CHAPTER 1

A Rationale and Framework for Course Change

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Editor's Notes:
This chapter begins by offering a rationale for multicultural course change. Margie Kitano argues that incorporation of multicultural content and pedagogy has equal relevance for highly diverse and homogeneous campuses because a transformed course provides a broader, more intellectually honest view of the discipline and better prepares all students for world citizenship. Moreover, faculty members who engage in course transformation often experience their efforts as stimulating, challenging, and revitalizing. In examining additional reasons for multicultural course change, the author reviews current demographics specific to higher education as well as available empirical support for the efficacy of such change.

The second part of the chapter presents a general framework for thinking about multicultural education in colleges and universities. The literature documents numerous definitions of multicultural education. Kitano presents a highly inclusive, social reconstructionist definition of multicultural education and correlative goals, assumptions, and principles that serve as the basis for subsequent chapters. Among the key assumptions is the major role played by higher education faculty members in developing a more equitable society. ∎

Always interested in new ideas for enhancing his teaching skills, Professor Amatti has been attending a series of campus-based workshops on diversity. Observational research suggesting that teachers give more positive attention to male and mainstream students particularly concerned him. He determined to monitor his own classroom interactions to guard against biased treatment of students. In addition, he felt that the presentations on cultural differences in learning styles, women's ways of knowing, and the impact of low expectations on grading raised his consciousness and sensitivity. Indeed, the composition of his classes has changed over the past several years. This semester, he has several African American students, a few older students who are pursuing second careers, and a deaf student. In addition, several students from Belize are attending his classes. Professor Amatti wants to enhance the learning of all of his students while maintaining the university's high standards for achievement. Moreover, he knows that his professional organization's accreditation guidelines require that the coursework in his field "incorporate diverse ethnic, gender, cul-

tural, and disability perspectives." Yet in preparing for the new semester, he feels uncertain about precisely what modifications in content and instruction would be helpful to his students.

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At 26, Toya Williams is taking her first upper division course, having transferred from a 2-year community college to a comprehensive state university. She forces herself to concentrate on the professor's orientation lecture, trying not to worry at this moment about how her two preschoolers are doing in the university day care center. She will try her best in Professor Amatti's class because she must maintain a 3.2 GPA in order to retain her scholarship. The demanding syllabus will require careful time management in order to juggle responsibilities related to her job, children, and elderly parents. She is hopeful that she will find a peer study group to support her learning of the course material. Looking at her fellow classmates, she notes that there are few students of color. She wonders if the swastika graffiti in the elevator has deterred them. The university advisor's suggestion that she enroll in non-credit basic study skill courses has shaken her self-confidence, particularly given her academic success at the junior college.

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As Professor Amatti observed, the demographics of college classrooms in the United States are changing as they begin to reflect the increasing diversity of the country's population. And, like Toya, today's students enter colleges and universities with a range of backgrounds, experiences, and concerns that challenge the faculty to rethink long-standing assumptions about teaching and learning in higher education. Yet despite the critical role of teaching and learning in colleges and universities, few faculty members receive formal preparation in instructional strategies relevant for today's institutions. This book seeks to support faculty members'

efforts to apply content and instructional strategies that will enhance all students' success as they study, work, and interact in a multicultural society. Chapter 1 presents a rationale for multicultural course change and describes a philosophical basis for transforming courses to meet evolving needs.

THE RATIONALE FOR MULTICULTURAL COURSE CHANGE

Multicultural course change refers to the modification of a given course to appropriately incorporate multicultural content, perspectives, and strategies. Such change has as its objectives the following: provide a more comprehensive, accurate, intellectually honest view of reality; prepare all students to function in a multicultural society; and better meet the learning needs of all students, including those who are diverse. Course and pedagogy development as part of institutional change for responding to cultural diversity and combating racism is an ethical imperative for campuses with diverse student bodies (Chesler & Crowfoot, 1990). But it has *equal* relevance for more homogeneous campuses, whether a predominantly mainstream institution, a historically Black college or university, a single gender college, or a campus designed for students with disabilities. A transformed course's objectives of presenting new knowledge, helping students value diversity, and accommodating a range of learning strategies will better prepare *all* students for world citizenship.

Multicultural course change in higher education has potential for benefiting faculty, students from diverse backgrounds, and mainstream students. Surveys of higher education institutions demonstrate that concerted efforts to support the faculty's transformation of courses positively affects faculty vitality. Gaff (1992, pp. 34–35) found that "over seven of ten [institutions] sur-

veyed noted a positive impact on faculty renewal. So strong was this effect that I was tempted to declare, during an early state of data analysis, that professors were the major beneficiaries of curriculum reform." Multicultural curriculum transformation challenges us to examine our own perspectives, engages us in intellectual struggles, and propels us across disciplinary boundaries as we search for resources to enrich our own knowledge. Across the country, collaborative projects among Women's Studies, Ethnic Studies, International Programs, and academic departments are enhancing awareness, provoking stimulating discussions, and resulting in innovative teaming arrangements for course development and implementation.

