Higher Learning

for Citizenship

28th Annual Earl V. Pullias Lecture

In

Memoriam

The Pullias Lecture is dedicated to the memory of Earl V. Pullias. Through the lecture series and its publications, many people the world over have come to know his ideas.

"You can be no better teacher than you are a human being," he said. Those who knew him or knew of him remember the human being: an inspired teacher, a thoughtful, articulate scholar and a unique friend who continues to inspire.

Higher Learning for Citizenship

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The Pullias Lecture provided an excellent and important opportunity to articulate the vision related to my research and work with campuses across the country. I chose the title of the lecture, *Higher Learning for Citizenship*, because of my concern about the role that higher education plays in our society. Specifically, how do we prepare citizens for a different society than the past—a vision of the society we *aspire* to become? It is a society that is just, equitable, ethical, and emphasizes that the progress of the least among us is the metric by which we must judge the progress of overall society. The events in 2005 related to Hurricane Katrina, and the breakdown of public service that followed, gave us insight into the society we have become. Unfortunately, it revealed that we have become a society in which we tend to overlook inequality and leave the poor and sick behind in a time of crisis. We saw daily disappointing displays by leaders that appeared to be totally unprepared for the complex issues of a disaster that was made more difficult by racial and economic inequality. Further reluctance on helping New Orleans to rebuild is also illustrated in the debate regarding public responsibility and use of public revenue. How is it that we cannot marshal the forces to help a city that was once a source of national pride?

How is it that our leaders are more interested in furthering self-interest rather than taking risks to realize a better future for all? How is it we have come to overlook the fact that policies that serve the privileged take us further away from realizing the true benefits of a pluralistic democracy? Moreover, research has shown that gender and racial/ethnic groups continue to diverge over time in their views regarding the nature of the problems that confront our society and their willingness to develop equitable solutions. While much of this that has to do with initial experiences in early educational environments, their experiences during college can accentuate these differences (Hurtado, Engberg, Ponjuan & Landreman, 2002; Saenz, 2005; Larid, Engberg, & Hurtado, 2005).

It seems that since higher education trains the leaders and policymakers for an uncertain future, it is also responsible for ensuring they are prepared to handle the complexity that diversity and inequality present in a democratic society. Due to the recent natural disasters, our national data on entering college students indicate that freshmen place greater importance on helping others in difficulty and have had community service experiences in high school—perhaps more so than any other cohort in the last twenty-five years

(Pryor, Hurtado, Saenz, Lindholm, Korn, & Mahoney, 2006). This encouraging information suggests that many students felt deeply about these events when they entered college, and are ready and willing to learn about how to become agents of change in moving the nation towards social progress.

It is my purposeful intention to call for an enactment of higher education's transformative possibilities and for us all to become intentional educators.

As a nation, we have yet to deal effectively with the persistent and growing social, racial, and economic gaps in this country and higher learning for citizenship should encompass greater attention to these issues as our students are likely to encounter the need for decisions in the workplace and social circumstances that involve these social problems. Although I could spend valuable time illustrating how our system of higher education operates instead on the principle of accumulative advantage, ways in which we reinforce inequality in educational practice to the neglect of these issues, it is not my intention to indict educational institutions. Rather, in my work with campuses and speaking engagements such as the Pullias Lecture, it is my purposeful intention to call for an enactment of higher education's transformative possibilities and for us all to become more intentional educators.

