the position.

Full-Time Staff Identity

Each of the six agencies affiliated with the MAC were assigned one of three full-time staff advisor whose formal titles were Program Coordinators. Specifically, the titles were African American coordinator, Latino coordinator, and Asian American coordinator prior to 2008. Typically the advisor identified as being within at least on of the communities associated to the organizations they advised. This created a dynamic in which those three organizations affiliated to the African American, Asian American, and Latino communities had staff that identified within their community. However for the Native American affiliated organization and QSOCA, this was not always the case (sixth agency the Students for Equity Agency was a multicultural agency formed from representative of the other five, therefore there was no one ethnic/racial community mission).

In speaking with the Patricia, the former director of the MAC, she explained that given staff limitations and the addition of new agencies, it was difficult to have each agency advisor be someone from within their community. As a result, she adjusted the model:

> Yeah. So one of the things that we changed when we first came in was having race based program coordinators. Because the model was not sustainable because

first of all, you're not gonna have every identity because we don't have that many positions and plus, you know, how are we gonna go around looking for the Queer program advisor, coordinator.

The new titles then became: Social Justice and Education Program Coordinator, Outreach Program Coordinator and Leadership Program Coordinator. Although the name changed, the existing coordinator had been chosen according to prior job descriptions. The first QSOCA Program Coordinator from 2009 to 2011 identified as multiracial, Asian American and White, as well as an ally to the Queer Community. After this program coordinator left in 2011, the search was on for the next QSOCA advisor. Although the changes in program coordinator titles focused on those three major programming themes of the MAC, identity and community affiliation was still important. Patricia explained:

> I was secretly and illegally I'm sure, pushing for someone who both identified as Queer and Asian American because you know I think it'd be good to have somebody in the space who has a different identity, like William—

Patricia clarified however "that was just who we end up finding that wasn't necessarily who we had to have." In further conversation, Patricia added that identity was not a requirement "because you can even show that you can be a strong ally or you can support an identity that's not necessarily your own."

Similar to the prior advisor, the new advisor would provide guidance to the Asian American Council and QSOCA. The 2011 search for the new Advisor came down to two finalists who identified as a people of color and Queer. Each applicant met with students from all six MAC agencies and discussed their applicable experience. According to former QSOCA leader Omar, students felt the decision was ultimately up to AAC and

145

QSOCA. Although not explicitly asked about their identities, each applicant discussed

their experiences with the LGBTQ community. Omar had preferred the candidate who

was chosen because she had worked in the Gender and Sexuality Resource Center as an

undergraduate and he related to this experience more. He added "I felt like she was on

her shit. I don't know, it was something about her that said business and ready to work

with people and ready to get shit done." I asked Omar if the candidates' identities

impacted his preference:

> Well, they were both, they were both Queer, I believe, and Asian. Like, Utney
> was um Middle Eastern and Lesbian I believe, and William was Filipino and Gay
> and he had like QSOCA and AAC picking the Asian group and the Queer group
> picking, so I guess that might be a way of how they got down to it, they aren't
> gonna pick someone who they felt completely like out of it with like when George
> tried to step in, we're all like, "No." It didn't feel right for George to be our
> advisor because I guess because he can't agree with us, he can't feel with us on a
> personal level. I mean [the prior advisor] still did but it was like different to have
> someone who was an advisor for someone else just like thrown in with us just to
> have us.

George identified as straight and Latino and was the advisor to the Latino Leadership

Agency. He was asked to advise QSOCA in the interim before William was chosen.

Omar describe that time as "It was really rough." Omar expanded:

> We just weren't getting anything done at all and it wasn't because of George, I
> mean I think he tried helping us once and then it wasn't working at all. I don't
> know why, it's I guess with me, it feels like, I feel like if the advisor's right or not
> or wrong for the position, I felt like George was a part of us. I mean, during risk
> management like the whole thing where we have to be trained to be allies and
> everything, George gave us a story about like one if his gay friends being bullied
> and he started crying and then after a while one of the QSOCA officers they're
> like, "I think that story is kind of bull-BS, I feel like it was bullshit." They're
> like—maybe he was trying to win sympathy with us or something, that's what
> they were going off of and I was like, "Huh. I don't know." Because now you
> don't see him with us and now he's gone because he's working somewhere else
> so now we're gonna have another advisor. But, it was more like we didn't want

146

him because I don't think he felt right, the same thing with all the other officers would know. Not right for you to be here with us. Mm hmm. Yeah.

Although George had acknowledged his privileges as a straight identified male, students George had concerns about his ability to truly connect. Other QSOCA students felt differently. Former QSOCA student leader Anissa stated "I was perfectly fine with George, 'cause he seemed like a good ally, um, if it had been anyone else, though, I probably would have been like you don't know anything about our community, but he seemed to so like, I was fine with it. " As a result, students could identify what good allies do and don't do, such differentiation became subjective in an applied setting.

