

**The Center for Research
on Developmental Education
and Urban Literacy**

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The Center for Research
on Developmental Education and Urban Literacy

Diversity and the Postsecondary Experience

Diversity

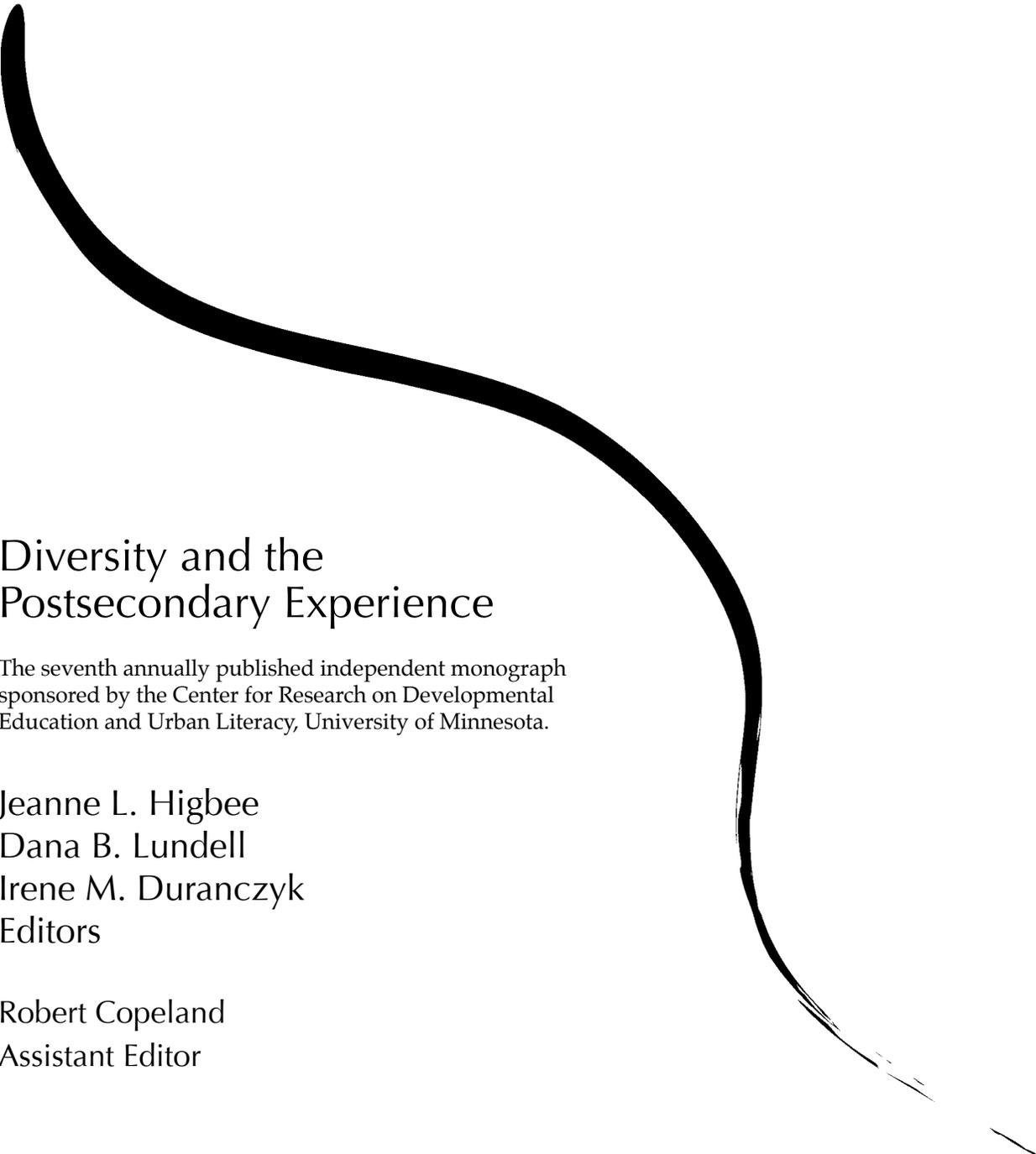
and the Postsecondary Experience

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*Jeanne L. Higbee
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Editors*



Diversity and the Postsecondary Experience

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Introduction

Jeanne L. Higbee, Dana B. Lundell, and Irene M. Duranczyk
University of Minnesota

During the past year the Center for Research on Developmental Education and Urban Literacy (CRDEUL) has moved from the former General College (GC), which after 74 years of service to a diverse student body closed its doors on June 30, 2006, to the University of Minnesota's new College of Education and Human Development (CEHD). In fall 2005 when we chose the title for this monograph, *Diversity and the Postsecondary Experience*, we could not have predicted that the new mission statement for CEHD would focus on three Ms: multiculturalism, multidisciplinary, and models. With this volume we celebrate that mission. These chapters provide insights from multidisciplinary perspectives on how to enhance multicultural efforts and create new models for postsecondary education.

This monograph begins with three chapters that pertain to the former GC and its successor, the Department of Postsecondary Teaching and Learning (PsTL). In "Student Perceptions of Their Multicultural Learning Environment: A Closer Look," Jeanne Higbee, Kwabena Siaka, and Pat Bruch describe the Multicultural Awareness Project for Institutional Transformation (MAP IT) and the results of the final administration of the MAP IT Student Questionnaire in GC. Similarly, David Ghere, Amy Kampsen, Irene Duranczyk, and Laurene Christensen present faculty and staff MAP IT results in "Adopting and Integrating

Multiculturalism: A Closing Assessment of General College." Finally, students from two GC-PsTL courses, "The First-Year Experience" and "Psychology of Personal Development," share their insights regarding the benefits of being part of a diverse community of learners in "Diversity and the Postsecondary Experience: Students Give Voice to Their Perspectives" by Renee Barron, Joseph Pieper, Tao Lee, Phouthakannha Nantharath, Jeanne Higbee, and Jennifer Schultz.

In "Experiences of Japanese Women Students in a Study-Abroad Program in the U.S.," Miki Yamashita presents the results of a qualitative study of the intercultural learning experience of a group of students from a Japanese university who traveled together to study in the U.S. Laurene Christensen also explores intercultural learning in her discussion of training U.S. students as future teachers of English in "A Case Study of Intercultural Development for Pre-service Language Teachers."

Although Deb Casey's research is related to professional preparation in the allied health sciences, the implications of her work are equally applicable to many professional preparation programs, including in education and social work. In "Students With Psychological Disabilities in Allied Health Sciences Programs: Enhancing Access and Retention," Deb reflects on barriers to success for students with psychological disabilities.

The next two chapters provide new models to guide postsecondary education. In “Conceptual Framework of Cultural Capital Development: A New Perspective for the Success of Diverse College Students,” Steven Aragon and Brad Kose review the literature related to the impact of cultural capital on college student retention and provide a model for reflecting on this construct. Randy Moore’s model, presented in “Diverse Behaviors, Diverse Results: A Motivation-Based Model for Students’ Academic Outcomes,” focuses on how student expectations and behaviors influence outcomes.

This monograph concludes with Mary Ellen Daniloff-Merrill’s insights related to “Ethics and English as a Second Language Writing Assignments.” This chapter serves as a reminder to all of us to avoid making assumptions as we consider students’ diverse backgrounds and experiences.

We want to thank each of these authors for their contributions to this volume. We also thank former Interim Dean Terry Collins and new CEHD Dean Darlyne Bailey for their support of this monograph. In addition, we want to express our appreciation to CRDEUL administrative staff member Robert Copeland for his many contributions to coordinating this work, and to our editorial board members who provide masked reviews for each manuscript and offer many helpful suggestions to the authors.

The editors,
Jeanne, Dana, and Irene



Student Perceptions of Their Multicultural Learning Environment: A Closer Look

Jeanne L. Higbee, Kwabena Siaka, and Patrick L. Bruch
University of Minnesota

This chapter reports on the results of a study using the Multicultural Awareness Project for Institutional Transformation (MAP IT) Student Questionnaire to assess the perceptions of students enrolled in the developmental education unit of a large public research university about their multicultural learning environment. Faculty and staff considered it imperative to gauge whether the academic unit was achieving its inclusive mission and to determine whether different student populations had similar experiences and what further steps might be taken to create welcoming spaces for all students.

Over the past five years the members of the Multicultural Concerns Committee (MCC) in the General College (GC), which until July 2006 served as the developmental education unit of the University of Minnesota, engaged in a series of theoretical (Barajas, 2005; Barajas & Higbee, 2003; Bruch, Jehangir, Jacobs, & Ghare, 2004; Higbee & Barajas, in press) and research projects (Bruch & Higbee, 2002; Bruch, Jehangir, Lundell, Higbee, & Miksch, 2005; Higbee, Bruch, Jehangir, Lundell, & Miksch, 2003; Higbee, Miksch, Jehangir, Lundell, Bruch, & Jiang, 2004; Higbee & Siaka, 2005; Miksch, Bruch, Higbee, Jehangir, & Lundell, 2003) to explore whether GC fulfilled its mission's promise (Gray Brown, 2005; Higbee, Lundell, & Arendale, 2005) to provide a welcoming multicultural learning, teaching, and working environment. We began with a qualitative study of how we define multicultural developmental education and our attitudes toward embedding multiculturalism in our work (Bruch & Higbee). We then used *Diversity Within Unity:*

Essential Principles for Teaching and Learning in a Multicultural Society (Banks, Cookson, Gay, Hawley, Jordan Irvine, Nieto, Ward Schofield, & Stephan, 2001) as a springboard for further research. *Diversity Within Unity* provided 12 essential principles and an assessment device for educators working in elementary through secondary (K-12) educational institutions. We adapted this work to develop the *Multicultural Awareness Project for Institutional Transformation* (MAP IT; Miksch, Higbee, Jehangir, Lundell, Bruch, Siaka, & Dotson, 2003), which includes 10 guiding principles for postsecondary educators and four assessment instruments: for (a) faculty and instructional staff, (b) student services staff, (c) administrators, and (d) students. We piloted the student questionnaire in GC in spring 2003 (Higbee & Siaka), and then administered the revised final version of the instrument to a new, larger cohort of GC students in 2004. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an in-depth look at the student results, including how students who

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affiliate with social identities that have historically been underrepresented in higher education have shared some common perceptions, but have also experienced GC's multicultural environment in different ways. In other publications we have addressed how students' perceptions were similar or different from those of faculty and staff (Higbee, Siaka, & Bruch, in press) and students' open-ended comments on their experiences (Bruch, Higbee, & Siaka, 2006), without having the space within a standard-length journal article to report demographic differences. In this chapter we will explore these differences, how we interpret them, and why these findings support our belief that it is crucial to engage in research of this nature.

Definition of Terms

For purposes of this research, we define the term "diversity" broadly to include social identities related to race, ethnicity, culture, home language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, social class, age, and disability. We define multiculturalism as how we respond to these diverse identities: "If diversity is an empirical condition—the existence of multiple group identities in a society—multiculturalism names a particular posture towards this reality" (Miksch, Bruch, Higbee, Jehangir, & Lundell, 2003, p. 6). Previous research documents that diversity contributes to the richness of the educational experience (Antonio, 2001; Blimling, 2001; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Milem & Hakuta, 2000; Smith & Schonfeld, 2000). However, diversity alone is not enough. In order to create multicultural environments in which all students feel welcomed, we must also explore how our attitudes shape our policies, curricula, pedagogy, and student services.

Theoretical Framework

Although multicultural education is viewed as a relatively new field of inquiry, if looked at broadly its theoretical underpinnings are rooted in research from many different disciplines (Gorski, 1999; Gorski & Covert, 1996/2000). Theoretical perspectives from such diverse venues as critical pedagogy (Friere, 1970), psychology (Whiting, 1993), and learning theories such as those related to cooperative learning (Johnson, 2005; Johnson &

Johnson, 1995; Johnson, Johnson & Smith, 1998) all have provided pieces of the theoretical foundations that support multicultural education theory.

Tharp (1994) presented a scheme that places the kind of analysis that is conducive to multicultural work within a comprehensive framework that consists of four levels (i.e., phylogenesis, ethnogenesis, ontogenesis, and microgenesis) of causal developmental processes, which are interactive and contribute to every human event. The phylogenetic level of causation operates through processes considered "evolutionary" because they occur over a time span that can range from millennia to eons. The ethnogenetic level of causation is the process whereby a people (e.g., an ethnic group) comes into being and modifies the terms of its existence. Traditional psychology is based on ontogenetic analysis, in the sense of accounting for present conditions by reference to life history (i.e., time spans from a decade to a century). The microgenetic level of causation operates through acquisitional processes, such as learning, imitation, and the like, and in time periods that vary from moments to decades. The microgenetic level, according to Tharp (p. 1), is the common lens utilized in academia. Tharp suggested instead that we consider cognitive and educational issues and policies at the ethnogenetic level, "taking into account the historical processes of culture of origin, but considering them as they are filtered by events and forces in individual life history, learning experiences, and current conditions. . . . [T]o consider less than the entire layered funnel of developmental processes," he argued, "would indeed result in stereotyping, and deny the richness of the individual differences in accommodation characteristic of the members of each ethnic group" (p. 3). A theoretical framework that is more historically holistic is probably more just. And when conducting research related to multicultural education, not only should we consider cultural contexts, but through how we approach this work we can also encourage this multilayered consideration of multiculturalism among our "research subjects," whether postsecondary administrators, faculty, staff, or students.

Another approach to multicultural education theory is that of Banks (1981, 1994, 1997), who rooted his theoretical perspectives in the idea



of educational equality. Banks introduced five dimensions of multicultural education: content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and creation of empowering school cultures. Although Banks' work has been in the area of K-12 education, his theoretical approach is equally applicable to higher education (Bruch, Higbee, & Lundell, 2003, 2004). Sleeter (1989; Sleeter & Grant, 1987, 2003), Gay (2000), Nieto (1996; 1999), and others built on this perspective, grounding their work in the ideal of equal educational opportunity and the connection between school transformation and social change. In essence, they argued that we should extend our efforts while remaining mindful that promoting educational equality in its fullest sense will require a societal transformation.

Extending to the next logical step, the global perspective adopted by some multicultural theorists is also linked to conversations on democratic values (e.g., Dewey, 1916), cultural pluralism (Cheatham, 1991), and global interdependence (Bethel, 2000). Globalization, in an educational sense, could be framed as a multicultural education issue. The world today is perceived as shrinking, and there is a growing awareness that we are all connected. Interdependence and the consequent need to develop the kind of intercultural skills necessary to traverse a multicultural terrain complicated by new and more immediate closeness compels us further to address the issues inherent in a pluralistic society.

Identity theory (Chickering, 1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Cross, 1971; Helms, 1990) also contributes to multicultural perspectives. Identity theory has suggested that social forces that impede human identity development can be problematic for the individual and, by implication, for society in general. The need for educators to address these developmental issues is crucial for creating mature, competent individuals who are able to function in a diverse world. Banks added that the development of a national identity (i.e., a commitment to democratic ideals such as human dignity, justice, and equality) is the next step for both individuals and institutions (Banks et al., 2001). Globalization posits that this national identity be situated within a global multicultural framework.

Critical pedagogy and feminist theory have also made significant contributions to the development of multicultural education theory. Shor (1992), West (1993a, 1993b), and hooks (1994) argued that it is necessary to explore power relationships in and out of the classroom, and feminist theory (e.g., Bell & Cahill, 1992) has suggested that we look at hierarchical relationships and their effect on educational settings. Part of the problem underlying the current structure in education is seen as a reenactment of the power struggle for dominance played out in American society. This struggle is subtle and sometimes denied, but it is thought to drive educational policy and direction by influencing what is taught and how the protagonists are portrayed.

All of these authors' perspectives contributed to the development of the *Multicultural Awareness Project for Institutional Transformation* (MAP IT; Miksch, Higbee, et al., 2003), which provided both the theoretical framework and the instrument used for this research. MAP IT recognizes that transformation must occur at the individual, institutional, societal, and global levels. The goal of the research presented in this chapter is to provide a benchmark—a starting place against which the accomplishments of future endeavors can be measured.

Method

As previously indicated, we conducted our research in the General College, which at the time of this study was one of the few large developmental education units continuing to provide access to students considered underprepared for admission to a Carnegie I public research university. GC demonstrated its commitment to a multicultural mission through (a) college-wide retreats, trainings, and professional development resources; (b) support for visiting scholars; (c) research support; (d) institutional advocacy; and (e) recruitment and retention of diverse faculty, staff, and students. At the time these data were collected, there were 12 faculty members in the tenure track: 5 were women, and 6 were faculty of color. In terms of students, on a campus with 11% students of color including those in GC, of 894 new students in fall 2003—the cohort involved in this research—46.5% were students of color.



Instrumentation

The questionnaire used for this research was designed to assess how students evaluate multicultural aspects of their collegiate experience (Miksch, Higbee, et al., 2003). The survey items are organized into 10 sections; one of the MAP IT guiding principles introduces each set of items. When responding to the survey items, students were directed to think broadly and inclusively about such terms as “multicultural” and “diverse groups” (i.e., to include race, religion, gender, ethnicity, culture, home language, social class, sexual orientation, age, and disability). The Likert-type response scale provided options of 1 to 4 for which 1 was defined as “never or almost never,” 2 indicated “occasionally,” 3 signified “often,” and 4 represented “almost always or always.” In addition, students could select “not applicable” (NA) if they thought that the item did not apply to them, or “don’t know” (DK) if they thought that they had inadequate information to choose another response. At the end of each set of items, students also had the opportunity to provide comments or clarify their answers. The survey also included four demographic items: (a) gender (male, female, or transgender); (b) native speaker of English (yes or no); (c) disability (yes or no); and (d) racial or ethnic identity (Hispanic and Latina-Latino, Asian American, Asian, Native American/Indigenous Peoples, Pacific Islander, African American, African, Caucasian, Biracial/Multiracial, and Other). We considered it critical to include more categories than those included in our own institution’s demographic choices (i.e., those used for official reporting purposes) in order to enable students to choose an option that more closely describes how they identify themselves. For example, the Twin Cities is home to several significant immigrant communities, including Hmong and East African. Some students identify themselves as “African” or “Asian” rather than as “African American” or “Asian American.”

Population

The population for this research was made up of all students enrolled in GC 1422: “Writing Laboratory: Communicating in Society” during

spring semester 2004. This course was selected because it is a requirement for all GC students. Thus, the majority of students who entered the General College as first-year students in fall 2003 were enrolled in GC 1422 during spring 2004. Exceptions consisted primarily of students who had not passed the prerequisite course, GC 1421: “Writing Laboratory: Basic Writing,” and those who withdrew from the University or failed to reenroll following fall semester. Thus, the population for the study was made up of students who had completed a full semester in GC, but were unlikely to have been in college for more than one semester.

Administration

During the first 3 weeks of the semester, the individual GC 1422 course instructors introduced the MAP IT project using a script provided by the researchers and approved by the university’s Institutional Review Board (IRB) that oversees the use of human subjects in research. The instructors provided students with a handout supplied by the researchers and asked students to log on to a Web site and complete the questionnaire either during class time (for some class periods the course is taught in a computer classroom) or outside of class. The Web site provided additional information about MAP IT as well as notification of implied consent, meaning that when the student submitted the completed questionnaire online, he or she was consenting to participation in this research. No incentives were provided to encourage students to respond to the questionnaire. Although seemingly a disadvantage, this practice enabled students to complete the instrument anonymously; to receive an incentive, students would have to have been required to identify themselves.

Data Analyses

Initially, after deleting “not applicable” and “don’t know” responses that had been assigned values of 5 or 6, the overall mean, median, mode, and standard deviation were determined for each item. Crosstabs and Chi square analyses were then conducted to determine whether significant differences occurred among demographic groups.



Results

Out of the 629 students registered for the course, 406 responded to the survey, for a response rate of 65%. Due to incomplete responses, only 403 of the questionnaires were used in the analysis of the results. Of the students who responded to the demographic items, 195 (48% of the total sample) were female, 182 (45%) were male, and 2 (1%) identified as transgendered. To the item related to race or ethnicity, 23 (6% of the total sample) said they were Hispanic or Latina-Latino, 48 (12%) identified as African American while 17 (4%) identified themselves as African, 55 (16%) wrote that they were Asian American and 22 (6%) self-identified as Asian, 3 (1%) were Pacific Islander, 17 (4%) identified as Biracial or Multiracial, 169 (42%) were Caucasian, and 13 (3%) listed themselves as "other." None of the students self-identified as

Native American. The majority of the responding students (301, or 75%) were native speakers of English; 6% of the students indicated that they have a disability. The results of the study are presented first as they relate to MAP IT's guiding principles. We then summarize some of the most significant differences found on the basis of demographics.

Institutional Governance, Organization, and Equity

This series of items asked questions like, "As you understand the mission of the General College (GC), does that mission make a commitment to access for diverse students?" for which the mean response was 3.39, but 66 students (16%) responded "don't know." For this item there were no significant differences on the basis of disability, but for students who are female ($p < .001$) or English language

<i>Guiding Principle 1: The educational institution should articulate a commitment to supporting access to higher education for a diverse group of students, thus providing the opportunity for all students to benefit from a multicultural learning environment.</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>Mode</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
1.1 As you understand the mission of the General College (GC), does that mission make a commitment to access for diverse students?	3.39	3	4	.685	322
1.2 Is a commitment to multicultural issues central to the mission of the General College?	3.15	3	3	.745	313
1.3 Does GC support higher education for students from all cultural groups?	3.59	4	4	.673	362
1.4 Does GC attempt to recruit and retain a diverse student body?	3.47	4	4	.762	345
1.5 Does GC operate in a manner that values a multicultural learning environment in which all students will learn?	3.46	4	4	.673	36
1.6 Do you think that it is beneficial to be part of a multicultural learning environment?	3.49	4	4	.746	387
1.7 During the admissions process, did you feel welcomed?	3.24	3	4	.852	386
1.8 Do you believe that you are a valued member of the General College educational community?	3.06	3	4	.923	376

Figure 1. Mean, median, and mode for items pertaining to the first MAP IT guiding principle.



learners ($p < .05$) the responses were significantly higher. There were also significant differences ($p < .001$) on the basis of race and ethnicity, with more positive responses from African, Hispanic and Latina-Latino, Caucasian, and Multiracial students, and less favorable responses from African American, Asian American, and Asian students. For the item asking, "Is a commitment to multicultural issues central to the mission of the General College?" the mean was 3.15, but 76 students (19%) answered "don't know." For this item no significant differences were found on the basis of gender, disability, or native language, but African American, Caucasian, and Multiracial students

provided significantly higher ($p < .001$) responses than other racial and ethnic groups.