One of the key purposes of higher educa-

tion is the necessary production of citizens. This is an idea that has roots as old as the establishment of the first college in this country. The notion of intentionally educating citizens for a democracy today has received renewed emphasis only in the last twenty years (Gutmann, 1987). We have always implemented some form of civic education in high schools, but activities at the postsecondary level were less intentional until a civic engagement movement started to take hold with campus-based initiatives and multi-campus organizations (e.g. Campus Compact, the American Democracy Project of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities). New administrative units emerged that were devoted to public service and community outreach, and courses incorporating service learning were introduced into the college curriculum. Absent from most operational definitions of citizenship, however, is the notion of what it means to be a citizen in a multicultural society. Scholars are interweaving diversity as an inherent component of citizenship (Banks, 1997; Gutmann, 1987; Ong, 1999; & Rosaldo, 1999). They state that citizens within democratic multicultural societies endorse the overarching ideals of justice and equality, are committed to these ideals, and are willing to take

action to support and defend them when faced with practices that violate these ideals. James Banks, a champion of multicultural education, has stated that an important goal of citizenship education then is "to help students acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to make reflective decisions and to take actions to make their nation-states more democratic and just (1997; 2004). Gutmann (2004) posits that multicultural democratic societies are characterized by attention to *civic equality* (that individuals should be treated and treat one another as equal citizens). Consequently, the goal of citizenship education in such societies is to teach tolerance, recognition of cultural difference, deliberation, and modes of civil discourse.

Campus-based programs on diversity and those focused on civic engagement are often unconnected.

However, the national conversations about diversity and civic engagement have proceeded on parallel tracks in higher education. Emerging from distinct histories, diversity efforts and civic engagement initiatives also differ in the amount of broad-based support they receive. It should come as a no surprise, that as a consequence, campus-based programs on diversity and those focused on civic engagement are often unconnected. There are compelling reasons to make connections between these initiatives and

begin conversations across campus to understand how they both work to further the goals of undergraduate education and the public service mission of institutions.

The need to educate students for a more diverse society and participation in a pluralistic democracy has never been greater. Demographic projections indicate that by 2050 half the total population will consist of different non-white racial/ethnic groups and nearly a quarter (24.4%) will be Hispanic (U.S. Census, 2004). These changes are already evident among the younger age cohorts and are more dramatic in particular states like California. The issue of diversity is not likely to decrease in importance in decisions regarding a wide range of policies and practices, in fact, these issues could become more contentious if increasing numbers do not result in equitable representation and civic equality remains illusive. Higher education can take greater responsibility for ensuring that the next generation of leaders can manage people and ideas in diverse workplaces, and possess the values, skills, and knowledge to devise creative solutions to address the widening social and economic gaps. That is, if we are to nurture the development of the "informed, empowered, and responsible" learner as articulat-

ed in the recent report of Greater Expectations on college level learning for the 21st century (AAC&U, 2002), we must integrate diversity learning and cultivate civic responsibility. Moreover, critical to higher education's role in promoting social progress is the production of graduates of all races and ethnicities who can be agents of change, and can help to identify and reduce social inequality and barriers to participation in our democracy.

An extension of this reasoning becomes clearer when we monitor the outcomes of undergraduate education and examine the empirical links between campus diversity experiences and democratic values, skills, and knowledge. About five years ago, I launched a project involving ten public universities to introduce a new set of outcomes, monitor change in undergraduates, and examine existing campus practices that enhanced student outcomes in the first two years of college. We hope to extend these assessment efforts to other types of colleges in the future, as we suspect that the results will be significantly the same for other types of institutions that are large and diverse. The project was entitled, Preparing College Students for a Diverse Democracy.

The goals of the project involved an institu-

tional change/action component and a scholarly research component. The goals for institutional change included introducing new outcomes related to undergraduate education focused on citizenship in a multicultural society. The idea is that by articulating and assessing new outcomes for undergraduate education, and using these across a number of flagship campuses, institutions could start to build a more targeted focus across curricular and co-curricular activity for their diversity and civic engagement initiatives. The objectives also involved working with campuses to implement assessment—devising campus research teams and practice teams that would use the results of the assessment. Another objective was to engender discussions across campuses and within campuses about promising practices, and encourage collaboration. Finally, all data collected were returned to campuses for their use in planning and dissemination to administrators, faculty, and students. The project was also intended to advance scholarship about the links between diversity, learning, and democratic competencies. It was to extend the social science research, originally presented in the Michigan affirmative action Supreme Court cases, to begin to outline the conditions under which interactions with diverse peers in educational con-