However, many QSOCA students felt that the identity of the advisor was not of foremost importance. Anissa added, "No, it was actually more about the way that they managed rather than their identity." With regards to the advisor's identity, Anissa continued "I don't think it really mattered. It didn't' really matter to me." In fact she preferred George as she described his advisement style as "laid back" and allowed for students to come to him for consultation. She felt that the current advisor, who identified as gay and a person of color was more of a micro-manager, very involved and "seemed seemed like he felt almost as if he had his own member position rather than an advisor position." This made some of the members upset Anissa added that while some members hated the micromanagement and thought William was too controlling, others thought it was exactly what they needed to ensure progress.

Sai, identified as bi-racial and queer stated that felt that they got lucky with the current advisor William because often others do not understand a lot of the hardships

that come with being a Queer person of color. She added that especially at this point in

their lives, they would know where they're coming from. She added however:

> The A is there for a reason and I know that our demographic is really small and you know, I'm not wanting to say, 'no, you can't help us with the issue that we're being, like that we're acting, like, help us in progressing,' you know I'm not gonna say that. And I feel like just in general that I don't believe that someone has to identify with what you're doing, they just have to feel some sort of drive to do it with you.

Patty, a QSOCA leader, believed it was not necessary to share the same identities

as the advisor but that the adviosr should have a good understating of QSOCA issues.

Patty added that those who do have a good understanding of what the community faces

most likely do identify as a member as a member of community as they have experienced

first hand such issues with their identities. Patty added "I feel like it's easier to relate to

them but also kind of like be able, more comfortable, sharing the experiences and also

kind of fighting on them, like what we're going through and like kind of come to them if

we have anything that's on our minds."

Others felt that having an advisor who with similar identities did not necessarily

mean they were relatable on issues related to their sexuality. Nikita had been excited for

the new advisor, William to join as she was not aware of many Asian American and gay

advisors in such spaces. She identified as a lesbian and as multiracial in which part of her

ethnicity was Asian American. She thought this would be "refreshing." However at the

same time, she felt like William's theory and line of work was not clear. She did not feel

he merged the "trinity" and thought wasn't QPOC conscious. She explained he had a

Queer consciousness and a POC consciousness, but not a QPOC consciousness.

148

Stanley, a Vietnamese American student and a leader in the Asian Vietnamese American identified as gay. Stanley stated "I come to him for advice sometimes because he like kinda like [has the] same identities as me, so I come to him for advice, but sometimes like we have like different viewpoints and things, so I only ask him for so much advice." Stanley expanded :

> Okay, he tells me, "Oh you're young, go out and date," and stuff and them I'm like, 'Oh, I don't really want to do that,' [laughter] so that's what we kind of argue with and also like he has a boyfriend that's White and I think I'm more attracted to Asians and also cause of the family thing I think, I don't know, he kinda pushes me to like I guess go out of my boundaries.

Stanley added that he believed William was right sometime right, but he did not follow any of the advice from him regarding those issues. Furthermore, other experiences such as coming out differed: "….it's different for him, he hasn't come out to his mom yet and his dad passed away, so it's different, 'cause I've already told my parents and he hasn't, so, I guess that's why we have different experiences also." They did connect however on their cultural heritages. Stanley described talking with William about about cooking Vietnamese food liked asking him about going to Vietnam for vacation.

Many students in the other MAC agencies did believe the advisors identity was of some importance.

> it does help when the same, someone with the same identities is leading your group 'cause they have, they know exactly where you're coming from or they know some part, maybe they've been through the same hardships or they have some idea of the culture and that helps because a lot of our programming is like cultural, bringing the community together through like cultural avenues, so it does help but I guess, I don't, I was never in the position of having someone that wasn't the identity but i think it would make a difference because maybe they would just question, it just depends on the person, like are they going to question

why are you doing it this way or are they like wanting to learn and letting you like, taking your word for everything, so-

However, Faezah added that she believed the prior advisor of organization (who was multiracial) had interests that were important in that the she enjoyed learning about cultures and liked to travel. She indicated that it would have made a difference if the prior advisor had not had those interests. She added that it did make a difference that the prior advisor identified as South Asian as she would remind the group about South Asian representation in programming. Like Stanley and William, Faezah felt would have conversations about family and heritage. She added that it did make a difference but not in programming, that has nothing to do with really programming. She had transferred from another state institution in which there weren't any ethnic advisors, everybody was Caucasian.

In juxtaposition, a member of the American Indian Council reflected on the importance of having an advisor of the same identity. For this organization, they had yet to have this opportunity. Arsie explained "I feel like… [long pause], like it would be great if AIC had somebody who was Native American to advise us but I feel like… other than AIC all the advisors sort of fit in with their org." Arsie went through the advisor assignments noting how each advisor and their ethnicity aligned to their given organizations and the describe LAIC as "we're kind of… like the little engine that could, we're just trying to like use what we have but other than that I feel like at least from outsiders point of view." Arsie recalled a situation in which she was talking with one of the program coordinator and they brought up Tonto, Lone Ranger and an upcoming role

Johnny Depp would be playing. She felt like she had had to remind staff that the issues her community faced were real.

