

The Center for Research
on Developmental Education and Urban Literacy

Multiculturalism
in Developmental Education

UJL

*Jeanne L. Higbee
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UNIVERSITY
OF MINNESOTA



*Multiculturalism
in Developmental Education*

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by the Center for Research on Developmental Education and
Urban Literacy, General College, University of Minnesota.*

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CRDEUL

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Introduction

Jeanne L. Higbee

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For at least six decades (Arendale, 2002), developmental education programs and services in the U.S. have provided means to create access and enhance retention for populations of students that traditionally have been underrepresented in higher education (Hardin, 1988, 1998). Yet multiculturalism has seldom been addressed explicitly in our research and publications. Four years ago Pat Bruch and I conducted an exhaustive literature review on intersections between multiculturalism and developmental education in preparation for conducting an exploratory study within our own developmental education unit (Bruch & Higbee, 2002). When our electronic search yielded no results, we faulted the search engine and went directly to the source. Issue by issue, we examined the tables of contents for four of the primary journals in the field for the past 10 years. What we found were a smattering of articles related to serving students with a variety of disabilities, a few articles discussing English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, and an occasional mention of diverse learners or “minority” students, but virtually nothing related to multicultural learning and teaching. Meanwhile, the literature published by some other professional organizations with somewhat overlapping missions and goals (e.g., the *Journal of College Student Development*, a publication of the American College Personnel Association) is rich with articles addressing issues of race, religion, ethnicity, social class, gender, home language, age, sexual orientation, and disability as they pertain to higher education.

Let me make it clear that it is not our professional association’s journals or their editorial staffs that are to be faulted for this dearth of multicultural articles. Those of us working in developmental education who have the luxury of allocated research time and are rewarded for our publication records can only blame ourselves—

and I put myself at the top of the list—for failing to establish multiculturalism as a priority in our research and writing. Karen Miksch, one of our colleagues in the General College whose work is represented in this collection, coined a phrase two years ago that creates for me a visual image of the rightful place of multiculturalism in our work. Her vision, expressed in words, conceptualized “the centrality of multiculturalism in developmental education.” This phrase offers a promise that is yet to be realized within our profession. The Center for Research on Developmental Education and Urban Literacy (CRDEUL) hopes that this monograph will serve as an impetus for making explicit connections between multicultural education and developmental education, not just in the practice of developmental education, but in its research and publications as well.

Monograph Contents

The first three chapters of this monograph provide models for integrating multiculturalism in developmental education. The monograph begins with “The Centrality of Multiculturalism in Developmental Education,” by Miksch, Bruch, Higbee, Jehangir, and Lundell, which highlights the Multicultural Awareness Project for Institutional Transformation (MAP IT) recently undertaken by a subcommittee of the General College’s (GC) Multicultural Concerns Committee (MCC). The next chapter, “Walking the Talk: Using Learning-Centered Strategies to Close Performance Gaps,” reminds us of the saying popularized in the 1960s at the height of the Civil Rights movement, “If you talk the talk, you better be prepared to walk the walk.” McKusick and McPhail provide specific ideas for enhancing academic achievement among all students through a learning-centered model for

developmental education. In “Creating Access Through Universal Instructional Design,” Kalivoda discusses a recent model for inclusion for students with disabilities, and through her research findings addresses potential attitudinal barriers to implementing this model.

The remaining chapters in this monograph focus on conversations related to multiculturalism in developmental education, reported by our colleagues in the General College. The work of these authors reflects GC’s efforts to implement its multicultural mission. “Multicultural Legacies for the 21st Century,” by Bruch, Higbee, and Lundell, captures what began as an interview but evolved into a conversation with Dr. James A. Banks, a leading scholar in the field of multicultural education. “Is There a Role for Academic Achievement Tests in Multicultural Developmental Education?” continues another conversation, as Brothen and Wambach respond to Moore, Jensen, Hsu, and Hatch’s (2002) “Saving the ‘False Negatives’: Intelligence Tests, the SAT, and Developmental Education,” published in a previous CRDEUL monograph. Ghere’s chapter, “The Triumphs and Tribulations of a Multicultural Concerns Committee,” focuses on another conversation, documenting how a developmental education unit can facilitate the integration of multiculturalism in its work through the committee structure. Lakanwal and Pettman’s description of the “MultiCultural Development Center: Sharing Diversity” illustrates how these conversations can be expanded to embrace many constituencies and lead to local, regional, and national collaborations between higher education institutions and community organizations.

The final chapters of the monograph are intended to serve as proceedings for the Third National Meeting on Future Directions in Developmental Education, sponsored by CRDEUL in November, 2002. It is hoped that the conversations initiated at that meeting will be ongoing and result in recognition of the centrality of multiculturalism in developmental education in our programs and services; our individual teaching, research, and writing; and in our professional associations’ conferences and publications. Building upon this mission, we encourage you, the reader, to submit related manuscripts for consideration for publication in CRDEUL’s upcoming monograph, *Best Practices in Access and Retention in Higher Education*, for which the call for submissions is available at the end of this publication.

Acknowledgments

As editors, Dana, Irene, and I would like to acknowledge the following individuals who made this publication possible. First, we wish to express our appreciation to David Taylor, Dean of the General College, and Terence Collins, GC Director of Academic Affairs, for their continued financial and moral support of the Center for Research on Developmental Education and Urban Literacy and this monograph series. We also want to thank Holly Choon Hyang Pettman for her work as Assistant Editor for this project, and Karen Bencke, who has provided the cover design, layout, and formatting for each of the four monographs published to date in the CRDEUL series. We express our appreciation to the authors whose work is represented here for their attention to detail and timely responses to all deadlines. We also want to thank the members of our editorial board for their efforts in conducting the anonymous review of these manuscripts and providing helpful feedback in a professional and punctual manner. The Center for Research on Developmental Education and Urban Literacy also wishes to recognize the contributions of the following local, regional, and national leaders in the field of developmental education and learning support, who gave up a weekend last November to participate in the Future Directions Meeting: David Arendale, Carol Bader, Lois Bollman, Nancy Bornstein, Hunter Boylan, Thomas Brothen, Patrick Bruch, Martha Casazza, David Caverly, Herbert Chambers, Frank Christ, Carl Chung, Terence Collins, Mary Deming, Irene Duranczyk, Shevawn Eaton, David Ghere, Susan Hashway, Leon Hsu, Nancy Hugg, Walter Jacobs, Rashné Jehangir, Karen Kalivoda, Ann Ludlow, Barbara Lyman, Ross MacDonald, Karen Miksch, Randy Moore, Jane Neuburger, Emily Miller Payne, Holly Choon Hyang Pettman, Bruce Schelske, Sharyn Schelske, Norman Stahl, Gretchen Starks Martin, David Taylor, and Cathrine Wambach.

On a personal note, I want to take advantage of this opportunity to express my gratitude to the members of the General College’s Multicultural Concerns Committee, not only for their unflagging efforts to create an inclusive learning and working environment, but for assisting me in finding my niche during my first four years in GC and making it feel like home. And finally, I would like to dedicate this monograph to the memory of my mother, Charlotte Margaret Higbee, and



others like her who fought the good fight when it was not only not politically correct to do so, but when taking a stand could have dire consequences both professionally and personally.

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The Centrality of Multiculturalism in Developmental Education: Piloting the Multicultural Awareness Project for Institutional Transformation (MAP IT)

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Rashné R. Jehangir, and Dana Britt Lundell
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This chapter provides a definition of multicultural education and explains why multiculturalism is central to developmental education. Having established theoretical aims, it then describes efforts to centralize multiculturalism via the Multicultural Awareness Project for Institutional Transformation (MAP IT). MAP IT is a pilot project developed at a four-year public research university with the goal of integrating developmental and multicultural education. As the acronym indicates, its aim is transformative. The chapter concludes by outlining a process to bring about a multicultural transformation in developmental education.

This chapter provides a definition of multicultural education and explains why multiculturalism is central to developmental education. Having established our theoretical aims, we then describe our efforts to centralize multiculturalism via the Multicultural Awareness Project for Institutional Transformation (MAP IT). MAP IT is a pilot project developed at a four-year public research university with the goal of integrating developmental and multicultural education. As the acronym indicates, our aim is transformative. We conclude by outlining the process through which we hope to bring about a multicultural transformation in developmental education.

The Centrality of Multiculturalism

To explain how multiculturalism is central to developmental education, first we must define what we mean by multicultural education. Often the terms

diversity and multiculturalism (or multicultural education) are used interchangeably. However, we consider these to be distinct concepts, each of which is significant to the MAP IT Project.

Defining Diversity

Diversity signifies the simple recognition of the existence of different social group identities. For us, diversity includes a wider variety of social groups than race and ethnicity alone. Social group identifications such as home language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, social class, age, and disability, as well as race and ethnicity, are included within our definition. Numerous social science research studies provide evidence that admitting a diverse student body enhances learning for all students (Astin, 1993; Chang, 1999; Gurin, 2002; Maruyama, Nirebim, Gudeman, & Marin, 2000). Likewise, several recent court decisions relying



on social science research determined that admitting students who belong to one or more of these categories is critical to the mission of higher education (Miksch, 2002). There is also growing evidence that diversity initiatives have increased the numbers of historically underrepresented students on many campuses (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998; Smith & Schonfeld, 2000). However, fulfilling the promises of access and equity involves moving beyond diversity to multicultural education.

Defining Multiculturalism

If diversity is an empirical condition—the existence of multiple group identities in a society—multiculturalism names a particular posture towards this reality. There are many definitions of multiculturalism and multicultural education. We build on the work of James Banks (2001), who defines multicultural education as, “an idea, an educational reform movement, and a process” (p. 2):

As an idea, multicultural education seeks to create equal educational opportunities for all students, including those from different racial, ethnic, and social-class groups. Multicultural education tries to create equal educational opportunities for all students by changing the total school environment so that it will reflect the diverse cultures and groups within society and within the nation’s classrooms. Multicultural education is a process because its goals are ideals that teachers and administrators should constantly strive to achieve. (p. 2)

What is important to us about Banks’ definition is that it explicitly moves beyond recognition of different social group membership (i.e., diversity) to advocate a method for transforming educational institutions so that they might more fully enable the participation of all citizens within our multicultural society. Exemplifying this transformative method, Lee Anne Bell and Pat Griffin (1997) advocate sequencing learning activities so that students move from a personal understanding of social group identity (e.g., diversity training) to an institutional or structural approach to social justice (multicultural education). According to Bell and Griffin, programs concerned with diversity focus on “helping students describe and understand their own experiences as members of different social groups and listen to others talk about their experiences and perspectives. The focus

is on respecting, understanding, and acknowledging difference” (p. 55). The next step is to move toward a multicultural learning approach. “The concepts of dominance, social power and privilege are introduced to help students understand that difference is not neutral, that different social groups have greater or lesser access to social and personal resources and power” (p. 55). At this point, students are ready to deal with cultural and structural levels of inequality.

Ideally, multicultural education strives to build on the strengths and avoid the weaknesses of diversity plans. Evelyn Hu-DeHart (2003) eloquently critiques campus diversity plans that do not address cultural and institutional inequities. She notes:

differences are described as “natural,” hence normal and fixed; their main role is to provide positive experiences . . . [campus diversity plans] advise all of us who are different to learn to get along; we must help to create a “climate of healthy diversity,” in which “people value individual and group differences, respect the perspectives of others, and communicate openly.” In other words, diversity means good manners, now called civility, another key component of the corporate model that has pervaded our campuses. Nowhere does this definition state, or even hint or imply, that differences are socially and historically constructed and hierarchically arranged. Nor does it allow that most differences carry real and differential meanings regarding power and privilege. This corporate model lays the entire burden on individuals and their attitude and behavior, while absolving the institution of any responsibility for dealing with itself. It does so by studiously avoiding discussion of the structural inequalities that some of the itemized differences embody and convey, by failing to distinguish between individual and group differences, and by stressing the role of civility above all else in creating a diverse environment. (p. 2)

Multicultural education, as opposed to the diversity programs that Hu-DeHart describes, critically engages systems of hierarchy and institutional privilege that are often left out of notions of individual diversity and civility. Thus, within multicultural education the focus is on “several forms of difference [for example, race,



class, home language, gender, sexual orientation, disability] that also define unequal positions of power in the United States” (Sleeter & Grant, 2003, p. iv). The emphasis on the links between forms of diversity and relations of power is the main factor differentiating multicultural education from diversity training.