As instructors, we have a professional responsibility to enable our students to have access to comprehensive knowledge about our disciplines. Multicultural course change increases and transforms disciplinary knowledge. As Hilliard (1991/92, p. 13) cogently states, "The primary goal of a pluralistic curriculum process is to present a truthful and meaningful rendition of the whole human experience. This is not a matter of ethnic quotas in the curriculum for 'balance'; it is purely and simply a question of validity. Ultimately, if the curriculum is centered in truth, it will be pluralistic." History and literature textbooks often have been guilty of lying by omission in failing to acknowledge the contributions and perspectives of people of color and of women. In a later chapter of this book, Bartlett and Feiner report that introductory economics textbooks on the average devote less that 2 percent of their content to the economic status of women and minorities and omit new developments in the discipline that incorporate gender and race.

Textbooks often ignore the discrepancy between the ideal of equality and the reality of oppression caused by racism or sexism.

For example, American history texts in the past frequently omitted or provided only federal government perspectives on the confiscation of property and imprisonment of Americans of Japanese ancestry during World War II. Only recently have courses outside gender and ethnic studies programs begun to include and value scholarship related to the psychology, leadership, ways of knowing, and discourse of women and people of color. Clearly, the incorporation of multicultural content and strategies challenges instructors to recognize the limits of their training and to acquire broader knowledge to help students develop a more comprehensive truth.

In addition to our professional responsibility for comprehensive knowledge of the discipline, faculty members have a moral imperative to engage students intellectually and emotionally to encourage both learning and degree completion. The increasing diversity of students on our campuses coupled with disproportionately low rates of college completion by students of color demands transformation of our courses and programs. Courses that ignore the experiences of diverse students contribute to these students' feelings of alienation and their attrition from the university. The following statement from one student of color gives voice to many and reinforces the urgency for change.

> Part of studying history as an undergraduate turned me off, even though I loved history. When I took ethnic studies and women's studies, I realized that social history was missing from the way history was taught; basically it was what men did. It was elite history. I did not see myself or my community in the curriculum.

Finally, growing cultural heterogeneity requires of people from all backgrounds additional knowledge and social skills for

effective participation as national and world citizens. All students, including those from traditional White, middle class backgrounds, have a right to expect that their courses present comprehensive knowledge and prepare them to succeed in a multicultural community. Understanding the perspectives of many groups enriches the lives of all students, supports cross-cultural competence, and promotes a more equitable society for all. Opportunities to critically analyze traditional canon (e.g., theories of moral development derived from data collected on male subjects) in light of new scholarship (e.g., Gilligan's critique based on women's experiences) expand students' knowledge and support higher level thinking. Further, multicultural education seeks to "close the gap between the Western democratic ideals of equality and justice and societal practices that contradict those ideals, such as discrimination based on race, gender, and social class" (Banks, 1991/92, p. 32). To achieve this end, all students— mainstream and nontraditional—need multicultural education.

Data from census studies document the range of demographic changes on college campuses. In addition, data indicating continuing disparities among groups in college completion rates support the need for curricular change. Finally, the literature indicates that institutional factors contribute to student attrition and retention and that faculty can positively influence student persistence and reduce prejudicial attitudes.

Increasing Population Diversity

The 1990 Census documented major demographic changes in this country over the last decade that are having and will continue to have significant impact on higher education. Between 1980 and 1990, the U.S. population grew by nearly 10 percent. According to Census figures (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1992):

- By ethnic group, the 1990 U.S. population figures were

Whites	199.7 million	(80.3%)
African Americans	30.0 million	(12.1%)
Hispanics (may be of any race)	22.4 million	(9.0%)
Asians or Pacific Islanders	7.3 million	(2.9%)
American Indians, Eskimos, or Aleuts	2.0 million	(0.8%)
Other and unknown	9.7 million	(3.9%)

- While the White population increased by 6 percent (11 million) since 1980, this group declined in proportion to the total U.S. population.

- The nonwhite population grew by 11 million, with African Americans experiencing a 13 percent increase; Hispanics a 53 percent increase; American Indians, Eskimos, or Aleuts a 38 percent increase; and Asian or Pacific Islanders a 107.8 percent increase.

It is projected that by 2010, although the nation will have grown in total population, the youth population will decline. At the same time, nonwhite youth will increase from 30 percent in 1990 to 38 percent in 2010 (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 12).

Diversity characterizes people *within* the major ethnic groups as well. For example, the United States government recognizes over 400 Native communities, including Eskimo and Aleut. Asian and Pacific Islander Americans include people of Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Asian Indian, Korean, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, Lao, Thai, Hawaiian, Samoan, and Guamanian ancestry. Hispanic Americans may have roots in Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, or the many countries of South and Central Amer-

ica and may be of any race. Within each of the major groups and subgroups, individuals may differ in terms of language spoken, cultural values, level of acculturation, religion, socioeconomic status, education level, and generation in the United States. Moreover, immigrants within each group bring a variety of experiences from their countries of origin (e.g., urban or rural living; war or peace; oppression or freedom).

