

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 456 203

UD 034 378

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TITLE Faculty Experience with Diversity: A Case Study of Macalester College.
PUB DATE 2001-00-00
NOTE 27p.; In: Orfield, Gary, Ed., Diversity Challenged: Evidence on the Impact of Affirmative Action. Cambridge, Harvard Education Publishing Group, 2001. p251-276. See UD 034 365.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Citizenship Responsibility; College Faculty; Consciousness Raising; Cultural Awareness; *Diversity (Student); Higher Education; Minority Groups; Student Attitudes; Surveys; Teacher Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS Macalester College MN

ABSTRACT

This study tested the belief that domestic racial/ethnic diversity in the classroom contributes to the preparation of students for civic responsibility, focusing on Macalester College, a small liberal arts college in Saint Paul, Minnesota. Macalester has committed significant resources to fulfilling its goals of multicultural recruitment and support of talented students, faculty, and staff of color and to establishing classes that reflect the range of social, artistic, scientific, and philosophical experiences of people nationwide. College faculty completed a Faculty Diversity Questionnaire in which they evaluated their experiences with diversity in the classroom and provided background information. Overall, faculty judged that domestic racial and ethnic diversity in the classroom was important in fulfilling Macalester's educational mission. Several educational outcomes were positively affected by the presence of multiple racial/ethnic groups in the classroom, including: broader sharing of experiences, the raising of new issues and perspectives, substantive discussion of racial/ethnic issues, confrontation of stereotypes, and development of a willingness to examine one's own perspectives and values. Faculty agreed that most white students benefit from racial diversity. Those who taught classes emphasizing race/ethnicity reported greater or equal benefit from classroom diversity than did those who only included content relevant to diversity. (Contains 6 references and 42 endnotes.) (SM)

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CHAPTER 12

Faculty Experience with Diversity: A Case Study of Macalester College

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Introduction

A central mission of traditional American liberal arts colleges is to prepare students for civic responsibility, teaching them to test their beliefs against the perspectives of others in vigorous debate. The more diverse the experience of scholars within the community, the more likely it is that ostensibly objective knowledge and universal truths will be challenged. One argument for racial and ethnic diversity in the academy is that it brings representation and perspectives of groups that have traditionally been excluded from the marketplace of ideas (Dworkin, 1996). Increasingly, policymakers and academics alike recognize that a homogeneous academic environment cannot adequately prepare students for responsible citizenship. Beyond its impact on the individual classroom, diversity, or the lack thereof, affects the rigor and integrity of disciplinary scholarship. Historians of science and other scholars note that the problems, methods, and findings of academic disciplines may deeply reflect the traditions and interests of the cultural groups within which the disciplines arose. Scholars increasingly recognize that the academy must venture outside its traditional social boundaries to expand knowledge and discourse. Martha Nussbaum (1997) expresses this imperative in her suggested agenda for liberal arts education:

Three capacities above all are essential to the cultivation of humanity in today's world. First is the critical examination of oneself and one's

traditions. . . . This means a life that accepts no belief as authoritative simply because it has been handed down by tradition . . .

Citizens who cultivate their humanity need, further, an ability to see themselves not simply as citizens of some local region or group but also, and above all, as human beings bound to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern.

The third ability of the citizen . . . can be called narrative imagination. This means the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story, and to understand the emotions and wishes and desires that someone so placed might have. (pp. 9–11)

A laudable central goal, according to this vision, is to provide students (and faculty) the opportunity to move beyond their taken-for-granted or “commonsense” frames of reference through introduction to the experiences and theories of others. The research described here tests the belief that domestic racial/ethnic diversity in the classroom contributes to achieving the educational goals and understandings described above. Results indicate that the faculty of Macalester College, a small, selective liberal arts college in Saint Paul, Minnesota, find that the presence of U.S. citizens of different races and ethnicities in the classroom contributes to stretching all students beyond their assumed world of beliefs and social practices. These findings, and the specific comments of faculty surveyed, speak to the need for diversity throughout academe and begin to dispel some of the concerns raised by opponents of campus diversity initiatives.

Macalester Faculty Assess the Effects of Diversity: Background

Macalester has had a sizable European American majority since its founding over one hundred years ago. However, since at least the late 1950s, the college has viewed multiculturalism as a valued tool in educating its students for the intellectual, social, and civic challenges of contemporary society. In May 1992, Macalester adopted its current mission: “Macalester is committed to being a preeminent liberal arts college with an educational program known for its high standards for scholarship and its special emphasis on internationalism, multiculturalism, and service to society.” President Michael McPherson (1998), a strong advocate of the value of diversity, recently commented that the four “pillars” of the college’s mission—academic excellence, multiculturalism, internationalism, and service—are complementary, not competitive:

We affirm that excellence in our teaching and learning, in part, derives from our commitment to these [four] values. . . . In the world we are aiming to prepare our students for, a claim of academic excellence that ignores or downplays the realms of internationalism, multiculturalism, and service can only ring hollow.

The college has committed significant resources to fulfilling its goals of multicultural recruitment and support of talented students, faculty, and staff of color, and to establishing classes that reflect the range of social, artistic, scientific, and philosophical experiences of peoples in the United States. Macalester is appropriately self-critical about not having realized the full promise of diversity, but the college surely must be ranked among those sincerely working to achieve that promise. The chartering hypothesis of this research was that, given the college's broad, multifaceted support of multiculturalism, the classroom experience of faculty would be a good test of whether domestic racial/ethnic diversity contributes to fulfilling Macalester's educational mission (Chang, n.d.).

All continuing Macalester faculty in residence in the spring 1998 semester received a Faculty Diversity Questionnaire in the final week of class. The American Council on Education (ACE) and the American Association of University Professors jointly sponsored development of the 11-page questionnaire by a research consortium that used Macalester as a pretest site for a national survey concerning faculty experience with diversity.¹ It contained ninety-six short-answer or rating questions, and six questions requesting a brief written response. In their responses, faculty evaluated their experiences with diversity in the classroom and provided a wide variety of background information about themselves. Two cover letters, one from the ACE and one from a Macalester faculty task force,² explained the survey and requested cooperation. All faculty were assured that their responses were confidential and that results would be reported by division (humanities, social sciences, natural sciences), not by department, in order to protect anonymity and confidentiality. Although the questionnaire was designed for faculty in the humanities and social sciences, the Macalester faculty task force sent the questionnaire to natural scientists as well.³ In all, 132 faculty received the questionnaire; 81 responded. Respondents to the questionnaire represented a cross-section of the Macalester community, including diversity across key dimensions such as gender, race, discipline, tenure, and political orientation.⁴ The task force was satisfied with response rates, therefore researchers opted not to pursue follow-up solicitation in the fall.