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texts advances overall student learning and skill development. Although the cases established diversity as a compelling state interest in assuring leadership for the future, there are continual challenges regarding how and why educators implement diversity initiatives. A second research objective was to establish empirical connections between students' cognitive, social-cognitive, and democratic skill development. This would also provide some evidence for aligning civic engagement and diversity initiatives as producing similar results or dependent results in order to merge the parallel conversations happening across higher education. Finally, we also wanted to understand the correlation between some of our new measures of outcomes and standardized tests of moral development, critical thinking, and reflective judgment. All of these outcomes are deemed critical to citizenship in a multicultural society.

Building on the theory and research of developmental and cognitive psychologists, we hypothesized that diversity in the student body provides the kind of experience base and discontinuity needed to evince more active thinking processes among students, moving them from their own embedded worldviews to consider those of another (or their diverse peers) (detailed in

Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, Dey, Gurin, & Gurin, 2003). This theory of how diversity works in education suggests that most of us are cognitively inclined to rely on familiar ways of thinking that include habits, routine, and even stereotypes that dominate our world view (Gurin, et al., 2002; Langer, 1979, Bargh, 1997). When encountering unfamiliar and novel situations, people, and experiences, however, it becomes difficult to rely on these familiar ways of thinking and acting. Moreover, most developmental theories posit that social interaction is necessary to elicit the cognitive disequilibria that spurs growth and development in students at this stage of their lives (Chickering & Reisser, 1991; Piaget, 1975; Muss, 1988; Perry, 1970). To learn or grow cognitively, individuals need to recognize cognitive conflicts or contradictions, situations that psychologist Diane Ruble (1994) suggests, lead to a state of uncertainty, instability, and possibly anxiety. Thus, recognizing different ways of thinking or in experiences in social encounters with diverse peers may lead to many dimensions of growth. Peer interactions during college affect various dimensions of growth that include both cognitive skills (Perry, 1970), values (Astin, 1993), and attitudes (Alwin, Cohen, & Newcomb, 1991), so it

stands to reason that interactions with diverse peers also illicit development in more ways than one.

For purposes of these campus-based assessments, the outcomes were defined as cognitive skills, social cognitive outcomes, and democratic sensibilities—all of which are intended to incorporate students' wider view of the social world. Recent theory and research also suggest that such epistemological, intrapersonal, and interpersonal development are interwoven in ways that enable individuals to make decisions contextually, and enable them "to choose what they believe and mediate their relations with the external world" (Baxter Magolda, 2001). These are interrelated areas of growth to prepare students for living and working in an increasingly complex, and diverse world—skills employers have indicated are essential for a global economy (Bikson & Law, 1994). Altogether we monitored over 25 outcomes, in the first two years of college, and examined them in relation to patterns in terms of quality, variety, and context of student interactions across race-ethnic groups, as well as campus based programs for diversity and civic engagement.

Empirical findings strongly support this

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link between campus diversity initiatives and educating for citizenship. It is important to note that our statistical analyses controlled for student predispositions on each of the outcomes we monitored and employed controls for other background characteristics in order to more accurately attribute effects to students' college experiences. We were interested in those college activities and experiences that contributed to the value-added change on an array of cognitive, socio-cognitive, and democratic outcomes. Specific findings include a better understanding of the educational consequences of students' informal interactions as well as campus-facilitated activities that promote learning about diversity in society.

Positive, informal interactions with diverse peers resulted in student preferences for more complex thinking about people and their behavior, increased cultural and social awareness, and improvements in perspective-taking skills (i.e. the ability to see the world from someone else's perspective). Significant changes were also associated with increases in students' democratic sensibilities including their pluralistic orientation (i.e. the ability to work with diverse people and viewpoints), interest in poverty issues, and concern for the public good. In contrast, students who

had negative interactions with diverse peers (conflict or hostility) were not only least skilled in intergroup relations but demonstrated lower scores on the outcomes, indicating they were also least likely to develop the habits of mind to function in a diverse and global world. Students are likely to revert to familiar and solidified positions when encountering conflict in intergroup relations, suggesting that educators need to assist students in understanding and developing constructive paths from intergroup conflict.