Although the means for all of the items within this group were relatively high, ranging from 3.06 to 3.59, as presented in Figure 1, one disconcerting finding was that for four of the items students with disabilities had significantly lower responses, including "Does GC operate in a manner that values a multicultural learning environment in which all students will learn?" ($p < .01$), "Do you think that it is beneficial to be part of a multicultural learning environment?" ($p < .05$), "During the admissions process, did you feel welcomed?" ($p < .01$), and

Guiding Principle 2: The educational institution's organizational structure should ensure that decision making is shared appropriately and that members of the educational community learn to collaborate in creating a supportive environment for students, staff, and faculty.

	<i>M</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>Mode</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
2.1 Are students involved in the decisions made in the General College that affect the learning environment?	2.52	3	3	.926	255
2.2 Do you as a student have the opportunity to participate in planning and/or decision making in GC?	2.37	2	3	.986	310
2.3 Through student organizations, campus-wide committees, or other participation in college life, do you personally play a role in decision making?	2.16	2	1	1.042	351
2.4 Do you believe that the GC educational community is a supportive environment?	3.22	3	3	.719	375
2.5 Does GC promote cooperation between students, faculty, and staff?	3.34	3	4	.710	375
2.6 Are administrators, faculty, and staff (e.g., advisors) invested in your success as a student?	3.19	3	3	.817	373
2.7 Does GC operate in a manner that values diverse views and experiences?	3.35	3	4	.687	370
2.8 At the University of Minnesota, have you been discriminated against on the basis of race, ethnicity, home language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, social class, age, disability, or any other group identification?	1.49	1	1	.891	366
2.9 Does discrimination hinder your opportunities to participate fully in the General College?	1.66	1	1	.998	343

Figure 2. Mean, median, and mode for items pertaining to the second MAP IT guiding principle.

“Do you believe that you are a valued member of the General College educational community?” ($p < .001$). For the last item, males ($p < .001$), Caucasians ($p < .001$), and Asian Americans ($p < .001$) also provided significantly lower responses.

There were also three items for which English language learners had significantly less favorable responses: “Does GC support higher education for students from all cultural groups?” ($p < .001$), “Does GC attempt to to recruit and retain a diverse student body?” ($p < .001$), and “Does GC operate in a manner that values a multicultural learning environment in which all students will learn?” ($p < .01$).

Decision Making and Collaboration for a Supportive Environment

All items and mean responses related to this MAP IT guiding principle are provided in Figure 2. The first three items in this set were related to students’ roles in decision making, for which there were relatively large proportions of students who answered “not applicable” or “don’t know.” For the question, “Are students involved in the decisions made in the General College that affect the learning environment?” there were significant differences in response in all four demographic categories, including lower responses from males ($p < .001$),

English language learners ($p < .001$), and students with disabilities ($p < .01$).

The next four items under this guiding principle were related to the provision of a supportive learning environment, and the means were relatively high, ranging from 3.19 to 3.35, but males ($p < .001$) and students with disabilities ($p < .001$) once again gave significantly lower responses. Finally, the last two items asked very specifically about discrimination. The mean response to “At the University of Minnesota, have you been discriminated against on the basis of race, ethnicity, home language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, social class, age, disability, or any other group identification?” was 1.49, where 1 signified “never or almost never” and 2 indicated “occasionally.” Women ($p < .001$) and students with disabilities ($p < .001$) gave significantly higher (i.e., greater incidence of discrimination) responses, while Caucasians ($p < .001$) reported that they were less likely to have experienced discrimination. Similarly, in response to “Does discrimination hinder your opportunities to participate fully in the General College?” for which the mean response was 1.66, females, English language learners, and students with disabilities all reported significantly higher ($p < .001$) incidences of discrimination. There were also significant differences on the basis of race and ethnicity, as illustrated by the distributions in Table 1.

Table 1
Discrimination as a Barrier to Participation by Race and Ethnicity

Social Identity	<u>Response Category</u>				n
	1	2	3	4	
Hispanic/Latino/a	80%	0%	10%	10%	23
African American	50%	13%	14%	8%	48
African	56%	29%	7%	7%	17
Asian American	50%	29%	16%	5%	55
Asian	47%	19%	15%	19%	22
Pacific Islander	100%	0%	0%	0%	3
Caucasian	78%	6%	12%	4%	169
Biracial/Multiracial	72%	0%	18%	10%	17



Professional Development for Faculty and Staff

This series of five items, presented in Figure 3, asked about faculty and staff members' understanding of the ways in which factors such as race, ethnicity, home language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, social class, age, and disability influence all individuals and institutions and whether GC faculty and staff exhibited this understanding in their teaching styles and other outward demonstrations of their values and attitudes. Hispanic and Latina-Latino students consistently responded more positively to all five items in this set than students from other racial and ethnic groups. For example, to the item that asked, "Do administrators, faculty, and staff demonstrate a knowledge and understanding of diverse groups?" 69% of Hispanic and Latina-Latino students marked 4, "almost always or always," and another 21% chose 3, "often." For the one item in this set that took this line of questioning to a more personal level, "Do your teachers seem interested in understanding your background as it relates to learning?" there were significant differences

in all four demographic categories. Females ($p < .001$) and non-native speakers of English ($p < .005$) provided more positive responses, while students with disabilities ($p < .005$) and Multiracial students ($p < .001$) had less favorable impressions.

Equal Opportunity to Learn

The fourth guiding principle proposes that "Educational institutions should equally enable all students to learn and excel." When asked whether the General College accomplishes this goal, females ($p < .001$) provided more positive responses, while Caucasians ($p < .001$) and students with disabilities ($p < .005$) were less likely to feel strongly that GC succeeded in this area. In general, however, students provided a mean response of 3.45, and both the mean and mode for this item were 4, "almost always or always," as reported in Figure 4. Most other items in this set had similarly high means, but when asked, "Do you have opportunities to interact with appropriate role models on campus?" the mean was only 2.87. Although there were no significant gender differences on this item, nor were

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

	<i>M</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>Mode</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
3.1 Through your interactions with administrators, faculty, and staff in the General College, do you believe that they understand the ways in which factors (such as race, ethnicity, home language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, social class, age, and disability) influence all individuals and institutions?	3.16	3	3	.746	340
3.2 Do administrators, faculty, and staff demonstrate a knowledge and understanding of diverse groups?	3.14	3	3	.728	360
3.3 Do administrators, faculty, and staff seem aware of their own personal attitudes toward people from diverse groups?	3.11	3	3	.761	349
3.4 Do your teachers seem interested in understanding your background as it relates to learning?	2.96	3	3	.928	367
3.5 Do your teachers know how to effectively teach students from diverse backgrounds?	3.11	3	3	.763	337

Figure 3. Mean, median, and mode for items pertaining to the third MAP IT guiding principle.

there differences related to disability, there were differences ($p < .001$) on the basis of race, ethnicity, and home language. English language learners were less likely to perceive the availability of role models on campus, as were Asian American, Asian, and Biracial or Multiracial students.

Ways of Knowing

The fifth MAP IT guiding principle states, “Educational institutions should help students understand how knowledge and personal experiences are shaped by contexts (social, political, economic, historical, etc.) in which we live and work, and how their voices and ways of knowing can shape the academy.” As demonstrated in Figure 5, the means for the 12 items corresponding to this principle were surprisingly consistent, ranging from 2.94 to 3.21, except for the item that asked whether courses have “provided opportunities for civic engagement (community involvement), such as service learning” for which the mean was 2.36, and 28 students (7%) responded “not applicable” and 40 students (10%) answered “don’t know.” A larger proportion of male students reported having opportunities for civic engagement ($p < .001$). There were also significant differences ($p < .001$) on the basis of race and ethnicity,

with Hispanic and Latina-Latino, African American, and African students indicating more opportunities for civic engagement within their coursework than Caucasian, Asian American, Asian, or Biracial or Multiracial students.

Hispanic and Latina-Latino students responded “always or almost always” significantly more often ($p < .001$) than other racial and ethnic groups to items pertaining to students’ personal background and experiences in the classroom, such as “Have you had the opportunity in your classes to share your experiences and perspectives?” (69% of Hispanic and Latina-Latino students marked 4) and “Has your cultural group been portrayed accurately and respectfully in the courses you have taken?” (54% chose 4). Meanwhile, overall 30 students (7%) responded “not applicable,” and 37 (9%) answered “don’t know” for this item.

In fact, perhaps the most surprising finding within this set of items was the number of “don’t know” responses. For example, 155 students (38%) did not know that “a course that explores multicultural perspectives [is] a degree requirement at the University of Minnesota,” and 40 (10%) could not answer whether “opportunities [are] available...

Guiding Principle 4: Educational institutions should equally enable all students to learn and excel.					
	<i>M</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>Mode</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
4.1 Does GC equally enable all students to learn and excel?	3.45	4	4	.688	366
4.2 Do you have opportunities to interact with appropriate role models on campus?	2.87	3	3	.944	347
4.3 Do your teachers provide the help you need to be successful in GC?	3.35	3	4	.717	372
4.4 Are you treated with respect by staff and faculty?	3.50	4	4	.661	377
4.5 Do you have the same opportunity to achieve your academic goals as any other student here in GC?	3.52	4	4	.684	368
4.6 Do the teaching strategies used by faculty in GC at accommodate diverse student interests and learning styles?	3.19	3	3	.725	345
4.7 Are you concerned about your safety on this campus?	1.83	2	1	.995	372

Figure 4. Mean, median, and mode for items pertaining to the fourth MAP IT guiding principle.



Guiding Principle 5: Educational institutions should help students understand how knowledge and personal experiences are shaped by contexts (social, political, economic, historical, etc.) in which we live and work, and how their voices and ways of knowing can shape the academy.

	<i>M</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>Mode</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
5.1 Is a course that explores multicultural perspectives a degree requirement at the University of Minnesota?	3.21	3	4	.892	215
5.2 Have the courses you have taken provided opportunities for civic engagement (community involvement), such as service learning?	2.36	2	3	1.022	314
5.3 Are opportunities available to you to study in diverse cultural environments, whether within or outside the U.S.?	3.11	3	3	.839	326
5.4 Are scholarships available to enable low-income students to participate in cross-cultural learning experiences such as international programs?	3.00	3	3	.933	270
5.5 Do your teachers present different theories or points of view about topics discussed in class?	3.11	3	3	.801	359
5.6 Have you had the opportunity in your classes to share your experiences and perspectives?	3.14	3	3	.844	362
5.7 Have the courses you have taken in GC helped you understand historical, social, and/or political events from diverse perspectives?	3.01	3	3	.854	355
5.8 Have the instructional materials such as textbooks, supplementary readings, computer applications, or videos described historical, social, and/or political events from diverse perspectives?	2.94	3	3	.871	354
5.9 Do your courses or teachers present the idea that how a person sees the world is influenced by her or his personal, political, and/or economic experience?	3.02	3	3	.767	344
5.10 When an idea or theory is presented, do you learn about the person or group from which it came?	2.95	3	3	.766	357
5.11 Are the references or examples presented in your classes drawn from different cultural groups?	3.00	3	3	.750	341
5.12 Has your cultural group been portrayed accurately and respectfully in the courses you have taken?	3.12	3	3	.849	310

Figure 5. Mean, median, and mode for items pertaining to the fifth MAP IT guiding principle.



to study in diverse cultural environments, whether within or outside the U.S.," while 101 (25%) did not know that "scholarships [are] available to enable low-income students to participate in cross-cultural learning experiences such as international programs."

Development of Social Skills

The sixth MAP IT guiding principle focuses on developing in students the social skills to communicate effectively in a multicultural world. The 10 items and means and standard deviations for this set of questions are provided in Figure 6. This set of items may be the most important in

Guiding Principle 6: Educational institutions should help students acquire the social skills needed to interact effectively within a multicultural educational community.					
	<i>M</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>Mode</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
6.1 Have your experiences in GC increased your ability or comfort in interacting with people from different cultures or groups?	3.06	3	3	.898	336
6.2 Do administrators, faculty, and staff such as counselors and advisors talk openly and constructively with you about multicultural issues?	2.80	3	3	.923	325
6.3 Whether within or outside of class, have you had the opportunity to interact with people from diverse backgrounds?	3.23	3	4	.814	347
6.4 Have they provided you with factual information that contradicts misconceptions and stereotypes?	2.83	3	3	.932	327
6.5 Has the importance of communication skills been presented in the courses you have taken?	3.08	3	3	.808	342
6.6 In the courses you have taken, have safe ground rules been set for engaging in meaningful discussions about multicultural issues?	3.04	3	3	.871	334
6.7 Have you had the opportunity to participate in simulations, role playing, writing as though you experienced something from another person's perspective, or other activities that enable you to gain insights into the impact of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination?	2.57	3	3	1.046	340
6.8 Have your courses required you to discuss cultural differences?	2.91	3	3	.890	342
6.9 Has developing an understanding between people of different cultures been a goal in the courses you have taken?	2.80	3	3	.910	334
6.10 Have your courses in GC included learning that "normal" is defined differently for different groups of people?	3.02	3	3	.877	319

Figure 6. Mean, median, and mode for items pertaining to the sixth MAP IT guiding principle.



informing faculty about aspects of the results that might shape their teaching in the future. The means for most of the items in this set cluster around 3, which denotes “often.” Thus, it appears that on a regular basis GC faculty and staff put into practice their commitment to create welcoming learning environments that support the exchange of ideas and to integrate multicultural content in their teaching as well as in interactions and activities that occur outside the classroom, but not to the extent that students would respond “almost always or always.” In general, significant differences at the $p < .001$ level were found on the basis of race and ethnicity for all of these items, and students who identified as Hispanic or Latina-Latino consistently answered more positively than other students. Meanwhile, the lower mean (2.57) and high standard deviation (1.046) for item 6.7 sends the message that more can be done to use creative pedagogy to facilitate learning about stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. Interestingly, for this

item Hispanic and Latina-Latino students’ pattern of responses was bimodal.

Another important finding was that there were no significant differences related to disability except for the very last item in this set, “Have your courses in GC included learning that ‘normal’ is defined differently for different groups of people?” Not surprisingly, for this item students with disabilities perceived a lower frequency of the inclusion of this material in their courses than students without disabilities. What makes this finding important is the way that the term “normal” is often used within the traditional medical model of disability, implying that any difference from the norm is “abnormal” and, thus, bad, wrong, or inferior.

Extracurricular and Co-Curricular Activities

For the most part, the responses to this series of six items presented in Figure 7 were relatively

Guiding Principle 7: Educational institutions should enable all students to participate in extracurricular and co-curricular activities to develop knowledge, skills, and attitudes that enhance academic participation and foster positive relationships within a multicultural educational community.

	<i>M</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>Mode</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
7.1 Do you have the opportunity to participate in extracurricular activities that enable you to develop positive relationships with people from diverse backgrounds?	2.88	3	3	.986	320
7.2 Are there undergraduate professional or honor societies or career-related activities that provide multicultural opportunities?	2.86	3	3	.841	257
7.3 Do you have opportunity to interact with faculty members outside the classroom?	2.88	3	3	.902	334
7.4 In the courses you have taken, have there been opportunities to work collaboratively with other students outside the classroom?	2.78	3	3	.923	336
7.5 Have you participated in university activities outside of class that promote multicultural understanding?	2.26	2	1	1.117	316
7.6 Are activities or organizations available that encourage students’ expression of identity and cultural differences (e.g., African American Student Association, Gay and Lesbian Alliance)?	3.12	3	4	.879	299

Figure 7. Mean, median, and mode for items pertaining to the seventh MAP IT guiding principle.



consistent, with the means for the first four items ranging from 2.78 to 2.88. However, when asked, “Are there undergraduate professional or honor societies or career-related activities that provide multicultural opportunities?” 91 students (23%) responded “don’t know.” Meanwhile, 43 students (11%) answered “don’t know” to “Are activities or organizations available that encourage students’ expression of identity and cultural differences (e.g., African American Student Association, Gay and Lesbian Alliance)?” Hispanic and Latina-Latino students were significantly more likely to respond 3 or 4 for this item, while Asian students were significantly less likely to do so ($p < .001$). The mean for “Have you participated in university activities outside of class that promote multicultural understanding?” was only 2.26, and 24 students (6%) responded “not applicable,” a finding that is difficult to interpret.

Educational Support Services

The eighth MAPIT guiding principle encourages educational institutions to “provide support services that promote all students’ intellectual and interpersonal development.” The responses to these items, asked specifically about the General College, rather than about the University of Minnesota as a whole, were quite positive, as reflected in Figure 8. In response to “Are support services such as

counseling, advising, career planning and placement, tutoring, and computer labs equally accessible to all students?” females ($p < .001$), students who do not have disabilities ($p < .05$), and African American and Hispanic and Latina-Latino students ($p < .001$) were significantly more likely to respond “almost always or always.” In fact, students who identified as Hispanic or Latina-Latino were more likely to provide positive responses for all items in this set. The mean for “Are you comfortable asking a faculty member or staff person for help when you need it?” was 3.27, and both the median and mode were 4. The only statistically significant ($p < .001$) demographic differences for this item were for race and ethnicity, with Hispanic and Latina-Latino students most likely to respond “always or almost always” and African students least likely to feel comfortable seeking help from a faculty or staff member.

Values Shared by Many Cultures

The items related to the ninth MAPIT guiding principle, “Educational institutions should teach all members of the educational community about the ways that ideas like justice, equality, freedom, peace, compassion, and charity are valued by many cultures,” strongly reflect Banks’ (1994, 1997) notion that intergroup interaction can assist in reducing cultural biases and stereotyping. As indicated in Figure 9, GC students believed that they “have the opportunity to

<i>Guiding Principle 8: Educational institutions should provide support services that promote all students’ intellectual and interpersonal development.</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>Mode</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
8.1 Are support services such as counseling, advising, career planning and placement, tutoring, and computer labs equally accessible to all students?	3.37	4	4	.804	325
8.2 Within the General College, are you able to get the help you need outside of class to be successful at the University of Minnesota?	3.22	3	4	.841	326
8.3 Are support services available at times that accommodate diverse student needs?	3.15	3	3	.805	302
8.4 Are you comfortable asking a faculty member or staff person for help when you need it?	3.27	3	4	.808	330

Figure 8. Mean, median, and mode for items pertaining to the eighth MAPIT guiding principle.



interact with people from diverse backgrounds" ($M = 3.26$), and that they "are less likely to stereotype a group of people once [they] get to know individual members of that group" ($M = 3.23$).

Culturally-Sensitive Assessment

The final set of three items, presented in Figure 10, addressed the types of assessments used to determine course grades. When asked, "In the courses you have taken in GC, have you had the opportunity to demonstrate knowledge in multiple ways, such as through discussion, oral presentations, essays, creative projects, and portfolios, as well as quizzes and tests?" students with disabilities were significantly ($p < .001$) less likely to believe that this was "almost always or always" the case. One of the basic tenets of Universal Instructional Design (Higbee, 2003), originally conceived as a model for inclusion of students with disabilities, is to provide equal opportunity for all students to excel by ensuring that they are given appropriate opportunities to demonstrate what they know. However, there were no differences on the basis of disability for the second item, "In the courses you have taken, have a variety of types (e.g., multiple choice, essay) of tests and quizzes been offered?"

The final question on the survey was one of the few to be posed negatively (i.e., a higher mean meant a less positive result). In response to "Have the tests that you have taken included culturally-specific references that were unfamiliar to you and were not taught as part of the course content?" the mean was 2.45 ($SD = 1.047$), the median was 2 (i.e., occasionally), and the mode was 3 (often), indicating that students perceived cultural bias in some exam situations. Caucasian and Asian students were less likely to perceive cultural bias, and no differences were found between English language learners and native speakers of English.

Findings Specific to Demographic Groups

Within the context of this chapter it would be impossible to summarize all of the significant differences uncovered in the Chi Square analyses, so we will present just a few of the more notable findings.

Gender differences. Gender differences at the $p < .001$ level were found for almost all items, with females' ratings generally more positive than those of the males in the sample. The six items for which there were not significant differences on the basis

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

	<i>M</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>Mode</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
9.1 In the courses you have taken in GC, have you learned about the ways that ideas like justice, equality, freedom, peace, compassion, and charity are valued by many cultures?	2.97	3	3	.852	327
9.2 Do you have the opportunity to interact with people from diverse backgrounds?	3.26	3	3	.724	338
9.3 Have you interacted with people from different cultures who share these values?	3.09	3	3	.830	327
9.4 Do you find that you are less likely to stereotype a group of people once you get to know individual members of that group?	3.23	3	4	.807	320
9.5 Do faculty use teaching strategies, such as collaborative groups, to model these values?	3.00	3	3	.802	312

Figure 9. Mean, median, and mode for items pertaining to the ninth MAP IT guiding principle.

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

	<i>M</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>Mode</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
10.1 In the courses you have taken in GC, have you had the opportunity to demonstrate knowledge in multiple ways, such as through discussion, oral presentations, essays, creative projects, and portfolios, as well as quizzes and tests?	3.26	3	4	.782	337
10.2 In the courses you have taken, have a variety of types (e.g., multiple choice, essay) of tests and quizzes been offered?	3.20	3	4	.817	338
10.3 Have the tests that you have taken included culturally-specific references that were unfamiliar to you and were not taught as part of the course content?	2.45	2	3	1.047	301

Figure 10. Mean, median, and mode for items pertaining to the tenth MAP IT guiding principle.

of gender were the items that asked about (a) the centrality of multiculturalism to the mission of the General College; (b) the availability of appropriate role models on campus; (c) “the opportunity to participate in simulations, role playing, writing as though you experienced something from another person’s perspective, or other activities that enable you to gain insights into the impact of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination?”; (d) opportunities to work in collaboration with other students outside of class; (e) participation in extracurricular activities that enhanced multicultural understanding; and (f) comfort with seeking help from a faculty or staff member. Surprisingly, the only instance when males provided a significantly higher numerical rating was in response to the item that asked, “Does discrimination hinder your opportunities to participate fully in the General College?”—also one of the few items for which a higher mean was a negative finding; 75% of the women answered this item “never or almost never,” but only 56% of the men gave that response. This finding was further explained by some of the student comments provided at the end of this section of the questionnaire. Several students who within their comments identified themselves as White males discussed how they felt marginalized during classroom conversations about diversity and multiculturalism. This and other themes that arose within the student comments are discussed further elsewhere (Bruch, Higbee, & Siaka, 2006).