Macalester Faculty Assess the Effects of Diversity: Results

Results of the questionnaire are divided into three short and two long sections, reporting in order (a) faculty perception of the college's commitment to diversity, (b) faculty views about whether diversity has lowered the quality of the institution or student body, (c) an overview of the collective faculty experience with diversity, (d) analysis of faculty differences concerning the value of diversity in the class, and (e) faculty definitions of racial/ethnic diversity in the classroom. In the results reported below, the details of statistical tests are found in footnotes in order to improve readability. The principal tests used are one-way t-tests, analyses of variance followed by detailed comparisons via t-tests, correlations, Chi Square tests, and the Sign Test. The conventions used as a shorthand to indicate these tests are as follows: (a) F = ANOVA F test, (b) T1 = one sample t-test, (c) T2 = two sample t-test, (d) χ^2 = Chi Square test, and (e) ST = Sign Test.⁵ The significance level of the test is indicated as follows: (a) $p < .05 = *$; (b) $p < .01 = **$; (c) $p < .005 = ***$; (d) $p < .001 = ****$; (e) $p < .0005 = *****$; and (f) $p < .0001 = *****$.⁶ For readers not trained in statistics, the significance level indicates the probability that a given outcome might occur merely by chance.⁷

A. Do Faculty View the Institution as Committed to Diversity?

Given Macalester's high-profile commitment to diversity, one goal of this research was to ascertain the extent to which faculty's experience and the college's stated policies are in alignment. Diversity and multiculturalism have become buzzwords of modern society that reinforce the need to evaluate not only policy intentions, but also policy implementation. Several questions addressed this issue of faculty's "on the ground" experience of Macalester's diversity initiatives.

The majority of faculty respondents (58%) reported that diversity is a high priority of the college, while 18 percent reported diversity as the college's highest priority. Viewed in comparison to the 20 percent and 4 percent, respectively, who described diversity as a medium or low priority, faculty responses suggest that Macalester's stated commitment to diversity permeates the academic environment⁸ (see Figure 1). This finding is further supported by the faculty response regarding diversity in relation to Macalester's educational mission. In this instance, a combined 92 percent of respondents judged diversity to be either essential or very important to the institution's mission, as compared to only 8 percent who concluded it is either somewhat important or not important⁹ (see Figure 2). One respondent commented, "We've already agreed in principle since our

FIGURE 1 "How high a priority do you believe it is at your current institution to create a diverse campus environment?"

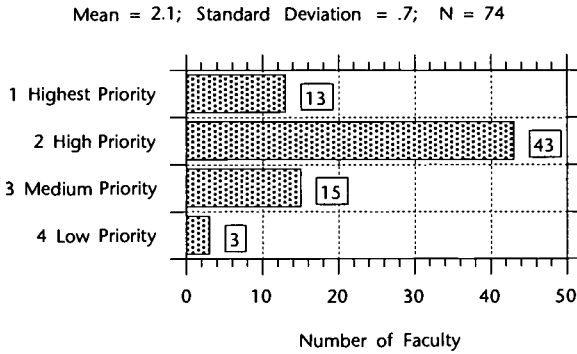
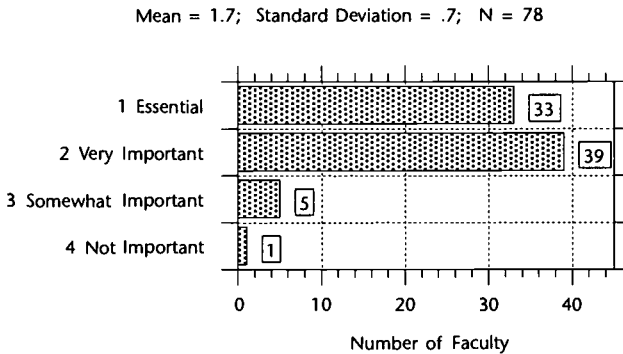


FIGURE 2 "How important is having racially/ethnically diverse student bodies to your institution's mission?"



mission statement includes multiculturalism. We agreed that preparing students for the future must include preparing them to live in a racially/ethnically diverse community."

B. Has Domestic Diversity Negatively Affected the Quality of the Institution or Student Body?

One argument against diversity, usually made by opponents of affirmative action, is that an institution's quality will somehow decline as a result of diversity initiatives. This argument is based upon the assumption

FIGURE 3 *“Too much emphasis on racial/ethnic diversity has lowered the quality of the institution.”*

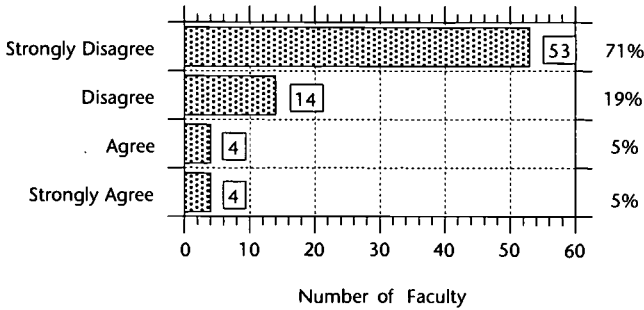
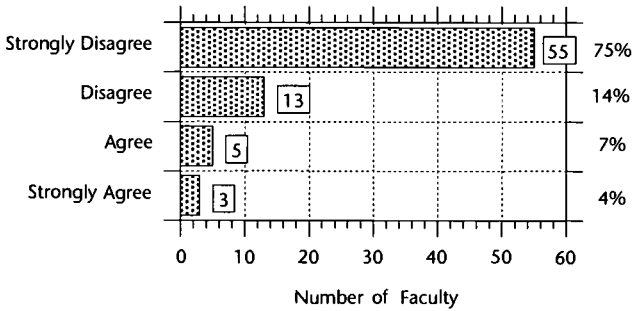


FIGURE 4 *“Too much emphasis on racial/ethnic diversity has lowered the quality of the students who are admitted.”*



that minority applicants are necessarily less qualified than their white peers, or less able to succeed as college students. We asked Macalester faculty whether they thought the quality of instruction at the college or the quality of the student body has suffered as a result of diversity (see Figure 3). The vast majority (71%) strongly disagreed or disagreed (19%) with the questionnaire statement, “Too much emphasis on racial/ethnic diversity has lowered the quality of the institution.”¹⁰ Only 5 percent agreed with this statement, and another 5 percent strongly agreed. Similarly, 75 percent of faculty strongly disagreed with the statement that an emphasis on diversity has lowered student quality, while only 4 percent strongly agreed with that statement¹¹ (see Figure 4). Obviously, from the faculty viewpoint, increasing racial diversity does not compromise educational

excellence. In fact, most faculty indicated that access and diversity are prerequisites for excellent education.

C. The Faculty as a Whole: Effects of Diversity in the Classroom

In this section, the collective responses of all faculty are reported in order to illustrate the overall tenor of attitudes about diversity at Macalester. A later section of this chapter disaggregates faculty response according to personal and professional characteristics.

Kinds of Diversity Valued by Faculty. Historically, colleges and universities have held a variety of positions regarding the forms of diversity in the student body and faculty that contribute to fulfilling their educational missions. The Macalester faculty judged whether ten different kinds of diversity contribute “to the quality of learning” in their classrooms on a scale ranging from “Very Important” to “Very Unimportant.”¹² Of the options provided, faculty judged “diverse U.S. races/ethnicities,” “gender balance,” and “international diversity” to be “important” contributors to the quality of education in the classroom.¹³ Of the remaining seven forms of diversity indexed, three were judged to be helpful; however, they were only marginally significant (see footnote 11).