I asked Omar what his thoughts were about the other advisors in the MAC regarding being an ally.

> I feel like Monica's still new when it comes to being an ally, not being exposed to Queer people around all the time and everything, especially those that are in a space that you are so used to, I think we were— QSOCA wasn't around when Monica was an undergrad and she wasn't around when AABSA while she was still in AABSA, and now she's the advisor for it and now you have QSOCA here, so I believe she's like Dr. Samuels, she's still trying, she's actually legit trying to be an ally, she's slowly growing, but Dr. Samuels's not going nowhere we know he's not going nowhere, he's kind of closed minded but.. at first we thought Monica didn't want us here, but after me and Ashley talked to her we kind of felt we like, we understand you a bit more. So we saw that, I saw that she's growing kind of, slow pace. Slow pace.

Anissa believed that the other advisors were indifferent. Anissa was frustrated as advisors did not take action to help facilitate a mandatory LBGTQ/Queer 101 training for the entire MAC. She felt as if they did not care about the issues and added.

> …yeah, I was like oh, I guess like if, if the people in charge the older people in charge don't care, I mean then we're screwed, 'cause they have, like 'cause we're QSOCA and you're your own agency and you're your own thing, we all have these people over us that we feel like we can trust or whatever and if, like we need help and we need these other agencies to be on our side b but the people who like our, advisors to all of us don't care then why should the other agencies care.

Other QSOCA leaders felt similarly like Omar. Omar felt the following about Dr. Samuels:

> I don't think he tries that much. I know a lot of people are like, "He doesn't want us here," that's the main thing that's always getting at me, he… I think, I don't remember, I remember meeting him once and thinking, "Oh, he's a really nice guy," and then all of a sudden everybody having problems with him and then QSOCA was still having problems with him, couldn't get him to show up for anything, and it as more like he didn't care about our... our org stuff, like what we

did. It would have been nice to have him show up for something way out there for something like Drag Bowl or something just to be supportive. Something. And he did nothing. It was more like we'd invite him anywhere to show up, so we got used to not inviting him.

Omar added about that former MAC Director:

I think she's doing, she grew faster than Monica, I believe she's an ally but she's also, when it comes to QSOCA and AABSA, I don't really know where she stands, either more in between or more towards AABSA side. Like, she still, I see her every one in a while and I'm like, "Hey," and she's like, "Hey how are you," and we just like chit chat but that's like not really being an ally, that's being kind of friends or whatever, I never really got to see her be a true ally because by the time I got in here she was leaving for a better position. I was really, once QSOCA's new officers came in everybody's just leaving for new positions, it was really kind of weird. But I feel it should be a better ally, she's like growing faster than Monica. She's okay

While students acknowledged it was not always possible to have a full-time

advisor who shared their identities, the prior staffing model had set a tone that lingered.

While the Director had changed the staff model from identity-based to content-based,

advisors chosen on previous grounds still remained. Thus, creating a continuing

discrepancy between the larger agencies and QSOCA. Institutional and student memory

preserved prior expectations. While race/ethnic advisors technically no longer existed,

they were still appointed to their original agencies. When QSOCA's initial advisor took a

new position, the institution had an opportunity to hire using the new advisor categories.

Despite this, identity was still a key factor in hiring and the new coordinator identified as

both a member of the LGBTQ community and as Asian American, identities of the

agencies they were hired to advise. Advisor identity and responsibility was further

complicated as they are located in the third space (Whitchurch 2013). Throughout the

research, the job descriptions changed dramatically and there was not one clear perspective or preference of how full-time advisors should advise.

Having an advisor with shared identities, was beneficial to QSOCA students. However, many students found that experience and knowledge in organizing were equally important to identity experiences. Furthermore, some Asian American and LGBTQ students had difficulty in relating on issues of sexuality and dating, as personal experiences differ base on numerous contexts.

Should organizations maintain older models of institutionalized identity-based staffing, they will be limited to expanding constituents served given limited resources. Should the MAC have additional identity groups wanting membership, State University of the South would need to consider additional funding for positions further loosen expectations regarding advisor identity with specific communities.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

While MAC affiliation provided institutional resources to increase programming and recruitment of student participants and leaders, such resources impacted operations and expectations of membership. The expectations of "Allies" took on greater consequence given payment for specific positions. Furthermore, the expectations of full-time staff (third space professionals) differed greatly. In all three subsections, the identity of members, leaders and staff had material consequences. With general membership, a more inclusive approach allowed the organization to broaden appeal and increase turnout that would appear successful for institutional measurements. For

153

leadership identity, resources complicated ally participation and responsibility as they became limited to assisting in capacities that did not receive limited resources. With regards to appointed full-time staff identity, QSOCA's membership complicated the existing identity base model as initially there was no QPOC identified advisor, and once appointed students related in varying ways as there is no monolithic QPOC experience. As a result, while QSOCA affiliation to the institution impact their own ways of looking at identity and membership, the MAC similarly had to reconsider its staffing model to accommodate emerging groups.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The final chapter focuses on the future of formal relationships between Universities and progressive identity based student organizations. It also offers a summary and conclusion for the dissertation's main arguments. My original motivation for conducting this research was to understand how student-run organizations that traditionally had not been included within the university bureaucracy were impacted once admitted and later embedded within the larger University structure.