Racial and ethnic differences. For the vast majority of items the Chi Square analyses yielded significant differences on the basis of race or ethnicity, and usually at the $p < .001$ level. It should be noted that there were too few students from the Pacific Islands to yield meaningful results in the Chi Square analyses.

One of the items for which the findings were particularly informative asked, “Do you think that it is beneficial to be part of a multicultural learning environment?” In descending order, the proportion of each group that responded “almost always or always” (i.e., a numerical rating of 4) was (a) African students, 94.3%; (b) students who identified as Biracial or Multiracial, 82.5%; (c) Hispanic and Latina-Latino students, 74.6%; (d) African American students, 74.1%; (e) Asian American, 73.0%; (f) Caucasian, 60.3%; and (g) Asian, 50.0%. Meanwhile, students who identified themselves as African, African American, or Biracial or Multiracial were also more likely to believe that they were considered valued members of the GC community ($p < .001$). As previously noted in Table 1, when asked, “Does discrimination hinder your opportunities to participate fully in the General College?” the proportion of students from each group responding “never or almost never” (i.e., a numerical rating of 1) was, in descending order, (a) Hispanic and Latina-Latino, 80%; (b) Caucasian, 78%; (c) Biracial or Multiracial, 72%; (d) African,



56%; (e) African American or Asian American, 50%; and (f) Asian, 47%. On the other end of the response spectrum for this item, 22% of the responding African American students and 19% of the Asian students responded that they had “almost always or always” experienced discrimination as a barrier to their success; for other groups the proportion of students selecting the numerical rating of 1 for this item was 4% to 10%.

Because of the influx of East African refugees to the greater Twin Cities area over the past decade and the racial profiling that occurred throughout the U.S. in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, we paid particular attention to the findings for the item that asked, “Are you concerned about your safety on this campus?” The mean for this item was 1.83 ($SD = .995$); 50% of responding students answered 1 (i.e., never or almost never), 28% chose 2 (occasionally), 12% answered 3 (often), and 10% chose 4 (almost always or always) for their response. However, of the responding African students, 28% answered “almost always or always” compared to 14% of African American students; 14% of Asian American students; 10% of Caucasian students; 8% of Biracial or Multiracial students; 6% of Hispanic and Latina-Latino students; and 6% of Asian students. In other words, the proportion of African students who expressed the highest level (i.e., a response of 4) of concern for their safety was twice that of any other racial or ethnic group.

Differences related to disability. From 1999 to 2002, a period during which approximately half of the GC faculty teaching in the unit at the time of this study were first hired, General College faculty and staff were immersed in a U.S. Department of Education grant titled “Curriculum Transformation and Disability,” the purpose of which was to facilitate the implementation of Universal Design (UD) and Universal Instructional Design (UID) in higher education settings (Higbee, 2003). Thus, we perceived that the administration of the MAP IT Student Questionnaire in GC would provide a yardstick for measuring the extent to which the academic unit was meeting its UD and UID goals. There were far fewer instances of significant differences on the basis of disability than for gender or race and ethnicity, but there were significant differences for 29 of the 69 items on the questionnaire. Some of the items for which

students with disabilities provided significantly more positive responses included, “Through your interactions with administrators, faculty, and staff in the General College, do you believe that they understand the ways in which factors (such as race, ethnicity, home language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, social class, age, and disability) influence all individuals and institutions?” ($p < .001$) and “Have you participated in university activities outside of class that promote multicultural understanding?” ($p < .005$).

Some of the items for which students with disabilities provided significantly less favorable responses were “Do your teachers know how to effectively teach students from diverse backgrounds?” ($p < .05$), “Does GC equally enable all students to learn and excel?” ($p < .005$), and “Do you have the same opportunity to achieve your academic goals as any other student here in GC?” ($p < .001$). Students with disabilities were significantly less likely to be aware of scholarships available for participating in international programs ($p < .05$) or to think that support services were equally accessible to all students ($p < .05$). They were also significantly less likely to believe that faculty and staff provide students with information to contradict misconceptions and stereotypes ($p < .05$) or teach students “that ‘normal’ is defined differently for different groups of people” ($p < .05$). In addition, 45% of the students with disabilities responded “often” or “almost always or always” when asked if they were concerned about their safety on campus, while only 24% of the students who do not have disabilities chose numerical ratings of 3 or 4 for this item ($p < .05$).

However, it is also important to report some of the items for which no significant differences were found on the basis of disability, including regarding the availability of appropriate role models on campus, the use of teaching strategies that accommodate diverse interests and learning styles, opportunities to participate in extracurricular activities and to work with other students collaboratively outside of class, and the accurate and respectful portrayal of their “cultural group” in classes.

Differences on the basis of native language. There were significant differences between the responses of native speakers of English and English language

learners for 36 of the 69 items on the questionnaire. This area of inquiry is also of critical interest to General College faculty and staff because GC has served as the academic home for the Commanding English program at the University of Minnesota (Christensen, Fitzpatrick, Murie, & Zhang, 2003). Among the items for which native speakers of English provided significantly more positive ratings were those asking about support for students from all cultural groups ($p < .001$), the valuing of diverse views and experiences ($p < .001$), and the role of discrimination as a barrier to full academic participation (i.e., higher incidence of lower numerical ratings among native English speakers; $p < .001$). Meanwhile, students for whom English is a second, third, or fourth language gave significantly higher numerical ratings to “Do your teachers seem interested in understanding your background as it relates to learning?” ($p < .005$) and “Are you treated with respect by staff and faculty?” ($p < .01$).

Items for which there were no significant differences on the basis of native language included, “Do you think that it is beneficial to be part of a multicultural learning environment?” and “During the admissions process, did you feel welcomed?” and “Do you believe that you are a valued member of the General College educational community?” There was also no significant difference between students who are native speakers of English and those for whom English is not their first language on the item related to feeling safe on campus.

Discussion

As proposed so eloquently in *Learning Reconsidered* (American College Personnel Association & National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, 2004), it is imperative that educators, whether working in academic or student affairs, consider the cultural contexts in which students learn and recognize the rich contributions to be made by students from diverse backgrounds with many different ways of knowing. The General College was highly successful in recruiting a diverse student body (Higbee, Lundell, & Arendale, 2005). However, GC was often criticized for its retention and graduation rates, which were behind those of other colleges of the University of Minnesota, and

for admitting students who were perceived as not being adequately prepared to compete successfully at a research university.

One purpose of this research was to examine other factors that might influence student success and retention to the point of graduation. How do institutions and the individuals they employ impact students’ sense of belonging at the institution, a factor long considered important to student retention (Astin, 1985; Chickering, 1969, Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Tinto, 1975)? If Muslim students who have immigrated to Minnesota from Africa do not feel safe on campus—in other words, if one of their most basic needs (Maslow, 1968, 1970) is not met, how can they be expected to succeed? If students with disabilities do not believe that they have the same opportunity to achieve at the institution and that faculty members are ill prepared to teach students with diverse learning styles, how can we ensure their success?

Next Steps

From the outcomes of this research it is clear that further steps need to be taken at the institutional, program, and individual levels to create spaces in which all students have an equal opportunity to learn and grow. At the institutional level, students’ concerns about their safety and perceptions of discriminatory practices must be addressed. Students cannot be expected to thrive under conditions they consider unsafe or unfair.

GC closed its doors as of June 30, 2006. However, many of the former GC faculty continue to teach the same courses within the Department of Postsecondary Teaching and Learning (PsTL) within the University of Minnesota’s College of Education and Human Development (CEHD). At the program level, these research findings help provide guidance for how to proceed to fulfill this new academic unit’s multicultural mission. It is notable that the students who identified as Hispanic or Latina-Latino consistently reported having more positive experiences. It would be beneficial to use qualitative research methods such as focus groups to learn more about why these students felt more welcome. Perhaps the Hispanic and Latina-Latino students can provide concrete examples of people, pedagogy, curricula, and extracurricular



opportunities that made a difference. Then it might prove helpful also to conduct focus groups of students from other racial and ethnic groups to gain insights into what factors made their experiences less positive.

On the individual level, it is also apparent from these research results that additional professional development for faculty and staff is warranted. Foci for future efforts should include (a) pedagogical approaches to address diverse learning styles; (b) cultural influences that might have an impact on student learning, attitudes, sources of motivation, and lifestyles; and (c) communication skills to enhance multicultural understanding. Although individual PsTL and CEHD faculty and staff pursue their own professional development in these areas through participation in numerous professional association meetings and workshops, additional training must occur in contexts such as departmental and college-wide retreats and meetings that require full participation on the part of all faculty and staff. We encourage professional development related to Integrated Multicultural Instructional Design (IMID; Higbee & Barajas, in press), which applies the principles of Universal Instructional Design more broadly to develop a model for multicultural postsecondary education.

Conclusion

We began this chapter by distinguishing between how we define diversity and multiculturalism. The students who participated in the research study reported in this chapter certainly represent a more diverse student body than experienced in many programs or on many campuses. However, it is important to be cognizant that the mere existence of cultural diversity is not enough to enrich the educational experience and prepare students for the diverse world that awaits them upon graduation. Educators must create spaces both within and outside the higher education classroom that promote interaction and understanding among and between cultural groups. The first step may be an uncomfortable one—measuring the extent to which we are providing welcoming spaces, as we have attempted to do with this research. The second step may be even more uncomfortable—reflecting on our own values and analyzing how each of us

as an individual may or may not be putting those values into practice as we go about our daily lives. In the U.S. we have always considered education to be transformative. We must take the lead to ensure that our institutions engage in the transformations necessary to prepare our students to be successful in a global society, and we must also recognize the need for us to grow as well.

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Adopting and Integrating Multiculturalism: A Closing Assessment of General College

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Multiculturalism goes beyond the recognition and celebration of diverse group identities to transforming educational institutions to provide all students with meaningful access. The Multicultural Awareness Project for Institutional Transformation (MAP IT) provides a multicultural assessment survey organized under the "10 Guiding Principles for Institutions of Higher Education." MAP IT was conducted at the General College of the University of Minnesota, and the results indicate the adoption and full integration of multicultural policies, procedures, and practices. An impressive institutional transformation has been achieved, but individual problem areas were identified, particularly concerning extracurricular activities, student assessment, and shared roles in decisions.

American society has become increasingly diverse in recent years, and educational institutions at all levels have benefited from the opportunities and struggled with the difficulties that this situation has created. Individuals may have a variety of different social group identities based on race, ethnicity, gender, religion, social class, age, disability, sexual orientation, and home language. Diversity recognizes these different social group identities and celebrates the contributions of each to the cultural richness of society. In higher education, efforts to improve diversity have resulted in increases of students from historically underrepresented populations on many campuses. Research indicates that greater diversity among students enhances the learning of all students, and recent court decisions have "determined that admitting students who belong to one or more of these categories is critical to the mission of higher education" (Miksch et al., 2003, p. 6). However, diversity assumes that these diverse students will conform to traditional educational environments and assimilate into society.

Multiculturalism goes beyond the recognition and celebration of individual differences and group identities to transforming educational institutions to provide all students with meaningful access. Enrolling a diverse student body will only result in widespread student failures if the various social group identities are viewed negatively and the campus climate is hostile. Multiculturalism advocates redefining higher education to address the needs of all citizens by transforming educational institutions to enable full participation of those currently excluded and marginalized (Miksch et al., 2003, pp. 7-8). Educational institutions need assessment tools to enable them to analyze their strengths and weaknesses as a multicultural environment and to determine the most effective policies, procedures and practices to create a positive multicultural environment. This study reports on the results of a multicultural assessment instrument for higher education that elicits a wide variety of perspectives, fosters open communication, raises issues for discussion, and promotes shared institutional power.

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Background

The first assessment of this kind was designed for elementary and secondary (K-12) school systems. The Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington published such an assessment tool in 2001 titled *Diversity Within Unity: Essential Principles for Teaching and Learning in a Multicultural Society* (Banks et al., 2001). It consisted of 12 essential principles and a list of corresponding questions designed to enable the assessment of the consistency of an institution's policies and practices with those essential principles. This K-12 multicultural assessment instrument came to the attention of the Multicultural Concerns Committee of the General College at the University of Minnesota, and a subcommittee was organized to secure permission and seek guidance from the authors of *Diversity Within Unity* to adapt that instrument for postsecondary education. They examined each question to determine its applicability to postsecondary education, and then made necessary modifications or deleted the item. Some new questions were added to address areas unique to postsecondary education. The resulting first draft of the *Multicultural Awareness Project for Institutional Transformation (MAP IT)* defined "diversity more broadly [than *Diversity Within Unity*] to include issues of religion, gender, sexual orientation, social class, age, and disability, in addition to race, ethnicity, culture, and home language" (Higbee et al., 2004, p. 62).

The MAP IT subcommittee conducted a pilot study of their assessment instrument with General College faculty and staff during the spring semester of 2002. Of the 175 GC employees at the time, 68 (39%) completed the online survey, with civil service staff members and graduate assistants having the lowest participation rates, 17% and 13% respectively. Both senior level administrators answered the questionnaire as well as 65% of faculty and 50% of the professional and academic staff. Respondents indicated that the survey was too long and that some questions were unclear as to whether the focus was the individual's practice or that of the program. Civil service respondents "noted that the majority of the questions did not relate directly to their daily work activities" (Higbee et al., 2004, p. 65) and the significant number of "not applicable"

(NA) or "don't know" (DK) responses indicated that many questions lacked the necessary focus.

The MAP IT subcommittee examined the data and comments from the pilot study and revised the instrument accordingly. The 12 original principles from *Diversity Within Unity* were revised into a new set of "10 Guiding Principles for Institutions of Higher Education." The need for more focused questions, more applicable to the respondent, resulted in the development of separate checklists for (a) faculty and instructional staff, including graduate teaching assistants; (b) counselors, advisors, and student support services staff members; and (c) administrators. The subcommittee also recognized that student assessment of the implementation these 10 principles would be valuable, so a fourth set of questions was created parallel to the other three but from a student perspective. Each question in the four questionnaires was examined for its applicability to the target audience and confirmed, modified, or discarded as appropriate. Some questions were reworded to clarify whether they focused on the individual practice of the respondent or on the program as a whole. This final version of MAP IT with 10 guiding principles and four separate and distinct questionnaires was published in 2003 (Miksch et al., 2003).

The University of Minnesota initiated a new strategic plan in 2005 that included the conversion of the General College into a department of the College of Education and Human Development. Planning for this conversion took place during the 2005-2006 academic year with the General College officially ceasing operation on June 30, 2006, and the new Department of Postsecondary Teaching and Learning (PsTL) commencing operation on July 1, 2006. The Multicultural Concerns Committee, with the support of Interim Dean Terry Collins, determined that MAP IT should be administered during the General College's final semester to provide a base line for comparison with some future assessment of the PsTL department. Because many of the administrative positions were being eliminated and the makeup of students in the new department was going to change substantially, it was determined that this survey would focus on just the instructional and student service staff.



Method

Given the purpose of this survey as previously outlined, only two of the questionnaires were utilized for this particular study, the Faculty and Instructional Staff Form (Form FIS) and the Student Development and Support Services Staff Form (Form SSS). Electronic links to the survey were sent out via e-mail in April of 2006 to the 164 faculty, instructional staff, student development, and support services employees of the University of Minnesota's General College. The employees were asked to use the links to access and complete the survey online. The Human Subjects consent form was read at two college assemblies and was provided as the first page of each questionnaire, so completion of the survey was considered acknowledgement of implied consent.

A Likert-type scale was used in the survey with response choices listed as the following: 1 (never or almost never), 2 (occasionally), 3 (often), and 4 (almost always or always). Respondents could also choose "NA" (not applicable) or "DK" (don't know) for any item. After each set of questions, respondents were given the opportunity to provide written comments expanding on their responses to the questions. There was also an opportunity at the end of the survey to make comprehensive comments about the survey.

For the purpose of this study, means and standard deviations were calculated for each item individually both in the faculty and instructional staff survey and in the student service staff survey. Standard deviations were reported in parentheses adjacent to the means. Missing data, NA, and DK responses were eliminated and therefore had no effect on the individual question means. The number of valid responses per question varies, however, because of this treatment. The researchers then compared the two questionnaires to identify those items that were identical or nearly identical, those that were similar but focused differently, and those that were unique to a particular form of the survey. When the questions were identical or nearly identical, a Chi-square test was performed to determine significant differences between the groups (i.e., FIS and SSS) in responses to the individual questions. Because of the small sample sizes the Chi-square statistics for all individual

questions with significant differences between the groups also had 50% or more cells that had an expected count of 5 or less, so these results will not be reported; however, a bar graph of responses by FIS and SSS with 95% confidence intervals will be reported for comparison purposes.

The second step in our study involved grouping questions that were the same or similar on both surveys under each of the guiding principles to analyze differences between the instructional staff and student support staff. Means from identical, nearly identical, and similar questions were compiled into an aggregate mean and a sum of the means for each principle. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was then performed on the sum of the means to determine if there were statistical significant differences between the FIS and SSS for any of the guiding principles. When performing this second analysis missing answers, DK, and NA were recoded as 2.5. The researchers determined that NA or DK given the value of 2.5 would minimize the impact of a missing value on the sum of the means and be more appropriate than replacing the missing value with the respondent's mean for that guiding principle, which the researchers determined would inflate the sum of the means. Means from unique questions were not included in the sum of the means or aggregate means, but were reported separately for individual comparison. Any differences in the mean or sum of the means that did occur in this report should be judged in light of the small sample size and low response rate.

Results

Of the 164 employees of General College invited to take the survey, 41 (25%) responded. Of the 41 respondents, 28 were faculty or instructional staff and 13 were student development or support services staff. The 28 faculty and instructional staff respondents represented 39% of all faculty and instructional staff employed at the college while the 13 student development and support services staff represented 15% of all student development and support services staff. These response rates were significantly lower than reported by Higbee et al. (2004) in a similar study with basically the same population. There were also a number of questions

that up to 50% of the respondents chose to leave blank or mark NA or DK.

These surveys, like the previous ones, were anonymous, so employees could not be compelled or coerced into completing them. The main factor in the low response rates may be that the General College was slated for closure on July 1, 2006, just 3 months after the time of the survey. The employees of the college generally saw its closing as a rejection of the educational philosophy and mission to which they had committed their careers and lives. In addition, most did not know their future employment status and even tenured faculty were confronted with a period of uncertainty, turmoil, and change. Many employees at the college may have seen little purpose in responding to a survey intended to identify cultural climate in an environment that was only going to exist for a short time longer. Also, April tended to be a very busy time for most staff at the college and some may have had more pressing priorities for their time and energy. Finally, some respondents reported difficulties (i.e., error messages) when attempting to complete the survey online. This may have significantly reduced the number of completed surveys successfully submitted. All means in the following presentation of the research results are followed by the standard deviation in parentheses.

Items Related to Access

The first MAP IT guiding principle reads: "The educational institution should articulate a commitment to supporting access to higher education for a diverse group of students, thus providing the opportunity for all students to benefit from a multicultural learning environment" (Miksch et al., 2003, p. 5). This principle received the highest assessments of the 10 principles from the respondents ($n = 40$) with an aggregate mean score of 3.80 (0.25) and all five questions were identical for both the FIS form and the SSS form. Questions about the General College's mission of making a commitment to access for diverse students and supporting higher education for students from all cultural groups both received a mean of 4.00 (0.00) from student support staff ($n = 12$) and a 3.96 (0.19) from faculty and instructional staff ($n = 28$). GC's attempt to recruit and retain a diverse student

body was almost as high with a mean of 3.92 (0.28) for student service staff ($n = 13$) and 3.82 (0.40) for instructional staff ($n = 27$). The college also received high ratings for operating in a manner that valued multicultural learning, FIS $n = 27$, $M = 3.67$ (0.48) and SSS $n = 13$, $M = 3.77$ (0.44), and admission policies that went beyond traditional measures for predicting academic success, FIS $n = 25$, $M = 3.40$ (0.76) and SSS $n = 12$, $M = 3.58$ (0.51).

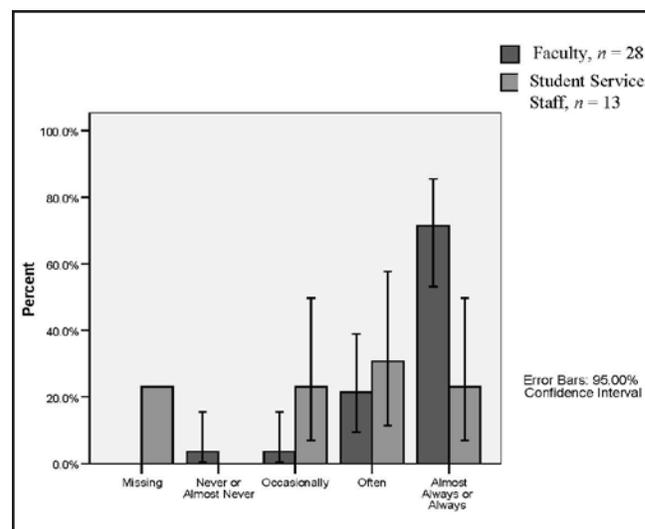


Figure 1. Responses to "Are you directly involved in efforts to create a supportive learning environment for students from diverse backgrounds?"

Items Regarding Organizational Structure

The second guiding principle states: "The educational institution's organizational structure should ensure that decision making is shared appropriately and that members of the educational community learn to collaborate in creating a supportive environment for students, staff, and faculty" (Miksch et al., 2003, p. 5). This principle received a moderately high assessment with an aggregate mean score of 3.14 (0.53), and all seven questions were identical on both questionnaires ($n = 41$). The highest assessments appeared on the following three questions:

1. "Do administrators, faculty, and staff collaborate to create a supportive environment for students?" FIS $n = 28$, $M = 3.29$ (0.71) and SSS $n = 11$, $M = 3.46$ (0.69).