As the population increases in cultural and ethnic mix, the variety of spoken languages also is growing. The National Association for Bilingual Education (Waggoner, 1994) reports that 9.9 million school-age children and youth in the United States (over one in five) live in households in which languages other than English are spoken. Of these, approximately 60 percent (6 million) live in Spanish-speaking households. Children and youth who bring languages other than English live in every state. Interestingly, despite the predominance of school-age children who speak Spanish, children and youth from other non-English language backgrounds (e.g., Asian, Pacific Island, American Indian, African, European languages) in the aggregate outnumber their Spanish-language peers in the majority of states (Waggoner, 1994).

The Changing Classroom

Consistent with changes in the overall fabric of U.S. society, college classrooms reflect greater ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity. In addition, today's student body has a majority of women and a significant number of international students, older students, gay and lesbian students, and students with disabilities.

Ethnic Diversity

Differential high school attrition rates of students from some ethnic and cultural groups significantly affect their enrollment in institutions of higher education. Nevertheless, with the exception of African American students, the proportion of college enrollment comprised of diverse groups has increased steadily as the proportion of White, non-Hispanic students has declined. The absolute numbers of all diverse groups has increased (see Table 1).

Between 1980–81 and 1990–91, public and private 2- and 4-year institutions of higher education experienced a total increase in enrollment of 13.3 percent. Over the same period, the proportion of White, non-Hispanic students attending such institutions declined from 83.5 to 80.2 percent. Be-

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TABLE 1–1 Enrollment in Higher Education by Ethnic Group

	School Year			
	1980–81		1990–91	
	(in thousands)			
Total enrollment in higher education	12,097	(100%)	13,710	(100%)
White, non-Hispanic	10,101	(83.5%)	10,995	(80.2%)
Black, non-Hispanic	1,137	(09.4%)	1,261	(09.2%)
Hispanic	484	(04.0%)	781	(05.7%)
Asian/Pacific Islander	290	(02.4%)	576	(04.2%)
American Indian/Alaskan Native	85	(0.7%)	110	(0.8%)

Adapted from U.S. Department of Education (1993a).

tween 1992 and 1993, enrollments of students of color rose by 2.6 percent, with all four major groups of color recording enrollment increases at four-year institutions. However, enrollments of African Americans and American Indians declined slightly at the two-year level (Carter & Wilson, 1995).

Gender

By 1980, women (51.5%) outnumbered men (48.5%) on college campuses. By the 1991–92 academic year, the proportion of women had increased to 54.7% (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1993), and the female majority is projected to continue (Editors of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1992). Between 1970–71 and 1990–91, the percentage of bachelor's degrees awarded to women increased from 43.4 to 54.1. Over the same 20-year period, the proportion of doctorates conferred on women increased from 14.3 to 37.5 percent.

International Students

Although international students comprise only 2.9 percent of student enrollment nationwide (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1993), their numbers increased between 1978 and 1991 by 64 percent from 253,000 to 416,000. Commensurately, international students received 2.7 percent of bachelor's degrees awarded in 1990–91. However, during the same year, they earned 24.7 percent of doctoral degrees. One in four institutions of higher education reported an increase in the number of international students on their campuses in 1990–91 (National Education Association, 1992).

Age

Between Fall 1989 and Fall 1991, the percent of the freshman class over 18 years of age increased from 25.9 to 31.5. Age figures for Fall 1991 indicate that students over 24 con-

stituted 40.8 percent of the total enrollment of full- and part-time students nationwide (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1993).

Gay and Lesbian Students

Gays and lesbians share experiences similar to those of members of other marginalized groups: lack of civil rights, societal censure, oppression, lowered self-esteem, physical violence, and hate campaigns (Elliot, 1993). Reliable estimates of the proportions of gay and lesbian students on college campuses are difficult to generate. Definitional and privacy issues may affect census-taking efforts. Nevertheless, Gonsiorek and Weinrich (1991) indicate that despite the considerable problems in definition and measurement, "the available research suggests that the incidence of homosexuality in the United States is currently in a range from 4% to 17%" (p. 11) and that gays and lesbians constitute one of the three most numerous minority groups in the United States. In her chapter on gay and lesbian issues in education, Fassinger (1993) notes that the literature well documents discrimination and harassment targeting gay and lesbian students in higher education. For example, she cites a 1984 survey conducted at the University of California at Berkeley indicating that 82 percent of the gay and lesbian students responding had been subjected to pejorative comments about gays by instructors and felt more uncomfortable in the classroom than did other minority groups.

Students with Disabilities

According to the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (Wilson, 1992), an estimated 10.5 percent of all college students have some form of disability. Of these students, nearly 40 percent have a visual impairment and 26 percent are deaf or hard of hearing. Institutions of higher education also serve students who have learning, physical, communica-

tion, or emotional disabilities that may require accommodation in the classroom. In response to section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, most institutions of higher education routinely provide special services to ensure educational access to students with disabilities. More recent federal legislation (the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990) extends provisions of the earlier act to the private sector, forbidding employment discrimination and requiring reasonable accommodation. Enrollments of individuals with disabilities are projected to increase in the future as the new regulations expand opportunities in the job market.