It seemed almost a privilege to be offered institutional space, staffing and a recurring budget for full-time students who previously volunteered. Yet, the more I observed the process of various organizations becoming affiliated in such capacities to the University, I began to contemplate the consequences of joining a formal bureaucracy, particularly for students marginalized by normative campus structures. Students may have an enhanced space while working for the formalized organization but would this affiliation compromise the ability to accomplish community and organizational goals?

This dissertation also addresses the larger question of bureaucracy's impact upon student organizing, particularly within multicultural and identity politics. As Ahmed (2012) found, the commonplace use of "diversity" in promoting multiculturalism became largely symbolic. Similarly, in conducting over 35 hours of interviews with students and staff, as well as attending numerous student led events, it became clear that the University desired programming which met bureaucratic and institutional guidelines. Given the discussed limitations faced by the organization, this research suggests that bureaucratic

155

forces promote the execution of a "palatable" multicultural logic resistant to more subversive forms of activism in student organizing.

A myriad of costs and benefits associated with formally joining a large University bureaucracy were indicated within this dissertation. Chapter 2 shed light onto to the challenges of emerging within a new space and disrupting the existing organizational structure. Although student organizations have generally been categorized as forward thinking, many exhibited the tendency to defer to bureaucratic ritualism and the status quo of the existing organization structure. Once QSOCA joined the MAC, they too were required to adhere to bureaucratic requirements such as productivity in program attendance and adjusting language and content to comply with the unspoken rules of "professionalism."

Chapter three conveyed the ongoing Multicultural Activity Center intra-organization dynamics that emerged in sharing the social and physical space with the other student agencies. The Multicultural Activity Center at SUS provided a hybrid space with offices, conference room desks, business supplies, as well as social space with a flat screen TV and couches. Like the hybrid nature of the physical space, student work and social interaction co-mingled. Although the institution established policies for managing usual business functions, such as processing contracts, hiring, and marketing, the University did not have any formal guidance or regulations for managing the social movement nature of the organizations or intra-organizational contestations regarding social justice initiatives.

Those policies and expectations that did apply impacted organizational agendas in complex ways including through programming, coalition building/networking, and internal groups membership structures. Chapter four focused on the intra-organizational dynamic impacted by the bureaucratic context of affiliation to the University. Leadership identity had material value, as students could be paid within a limited number of leadership positions. Group member identity was important as students often debated about the role of allies and who the MAC and QSOCA spaces were intended for. Advisor identity was also considered by some as having material value in providing assistance.

Overall, this research makes clear that large bureaucratic institutions such as State University of the South have entered into increasingly complex affiliations with student organizations allowing for several interactional and operational questions to go unanswered in formalized spaces. Progressive students organizations considering institutionalization within a University need to consider such impacts and whether costs allow for greater good in promoting the organizational agenda and larger social movement.

Given the lack of literature addressing higher education bureaucracy and the impact on identity, multiculturalism and social movements, future research should review additional cases in various US regions with LGBTQ of color organizations and other emerging identity-based groups. Furthermore, research addressing the ability for the University bureaucracy to accommodate such organizations may provide insight into future transitional successes and failures.

Appendices

Demographic Characteristics of Participants[6]

Name	Organizational Affiliation	Age	Race	Gender	Sexual Orientation
Ezra	Former QSOCA Student Leader	21	Multiracial/Asian and White	Queer/Male	Queer/Gay
Patricia	Former MRC/MAC Staff Director		Multiracial/ African American and White, Self-identifies as black.	Female	Straight
Stanly	Former AAC Student Leader	20	Asian American	Male	Homosexual
Omar	Former QSOCA Student Leader	26	Latino	Male	Gay
Anissa	Former QSOCA Student Leader		Latina	Queer	Gay
Faezah	AAC Student Leader	22	South Asian	Female	Heterosexual
William	AAC and QSOCA Advisor	29	Asian American	Male	Gay
Patty	QSOCA Leader		Multiracial	Non-binary, Trans Person and Transfeminine	Queer
Lisa	QSOCA Student Leader	20	Multiracial: Black, Filipino, White, Italian, Portuguese, and Native American	Female	Lesbian
Tristen	Queer Community Leader	23	White	Cis Male (External Expression): Gender Questioning and Agender (Internal Expression)	Queer
George	Former LLA Staff Advisor	29	Latino	Male	Straight

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[6] Race, gender and sexual orientation was identified throughout interviews or following by participants for time of interview. Some participant identities have evolved, changed and/or transitioned during and since this research.