Faculty Experience with the Effect of Diversity in the Classroom. Another argument made in opposition to diversity in the classroom is that the introduction of diverse racial/ethnic student composition has a chilling effect on students’ willingness to engage in discussion and debate around issues of race and ethnicity. In an effort to ascertain whether this “chilling effect” is observed at Macalester, faculty were asked to judge whether specific educational outcomes were more frequent, more positive, or different in a class with greater racial/ethnic diversity. The educational outcomes indexed all pertain to Nussbaum’s three imperatives for a liberal arts education, the examination of one’s own beliefs, the introduction to a range of alternate belief systems and lifeways, and the acquisition of a contextual understanding of the lives of others. The response rate varies because some faculty responded “not applicable” or “don’t know” to some questions, and hence were not included in the statistical analysis. These latter two responses were chosen most frequently by faculty who had taught in classes with little diversity and/or in classes in which there was no content related to race/ethnicity.

Findings from this line of questioning are summarized in Figure 5. In each case, a t-test was performed comparing the mean of the observed responses to the hypothetical mean that would be expected if faculty were

responding by chance. In addition, so that summary percentages could be reported, each person's response was categorized either as indicating that diversity contributes to the educational outcome, or that it does not contribute.

Working from the general to the specific, findings indicate that faculty deem diversity to be an asset to teaching and learning. Ninety-one percent of faculty reported that racial-ethnic diversity in the classroom "allows for a broader variety of experiences to be shared."¹⁴ More specifically, a large majority of faculty responded that minority students "sometimes" through "very often" raise issues/perspectives not raised by non-minority students.¹⁵ Similarly, 75 percent said that "race/ethnic issues are discussed more substantively in [my] . . . diverse classroom" and 76 percent reported that students in diverse classrooms are more likely to incorporate racial/ethnic issues into their assignments.^{16,17} When asked what type of learning occurs in a more diverse class, one faculty member replied, "More complex, nuanced, perspectivist—less absolutist." This latter topic, the type of discussions that take place in a diverse classroom, is an example of one that some faculty judged that they could not answer either because they did not teach diverse classes, or their classes did not include content about race or ethnicity. Of seventy-three faculty responding to this question, 27 percent selected "not applicable" and 4 percent chose "don't know."

Questions that probed for more detail about the nature of interaction in a diverse classroom elicited similarly positive responses regarding the value of diversity to discourse depth and quality. The majority of faculty (69%) reported that in racially/ethnically diverse classrooms, the stereotypes that students bring with them to the classroom are more likely to be confronted, including¹⁸ stereotypes about social/political issues¹⁹ and stereotypes about substantive issues in the field.²⁰ Going directly to the question of whether diversity has a chilling or otherwise negative effect on classroom discourse, faculty were asked explicitly whether diversity impedes discussion of substantive issues or creates tensions along racial/ethnic lines. To the former, 79 percent responded that substantive discussion is NEVER impeded by diversity²¹ and 63 percent reported that interactions among students of different races/ethnicities NEVER "create tensions or arguments." This result is marginally significant.²² One shortcoming of the latter indicator is that the question is worded in such a way that faculty must report the existence or absence of tension. It is unclear, taking this question in isolation, whether "tension" was interpreted by faculty to mean, for example, unproductive hostility, or whether they

FIGURE 5 *Frequency with Which Hypothesized Outcomes of Diversity Occur*

	Positive Difference	No Difference	Hypothesis Supported. 1 Sample T-test.
FACULTY AGREE <i>Racial/ethnic diversity in your classroom allows for a broader variety of experiences to be shared.</i>	91%	7%	p < .0001
FACULTY AGREE <i>Minority students have raised issues/perspectives in your classroom that have not been raised by nonminority students.</i>	80%	20%	p < .0001
FACULTY AGREE <i>Race/ethnic issues are discussed more substantively in your diverse classroom than your homogeneous classroom.</i>	75%	25%	p < .0001
FACULTY AGREE <i>Students in your racially/ ethnically diverse classroom are more likely to incorporate relevant racial and ethnic issues in their assignments.</i>	76%	24%	p < .0001
FACULTY AGREE <i>Students in diverse classes are more likely . . . to confront their stereotypes concerning SOCIAL/POLITICAL ISSUES.</i>	69%	31%	p < .0001
FACULTY AGREE <i>Students in diverse classes are more likely . . . to confront their stereotypes concerning SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES IN THE FIELD.</i>	70%	30%	p < .0005
FACULTY DO NOT AGREE <i>Racial/ethnic diversity in your classroom impedes discussion of substantive issues.</i>	80%	20%	p < .0001
FACULTY DO NOT AGREE <i>Interactions between students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds in your classroom create tensions and arguments along racial/ethnic lines.</i>	63%	37%	p < .05

Note: All of the items in this table can be coded as either supporting or not supporting the hypothesis that diversity brings positive benefit in the classroom. The questions all asked faculty to judge whether the presence of a diverse student body in the classroom increased the frequency of the positive or negative outcomes listed on a scale ranging from "all the time" through "never."

might characterize "tension" as a productive challenge to students' assumptions and values.

Elsewhere on the questionnaire, and in focus groups, faculty were given the opportunity to clarify their experience and definition of tension

in the classroom, thereby helping to put this finding into perspective. In the proper context, some faculty described feeling that intense, passionate debate lies at the heart of perspective-sharing in academia and that, therefore, if handled properly, tension is beneficial so long as all feel empowered to participate in the debate. Handling controversy constructively is one of the skills that gifted teachers hope to maximize. One respondent commented, "Even though the atmosphere may be more charged [in diverse classes], the experiential learning is outstanding, as is the potential for intellectual inquiry." Another said, "There's tension sometimes, but I don't think that's bad. It's important to name and negotiate the discomforts, for everyone."

Some questions that assess whether diversity in classes has positive educational benefits were structured so that responses could be classified as (a) supporting the hypothesis, (b) neutral with respect to the hypothesis, or (c) not supporting the hypothesis. These findings are shown in Figure 6.

Overall, the findings speak to the effect of diversity on the breadth of student perspectives. For example, 62 percent of faculty reported that "interaction between students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds" is important or very important in "helping students develop a willingness to examine their own perspectives and values," as compared with 19 percent who judged this interaction unimportant.²³ One respondent commented: "Students need to have experience working with difference. Generally, we need to know about each other in order to take the first steps at creating a multicultural community that has members that can effectively engage the issues of the day."

Again, a central purpose of this line of questioning was to ascertain whether Macalester faculty agreed or disagreed with the opposition argument that diversity initiatives have a negative effect on the educational environment and, more specifically, whether they negatively affect the education received by the European American majority at historically white institutions. The findings illustrated in Figures 5 and 6 suggest that Macalester faculty judge the effects to be either positive or neutral. The two findings below summarize this point and eliminate any doubt that, overall, faculty believe that the challenges created by a diverse student body stimulate positive intellectual and social growth.