Degrees Awarded

National reports clearly document the disproportionately low numbers of individuals from some ethnic and cultural groups earning college degrees. Continuation of this trend in an era of increasing population diversity will result in undereducation of a significant portion of the population and diminish our individual and collective capacity. For example, a survey of the educational attainment of 1980 high school seniors by 1986 revealed that only 10.8 percent of American Indians, 9.9 percent of Black, and 6.8 percent of Hispanic students had attained bachelor's degrees as compared to 27.3 percent of Asian and 20.2% of White, non-Hispanic students (Editors of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1992). The U.S. Department of Education (1993b) reports that Black, Hispanic, and American Indian students who graduate from college take longer as a group to complete their baccalaureate degrees than do Asian American and White students. According to the Department, taking longer may occur for a variety of reasons, including changing schools or majors, stopping out, or taking reduced course loads. The delay can result

in higher total costs for the degree and decreased lifetime earning potential.

As a natural result of demographic changes in the general population, students of color are enrolling on college campuses in larger numbers. However, their completion rates are disproportionately lower than for White students. At four-year colleges, 45 percent of all students in public institutions graduate in six years as compared with only 26 percent of African American and Hispanic students. Dropout rates of 60 percent for Hispanic and 71 percent for African American students are significantly higher than the 55 percent for Anglos (Fisk-Skinner & Gaither, 1992).

Similarly, students with disabilities evidence lower college completion rates than do students without disabilities. Students with disabilities enter college at a lower rate (15%) than do nondisabled students (56%), and of those entering, disproportionately fewer graduate. For example, 71% of students with hearing impairments leave college prior to completion as compared to 41 percent of students with normal hearing (English, 1993).

Institutional Contributions

Early investigators focused on background characteristics as the source of such underachievement of students from diverse groups. More recently, researchers have expanded the study of achievement differences to include structural factors, such as racial discrimination, that affect both students and educational systems. For example, discrimination on college campuses, an unsupportive social and emotional environment, and low expectations for student performance may contribute to student attrition. In addition, historical patterns of discrimination may indirectly affect student factors related to attrition, such as prepara-

tion, motivation, and nontraditional modes of participation, including delayed college entrance and enrollment interruptions (Fisk-Skinner & Gaither, 1992).

Aspects of campus climate that may affect students' level of comfort and their retention include overt acts of discrimination, the diversity of the faculty, and outcomes of academic debates related to multiculturalism. Each of these aspects sends explicit or implicit messages regarding the institution's valuing of diverse students.

Incidences of Overt Discrimination

Nationally, the incidence of oppressive acts on college campuses continues at an unacceptable rate. A 1991 survey of 444 two-year, four-year, and doctoral-granting institutions of higher education (National Education Association, 1992) revealed that 36 percent of reporting institutions had incidents of intolerance related to race, gender, or sexual orientation in the previous year. Of doctoral universities, 75 percent reported such incidents. In addition to overt acts of intolerance, campuses successful in recruiting diverse students and faculty are experiencing subtle racial tensions whose prevention or quick resolution are needed to maintain supportive climates. These situations include classroom interactions, comments, and instructional or grading practices that students and instructors with differing backgrounds attribute to cultural biases.

Faculty Diversity

Efforts to increase faculty diversity in higher education continue but are limited by low numbers of doctoral graduates of color in disciplines of high demand. For example, in 1993, of 6,496 individuals earning doctorates in the physical sciences, there were only 11 American Indians, 41 Blacks, and 89 Hispanics who were U.S. citizens. Moreover, on the average, only 20 percent of doctoral graduates in the physical sciences plan postdoctoral employment in educational institutions! In 1991–92, of 520,551 full-time faculty nationwide, only 1,655 (0.32%) were American Indian; 26,545 (5.1%) Asian; 24,611 (4.7%) African American; and 11,424 (2.2%) Hispanic. Thus, a total diverse faculty of 12.3 percent serves a college enrollment that is approximately 23 percent diverse.

But in some areas of the country, the discrepancy between student and faculty diversity is worse than these nationwide statistics suggest. For example, a recent California report (Intersegmental Coordinating Council, 1991) compared the percentages of nonwhite undergraduate students and faculty for the University of California system (41% and under 15%), California State University (40% and under 15%) and the California Community College system (37% and 14.2%). A rough comparison (Table 2) of the proportion of diverse groups in the general population with their proportions among college students, graduates, and faculty supports the need for change in higher education to attract and retain more individuals of color.

Campus Debates on Multiculturalism and Diversity

Based on events of the early 1990s on college campuses across the country, the editors of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (1992) predicted that debates will continue on issues related to diversity. Many campuses have made efforts to recruit and retain more diverse students and faculty. At the same time, critics have targeted admission criteria and scholarships that give preference to members of certain underrepresented groups. With the conservative Bush administration and voters' demands for change during the Clinton administration, colleges have experienced a backlash against affirmative action

TABLE 1–2   Comparison of Selected Characteristics by Ethnic Group

Characteristic	American Indian	Asian	Black	Hispanic	White	Total
U.S. Population (90)	0.8	2.9	12.1	9.0*	80.3	248,709,873
Enrollments 4-yr colleges (88)†	0.5	3.8	8.3	3.8	83.6	7,873,000
Conferred Bachelor's degree (88)†	0.4	3.9	5.9	3.0	86.8	988,267
Faculty, 4-yr colleges (87–88)‡	1.0	5.0	3.0	2.0	89.0	378,732

*May be any race

†Adapted from the Editors of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (1992); does not include international students.