David	QSOCA Student Leader		Latino	Cisgender: Male	Bisexual
Shawn	Former AABSA Student Leader		Black	Male	Gay
Dane	Queer Community Leader	21	White	Gender queer	Lesbian
Manuel	QSOCA Student Leader	19	Asian	Male	Gay
Sai	QSOCA Student Leader	19	Biracial	Woman	Queer
Rian	Queer Alliance Student Leader	22	Hispanic	Woman	Lesbian
Dmitri	AABSA		Black	Male	Heterosexual
Amy	AAC Student Leader	20	Asian American: Chinese American	Cisgender: Female	Straight
Arsie	AIC Student Leader, QSOCA Member		Mexican American/Native American	Member in QPOC Community	Queer
Nikita	Former QSOCA student leader	23	Bi-racial: Black and South Asian	Woman: Aggressive Fem	Lesbian
Monica	AABSA and AIC Staff Advisor	28	Black	Female	Straight
Kevin	Former LLA Student Leader	22	Native American/Caucasian	Male	Straight
Kayla	QSOCA Student Leader	21	White	Female	Lesbian
Jaden	QSOCA Student Leader	26	Latino	Male	Gay
Charisma	QSOCA Student Leader		Black	Female	Bi-sexual
Jane	QSOCA Member		Mixed		
Ryan	QSOCA Student Intern	19	White	Male	Bi-Sexual/Gay
Anita	Former LLA Leader	23	Biracial: Filipino/Chinese and Mexican	Female	Heterosexual
Johnny	Former QSOCA Leader	26	Race: N/A Latino *(Ethnicity)*	Male	Queer

*All names are pseudonyms.

Interviews were semi-structured, as I asked questions in response to information conveyed during the interviews. However, the below interview guides will provide a general context for each interview.

QUESTION GUIDE:
CENTER ADMINISTRATORS PRESENT DURING TRANSITION

1. Who proposed the idea to bring QSOCA into the MRC?

2. Who participated in the decision making process? Who were considered "key stakeholders?"

3. What factors were taken into consideration on whether to sponsor the organization?

4. During the decision making process, how did the following groups respond to the possibility of QSOCA joining the MRC? You may specify various reactions within the following groups.

    a. MRC affiliated Faculty
    b. MRC Administration
    c. MRC Students
    d. Non-affiliated Faculty, Administration, Students

5. QSOCA was very active in the Gender and Sexuality Center, also affiliated to the same division as Center. Was there any tension among staff or students when QSOCA became part of the Multicultural Resource Center?

6. Once QSOCA was incorporated into the MRC, how did the following groups respond? You may specify various reactions within the following groups.

    a. MRC affiliated Faculty
    b. MRC Administration
    c. MRC Students
    d. Non-affiliated Faculty, Administration, Students

7. How are primary advisors assigned to QSOCA?

8. In posting position openings in 2009 and 2001, public announcements did not highlight direct advisement work with QSOCA. Yet both of these hires (including

myself) were asked to advise the group. Why were these duties not incorporated into the job announcement? What factors lead to this decision?

Interviews were semi-structured, as I asked questions in response to information conveyed during the interviews. However, the below interview guides will provide a general context for each interview.

QUESTION GUIDE:
QSOCA STUDENT MEMBERS INVOLVED IN INCORPORATION OF QSOCA

1. Who proposed the idea to bring QSOCA into the MRC?

2. Who participated in the decision making process? Who were considered your "key stakeholders?"

3. What factors were taken into consideration on whether to apply for sponsorship with the Multicultural Resource Center?

4. Who did you seek out for advice during this process?

5. Did QSOCA have to prepare any materials to join the MEC? If so what were they?

6. How did the following groups respond to the possibility of QSOCA joining the MRC? You may specify various reactions within the following groups.

   a. Faculty
   b. Administration
   c. QSOCA Members
   d. LGBTQ Campus Community Members

7. QSOCA was very active in the Gender and Sexuality Resource Center, also affiliated to the same division as Center. Was there any tension among staff or students when QSOCA became part of the Multicultural Resource Center?

8. Did you have any apprehensions about affiliating with the Multicultural Resource Center? If so, what were they? Why did you feel this way?

9. Once QSOCA was incorporated into the MRC, how did the following groups respond? You may specify various reactions within the following groups.

   a. MRC affiliated Faculty
   b. MRC Administration

      c. MRC Students
      d. Non-affiliated Faculty, Administration, Students

10. What were the expectations set forth for QSOCA to be an agency in the center?
      a. Who set forth these expectations?
      b. When were these expectations set?
      c. Did you have to adjust your internal processes to meet any requirements?
         i. How so?

11. Has affiliation to the MRC been beneficial to QSOCA? If so, how?
12. Has affiliation to the MRC brought any drawbacks?