Campus practices that facilitate student interaction with diversity promote the development of students' complex thinking, socio-cognitive and democratic skills. Specifically, students who enrolled in diversity courses or participated in diversity-related extracurricular programming scored consistently higher on the majority of educational outcomes in the study. This included democratic sensibilities such as interest in poverty issues, concern for the public good, and the importance of making a civic contribution. Taking a diversity course in the first two years of college is also associated with the likelihood of voting in a federal or state election, while participation in diversity extra-curricular activities was associated with voting in a student election and increases in

leadership skills.

As we would expect, service learning courses have a significant effect on a specific set of outcomes including increases in students' concern for the public good, the importance of making a civic contribution, and leadership skills. Service learning may have an indirect effect on many more outcomes, and such effects are likely to be partially dependent on students' skills with diversity. Student participation in intergroup dialogue (opportunities for facilitated, extended discussions about diversity) was associated with increases in students' perspective-taking skills, the development of a pluralistic orientation, interest in poverty issues, and a belief that conflict enhances a democracy (rather than detracts from democratic ideals). These findings from the project suggest that specific campus practices can help students integrate their learning, merge experience with knowledge, increase intergroup relations skills and most significantly, that we are able to observe and document the educational result on a broad range of outcomes.

In addition to learning a great deal from student change over the first two years of college, we collaborated with faculty to learn what was happening with students over the course of a term

in a classroom. What kind of change can happen as a result of experience in one classroom? Most theorists suggest that student development occurs over the years. It is interesting to note in comparing students in introductory classes in management, diversity, and women's studies, we saw change in students interaction patterns, presumably as a result of more encounters with peers who were different and pedagogical techniques that enhanced this. Figure 1 shows that students enter more likely to have racial contact prior to beginning an introductory diversity and women's studies (compared with a management introductory course), but also tend to increase their interactions over the course of the term. Specifically, although students in particular courses enter predisposed

Figure 1. Classroom Study: % Indicating Some or Substantial Interaction with Students of Color
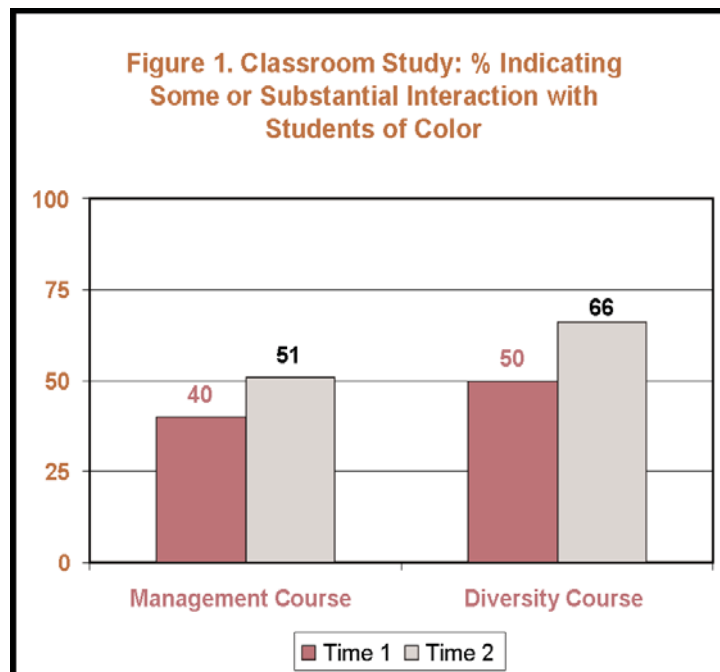
Content is enhanced by a pedagogy that makes the most use of diversity in the classroom.