The transformative agenda of multicultural education moves beyond celebrating diversity to providing meaningful access to all students. Multicultural education, described as transforming access, builds on the work of Christine Sleeter and Carl Grant (2003) who advocate “Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist” (p. 195):

Education that is Multicultural means that the entire educational program is redesigned to reflect the concerns of diverse cultural groups. Rather than being one of several kinds of education, it is a different orientation and expectation of the whole educational process The phrase Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist is adopted by educators who want to identify with a more assertive and transforming educational position. (p. 195)

Education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist deals directly with structural inequality and prepares all involved to transform society so that it better serves the interests of all groups, especially those groups who historically have been marginalized. The goal is to promote structural equity and cultural pluralism. Instruction, while involving students actively in decision making, builds on diverse learning styles and is collaborative. Further, it incorporates the skills and knowledge that students bring to the classroom.

Building on the insights of Sleeter and Grant (2003) and Hu-DeHart (2003), our view is that multicultural education must extend beyond the classroom and provide an agenda of transformation for better understanding the institution in terms of whom it includes and what it tries to accomplish. In other words, meaningful multiculturalism seeks to transform more than just the curriculum; it seeks to transform the institution. As Patrick Hill (1999) notes, “while the presence of persons of other cultures and subcultures is a virtual prerequisite to the transformation, their ‘mere presence’ is primarily a political achievement”

(p. 228). It is not enough to add a requirement that each student take a diversity course in order to graduate, or to sprinkle multicultural courses throughout the curriculum. Hill argues, “marginalization will be perpetuated, if new voices and perspectives are added while the priorities and core of the organization remain unchanged” (p. 228). Rather than focusing exclusively on diversity and classroom issues, the work of higher education must be “reconceived to be unimplementable without the central participation of the currently excluded and marginalized” (Hill, p. 228). Developmental education, with its overt access mission, is situated to contribute to the reconceptualization of higher education in ways that see the participation of the currently marginalized and excluded as a central concern.

The Role of Developmental Education in Promoting Multiculturalism

Developmental education programs are well positioned to help institutions rethink their priorities because they provide access to groups of students who have historically been underrepresented. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) projected in 2002 that by the year 2012 there would be a 15% increase in the number of students enrolled in degree-granting institutions (U.S. Department of Education, 2002). Currently, women, adult students, and students of color are providing the greatest enrollment growth (Jehangir, 2002). According to the NCES National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (U.S. Department of Education, 2000), low-income students are more likely to take “remedial” courses than middle and upper income students. During the 2000 school year, a higher percentage of students of color than White students took remedial courses. As Rashné Jehangir (2002) notes, however:

The overlap between developmental students and students of color, students with disabilities, and adult students is made not to equate developmental education with these groups but to suggest that developmental education plays a role in creating access to public higher education. (p. 22)

The overlap between developmental students and diverse students is just one reason multicultural education must be made central to developmental



education. As Patrick Bruch and Jeanne Higbee (2002) have argued, multicultural education offers to developmental educators the enabling insight that inequities of group power that obstruct access for many developmental students are not timeless truths that people are powerless to change. Instead, power relations are “socially constructed and maintained through revisable personal and institutional practices” (p. 77). The difficulty, Bruch and Higbee note, is that very little research has been done to determine how multicultural theory can be applied and turned into practice in the field of developmental education. The MAP IT Project is one attempt to fill that gap.

The Multicultural Awareness Project for Institutional Transformation

The Multicultural Awareness Project for Institutional Transformation has culminated in a comprehensive set of guiding principles and survey instruments designed to underscore the centrality of multiculturalism in higher education. The 10 Guiding Principles for Multicultural Awareness and Institutional Transformation (Miksch, Higbee, Jehangir, Lundell, Bruch, & Barajas, 2003) are reproduced as Figure 1. The Guiding Principles incorporate both notions of diversity and multiculturalism. The principles define diversity broadly to include home language, sexual orientation, and disability, as well as race, ethnicity, religion, social class, age, and gender. These principles go beyond advocating for diversity to include our understanding of multicultural education. Thus, the Guiding Principles include the links between forms of diversity and relations of power and advocate for meaningful access to higher education for all students. The survey is divided into three instruments: one for faculty and instructional staff, another for administrators, and a third for advisors and other student support service staff members (Miksch, Higbee, Jehangir, Lundell, Bruch, Siaka, & Dotson, 2003). Each set of questions relates to a particular principle and measures either attitudes about the principle or implementation of the principle.

The MAP IT Guiding Principles and survey instruments are an adaptation of *Diversity Within Unity: Essential Principles for Teaching and Learning in a Multicultural Society* (Banks et al., 2001). *Diversity Within Unity* endorsed 12 essential principles for successful primary and secondary school systems

(K-12). Also included in the report is a checklist designed to be used by K-12 practitioners to determine the extent to which their institutions and environments are consistent with the essential principles. The purpose of MAP IT was to adapt *Diversity Within Unity* for use in institutions of higher education.

MAP IT is a subcommittee of the Multicultural Concerns Committee (MCC), an ad hoc committee within a developmental education unit. The MCC was founded in 1989 to promote the unit’s overt multicultural mission and the MAP IT project is a continuation of the committee’s work to bring about meaningful multiculturalism within developmental education. Dr. James Banks, lead author of *Diversity Within Unity*, gave permission to the MCC to both adapt the *Diversity Within Unity* principles and to pilot a survey in a developmental education program to see how to use the checklist at institutions of higher education.

Our first step was a literature review to determine if there were existing instruments for use in higher education. Although we reviewed a number of existing studies, most were aimed at measuring campus climate, professional development, or commitment to multiculturalism individually, rather than combining these measurements in one instrument (Association of American Colleges and Universities, 2002). Most of the existing instruments were geared for use with faculty or students, and none of the existing instruments were geared for use with faculty, administrators, advisors, and student support staff. We also reviewed the literature on multicultural education within developmental education journals and within the general field of education and determined that much of the existing literature and studies were related to K-12 education. Thus, we decided that a comprehensive set of guiding principles and a survey instrument geared to institutions of higher education was needed.

Working collaboratively, we went line-by-line through the *Diversity Within Unity* checklist, and adapted the language to make it applicable to higher education. In February 2002 when our pilot survey was complete, we sent an e-mail communication to all unit employees, asking them to complete the MAP IT Pilot Survey online. A paper and pencil version of the survey was also made available to all faculty and staff. Each set of questions allowed the respondent to type in a narrative response. A request for comments on the



Figure 1. MAP IT 10 Guiding Principles For Institutions of Higher Education.

Institutional Governance, Organization, and Equity

1. The educational institution should articulate a commitment to supporting access to higher education for a diverse group of students, thus providing the opportunity for all students to benefit from a multicultural learning environment.
2. The educational institution's organizational structure should ensure that decision making is shared appropriately and that members of the educational community learn to collaborate in creating a supportive environment for students, staff, and faculty.

Faculty and Staff Development

3. Professional development programs should be made available to help staff and faculty understand the ways in which social group identifications such as race, ethnicity, home language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, social class, age and disability influence all individuals and institutions.

Student Development

4. Educational institutions should equally enable all students to learn and excel.
5. Educational institutions should help students understand how knowledge and personal experiences are shaped by contexts (social, political, economic, historical, etc.) in which we live and work, and how their voices and ways of knowing can shape the academy.
6. Educational institutions should help students acquire the social skills needed to interact effectively within a multicultural educational community.
7. Educational institutions should enable all students to participate in extracurricular and co curricular activities to develop knowledge, skills, and attitudes that enhance academic participation and foster positive relationships within a multicultural educational community.
8. Educational institutions should provide support services that promote all students' intellectual and interpersonal development.

Intergroup Relations

9. Educational institutions should teach all members of the educational community about the ways that ideas like justice, equality, freedom, peace, compassion, and charity are valued by many cultures.

Assessment

10. Educational institutions should encourage educators to use multiple culturally sensitive techniques to assess student learning.

Adapted for higher education from:

Banks, J. A., Cookson, P., Gay, G., Hawley, W. D., Irvine, J. J., Nieto, S., Schofield, J. W., & Stephan, W. G. (2001). *Diversity within unity: Essential principles for teaching and learning in a multicultural society*. Seattle, WA: Center for Multicultural Education, College of Education, University of Washington. Available at: <http://depts.washington.edu/centerme/cenpub.htm>



overall pilot survey was also provided at the end of the instrument.

The online Pilot Survey responses were analyzed by the MAP IT team and incorporated into the final MAP IT survey instruments. The revised series of survey instruments are each shorter than the pilot questionnaire, and geared toward three major employment categories (i.e., instructors, student services, and administration) to reflect the feedback received. A parallel student survey has also been developed (Miksch, Higbee, Jehangir, Lundell, Bruch, Siaka, & Dotson, 2003). In addition to using the pilot data to improve the survey instrument, the authors have also completed quantitative and qualitative analyses of the responses (Bruch, Jehangir, Lundell, Higbee, & Miksch, 2003; Higbee, Miksch, Jiang, Jehangir, Lundell, & Bruch, 2003.).

MAP IT Quantitative Results

The faculty response rate for this study was 65% (n=21), and the professional and academic (P&A) staff response rate was 50% (n=25). Other employment categories (e.g., civil service staff, graduate assistants) had significantly lower response rates. Although it is important to be cautious when drawing conclusions based on such a small sample, overall the results of the MAP IT Pilot Study were very positive. For example, in response to the question, “Do admissions policies allow for enrollment of students from diverse backgrounds?” the mean was 4.70 on a five-point Likert-type scale where 5 signified “always or almost always,” and 1 indicated “almost never or never.” For another question that asked, “Are students given opportunities to have meaningful contact with students from diverse groups?” the mean was 4.21. “Are the students taught about how stereotyping and categorization can result in prejudice and discrimination?” yielded a mean response of 4.20. The mean response for “Is advocacy around multicultural issues central to the student services mission?” was 4.41. Items yielding lower means included:

1. “Do faculty, staff, and students set ground rules together to engage in meaningful and safe dialogue around difference?” (M=3.70).

2. “Does GC provide appropriate role models for all students?” (M=3.50).

3. “Do teaching strategies accommodate diverse student interests and learning styles?” (M=3.80).

4. “Do faculty and staff in GC help students to acquire the social skills that are needed to interact effectively within a multicultural educational community?” (M=3.83).

5. “Do students have a role in decision making in GC?” (M=2.52).

These items pointed out some very specific ways in which the General College could improve its teaching, learning, and working environment for all of its constituencies.

Items that referred to institutional policies tended to yield lower means than similar items that addressed General College procedures and practices. For example, the mean for “Do University of Minnesota policies encourage the use of multiple ways of assessing student learning that are culturally sensitive and that measure complex cognitive and social skills?” was 2.82. Meanwhile, when asked, “Does assessment within the General College go beyond traditional measures of subject matter knowledge to include critical thinking?” the mean was 3.86.

The members of the Multicultural Concerns Committee are in agreement that the quantitative data from the MAP IT Pilot Survey did not yield many surprises. What is important is what the General College chooses to do with this data. Concrete steps can be taken to address the areas in which improvement is needed.