2. "Do you work in a supportive work environment?" FIS $n = 28$, $M = 3.36$ (0.83) and SSS $n = 13$, $M = 3.85$ (0.38).
3. "Are you directly involved in efforts to create a supportive learning environment for students from diverse backgrounds?" FIS $n = 28$, $M = 3.61$ (0.74) and SSS $n = 10$, $M = 3.0$ (0.82).

The difference between the two group responses (SSS and FIS) to this last question are shown in Figure 1. Responses from student support staff were more dispersed than the responses from instructional staff.

The lowest assessments concerned whether students had an appropriate role in decision making with a mean of 2.25 (0.90) for instructional staff ($n = 24$) and a mean of 2.18 (0.87) for student support staff ($n = 11$). Moderately high ratings were achieved for questions that concerned the organizational structure ensuring shared decision making, FIS $n = 27$, $M = 2.85$ (0.91) and SSS $n = 13$, $M = 3.08$ (0.64); the success of efforts to recruit and retain a diverse work force, FIS $n = 24$, $M = 3.0$ (0.72) and SSS $n = 11$, $M = 3.18$ (0.60); and the respondents' direct involvement in efforts to create a supportive working environment, FIS $n = 28$, $M = 3.08$ (0.89) and SSS $n = 13$, $M = 3.36$ (0.67).

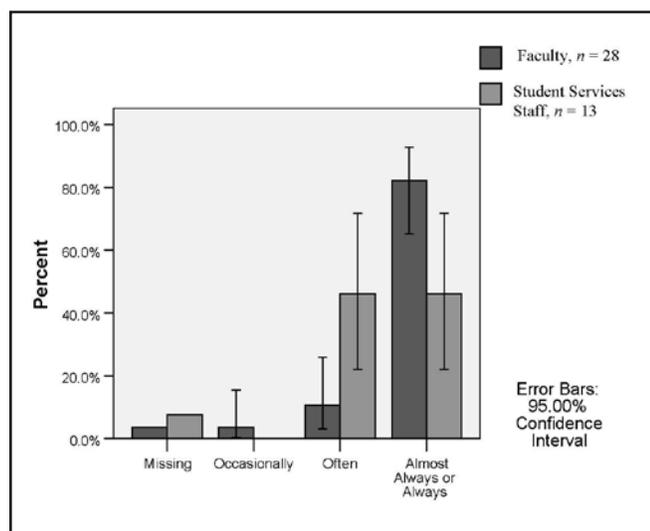


Figure 2. Responses to "Is a commitment to multicultural issues central to the mission of your program or unit?"

Items Addressing Professional Development

Principle 3 asserts,

Professional development programs should be made available to help staff and faculty understand the ways in which social group identifications such as race, ethnicity, home language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, social class, age, and disability influence all individuals and institutions. (Miksch, 2003, p. 5)

This principle received the second highest aggregate mean of 3.45 (0.63), and all five questions are identical and somewhat overlapping in both questionnaires ($n = 37$). The highest assessments concerned whether multicultural conferences, workshops, and so on, were given equal consideration when allocating professional development funds, FIS $n = 23$, $M = 3.61$ (0.72) and SSS $n = 12$, $M = 4.0$ (0.00).

Similarly, high marks were evident on questions about including information on multicultural issues in internal professional development opportunities, FIS $n = 26$, $M = 3.35$ (0.85) and SSS $n = 11$, $M = 3.55$ (0.69), and providing financial support for participation in external professional development activities that address multicultural issues, FIS $n = 25$, $M = 3.60$ (0.82) and SSS $n = 11$, $M = 3.45$ (0.69). Moderately high marks were given for the remaining two questions. "Do administrators encourage improving, revising, or redeveloping programs based on information learned via multicultural professional development activities?" FIS $n = 26$, $M = 3.42$ (0.90) and SSS $n = 11$, $M = 3.18$ (0.75). "If your employment agreement requires professional development days, does this required development include information on multiculturalism?" FIS $n = 14$, $M = 3.07$ (0.83) and SSS $n = 6$, $M = 3.0$ (1.26). Most GC job classifications would not include mandatory professional development days, so it is not surprising that 50% ($n = 21$) of the total population (FIS and SSS) responded NA to this question.

Items Related to Providing Equal Opportunity to Learn

As stated in Principle 4, "Educational institutions should equally enable all students to learn and

excel" (Miksch et al., 2003, p. 5). This principle received an aggregate mean of 3.39 (0.39) based on two questions that were identical and four that were nearly identical (noun changed to fit audience) on both questionnaires ($n = 39$). The centrality of multicultural issues to the mission of the unit received the highest rating, FIS $n = 27$, $M = 3.82$ (0.48) and SSS $n = 12$, $M = 3.5$ (0.52). Figure 2 provides a graphic representation of the results from this item. This item also has the widest differences between the groups when looking at the bar graph and confidence intervals (see Figure 2). Instructional staff were more likely to respond that commitment to multiculturalism is central to the mission. The item concerning support provided to English as a Second Language (ESL) students had the second highest rating, FIS $n = 26$, $M = 3.62$ (0.50) and SSS $n = 12$, $M = 3.67$ (0.49). High marks also went to support given to first-generation college students, FIS $n = 24$, $M = 3.54$ (0.51) and SSS $n = 12$, $M = 3.50$ (0.67), and the more general item about equally enabling all students to learn and excel, FIS $n = 26$, $M = 3.42$ (0.58) and SSS $n = 11$, $M = 3.55$ (0.52). Lower scores were recorded for whether faculty and staff were appropriately diverse to serve a diverse student body, FIS $n = 27$, $M = 3.04$ (0.81) and SSS $n = 11$, $M = 2.55$ (0.82), and whether students from a variety of social and cultural groups succeeded proportionately in the respondent's course or program. FIS $n = 27$, $M = 3.07$ (0.73) and SSS $n = 6$, $M = 3.0$ (0.89). More than 50% of the student services staff reported NA ($n = 2$) or DK ($n = 4$) for this last item. Question 4.3 was totally different in the two questionnaires. The instructional staff survey ($n = 25$) asked if the respondent introduced students to appropriate role models in their courses, $M = 3.48$ (0.71), while the student services survey ($n = 7$) asked if the program had flexibility in student course placement, $M = 2.86$ (0.69). Almost 50% of student services respondents answered NA ($n = 3$) or DK ($n = 4$) regarding flexibility in student course placement.

Items Regarding Knowledge Construction and Ways of Knowing

Principle 5 states that, "Educational institutions should help students to understand how knowledge and personal experiences are shaped by contexts (social, political, economic, historic, etc.) in which

we live and work, and how their voices and ways of knowing can shape the academy" (Miksch et al., 2003, p. 5). This principle ($n = 39$) received an aggregate mean of 3.25 (0.56) based on three questions that were identical and three questions that were the same questions but focused differently for the two groups of respondents. The three identical questions concerned whether exploration of multicultural perspectives was a degree requirement, FIS $n = 25$, $M = 3.36$ (0.91) and SSS $n = 8$, $M = 3.75$ (0.71), the availability of extracurricular opportunities for multicultural learning experiences, FIS $n = 26$, $M = 3.58$ (0.58) and SSS $n = 12$, $M = 3.42$ (0.67), and the availability of scholarships to enable low-income students to participate in international programs, FIS $n = 22$, $M = 3.23$ (0.69) and SSS $n = 9$, $M = 3.44$ (0.73).

Three questions addressed the same issues but the FIS questions focused on the respondents' classes while the SSS questions embraced the whole program or unit. These questions concerned helping students to understand events from diverse perspectives, FIS $n = 26$, $M = 3.5$ (0.76) and SSS $n = 12$, $M = 3.58$ (0.67); providing opportunities for civic engagement, FIS $n = 26$, $M = 2.54$ (1.03) and SSS $n = 13$, $M = 3.15$ (0.80); and the availability of learning opportunities in diverse cultural environments, FIS $n = 22$, $M = 2.96$ (1.17) and SSS $n = 11$, $M = 3.45$ (0.69). Three other questions were only listed on the FIS survey and addressed the instructional materials, textbooks, and teaching strategies utilized by the respondent. "Do you use instructional materials, such as textbooks, supplemental readings, computer applications, or videotapes that describe historical, social, or political events from diverse perspectives?" $n = 27$, $M = 3.44$ (0.85). "Are the texts you use written by authors from diverse backgrounds?" $n = 23$, $M = 3.26$ (0.96). "Do you use a variety of teaching strategies to accommodate diverse student interests and learning styles?" $n = 27$, $M = 3.56$ (0.64).

Items Concerning Social Interaction

According to Principle 6, "Educational institutions should help students acquire the social skills needed to interact effectively within a multicultural educational community" (Miksch et al., 2003, p. 5). This principle received an aggregate

mean of 3.14 (0.73) based on three questions that were identical and four questions that were the same questions but focused differently for the two groups ($n = 37$). The three identical questions asked the respondents whether they provided factual information that contradicted misconceptions and stereotypes, FIS $n = 25$, $M = 3.28$ (0.79) and SSS $n = 7$, $M = 3.14$ (0.69); talked openly and constructively with students about multicultural issues, FIS $n = 26$, $M = 3.27$ (1.04) and SSS $n = 6$, $M = 3.0$ (0.89); and set ground rules with students so that dialogue was meaningful, FIS $n = 25$, $M = 2.88$ (1.17) and SSS $n = 5$, $M = 2.6$ (1.14). Note that almost 50% of the student services staff responded NA to the questions in this set. Finally, almost identical questions asked respondents if they addressed communication skills in their courses, FIS $n = 27$, $M = 3.22$ (0.93), or in their work with students, SSS $n = 8$, $M = 2.88$ (0.99).

Three questions examined the same issues but the FIS questions focused on the respondents' classes while the SSS questions embraced the whole program or unit. These three questions addressed student opportunities to interact with people from diverse backgrounds, FIS $n = 27$, $M = 3.48$ (0.70) and SSS $n = 10$, $M = 3.5$ (0.71); or to engage in simulations and role playing activities to gain insights into the impacts of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination, FIS $n = 25$, $M = 2.92$ (1.08) and SSS $n = 8$, $M = 3.13$ (0.83); or to develop social skills needed to interact effectively in a multicultural learning environment, FIS $n = 26$, $M = 3.35$ (0.75) and SSS $n = 10$, $M = 3.3$ (0.82). The student services questionnaire had an additional question about the availability of workshops or counseling programs through which students could address multicultural issues, SSS $n = 9$, $M = 3.0$ (1.00).

Items Pertaining to Extracurricular Activities

Principle 7 notes that, "Educational institutions should enable all students to participate in extracurricular and co-curricular activities to develop knowledge, skills, and attitudes that enhance academic participation and foster positive relationships within a multicultural educational community" (Miksch et al., 2003, p. 5). This principle received the lowest aggregate score ($n = 39$) of all 10 principles, 2.63 (.72), based on three nearly identical questions. The words "academic unit" on the FIS

survey are replaced with "program or unit" on the SSS survey. These questions concerned providing co-curricular opportunities to enhance academic participation, FIS $n = 24$, $M = 3.04$ (0.86) and SSS $n = 10$, $M = 3.1$ (0.88); sponsoring activities that enable students, faculty, and staff to interact socially, FIS $n = 27$, $M = 2.44$ (0.93) and SSS $n = 12$, $M = 2.58$ (0.79); and whether professional or honor societies provided multicultural experiences, FIS $n = 19$, $M = 2.32$ (1.00) and SSS $n = 7$, $M = 2.43$ (1.13). This last question received a large number of DK answers from both faculty and instructional staff ($n = 8$) and student services and staff members ($n = 6$).

The other questions for this principle received similar low scores. The fourth question on the SSS survey asked if respondents organized activities and projects that enabled students from diverse groups to work together collaboratively, $n = 8$, $M = 2.0$ (1.20). The FIS survey had two questions addressing this issue. "Do you create opportunities for students to work collaboratively outside the classroom?" $n = 27$, $M = 2.63$ (0.83). "Does your academic unit act to organize activities and projects that enable students from diverse groups to work together collaboratively?" $n = 24$, $M = 2.79$ (0.72). The remaining FIS question asked if co-curricular activities associated with the respondents' courses fostered positive multicultural relationships: $n = 23$, $M = 2.39$ (0.89).

Items Related to Support Services

Principle 8 states, "Educational institutions should provide support services that promote all students' intellectual and interpersonal development" (Miksch et al., 2003, p. 5). Four questions are identical for the two groups, with an aggregate mean of 3.47 (0.48), $n = 37$. Two of these addressed whether support services were provided that promote all students' intellectual and interpersonal development, FIS $n = 27$, $M = 3.96$ (0.19) and SSS $n = 10$, $M = 3.20$ (1.03); and were universally designed to meet the needs of all students, including those with disabilities, FIS $n = 23$, $M = 3.17$ (0.65) and SSS $n = 8$, $M = 3.13$ (0.64). When responding to the item about intellectual and interpersonal development, there was a noted difference between the two groups of responses (see Figure 3). Instructional staff were more likely

to indicate that these services were available. The other two identical questions asked if learning resources and information technology were equally accessible to all students, FIS $n = 26$, $M = 3.69$ (0.47) and SSS $n = 9$, $M = 3.22$ (0.67); and open at times that accommodates diverse student schedules, FIS $n = 24$, $M = 3.25$ (0.79) and SSS $n = 6$, $M = 3.33$ (0.82). Student support staff ($n = 7$) responded with an NA or DK regarding time accessibility of learning resources and technology laboratories. Instructional staff members ($n = 26$) also indicated if they referred students to the support services listed, $M = 3.23$ (0.82).

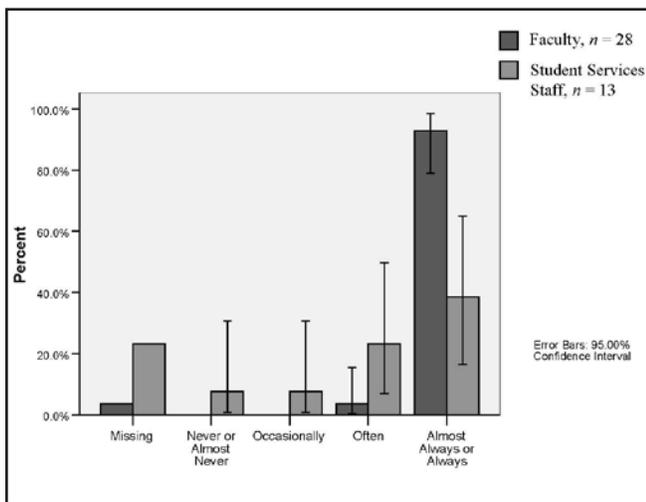


Figure 3. Responses to “Does your program or unit provide support services such as advising, academic and career counseling, tutoring, or mentoring programs that promote all students’ intellectual and interpersonal development?”

Eight additional questions on the SSS survey had an aggregate mean of 3.31 (.58), $n = 10$. These included: “Is advocacy around multicultural issues central to the student services mission?” $n = 10$; $M = 3.5$ (0.71); “Does your unit proportionately serve students from diverse backgrounds?” $n = 9$, $M = 3.33$ (1.00); “Are forms and materials developed with attention to the diverse needs of multicultural learners?” $n = 9$, $M = 3.33$ (0.71); and “Does your program or unit sponsor and support activities and organizations that encouraged students’ expression of identity and cultural differences?” $n = 9$, $M = 3.22$ (0.67). Additionally, the SSS survey focused on student orientation, including whether the requirements accommodated all students, $n = 8$, $M = 3.13$ (0.64); the program welcomed students into a diverse learning community, $n = 7$, $M = 3.43$

(0.79); and materials were communicated in formats accessible to all students, $n = 7$, $M = 3.57$ (0.54). Note that for the last two questions in this set almost 50% of the student services staff responded either NA or DK. Finally, student services staff members ($n = 7$) indicated to what extent they personally took responsibility for promoting and developing opportunities for a multicultural student experience, $M = 3.0$ (1.16); again slightly more than half of the respondents chose either NA or DK.

An ANOVA test ($N = 41$) was performed using the sum of the means of the similar or same questions related to Principle 8 to compare instructional staff responses, $M = 13.71$ (1.55), to student services staff responses, $M = 11.81$ (1.98). A significant difference between the groups was identified, $F(1,41) = 11.19$, $p = .002$. The graph of the median score, range of scores, outliers, and confidence interval visual identifies the differences between the groups (see Figure 4).

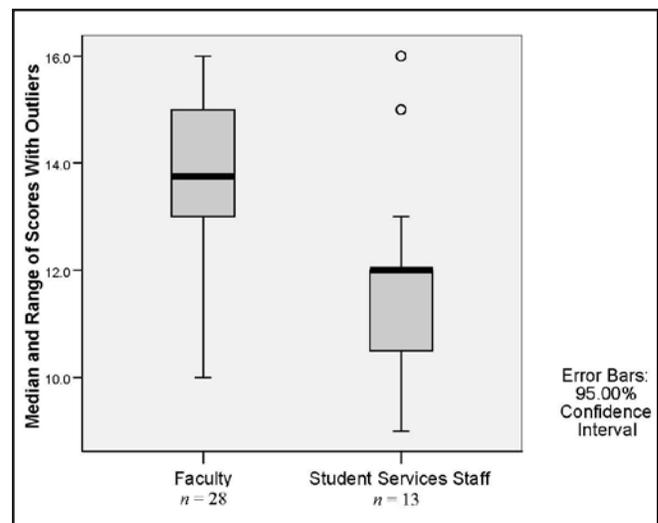


Figure 4. Responses to same or similar questions related to Principle 8: Support Services.

Items About Values Shared Across Cultures

Principle 9 asserts that, “Educational institutions should teach all members of the educational community about the ways that ideas like justice, equality, freedom, peace, compassion, and charity are valued in many cultures” (Miksch et al., 2003, p.5). All five questions for this principle were identical or nearly identical for both groups and

resulted in an aggregate score of 3.27 (0.65), $n = 36$. The first question asked whether the respondent exposed “students to the ways that ideas like justice, equality, freedom, peace, compassion, and charity are valued by many cultures,” FIS $n = 25$, $M = 2.84$ (0.94) and SSS $n = 7$, $M = 3.14$ (0.69). Here, almost half of the student services staff responded with NA or DK. Then the respondents indicated if they implemented these values in interactions with students, FIS $n = 25$, $M = 3.64$ (0.90) and SSS $n = 9$, $M = 3.33$ (0.87), and with colleagues, FIS $n = 25$, $M = 3.56$ (0.58) and SSS $n = 11$, $M = 3.46$ (0.69). When looking at the differences in responses between faculty and instructional staff and student services staff members for the implementation of these values in interactions with students (see Figure 5), a large portion of the student services staff members responded DK or NA. The fourth question addressed the respondents’ use of strategies, such as collaborative groups, to model these values, FIS $n = 25$, $M = 3.36$ (0.81) and SSS $n = 8$, $M = 2.88$ (1.13). Finally, when discussing cultural differences, did the respondent point out the important ways in which all humans are similar? FIS $n = 23$, $M = 3.35$ (0.83) and SSS $n = 6$, $M = 3.5$ (0.84). Although the mean is high, over half of the student services staff chose NA or DK as their response.

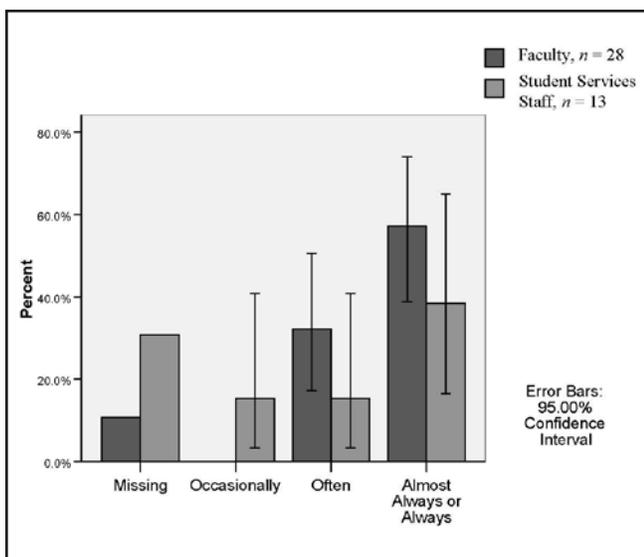


Figure 5. Responses to “Do you implement these values (justice, equality, freedom, peace, compassion, and charity) in your interactions with students?”

Items Pertaining to Assessment

Principle 10 addresses assessment issues: “Educational institutions should encourage educators to use multiple culturally-sensitive techniques to assess student learning.” (Miksch et al., 2003, p. 5). The questions for this principle were totally different on the FIS and SSS surveys so no aggregate score was compiled. Faculty and instructional staff indicated whether they used multiple culturally sensitive techniques to assess student learning, $n = 22$, $M = 2.96$ (0.90); assessed critical thinking, $n = 26$, $M = 3.62$ (0.50); and assessed student outcomes related to improved multicultural relations, $n = 23$, $M = 2.35$ (1.19). The FIS survey also asked if the respondent enabled students to demonstrate knowledge in multiple ways that reflect diverse learning styles, $n = 27$, $M = 3.15$ (0.66). The SSS survey included the following two questions: “Does your unit provide multiple forms of assessment for purposes such as course placement or career exploration and assessing strengths?” $n = 8$, $M = 2.75$ (1.04). “Are the forms of assessment used for purposes such as course placement, career exploration, determining preferred learning styles, and /or assessing learning and study strategies culturally sensitive?” $n = 4$, $M = 2.75$ (0.50). For this last question seven out of the nine missing responses were DK.

Discussion

The MAP-IT results can be evaluated on three basic levels:

1. Has the institution established the policies, procedures, and practices that would lead to a positive multicultural environment?
2. How widely have the faculty and staff implemented those policies, procedures, and practices throughout the program—in this case General College—or institution?
3. To what extent have those policies, procedures and practices actually transformed the institution into a positive multicultural environment?

These three levels are generally sequential with changes at the first level leading to implementations at the second level that eventually transform the institution at the third level.

Level 1: Establishing Policies, Procedures, and Practices

General College did extremely well concerning the first level of establishing policies, procedures, and practices. Nearly all the questions under Principles 1, 2, and 3 addressed these issues and Principles 1 and 3 received the highest aggregate scores of all the principles, while Principle 2 had more mixed results. The questions about unit mission and purpose indicated not only that multicultural language was used in all relevant documents but that all but one respondent knew that it was. High scores were achieved on questions concerning student recruitment and retention efforts, admission policies, professional development programs, and professional development funding.