toward diversity and chose courses based on their interest and comfort level with these issues (in this campus example, it was an actual general education requirement), we also saw significant change over time on outcomes of moral development. Figure 2 shows a comparison of the diversity courses and a management course in terms of students' initial and end of term moral reasoning scores. Our statistical models also show an effect of both pedagogy that enhances more complex thinking *and* exposure to content knowledge, e.g. greater awareness about the social inequalities that exist historically and in contemporary contexts. It is likely that content is enhanced by a pedagogy that makes the most use of diversity in the classroom.
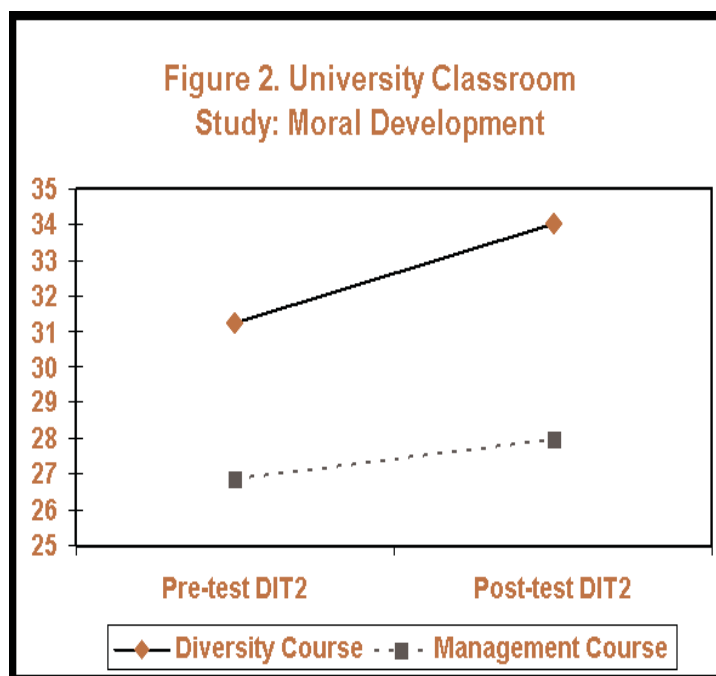
Figure 2. University Classroom Study: Moral Development

Conclusion and Implications

Diversity initiatives are still sometimes thought to be marginal to the real work of institutions, a "stand-alone" goal for some, or even too political for broad-based acceptance. I argue that diversity initiatives are essential to the work we want to achieve in higher education if we are committed to workforce development, producing engaged citizens, and advancing the progress of our society. The findings on undergraduate outcomes support the notion that campus diversity initiatives are central to the teaching and learning and the public service mission of institutions. When all students learn about diversity, we are producing citizens that can negotiate difference, act, and make ethical decisions in an increasingly complex and diverse world. Those engaged in advancing the public service mission of the institution must begin to consider the important role that diversity plays in their work and how to best contribute to the development of underserved communities. Those advancing diversity initiatives can find alliances among civic engagement proponents and begin to consider how service learning is a vehicle for furthering diversity learning goals. Working together, we need to develop common goals for undergraduate

Diversity initiatives are essential to the work we want to achieve in higher education.

education and faculty development surrounding the work with diverse communities inside and outside the classroom. Many campuses already possess a substantial array of initiatives that address diversity and civic engagement. However, greater integration across units and program coherence is necessary to explicitly address undergraduate preparation for participation in a diverse democracy. It is an important first step to diversify a campus, but it is no longer sufficient to assume that because a campus is diverse that substantial cross-racial interactions will occur, or that important educational outcomes will naturally occur without opportunities for meaningful engagement and facilitation of civil discourse when differences in perspectives are inevitable.