MAP IT Qualitative Results

In addition to the quantitative prompts, the MAP IT checklist offered GC respondents a place (i.e., a box in the online format) to type in open-ended comments related to each set of questions. This was included as a means to gain feedback both about the usefulness of the survey tool itself and participants’ feedback and insights about the content of each of the main principles. The data was thematically examined to identify “discussion points” for further conversation, to be used as a launching point for members of the community to converse about the Guiding Principles.

In an article presenting the results of the project’s qualitative analysis (Bruch, Jehangir, Lundell, Higbee,

& Miksch, 2003), the relationship of the participants' voices and viewpoints to one another within the context of the community itself was specifically examined. This included a visual diagram recognizing the interaction of two overarching themes or participant vantage points called "Location" and "Ideology" that were used to view the "Principles and Practices" in the community around multiculturalism. "Location and Ideology" are the ways that individuals perceive themselves in relation to the principles, practices, and power in their academic community, as well as how they construct the purposes of education in society. This provided a theoretical framework for an interpretation of the comments where they could be framed as discussion points for conversation and change rather than merely as discreet analytical themes. This led to thematic concepts such as "employment," "knowledge about the issues," and "proximity to power" as some key ways in which individuals provided their own reading of the principles and survey questions within the Location and Ideology framework.

An outcome of the qualitative analysis, in addition to identifying these concepts and themes, was to put forward these discussion points for future conversation, specifically noting that conversations about the "right" way to promote the principles should become more situated within a context and viewed in relation to the perspectives of other individuals in the community as meanings about multiculturalism are negotiated.

The MAP IT Process

In order to bring about meaningful transformation we realized it was crucial to present the quantitative and qualitative findings to the community so that conversations of respect could continue within the developmental education unit. Dr. James Banks met with the members of MCC in May 2002 to discuss the preliminary results of the pilot study. He encouraged us to disseminate the pilot results and make the survey instrument widely available. At the forum with Dr. Banks, all members of MCC were invited and provided valuable feedback on the instrument. During Fall 2002 we presented our findings at an open meeting to all members of the developmental education unit.

In order to engage in a conversation with other developmental educators, we also presented our results at the annual College Reading and Learning Association

(CRLA) conference in Minneapolis (Bruch, Miksch, Lundell, Jehangir, & Higbee, 2002) and the annual conference of the National Association for Developmental Education (NADE; Higbee & Lundell, 2003).

The MAP IT pilot project also resulted in a number of areas for future discussion within the developmental education unit where it was tested. The results underscored the need for an ongoing conversation about the meaning of multiculturalism and what kind of access we are hoping to provide. We do not expect to reach one definition of multicultural education and access. Rather, through constructive controversy (Johnson, Johnson, & Smith, 2000), we hope to work together to transform the institution. What role students should play in decision making within the developmental unit is another area in which we hope to facilitate an ongoing dialogue. Student voices and perspectives must be included in the multicultural transformation process. One formal way we plan to include students is by administering and discussing a student survey incorporating the 10 Guiding Principles for Institutional Transformation (Higbee & Dotson, 2003; Miksch, Higbee, Jehangir, Lundell, Bruch, Siaka, & Dotson, 2003).

As the discussion above illustrates, our use of the MAP IT Guiding Principles and survey instruments within the developmental education unit where we work is ongoing. Too often, diversity surveys are conducted, reports are written, yet nothing is done with the results. For meaningful transformation to take place, it is crucial that as developmental educators we continue an ongoing dialogue about the centrality of multiculturalism in higher education.

Conclusion

How will we make multicultural education central to developmental education? What will the transformed institution look like? It is more than just making sure all voices have access and are heard, although this is critical. Institutions should be concerned with "neutralizing the impact of unshared power in teaching and research" (Hill, 1999, p. 229). MAP IT attempts not only to neutralize the impact of unshared power, but also to help teachers and learners transform their institutions. With that in mind, MAP IT highlights three stages of multiculturalism (Bruch, Miksch, Lundell,



Jehangir, & Higbee, 2002; Bruch, Jehangir, Jacobs, & Ghere, 2003). The first phase is celebratory multiculturalism, where the focus is on tolerance and celebration of diversity. Critical multiculturalism is the next stage and reveals group domination and privilege. The final step is transformative multiculturalism. MAP IT will provide developmental educators with one tool to help accomplish that transformation.

The goal is to redefine higher education and work toward meaningful access. We do not advocate a top-down approach, imposed by the administration. Although it may accomplish important gains, there is often a backlash. Rather, we advocate a multicultural approach to institutional transformation, a process that will be inclusive, process oriented, and continuous.

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Walking the Talk: Using Learning-Centered Strategies to Close Performance Gaps

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The learning paradigm provides a useful framework for insuring the academic success of underserved and underprepared diverse populations by emphasizing a constructivist philosophy and learning outcomes assessment. This chapter presents research-based best practices in closing the achievement gaps between majority and minority students and traces the journey of one learning-centered institution to close the achievement gap between African American and White students. Five strategies are addressed: (a) using professional development to retrain faculty and staff; (b) providing responsive, culturally-mediated instruction, (c) using culturally-attuned methods for academic preparation, (d) customizing student support services, and (e) creating a welcoming institutional climate.

A quiet revolution has been going on in colleges across the country. Institutions of higher education are shifting their focus from the institution to the learner. According to Barr and Tagg (1995), “Subtly but profoundly we are shifting to a new paradigm: A college is an institution that exists to produce learning. This shift changes everything” (p. 13). The learning paradigm distinguishes itself from the instructional paradigm in a number of ways that are important to serving the needs of diverse learners (Barr & Tagg). The essential nature of knowledge and the learning process are challenged in the learning paradigm. Whereas, in the instructional paradigm, knowledge is viewed as an absolute entity outside of the life of the learner, in the learning paradigm, knowledge is shaped by, constructed from, and connected to each learner’s background. In the learning paradigm, learning is a process in which knowledge is “nested” and connected rather than accumulated and stored. In the learning paradigm, learning environments are cooperative and collaborative, rather than individualistic and competitive. Finally, and most important, in the learning paradigm, talent and ability are abundant in all individuals. To quote Smilkstein (2002), “We’re born to learn!”

The Learning College and At-Risk Students of Color

The tenets of the learning paradigm have an important relationship to the future of developmental students in the United States, who are becoming more culturally and ethnically diverse every day. In the beginning of the 1990s, about a third of developmental students were minorities (specifically African American and Hispanics), with the largest group as African Americans (Boylan, Bonham, Claxton, & Bliss, 1992). According to a recent study of developmental education by McCabe (2000), 20% of African American students enrolled in community colleges have *seriously* deficient skills; that is, they are placed in developmental reading, writing, *and* math, and assigned to a lower-level remedial course in at least one area. Only 5% of White students, however, come to community colleges with seriously deficient skills.

According to the U. S. Bureau of the Census (2001), in the next 50 years, minority populations including African Americans, Hispanics, American Indians, and Asians will increase as the White population decreases. African American and Hispanic students are more likely

to be underserved by secondary and postsecondary institutions than are White students (McCabe, 2000). The Education Trust (2001), a nonprofit agency concerned with improving the education of populations who have been historically disenfranchised in the American school system, reports that by 12th grade, African American and Hispanic students in the American public school system are about four years behind other people on the National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP). Gaps in performance between African American students and White students continue into postsecondary institutions (Harvey, 2002). The Education Trust's research shows that African-Americans obtain college degrees at only half the rate of White students. The reasons for these gaps are many. Low expectations, lack of standards, lack of accountability, poor teaching, communication problems, and failure to address the specific learning styles of culturally and ethnically diverse students all appear to be major factors in perpetuating the performance gap between these students and White students (Education Trust, 2001; McPhail & McPhail, 1999).

To insure success for these students, institutions must do more than talk about multiculturalism. The learning paradigm asserts not only that all students can learn, but also that it is the institution's responsibility to help all learners connect with knowledge to construct meaning. In order to do this, the institution must better understand the cognitive learning preferences of all learners, which may differ according to culture (Hollins, 1996; Hoover, 1982; Irvine & York, 2001; McPhail & McPhail, 1999; Shade, Kelly, & Oberg, 1997). These differences may involve communication style, social interaction style, response style, or linguistic style (Shade, Kelly, & Oberg) and may be represented by difference in views about individualism, concepts of time, ideas about social hierarchies, and orientation to change (Education Research Service, 2003). For example, many African American learners prefer to (a) process knowledge within its context rather than in isolated parts; (b) use inferential reasoning rather than deductive or inductive reasoning; (c) perceive approximate quantities rather than exact quantities; (d) learn about people rather than things; (e) use active learning activities that incorporate freedom of movement; (f) learn in collaborative, social situations, and (g) learn visually and kinesthetically (Education Research Service; McPhail & McPhail; Shade, Kelly, &

Oberg). Learning preferences such as these can be used to create learning environments that produce success for all learners.

Applying the Principles

LearningFirst

How do institutions apply the principles of the learning-centered paradigm to performance gaps? The Community College of Baltimore County (CCBC), named as one of 12 Vanguard Learning Colleges by the League for Innovation in the Community College, has named its strategic plan LearningFirst. This plan is characterized by an articulated belief system that the institution: (a) makes learning its central focus, (b) makes students active partners in the learning process, (c) creates holistic environments that support student learning, (d) ensures that every member of the college community is a learner, (e) focuses on learning outcomes to assess student learning and success, and (f) assumes final responsibility for producing student learning.

In everyday practice, these beliefs mean that CCBC applies two questions to every institutional decision: "Does it improve learning?" and "How do we know?" (O'Banion, 1997). Answers to these questions are determined at all levels through institutional research, learning outcomes assessment, and classroom assessment.

Defining the Gaps at CCBC

In exploring the learning outcomes of developmental students in 2001, CCBC uncovered unacceptable gaps in performance between African American and White students for course pass rates, retention rates, graduation rates, and transfer rates. In general, at the course level, the differences in pass rates between White Students and African American students were largest for students taking developmental courses, ranging from approximately 10% to 20%, depending on the developmental discipline and level. This is significant because a disproportionate number of African American students enroll in developmental courses. Although only 25% of the students at CCBC are African American, 40% of the students enrolled in developmental courses are African American.

At the 100 course level, a 12% gap existed between the pass rates of African American and White students; at the 200 course level, a 7% gap existed. Gaps of 3% (part-time) and 4% (full-time) occurred between African American and White students' fall semester to spring semester retention rates; gaps of 4% (part-time) and 8% (full-time) occurred with fall to fall retention rates. Four-year graduation rates showed a gap of 10%, and four-year transfer rates revealed a gap of 14%.

Taking Action

The LearningFirst philosophy of CCBC asserts that until *all* learners are successful, the institution has not yet made good on the promise of access and opportunity. To make this promise a reality, the institution began to address performance gaps in two intersecting populations of “at promise” students, its African American students and its developmental students. It also assumed an important institutional stance early on, consistent with the learning paradigm: rather than seek to “fix” its students, the institution would work by itself and in tandem with the elementary-secondary (K-12) system to “fix” itself so that it could better serve the needs of its learners. After conducting a review of best practices, the institution constructed a vision statement and a mission statement for its Closing the Gap Initiative.