A high number of NA or DK responses to some questions indicated other areas for improvement. For example, we want student services staff to be aware of and actively engaged in advocating for flexibility in course placement and assurances that students from a variety of social and cultural groups are succeeding proportionately in our courses and programs. On both of these questions half of the student services staff members responded with a NA or DK. In order for the college or department to move forward in integrating multiculturalism, these issues will need to be addressed in professional development or academic unit meetings.

The lowest scores were for decision making shared among administrators, faculty, and staff, and students' role in decisions, both under Principle 2. Interestingly, in the pilot study conducted in 2002, the role of students in decision making also received the lowest score (Higbee et al., 2004). Addressing these issues requires administrators who possess the skills and temperament to build consensus; the long-term commitment of faculty and staff; and the opportunities to develop faculty, staff, and student leadership. As a result, these two goals are the most difficult to accomplish and take the longest time to achieve.

Level 2: Implementation of Policies, Procedures, and Practices

The other seven principles focused primarily on the comprehensive implementation of those policies, procedures, and practices. Successful implementation was indicated by high scores ($M = 3.5$ or above) on providing support for students who are ESL, first-generation, and from historically underrepresented populations; creating supportive learning and work environments; providing technology equally accessible to all students; providing multicultural learning experiences; and implementing multicultural values in interactions with students and colleagues. Moderately high scores ($M = 3.0$ to 3.5) were reported for most other issues such as making scholarships available for international study, providing information that contradicts stereotypes, talking constructively about multicultural issues, providing universally designed academic support services, and making learning resources available at accommodating times. Our finding that student service staff responded NA and DK when addressing learning resources at accommodating times is reason for concern. Student services personnel should be aware of and connected to the delivery of learning resources at accommodating times.

The lowest scores were concentrated in questions about extracurricular and co-curricular activities (Principle 7) and assessment of student learning (Principle 10). Means ranged between 2.32 and 2.58 on questions concerning sponsorship of activities to enable social interaction; or of activities that foster positive multicultural relations; or of professional, career or honorary groups providing multicultural opportunities. SSS respondents were a little more positive concerning having multiple forms of assessment and culturally-sensitive forms of assessment for both items $M = 2.75$. FIS respondents gave higher scores for the multiplicity ($M = 3.15$) and diversity ($M = 3.62$) of forms of assessment, but lower scores for their cultural sensitivity ($M = 2.95$) and their measurement of improved multicultural relations ($M = 2.35$).

Some questions in the FIS survey asked if the respondent utilized specific teaching methods, strategies, or materials in their classes and



demonstrated a widespread implementation of the multicultural principles. Most instructors reported utilizing a variety of teaching strategies, enabling interaction with people of diverse backgrounds, introducing appropriate role models, and teaching diverse perspectives, with means ranging from 3.44 to 3.56. Addressing communication skills, developing social skills, and using texts by authors from diverse backgrounds were also reported in many classrooms, with means ranging from 3.22 to 3.35. Other questions might be expected to have low scores because the teaching methods or strategies could be more appropriate or more easily implemented in some courses than others. Yet relatively high scores (M from 2.88 to 2.95) were recorded for setting ground rules for multicultural discussions; teaching in diverse cultural environments; and utilizing simulations, role playing, or writing from the perspective of others. Even providing opportunities for civic engagement, creating opportunities for students to work collaboratively outside the classroom, and teaching in diverse cultural environments ($M = 2.54, 2.63, \text{ and } 2.96$ respectively) were surprisingly widespread given the usual constraints of academia and the varying applicability of these methods to the courses in the curriculum.

The SSS survey indicated that the student services unit provided services that promoted multicultural awareness and an overall positive cultural climate. Most student development and support services employees believed that advocacy around multicultural issues was central to the mission of the unit ($M = 3.5$) and that they talked with students about multicultural issues ($M = 3.0$). They also indicated that student support employees provided services that facilitated the growth of students' intellectual and interpersonal development ($M = 3.2$) and assisted students in developing the social skills necessary to interact effectively in a multicultural environment ($M = 3.3$). The SSS question with the lowest score asked if the respondent was personally involved in setting up events or activities that gave students the opportunity to work collaboratively in a diverse group ($M = 2.0$). However, that finding is misleading because most student services staff in GC worked with students on a one-to-one basis, with a primary focus on academic advising. Meanwhile, student

services staff thought that the program provided opportunities for students to interact with people from diverse backgrounds ($M = 3.5$).

Level 3: Transformation of the Institution

The transformation of the institution into a positive multicultural environment received mixed scores indicating a transition in process. High scores were given for a supportive work environment, operating in a manner that valued multicultural learning, and enabling all students to learn and excel. However, the desired outcomes from this institutional transformation are more elusive as indicated by more modest scores on the question: "Do students from a variety of social and cultural groups succeed proportionately in your program or unit?" (FIS $M = 3.07$ and SSS $M = 3.0$). Similar modest scores were recorded for whether faculty and staff were "appropriately diverse to serve a diverse student body," (FIS $M = 3.04$ and SSS $M = 2.55$). General College's efforts to establish and implement multicultural policies, procedures, and practices in conjunction with a sustained, aggressive recruitment of faculty and staff of color has resulted in GC having successfully recruited and retained the most diverse faculty and staff in the university. Despite this relative success, these modest scores indicate even higher aspirations by the respondents. Moreover, the scores accurately reflect that the faculty and staff need to be even more diverse to serve students and that the respondents are aware of that necessity.

General College's establishment of a multicultural mission received the very highest scores under Principle 1. Later questions readdressed this issue to see if the words in the mission statement were actually affecting the transformation of the institution. Student services staff were asked: "Is advocacy around multicultural issues central to the student services mission?" ($M = 3.5$) Also, both groups responded to the question: "Is a commitment to multicultural issues central to the mission of your program, department, or unit?" (FIS $M = 3.82$ and SSS $M = 3.5$). There was a significant difference between responses by instructional staff and student services staff when answering the latter question. Faculty members seem more unified in stating that multiculturalism

is almost always or always central to the mission, while student services staff responses were more distributed between often and almost always. At the policy level, it is important that both groups see themselves as having a pivotal role in centrality of multiculturalism. Further discussion on this issue is needed to uncover why student services staff members question the commitment to multicultural issues in the program, department, college, or other institutional level.

Conclusions

General College has been extremely successful in achieving the multicultural goals of a postsecondary educational institution. Appropriate policies, procedures, and practices were implemented throughout the unit, and faculty and staff played a role in transforming this academic institution into a positive multicultural environment. These results are not surprising due to the nature of General College's work with culturally diverse students who are considered at risk by the University of Minnesota. However, the establishment of these policies, procedures, and practices was accomplished due to the leadership of Dean David Taylor, the various efforts of the Multicultural Concerns Committee, and the support of committed faculty and staff.

Although improvements are always possible in successful areas, those few areas needing attention address issues that would typically be the last to change. The emphasis of reform should focus particularly on extracurricular and co-curricular activities, based on these research results. However, the transition from the General College to the Department of Postsecondary Teaching and Learning will result in dramatic changes in personnel, procedures, curriculum, and governance documents so great care should be exercised so that the policies, practices, and procedures that are responsible for the current high scores will not be terminated, revised, or neglected. The continued multicultural education mission of the new department should eventually lead to improvements in the PsTL department's adherence to MAP IT principles.

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Diversity and the Postsecondary Experience: Students Give Voice to Their Perspectives

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This chapter has provided an opportunity for undergraduate students from the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities to share their views on why diversity is important and how they benefit from being part of a diverse community of learners. The chapter begins with a synthesis of the responses to an informal qualitative research prompt related to the benefits of diversity, and then presents more in-depth reflections on the part of four undergraduate co-authors.

Postsecondary educators (e.g., Antonio, 2001; Blimling, 2001; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin; Milem & Hakuta, 2000; Smith & Schonfeld, 2000) have established that diversity is important to the higher education experience. Everyone benefits from the opportunity to participate in educational settings that include students, faculty, and staff from different backgrounds who can contribute a wide range of life experiences and viewpoints to the learning process. The purpose of this chapter is to enable students to share *their perspectives* on why diversity is important and how they believe that they benefit. The chapter begins with the brief reflections of University of Minnesota students enrolled in PsTL 1086: “The First-Year Experience” in fall 2006. Then the student co-authors, Renee, Joey, Tao, and Phoutha, students from GC 1280: “Psychology and Personal Development,” provide their own personal insights on how diversity has shaped their undergraduate experiences.

PsTL 1086 Assignment Results

Gardner, Jewler, and Barefoot (2007), authors of the textbook for PsTL 1086, provide the following definition of diversity in the text’s glossary: “The variation of social and cultural identities among people existing together in a defined setting” (p. 147). The course builds on the information provided in the text through the use of guest speakers, films, and assignments that address the existence of different social identities based on intersections of characteristics such as race, ethnicity, culture, language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, social class, age, and disability. Course instructors endeavor to embed multicultural perspectives throughout the course rather than focusing on diversity as but one chapter or unit of the course.

It should be noted that the racial and ethnic make-up of the PsTL 1086 class does not reflect that of the University of Minnesota as a whole, but is representative of some of the communities in close proximity to the University, including

relatively new neighborhoods of East African and Southeast Asian immigrants, and a growing Hispanic and Latina-Latino population in the Twin Cities. Of the 25 students in the class, only 4 are Caucasian. Many of the students in the class are participating in a multicultural learning community linking three of their other courses, some are students in the Commanding English Program (Christensen, Fitzpatrick, Murie, & Zhang, 2005), and approximately half are participants in the University's TRIO Program. As a result, not only in PsTL 1086, but in many of their other courses as well, these students have the opportunity to interact with a more diverse community of learners than other freshmen at the University of Minnesota might experience.

During the seventh week of class, the faculty-member-of-record for PsTL 1086 asked students to respond briefly on a 4 x 6 note card to the following question: "How do *you personally* benefit from the diversity of the student body at the University of Minnesota?" Of the 17 students in class that morning, 13 had signed consent forms during the first week of the course to allow their responses to a variety of assessments and assignments to be used for research purposes. The faculty member analyzed the student responses and identified four themes: (a) the opportunity to interact with and learn from others, (b) the availability of diverse events and activities, (c) preparation for the world of work, and (d) the existence of a "critical mass." In the following paragraphs we provide students' responses in their own words. We have not corrected spelling and grammar and ask that the reader keeps in mind that these were responses jotted down on note cards during class.

Opportunities for Interaction

Of the 11 students who wrote about the opportunity to learn from others, 2 specifically mentioned the concept of an "open mind" or openness to different viewpoints. One asserted, "We benefit from diversity by interacting and learning from each other. Diversity also helps us have open minds to new things and cultures, because through interacting with different people we also learn about their cultures and differences." The other student who wrote specifically about learning to be open said,

The diversity at the University of Minnesota has exposed me to many different people, backgrounds, cultures, and religions. It has helped me become aware and open to many different views and has educated me as a person. I enjoy being in classrooms with people different from me.

A number of students used the word "different" in their responses. For example, one student wrote,

I am able to meet people from different countries and cultures or backgrounds. I went to a high school where there was a lot of diversity and I like that the U of M is diverse too. I enjoy being able to get to know people who are different from me.

Another student observed, "You get to meet a lot of different people and discover that they are friendly." And another shared,

I personally benefit from the diversity of the student body at the University of Minnesota because I get to meet new people and learn about their different cultures. Being in a diverse environment enables me to interact with people from other ethnic backgrounds; therefore, I learn from other parts of the world.

What stands out in these quotes is that difference is always referred to in a positive light. Other students who did not specifically use this terminology still addressed a common theme, as in this example: "I think that a benefit of having such a diverse student body is that it allows most students to meet a larger group of more diverse people, and not be restricted to only talking to people of your race." Following a similar train of thought, another student wrote,

I benefit from the diversity on campus by it allowing me to interact with and become accustomed to other cultures. Coming from an all-Black school it benefits me to come to a more diverse school to know people from all walks of life.

When referring to difference, only one student used the term "them":

I personally think that the U of M is diverse, . . . many cultural backgrounds. From this, I learned many things about another culture that is not mine. I separate what they are and who they are because of their culture. It doesn't bother me, it's like, you don't really care about it than compared to high school. You accept them as your friend, if though it doesn't have to be the same background. You'll accomplish tasks easier and have fun.

Although this student seemed to struggle with putting reflections into words, and still thought of classmates as "others," the underlying message is still one of acceptance.

Diversity Reflected in Cultural Events

One student took the theme of opportunities for interaction to another level by also addressing the availability of cultural activities and exhibits:

Some of the benefits from a well diversity college is you have a student from probably every country around you, and you can say you know someone from every country. At a well diversity school their most events, exhibits, activities about other cultures, 'cause it's a well diversity college.

Thus, students not only have the opportunity to get to know people from different backgrounds and cultures, but also to attend events to learn more about a variety of cultures.

Preparation for the World of Work

Surprisingly, only one student specifically mentioned how the opportunity to interact with students from diverse backgrounds would also be beneficial upon graduation:

I believe that *everyone* [student's emphasis] can benefit from diversity but personally diversity will help make me a more well rounded person. It will help with my career as well. Working in the healthcare field I will be working with all kinds of people and different backgrounds!

Comfort Zones and Critical Mass

Three students wrote more from the perspective of being different. One student addressed being part of a small minority:

I don't know if I really benefit from the diversity here. Me being an African American and there's about 4% of our population here I really try not to think about it here. Although diversity is important I try to think about learning but I feel comfortable *enough* [student's emphasis] here.

Another student shared,

I think that because everyone is so diverse I fit in more because I am part of that diverseness. I'm less afraid to ask diverse kids for help than I am to ask [W]hite kids for help. Just because I feel like I can relate more to the diverse kids.

Finally, one student concluded, "I benefit from the diversity at the U of M because I don't feel alone. Also I get to learn from other cultures."

Concluding Thoughts on Student Responses From PsTL 1086

It is interesting that the PsTL 1086 students' responses about the benefits of diversity also reflect James Banks' (1994, 1997) five dimensions of multicultural education: (a) content integration, (b) knowledge construction, (c) prejudice reduction, (d) equity pedagogy, and (e) creation of empowering school cultures (Bruch, Higbee, & Lundell, 2003, 2004). It is clear that the students believe that multiculturalism is embedded in the course, not just through its contents, but also by virtue of the diversity of viewpoints represented in class discussion. Thus, the very existence of diversity as an empirical reality (Miksch et al., 2003) stimulates the integration of multicultural perspectives in the course and leads to new patterns of knowledge construction that reflect that diversity. Students believe that they enhance their own understanding of other cultures, and hopefully the result is a reduction in prejudice and stereotyping. The PsTL 1086 students' responses reflect a sense of empowerment, which is also evident in the essays written for another course that

endeavors to integrate multicultural perspectives with course content, GC 1280.

Reflections From GC 1280 Students

Our four student co-authors were enrolled in a 3-week course, GC 1280: “Psychology and Personal Development,” in May, 2006. Although taught at the 1000 level, this is a challenging course that applies psychological theory to students’ everyday lives (Higbee, Chung, & Hsu, 2004) and frequently attracts upperclassmen from the School of Business or the Institute of Technology who enroll to complete a social science liberal education requirement. The course uses a text designed for upper-division psychology of adjustment courses. As is true for PsTL 1086, although the text has a specific chapter addressing diversity, the instructor endeavors to embed multicultural content throughout the course. In GC 1280, like PsTL 1086 and many other courses in the new Department of Teaching and Learning and in the former General College (Higbee, Lundell, & Arendale, 2005), typically the students enrolled comprise a very diverse group of learners with a wide array of intersecting social identities that reflect differences in race, ethnicity, national origin, language, age, gender, sexual orientation, religion, spirituality, socioeconomic class, and disability.

In GC 1280 students write two essays from a choice of 12 essay topics that are related to course themes. One of the essay prompts asks,

What are the advantages of a diverse learning environment? How do you benefit from participating in classes in which the students come from diverse backgrounds and have diverse beliefs? What experiences have shaped your attitudes about diversity in postsecondary education? Has participating in diverse classrooms created any particular challenges for you? If so, what were they? How did you overcome them? What else do you think it is important for students to communicate to postsecondary educators about diversity?

Interestingly, independently the GC 1280 students responding to this prompt focused on similar themes to those linking the responses of the PsTL 1086 students. Four of the GC 1280 students—

Renee, Joey, Tao, and Phoutha—volunteered to have their responses included in this chapter. Thus, the following first-person accounts are also in the students’ own words.

Renee: Opportunities for Interaction

I have had the pleasure of working with a diverse learning environment where most of the students came from suburban or outer Minnesota where there are no diverse groups within their neighborhoods. As our group worked on a community service project along with inner-city youth, the valuable experience of learning about race relations and issues pertaining to minorities prior to the start of the inner-city youth project was helpful for these suburban and rural Minnesota students to understand urban cultures better. I believe that courses on diversity are crucial to understanding and promoting tolerance between all cultures, regardless of the fact that the students may be immigrants, international students, coming from suburban or urban areas.

African American people helped build this nation and are still reeling from the effects of slavery psychologically and physiologically. Therefore, it is important for European Americans and international students to understand these issues, as well as for African American students to understand themselves. For instance, how would suburban students with limited contact with African Americans be able to stay objective when they see certain unacceptable behaviors consistently practiced and not feel superior or believe that African American people create their own problems? Or perhaps they will think to themselves, “I do not like these people,” based on meeting a few individuals from this culture rather than viewing each person individually. The behavior will seemingly confirm their preconceived or learned notions; therefore, race relations will continue to be a continuous negative cycle with each generation.

African Americans face issues with prejudice and racism each day. Although blatant discrimination is illegal, there are many subtle forms the average African American person faces regularly. As Feldman Barrett and Swim (1998) wrote, “Everyday discrimination can take many forms, including verbal



insults, negative evaluations, avoidance, denial of equal treatment, and threats of aggression (p. 75).

My poem, "Faded Beauty," is very appropriate for scenarios such as the aforementioned.

I am a person from a multicultural background; therefore, I have insights into several cultures. But I believe that the average African American student as well as others could benefit from a diverse educational learning environment along with international and European American students. I

There are folks that are narrow-minded
Put those of color into
Classifications that Inspire hate
Then there are
Those tender moments
Of kindness
That seems to fade like a washed out painting in the artists' portfolio forgotten
and abandoned
A quick touching moment
When I dropped my book the ivory colored girl with the blonde curly hair bent
over to
Retrieve it
It was as if the universe caused time to stand still
Only for a moment
Thus noted for remembrance
When her blue eyes met my brown eyes
There was a look of human compassion
That often is too quickly forgotten
Tender moments like
The man and his father both with auburn hair
Their green eyes came in the moment of my despair
Touched my heart cuz all the men of my kin just walked
Right by
Yet these two fellows eagerly answered my prayer
The determined green-eyed pair determined
To retrieve my spare
So that I could be driving on my way
To them I was a woman just like their spouses within their houses
Ha! Ha! The old gent said, "I'm happy to help out
I can't imagine my wife in this kind of strife"
This tender moment
Left as a mark that seems to go dark when faced with disgrace because of
hatred against my race
And I swear that times like
These tender moments
Of kindness
Seem to fade
Just like that faded washed out
Painting no longer remembered
The artist depiction of beauty once envisioned
With various splashes of color
Blended to perfection
So
Why do these precious moments
Just seem to fade?

Figure 1. "Faded Beauty" by Renee Barron.

believe it widens one's horizons to gain differing opinions and perspectives. I have enjoyed getting to know several people who had differing political perspectives from myself and have noted that many young adult students from the Republican Party—as opposed to my own Democratic or Green Party political views—are genuinely concerned about social ills and have hopes of improving the world scene. I have also gotten to understand students from other countries, where little information is readily available concerning their cultures. I have had the opportunity to see firsthand their struggles of adjusting to life in America and to learn things about their heritage, religion, and values.

I am an older student; therefore I have had my opinions shaped prior to entering college. But being older has helped me see that although the college campus has a diverse student body and policies in place that foster tolerance, these campus regulations do not temper faculty and staff members' views on race relations, nor do they promote understanding of those conducting research about diverse groups. I took a course in which a faculty member had preconceived notions or limited experience and exposure to the African American culture growing up. This instructor seemed to have a lesser view of minorities than some of my other instructors,

who really did strive to understand and eliminate stereotypical perceptions. On the other hand, I see that traditional-age students benefit because they are younger and able to be away from the influence of family and community to witness firsthand what it is like to work along with someone from another culture whose culture, ideas, and background may be different from their own.

The faculty member that I mentioned earlier was from a rural town without much exposure to diversity growing up. Although she now lives in an urban area where the culture is predominantly African American, I believe she not only holds a negative perception of minorities, but I have noted situations where she demonstrated discrimination. For instance, she would often compare a different section of her course that was predominantly White with my section, which was predominantly African American. She would ask questions like, "My other class is not having difficulty understanding me or my teaching style. What's wrong with this class?" Or she would make statements such as "This is a nursery school problem" or "All of you got this wrong on the quiz and it is one of the most basic questions on an intelligence test."

In light of this situation, I would like to conclude by asking faculty and staff to consider a poem I wrote called "Defining Light."

To condense on a single sheet
Whom I have made myself to be
Is really an impossibility
Eighteen years summarized in such a small space
For you to know me is not to judge me
I thrive off the real and sometimes intangible
People help me make sense of the world
To know me is to start with a fresh canvas
Slowly adding color to what I choose to intertwine in your mind
Don't think you can paint me
If you do means you have judged me
I am not an open book
Though I do let you read some of my pages
I notice the unnoticeable
Search for what some think is un-searchable
I am art, I'm expressive, I am a creative work in progress
I am curious, I am faith, I am hope
Though blindly I grope
I embrace people and love their true nature
For you to know me is to know my character
Not with hidden perceptions that you have painted on a cloudy surface.

Figure 2. "Defining Light" by Renee Barron.