Interviews were semi-structured, as I asked questions in response to information conveyed during the interviews. However, the below interview guides will provide a general context for each interview.

QUESTION GUIDE:
CURRENT QSOCA STUDENT MEMBERS

1. What are the expectations set forth for QSOCA to be an agency in the center?
    a. Who set forth these expectations?
    b. When were these expectations set?
    c. Did you have to adjust QSOCA internal processes to meet any requirements?
        i. How so?

2. Since QSOCA has been incorporated into the MAC, how have the following groups responded? You may specify various reactions within the following groups.

    a. MRC affiliated Faculty
    b. MRC Administration
    c. MRC Students
    d. Non-affiliated Faculty, Administration, Students

3. QSOCA works with the Gender and Sexuality Resource Center, also affiliated to the same division as Center. How have the following groups responded?

    a. Staff of the Gender and Sexuality Resource Center.
    b. Leaders and/or members of LGBTQ interest organizations.
    c. General GSC members.
    d. Is there any tension between among community members who participate in either the GSC or the MAC?
    e. What accounts for these tensions?

4. Are MAC organizations supportive of QSOCA's events?
    a. Why or why not?
    b. How do they or do they not convey support?
    c. Has QSOCA had conversations about working with the community agencies in the MAC? What do those conversations entail?
    d. Which QSOCA events and activities do members of others organization participate in?

A. Chick-Fil-A Boycott:
   a. Do other MAC organizations or members of those organizations support the Chick-fil-A boycott that QSOCA sponsors? Why you think that is?

B. Street Party: Do other organizations or members of others organization participate Street Party? Why do you think that is?

C. Queer Prom:
   a. Do other organizations or members of others organization participate in Queer Prom? Why do you think that is?

D. Annual QSOCA Drag Ball:
   e. Do other organizations or members of others organization participate in the annual Drag Ball sponsored by QSOCA? Why do you think that is?

5. Did you have apprehensions about affiliating with the Multicultural Activity Center? If so, what are they? Why did you feel this way?

6. Has affiliation to the MRC been beneficial to QSOCA? If so, how?

7. Has affiliation to the MRC brought any drawbacks?

Interviews were semi-structured, as I asked questions in response to information conveyed during the interviews. However, the below interview guides will provide a general context for each interviewed.

QUESTION GUIDE:
MAC STUDENTS NOT MEMBERS OF QSOCA

1. Are you a member of another MAC agency?
    a. If so, which one?
    b. What is your level of involvement with your organization?

2. Were you present during conversations about QSOCA joining the Multicultural Activity Center?
    a. What were the various perspectives about whether QSOCA should become and agency or not?

3. How often do you interact with QSOCA members?
    a. In what capacity?
    b. Do you attend QSOCA events? Why or why not?

4. Is your organization supportive of QSOCA's events?
    a. Why or why not?
    b. (If supportive)How does your organization convey support?
    c. Has your organization had conversations about participating in QSOCA campaigns and events? What do those conversations entail?
    d. Which QSOCA events and activities do members of your organization participate in? Which QSOCA events and activities do you participate in?

A. Chick-Fil-A Boycott:
    a. Does your organization or members of your organization support the Chick-fil-A boycott that QSOCA sponsors? Are you supportive of it? Why or why not?

B. Street Party:
    a) Does your organization or members of your organization attend Street Party? Why or why not?

C. Queer Prom:
    a) Does your organization or members of your organization attend Queer Prom? Have you attended Queer Prom? Why or why not?

D. Annual QSOCA Drag Ball:
   a) Does your organization or members of others organizations participate
       in the annual Drag Ball sponsored by QSOCA? Why or why not?

Interviews were semi-structured, as I asked questions in response to information conveyed during the interviews. However, the below interview guides will provide a general context for each interview.

QUESTION GUIDE:
LGBTQ INTEREST ORGANIZATION MEMBERS

1. Are you a member of LGBTQ interest organization?
    a. If so, which one?
    b. What is your level of involvement with your organization?

2. How often do you interact with QSOCA members?
    a. In what capacity?
    b. Do you attend QSOCA events?
        i. Why or why not?

3. How often do you interact with QSOCA members?
    a. In what capacity?
    b. Do you attend QSOCA events? Why or why not?

4. Were you present during conversations about QSOCA joining the Multicultural Activity Center?
    a. What were the various perspectives about whether QSOCA should become and agency or not?

5. Is your organization supportive of QSOCA's events?
    a. Why or why not?
    b. How does or doesn't your organization convey support?
    c. Has your organization had conversations about participating in QSOCA campaigns and events? What do those conversations entail?
    d. Which QSOCA events and activities do members of your organization participate in? Which QSOCA events and activities do you participate in?

    A. Chick-Fil-A Boycott:
        a. Does your organization or members of your organization support the Chick-fil-A boycott that QSOCA sponsors? Are you supportive of it? Why or why not?

    B. Street Party:

a. Does your organization or members of your organization attend Street Party? Why or why not?