Vision statement. CCBC produces improved and expanded learning outcomes that reflect no difference in achievement between African American and White learners. (CCBC Catalogue, 2002-2004)

Mission Statement. CCBC offers, through all segments of its institution, an organizational culture, a responsive methodology of instruction, and an array of student services that address the needs of all learners, with particular attention to those students who have been historically disenfranchised in the American education system. CCBC actively promotes a responsive and diverse organizational culture by attracting, retaining, and supporting a faculty, staff, and student community that reflect the diversity of the region it serves. CCBC further responds in its various learning environments by providing students with learning experiences that embrace the cultural backgrounds of all

students. CCBC maintains high expectations of all learners and assists them with an array of academic and personal support services such as developmental education, tutoring, mentoring, and advising to ensure success. CCBC also works actively with K-12 schools to promote academic readiness of high school students. Finally, in keeping with its role as a learning college, CCBC is outcomes driven in all efforts to close the achievement gap among groups of diverse learners and to promote continuous institutional improvement. (CCBC Catalogue, 2002-2004)

Furthermore, CCBC established strategies that would focus on five areas: professional development, instruction, academic preparation, student services, and institutional culture. All of these interrelated areas have direct bearing on the success of diverse developmental students.

Learning-Centered Strategies for Closing the Gaps

Professional Development

Effective professional development is the first tool that institutions can use to build a coalition for change (Boylan, Bonham, & Bliss, 1993; Boylan, Saxon, White, & Erwin, 1994). At the minimum, all learners, regardless of level, need faculty and staff who have adequate experience, subject-matter expertise, and classroom effectiveness (Haycock, 2003). In addition, however, institutions need to provide opportunities for faculty and staff to grow in their understanding of the effects of race and culture on teaching and learning. This staff development includes workshops on racial identity (Tatum, 1997), faculty mentoring and training in pedagogical techniques to address the varied learning styles of a diverse student body, and instruction in revamping the curriculum so that it is relevant to a multicultural society (Banks, Cookson, Gay, Hawley, Irvine, Nieto, Schofield, & Stephen, 2001). In particular, faculty can be trained in the techniques of culturally-mediated instruction (Hollins, 1996) and in what Banks and Banks (1995) have named “equity pedagogy,” “teaching strategies and classroom environments that help students from diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural groups attain the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed

to function effectively within, and help create and perpetuate, a just, humane, and democratic society” (p. 152). More is said about culturally-mediated instruction later in this chapter.

Applying professional development strategies. In accordance with its belief that every member of the college community is a learner, in the summer of 2002 CCBC held a Symposium on Closing the Gap. The purpose of this event, which was voluntarily attended by 350 faculty and staff, was (a) to create a sense of urgency in participants by presenting institutional data on performance gaps, and (b) to begin to create a guiding coalition for institutional transformation. These two techniques are necessary for getting institutional change started (Kotter, 1996). Powerful and effective speakers challenged the myth that socio-economic reasons were accountable for the gap (Education Trust, 2001). Faculty were praised for their ability to produce change in the classroom, were exposed to new pedagogies such as culturally-mediated instruction (Hollins, 1996), and were challenged to adapt their instruction to better meet the needs of all learners. At the end of the symposium, faculty and staff who attended were invited to submit “powerful ideas” they obtained from the day. Below is a sampling of the numerous responses.

From a reading professor: “From the talk, I would like to use more visual graphic organizers to teach strategies for handling the different reading tasks involved in discipline specific textbooks.” From a literacy instructor:

I was extremely impressed with the presentation on voluntary and involuntary minorities and the phenomenon of “cultural inversion.” For me, it provided the missing factor in the whole discussion of the “learning gap.” I see now how crucial this concept is to any remedy for solving this intractable problem.

From a biology professor:

One powerful idea I derived from the day is that students are looking for instructors that are willing to “connect,” meaning, without being too pushy or too personal, instructors should help their students to succeed or help to find the reason(s) for lack of success.

Since the original symposium, the institution has continued to hold conferences, workshops, and departmental discussions about addressing the needs of diverse learners. New faculty members participate in a year-long learning community in which they discuss instructional approaches that are effective for all learners.

Instruction

Because increased learning is the ultimate goal of the learning college, and because the student-teacher relationship is fundamental to learning, what happens in the classroom is at the heart of closing the gap. Learning facilitators need a caring attitude and an ability to communicate with all learners (Gonsalves, 2002), regardless of diverse sociolinguistic communication patterns (Delpit & Dowdy, 2002). The ability to further connect with learners can be enhanced by an understanding of brain-based learning (Smilkstein, 2002), a theory which suggests that to construct new learning, new ideas must be linked to prior learning and exercised through practice. To build curricula around this learning model necessitates an understanding of the many varying worldviews and prior cultural background knowledge brought to the classroom by diverse learners. The curriculum should be transformed to reflect the histories and perspectives of all people (Banks et al., 2001), and should be adapted to make learning relevant to the lives of all learners through contextualization and application to everyday life (Hoover, 1982; McPhail & Morris, 1986; Moses, 2002; Schoenfeld, 2002). Classroom assessment practices that help the instructor gauge student response lead to instructional modification (Cross & Steadman, 1996). The result, culturally-mediated instruction, can be used to address the learning styles and backgrounds of all learners (Hollins, 1996; Hoover, McPhail, & Ginyard, 1992; McPhail & McPhail, 1999) This fine tuning of instruction to make it responsive and relevant to lives of learners is most effective in a small class environment (Roach, 2001). High expectations, expressed explicitly to all students, coupled with institutional accountability, guarantee that instruction is on track (Education Trust, 2001; Hrabowski, 2002).

Applying instructional strategies. CCBC faculty have been involved in study groups to learn how to facilitate learning in a culturally-mediated manner. The following

list summarizes specific research-based techniques instructors have been using to relate better to diverse learners:

1. Make a personal connection with each student.
2. Communicate high expectations to each student, and assure students that you believe they can meet these expectations.
3. Listen “through the dialect” to better hear what the student is really saying.
4. Explain to students that dialects, regionalisms, and speech patterns reflect cultures and are not inherently right or wrong. Explain directly to students that although no language pattern is better, Standard American English may be necessary to succeed in this country.
5. Do more visual presentation in class; present a more visual overview of the content by using more graphic organizers.
6. Use works that represent many cultures and belief systems.
7. Use a number of pedagogies—some direct instruction, some individual work, some group work, and lots of active learning opportunities to address the cultural learning needs of all students.
8. Be more intentional in the make-up of small groups, putting together students of different cultural backgrounds.
9. Create zones for safe discussion of racial issues in each class.
10. Monitor daily what is working with students through classroom assessment and adjust activities to benefit students who appear not to be “getting it” from the “planned” activities.

Academic Preparation

Reaching back to feeder high schools to provide assessment and early intervention helps boost students’ skills before they enroll in college (McCabe, 2000). Research has also provided postsecondary institutions with many best practices that can be used in the developmental classroom to hone the basic skills of

underprepared students from historically underrepresented populations. In general, the use of mastery learning provided within a highly structured learning environment is recommended because of its effectiveness with all developmental learners (Boylan & Saxon, 1999). Students who are academically underprepared should be provided with many instructional delivery choices that address their particular cultural learning styles. An active, contextualized, small group methodology that characterizes culturally-mediated instruction is particularly beneficial for African American learners (Hollins, 1996; Hoover, McPhail, & Ginyard, 1992). Developmental learning communities provide opportunities for students to contextualize learning with topics related to diversity (Boylan & Saxon, 1999; Hollins, 1996; Hoover, McPhail, & Ginyard, 1992; Moses, 2002; Stahl, Simpson, & Hayes, 1992; Tinto, 1997).

Language skills. The principles of culturally-mediated instruction can be easily applied to meet the specific needs of underprepared students. One valuable method that addresses the cultural learning style of African American students is the Nairobi Method (Hoover, McPhail, & Ginyard, 1992). This method of literacy instruction originated in 1969 at a community-oriented independent African American college in California called the School of Wisdom and Knowledge, and has been used in a variety of settings including developmental programs. The approach uses the background of learners to provide a platform from which students can grow and learn. As opposed to many developmental programs that are individualized, this program recognizes the preference of many African American learners for group learning by promoting active, collaborative, and participatory instruction. For example, vocabulary building activities include practicing word patterns with partners, using corrected dictation with partners, and group paraphrasing. A semi-foreign language approach is used in reading instruction because many diverse learners bring with them a dialect or another language in addition to Standard American English. Knowledge of English orthography and structural analysis is used to build vocabulary, while daily controlled composition on generative themes is used to improve writing.

Math skills. The work of Robert Moses (2002) provides an example of how to culturally mediate

instruction in basic math. Linking issues of math and science literacy to the ongoing struggle for citizenship and equality for African Americans, Moses initiated the Algebra Project in McComb County, Mississippi in 1982. The project taught algebra, a crucial stepping-stone to college level math, to middle school students. Moses' instructional model begins with a physical trip, even if it is just walking students around the block. Next, students are asked to create a pictorial representation or construct a model, which includes important features of the event. This starts the process of abstraction. Then, students are asked to use intuitive language about the event, by speaking and writing in their own language. Later, students are trained to use structured language or a common language about the features of the trip. In doing so, four mathematical concepts of the trips are introduced: start, finish, direction, and distance. Finally, the students invent symbols to represent these ideas. These symbols are then manipulated to solve meaningful mathematical problems. Moses' approach takes advantage of meaningful situations, students' own language patterns, and visual representation to help learners connect with mathematics.

Applying strategies that improve academic preparation. In accordance with the LearningFirst principle of making students active learners in the learning process, at CCBC developmental students can participate in special sections that use culturally-mediated instruction. Some of these sections use the framework of a learning community to provide a contextual basis for instruction by combining a developmental reading or writing course and a general education course, such as African American History, Introduction to American Pluralism, Health 101, and Psychology 101. Under normal circumstances, developmental reading and writing are prerequisites for most general education courses, but in the developmental learning communities, developmental students are permitted to enroll in a general education course because they receive extra support. In these communities, the reading or writing instructor uses materials from the textbook of the general education course to teach developmental skills to the students. Students are easily engaged in the learning of the developmental skills because they are using these skills to actively construct meaning in the general education course.

In the learning communities, because students attend several courses together, they are able to bond

with each other and use their relationships to benefit their learning. Collaborative activities abound in the communities, providing opportunities for students to connect with each other and to learn cross-culturally from one another. "Border crossings," or opportunities for students to explore another culture, and "safe-zones" for discussions of sensitive racial content provide opportunities for students to establish social trust (Steele, 1999; Tatum, 2000).

One element that makes the program unique is the addition of a Master Learner to each learning community. Master Learners are faculty or counselors who are not experts in the discipline that is being taught in the general education course. After being trained, these individuals spend the semester with the students in the general education course and act as models by attending class regularly, taking notes, completing assignments and tests, and writing papers. In addition, once a week the Master Learners run a required seminar for the students; these seminars provide guidance in the skills and behaviors needed to be successful in the course.

Learning outcomes assessments have determined the communities to be a powerful contributor to student retention. The fall to spring retention rate of students in the learning communities is 77%, as compared to the college's average of 66%. The fall to fall rate is 60%, as compared to the college's average of 42%. Grades of students in the learning communities are also routinely higher than grades of other CCBC students in the same courses. These statistics may represent the motivation level of the students who enroll in learning communities. Most important, however, is that the 12% pass rate gap between White students and African American students in all 101 level courses has been reduced to 5% in the learning communities. Assuming that African American and White motivation for enrolling in the learning communities is the same, this reduction in the pass rate gap represents true progress.

Several factors contribute to the general effectiveness of the developmental learning communities. First, the developmental students are working with authentic texts and are motivated to succeed in the developmental course because it will help them with the general education course. Second, the Master Learner is able to provide the instructors with feedback on whether instruction is adequately connecting with the learners. Third, the Master Learner

gets to observe another instructor and to learn from that individual's teaching techniques. Fourth, Master Learners discover materials that they can incorporate into courses in their disciplines. For example, a career/technology instructor was able to incorporate more diversity content in his courses after he was a Master Learner in a pluralism course.