Joey: Openness to Different Viewpoints and Preparation for the World of Work

It is often said that two heads are better than one. This rings true in a group's ability to tackle a problem. With all other things being equal, a group with the ability to look at problems from different angles will propose a better solution. Moreover, a group whose members are more diverse will likely find it easier to approach problems from different perspectives. The same is true in academics: a more diverse group has a higher potential to tackle problems from many different perspectives. In addition, each group member has the potential to learn much more in a diverse learning environment than he or she would otherwise. Nurturing diversity in classes that would otherwise lack diversity is essential to maintain a healthy learning environment.

Whether it is academically or socially diverse, students benefit from a diverse environment through growth in areas not directly corresponding to their field of study. Academically speaking, engineering students may be able to improve their communication skills by working on problems with English majors. In a similar way, Spanish majors may improve their math skills by working with physics majors. The skills gained by working in these academically diverse situations will become indispensable later on. Ultimately it bolsters students' creativity when they return to work on problems in their specific field.

In a similar way, students participating in a socially diverse environment will gain greater perspective on the world that they live in. As an engineering major myself, it is easy for students in more conservative fields to be somewhat callous to social problems in today's society. A common stereotype is that engineering students are all White or Asian males. This homogeneity of the student body, while constructive for engineering problems, does not help students learn to address other problems such as social inequality. Students are able to benefit from socially diverse settings simply by seeing what is out there. Often it is the case among engineering students that they are ignorant to other social groups' perceptions of the world. A diverse setting can help students incorporate other views into their problem-solving skills. This tactic

of approaching problems from different angles can become very useful when the need arises for innovation.

Although my experience in diverse classroom settings is very limited, I think I have attained far more valuable skills in my education in liberal arts than in engineering. Providing answers is, in my opinion, much more black and white in the sciences. Answers are stated easily with a number or a "yes" or a "no." Although these skills are very useful, the real world of problems contains answers that are not a simple yes or no. They require a much more subjective approach in their analysis, and this type of subjective learning is attained much more easily in liberal arts classes.

Initially I did not like English classes. I did not like their subjectivity. I liked clear and simple answers to answer objective questions. I also did not like that there were multiple methods to answer questions. Unfortunately, even in the sciences, I found this same subjectivity that I had been avoiding. Engaging in interaction with diverse groups of people, though, helped me understand how to understand others' subjective views. Understanding that not everyone has the same view (or should have the same view) is the quintessential skill attained from diversity in the classroom. In fact, the ability to view a problem from very different subjective viewpoints can even become a valuable skill.

In short, diversity in *all classroom settings* should be promoted, not just in liberal arts. One important point to consider, though, is the excessive use of diversity. While it is important to observe that others are different and of different backgrounds, excessive exclusion of a particular group can be detrimental. This can bolster the idea of a "marked" group that is inherently different than the rest with different capabilities. For instance, a fully able White heterosexual male is never asked to be a spokesman for his demographic. However, a Black person may be asked to represent the whole Black community's view. This type of "marking" behavior, while recognizing and appreciating one's diverse background, is detrimental because it can separate that person from the "other" rather than seeing him or her as part of the group.

Ultimately it will be the use of diversity that will solve the toughest problems that everyone faces today. The innovation of today might help society, but it will only be part of society. There are many other problems in today's society of which everyone needs to be aware, and this can only be achieved through the promotion of diversity in our learning environments.

Tao: Stereotypes and Comfort Zones

Last spring semester by accident I enrolled myself into AmIn 3711: "Dakota Culture & History." As I entered Scott Hall at 6:10 p.m. on the first day of class, besides wondering what I got myself into, I visualized the classroom filled with American Indians students and thought that I would be the only odd one, the one Asian student. When I walked into the classroom I was surprised to see that the majority of the students were Caucasian and that there was one African American, another Asian, and, to my surprise, only one American Indian student, besides the professor.

The professor was a middle-aged American Indian woman, who had broad shoulders, stood about 5 foot 7 inches, her hair pulled back into a bun, and wore a stern look on her face. She was not the type of teacher that on the first day of class would chit chat with the students to find out their names, or if they were lost. No, this professor sat front and center with her eyes glued to a book. At exactly 6:20 p.m. she got up and introduced herself and the tribe to which she belong, the Sisseton-Dakota, and then moved along to the introduction to the course. She started by asking us what comes to mind when we think about Indians. One student shouted out, "tomahawks"; another said, "Pocahontas," and other students suggested terms like "buffalo," "teepee," and so on. The teacher went on, saying that our answers were what she expected to hear associated with Indians. She then outlined the course and said that we would learn the history of the Dakotas, including the Uprising, the Battle at Black Hills, the hanging of 39 Indians in Mankato (MN), Fort Snelling, "civilization" of the Dakota, and reservations. Because all of this history that I did not know raised my curiosity, I decided to stay in the course and learn about the real life of American Indians. Throughout the course we read

books like *History of the Santee Sioux* (Meyer, 1993), *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* (Eastman, 1977), *Indian Boyhood* (Eastman, 1991), and so on. We also watched videos that demonstrate what happened to the Indians over time to present day.

The experiences that have shaped my attitudes about diversity in postsecondary education have led to my belief that we all judge other cultures by what we see or learn. We learn about the Indians in grade school as people who were found in American when Whites came to this country: they helped them grow crops, provided a feast, and lived in teepees and hunted buffalo. We were not taught about Whites taking over the Indians' land and putting them on reservations, forcing them to civilize and adopt Christianity, cutting their hair, putting their children in boarding schools, and taking away their identities. After learning all this I was in shock and annoyed about how all this was not acknowledged when teaching children about the American Indian. As much as we want to say that we do not stereotype, we often do so in our teaching of other cultures.

It was beneficial in that class to have students that come from diverse backgrounds and have diverse beliefs towards how they feel about the Indian. I was able to relate to some of what the Indian went through with the Whites as similar to the Hmong experience, too. We used direct terms in that class like the "White," "Black," "Indian," and so on, but we all were comfortable because of the environment and the learning we were doing. Other students talked about their families who were of Indian descent and what they learned from their elders and their personal experiences through those times.

The advantage of a diverse learning environment is that everyone comes from a different background and all students can voice their opinion according to what they have learned and share with everyone what is unique about their culture or what we did not know about their culture. They can also correct us regarding what we have learned about their culture that is true or false. In our class there were three graduate students who were taking that course to help them in their careers. They all were social workers who worked for Hennepin County and dealt with the American Indian



children. All Indian children who fall into child custody proceedings or delinquency status have to go through the federal law called Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA). The social workers work with the parents, children, foster children, and the tribes to find the best direction for the children. To hear what they deal with and their personal experience with the American Indians was just so surprising. I also realized how important it was for the social workers to be taking a course that helps eradicate stereotypes of the American Indian.

It is important for students to communicate to postsecondary educators that we appreciate their teaching of their culture and the respect they have for diverse students to learn about their culture and value our opinions. The last day of class our professor laid four items on a table in the center of the classroom; they were a rock, a small metal pot, a Bible written in the Dakota language, and a pair of bead moccasins, and they were symbolic for every step of the changes that happened to the Dakota people.

Phoutha: Different and Yet the Same

We all know together that the United States is a country where most of the citizens and residents emigrated from many different countries around the world. The United States is a nation of diversity in cultures, religions, and races. These diversities have been causing many positive effects, advantages, and benefits for U.S. citizens in both living and learning environments.

My family is one of the families that contributes to the diversity in the United States. We have a different culture, language, and religion from others. In this situation, we accept that living among these kinds of diversity can also have many difficulties and obstacles that we need to get through. Nonetheless, for myself as a member of the younger generation who has a chance to get through the process of education, I have seen that in the diverse learning environment there also are many advantages for students. For example, in a class of diverse students from different cultures, the students will be naturally learning and understanding that people in our world are different. They will also realize that there is not only one race of people in this world, and people

from different parts of the world are not the same. In other words, a class of different students from diverse cultures can also be a real example for the students to learn and understand that our world is like a big classroom that has many different people living and learning together.

I have experienced this firsthand. When I first came to the University of Minnesota one of my friends said to me that before she knew me she used to think that in the Asian continent there is only one country, which is China. She also said that all Asian people are Chinese. In this conversation, I knew this friend of mine had this misunderstanding about the countries in Asia because she had never been in any diverse class of many cultures before. Thus, being in a diverse learning environment has advantages and is beneficial in some ways, as the example of my friend who has gotten more understanding about Asian countries illustrates.

Other than advantages that students will have from the diverse learning environment, participating in a class that has students who come from diverse backgrounds and beliefs will also benefit the students themselves in many different ways. The students will not only learn about difference in races or backgrounds, but they will also have a chance to share and learn about the difference of ideas, behaviors, and attitudes, as well as the thinking processes of different students from different parts of the world. In addition, students will also have a chance to listen and learn from the different perspectives and viewpoints when each different student is responding to the same kind of problem. Eventually, the students in a diverse class will also get a better understanding about difference, which they may use as a way to improve their own knowledge and abilities.

For myself, as a diverse student, one of the experiences that has shaped my attitudes about the diversity in postsecondary education is that I have realized that listening to and respecting others' perspectives and ideas are necessary and important for us, who are living in the same environment. Sometimes, something that is not important to us may be important to others; therefore, in whatever we are doing we should be more considerate and careful, because in the diverse world we should be avoiding any behavior that would hurt someone's

feelings about something that might be contrary to their beliefs. Besides this, participating in a diverse classroom has also created many particular challenges for me, especially in regard to religions and beliefs. Sometimes it is difficult for me to respond to a problem from my own perspective and religious thoughts because it might conflict with the opinions of others who have a different religion from me. On the other hand, by participating in this diverse environment, I have a chance to receive different feedback, responses, and even disagreement from others as well. To accomplish this, I have to be more open minded to the different viewpoints of classmates and compromise to some viewpoints that they may misunderstand about my belief.

Lastly, in living in a diverse nation like the United States, I think that what is important for students to communicate to postsecondary educators is that we need to be more open minded to listen to or accept others' ideas that are reasonable. Because no one is perfect in this world, in order to live together with peace and to improve ourselves in a positive way, we need to listen and cooperate with one another. We need to help each other out because sometimes what we know others might not know, and what we do not know, others might know. More important than that, we should always remember that although in our diverse world people might be different in races, colors, and backgrounds, as well as in beliefs, but in the meaning of what it is to be a human being, we all are not different, everyone always has equal rights to live. Therefore, we should not consider ourselves as better than others just because of our background because ultimately everyone in this world is the same, a human being, and as important as anyone else.

Conclusion

In the process of teaching students, it is important that we remember that we are learners, too, and that our students have much to teach us. It is helpful to read the theory of Banks (1994, 1997) and others and to reflect on how those theories guide our work. But from time to time it is also beneficial to assess whether we are really accomplishing our goals, as illustrated in the chapter by Higbee, Siaka, and Bruch elsewhere in this monograph, and to

provide students with opportunities to express their views. The sharing of the backgrounds and life experiences of the students in PsTL 1086 and of our four student co-authors from GC 1280 can enhance our own learning as well as that of our students. We all benefit from being part of a diverse community of learners.

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Experience of Japanese Women Students in a Study-Abroad Program in the U.S.

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This qualitative study focuses on the sources of discontent within a study-abroad group of 11 Japanese women students (20 to 21 years old) in a university in the United States. The research data includes interviews of the 11 Japanese women students and their resident coordinator, and 2 participant observations in fall 2001. The source of the students' discontent, and the major underlying cause of their discontent, is their living and studying not with Americans, but in a small Japanese group deeply rooted in Japanese culture. This study shows that the program coordinators can assist these students better by understanding their culture and group ethics.

This qualitative research examined the extent to which Japanese students may experience discontent with being part of a Japanese group when placed together for living and study in the United States, and, if they do, the kind of discontent experienced and the underlying causes of the personal discontent. How to avoid discontent was not the focus of this study; however, practical implications and recommendations for future research on avoiding or resolving personal discontent are discussed in the recommendations and implications of this chapter section. This research, in turn, will help international program providers learn how to support Japanese group study abroad program students. The ultimate purpose of this study is to provide information to aid in the adjustment of Japanese students in group programs as they study and live together in the U.S.

Significance of the Study

Economic and technological globalization has allowed many more people to move across countries in the 21st century. International students attend more than 2,500 U.S. institutions of higher education, and the U.S. has the highest annual enrollment of international university students of any country in the world (Kilinc & Granello, 2003). Each year, hundreds of Japanese students come to the U.S. to seek opportunities to develop their English proficiency and understanding of American culture. According to the International Institute of Education (IIE) (2005), the population of students from Japan was one of the largest following India (first), China (second), and South Korea (third) in total enrollments of international students in 2005.

Many colleges in Japan have their own study abroad programs and send groups of Japanese

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students to the U.S. to study English and American culture. Universities that host these students do their best to provide housing, services, and classes. The success and welfare of the Japanese students often depends on what types of housing and services are offered (International Program staff, personal communication, December, 2, 2001). Yet, whether Japanese students are happy about being housed together once they are settled has not been the subject of much formal study.

The research on the experience among Japanese students is limited to a focus on their English proficiency and their understanding of American culture, not on emotional experiences among Japanese students who live and study together with their group members and create their own small group in a U.S. university. Thus, it is significant to pay attention to the potentially emotional and challenging issues they face when they try to navigate U.S. culture through their Japanese cultural lens. This, in turn, will be an opportunity for U.S. higher education institutions to broaden their intercultural perspectives and better serve international students who are living and studying together in study abroad programs.

In this age of globalization, it is crucial for U.S. higher education institutions to take advantage of the opportunity to support and work with international students to broaden their perspectives. To do otherwise may result in damage not only to U.S. society by limiting the development of a global perspective, but also to the U.S. economy. Most U.S. universities have an economic need to increase international enrollment (Cooper, 1983; Kaplan, 1987; Light, 1993; Selvadurai, 1992). According to Institute of International Education (2005), international students contribute approximately \$13.3 billion to the U.S. economy through tuition and living expenses.

Research Background

Every year in March, a group of 10 to 20 Japanese women students ranging in age from 20 to 21 come to a Pacific Northwest regional university (PNRU) from a Japanese women's college (JWC). In spring 2001, 11 students participated in the program. They spent months at PNRU studying English and U.S.

culture. Unlike many other international students who live and study on their own, JWC students lived in the same apartment complex, forming a small Japanese group in the U.S.

My volunteer work with the Japanese groups since 1997 familiarized me with JWC students' experience living and studying in the U.S. In particular, I noted that there were conflicts within the group each year. In order to discuss the sources of conflict in the JWC group, two prior studies were conducted. Five students in 1999 and three students in 2000 were interviewed individually for approximately 60 minutes each about their experiences living and studying together in the program. Through these interviews, I gained knowledge of their experiences—not only how they lived as a group in the study abroad program, but also their feelings of discontent and their perceptions of the causes of their discontent. Specifically, I found that the students had trouble adjusting to living and studying within a small group context separate from the challenge of overcoming their problems with spoken English.

Assumptions and Biases

Based on my prior studies and information in the literature, the assumptions and biases I carried as I completed this study include the following:

1. There will be some feelings of discontent among the group members.
2. The placement of the group in American context influences the amount of personal discontent.
3. Comparison with others who have made a better adjustment to their new life in the U.S. influences personal discontent.
4. Obligations and expectations corresponding to Japanese cultural group norms that JWC students have with their group members influence personal discontent.



5. The feeling of being constantly monitored by group members and being controlled by fear of accusation or gossip influences personal discontent.

Theoretical Framework

A number of theoretical perspectives provide the theoretical framework for this research. They include theories related to intercultural communication, individualism versus collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, and transformative learning.

Intercultural Communication

Bennett (1986) and Pusch (1979) defined intercultural communication as referring to the study of the communication process between people of significantly different cultural backgrounds. Intercultural communication theories and concepts help to emphasize the differences between Japanese and American communication styles. One of the dimensions that exerts strong influence on classroom communication and interactions is individualism-collectivism (Ward, 2006). Even though the U.S. is not homogenous in its emphasis on individualistic behavior and Japanese culture is not homogenous in its emphasis on collectivistic behavior, these cultural patterns are helpful to analyze their cultural differences.

Individualism Versus Collectivism

In Japanese society, which is described as collectivist (Hofstede, 1991; Samovar & Porter, 1997), one is expected to place group needs over individual needs and desires. It is, therefore, culturally unacceptable to draw attention to the self in social settings such as the classroom. A Japanese proverb, "The nail that sticks up gets pounded down," reflects the important Japanese cultural concept of group harmony. U.S. culture is described as individualistic (Hofstede; Samovar & Porter) and rewards behavior that draws attention to the self, such as asserting individual rights and needs over group needs within social settings such as a formal college classroom. This cultural tendency is exemplified in a U.S. proverb that says, "The squeaky wheel gets the grease." The major patterns of collectivistic Japanese culture, which will be

taken into consideration, are, in order of discussion, Japanese conflict style, in-groups versus out-groups, and the concept of uncertainty avoidance.

Japanese conflict style. According to the previous discussion, the basic communication goal in collectivistic cultures is to avoid embarrassing others and being embarrassed. Thus, it can be said that conflict avoidance tendency relates to collectivistic culture. Ting-Toomey (1999) stated that the conflict issue and the conflict person tend to be the same for people in collectivistic cultures. According to Gudykunst and Kim (1997), Japanese tend to take criticism and objections to their ideas as personal attacks. In contrast, members of low-context cultures tend to separate the conflict issue from the person involved in the conflict, and they can still remain friends even after they disagree. This concept will be helpful when examining JWC students' communication styles among their group members.

In-groups and out-groups. Collectivism is affected by a strict social framework that separates in-groups and out-groups (Hofstede, 1991; Samovar & Porter, 1997). In Japan people differentiate their communication styles depending on in-group and out-group. The term *uchi*, in-group, refers to in, inside, internal, private, hidden, one's family members, friends, and place of work. The term *soto*, out-group, refers to public, outside, external, exposed, others: that is, people outside of one's group of family members and friends (Lebra, 1976; Maynard, 1997; Nakane, 1970).

Lebra (1976) noted that most importantly, the in-group and out-group distinction is drawn not by social structure but by constantly varying situations. Situations vary in time and in place. For example, my parents, with whom I can share my personal anxiety and use direct communication style, are my in-group members; but my friends, whom I like even if I keep some distance and do not show my vulnerability, could be considered as out-group members. Thus, from the native Japanese instinct, people categorize others as in-group members or out-group members depending on how close one feels to them and how open one is with them in a certain context.

More specifically, according to Nakane's



(1970) concept of in-group and out-group, there are three categories in Japanese interpersonal communication. The first category consists of people within one's own group such as one's family. In the first category, the style of interpersonal communication is informal. The second category consists of people whose background is fairly well known, such as friends, teachers at school, and co-workers. The personal relationship becomes more distant in the second category as compared to the first and more polite. The third category consists of people who are unknown, strangers. They may even feel hostile toward them. In the discussion section, I will argue how JWC students categorize their roommates in their study-abroad program.

Uncertainty avoidance. Hofstede (1983) defined uncertainty avoidance as "the degree to which the members of a society feel uncomfortable with uncertainty and ambiguity, which leads them to support beliefs promising certainty and to maintain institutions protecting conformity" (pp. 226-337). According to Hofstede's (1991) research, the population of the United States is categorized in a weak uncertainty avoidance group whereas the population of Japan is categorized in a strong uncertainty avoidance group. Ting-Toomey (1999) argued that, "weak uncertainty avoidance cultures encourage risk taking, whereas strong uncertainty avoidance cultures prefer clear procedures and guidelines in directing members' behavior in an organization" (p. 71). This concept will be helpful to examine JWC students' experience in their American classroom as well as with roommates.

Transformative Learning

Transformative learning theory (Kegan, 1994) can help us examine the cause of the feelings of discontent in the group of JWC students and the process for these students to gain different perspectives through interactions with their American friends. Unfortunately, no studies were found that specifically addressed this issue in terms of transformative learning theory, but Kegan's "constructive-developmental theory" explains cultural transition. Kegan said that people's construction of reality can evolve over time with developmentally appropriate supports and challenges. In his constructive-developmental

theory, he explained that we can take a new perspective on what we can take as objective, such as our experiences. In contrast, we cannot have a perspective on what we take as subjective, such as culture, because we are embedded in it.

To function in U.S. society and gain the benefits of improved English proficiency and American cultural understanding, international students need to transform or reframe (Kegan, 1982, 1994) core aspects of their cultural identity. Mezirow (2000) explained that critical reflection on ourselves and the world we live in is a key to inducing transformation. In the discussion section I will use transformative learning theory to discuss how JWC students' frames of reference started changing by interacting with their American peers.

Methodology

The questions guiding this research were:

1. Do the students experience discontent in the study-abroad program?
2. If so, what kinds of discontent do they have related to living as a group in the study-abroad program in the U.S.?
3. If discontent is reported, what do the students believe are the underlying causes?

Rationale for a Qualitative Study

In this study, qualitative research methods were used. I conducted in-depth interviews with 11 JWC students and their resident coordinator and 2 participant observations. Qualitative research methods are appropriate for this study because qualitative research allows me to uncover the meaning subjectively experienced by JWC students and study the nature of the relationship between the knower and what can be known.

In addition, a qualitative approach was chosen for this study because it does not lend itself to either a large sample population or the attempt to control and predict the causal relationships of variables. The purpose of this study is to look for perspectives



subjectively experienced by JWC students in their group study-abroad program as described in their own terms. Thus, qualitative in-depth interviews informed by the “phenomenological perspective” (Moustakas, 1994) would be more appropriate than a quantitative survey for the purpose of this study. A phenomenological approach allows me to focus on the conscious experiences of JWC students as they related their real-world experiences as JWC students in a group study abroad program in the U.S.

Research Participants

As previously stated, every year for the last 15 years, a group of 10 to 40 JWC students have come to PNRU from JWC to study English language and American culture for 6 or 9 months (School of Extended Studies, 1999). The JWC program is sponsored by the International Special Programs (ISP) of the School of Extended Studies at PNRU. In order to protect confidentiality, pseudonyms are used in place of the real names of the research participants, the college, and the university in this study. The ISP serves as an intermediary between the JWC program and PNRU, and assists students in a variety of ways, including opening bank accounts, coordinating JWC student housing, providing host families for weekends, and arranging American conversation partners. The ISP also helps JWC students cope with “culture shock” by providing intercultural education workshops and giving them an orientation to facilitate cultural adjustment in the U.S. The ISP also coordinates field trips to help JWC students learn about and explore U.S. culture.