Sixty-seven percent of faculty reported that "having students of other racial/ethnic groups in . . . the classroom affect[s] white students" POSITIVELY in "the issues they consider."²⁴ Faculty also reported that white students read course materials more critically when students of color are in the class, which they viewed as a POSITIVE outcome.²⁵ For example,

FIGURE 6 Faculty Judge Diversity's Positive, Neutral, or Negative Effect on Desired Outcomes

	Positive Difference	No Difference	Negative Difference	Hypothesis Supported. 1 Sample T-test.
FACULTY AGREE Diversity in classes helps students "develop a willingness to examine their own perspectives and values."	62%	19%	19%	p < .0001
FACULTY AGREE Diversity in classes exposes "students to perspectives with which they disagree or do not understand."	65%	15%	20%	p < .0001
FACULTY AGREE "Having students of other racially ethnic group in your classroom [POSITIVELY] affect white student in the issues they consider."	67%	33%	0%	P < .0005
FACULTY AGREE "Having students of other racially ethnic group in your classroom [POSITIVELY] affect white student in the critical reading of course materials."	60%	38%	2%	p < .005
FACULTY AGREE that their own "views about racial/ethnic diversity have been [POSITIVELY] affected by racially/ethnically diverse classrooms."	75%	23%	2%	p < .0001

Note: The results summarized in this table include survey items that had three outcomes: diversity brings positive change or is important, diversity makes no difference in the classroom or has both positive and negative effects, or diversity brings negative change or is unimportant. Thus the three categories, on balance, are that diversity brings positive benefits, diversity is neutral, or diversity is irrelevant or negative.

one respondent commented, "I feel sure that the white students, particularly, learn from peers of color about perspectives on power and the formations of society." Another said, "The students of color often bring new learning and teaching styles to the table. It is a richer experience for all students."

Also indicative of faculty perceptions of the effect of diversity in the classroom is whether the faculty themselves feel they have benefited from a more heterogeneous student body. To this question, the large majority of faculty, 75 percent, responded that their own "views about racial/eth-

nic diversity have been POSITIVELY affected by" the diversification of the student body.²⁶

A survey of the outcome variables suggests that, on balance, the Macalester faculty have found that diversity in the classroom positively contributes to achieving valued educational outcomes. There were two key exceptions, however: (a) whether a diverse class contributes to helping all students think critically, and (b) whether a diverse class helps students develop leadership skills. These two indices are discussed in the next section.

D. Individual Differences among Faculty

Faculty come to teaching with many differences, both personal and professional. Factors that the ACE/AAUP research team hypothesized might be related to diverging educational experiences with diversity in the classroom included (among many others): academic division (humanities, social sciences, natural sciences), academic rank (professor, associate professor, assistant professor, instructor/lecturer), gender, race/ethnicity, country of birth, political affiliation (radical, liberal, conservative, moderate, far right), and whether the individual had experience teaching in more diverse classes or taught courses with racial/ethnic content. Of these variables, political affiliation is of particular interest because it tests what might be considered a reasonable assumption: that politically conservative faculty are likely to oppose diversity initiatives since it is largely conservatives in the nonacademic sector who oppose affirmative action. As the findings indicate, however, Macalester's politically conservative faculty were more positive about diversity than this assumption would predict.

At Macalester, some of the individual characteristic variables were correlated with each other—for example, academic rank, gender, and politics. Of the respondents, men were more likely to have higher rank (78% professor, 48% associate professor, 35% assistant professor, 14% lecturer/instructor)²⁷ and to be more politically conservative (100% of conservatives, 81% of moderates, 47% of liberals, and 30% of radicals are men).²⁸ (Overall, approximately 53.5% of the faculty responding to these two items were male.) Faculty of higher rank were likely to be more politically conservative; the most frequently selected political category chosen by full professors was "moderate"; the most frequently chosen by all other faculty was "liberal."²⁹ Gender was also associated with academic division; 53 percent of the humanities respondents were female, compared to 42 percent of the social science faculty and 40 percent of the natural science faculty.

A variable one might expect to be related to the perceived value of diversity is whether faculty included race/ethnicity-relevant content in one or more classes. The researcher hypothesized that those who taught race/ethnicity-relevant content would rate the contribution of domestic diversity in the classroom as more important to achieving educational goals than would those who did not teach the content. Preliminary analyses investigated whether being a faculty member who included race/ethnicity-relevant content in a class was correlated with the other background variables reviewed. Academic rank, race/ethnicity, gender, and national origin were *not* significantly associated with having taught classes with content relevant to diversity.³⁰ Having taught such content was, however, related to both academic division and political self-description. Humanities and social science faculty were more likely than natural science faculty to include racial/ethnic content and also to consider diversity to have pedagogical value. Politically conservative and moderate faculty were found to be less likely to teach diversity-relevant content,³¹ and also less likely to report great benefit from diversity in the classroom.³² On balance, however, conservative faculty concurred with their more liberal colleagues that diversity in the classroom is either beneficial or neutral, not detrimental. In other words, politically conservative faculty, on the average, do not view diversity as negative although they are more likely to view it as less important or even as irrelevant. This is an important finding, as it suggests that even those whose politics may place them in opposition to affirmative action generally may recognize the value of diversity in the academic setting.

Faculty who teach classes that include racial/ethnic content include individuals from a surprising range of academic disciplines. Of 77 faculty responding to this question, 50 (65%) reported teaching classes with racial or ethnic content. They came from 23 of the 27 academic departments or programs whose faculty returned questionnaires: anthropology, art, biology, communications studies, comparative North American studies, computer science, dramatic arts, economics, education, English, geography, history, other languages, linguistics, mathematics, music, philosophy, political science, psychology, religious studies, sociology, Spanish, and women's studies. Collectively, only four departments—French, geology, chemistry, and physics—had all respondents report that they taught no classes with racial/ethnic content.

One hypothesis of this research was that the perceived value of racial/ethnic content would decline according to faculty experience teaching such content. In other words, researchers predicted that 1) the twelve faculty who taught an ethnic studies class would find diversity the most ben-

eficial in the classroom; 2) the 38 faculty who taught a class that included racial ethnic content (and who did not teach an ethnic studies class) would find diversity next most beneficial; and 3) the 27 faculty who taught *no* classes with ethnic content would find race/ethnicity the least beneficial. The three groups will be referred to as *CLASS*, *CONTENT*, *NONE* in reporting the statistical results.

This general hypothesis is strongly supported by faculty responses. When statistically significant differences occurred among the three groups, they exhibited a consistent pattern in which those who taught a class focused on diversity reported the greatest educational benefits for diversity; those who included content about diversity reported the next greatest benefits; and those who did neither reported the least benefits. In no case did faculty who taught no diversity-related content report (significantly or not) greater educational benefits from teaching in diverse classrooms than those who did teach such classes.

In Section C, above, a number of results reported overall faculty perception that diversity has positive educational effects. Not surprisingly, more detailed analyses of some of these variables show that faculty who teach about race/ethnicity view diversity as contributing more than those who do not teach the subject. In the findings reported below, similar highly correlated items have been averaged together to create a single index. Figures 7 and 8 demonstrate the variation found.