Student Support

A host of specific student support services documented as best practices are used in serving at-risk students of color. To determine which services students most need, affective variables such as motivation, attitude, metacognition, and study skills should be assessed along with basic skills (Archer, 2002). Students need opportunities to build academic skills through tutoring, which is enhanced through cross-cultural tutor training (MacDonald, 1994). In addition, Freshmen Year Experience Programs (Fidler & Godwin, 1994), Summer Bridge Programs (Kulik, Kulik, & Schwalb, 1983), and Orientation Programs (Hackett, 2002) provide students with a community, an orientation to higher education, and a structured learning environment critical for learners who may be the first generation in their families to attend college. Peer counseling (Brown, 1991) and mentoring (Carriuolo, 2001) help students connect with each other and with the institution. Inclusion of family members in campus programs supports students by providing parents with base knowledge about higher education (Fries-Britt, 2002) and by helping the institution learn more about students' backgrounds. Finally, supplemental financial aid programs provide financial access to college for many students who otherwise would not have been able to attend college.

Applying student support strategies. In accordance with the LearningFirst belief that institutions must create holistic environments that support student learning, CCBC has supported its instructional efforts with a host of student supports geared directly to meeting the needs of diverse learners. All developmental reading students are required to enroll in a student success orientation course, Achieving Academic Success (SDEV 101), where an inventory of affective skills in attitude, motivation, learning styles, and study skills is taken and where strategies to meet affective needs are taught. Students in this course develop individualized learning plans, which are web-stored, to guide their

progress through the following semesters. Student Success Centers on all campuses provide tutoring and computer-aided instruction by paraprofessional and peer tutors, who are trained in cross-cultural communication. A summer bridge program called the Pre-College Institute enables students to complete developmental courses in a few intensive weeks while introducing them to the campus. Finally, a peer mentoring program matches students who have high grade point averages and recommendations from faculty with African American developmental students. These pairs meet regularly to help the mentees navigate through the new world of higher education.

Institutional Culture

These instructional and student support efforts to close performance gaps produce a culture that celebrates diversity and expects high levels of learning of all students. Affirming identity, building community, and cultivating leadership are mechanisms an institution can use in all of its interactions with learners to transform its culture to one that celebrates high levels of success for all learners (Tatum, 2000). Hiring faculty and staff who culturally represent the institution's learners promotes affiliations between students and faculty, an important retention strategy. Identity affirmation is enhanced through the establishment of cultural centers, clubs, programs, and activities that make obvious the institution's commitment to students of all races and cultures. Special programs that foster and celebrate the high achievements of students of color encourage enrollment of academically accelerated students of color who can provide examples and mentorships for underprepared students (Fries-Britt, 2002; Hrabowski, 2002). Through the creation of "safe zones," faculty, staff, and students are encouraged to "border cross" into other cultural experiences (Tatum, 2000) and to discuss sensitive cultural issues, in order to develop social trust (Banks et al, 2001; Steele, 1999). Institutional climate audits can help an institution know how successful it has been in transforming culture.

Applying strategies to improve institutional culture. In the final analysis, an institutional culture that supports high levels of learning for all students is the ultimate trait of the learning college. At CCBC, all steps to become more learning-centered have included strategies that address institutional culture. CCBC has created an atmosphere for faculty in which pedagogy

is discussed at college, department, and division meetings. A safe-zone for professionals to discuss the role of culture in learning has been established through a college-wide electronic discussion board and campus-based discussion groups. Closing the gap is a consideration in all college plans and garners the attention of everyone through its own strategic plan. Safe zone discussions for students occur in courses across the curriculum, in learning communities, in mentoring sessions, and at campus Multicultural Centers. Special events that feature prominent African American intellectuals and artists speaking on topics such as the hip-hop culture or African geography occur weekly. Student trips to historically Black colleges and universities provide a message to students that CCBC expects them to graduate and transfer on to receive a four-year degree.

Conclusion

Although CCBC has always been welcoming to students of all cultures, it has only recently begun its intentional 10 year journey to close the performance gap between African American learners and White learners. As a Vanguard Learning College, CCBC has discovered that the principles and strategies of the learning revolution provide a perfect framework for colleges to “walk the talk.” The principles behind the specific strategies that CCBC is using to close the gap between African American learners and White learners can be used for any performance gap, because they focus on the learner rather than the institution. These include (a) professional development to help learning facilitators better understand the learning needs of diverse students; (b) rethinking instructional delivery systems to include positive representations of the cultural heritage of underserved populations in the curriculum, and informing students about the brain’s natural learning process; (c) reaching back to address the academic preparation of students by using culturally appropriate pedagogies; (d) providing students with customized supports that meet the specific needs of diverse learners; and (e) creating an institutional culture that places the highest value on the success of all learners. Through continued assessment of learning outcomes, the compass that helps steer the direction of a learning-centered institution, CCBC will be able to monitor its own progress and make adjustments along the way. Finally, we hope that the determination to “walk the talk” will generate the type of discussion and action

planning that will lead to improved practice and documented learning outcomes for all learners.

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Creating Access Through Universal Instructional Design

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This purpose of this qualitative study was to apply the Theory of Planned Behavior to understanding faculty attitudes toward the use of Universal Instructional Design in the college classroom. This study explores the beliefs, attitudes, and behavior of faculty toward Universal Instructional Design while providing examples of ways to enhance the learning environment for students with disabilities. The Theory of Planned Behavior was used to provide a theoretical framework for the individual faculty interviews and for the analysis of data. Utilization of the theory provided information about common objections to universally designed curricula and appropriate methods of intervention to influence faculty behavior.

The passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act has contributed to the rapid growth of educational opportunity for students with disabilities at institutions of higher education. A recent survey found that 9% of freshmen self-reported having a disability (Henderson, 1999). Now that one in eleven full time freshmen report having a disability, campuses are developing policies and practices to provide equal educational opportunity for students with disabilities (Jarrow, 1997).

Faculty members are responsible for providing equal access to students with disabilities in their classes. However, faculty may not be aware of students with documented disabilities in their classrooms unless students relate information about their disability and accommodation needs. Some disabilities are difficult to hide, such as paralysis or visual impairments. Others such as psychological disorders, fibromyalgia, diabetes, cystic fibrosis, learning disabilities, and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder may not be so easily observable. Due to the emphasis on standardized testing in many institutions' admissions and placement policies, it is not unusual for students with hidden disabilities, and particularly those with previously undiagnosed learning disabilities, to begin their college experience in developmental education programs or courses (Hardin,

1998). The accommodation needs of students vary just as the type and severity of disabilities vary. Accommodations and modifications, whether architectural, technological, or academic, must meet the individual access needs of each student (Kincaid & Simon, 1994).

Possible classroom accommodations may include allowing a student to tape record lectures, to use a spell checker on written work, and to have access to copies of the lecture outline or a peer's notes. Professors are not obligated to provide adjustments that are excessive or that lower academic standards. The law assures students of reasonable accommodations but does not require faculty to fundamentally alter the nature of the class (Kincaid, 1994). According to Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, there are many different types of reasonable accommodations, depending on the nature and severity of the disability, including substitution of required courses, time extensions for tests and assignments, or the provision of a sign language interpreter or Braille text. Federal regulations assert that it is discriminatory to withhold necessary academic accommodations, but faculty members are not always willing to provide them (*Dinsmore v. Pugh and the Regents of the University of California at Berkeley*, 1989; Goodin, 1985; Malouff, 1996).



Universal Instructional Design is a method of instruction that would meet the needs of all students, including addressing many of the accommodation requirements of students with disabilities, as well as considering the diverse learning styles of developmental education students. The goal of this study is to gain a better understanding of the factors that influence faculty intention to provide Universal Instructional Design in the college classroom and thus improve instruction for all students.

Universal Instructional Design

Universal Instructional Design (UID) involves multi-modal teaching and multi-modal assessment methods to enhance learning for all students. For many students with disabilities, class participation and learning are often hindered by the method of presentation of the material (Waksler, 1996). UID utilizes instructional strategies that address various learning modalities in order to benefit the diverse student body (Higbee, Ginter, & Taylor, 1991). It also incorporates accessible technology into the classroom as a teaching tool. The goal of UID in course development is to be as inclusive as possible, thus meeting the learning needs of more of the student body and reducing the need for “special” academic accommodations for students with disabilities (Silver, Bourke, & Strehorn, 1998).

The UID approach incorporates the needs of all students in the planning and implementation of classroom instructional methods and different evaluative forms. It has been suggested that the use of this approach would considerably reduce the role of faculty and disability service providers in providing accommodations for students with disabilities (Silver, Bourke, & Strehorn, 1998). For the purpose of the study, faculty were provided with the following brief definition and examples of Universal Instructional Design: “Universal design approach encourages teaching environments that meet the needs of all students and may incorporate visual aids, different instructional methods, interactive teaching, computer-assisted instruction and alternative modes of evaluation.” It was explained that the overall goal is to create an environment for optimal learning for all students.

Theoretical Framework

Rather than using the traditional attitude measurement approach, this study uses an extension of the Theory of Reasoned Action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980), the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1985), as an alternative approach to understanding and predicting specific behaviors. The Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) is founded on the belief that people usually make rational decisions based on the information available to them (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). This information includes beliefs regarding the consequences of behavior. Although behavior is based on beliefs, it is not a direct link. According to the theory, beliefs influence the formation of attitudes, attitudes influence intention, and intention is the immediate determinant of behavior. There are two main components of the theory, attitude toward the behavior and subjective norm with respect to the behavior (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Behavioral beliefs are those that underlie a person’s attitude toward the behavior. The faculty member’s positive or negative evaluation of performing the behavior (i.e., providing Universal Instructional Design) is referred to as attitude toward the behavior. Normative beliefs underlie a person’s subjective norm, which is determined by his or her beliefs in regard to the presence or absence of social support for engaging in the behavior in question. A person’s beliefs in regard to whether important others think one should or should not perform a specific behavior is referred to as a person’s normative belief (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980).

An extension of the TRA was introduced, the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB), by Ajzen (1985). The TPB is identical to the TRA except that it takes into account the degree to which individuals are capable of exercising control over the behavior in question. For example, if the performance of the behavior is contingent upon time, money, skills, and the cooperation of other people, then the degree of control a person has over the behavior should be measured. It may be impossible to gain an accurate measure of actual control, but a person’s perceived behavioral control is measurable. Perceived behavioral control refers to the degree to which a person believes it is likely to be easy or difficult to perform a behavior. (Ajzen & Madden, 1986). According to the Theory of Planned Behavior, a person’s perceived behavioral control, attitude toward the behavior, and subjective norm are the three basic



determinants of a person's behavioral intention. This study explores the beliefs, attitudes and behavior of faculty toward Universal Instructional Design in the classroom.

Method

Participants

A total of 15 faculty were randomly selected from a pool of faculty that had students with disabilities enrolled in their class in spring semester of 2000. Twelve faculty members agreed to participate in the study, yielding a response rate of 80%. Respondents consisted of four females and eight males. Two thirds of the faculty were tenure-track and tenured from varying faculty ranks. Note that one third held temporary positions. The sample resulted in a representation of 11 different disciplines: Math, Political Science (2), Health and Human Performance, Sociology, History, Geography, Economics, English, Psychology, Classics, and Biological Sciences. A cover letter explaining the study, a questionnaire, and a consent form were sent to the 12 faculty members. All participants were informed that their responses would be confidential, but not anonymous.

Procedures and Instrument Development

The first step of the study was the development of an open-ended interview schedule to identify salient beliefs about the behavior. The interviewer met individually with the participants and asked them to relate their beliefs in regard to providing Universal Instructional Design to students. The questionnaire was constructed as outlined by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980). The questions focused on three specific areas: salient behavioral beliefs, referents, and control beliefs.