JWC students primarily major in English and American Literature, although a few major in other areas such as Home Economics or Japanese Literature. JWC students arrive in March and depart in September on the 6-month option, or depart in December on the 9-month option. In the first 3 months, they are required to take classes for JWC students only that are coordinated by the ISP. After the 3-month period, JWC students enroll in English as a Second Language (ESL) classes with other international students. They also take two JWC-student-only classes that are coordinated by the ISP. In addition, during fall term they have an opportunity to take a class with American students at the university. JWC students are housed in

apartments located about 30 minutes by bus from the campus, and groups of three to four students share two-bedroom apartments. Typically, none of them has lived with roommates before. Most of them live with their family in Japan and have their own room.

The JWC program resident coordinator was also invited to participate and agreed to an individual interview. This gave an added dimension to the data. I asked the resident coordinator to be my interviewee because she spent more time with the JWC students than any other staff members of the JWC program. She is a graduate student in applied linguistics at the PNRU. She is a Korean-American and she taught English in Japan for several years. Therefore, she is bilingual (English and Japanese). The resident coordinator has worked for the ISP for 4 years and works not only with the JWC student group but also with other Japanese college student groups as well.

Interview Preparation and Research Site

In June 2001 I contacted the International Special Program, explained the purpose of the interviews, and asked permission to contact JWC students and their resident coordinator. Then I sent an e-mail message to the resident coordinator to ask her permission to contact JWC students by phone. I explained the research to each JWC student and recruited volunteers for individual interviews with a strong emphasis on the volunteer basis of their participation. The resident coordinator invited me to join their field trip on July 19, 2001. During the trip, I again explained the research project to JWC students and recruited volunteers for individual interviews, reemphasizing that participation was voluntary. All of the students and the resident coordinator agreed to be interviewed and gave me their e-mail addresses, which were used to arrange interview appointments.

Interview guide. Preparing the interview guide was a multi-step process. Based on my pilot study with JWC students in a prior cohort, the interview guide was created as demographic information first, closed-ended questions next, and then probing questions (see Figure 1.). This worked well for the JWC student interviewees. Demographic information was collected during the interview



rather than via a pre-interview questionnaire because asking demographic questions served as an icebreaker before asking the main questions. For interviewing with their resident coordinator, open-

ended questions were mainly used (see Figure 2.).

There were several reasons for starting with closed-ended questions for interviews with JWC students. My previous research with JWC students

Demographic questions:

1. Have you studied abroad before? If so, when and for how long?
2. Have you become homesick since you arrived in the U.S.? If so, please describe what it was like.
3. Have you lived away from your parents before? If so, did you live alone or with one or more roommates?

Main questions:

4. Did you know anybody in the JWC group before you joined this program? If so, how did this affect your content and discontent living as a group? If not, how did you feel about having to live and study together with all strangers?
5. If you ever participate in another study abroad program, would you choose to live and study with a group of other Japanese students or go by yourself to study? What are your reasons?
6. What do you think are the advantages of living and studying together as a group in this study abroad program?
7. What do you think are the disadvantage of living and studying together as a group in this study?
8. Do any of the disadvantages that you mentioned make you feel discontent with the group? Please explain.

The probing question below should only be used if needed and follow question #7 instead of #8. For example, is there anything you would like to do that you cannot do because of being in this group program? If so, will you tell me what that would be?
9. Have you ever been bothered by the need to conform to the Japanese norm within the group? Will you tell me about it?
10. Do you think the group relations would be the same if a live and study together program like this were located in Japan? Will you tell me why you think so?
11. How many non-Japanese friends, if any, have you made outside the JWC group? When you started to go out with these friends were you concerned about maintaining good relationships in the JWC group?
12. Have you noticed any changes in (other) members of the group because of their interaction with Americans or with other non-Japanese friends? If so, what changes did you notice? How did you feel about this?
13. Do you think they have affected the way because of your interaction with Americans? If so, what are these changes? Do you think they have affected the way you interact with the JWC group? Please explain.
14. Have you ever thought that any of the problems that have occurred within the group could have stemmed from the changes you mentioned? If so, please tell me what you think.
15. What advice would you give to future partisans about coming as a group and living with a group?
16. Is there anything you would like to tell me more?

Figure 1. Interview guide for students.



in a prior cohort revealed that the JWC students were not accustomed to talking about themselves. They were afraid of giving a stupid answer or an answer out of context that did not relate to the question. They were uncomfortable when asked broad questions and open-ended questions. Asking closed-ended questions first gave them context for the main questions and allowed them time to think and prepare their answers. A series of probing questions were prepared to be used as follow-ups if more information was needed and to facilitate responses to the more open-ended questions.

Interview process. Individual interviews began in early August 2001 and continued for 5 weeks with 11 JWC students and their coordinator. All JWC students of the 2001 cohort volunteered to take part in this study. The JWC students were 20 or 21 years old. They had been in the U.S. for 6 months when they were interviewed. Additionally, their resident coordinator was interviewed. Individual interviews were used instead of a focus group in order to protect confidentiality as well as to help the informants to talk about their personal experience without being interrupted by their peers. Interviews were conducted in a student lounge or cafeteria

on campus in the daytime in an effort to establish comfort and convenience for JWC students and the resident coordinator. The majority of the interviews were held in the student lounge at the school because the setting was more relaxed and quieter than other areas of the campus.

JWC students and the resident coordinator interviews varied in length from 50 to 90 minutes for a total of 12 hours. All student interviews were conducted in Japanese because it was easier for them to be interviewed in their first language. The interview with the resident coordinator was conducted in English because English is her first language. I asked permission of all interviewees to tape record their interviews before doing the interviews and promised to keep the tapes in a safe place on the informed consent form. All participants agreed to this procedure.

During the interviews I attempted to minimize interviewer effects by dressing similarly casually each time and using the same language in Japanese with each of them. The difference in age between interviewer and interviewees was perceived to affect positively the interviews because the age

1. How have the JWC students been getting along these last six months?
2. Have you seen any change in the relationships among the students, such as more students spending time alone? If so, please tell me about it.
3. Have you heard of any problems of discontent with their roommates because of being housed as a group? If so, please tell me about it.
4. What do you think are some of the underlying causes of these problems or discontent?
5. Do you believe that any of the problems or discontent among group members could have stemmed from Americanized ideas, opinions or action? Why do you think so or why do you not think so?
6. How has Americanization (if any) changed group behavior?
7. When you were teaching in Japan did you notice similar or different group behavior than what you see with these JWC students? If so, please tell me about it.
8. As an observer what do you believe are the advantages and disadvantages of this group living study abroad program?
9. What advice, if any, do you have for future participants?
10. Is there anything else you can tell me about group aspects of the program?

Figure 2. Interview guide for resident coordinator.



difference gained the interviewee's respect. It was also easier for JWC students to disclose their personal experiences to me as they would with an older sister within Japanese culture.

Participant Observation

Participant observation refers to the field research in which, "the researcher actually joins in the events under study and examines the phenomenon from the inside" (Babbie, 1998, p. 8). Yin (1994) stated that in participant observation, the researcher is not merely a passive observer. The participant observation technique has been most frequently used in studies of different cultural or subcultural groups and in everyday settings, such as with small groups. The strength of participant observation is that the researcher has certain unusual opportunities for collecting data such as interpersonal behavior.

Two participant observations were conducted with JWC students in the study-abroad program. First, during their 1-day field trip at the end of July, 2001, I joined them and observed their behavior and individual participants' discourse features while traveling on a bus and during activities such as a museum visit and having meals together. I also took careful notice of everything that could potentially affect JWC students. Such as how students sat, with whom they sat, the space between them, how groups formed, the length of time sitting together on the bus, how comfortable the bus seats were, and so on. It was very informative to be able to participate in the same activities with them because I could share in their experience. It also allowed me to listen to their conversations in a natural setting.

The second observation was conducted for 2 hours during the farewell party at the end of August, 2001. I observed their nonverbal expressions and how JWC students interacted with other JWC students and their host families, and recorded the observations as field data.

Transcription and Translation

All 12 interviews were audio tape-recorded verbatim. For transcribing data, Seidman's (1998) approach, which is to first finish all the interviews and then transcribe before analysis,

was used. Seidman said, "In that way I try to minimize imposing on the generative process of the interviews what I think I have learned from other participants" (p. 96). Seidman's rationale for separating the process of collecting and analyzing data is crucial. Seidman noted that "the danger is that the researcher will try to force the excerpts into categories, and the categories into themes that he or she already has in mind, rather than let them develop from the experience of the participants as represented in the interviews" (p. 110). I was fully aware of the danger of imposing my thoughts while interpreting the data and guarded against doing so by reporting statements of JWC students accurately and acknowledging my assumptions and biases before beginning the research. Misunderstanding respondents' answers was minimized by the process of back translation.

Data Analysis

Data analyses included open coding (Seidman, 1998). Open coding consisted of reading each interview separately and labeling passages with comments according to the purpose of the research. To interpret the categories derived from the analysis, Luborsky's (1994) thematic analysis provided descriptions of salient concerns and experience from the informant's own viewpoint. Additionally, themes provided insight into the cultural beliefs and values of the subjects. The analyses were based on research questions, the literature review, and researcher insights.

Findings

In this section, three different sources of information are presented and analyzed: interview data from the 11 JWC students and their resident coordinator and two participant observations. In order to protect confidentiality, pseudonyms are used in place of the real names of the research participants.

Students Experienced Discontent but Also Appreciated Support

The first research question was, "Do the students experience discontent in the study-abroad program?" All students reported feelings



of discontent while expressing their appreciation of being together as a group for emotional support and safety, particularly during the first few months of the program when they were still unsure of how to behave in this new culture and had not learned sufficient English to get along well on their own. One JWC student, Emi, said:

At the beginning, when I came here, we did not know anything, but each of us could exchange information. If I came here by myself, I would feel lonesome, but I am with the group, I feel safe and we comfort one another, so it is good . . . We were nervous even to walk on the street, we were nervous to walk alone, so we walked together with stiff facial expression.

Their resident coordinator also observed that JWC students were very cautious and worried about being talked to by strangers. The resident coordinator said:

Some of them are very cautious. I came walking by 2 weeks ago, and walked right by them. There was only this table space between us [about three feet]. They did not notice me. Sometimes they have tunnel vision because they are worried about strangers talking to them.

Despite the fact that all JWC students reported feelings of discontent, a majority of them appreciated the support of friends in the group during the early stages of the program to alleviate their fear and uncertainty about living abroad. The positive opinions about this study-abroad program need to be reported so as not to give the impression that JWC students only felt discontent in their group study-abroad program.

The second research question was, "If so, what kinds of discontent do they have related to living as a group in the study-abroad program in the U.S.?" Interview data from JWC students and their resident coordinator revealed that JWC students have discontent related to living as a group in the study-abroad program in the U.S., especially with: (a) the restriction on making friends outside of the group, (b) the program system, (c) too much proximity, (d) anxiety about being watched all

the time, (e) competitiveness among the group, (f) restriction of individual expression, (g) stereotyped group image by others, and (h) unfamiliarity with non-family shared living.

Restriction on Making Friends Outside of the Group

Many of the JWC students' feelings of discontent were related to the need to follow their Japanese group ethics and group rules that I will discuss later. The following quote illustrates that JWC students suppressed their true feelings, and tried to be with the group for their own sake in order to meet other group members' expectations and to protect themselves. One student, Sachiko, said, "I want to talk with people outside of JWC group, but I cannot do that and make friends with them because my friend in JWC group will be alone." Another student, Kayo, said, "There are field trips that are only for JWC students. I don't want to be alone on the trip, so I try to be in the group very hard all the time!" They believed that they had to keep good relationships with their group members to avoid being excluded from them.

The Program System

JWC students attributed their inability to make friends outside of the program to the program system. Statements such as the following show that JWC students wished they had more freedom to choose classes and more opportunities to communicate with Americans. One student, Noriko, said:

International students who came here on their own can take all ESL classes, but the number of ESL classes that we [JWC students] can take is limited. Therefore, ESL students develop ahead of us. It is difficult to make friends outside of the JWC group because of JWC restrictions.

Another student, Yumi, said:

I want to take more ESL classes to communicate with people here who are not taking JWC classes, so I think that it is better to come to study abroad on my own rather than with a group in many cases.



Too Much Proximity

JWC students also felt discontent with too much proximity to their group members. Most of them felt an obligation to stay together that led to excessive closeness, both physically and mentally. As one of the students, Noriko, said: "We are always together, I get tired of that. It is boring. Always together, same conversations, living together, taking JWC classes together." Yumi, said: "I did not like to go shopping with my friend, but I had to because she did not want to go by herself. I am obligated to do that. I don't like it." However, the resident coordinator observed that JWC students stayed together even when they had opportunities to take regular ESL classes with other international students and regular classes with American students. The resident coordinator said:

I told JWC students that their apartment is just to sleep in and they don't have to go home and spend all their time with their roommates. They can spend time with their new friends up until 9:00 pm. Your curfew is 10:00 pm. Then, just go home by then. They don't have to stay together. It is their choice. But I don't think they see it that way. It is interesting.

Anxious About Being Watched All the Time

Because of proximity, JWC students were always disturbed by a sense of being watched over by the group members and they were afraid of accusations and gossip. For example, one student, Maki, said: "I think that anything you do will be known by others in the group . . . that makes me self conscious!" Their resident coordinator also reinforced that JWC students seemed to watch one another. Maki said:

You cannot have secrets in the group. And I have told them that there is no point to hide anything, because everybody finds it out. And the fact you try to hide makes it worse. I think it is a part of being Japanese. Japanese girls love to gossip.

According to JWC students, making friends with boys would be viewed as a romantic relationship in Japan according to their mindset. This would result

in gossip. Two students made comments about how they were nervous about making male friends. One student, Rumi, said:

My JWC friend made contact with a guy who was her conversation partner, and people misunderstood the relationship between them. Other JWC girls asked her, "What kind of relationships do you have with the guy?" and my friend said, "No, it is nothing like what you are thinking."

Another student, Sachiko, said:

I am one of the girls of the JWC group, so I become very self conscious about talking to boys. If I have a meeting with a boy, and if someone in our group sees us walking together, they will be curious about us and spread gossip like, "What!" "Who is that guy?" "What's going on between them?"

Competitiveness Among Members of the Group

Interview data revealed unhealthy competition resulting from JWC students having similar goals: making non-Japanese friends and being fluent in English. One student, Naoko, said: "Everybody wanted to make friends with other international students, so we fought over friends." Yumi, said:

If I see someone who is speaking English well, I become nervous, and if I see someone in our group making friends from different countries, I feel that I am left behind, but I don't have that competitive feeling toward other international students outside of our group.

One student, Noriko, pointed out the homogeneousness of the JWC group as the reason for being self-conscious when they speak up in front of other group members. She said: "I compare myself with my peers because we are from the same college, the same age, and the same gender." Another student, Sachiko, said: "We were educated in the same educational system, so we tend to make the same grammatical mistakes. I become nervous when other Japanese are listening to my English."



Restriction of Individual Expression

Because of the presence of their group ethic, JWC students thought that they were restricted in expressing themselves. One student, Kayo, said, "Students from other countries speak out very proactively in class . . . I like it better [than being quiet like many Japanese students.]" Another student, Maki, said, "We are in a Japanese group. You don't speak up until a teacher calls your name. It is embarrassing to speak up in a classroom. We are not accustomed to doing that." The next comment explains more specifically about her feelings about speaking up in her JWC class. Maki said:

I hesitate to speak up in a class if other JWC students are there, so even if I want to tell my opinion in class, I don't do that. They may think that I am acting inappropriately. They may think that I am being aggressive and getting too much attention. I don't want to make a mistake in class because they are watching me. Actually, nobody speaks up in JWC class during spring term even if they know the answers. If I see someone in our group is speaking in class who has never spoken in class before when she was in Japan, I would think, WHAT? Why is she being so aggressive?

Stereotyped Group Image Held by Others

JWC students reported feelings of discontent because they were perceived as belonging to an easy program that included extra privileges. JWC students believed that they tended to be looked at as a cluster and were unfairly stereotyped by people outside of the group including their ESL teachers because of the behavior of previous JWC groups. The following are examples of their responses. One student, Kayo said:

We [JWC group] have been perceived as having special privileges. People think that we can go to the third or fourth level of ESL classes without achieving competence at earlier levels, and other ESL students are jealous of us. I have heard that Japanese students who knew the JWC group from before hate us. Some Japanese students

hate JWC group and complained about JWC students in front of us. We were angry about that.

Another student, Yukiko, talked about the perceptions her teacher had of the JWC group. She thought that she was being judged by how her group was perceived, not by her own behavior. Yukiko said:

Because of earlier groups, there was an ESL teacher who thought that JWC students come here to play. They may have a prejudice against our group because some JWC students did come just for fun. It was difficult for me. I work very hard, but the teacher did not look at my effort.

The student, Yukiko, said that she was asked by other Japanese international students who came to the U.S. individually, "Why do JWC girls speak in Japanese even in class when they come to learn English?" Yukiko was ashamed because of this experience, but she said that she could not do anything about that.

Unfamiliarity With Non-Family Shared Living

Many JWC students reported stress about their shared living arrangements. The interview data revealed that none of the students had lived with roommates before. Yumi, said, "I think that Japanese cannot get used to living with a group of this nature." JWC students inhibited their inner feelings in the group to avoid confrontation and maintain harmony because they had to stay together for at least 6 months. The following quote shows how some JWC students avoided telling their roommates what they really thought, which caused pressure to build and damaged their relationships. Yumi, said:

We kept holding what we wanted to say in our apartment. Four of us got together and discussed our feelings once in the middle of spring term. If we had talked to one another on a daily basis, we would not have had such problems. It was a very bad atmosphere, so I think we should have said what we wanted to say.



Their resident coordinator also witnessed JWC students trying to be nice to each other in their group at the beginning, putting up with problems, and exploding later. The resident coordinator said:

In the beginning, they always tried to keep friends and be friendly with everybody. I guess that is the way people act in Japan . . . I think if they had a problem, they just kind of walked away, they just kind of put up with it . . . problems were never confronted. But, they are together, so they have to work through the problems. Which I guess it is a part of the Americanization process.

Underlying Causes of Discontent

The third research question is, "What do the students believe are the underlying causes of their discontent?" The following section discusses the underlying causes of discontent that were suggested by the research results. In JWC students' answers to the interview questions, there were very few statements that directly responded to this research question. Thus interpretations of JWC students' responses overall were made in an attempt to reveal the cultural values, norms, and beliefs underlying the visible effects. Indirect comments were used in conjunction with information in the literature review, which made it possible to infer the possible underlying causes of their discontent. Interview data from the JWC resident coordinator and participant observation data were also considered to enhance validity in this inferential process.

Discussion

The following theoretic analysis based on the literature review includes: (a) discontent with stress of living under Japanese norms, (b) competitiveness in a homogeneous group, (c) individualistic collectivists, (d) overlapping individualistic and collectivistic traits and contexts, and (e) conflict avoidance tendencies enhanced gossiping among the group. I will conclude this section by discussing the experience of JWC students gaining different perspectives by interacting with their American friends.

Discontent With Stress of Living Under Japanese Norms

Many of the JWC students' feelings of discontent were related to the need to follow Japanese norms because they were living in a Japanese group. Gudykunst (1998) noted that in many cultures people generally follow the same norms, rules, and values of their native cultures. An illustration of this occurred while doing participant observation on the 1-day field trip with JWC students in July, 2001. I heard a conversation between two Japanese students when they were waiting in line for a buffet dinner in which one student said to the other, "You have to eat up everything on your plate. Japanese should not leave any food on a plate. You have to eat it up!" The word, "Japanese" may have functioned to put the other student in a framework of powerful Japanese norms that discipline the individual.

Another observation I made during the same 1-day field trip occurred when the group was about to enter a museum. Two JWC students went toward a gift shop in the museum near the entrance without asking permission from their resident coordinator. Other JWC students yelled at the two of them, "You are doing 'tandoku kodo' again!" This term, *tandoku kodo* means taking independent action or acting individually without thinking about others (Niimera Foundation, 2003), which has a negative connotation in a group context, and is used often by teachers in elementary school, junior high school, and high school to prevent students from leaving the group and taking independent action. The meaning of *tandoku kodo* could be construed as selfish, and sometimes refers to behavioral problems in the Japanese school context. This enforcement of the norm of unified behavior may have affected JWC students' feelings of discontent.

Competitiveness in a Homogeneous Group

Living under the Japanese norms in the homogeneous group may have caused unhealthy competition. The primary goal of all JWC students in the study-abroad program was to develop their English speaking skills and make American friends, yet when JWC students sought to become more assertive and independent from their Japanese peers, the small group would accuse the participants of becoming too pushy or aggressive.



Noriko said, "I compare myself with my peers because we are from the same college, of the same age, and the same gender." In a homogeneous culture and environment (e.g., same age, same gender, or status), the similarities between people in terms of goals and interests may lead to competitive behavior, especially when they have common interests such as making American friends and improving their English skills.

In terms of competitiveness, Hofstede (1991) noted that in "masculine" countries such as Japan, children of both sexes learn to be ambitious and competitive. For many JWC students, competitiveness meant not being open and active, but being surreptitious when pursuing individual goals and sometimes being passive aggressive. One student, Sachiko, said, "I am a girl, so I understand their feelings, [Japanese] girls are kind of passive aggressive and nasty." This quote shows the role that gender may have played in their cultural and group norms. Weaver (1993) discussed that collectivistic cultures such as Japan tend to be tightly integrated and homogeneous so that people may more easily infer from behavior what is appropriate for others, even from vague and indirect messages. In such a homogeneous group, people who behave inappropriately or differently from others in the group tend to be perceived negatively by other members of the group. This competitive attitude in the JWC group that is homogeneous may enhance students' anxiety.

Individualistic Collectivists

Japanese society and people seem to have become more individualistic in recent years. Even on television commercials and advertisements in Japan, words such as "individualism" and "your identity" can be seen or heard. Yamaguchi (1994) noted that relatively recent substantial economic success has allowed the Japanese to be more individualistic than before. The changing family structure in Japan, from extended family to nuclear family, would also have an effect on Japanese individualism. As Hofstede (1991) stated, "individualism is associated with a nuclear family structure and collectivism with an extended family structure" (p. 57). As a result, the most affluent among younger Japanese would

likely be more individualistic than older Japanese or students from less affluent families.