‡National Education Association (1992)

and "political correctness." Yet many institutions are broadening their curricula to include new perspectives related to race, gender, and class even while critics urge maintenance of traditional literary and historical views. And while some urge moderation in attempts to diversify students, faculty, and curriculum, others argue that colleges are moving too slowly.

The debate concerning curriculum transformation centers on what content best serves the vision of a society where diverse groups can retain their cultural heritages while simultaneously engaging in true cooperation to achieve universal ideals of equity and access for all. Efforts to change the curriculum have invoked arguments based on philosophical and value differences as well as pragmatic concerns related to the reality of a multicultural and interdependent world. Additionally, the question arises regarding the impact of curriculum change on students.

The Efficacy of Curriculum Change

While we might agree that a moral imperative exists to transform curricula in higher education, as responsible academics we search for evidence that such changes will make a positive difference for students. Are multicultural curriculum change efforts working? Attempts to empirically demon-

strate the efficacy of multicultural training are relatively new and constitute a uniquely challenging and complex task. Beaudry and Davis's evaluation chapter in this book suggests that evaluation designs require research teams that reflect cultural and linguistic diversity and pay close attention to variables of race, gender, ethnicity, and social class in defining validity. Few studies have met these criteria.

Given the recent curriculum change efforts in higher education, Gaff (1992) argues that it is too early to determine outcomes. "Indeed, the major task confronting most institutions today is going beyond the rhetoric in implementing educationally useful programs and courses. After all, most educational innovations fail not because they are ineffective, but because they are never implemented" (p. 35). Nevertheless, data are emerging that support the efficacy of transformed courses in changing student attitudes.

Research on prejudice reduction in children and adults provides support for focused multicultural curricula. Banks' (1988, 1995) reviews of literature identify several variables that impact the effectiveness of multicultural education:

• Curriculum content (democratic versus ethnocentric curricula and materials

supported the development of positive racial attitudes in children)

- Understanding of the discrepancies between reality and ideals related to race in this country (workshops demonstrated positive changes in adults)
- Specific objectives and strategies for multicultural education
- Strategies that increase cognitive sophistication (cognitive sophistication and critical thinking ability appear to correlate negatively with racial bias)
- Attitudes and predispositions of teachers as manifested in verbal and nonverbal interactions, reponses to students' languages and dialects, and accommodation of diverse learning styles
- Duration of training
- The hidden curriculum and institutional factors supportive of multicultural goals

These factors clearly apply to higher education as well as K-12. For example, MacPhee, Kreutzer, and Fritz (1994) recently described an evaluation study of a project to infuse multicultural content into a sequence of four human development courses taught by three faculty members at Colorado State University. The authors reported significant changes in the attitudes of students, who were primarily White (90%), relative to comparison groups. Specifically, students in the infused courses demonstrated decreased ethnocentrism, increased critical thinking skills, and a reduction in prejudicial and blaming attitudes toward minority groups. Results also emphasized the importance of multicultural infusion across a sequence of courses as opposed to a single course or session in enhancing multicultural sensitivity.

Data on incidents of discrimination on college campuses, faculty diversity, campus debates related to multicultural issues, and the demonstrated impact of multicultural curricula support the need for institutional change. Fisk-Skinner and Gaither (1992) argue that "rather than expecting the student to conform to the educational system, the system itself must share the burden of change" (p. 1664). In higher education, recruitment and retention have been the focus of change. Student recruitment is a logical beginning; transformation in higher education may follow a developmental progression commencing with an emphasis on student recruitment, proceeding to more comprehensive student services intervention, and finally to a recognition of the need for faculty involvement and change in academic practices and curriculum (Carter & Wilson, 1994).

Recommendations on outreach, student support, and faculty diversity components of recruitment and retention have been offered elsewhere (see Green, 1989; Sawchuk, 1992) and will not be repeated here. Rather, this book adopts the view that "what happens in the classroom—the interactions between teachers and students, the curriculum, pedagogy, human relationships—is the core of the academic experience" (Green, 1989, p. 131) and therefore has the highest potential among institutional factors for influencing students' success or failure. Specifically, the book focuses on curriculum and instructional strategies within faculty control as key elements in recruiting, retaining, and graduating students in a diverse society. The next section provides a multicultural education framework as the basis for curriculum and instructional change.

A FRAMEWORK FOR CURRICULAR CHANGE

Increasing population diversity, sensitivity to achievement differences, and recognition

of institutional contributions to inequity have affected how institutions of higher education perceive their missions. Universities and colleges across the country are responding to these issues through increased emphasis on multiculturalism in the curriculum. A recent survey of 196 colleges and universities (Levine & Cureton, 1992) found that over one third of all such institutions have a multicultural general education requirement; that over half have introduced multiculturalism into their departmental course offerings, most frequently through the addition of new materials to existing courses; and that the overwhelming majority (72%) of vice presidents and deans at four-year institutions "talk about multiculturalism frequently or continually" (p. 29). The authors project that these data reflect "only a beginning of what is likely to be a very long process."