Of faculty who teach racial/ethnic content, 100 percent agree that diversity in the classroom increases the range of issues/perspectives and experiences discussed in class, including some not typically raised by nonminority students. Those who teach classes focused on diversity rate the contribution as more important than those who only include some diversity content. In contrast, only 74 percent of those who do not teach racial/ethnic content agree that this outcome occurs in more diverse classes.³³ When asked to consider the value of a "critical mass of same race/ethnicity students" to the success of classroom discussions, 80 percent of faculty who teach a class focused on ethnicity, and 46 percent of faculty who include diversity-relevant content viewed the presence of other students from the same racial/ethnic group as enhancing student participation, whereas only 8 percent of those who teach neither a class nor content on the subject made this judgment.³⁴ Further, 83 percent of faculty who teach a class focused on race/ethnicity, and 76 percent of those who include racial/ethnic content (in contrast to only 38% of those who do not) judge that it is important to have students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds in classes in order to have students examine their own perspectives and values³⁵ (see Figure 7). One faculty member re-

FIGURE 7 *Percent of Faculty Who Report That the Presence of Other Students/ a Critical Mass Enhances the Beneficial Effects of Diversity by Teaching Content*

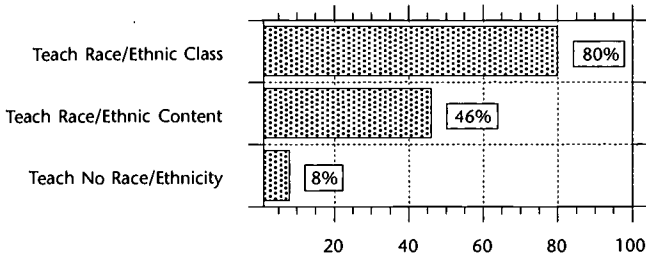
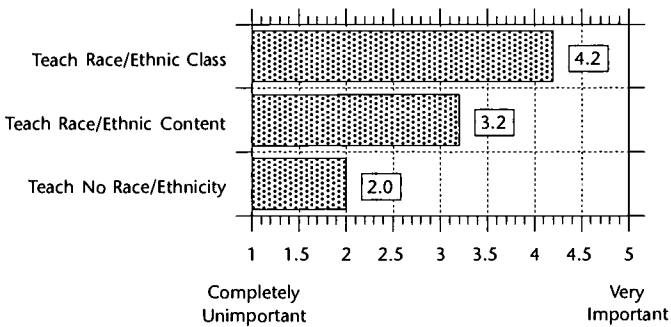


FIGURE 8 *Faculty Rating of the Importance of Diversity in the Classroom to Developing Student Ability to Think Critically by Teaching Content*



ported that, in a diverse classroom, students are more likely to consider “questions of identity,” to show “curiosity for learning about others (culture, background [ethnic, etc.],” and to engage in “personal exploration at a philosophical level.”

Each of these findings speaks volumes about the potency of racial/ethnic content—its effect on teaching and learning, and in convincing faculty of its value. It is not surprising that those who teach the content recognize its value. The significance of this finding, however, is in its implications for encouraging faculty who resist diversity policies to alter their views. The findings reported here suggest that the experience of teaching the content, perhaps even once, is likely to affect faculty willingness to incorporate that content into future curricula.

The questionnaire also asked faculty whether they believe diversity contributes to a particular educational goal. Again, looking at responses according to faculty experience teaching racial/ethnic content, several interesting findings emerge. The faculty did not unanimously agree that a diverse classroom contributes to a *particular* educational goal. However, detailed analyses indicated that those who taught a class focused on race/ethnicity, or who included some content relevant to race, found diversity to be of specific educational value, whereas those who did not found diversity to be neutral in specified educational effects. The two findings reported below concern traditional core educational goals in liberal arts colleges—the development of critical thinking and of the ability to lead.

Faculty with more experience teaching diversity-relevant content judged diversity in the classroom to be important in helping “students develop their abilities to think critically (see Figure 8).”³⁶ Similarly, faculty with more experience teaching diversity related content were more likely to agree that diversity in the classroom is important in developing “student’s leadership abilities.”³⁷

E. What Is Diversity in the Classroom?

Given the extent to which this research relies on faculty response to questions about experience with diversity, it was necessary to incorporate inquiry into faculty definitions of diversity, i.e., who comprises a diverse student body, and what qualifies as a diverse class? When the Macalester faculty answered the diversity questionnaire, about 11 percent of the students enrolled at Macalester College were U.S. students of color, and about the same percentage were international students. Faculty were asked to indicate the percentage of minority students in the most diverse class that they had taught, and also in a class that they would judge “diverse” in their department.

The most frequently chosen response selected by faculty reporting the highest percent of U.S. students of color in any of their classes was “6–10 percent”; the range varied from 0–5 percent through over 40 percent.³⁸ They judged that 11–15 percent would constitute a diverse class in their department; 72 percent chose this range or higher.³⁹ The faculty, on average, defined a “diverse” class as one with a minority representation that was larger than their own most diverse class. Researchers also ran an additional test to see if a significant number of faculty agreed that a class defined as diverse should have a higher proportion of minority students than they personally had experienced. They found that over half (51%) of the faculty chose a description of a “diverse class” that was HIGHER than

FIGURE 9 SECTION E Results: Faculty Assess Importance of a Critical Mass

	Positive Difference	No Difference	Hypothesis Supported. 1 Sample T-test.
FACULTY AGREE <i>Participation in classroom discussion by students of a particular racial/ethnic group is increased by the presence of other students from the same racial/ethnic group.</i>	83%	17%	p < .0001
FACULTY AGREE <i>A critical mass of students of a particular racial/ethnic group is important to their participation in your classroom.</i>	70%	30%	p < .0001

that which they indicated described their own most diverse class (in comparison to 30% who chose the SAME range, and 19% who chose a lower range).⁴⁰ When evaluating classroom experiences, faculty reported that diversity enhanced desired educational outcomes more successfully when the representation of diverse groups went beyond that of a solo or token presence. This reinforces findings reported earlier regarding a “critical mass” of students representing races and ethnicities. Responses suggest that faculty find, when the ratio of minority to majority is too imbalanced, the educational benefits of diversity are reduced, especially for the minority. For example, 83 percent of faculty agreed that students participate more frequently in classroom discussions when others of their race/ethnicity are present⁴¹ (see Figure 9). And again, 70 percent of faculty agreed that “a critical mass of students of a particular racial/ethnic group is important to their participation in your classroom”⁴² (see Figure 9).

This latter finding is confirmed by faculty descriptions in the supplementary questionnaire of “what constitutes a critical mass,” and by faculty focus groups concerning the importance of having multiple representatives of different groups. To these questions, faculty commented, “When the critical mass is reached, students of color are empowered and participate more fully” and “Racially diverse students are often less likely to participate if they are in the minority or don’t have a critical mass.” Asked to clarify what they meant by “critical mass,” faculty focused on the need for students to feel safe and comfortable, and, by implication, the lack of safety or comfort felt when one finds oneself a “solo” or “mi-

nority of one.” One respondent elaborated, saying, “Enough students to overcome the silencing effect of being isolated in the classroom by ethnicity/race/gender. Enough students to provide safety for expressing views.” Another said “critical mass” means “a minimum number to provide a ‘safe’ environment for open discussion.”

In focus group discussions, faculty also discussed the pedagogical value for all students of having multiple representatives of domestic racial/ethnic groups. They commented that both minority and majority students learn about the breadth of experiences within U.S. categories of race/ethnicity, which broadens their understanding of these communities. They added that multiple representation helps reduce the stereotyping that may occur when only one person represents a group. Faculty also commented that students who are “solo” members of a conversation voice frustration about being perceived as a category rather than as an individual. One respondent punctuated this discussion, saying, “I’d be thrilled to have a critical mass of students of color. I’ve never had one. This is a serious concern for us as a discipline.”