Elicitation of salient behavioral beliefs. According to the theory, attitude toward the behavior is based on beliefs about the consequences of the behavior. Of specific interest was information about the perceived advantages and disadvantages associated with performing the behavior. In order to collect salient beliefs, faculty members were asked, "What do you see as the advantages and disadvantages of providing Universal Instructional Design to students in your class?"

Elicitation of salient referents. According to the theory, information should be gathered about the perceived social support of important others for engaging in the behavior. In order to determine the particular referents for this population, faculty members were asked, "Are there any groups or people who would approve or disapprove of you, providing Universal Instructional Design to students in your class?"

Elicitation of control beliefs. Perceived behavioral control is determined by the extent to which faculty think they have control over the behavior. In order to gather information about control beliefs, faculty were asked, "What things outside of your control might prevent you from providing or make it easier to provide Universal Instructional Design to students in your class?"

Data Analysis

An expert panel was utilized to ensure that the responses to the interview questions were interpreted and coded correctly. This expert panel consisted of faculty, higher education administrators, and professionals who work with students who have disabilities. They compared the original data obtained from the interviews with the coded answers. To ensure that information collected was not distorted or exaggerated, researchers used the reliability suggestions proposed by Whyte (1982).

Results

Behavioral Beliefs

As suggested by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980), the responses were content analyzed, and responses that referred to similar outcomes were grouped together, as provided in Figure 1. The respondents indicated 10 different advantages and disadvantages associated with providing Universal Instructional Design to students in their class. Five of the beliefs were specified as advantages, and the other five were identified as disadvantages.

The most frequently mentioned advantage was that providing UID would accommodate diverse learning styles. One faculty member stated, "If Universal



Instructional Design helps disabled students and other students who learn differently, then I will try to incorporate this technique.” Another stated, “All students should have access to this [UID], not just the disabled.”

The most frequently cited disadvantage was that providing UID would not be fair to all students. One faculty member stated, “Some of these UID ideas are excellent tools, but how do you evaluate equitably when you have different modes of evaluation?” Another participant expressed concerns about challenging the students. He stated, “It would be a disservice to students because it would not prepare them for graduate school or a profession. . . it will make it too easy for students.”

Additional advantages that were elicited with a lower frequency included that providing Universal Instructional Design would allow students to benefit from instruction, employ technology as a learning tool, and use various teaching styles. Disadvantages that were reported less often indicated that some faculty believed that providing Universal Instructional Design would - lower academic standards, be inappropriate for certain course content, and compromise the learning experience.

Referents

The group of people most frequently mentioned as showing approval for the behavior was students in class. One faculty member in the College of Arts and Sciences stated, “Students would probably welcome it.” He went on to say that students would want anything that “helps them learn and get higher grades.” The group of people cited most often as disapproving of the behavior was faculty colleagues. One participant relayed the conflict within her department about employing UID in her classroom. She stated:

What you described [UID] is part of my teaching philosophy. I am criticized for my instructional style. The grades in my classes are much higher than the norm. I get in trouble if grades are too high—making it too easy. The faculty here think students are dictating how things should be, and it is not so!

This young assistant professor went on to assert that she “looks at the student as a whole person.” Another participant concurred with this by stating, “this department is top heavy. . . older and set in their ways.

Figure 1. Advantages of Providing Universal Instructional Design to Students in Class.

<u>Behavioral Beliefs: Advantages</u>	<u>n</u>
Accommodates diverse learning styles	10
Benefits the student	6
Employs technology as a learning tool	5
Uses various teaching styles	4
Personally rewarding to instructor	2
<hr/>	
<u>Behavioral Beliefs: Disadvantages</u>	<u>n</u>
Unfair to students	7
Lowers academic standards	4
Course content not conducive	4
Compromises the learning experience	4
Requires extra time and effort of faculty	3



There is a huge research interest that most faculty go along with. They are not as interested in teaching or technology.”

Other referents who would approve or disapprove included the department head, academic dean, and upper administration. The faculty respondents had very different perceptions of their colleagues, student, and administration. Figure 2 identifies significant others who would approve or disapprove of the behavior.

Control Beliefs

Control beliefs were content analyzed, and similar control beliefs were grouped together, as provided in Figure 3. The inhibiting factors that were most frequently cited were lack of resources and absence of instructional support. Regarding lack of resources, a faculty member stated, “I might be able to try this [UID] if I had teaching assistants to help.” Another participant stated, “Universal Instructional Design sounds ideal, but how would I implement it? I never really learned about the ways that students learn. . . I haven’t received that instruction.” A number of the instructors shared candid opinions about the lack of reward system for teaching. One tenured professor stated, “This talk about valuing teaching is a bunch of lip-service. The reality of this place is that teaching gets the back burner.”

When asked what factors would facilitate the use of Universal Instructional Design, a majority of the faculty stated that instructional support and assistance from Disability Services would assist them. Of the 12 participants, 11 highlighted the importance of

instructional support. A full professor asked for information on student learning styles. She stated, “When I reflect pedagogically, I try to find ways to open that door to learning. It would be helpful to have information from the literature about what helps people learn.” A majority of the participants would rely on the campus instructional support office for technology assistance and course design. A junior faculty member stated, “I would need the instructional support office to help me. I teach the way I was taught and would need some guidance from them.”

Incorporating technology in classroom teaching was also a common theme. One faculty member stated, “I’m not electronically sophisticated, and there is a lack of support for technology.” Another participant stated,

Additional technology resources would be helpful. . . I introduce technology that makes access easier to all students. It transfers information in a dynamic way. Although I try to use technology as a teaching tool, it is difficult because there is only one classroom with the available technology. Lots of people compete for that room. I am surprised at the poor teaching facilities available. Technology here is just an extra cost, not a necessary resource.

Subsequent facilitating factors that were mentioned less frequently included a smaller class size and a campus environment that values and rewards teaching. Additional inhibiting factors mentioned less frequently included departmental regulations, heavy teaching loads, and time constraints.

Figure 2. People Who Might Approve or Disapprove of Providing Universal Instructional Design.

<u>Referents</u>	<u>Approve (n)</u>	<u>Disapprove (n)</u>
Faculty colleagues	4	10
Students in class	9	4
Department head	4	2
Upper administration	6	2
Academic dean	2	0

Implications for Developmental Education

Understanding the Theory of Planned Behavior should assist developmental educators in influencing faculty use of UID and thus improve equal opportunity to learning for students with disabilities. Although faculty may desire to provide instruction using Universal Instructional Design methods, factors outside their control may prevent them from doing so. Educators need to identify the beliefs underlying the three components of the Theory of Planned Behavior that may impact the utilization of Universal Instructional Design. Once these are identified, steps can be taken to eliminate potential obstacles to improve teaching.

The Department or Program Chairperson

The majority of respondents indicated that the department chair was someone that may influence their intention to provide UID. It may be beneficial to initiate methods of intervention in collaboration with the department or program chair. As leaders, chairpersons

can serve a key role in motivating faculty to improve instruction. Faculty are open to discussions about the teaching process and may respond positively to presentations on alternatives to lecturing, strategies for leading good discussions, and teaching critical thinking skills (Lucas, 1990). Many faculty have not had formal training in how to teach, and the department chair is in a position to impact the quality of college teaching by faculty. Lucas states:

To enhance teaching effectiveness, department chairs need to (1) recognize that they have both position and personal power to accomplish change, (2) be familiar with some strategies for bringing about change, and (3) have a general sense of the range of issues related to teaching about which faculty should be knowledgeable. (p. 67)

Given that department heads were identified as the most salient referent, training in UID should begin with them. Another approach to educating groups of faculty might be invited presentations at departmental meetings.

Figure 3. Factors that Might Facilitate or Inhibit the Provision of Universal Instructional Design.

<u>Facilitating Control Beliefs</u>	<u>n</u>
Instructional support	11
Assistance from Disability Services	7
Class size	6
Technology	6
Reward system for teaching	4
<u>Inhibiting Control Beliefs</u>	<u>n</u>
Lack of resources	10
Absence of instructional support	9
Class size	8
Time constraints	7
Reward system for research	7
Departmental constraints	5
Heavy teaching load	3

Education About UID

Almost all of the participants (83%) specifically mentioned the desire to accommodate diverse learning styles, but some believed providing UID would be unfair to students in their classes. Participant responses consistently reflected a lack of understanding about the definition of UID. A majority of the faculty stated that using UID would be inequitable to students in their class. This belief in unfairness was based on the inaccurate assumption that UID was mainly intended to assist students with disabilities rather than to improve instruction for all students in the class. They also voiced concern about lowering academic standards. Several faculty members expressed that UID would fail to challenge students or prepare them for the “real world.” These comments indicate a need for further education about UID, different learning styles, and the diverse student body. Perhaps in the education process, effort should be made to demystify the term, “Universal Instructional Design.” Referring to the well respected and commonly accepted “Seven Principles for Good Practice in Undergraduate Education” (Chickering & Gamson, 1987) would be a clear way to explain some of the concepts of UID.

Another theme was the impression that all the UID concepts had to be used in order to be considered a legitimate user. UID concepts include creating an accessible Web site, lecturing with audiovisuals, providing specific descriptions of visual materials, facilitating group work, and allowing students to demonstrate mastery of the course in a variety of ways. Questions arose about how to realistically employ all the instructional methods at the same time. The thought of using UID to meet the anticipated needs of all learners was stressful. One faculty member stated, “Universal design sounds ideal, but from a practical point of view it would be mind boggling.” He explained that using visual materials and handouts to enhance learning for students who are deaf would make it more difficult for students with visual impairments. Designing a course that would successfully meet the individual needs and preferences of all students seemed insurmountable.

Incorporating the concepts of UID is not an “all or none” proposition. Instructors who chose to use multi-modal instruction, or develop an accessible web page, are taking steps toward improving instruction for

the diverse student body. Web support is an excellent example of a method to enhance learning for students with a variety of disabilities. For instance, an accessible web page can benefit students who may not be able to see, hear, move or process some types of information easily. In developmental education programs, it is critical to provide further information regarding Universal Instructional Design and its implementation for faculty and graduate teaching assistants, and also for learning center personnel, tutors, and any other staff involved in enhancing learning.

Faculty Development

Faculty indicated a clear need for educational and instructional support from the institution’s faculty development office. Improving instruction is one of the core components of instructional development offices (Lucas, 1989), and the development of cooperative relationships with these offices can advance the dissemination of information to faculty about the concepts of UID.

Faculty who think they do not have the resources or knowledge (i.e., perceived behavioral control) to provide UID may rely heavily on this supportive resource. They may understand how the students benefit from UID (i.e., attitude toward the behavior), have the support of the academic department or program head (i.e., subjective norm), and yet hesitate to restructure their course from the traditional method, solely due to lack of knowledge about teaching and learning. On the other hand, the more resources and fewer obstacles faculty members perceive, the greater their perceived control over the behavior.

Instructional development offices in conjunction with disability support offices may offer UID concepts at routine workshops for faculty and graduate assistants. This is an ideal means of communicating with a diverse group of faculty in a limited period of time, but may not be fruitful because it does not address the specific concerns of attendees. Prior to scheduling workshops, it would be helpful to survey faculty regarding their behavioral, normative, and control beliefs about UID. These will vary based on the individual campus climate. Another example of faculty support is currently offered through The University of Minnesota General College “Curriculum Transformation and Disability (CTAD)” grant, funded by the U. S. Department of Education (Fox,

Hatfield, & Collins, 2003; Fox & Higbee, 2002). This model provides faculty education and training about UID and emphasizes the importance of using faculty mentors to conduct outreach to faculty.