C. Queer Prom:
   a. Does your organization or members of your organization attend Queer Prom? Have you attended Queer Prom? Why or why not?

D. Annual QSOCA Drag Ball:
   a. Does your organization or members of others organizations participate in the annual Drag Ball sponsored by QSOCA? Why or why not?

IRB USE ONLY
Study Number:
Approval Date:
Expires:

Consent for Participation in Research

Title: Negotiating Multiculturalism: An Exploration of Identities within Institutions

Introduction
The purpose of this form is to provide you information that may affect your decision as to whether or not to participate in this research study. The person performing the research will answer any of your questions. Read the information below and ask any questions you might have before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to be involved in this study, this form will be used to record your consent.

Purpose of the Study
You have been asked to participate in a research study about the student organization Queer Students of Color and Allies (QSOCA's), and its presence at the State University of the South. The purpose of this study is to understand how progressive organizations emerge within institutions, navigate bureaucracy, and transform existing notions of identity. This study also explores the impact of institutional affiliation on the LGBTQ community and larger social movement.

What will you to be asked to do?
If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to
- Participate in interview(s).
- Be observed during QSOCA related meetings, programs, and events.
- This study will take twelve months and will include approximately 40 study participants.
- Your participation may be audio recorded.

What are the risks involved in this study?
- There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study.

What are the possible benefits of this study?
You will receive no direct benefit from participating in this study; however, this research will help us better understand distinct ways in which power materializes within institutions and impacts collective identity, progressive organizations, and possibly the larger social movement.

Do you have to participate?
No, your participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate at all or, if you start the study, you may withdraw at any time. Withdrawal or refusing to participate will

not affect your relationship with The University of Texas at Austin (University) in anyway.

If you would like to participate please submit you form to the Principle Investigator, Jaya Soni in person, or mail to:
Jaya Soni
Department of Sociology
University of Texas at Austin
1 University Station - A 1700
Austin, TX 78712

You will receive a copy of this form.

Will there be any compensation?
You will not receive any type of payment participating in this study.

What are my confidentiality or privacy protections when participating in this research study?
This study is anonymous and all identifying information will be erased or modified so that participants remain anonymous. In data collection notes, and in presentations and publications of the research, participants will be given pseudonyms.

If you choose to participate in this study, you may choose to be audio recorded. Any audio recordings will be stored securely and only the research team will have access to the recordings. Recordings will be kept for three years and then erased. The data resulting from your participation may be used for future research or be made available to other researchers for research purposes not detailed within this consent form.

Whom to contact with questions about the study?
Prior, during or after your participation you can contact the researcher Jaya Soni at 734-657-7504 or send an email to jayasoni@yahoo.com. This study has been reviewed and approved by The University Institutional Review Board and the study number is [STUDY NUMBER].

Whom to contact with questions concerning your rights as a research participant?
For questions about your rights or any dissatisfaction with any part of this study, you can contact, anonymously if you wish, the Institutional Review Board by phone at (512) 471-8871 or email at orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

Participation
If you agree to participate please submit you form to the Principle Investigator, Jaya Soni in person, or mail to:

Jaya Soni
Department of Sociology
University of Texas at Austin
1 University Station - A 1700
Austin, TX 78712

Signature

You have been informed about this study's purpose, procedures, possible benefits and risks, and you have received a copy of this form. You have been given the opportunity to ask questions before you sign, and you have been told that you can ask other questions at any time. You voluntarily agree to participate in this study. By signing this form, you are not waiving any of your legal rights.

_____   I agree to be audio recorded.
_____   I do not want to be audio recorded.

_____
Printed Name

_____   _____
Signature   Date

As a representative of this study, I have explained the purpose, procedures, benefits, and the risks involved in this research study.

_____
Print Name of Person obtaining consent

_____   _____
Signature of Person obtaining consent   Date

Organizational Acronyms*
- AAC- Asian American Council
- AABSA- African American and Black Student Association
- AIC- American Indian Council
- LLA- Latino Leadership Affairs
- QSOCA- Queer Students of Color and Allies
- SEA: Students for Equality Alliance
- MRC- Minority Resource Center (Later changed to Multicultural Activity Center)
- MAC- Multicultural Activity Center, previously MRC
- SUS- State University of the South (
- GSRC – Gender and Sexuality Resource Center
- QSI- Queer Student Initiative (Other formal agency/under SUS Student Government)

* All names and acronyms are pseudonyms.

Student Letter Regarding QSOCA Admission Vote

I've only been involved with the MRC for only a few months and so far it has been more than what I bargained for. My primary duty here is to assist the agencies with promotions for their events and within that process I've come to better understand the struggles within each community and my experience here so for has been empowering.

I've been writing this email for a while but I'm going to give you a shorter answer.
I see QSOCA's need to become an agency but AT this moment i am voting No due to these reasons:

MRC is still instable. We need to provide a better ground for QSOCA to enter into in terms of staff and advisers because people and knowledge are essential resources. There's no point of them joining if we're not fully prepared to offer them what they have to gain.