Two Views of Classroom Equality: Treating All Alike versus Treating All Differently

While the majority of Macalester faculty reported positive opinions about diversity on campus and, by extension, voiced support for educational equity, their responses were less cohesive around how to implement diversity initiatives and bring about equity. Written comments and supplementary focus groups brought these divisions to light. Faculty all reported being opposed to racism and in support of equity, but they did not agree about how to enact equity.

Some faculty believe that race (and gender) should be irrelevant in the classroom; others believed that race (and gender) are important factors that need to be addressed on many different levels by the academy. These differences are reflective of the “color blind” v. proactive positions we see elsewhere in the debate over racial/ethnic equality initiatives.

Faculty in disciplines that typically do not address social life, hence race/ethnicity, were more likely than their peers to affirm positively that the academy should be race- and gender-neutral, and to try to run their classrooms and research groups without consideration of social variables. Faculty whose disciplines did incorporate a consideration of humans in social groupings were much more likely to argue that research and classroom experience would be strengthened by acknowledging and embracing difference. One faculty advocate of the race-neutral point of view stated:

I do not make race a factor in my classes if at all possible. When a student answers a question I do not think “That is a black student’s answer.” I do not calculate how many of my students are in which U.S. Census designation. I don’t use U.S. Census designations to classify my students. I do not even use skin color. I get lots of skin color. I’m not going to assume a color denotes “black” or “Indian” or “Hispanic.” Sometimes it does, but that has to be determined on an individual basis.

This faculty person’s point of view is an important caveat to the overall response of faculty regarding race and the educational drawbacks of perpetuating homogeneity in the academy. It reminds us that there is some danger in focusing too exclusively on racial/ethnic difference, pointing out that such tunnel vision may inadvertently essentialize and prioritize the racial or ethnic identity of students over other aspects of their identity. On the other hand, we must exercise caution not to overstate this risk. The view that all must be treated the same springs, at least in part, from the assumption that all the standards for judging appropriate conduct and excellence are necessary and socially neutral, rather than “natural” only to a subgroup of the whole. Faculty adherents of this position may unquestioningly impose inappropriate social and cognitive expectations specific to their subgroup that are irrelevant to the development of intellectual excellence and civic responsibility. The value of vigorous debate is that it corrects the tendency to view the world (of theory or of social life) only through one’s own cultural lens.

Because the preponderance of data strongly support the position that Macalester faculty view diversity in the classroom as beneficial or, at worst, neutral, the author has focused on these positions and has drawn supporting quotations that illuminate these views. But it should be reported that a few faculty voiced some concerns about diversity as enacted at Macalester and as represented in the questionnaire. For example, one faculty member noted that they taught about Native Americans, and stated that, because they were neither a race nor an ethnicity, they found the questionnaire unanswerable.

A social fact at Macalester that can make it difficult to fulfill the promise of diversity is the distribution of students and faculty among racial/ethnic groups. Despite the institution’s efforts, the population of minority students at Macalester is still relatively small. As documented above, those Macalester faculty who find that diversity is of value report that a critical mass of students of relevant racial/ethnic categories enhances the benefits of diversity. Faculty report that in the absence of a critical mass, those in the minority may feel shy, uncomfortable—si-

lenced. Several Macalester faculty characterized their classes as falling short of this critical mass. When too much in the minority, the educational experience of U.S. students of color may be less than optimal.

Another difficulty can be a lack of academic and social support for bright minority students whose academic preparation may be unequal to that of their majority classmates because of unequal access to quality education at the elementary and high school levels. Though the problem of poor college preparation is by no means limited to minority students, students of color are disproportionately represented in this group. Preparatory differences, especially if racially/ethnically "biased," contribute to the complexity of fulfilling the promise of diversity. These differences in initial educational endowments create classroom challenges that faculty may not be trained to address.

Finally, some faculty expressed concern about whether majority students ever felt "silenced" in diverse classes: "Students, white students in particular, can be tense and defensive in a racially diverse classroom." These comments do not cancel out the responses of those who viewed lively debate or tension in a positive light. They do, however, point to an understandable anxiety felt by many individuals when faced with conflict that they perceive as potentially inflammatory. Facilitating productive, charged discourse is a skill that can be learned. Presumably faculty expertise and mentoring could play a significant role in teaching other faculty to create safe climates for the discussion of students' divergent ideas and experiences.

Conclusion

The hypotheses tested in this research have been strongly supported by the Macalester data. Faculty at a small, selective, historically European American liberal arts college that now has a commitment to diversity have found that the presence of students from many domestic racial/ethnic groups benefits all students. Specific findings include, first, that faculty judge that domestic racial and ethnic diversity in the classroom is important in fulfilling the college's educational mission.

A second important finding is that, on balance, faculty report that the following educational outcomes are positively affected by the presence of multiple racial/ethnic groups in the classroom: (a) broader sharing of experiences, (b) raising new issues/perspectives, (c) substantive discussion of racial/ethnic issues, (d) incorporation of relevant racial and ethnic issues in assignments, (e) confrontation of stereotypes relevant to social/political issues, (f) confrontation of stereotypes concerning substantive is-

sues in the faculty member's discipline, (g) development of a willingness to examine one's own perspectives and values, and (h) exposure to perspectives with which students disagree or which they do not understand. Faculty also agree that the majority of European American students benefit from racial diversity, as evidenced by their consideration of new issues and their more critical reading of course materials. Further, faculty report that they themselves view diversity more positively as a result of their classroom experiences.

Third, faculty who taught classes focused on race/ethnicity reported greater or equal benefit from classroom diversity than did those who only included content relevant to diversity. In turn, those who only included content relevant to diversity reported greater or equal benefit than did those who did not teach about diversity on several of the measures that the faculty as a whole had judged diversity to facilitate. These include the following valued outcomes: (a) the inclusion of [new] perspectives and experiences, (b) the examination of one's own perspectives and values and exposure to contradictory ones, and (c) the importance of having a "critical mass" of representatives from the racial/ethnic groups present.

Fourth, faculty who taught about race/ethnicity viewed classroom diversity as a more valued tool in achieving some educational goals than did those who did not teach about diversity, including (a) improvement in the students' ability to think critically and (b) development of students' leadership abilities.

And, finally, faculty report the importance of moving beyond the "solo" or "token" presence of students (and faculty) of color to ensure that a "critical mass" is achieved in which all feel supported by others, and in which diversity *within* groups also may be explored.

Notes

1. The American Council on Education's (ACE) Minority Concerns division and the American Association of University Professors' (AAUP) Committee L for the Status of Minorities in the Profession have collaborated in building a research consortium that would conduct and advise on research concerning the educational impact of diversity in the classroom. The core research group consists (in alphabetical order) of Jonathan Alger, formerly of the AAUP, now with the University of Michigan; Jorge Chapa, Michigan State University; Roxane Gudeman, Macalester College; Patricia Marin, ACE; Geoff Maruyama, University of Minnesota; Jeff Milem, University of Maryland; Jose Moreno, Harvard University; and Deborah Wilds, formerly with ACE, now with the Gates Foundation. A number of other people also participated in discussing the research. Roxane Gudeman pilot-tested the questionnaire at Macalester College, then analyzed and wrote up the results which are reported in this paper.