These findings give evidence that curricular change for diversity is occurring on significant numbers of college campuses. Yet the literature provides little evidence that institutions are monitoring the appropriateness of these changes. For example, the addition of required readings by ethnic or women authors might be viewed by some as a valid method for multicultural curriculum infusion. However, unless the new readings provide new perspectives on events, ways of knowing, values, or aesthetics, no substantive change has occurred. Clearly, as the multicultural curriculum movement expands, participating higher education institutions must focus on *quality* of change. One approach to addressing quality issues is to establish a framework for multicultural infusion of higher education courses and assess course development and revision in relation to the framework.

This book was developed within a coherent framework that addresses the foundational issues of diversity, achieve-

ment, and access, and institutional contributions to equity as described in the previous section. The book was designed to assist faculty members who desire to incorporate multicultural content and strategies into their courses as a means of better meeting the needs of all students in a diverse society. This section describes the framework, including a definition of multicultural education, philosophical assumptions, guiding principles, and recommended practices.

Multicultural Education

Sleeter and Grant's (1987) comprehensive review of literature on multicultural education in K–12 education revealed that writers use the term in a variety of ways, often without explicit definition. To facilitate communication and progress in the field, they encourage authors to clarify their definition of multicultural education, including target groups, theoretical framework, assumptions and goals, and recommended practices. Sleeter and Grant suggest that five distinct approaches emerge from the literature: teaching the culturally different (equipping people of color to compete with Whites); human relations (helping students of different backgrounds get along); single group studies (teaching about a specific group); multicultural education (valuing diversity, equal opportunity, and equity in distribution of power); and education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist (preparing people to take social action against structural inequality). Although based on K–12 schooling, this taxonomy has relevance to higher education.

Specifically, as we make the decision to incorporate multicultural content and strategies in our courses, a critical first step is to make explicit the intended outcome—the **multicultural goal**. Is it to

- support diverse students' acquisition of traditional subject matter knowledge and skills?

- help students acquire a more accurate or comprehensive knowledge of the subject matter?

- encourage students to accept themselves and others?

- understand the history, traditions, and perspectives of specific groups?

- help students value diversity and equity?

- equip all students to work actively toward a more democratic society?

How we answer this question or prioritize intended outcomes has implications for how we approach curriculum change.

The authors of the book propose the following definition of multicultural education for higher education:

> **Multicultural education has as its purpose the development of citizens for a more democratic society through provision of more accurate and comprehensive disciplinary knowledge and through enhancement of students' academic achievement and critical thinking applied to social problems. It seeks to promote the valuing of diversity and equal opportunity for all people through understanding of the contributions and perspectives of people of differing race, ethnicity, culture, language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, and physical abilities and disabilities.**

This definition rests on a number of assumptions, each of which has implications for teaching and learning in higher education.

Assumption 1: Multicultural education is for all. A common perception is that multicultural education targets the im-

proved status of members of marginalized groups. Indeed, one major goal of multicultural education is the academic, social, and career attainment of diverse students. However, the broader concern of multicultural education is the promotion of a more equitable society whose realization will enrich the lives of all groups and individuals. No one group has the market on ethnocentricity; successful multicultural education invites all people to examine critically their own biases and to adopt the values and behaviors needed for social change. An act of discrimination against any individual or group dehumanizes us all.

Second, multicultural education is quality education. A multicultural curriculum broadens students' world views and enables them to appreciate different cultures, languages, values, and ways of thinking. A multicultural curriculum enriches the lives of all students and benefits the wider community with which they interact.

Finally, from a pragmatic viewpoint, successful multicultural education will enable all students to interact more effectively with individuals different from themselves. These skills increasingly are demanded by public institutions and businesses as the nation becomes domestically more diverse and as the world shrinks through international peace initiatives, cross-national hiring practices, binational cooperative ventures, and global telecommunications. In her presidential address at Association for the Study of Higher Education, Hackman (1992) concluded that higher educators in the 1990s and opening years of the twenty-first century must

- consider new ways of working with each other and in organizations, to learn from alternative ways of inclusion and communication what some have called African American, Native American, and women's ways.

- change how we prepare for and live on our increasingly interdependent globe.

- make a major shift in how we learn from and work with people of multiple backgrounds and cultures.

- participate fully in the age of knowledge and prepare ourselves, our students, and our institutions to play roles in this new age. (p. 15)

Assumption 2: Higher education seeks to disseminate truth, and teaching transformative scholarship offers students a more comprehensive truth. The traditional knowledge base transmitted through higher education was developed or compiled primarily by persons representing the views of the dominant (White male) power structure. For example, Banks (1993) describes Western-centric or mainstream academic knowledge in the social and behavioral sciences as having been established within mainstream professional associations and as providing the perspectives taught in U.S. colleges and universities. Transformative theory and research methods, developed in women's studies and ethnic studies, provide data and explanations that challenge, expand, and revise those established by mainstream scholarship (Banks, 1993). Transformative scholarship does not necessarily diminish the contributions or value of mainstream discourse and provides a more inclusive, comprehensive view of reality. "The truth about the development and attainments of multicultural education needs to be told for the sake of balance, scholarly integrity, and accuracy" (Banks, p. 22).