True to agencies haven't done anything for the gay and queer community but the o[b]ligation simply shouldn't vanish since the agencies really haven't challenge[d] themselves to do so in the past.

For now and until we are able to fully them what they need, I would rather see the agencies work with them as an organization because the agencies already have an established relationships with a mass number of students in their community. This way no one can say that we're "oppressing" the gay and queer community.

There's a lot more that I would like to say but hopefully i've said enough to echo the feelings of other people that are also voting no.

Student Letter Regarding QSOCA Admission Vote

Hello MRC Family,

Recently we had a forum to discuss QSOCA coming into the MRC as an agency. I had been undecided when we were called to submit a doodle vote last week. When I looked at the tally on the doodle board, I thought there was too much pressure to vote for the side with the most people I went into the meeting hoping to be informed of both sides of the coin objectively. I expected that I would be free to voice my concerns without being shut down. I felt as though the loudest voices were too personally invested to offer perspectives that were considerate of others hesitation and concerns. No one in that forum was objective, myself included. There was no objective mediation for the forum. I, at least, expected to hear more advocacy of BOTH sides. Instead I repeatedly heard the comment "We shouldn't even be talking about this. If we are safe place for individuals, our answer should be obvious." The answer is not obvious to me, otherwise I would not have attend the forum to gain knowledge from both perspectives.

I will say that, yes, the MRC should house marginalized groups, but the question is what is the best way to do that. Personal agendas aside, we must ask ourselves are we doing QSOCA a service by making them an agency or are we just paying lip service. This is my perspective: We take the responsibility and accountability away from ourselves when we have a separate agency for LGBTQ students. We are making a statement that we are not "educated enough on their issues" so we are pushing that issues elsewhere. We said this with the mindset that "a community knows its issues best", but it may end up looking like we're just handling them off to other people because we (in our respective agencies) don't can't or don't want to handle it.

At the forum, we blamed our agencies fo[r] the poor job we have done at service our LGBTQ-identified colleagues, but the honest truth is that this is the first time we have been challenged to try. We have never challenged the homophobia in our communities. Shouldn't we been given the time and the opportunity to rise to that challenge? Instead we are accused of "oppressing (LGBTQ students) just like we were once oppressed". Is it wrong that I want to foster a safe environment in the community before we bring in our new addition? A seed planted in a hostile environment will not grow. I believe the seed of understanding and acceptance needs time to be cultivated, but we are truing to rush its growth. When you rush, quality is compromised. When we plant seeds in fertile ground, we stand to reap greater dividends.

I believe we must work to incorporate the needs of the queer community into our agency agendas from day one. They are part of our community and we cored to serve them. In their letter of intent, QSOCA asked for a home and for our contacts. If QSOCA was integrated into our communities, they would have better access to our contacts. It is one thing to be an agency obtaining emails addresses from another agency and sending them emails as an outside and it is another to be part of the community and emailing your community. I want them to be art of our communities, from the inside. I do not see this as tokenism. I see it as a way to change the ways that our communities and agencies work at service people.

It is assumed that coalitions will be a common thing once an agency is added. As a member of the Students for Equality Alliance (SEA) agency, I have notice that these coalitions come every blue moon. Sure we might program together every once in a while, but is that enough? This idea of coalition-building is another thing that is great in theory, but in practice we actually do not do. Our agencies within the MRC are not a melting pot; we have congealed into separate layers that lay on top of one another and every once in a while we rub off on each other. I do not want this to happen to QSOCA too. We should at least first attempt to change the structure of our agencies to focus on trying to address the needs of the LGBT community and educate ourselves on its issues. We have the idealist belief that adding QSOCA as an agency will be the magic fix. We have work to do within ourselves first. As a part of SEA, I have not even see this true unity we speak so much of. Bringing in QSOCA now, and leaving them out in the cold, with the exception of bi-annual collaborations, is a disservice to them.

For me, this is also an issue of timeline, We are rushing the vote and rushing this decision. I feel like this is a pressing issue, but what is also a pressing issue is the fact that we need to have yet to select our director after Patricia and replace our advisors. We have so much going on at this moment that I wish we could wait a little while, until things are a little more settled down. I'm talking about maybe a couple of months, until the b
Of our advisor searches are over. I just feel like an important issue like this, presented to us at a time of transition should not be made quickly.

If I had to submit my vote right now, it would have to be "no". At this time, I do not think it is wise to add QSOCA as an agency.

I do not know how much impact this email will have because I feel like everyone is pretty set in their decisions. I will respect whatever decision is made by the MRC, but I want us to move with caution and clear, sound, judgment. For those still on the fence, I would like to let you know that your opinion is valued and respected.

[Student Signature]

"I hate to see things done by halves. If it be right, do it boldly,--if it be wrong leave it undone." – Bernard Gilpon

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Vita

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