Some respondents suggested individualized instructional assistance for faculty. Although time consuming, meeting individually with faculty is an ideal way to address specific behavioral, normative, and control beliefs, and the number of students served may ultimately far outweigh the initial time investment. Conversing one-to-one with faculty can shed light on the reasons why there is hesitation to provide UID. For instance, a meeting with a faculty member can reveal that the assistant professor is going up for tenure review in the near future. This faculty member may have time constraints due to numerous committee obligations and feel pressure from the department head to assume more teaching responsibilities and to increase research productivity. It is understandable that the faculty member may want to delay the initiation of new instructional methods until these other issues are resolved. Faculty who express time pressure yet a desire to provide UID can be introduced to UID concepts that will actually save their time.

It may also prove helpful for instructional support offices and disability services offices to develop and disseminate written materials such as handbooks and periodic newsletters to assist faculty in developing useful UID strategies. Newsletter articles by faculty who are already implementing UID could provide specific ideas as well as conveying the notion that colleagues are supportive of UID efforts. *Curriculum Transformation and Disability: Implementing Universal Design in Higher Education* (Higbee, 2003), an outcome of the University of Minnesota's CTAD grant, includes a number of chapters written by developmental educators who have implemented UID in their classrooms.

Faculty Recognition

Some faculty believed that providing UID would demand an unreasonable amount of time for which they would not be rewarded. Institutional policies and procedures can address these concerns by recognizing and rewarding the behavior in the merit, tenure, and promotion processes. A number of participants commented on the research-based reward system. Support for this sentiment is substantiated with data

reflecting higher salaries for research and scholarship (Fairweather, 1993). Some institutions have adopted teaching awards, often with a permanent salary increase. However, compensation resulting from annual reviews tends to be more influenced by research performance than teaching (Edgerton, 1993).

Some institutions are trying to change this perception by proposing that the faculty award system be aligned appropriately with the institution's mission and developing institutional policies and practices that support and reward good teaching (Seldin, 1990). Specific recommendations for implementation include annual teaching evaluations of all faculty, improved procedures for formative and summative evaluations of teaching, an integration of research into teaching, and establishing at least an emphasis on the scholarship of teaching that is equal to that afforded research and service (Diamond, 1993). In anticipation of concrete modifications in the evaluation and reward procedures, faculty should be actively recording their excellent teaching, including the incorporation of new teaching techniques such as UID. Teaching portfolios can be used to document the enhancements to teaching and can provide reviewers with concrete data about teaching effectiveness (Murray, 1995).

Conclusion

The Theory of Reasoned Action and the Theory of Planned Behavior have been used successfully in a variety of settings and with a diversity of target groups, behaviors, and subjects. The qualitative method of research used in this study may enhance the understanding of faculty responses that a closed ended questionnaire cannot tap, while also providing the basis for the development of a standardized instrument for use with a larger research sample. Future research is needed to gather information about faculty members' intentions to provide UID.

The specific purpose of this study was to apply the Theory of Planned Behavior to better understand faculty attitudes and behaviors towards providing Universal Instructional Design to students in their classes. Faculty responses to interview questions reveal common objections to universally designed curricula and provide suggestions for methods of intervention to influence faculty behavior. For instance, if the reward system does not reflect the importance of universal course design,

faculty may be more prone to spend time in other activities that are valued and rewarded. Application of this social psychological theory in an educational setting will provide educators with information for advancing Universal Design principles within the instructional environment at their institutions. It is particularly important in developmental education programs, which are the first postsecondary point of contact for many college students, that faculty incorporate universally designed curricula to enhance the learning environment for all students.

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Multicultural Legacies for the 21st Century: A Conversation with James A. Banks

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This conversation, conducted in May 2002 with the renowned theorist of multicultural education, James A. Banks, discusses ways that multicultural education can inform the work of developmental educators. It addresses early developments, current theories, student roles, and practical classroom, programmatic, professional, and public policy transformations. This conversation complements “Multicultural Education and Developmental Education: A Conversation with James A. Banks” (Bruch, Higbee, & Lundell, unpublished manuscript).

James A. Banks is Russell F. Stark Professor and Director of the Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington, Seattle. He is a past President of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) and a past President of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS). Professor Banks is a specialist in social studies education and in multicultural education, and has written many articles and books in these fields. His books include *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies* (1975); *Teaching Strategies for the Social Studies* (1990); *Educating Citizens in a Multicultural Society* (1997); and *Cultural Diversity and Education: Foundations, Curriculum and Teaching* (2001). Professor Banks is the co-editor of the *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education* (Banks & Banks, 1995, 2001); and editor of the “Multicultural Education Series” of books published by Teachers College Press, Columbia University. He is a member of the Board of Children, Youth, and Families of the National Research Council and the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences. He is also a member of the National Academy of Education. The Center for Research on Developmental Education and Urban Literacy (CRDEUL) brought Professor Banks to the University of Minnesota as a visiting scholar in May, 2002, when this interview was conducted.

Patrick Bruch: You’ve had a long and illustrious career as a multicultural theorist, curriculum specialist, and program developer. What pleasing surprises have you found along the way, and what have been the most stubborn or challenging obstacles you’ve encountered to full realization of the United States’ democratic promises in education?

James Banks: Let me first say that it’s an honor to be here at the University of Minnesota General College and to have the next generation working on these ideas because I’m at the last decade or two of my career, so it’s nice to see a new generation coming on board. After 30 plus years in this field, one of the greatest surprises has been the sheer sustainability and momentum of multicultural education. I’ve been able to stay at this work for over three decades, as have scholars such as Geneva Gay, Carlos Cortés, Carl Grant, and H. Prentice Baptiste. There is a group of us who were at the beginning of this movement. It’s surprising that we’ve stayed the course because there was a time when people wondered how much support multicultural education would get from teachers, scholars, and the public. It was precarious in the beginning because we were bringing forth new perspectives and challenging the existing canon.



In part, we've been sustained by hope. We have to combine critique of the system with hope for a better one, because we really can't keep going in this work if we just focus on problems. The multicultural education movement has also been sustained by an incredible ground swell of support from practitioners. You have to keep in mind that multicultural education was a movement that started on the ground where the rubber hits the road; it started, if you will, on the streets. It literally started on the streets because it was the civil rights movement that created it. It was not the highly prestigious schools that endorsed multicultural work initially. Instead, as one example, the first people to invite me to California were not at Berkeley, Stanford, or the University of California-Los Angeles (UCLA), but at California State University, Los Angeles, and California State University, Northridge. These were the big trainers of teachers. When I published my first important book in multicultural education, *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies* (Banks, 1975), it was difficult to find a publisher who believed there was a market for it. It was Steve Matthews, a young White guy at Allyn and Bacon, who took it on. At first, it wasn't used at Berkeley or Stanford; it was the people at the Cal State campuses and at other state colleges that trained large numbers of teachers who used it most. Over the years, I've told these teacher educators how important they were to my work, because it was they who provided the ground swell that has given multicultural education its momentum. Another pleasant surprise is the incredible support multicultural education now gets from Stanford, Berkeley, UCLA, and other leading research universities. UCLA invited me to give a lecture there about five years ago, about 20 years after the people at Cal State had invited me. A pleasant surprise has been staying the course and that this field has continued to exist, grow, and to gain academic legitimacy.

In addition to practitioner support, multicultural education has benefited from the warm reception of publications in the field. Examples include the *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education* (Banks & Banks, 1995), which was published by Macmillan in 1995 and reissued in 2001 by Jossey-Bass. The new edition of the *Handbook* will be published by Jossey-Bass in 2004. The reception of *Diversity Within Unity* (Banks et al., 2001) has also been warm. It is now in its third printing. The pleasant surprises have been the sustainability of this field, the reception, particularly at teacher training colleges and universities,

and now the legitimization by the research institutions. I'm now training doctoral students in multicultural education who are finding jobs at excellent research universities, such as UCLA, the State University of New York at Buffalo, and The Ohio State University.

The obstacles have been the attacks from the right, and they continue. Arthur Schlesinger (1992), whom I've never viewed as a right-winger by any means, is one of the more thoughtful critics. Nevertheless, responding to criticisms such as those in his book, *The Disuniting of America*, has consumed a lot of our energies. Every day I have to get up and decide how much energy I will devote to responding to critics like Dinesh D'Souza (1991). D'Souza is a critic who hasn't done his homework, whereas Schlesinger is a thoughtful critic. But how much time do you spend responding to critics rather than doing essential work? *The Disuniting of America* was a very popular book because Schlesinger echoed the views of many Americans. There's a strong commitment to assimilationism, to maintaining the status quo, and to flag waving in the United States. Nationalistic sentiments have escalated since September 11, 2001. I feel a need to occasionally respond to critics like D'Souza and Schlesinger because I support thoughtful and reflective patriotism and think that good multicultural education teaches it. Events like September 11th can evoke a kind of conservatism and nonreflective patriotism that's deep in American culture. The impulse to resist change and defend the status quo is deep in American society. It's an impediment to any progressive movement, not just to multicultural education, but also to the feminist movement, to the gay rights movement, and to any quests for civil rights. It creates an ideological resistance to progress and social justice that is intractable.

But the good news is that the progressives are out there, too. This is demonstrated by the tremendous success of the books published in the Teachers College Press series I edit on multicultural education. There are now 15 books in the series, among them are best-sellers such as Gary Howard's (1999) *We Can't Teach What We Don't Know*, which has sold over 20,000 copies, and Sonia Nieto's (1999) *The Light in Their Eyes: Creating Multicultural Learning Communities*, which sold over 11,000 copies. There is good news and bad news: society has both progressive trends and more traditional and conservative trends. These two forces coexist, and we have to understand that they are there and that we have to live with them. Of course if we



believe in democracy, what we have to understand is that these two forces have a right to exist, and that we who are advocating diversity have to understand that other voices are also legitimate.

Dana Lundell: Our next question deals with the perspectives of individuals from historically dominant and subordinate groups. One important strand of multicultural education has been a reassessment of the roles played by nonprivileged persons in the United States. More specifically, multiculturalism has brought to light transformative knowledge created by scholars from groups that have experienced first hand the distance between the rhetoric and the realities of “democracy.” What do you think is important about attending to the central role played historically by persons outside of privilege? Given that, what do you think are salutary or dangerous aspects of recent developments in what is being called “Whiteness Studies”?

J.B.: Let me start with the importance of the roles played historically by people outside of privilege, because I think they have played a significant role in shaping the quest for human rights. My book, *Multicultural Education, Transformative Knowledge, and Action* (Banks, 1996), focuses on the roles of people on the margins in constructing knowledge. Why do I think that’s so important? One, I think people on the margins bring a unique cultural eye to the U.S. experience. By the way, I do also think that people who have not been disadvantaged, who are in the mainstream, also bring a special perspective. In 1972 Robert Merton wrote an influential essay called “Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge” about perspectives in the construction of knowledge during a heated debate about whose perspective is more legitimate and valid. This incisive article has been highly influential in my work. Merton argues that we need the perspectives of both insiders and outsiders because each brings a unique perspective on reality and helps us to construct the totality. The perspectives of those in the margins are very important in part because they haven’t been included in the mainstream curriculum of schools, colleges, and universities. Students learn mainstream perspectives in most educational institutions. We need to make extra efforts to acquaint them with the voices and experiences of marginalized individuals and groups.

There are other reasons that marginalized voices are important. Okihiro’s (1994) *Margins and Mainstreams* points out that people in the margins have been the groups who have called upon America to be faithful to its own ideals when those ideals were most seriously challenged and violated. When the United States violated its own ideals, such as democracy and human rights, most extensively, it was people on the margins who called upon America to be American. In other words, women and people of color have called upon America to live up to its own ideals. Let me give some examples. Slavery was a total violation of the U.S. Constitution. Who called upon America to live up to its ideals? It was Black and White abolitionists, both marginalized groups, who called upon America to live up to its own ideals. The internment of Japanese Americans was a blatant violation of American democratic values. It was Japanese Americans and their supporters who called upon America to live up to its own ideals.