- Funding for this project has been provided by the Spencer Foundation, the American Council on Education, the American Association of University Professors, The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, the Julian Samarra Research Institute, Michigan State University, and the Law School Admissions Council.
2. Several Macalester College faculty members (Anna Meigs, Clay Steinman, Janet Carlson, Jim Stewart) led the process of applying to the Bush Foundation for funds to support enhancing the ability of Macalester faculty to be effective classroom teachers and advisers with all students, however different their cultural experiences were from those of the faculty. The Bush Foundation awarded Macalester a planning grant to be used in developing a major grant proposal. A group of approximately twenty faculty collaborated with the organizers in working on this proposal. Activities that occurred during the planning process included holding focus groups, visiting other institutions, and collecting information from faculty via the Faculty Diversity Questionnaire.
 3. The questionnaire used was developed by a research team working under the auspices of the American Council on Education and the American Association of University Professors. The goal of the team was to design a questionnaire that would be sent to a random sample of several thousand higher education faculty at a cross-section of institutional types across the United States. Target faculty were to be faculty in the social sciences and humanities.
 4. Of the respondents, 54 percent were male; 46 percent, female; 87 percent were white/Caucasian (domestic and international); 13 percent, another race/ethnicity (domestic and international); 42 percent were humanities faculty; 26 percent, social scientists; and 32 percent, natural scientists. Forty percent of the sample were full professors; 26 percent, associate professors; 25 percent, assistant professors; and 9 percent, lecturers or instructors. Politically, 25 percent of the faculty described themselves as "radical," 48 percent as "liberal," 20 percent as "moderate," and 6 percent as "conservative." No one described her/himself as "far right." Eleven of the sample faculty were born outside the United States—seven in the humanities division, and 2 each in the social sciences and humanities. Continents of origin included Asia (Southeast and South), Europe, South America, and North America. Finally, 65 percent reported including racial/ethnic content in one or more of their classes; 35 percent did not.
 5. Analyses of variance, t-tests, and Sign Tests all assess the probability of whether a difference in average scores or proportional frequencies among two or more groups or two sets of data might merely represent random fluctuations in sample averages drawn from sets which have the SAME underlying average or frequency, in which case any difference observed would be judged "not significant," or whether the difference, given the frequency or range of scores, is large enough that we may conclude that it did not occur by chance. The accepted "standard" for drawing this conclusion in psychology is that a finding of the given magnitude would be predicted to occur only five or less times in 100 samples. When multiple tests are done, as in this study, one must use a more rigorous standard because the assessment of multiple tests raises the probability that any one of them will be "significant" by chance.

Correlations and Chi Square tests show whether or not two variables either vary in value together (correlations) or vary in frequency together (Chi Square). Two variables are significantly correlated IF knowledge of the value of one helps predict the value of the other. The relationship may be positive, in which case higher values on one variable predict higher values on the other, or negative, in

which case higher values on one predict lower values on the other. Chi Square tests measure whether knowledge of one non-numerical characteristic of an individual helps predict their characteristic on another variable. For example, we might ask how many faculty in the social sciences and natural sciences teach content relevant to diversity. If the proportion of natural sciences faculty teaching about diversity is sufficiently lower than the proportion of social sciences faculty teaching about diversity, then we may conclude that there is a “real” difference, not just a randomly observed difference, between the likelihood that natural scientists and social scientists will teach about diversity.

6. Psychologists judge that a significance level of .05 or less is a “significant” result that supports a conclusion that an outcome consistent with the hypothesized outcome is not just a chance finding.
7. All of the probability levels described in the text are, by convention, labeled “statistically significant” in most cases. When a researcher makes many statistical comparisons, as in this case, a “lower” probability should be used before judging a result significant because the collective probability of any of the results occurring by chance must be considered.

The LOWER the probability level, the LESS LIKELY it is that the result is merely a chance one, and the more likely it is that the result reflects an hypothesized outcome.

8. T1*****. The faculty were found to be more supportive of diversity than expected by chance. (One sample, one sided t-test = -4.361, df = 75, $p < .0001$.)
9. T1*****. The faculty were significantly more likely to see diversity as essential to fulfilling the college’s mission than expected by chance. (One sample, one sided t-test = -9.748, df = 79, $p < .0001$.)
10. T1*****. The faculty significantly disagree with the statement that an emphasis on diversity has lowered the quality of the institution. (One sample, one-tail t-test = 10.96; df = 74; $p < .0001$)
11. T1*****. The faculty significantly disagree with the statement that an emphasis on diversity has lowered the quality of the student body (One sample, one-tail t-test = 11.86; df = 72; $p < .0001$.)
12. (F*****; T1*****)
13. A repeated measures ANOVA indicated that the forms of diversity differed significantly from one another ($F_{9,56} [504] = 6.99$; $p < .0001$). Detailed comparisons indicated that faculty judged racial and ethnic diversity to be more important in contributing to the quality of learning than was a “range of ages,” “differing academic majors,” and geographic diversity. Our sample t-tests were performed using the scale midpoint, 3, as the hypothesized mean. “Racial/ethnic diversity,” “gender balance,” and “international diversity” had t values of 3.7 or greater with associated individual probabilities of less than .0005 (one-tailed), which is an acceptable criterion of significance given the 10 comparisons that were made [to be collectively significant at the .05 level, each comparison had to reach a probability of occurrence under the assumption of chance of .005 or less]. The three forms of diversity judged to be marginally important to the faculty had t values with probabilities of occurrence ranging between .02 and .01 (one-tailed), which did not meet the standard for significance necessary in the context of multiple comparisons. The final four comparisons were not significantly judged to be important.
14. T1*****. The faculty significantly agree that “racial-ethnic diversity in your classroom allows for a broader variety of experiences to be shared” sometimes through very often. One sample, one-tail t-test, $t = 9.32$, df = 68, $p < .0001$.