Assumption 3: All groups (e.g., cultural, gender) have the same underlying abilities; they may differ in preferred modes of acquiring and expressing competence (Cole & Bruner, 1971). Research from the fields of anthropology and cross-cultural psychology demonstrates that cul-

tural experiences mediate how individuals and groups best acquire new information and express their acquired knowledge and skills. Instructors therefore can assume that all students have the ability to learn. And competent instructors use a wide repertoire of teaching methods to promote students' learning.

A number of authors argue that ethnic and cultural differences exist in cognitive and learning styles, or the ways in which individuals approach and perceive problem solving tasks. The topic has sparked much controversy primarily because of the potential produced for stereotyping different groups as having different types of styles (Anderson & Adams, 1992; Green, 1989) as compared to the mainstream standard. Research on learning styles has addressed differences between groups based on ethnicity, culture, gender, disability, and age. Based on their review of the literature, Irvine and York (1995) conclude that

> research on learning styles using culturally diverse students fails to support the premise that members of a given cultural group exhibit a distinctive style. Hence, the issue is not the identification of a style for a particular ethnic or gender group, but rather how instruction should be arranged to meet the instructional needs of diverse students. (p. 494)

Given our diversity, it is logical to expect that any given classroom would have students exhibiting a range of preferences in the ways they learn, communicate, interact, perceive, and compete. The implication is the same: competent instructors use a wide repertoire of teaching methods to promote students' learning and their expression of knowledge.

Assumption 4: Academic achievement is a critical factor in promoting equal opportunity. Diverse students' academic

achievement is a necessary part of their empowerment; failure to demand academic competence perpetuates both social marginality and structural inequality (Sleeter, 1991). Given that all groups have the same underlying abilities, instructors can communicate high expectations to all students. No need exists to reduce demands for excellence. While some students across culture, gender, and other groups enter higher education underprepared, underpreparation should not be confused with lower potential. Instead, academic rigor can be combined with social support:

> When academically rigorous instruction is conducted within a community of scholarship accompanied by a system of social supports, then all students seem to benefit. But if culturally sensitive features are added to the curriculum without adding academically demanding curriculum, then minority students may not benefit and achieve. (Mehan, Lintz, Okamoto, & Wills, 1995, p. 141)

Equal opportunity does not result in declining standards when preparedness is supported, instructors maintain high expectations for student performance, and learning opportunities are structured to take advantage of student strengths.

Assumption 5: Academic achievement alone does not eliminate structural barriers to career attainment and social integration. Recent reports continue to demonstrate that, while correlated, academic achievement does not lead to equal opportunity for all in higher education or the workplace. In their review on lack of preparation as a factor in college attrition among diverse students, Fisk-Skinner and Gaither (1992) reported that "preparedness does not tell the whole story...even when past academic achievement is held constant, minority dropout rates are higher and GPAs are

lower" (p. 1660). The authors suggest that historical patterns of discrimination and limited access have affected expectations, motivation, and real opportunities such that racial and ethnic background may exert a continuing influence independent of socioeconomic class.

Relatedly, the National Center for Education Statistics (1989) indicated that when economic status is controlled, a significantly smaller percent of African Americans and Hispanics attain bachelor's and graduate degrees than White non-Hispanic counterparts. Moreover, an OERI report on the class of 1972 (Adelman, 1991) found that of those with bachelor's degrees, White males' mean annual earnings were higher than those for White women, African American women and men, and Hispanic women and men. A U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1992) report on Asian Americans in the 1990s noted that this group's professional advancement is not commensurate with higher educational achievement in studies that control for education level, work experience, English ability, and industry of work.

A 1994 report commissioned by the U.S. Office of Personnel Management on federal workers fired in 1992 found that African Americans are fired at nearly twice the rate of Whites even when allowing for differences in age, education, experience, job performance, and prior disciplinary history (Greve, 1994). The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) concluded that "at the highest levels of business, there is indeed a barrier only rarely penetrated by women or persons of color...The research also indicates that where there are women and minorities in high places, their compensation is lower" (pp. iii–iv). These findings suggest that racial bias and other structural factors continue to operate in societal institutions.

Assumption 6: Higher education faculty can play a significant role in develop-

ing a more equitable society. Faculty members contribute to social equity by fostering the academic competence of all students. But given assumption 5, a question arises regarding the responsibility of higher education faculty to go further than the dissemination of content knowledge and skills by working to promote equity beyond the classroom. For example, a chemistry professor with strong convictions regarding equity believes that she can best serve diverse students by motivating their learning through use of inquiry methods, discrepant events, cooperative learning, and linking of new information to previous experiences and concepts. Has she fulfilled her commitment to equal opportunity if she is successful in promoting diverse students' achievement in chemistry?

Like the chemistry professor, faculty members must determine their own goals regarding the extent of personal participation in social change. Faculty members in higher education reside in the center of a number of concentric spheres of influence. They can choose to become involved in social change within any or all of these spheres (see Figure 1–1):

- *Self*: We can analyze our own attitudes, beliefs, values, knowledge, and behavior in terms of our own socialization experiences, those of other groups, and our interactions with students in the classroom. As individuals, we can behave in ways that acknowledge the value of diversity and speak out when we encounter an act of oppression; we can support scholarships or mentor students from underrepresented groups.