The multicultural education movement is very American because it is calling upon America to live up to its own ideals. Multicultural education, like these other movements, is trying to make America *American*. That’s how I like to phrase it. When Schlesinger (1992) argues that multicultural education is dividing America, he is assuming that America is united. My response is that multicultural education is not about dividing a united nation. It’s about uniting a very divided nation. Movements like the abolitionist movement and other movements from the margins call upon America to live up to its democratic ideals. People of color led the civil rights movement. African Americans started it, and other groups joined in. They called upon America to be American. Consequently, we need to listen to the voices in the margins because they help us keep our moral compass. Otherwise we stray, and it’s people on the outside who can see that so clearly and who call upon us to actualize American values. Those are among the reasons that we need to listen to the voices on the outside.

The second part of your question is a whole different issue. When you asked about the “dangerous” aspects of the White Studies movement, you’re assuming that it looks dangerous to me in some ways, and I know the reason for the question. Some people may see it as dangerous because it may privilege Whiteness. I’ve heard that concern, and I’m sensitive



to it. But on the other hand, my response is that this work is very important. I think it's important because my students, who are primarily White, many from rural communities, come into my classes thinking they don't have race and that it's something others have. White Studies is important because it enables White students to realize that they have race, and that it isn't something that only other folks have.

Critical White Studies is important to help students better understand Whiteness. In a course that I'm teaching this quarter, we read some of the people doing important work in this field like Matthew F. Jacobson. I use his book *Whiteness of a Different Color* (1998) in this class. Jacobson gives a history of the concept of race as it relates to Whites. He helps my students understand that Whites weren't always one race. For example, Jacobson talks about how early in the U.S. Whites were considered one race, but then came the fracturing of Whiteness during the turn of the last century when many immigrants came from Southern and Eastern Europe. Whiteness became differentiated into different kinds of groups, such as the Alpine, the Mediterranean, and the Hebrew. This is quite amazing for my students to understand—that Whites weren't always one race. They're amazed to learn about events like the Leo Frank case. When a Jewish man was accused of killing a girl in a pencil factory, a lynch mob came and took him out of jail and hanged him. Leo Frank was considered a Jew and not a White man in 1915 Atlanta. Italians in the South sometimes had to go to Black schools, which I didn't know. The concept of race as a social construction that changes over time is very important for students to learn.

The other important work I use in my classes to help White teachers better understand their own racialization is Gary Howard's (1999) book *We Can't Teach What We Don't Know*. I understand the concern that Whiteness can be privileged. That could happen, but I think if White studies is done like Jacobson and Howard, it's very important, particularly for White students who make up most of the students in teacher education programs in the U.S., to understand themselves as racial beings. Both the voices of scholars on the margins and critical White Studies by White scholars are important. It's not either-or, but to borrow from Merton (1972), we need multiple perspectives to construct a complete view of our world and society.

Pedagogies and Policies

Jeanne Higbee: Building on these theoretical ideas, we would like to try and address concrete steps that can be taken to move toward a more multicultural approach to various activities, such as curricula, teacher training, advising, and student development. What might it look like for developmental educators (i.e., persons working in programs that often serve students from groups historically underrepresented in mainstream institutions and marked by their institutions as underprepared for the regular work of that institution) to implement the kind of multicultural perspective that we've been discussing?

J. B.: What can developmental educators do? I will take a conceptual approach to this response because I think the specifics depend so much on circumstances. Teachers must help students from disempowered communities to see possibility and hope. How can we do this? We can let them observe, for instance, successful Black lawyers. They can shadow Black lawyers for a day. Growing up in my community I never saw, except for a teacher, a Black professional. I think one of the major reasons students don't achieve is that they don't see possibilities. They don't see how those professionals could be them. It reminds me of an article that I republished in 1971 by Donald Smith (1971), who was a professor at Chicago Teacher's College, describing a speakers model project he implemented when he was an eighth grade teacher. He was teaching in a Black inner-city community and he had a series of speakers come and show the class who they might become. He had Gwendolyn Brooks (1991) come in; she was a community poet, and every community has a poet. And he brought in a lawyer. He describes the power of this project. He calls it a project to increase the self-esteem of these young people. I'm a member of a community group that includes Black professional men, and one of our projects is to do outreach to Black high school students and have them shadow us for a day. I think ways to create hope, ways to create possibility, would go a long way because for many of these students we have to overcome many institutional impediments in the community.

J. H.: Thinking about these things reminds me of something that surprised me, which is that one of the work-study opportunities at a number of higher

education institutions is working with the America Reads program. That's an excellent opportunity for students to do community service and serve as role models.

J. B.: I think the idea of going back, tutoring inner-city youth like themselves, would be very appealing to college students.

P. B.: I had a student who did something along these lines as a service-learning project last semester. It wasn't literacy tutoring, but working with inner-city kids on academic projects. This student's first experience on his first day at this place was the kids saying, "You're not a college student." They couldn't believe he was in college because he wasn't White. He got a lot out of the experience of trying to help the kids he was working with, and I think he was able to give a lot in terms of helping them set high goals for themselves.

J. B.: Yes, these are ways of creating hope. At the same time, we have to overcome what Fordham and Ogbu (1986) call not wanting to "act White." It's a controversial idea, I know, but I think it does have some truth. Many youth from inner-city communities think that reading books is not cool. In my community I was teased for reading books, and I was laughed at because that wasn't a male thing to do. That was probably more of a class than a race issue. Fordham and Ogbu make the point that many African American students don't want to appear bookish because they think that's acting White. By extension, my guess is that not a lot of Latino students want to act White either in terms of this conception. How do we then help students understand that, when you look at Black history, for example, some of their ancestors risked their lives to learn how to read? Slaves took chances. How do we help African American students understand that reading can be about that history? That achievement is also part of the Black heritage? A big problem with working with students from disenfranchised backgrounds is helping them overcome the norm where being hip is not to read books or not to learn academic knowledge, but to do other things. We have to become a counter-culture in a sense.

Changing the values of students is a major challenge. What are the big impediments, and how do we overcome them? There are ways we can think about empowering students to see a new vision and a new possibility, to see that they can become a doctor, or to

see that they can become a businessperson by spending some time in small Black businesses. The biggest impediment is how do we change their hearts and minds, how do we change their perceptions, and how do we inculcate the dream?

D. L.: How would you characterize the role of students in transforming institutions and creating social change? How can instructors work with students, and especially developmental education students, to facilitate their fullest participation in educational programs?

J. B.: Students need to experience a sense of efficacy, empowerment, and engagement. Instructors need to understand the environment from which the students are coming because many of these students are coming from an environment where they've never been empowered. We need to create an environment for developmental students that gives them a sense of hope and possibility. We need to create an environment that convinces students that they can have ownership and in which they have voice. Patricia Hill Collins (1990) in *Black Feminist Thought* talks about coming to voice, and she gives some examples of how that happens. But how do you help students come to voice in the classroom? How can they bring in their concerns and worries, such as violence and other major issues in some of our urban communities? I've seen interviews where young people say, "Oh, he may not be alive by age 20." How can we shape our curriculum to somehow mirror the concerns of living on the margins and living in unsafe communities? How can we bring their issues and voices to the classroom? I think these are real challenges for all of us as teachers. Let me give you an example that Patricia Hill Collins gives in a videotape I use in my class. She was teaching an elementary school class that was studying the community. But these were inner-city Black children, and they were reading about community helpers, with "nice" police and firemen. She said the kids thought the book was unreal. They couldn't relate to it. She rewrites the unit in a way that enables the students to discuss the real community they were living in, to address their issues, problems, and joys. There are positive aspects to their communities. This is how we might begin to help students develop a voice, a sense of empowerment, and a sense of efficacy so that they feel like education is the place where they can really get validated. I think that's the conceptual challenge.



Institutional Practices

J. H.: Recent public policy discussions and court cases have challenged the need for affirmative action in admissions and hiring in higher education. What is your sense of the current state of affairs? How can selective higher education institutions ensure that their admissions policies yield a campus community that enables all students to benefit from a multicultural learning environment?

J. B.: Let me respond conceptually to that question first because I think it's an important one. Bowen and Bok (1998) argue that a quality education must take place in a diverse classroom. You can't have quality if you only learn one perspective. They note that a quality education in the 21st century is an education that is diverse. Education needs to take place in an environment that includes people from different socioeconomic classes, races, and genders. I think that's also important. Clearly universities will have to go against the grain.

A real concern for me is our current Supreme Court and what's happening there. We're seeing the same thing with school desegregation with the courts not really supporting it. Despite all these legal constraints, we must remain committed to the dream, to bringing this nation together, but I don't know how we do it if we educate people in separate settings. We know where segregation leads us. It leads to balkanization and fragmentation. Orfield and Miller (1998) describe how we've given up the dream for school desegregation, and yet research shows that people who go to desegregated schools are more likely to live in desegregated neighborhoods. Blacks who go to desegregated schools are more likely to advance more effectively in their careers (Orfield & Kurlaender, 2001). Despite obstacles, I think universities have to work hard by raising money through endowments to supplement tuition for marginalized students because the tuition at state institutions is rising as states continue to decrease their level of funding. This is posing a difficult challenge. We're going to have to rely more on private funds.

I think that we have to stay committed to the ideals of this nation, and I think we need to construct unity because I don't think we're united as a nation. We are deeply divided along racial and class lines. I don't know how we can unite the nation without bringing people together in educational institutions.

Conclusion

P. B.: What, in your mind, have been the most constructive criticisms of either your own work in particular or of multiculturalism in general, and how have they contributed to the development of this work?

J. B.: The most constructive criticisms have been aimed at practices and not so much at the theory. For example, as Geneva Gay (2000) has pointed out, there is a wide gap between what we write about and what actually happens in schools. The wide gap between theory development and practice is our most challenging problem. We have been trying to close this gap through teacher training and staff development. This is perhaps true in developmental education as well. The gap between theory and practice is a difficult issue, particularly when the unfriendly critics call the bad practices multicultural education. Those have been the most challenging criticisms, and even they have been constructive in a way. A few conservative scholars have criticized my work. However, the major criticisms have been of poor practices that people have interpreted as multicultural education, as opposed to what we've tried to conceptualize. Of course, it's important for people to criticize. We live in a democracy. For years I read my critics, but I don't think they've paid me the same courtesy. It's been primarily a one-way situation. Recently I have devoted less attention to the critics because I find that it distracts me from my work. The critics of multicultural education are taking our work more seriously now.

My election to the presidency of the American Educational Research Association in 1996 and into the National Academy of Education in 2000 were landmark events for multicultural education. Another important marker of legitimization of the field is the upcoming conference that I will organize and chair, to be held at the Rockefeller Foundation's Study and Conference Center in Bellagio, Italy, in Summer 2002. It is called "Ethnic Diversity and Citizenship Education in Multicultural Nation-States" and was funded by the Rockefeller and Spencer foundations. The book based on this conference will be published later this year by Jossey-Bass (Banks, in press). These are all signs of legitimacy, although the field is still in the process of gaining legitimacy. Remember I said that the multicultural movement was born on the streets. It is an extension of civil rights work and the civil rights

movement. We literally started on the streets, and from there we moved to state colleges and then to research universities. Attaining legitimacy is a process that any new field or discipline must experience. Multicultural education is making significant steps in this process. We haven't gotten there yet, but hopefully the next generation will take us into full legitimacy and institutionalization. The status of the profession reflects the people who make it up. We are minorities, women, and other groups on the margins. We've had to really work hard to earn respect and legitimacy. We've come a long way, and we must stay the course and keep our eyes on the prize. We shall overcome.

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