If we are intentional educators, it is irresponsible for us to assume that learning occurred because we offered a lecture. Responsible instructors check to understand what each student has learned as a result of their efforts. Similarly, it is irresponsible to assume that we have no role in facilitating interactions across students from diverse backgrounds and perspectives now that we have empirical evidence about the conditions that will yield thoughtful and engaged citizens in the future. In order to achieve the goal of realizing

We can no longer believe that learning occurs only in the classroom or from experts.

the society we aspire to become, we have to first take this responsibility and second, question some deeply embedded assumptions in practice. For example, faculty have difficulty relaxing the assumption that they are the only source of knowledge for student learning. Students acquire a good deal of content, vocabulary, academic study skills, values, and perspectives from their peers. They share internet resources with each other that also contain a mix of authoritative and opinionated sources about social issues. Therefore, we can no longer believe that learning occurs only in the classroom or from experts—student peers are key to integrating knowledge and their experiences are important as they work to make the concepts relevant to their lives. Faculty who at first thought that diversity has nothing to do with their classroom must now reconsider the role that diversity plays in the learning process. How can we all work to increase learning and interaction across difference in classrooms? Intentional educators find ways to harness the power of peer group, provide students with tools to engage with each other, and direct student interactions towards undergraduate education objectives.

Attention to diversity, in all its forms, is important to the educational and civic mission of

each campus. These forms of diversity include 1) increasing representation at many levels of the institution to provide the opportunity for contact and dialogue across diverse groups and perspectives, 2) facilitating informal interaction among diverse peers to ensure students reach outside of their zones of familiarity and comfort, and 3) the development of campus-based initiatives that further facilitate knowledge and methods of civil discourse. Each of these forms of diversity on college campuses serves as a vehicle for enhancing educational outcomes, especially in the preparation of "office holders" and citizens for a diverse democracy. Our students represent our best investment in securing a more just and equitable society.

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Appendix

About

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Author

Sylvia Hurtado is Professor and Director of the Higher Education Research Institute at UCLA in the Graduate School of Education and Information Sciences. Just prior to coming to UCLA, she served as Director of the Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education at the University of Michigan. Dr. Hurtado has published numerous articles and books related to her primary interest in student educational outcomes, campus climates, college impact on student development, and diversity in higher education. She has served on numerous editorial boards for journals in education and served on the boards for the American Association of Higher Education (AAHE), the Higher Learning Commission and is president-elect of the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE). *Black Issues In Higher Education* named her among the top 15 influential faculty whose work has had an impact on the academy. She obtained her Ph.D. in Education from UCLA, Ed.M. from Harvard Graduate School of Education, and A.B. from Princeton University in Sociology.

Dr. Hurtado has coordinated several national research projects, including a U.S. Department of Education-sponsored project on how colleges are preparing students to achieve the cognitive, social, and democratic skills to participate in a diverse democracy. She is launching a National Institutes of Health project on the preparation of underrepresented students for biomedical and behavioral science research careers. She has also studied assessment, reform, and innovation in undergraduate education on a project through the National Center for Postsecondary Improvement.

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About

Chepa

The Center for Higher Education Policy Analysis (CHEPA) brings a multidisciplinary perspective to complex social, political, and economic issues in higher education. Located within the Rossier School of Education at the University of Southern California, the Center's director is William G. Tierney. Conducting theoretically informed research with real-world applicability, the Center has a broad focus on three areas of higher education-improving urban postsecondary education, strengthening school-university partnerships, and understanding international education, with a particular focus on the Pacific Rim.

The goal of the Center is to provide analysis of significant issues to support efforts to improve postsecondary education. Such issues intersect many boundaries. The Center is currently engaged in research projects regarding effective postsecondary governance, emerging organizational forms such as for-profit institutions, financial aid and access for students of color, successful college outreach programs, the educational trajectories of community college students, and the retention of doctoral students of color.

Over the last decade we have received funding from the Ford Foundation, the Pew Charitable Trusts, Atlantic Philanthropies, the James Irvine Foundation, the U.S. Department of Education, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the J. Paul Getty Trust, Lumina Foundation for Education, and the Haynes Foundation.