15. T1*****. The faculty significantly agree that minority students sometimes through very often raises issues/perspectives not raised by non-minority students. One sample, one-tail t-test, $t = 6.73$, $df = 69$, $p < .0001$.
16. T1*****. The faculty significantly agree that race/ethnic issues are sometimes through always discussed more substantively in a diverse classroom than in a homogeneous classroom. One sample, one-tail t-test, $t = 5.293$, $df = 50$, $p < .0001$.
17. T1*****. The faculty significantly agree that students in their racially/ethnically diverse classroom are sometimes through always more likely to incorporate relevant racial and ethnic issues in their assignments. One sample, one-tail t-test = 5.95; $df = 53$; $p < .0001$.
18. In addition to the two forms of stereotypes reported in the main body of the paper and in Figure 5, faculty agreed that two other types of stereotypes were significantly more likely to be confronted in diverse than in homogeneous classes, those about "racial/ethnic issues" ($t = 5.23$; $df = 49$; $p < .0001$) and those about "personal experiences." ($t = 4.85$; $df = 44$; $p < .0001$). Because the content overlapped somewhat with other questions, these two results have been relegated to this footnote.
19. T1*****. Faculty significantly find that students in diverse classrooms are sometimes through always more likely to have stereotypes confronted concerning social/political issues. One sample, one-tail t-test = 4.39; $df = 48$; $p < .0001$.
20. T1*****. Faculty significantly find that students in diverse classrooms are sometimes through always more likely to have stereotypes confronted concerning substantive issues in their field. One sample, one-tail t-test = 4.39; $df = 48$; $p < .0001$.
21. T1*****. The faculty agree that diversity never "impedes the discussion of substantive issues." One sample, one-tail t-test = -5.35 , $df = 72$; $p < .0001$. [*No-never = 58; sometimes through very often = 15.*]
22. T1*. On average, faculty agree that diversity NEVER "create[s] tensions and arguments along racial/ethnic lines." One sample, one-tail t-test = -2.21 ; $df = 69$; $p < .02$. Note that this result must be judged as marginal at best since the associated probability is rather high in this context of multiple comparisons.
23. T1*****. Faculty significantly agree that "interaction between students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds" is important or very important in "helping students develop a willingness to examine their own perspectives and values." One sample, one-tail t-test = 3.97, $df = 67$, $p < .0001$.
24. T1*****. Faculty significantly agree that white students are positively affected in the issues they consider by the presence of students of other racial/ethnic groups in the classroom. One sample, one-tail t-test = -3.82 ; $df = 60$; $p < .0002$.
25. T1***. Faculty significantly agree that white students are positively affected in the issues they consider by the presence of students of other racial/ethnic groups in the classroom. One sample, one-tail t-test = -2.86 ; $df = 62$; $p < .005$.
26. T1*****. Faculty significantly agree that their "views about racial/ethnic diversity" have been POSITIVELY "affected by racially/ethnically diverse classrooms." One sample, one-tail t-test = -5.75 ; $df = 67$; $p < .0001$.
27. Rank and gender are significantly related to each other. (Chi Square between rank and gender $\chi^2 = 15.18$, $df = 3$, $p < .005$.)
28. Gender and political choice are significantly related. (Chi Square between gender and political choice $\chi^2 = 14.30$, $df = 3$, $p < .005$.)
29. Rank and political choice were significantly related. Chi Square between academic rank and political choice $\chi^2 = 19.20$, $df = 9$, $p < .05$.
30. Within the faculty, we would expect those whose disciplines also have incorporated a commitment to diversity to value diversity more highly. Historians, sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists are examples of disciplines in which the

principal professional association has affirmed the pedagogical and professional value of diversity. But within each discipline lie a range of topical foci that may or may not include racial/ethnic diversity as part of the content. Of the traditional liberal arts disciplines, we could expect those in the humanities and social sciences and perhaps some of those in the biological sciences to be most likely to include diversity as a focal topic. And we might also expect that preprofessional programs such as education, those disciplines that have many preparing for medical, business, law, theological, social work, public service, etc., to be concerned about social diversity in the populations served.

Indeed, we find that those in the humanities and social sciences do report higher benefit from diversity in the classroom than those in the social sciences. Indeed, some faculty responded "not relevant" to questions concerning the effect of diversity even though these same faculty had agreed that diversity was an important institutional value.

31. The Chi Square test was used to compare Political Choice with Inclusion of ethnic content. $\chi^2 = 12.67$; $df = 6$; $p < .05$. Comparing the two political anchors in this population, "far left" and "conservative," we find that 25% of those who describe themselves as "far left" teach a class focused on racial/ethnic diversity in comparison to none of those describing themselves as "conservative." On contrast, only 5% of the "far left" include no racial ethnic content, in contrast to 40% of "conservatives."
32. Faculty were divided into two categories, liberal (far left and liberal) and conservative (moderate, conservative). The average score of the two groups was compared on their judgments about whether diversity in the classroom had positively affected their views about racial and ethnic diversity. Both groups judged diversity to have had a positive effect on their views, but liberal faculty rated the effect as significantly more positive than did conservative faculty. (Unpaired, 1-tail t-test = -2.65; $df = 65$; $p < .005$.)
33. F*****; CLASS > CONTENT, T2*****; CONTENT > NONE, T2*****. In a one-way analysis of variance, the extent to which faculty taught about diversity was found to be related significantly to extent to which they endorsed the statement that a diverse classroom "increases the range of issues/perspectives . . . discussed" in the predicted direction. $F = 12.53$, $df(2,64)$; $p < .0001$. Planned comparisons: Class v. Content: $t = 3.97$, $df = 46$, $p < .0005$; Content v. None: $t = 4.71$, $df = 53$, $p < .0001$.
34. F*****; CLASS > CONTENT T2*; CONTENT > NONE, T2***. Two items concern whether "a critical mass" of students of a particular racial or ethnic group is important in determining if students will participate in the class, and whether participation in class discussions is increased by the presence of others of the same race/ethnicity. The two items were highly correlated ($r = .726$) and were combined. A one-way analysis of variance using Teach Diversity as a grouping variable revealed that the more faculty taught about diversity, the more they judged the presence of more than a token number of students to be important in whether students participated. $F = 8.43$; $df(2,43)$; $p < .001$. Planned Comparisons: Class v. Content: $t = 2.04$; $df = 32$; $p < .02$; Content v. None: $t = 2.65$; $df = 34$; $p < .006$.
35. In a one-way analysis of variance, the extent to which faculty taught about diversity was found to be related significantly to the extent to which they endorsed the statements "it is important to have diversity both to encourage students to examine their own views", and also to "expose them to perspectives with which they disagree or which they do not understand" in the predicted direction. $F = 8.51$; $df = (2,62)$; $p < .0005$. Planned comparisons: Class v. Content: $t = 2.16$, $df = 47$, $p < .03$; Content v. None: $t = 2.81$, $df = 51$, $p < .01$. Please note that two similar items were

- summed in this comparison in order to simplify reporting. The correlation between the two items was very high ($r = .889$).
36. F*****; CLASS > CONTENT, T2*, CONTENT > NONE, T2****. In a one-way analysis of variance, the extent to which faculty taught about diversity was found to be related significantly to extent to which they endorsed the statement that diversity in the classroom is important in "helping students develop their ability to think critically." One-way ANOVA $df(2,65)$ $F = 12.243$, $p < .0001$. One-tail planned comparisons: Class v. Content: $t = -2.36$, $df = 45$, $p < .01$; Content v. None: $t = -3.45$, $df = 54$, $p < .0005$.
 37. F*; CLASS > CONTENT, T2*, CONTENT > NONE, T2 NS. In a one-way analysis of variance, the extent to which faculty taught about diversity was found to be related significantly to the extent to which they endorsed the statement that diversity in the classroom is important in "helping students develop their ability to think critically." One-way ANOVA $df(2,61)$ $F = 3.74$, $p < .05$. One-tail planned comparisons: Class vs. Content: $t = -1.81$, $df = 43$, $p < .05$; Content vs. None: $t = -1.46$, $df = 50$, $p = NS$.
 38. Eighteen faculty said 0–5 percent; 24 said 6–10 percent; nine said 11–15 percent; 12 said 16–25%; and four said over 40 percent. No one selected 26–40 percent.
 39. The median response was 11–15 percent with 72 percent ($n = 48$) of the faculty choosing this category or higher.
 40. ST, ****. One sample sign test, $p < .005$.
 41. T1, *****. Faculty agree that participation in class discussions is enhanced by the presence of other students from the same racial/ethnic group. One sample, one-tail t-test = 6.92; $df = 57$; $p < .0001$.
 42. T1*****. Faculty significantly agree that "a critical mass of students of a particular racial/ethnic group is important to their participation." One-sample, one-tail t-test = 4.87; $df = 49$; $p < .0001$.

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