- *Classroom*: We can improve student achievement in our discipline, engage students in critical analysis of disciplinary perspectives, provide a rigorous and welcoming environment, and sup-
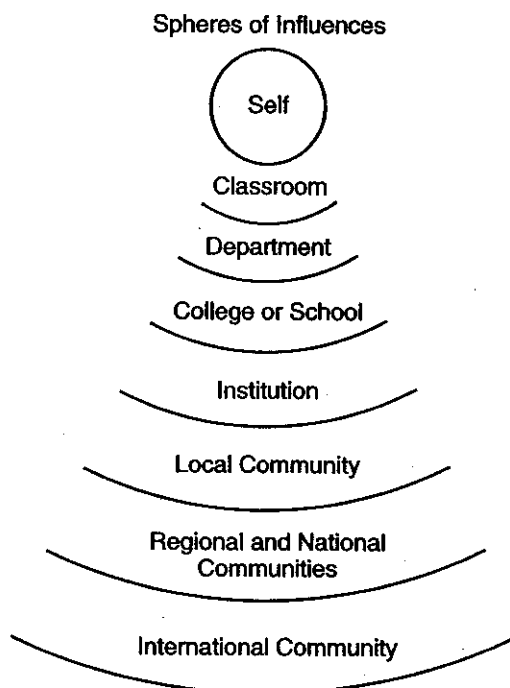
Spheres of Influences

FIGURE 1–1

port students' development of tools important for active citizenship, such as critical thinking and social action skills.

- *Department, college or school, and institution*: Through advising, committee work, and governance activities, we can influence recruitment and retention of students and faculty, campus climate, and other structural features of the institution.

- *Community*: Our efforts can be extended to professional and personal service roles in the greater community as we interact with schools, government and

social service agencies, business and industry, and charitable, arts, and religious organizations.

- *Professional activities*: As faculty members, we have local, regional, national, and international influence through our scholarship and work with professional organizations. We can focus research efforts on studies that will improve the quality of life for members of diverse groups, initiate special interest groups in professional organizations, or encourage the appointment of individuals from underrepresented groups to leadership positions.

This book focuses on the classroom sphere of influence. However, it encourages each of us to consider our responsibility and comfort level with extending social-change activities to additional spheres. Freire (1985) reminds us that every action (or inaction) by an educator is a political decision.

Principles and Practices

The principles and recommended practices that guide the development of this book stem from the foregoing issues, definition, and assumptions and are consistent with the current knowledge base in multicultural education (AAUW, 1993; Banks, 1988; NCSS, 1992; Suzuki, 1984).

1. Diversity should permeate the total campus environment. A comprehensive approach requires organizational management and change directed at diversity, focused hiring and faculty development, and specific attention to the informal, hidden curriculum.

2. Content and materials should reflect the cultural characteristics and experiences of the students, critically examine social realities and conflict in U.S. and world societies, include the study of various cultural

groups and their historical experiences, and present and analyze diverse perspectives.

3. Instructional strategies should communicate high expectations for achievement, capitalize on students' experiences and learning strengths, and include opportunities for personal participation and growth.

4. Objectives should include fostering of skills important to informed citizenship, such as critical thinking, decision making, social participation, and intergroup interaction.

5. Assessment procedures should include methods that accommodate students' strongest strategies for expression of accumulated knowledge and skills.

6. Evaluation should be ongoing and systematic with relationship to multicultural education goals and objectives.

Marchesani and Adams (1992) identified a four-dimensional faculty development model for promoting diversity in college classrooms. The four dimensions of teaching and learning focus on understanding how *students* from diverse backgrounds experience the classroom; encouraging the *instructor* to know herself or himself as an individual who brings a unique history of socialization, experiences, and assumptions; incorporating diverse perspectives into *course content*, and possessing a broad repertoire of *teaching methods* to accommodate different learning styles and preferences. Based on the principles articulated above, we suggest additional dimensions: *assessment procedures* that take advantage of student experiences; systematic *evaluation* of courses in relation to multicultural education goals; *informal processes* (hidden curriculum) supportive of diversity; effective *organizational management* and change.

This book assumes that readers recognize and appreciate the diversity of their students and understand the impact of their own socialization on classroom interactions. For

this reason, the remaining chapters focus on curricular and instructional dimensions. The book's mission is to encourage faculty in higher education to modify their courses to better prepare all students for effective functioning in a diverse society. Course transformation is a long-term, continuous, complex process requiring supportive organizational change. Chapter 2 presents a model for course transformation that considers levels of multicultural change and entails rethinking four components: content, instructional strategies, assessment procedures, and classroom dyn-

amics. Chapters 3 through 6 explore in detail multicultural change in each of these four components. Chapter 7 is devoted to improving instruction for students who have a primary language other than English. Chapters 8 through 14 represent examples of how some subject matter specialists approach the task of multicultural course change. The last two chapters offer recommendations for organizational strategies supportive of multicultural curricula and for evaluating the impact of multicultural change.