According to research presented in the literature review, Japanese culture is placed in the collectivism category, but the research in this study revealed that both individualistic and collectivistic elements were seen within JWC students. In the JWC program, the resident coordinator reported that JWC students now prefer individual activities to group activities compared to JWC students of 10 years ago. In fact, based on this research, most JWC students seemed to be self-centered, wanting to fill their individual needs before their group needs, and longing for freedom.

On the other hand, collectivistic elements were evident in this group of students. When JWC students' initial interactions were examined specifically, they were collectivistic rather than individualistic. Especially during the early period of the program, many of them stayed together or made Japanese friends outside of the group instead of non-Japanese friends. They did not mingle with Americans even when they had opportunities to do so. Their resident coordinator's comment supports this situation. The resident coordinator said:

The funniest thing is that they do not want to be around other Japanese students, but the friends they make from ESL classes are usually Japanese students. They want to make American friends, but they always stick with Japanese. I think it has to do with group behavior dynamics of Japanese culture. Japanese always felt like they should be with the Japanese students. It is hard for American students to enter the group because the Japanese students are always speaking in Japanese. It makes them feel that Japanese students don't want to be friends with American students. But, I think Japanese feel that they have to stay together. I think that is just cultural.

According to interview data, JWC students kept staying with other JWC students even after they were accustomed living in their new life. One of the reasons for their following their group ethics is that they seemed to be concerned about the reactions of others for their own sake, as a way mainly to



protect themselves and survive within the context of collectivistic Japanese norms.

Overlapping Individualistic and Collectivistic Traits and Contexts

JWC students indicated that the Japanese small group community was very important for them because it was the only emotional support available at the beginning of the program. Over time, however, the participants found that the small group was too suffocating because JWC students had to take same classes and share living spaces with non-family members for the first time because of security concerns.

Classroom situation. They were also required to take the same classes in which strict obedience to their cultural norms was demanded. However, in the U.S. classroom setting, American instructors encouraged them to be independent and express their opinions, but if they did so, it would be seen by their Japanese peers as showing off, bragging, or being aggressive.

One of the ISP instructors told me that it was hard to know if JWC students understood or if they agreed or disagreed with what she was saying (ISP instructor, personal communication, May, 2001). The data revealed that American instructors often felt frustration with JWC students' attitudes and behaviors, describing JWC students as too quiet, while their group-oriented behaviors were ridiculed as "groupie" by their U.S. peers as well as other international students. Thus, no matter what action each JWC student took, it brought unwanted attention to the self and the resultant ridicule from peers. However, they did not like to be seen as groupies by others. One student, Yukiko, talked about the perceptions other international students had of the JWC group: "Japanese international students who came here on their own often asked and worried about me, if it is okay not to be with other JWC friends when I am alone." Yukiko thought she was humiliated by being seen as a groupie.

Roommate situation. In Japan, non-family members do not share living spaces as often as in the U.S. In most Japanese colleges, students usually live alone in studio apartments or dormitories

where they have their own privacy. The interview data revealed that none of the JWC students had lived with roommates before. Yumi complained about her living situation: "In Japan, we live with a family or live alone. I think that most of the people have never had a roommate. It is very hard to live with a group of four people together." In this quote, there is a nuance that the family is in-group or first category and the group of four people is out-group or second category. It is understandable that it was uncomfortable for students to be open and tell what they want and do not want directly like a family in their apartment. The resident coordinator's perspective supported the JWC student's comment. The resident coordinator said:

I think the roommate problems that they are having are caused by putting JWC students in an American situation. But they are still Japanese. All of them have lived at home in Japan and had their own room, and now they are stuck in an apartment with a roommate who is not a family member.

In essence, when JWC students lived together, they were collectivists in an American individualistic setting, but they were not able to be direct and casual with one another as they were with their families. All in all, managing overlapping individualistic and collectivistic traits and contexts seemed to be very challenging.

Unfulfilled identity: Individualistic collectivist. When their individualistic desires and expectations were not fulfilled, JWC students seemed to attribute the reason to the group system or rules instead of recognizing the restraints applied by their collectivism. This might be because their presence in an individualistic culture would enhance any individualistic tendency JWC students had. An underlying cause of their discontent could be that their individualistic side may not have been fulfilled in the collectivistic group environment, and the collectivistic environment may not have easily allowed them to be individualistic (e.g., speaking up in class and sharing opinions with others). On the other hand, their collectivistic side may not have functioned well in an individualistic environment (e.g., inhibiting what they really felt to avoid confrontation in shared living with roommates).



In addition, many JWC students reported that they were not confident enough with their communication skills in English and also with intercultural communication skills. Yamaguchi (1994) stated that the degree of cultural differences correlates with the degree of difficulty in interactions. Thus, it could be said that their reticence to communicate in English with non-Japanese students as well as American teachers in class might be related to their language barrier as well as their collectivistic cultural background, such as high uncertainty avoidance and conflict avoidance tendencies.

Conflict Avoidance Tendencies Enhanced Gossiping Among the Group Members

In the beginning of the program, JWC students were dependent on each other and stayed together because the group members and their roommates were the only emotional support for them in an otherwise strange place. This may have enhanced their conflict avoidance. Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey, and Nishida (1996) argued that Japanese culture tends to emphasize harmony, dependency, and restraint in relationships. The JWC students had to be assertive and discuss what they felt and wanted in order to keep harmony in their roommate situation. However, as reported previously, due to unfamiliarity with non-family shared living, they hesitated to face one another because they were afraid of creating a bad atmosphere in their group, and instead were patient with their roommates.

The resident coordinator commented that there was a "Japanese-style kind of patience." This patience does not last long, and people often end up talking to a third person to release their anger, though the conversation may then spread as gossip. Lebra (1984) discussed displacement of Japanese interpersonal conflict. One may release his or her frustration with someone else to a third person. In Japanese, this is called "guchi" (personal laments). Guchi release could be catharsis or emotional exorcism. In the JWC student group, one student told a third person about her frustration toward her friend, and then it went around the group. The student who talked about her frustration to the third person felt that she had been betrayed by the third person, and her suspicion toward that person was enhanced.

The following is a representative comment from JWC students. Yukiko said, "I am jaded with people's gossiping about me behind my back. Once I told my personal issue to my roommate, all of my group members knew about it the next day. I cannot trust anybody in my group." Many JWC students needed to release their frustrations by talking to their friends to avoid direct confrontation. They were also curious about what others were doing. This might be a part of their collectivistic tendency.

Gaining Different Perspectives by Interacting With Their American Friends

By the end of the program, JWC students gained different perspectives and they started to incorporate more U.S. cultural norms as a part of their meaning-making structure (Kegan, 1982, 1994). They began to attend social functions without the Japanese group, speak up in the classroom, and still retain their connections to their Japanese culture.

As an example, by interacting with their American friends, JWC students were shocked by the cultural differences. One JWC student, Rumi, shared an experience that she had with her American friend, Anna, about their project in drama class. During the class, Rumi and Anna did not agree with each other's ideas about planning their acting. Anna yelled at Rumi, who was shocked because she never expected that would happen. Rumi yelled back at Anna. Rumi said: "It was funny that I felt it was okay to yell back to Anna at the moment because "Anna" confronted me very straight, so I yelled back at her, too." Rumi also said that she felt good after she released her anger to Anna and talked with her rather than suppressing her feelings to avoid conflict.

This intercultural experience they had with their American friends was so strong that the Japanese learners may be forced to re-examine their strict adherence to Japanese norms and group ethics, which serve as their meaning-making structures (Kegan, 1982, 1994), and re-frame the norms in ways that meet the new demands of being Japanese in a U.S. setting.

Over time the JWC students began to blend the



uniqueness of their own culture with U.S. cultural norms. One JWC student, Kayo mentioned: "Do not be an American in our Japanese group. It will be awkward and break relationships." Kayo also said: "To be independent is the best way to live together, but help one another when needed." To overcome the problems with JWC members in the future, Maki, a JWC student, suggested that the next cohort of JWC students should not expect to be best friends with their roommates, but to listen to their opinions. Yukiko, said, "Have a talk with your roommates and make ground rules for your apartment."

These findings suggest that JWC students began to change from their strict obedience to their cultural norms and therefore began to make a transformative shift in their ways of being (Kegan, 1982, 1994). When JWC students were able to take the cultural norms as objects, reflect upon them, and organize them, they were no longer subject to them; then they may have been able to move out of their emotional dilemma. In other words, they may have been able to preserve core values from their Japanese culture and also change those aspects that help them to move freely between the two cultures.

Limitations of the Study

This study focused on a specific group of students from JWC who were enrolled in a group study-abroad program. The small size and the fact that only JWC students were research subjects limits the possibility of making generalizations that can be applied to other study groups. Another limitation is that, in order to diminish potential interviewer and observer effects related to familiarity with the subjects, I carefully monitored my expectations, assumptions, values, and feelings. However, my familiarity with the participants may have decreased my critical awareness in this research. Finally, only two participant observations were conducted. More observation could have been done to add more data to enhance validity in this research.

Suggestions and Implications

The study implies that JWC students could not manage their discontent well. Introducing Japanese

mentors from outside of the program to JWC students may help them manage their feelings of discontent. One student mentioned in an interview that she would have liked to have a Japanese mentor with whom to talk. JWC students seemed to prefer to talk individually to someone whom they trusted and outside of the group rather than discussing problems in the whole group. Providing mentors would allow JWC students the opportunity to release their frustration and ask advice to get more out of their study-abroad experience.

This study also indicates that the program coordinators and educators can assist JWC students by trying to understand their home culture and their group ethics and dynamics, to allow them to design and facilitate more effective study-abroad programs, especially international study-abroad programs that cater to groups of Japanese. For example, providing predeparture intercultural communication orientation and how to go about living in two cultures while in the program may be useful for JWC students to give them an overview of the program and prepare for the experience. Providing team-building workshops for JWC students may also be helpful. This research determined that relational problems in the group began soon after the program started. Therefore, it may be effective to add team building early to make living situation more peaceful and comfortable.

Providing self-reflection sessions may also be helpful for JWC students to have a better learning experience in the program. The need to operate in such different cultures, Japanese and American, brings emotionally unsatisfactory results, but by using a transformative learning lens, providing students a moment of "critical reflection" (Mezirow, 2000) on themselves and the world in which they live may help them create their new perspectives. This critical thinking process also may allow JWC students to have a greater appreciation of knowledge and experience when they are able to construct their own learning through meaningful social interactions (Hattie, Marsh, Neill, & Richards, 1997).

The needs of individuals seemed to change depending on the individual's rate of personal change. JWC students' needs changed from wanting group support to wanting more freedom after JWC



students became accustomed to living in the U.S. Their college in Japan wants the JWC program to provide protection for JWC students by keeping them together, but once they get used to their new life they should be given alternative housing options so that those who desire it can increase their freedom.

In addition, this study suggests that JWC students would benefit from being treated as individuals rather than with the assumption that they only want to be part of a group. Thus, it would be better to spread JWC students out in different classes rather than always putting them in the same classes together. It may be that giving them more space and frequent breaks from each other would offer them an emotional outlet.

Finally, for future study, how students in a group study-abroad program overcame their emotional experience and effective ways to support this growth can be explored. These are important issues to help international students' cultural adjustment and cultural transition, especially for international students who need to deal with relationships with a group from their home culture as well. Such research may be useful to learn more about how Japanese group ethics and norms affect Japanese international students in their cultural adjustment to U.S. culture and how Japanese group ethics and norms operate in a U.S. cultural context. This, in turn, it would be helpful to develop predeparture orientation, team building workshops, and a mentorship program for international students of a group study-abroad program.

Conclusion

A qualitative study using a phenomenological approach was conducted to examine the sources of personal discontent in a college-level Japanese study-abroad program at a northwest regional university in the U.S. The students were living together in a small Japanese group surrounded by U.S. culture.

The types of discontent were analyzed according to theories prevalent in the literature. Although most JWC students reported their appreciation of the group support, especially at the beginning of the program, they all reported feelings of discontent

in the study-abroad program. The source of JWC students' discontent seemed to center on the fact that they lived in a small Japanese group where the Japanese culture was deeply rooted, separating them from U.S. culture. A majority of JWC students felt obligated to follow their Japanese norms, but at the same time they wanted to experience more assertive Western type behavior. When frustrations occurred, most avoided confrontation and expressed their displeasure to a third person in the group. The subsequent spread of gossip damaged relationships.

The major underlying cause of JWC students' personal discontent stemmed from the difficulty of managing conflicting collectivistic and individualistic values and communication styles, and unfamiliarity with non-family shared living, which was manifested in high uncertainty avoidance and conflict avoidance. They were in close, continuous contact with one another in a roommate situation, which none of them had previously experienced. Additionally, the homogeneity of the group made them more self-conscious and competitive. It can be concluded that to develop a quality study-abroad program where Japanese students study and live together in a group, it is important to understand the students' culture and group ethic and support their cultural transition in U.S. culture.

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A Case Study of Intercultural Development for Pre-Service Language Teachers

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Pre-service language teachers are themselves a diverse group, and the students they are preparing to teach are also diverse, both domestically and internationally. Language teacher preparation programs are increasingly recognizing that language teachers must meet the intercultural demands of their classrooms. This chapter presents the results of a study in which pre-service language teachers engaged in an ethnography project as part of an intercultural education course. Through document analysis and interviews, this study describes pre-service teachers' intercultural learning within the framework of Mezirow's perspective transformation and provides support for including this type of experience in teacher training programs.

In the late morning of an unusually sunny fall day, students make the trek up the stairs of an older building at this urban campus in the northwest. Footsteps echo in the stairway, as out-of-breath students complain about the building's apparent lack of an elevator. Hoping they are in the right place, they shuffle into a rectangular grey-clad classroom, the large white dry-erase board one of the only contrasts to the grey chairs, grey walls, and grey-blue carpet. At least the narrow slits for windows will not let in a glimpse of the usually grey skies.

What difference is lacking in the physical space is made up for by the diversity of the students, who are Korean, Japanese, Mexican-American, U.S. American from a variety of backgrounds, Chinese, and Filipino. They are undergraduate students and graduate students. Both men and women, they range in age from early-20s to mid-60s; they are from places rural, urban, and everywhere in-between. The students in this class have had a wide range of

life experiences; yet, they are all in this class because they want to know more about culture learning in the language classroom, the topic for this course. They all want to be language teachers, and they have been strongly encouraged to take this class as part of their degree program. In most cases, the students in this class want to be English language teachers. They may be teachers in the United States—English as a Second Language teachers. Or, they may teach English internationally—English as a Foreign or International Language. A few students in the class are pursuing other teaching certificates, including a certificate to teach Japanese.

It may come as a surprise to this group of students that culture learning, the deliberate focus on both specific cultures as well as culture general concepts that have originated from the field of intercultural communication, is not a common practice expected to be taught to pre-service language teachers. In a survey of Master of Arts programs in Teaching English to Speakers of Other

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Languages (TESOL), Nelson (1998) noted that of 178 programs, only 42% offered intercultural-related courses (p. 26). Within these programs offering intercultural education courses, the expectations, content, and materials used in these courses varied widely.

Yet, among language professionals, there is growing consensus that intercultural knowledge and skills are important for language teachers. For example, United States census data for 2000 show that the percentage of foreign-born individuals is 11.1% of the total population, a 3.2% increase from 1990 (Malone et. al, 2003). Roughly 6% of foreign-born residents of the United States are school-aged; many of these primary and secondary students require English language support in school. In addition, Nelson (1998) noted the number of international students studying in the United States has been increasing (p. 18). In both of these cases, there is an important need for domestic language teachers to be intercultural competent so that they can maximize the diversity within the classroom. In addition, Nelson observed an increase in the number of English language teachers working abroad. In this context, teachers “engage in intercultural interactions not only with their students but with many other members of the host culture as well” (Nelson, p. 18).

Thus, although language teacher educators generally agree that intercultural education is a critical skill for language educators, language teacher preparation programs vary widely in how they offer intercultural education courses for students. Can an intercultural education course, such as the one the students described above took, promote the development of intercultural competence in pre-service language teachers? If so, how? And, how might student writing illustrate the process of intercultural learning?

This chapter aims to describe how pre-service language teachers in a culture learning course developed and depicted, through writing and interviews, greater intercultural competence over the duration of the course. Quantitative measures of these students’ intercultural development have been discussed elsewhere (see Christensen & Brown, 2003); pre-post class assessment indicated that students demonstrated significantly increased

intercultural competence at the end of the course. This chapter focuses primarily on how students qualitatively depicted their own intercultural learning through assigned writing for the course.

Description of the Course

Culture Learning in the Language Classroom (CLLC) is one of two possible courses that meet the requirement for an intercultural education course in the applied linguistics department at this large, urban university in the U.S. northwest. CLLC is one of the only courses in the program that has no prerequisites; therefore, students often take this course as one of their first courses in graduate school. The course syllabus overviews the course as follows:

This course focuses on intercultural learning. It is designed in particular for those individuals who intend to become professional language educators. . . . It is also suitable for those with a broad interest in issues of culture learning. This course is a writing intensive course and will substitute for Writing 323 (if grade C- or better). It meets the diversity requirement.

The overall course goals, outlined below, describe further the intercultural, and developmental, focus of the course:

1. To become aware of the role that language, values, attitudes, and learning styles play in teaching and learning a second or foreign language.
2. To develop a framework for incorporating a culture learning dimension into the language course you teach.
3. To develop an understanding of the problems likely to occur when teaching persons from different cultural backgrounds.
4. To investigate and report on another cultural group by carrying out an ethnographic interview project.



5. To form a definition of multicultural education that is compatible with the concept of language and cultural diversity as a resource.
6. To become familiar with techniques and materials that will enhance development of intercultural competence in ourselves and our language learners.

From this set of course goals emerge assignments for the course: a book review, a midterm exam, a community service expectation of 4 hours for undergraduates and 10 hours for graduates, and an ethnography project. The ethnography project, and the informal writing associated with it, are the focus of the research project described here.

The Ethnography Project

As a primary assignment in CLLC, students are expected to undertake a mini-ethnography project in which they write a description of a culture based partly on library research, but primarily on in-depth interviews conducted with a person from that culture. The assignment, as described to students, is to

capture your informant's words and mold them into a coherent narrative. Your informant's words are the bricks—you provide the mortar as you weave things together. The blueprint for the house comes mostly from your informant (70%); the general plan for the assignment comes from the information you gather in the [two drafts of the assignment].

The first draft of the assignment, called *The Grand Tour*, requires students to conduct some library research on their chosen culture. In this three-to-five-page draft, students generally provide some basic factual information about the culture. In the second assignment, *The Mini Tour*, students focus on one specific theme that emerged in their informant interviews. These two drafts are turned in at intervals during the term; these drafts are not graded, but students get feedback from both the instructor and the writing consultant who is

assigned to work with the course. The final draft is due at the end of the term.

Throughout the term, while students are working on the ethnography project, they also complete informal writings called Progress Notes. These Progress Notes serve as an informal check-in about the ethnography project; students write about how they found their informant, how they established rapport, and what challenges they have encountered as they complete the drafts of the project. Two of the Progress Notes are tied directly to course readings. In the course, students read “Arts of the Contact Zone” by Pratt (1991) and “Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight” by Geertz (1973). Progress Notes for these two readings ask students to make connections from the readings to their current work with the ethnography project. The final Progress Note is the same as the first: describe the culture you come from. The Progress Notes serve as a documentation of the students’ intercultural learning process, and are of primary focus in the study described here. For the complete listing of all Progress Notes, please see Figure 1.

Background of the Study

In the field of language education, the relationship between language and culture has been connected, in part, to the pedagogical approach in place at the time. For example, the grammar translation method relied upon translating the target language’s great works into the student’s native language; in this method, then, culture was taught as the art, literature, and architecture of the target society. This is a rather narrow definition of culture, and it is not surprising that later approaches to language teaching, such as the communicative approach, deemphasize culture while placing more value on the production of language. Corbett (2003) suggested that the communicative language approach, widely used today, has “underrated” culture while focusing more directly on the acquisition of native-speaker competence through the development of “linguistic knowledge and skills” (p. 1). Another linguist, Pulverness (1996), observed that the communicative model attempted to decontextualize the use of English, thereby rendering cultural content less important:



Progress Note 1: Describe the culture you belong to. Write without stopping for 10 minutes or fill up one page.

Progress Note 2: Describe your informant for your ethnography. What culture is he or she from? Why did you choose your informant? Or, if you're still trying to find an informant, write about a potential informant. What culture would you like to learn more about? Why? Write without stopping for 10 minutes or fill up one page.

Progress Note 3: What do you know about the culture you've chosen to write about? (Think about what you might have known or thought about this culture previously as well as what you know right now.) What do you hope to learn? Write without stopping for 10 minutes or fill up one page.

Progress Note 4: Describe how you established rapport with your informant. Write without stopping for 10 minutes or fill up one page.

Progress Note 5: As you turn in "The Grand Tour," take time to reflect on your ethnographic project so far. What have you learned? What challenges have you encountered? Write without stopping for 10 minutes or fill up one page.

Progress Note 6: What is the focus for your Mini-Tour? That is, what themes have emerged from your interviews with your informant? How have these themes emerged? Were they initiated by you or your informant? Write without stopping for 10 minutes or fill up one page.

Progress Note 7: As part of your ethnography project, you are asked to write "thick, rich description." To practice this, close your eyes and visualize an activity that takes between five and ten minutes to complete. This could be an everyday activity, such as walking to the mailbox, or a special occasion, such as the first few minutes of a Japanese tea ceremony. This activity can be something related to you or your interviews with your informant. After you visualize the activity, write about it using description that includes all five senses—sight, touch, taste, smell, sound. Write without stopping for 10 minutes or fill up one page.

Progress Note 8: In this class so far, we've discussed several theories related to cross-cultural learning. Have any of these theories been particularly helpful to you as you complete the ethnography? Why? Write without stopping for 10 minutes or fill up one page.

Progress Note 9: The ethnographic essay assignment originally asked you to "step as fully as possible for a brief period of time into another culture via your informant." Take time now to consider your experience with the ethnography project. Has the project been challenging or effortless? Typical or inspiring? Do you feel like you've experienced your informant's culture? What factors may have facilitated or limited your experience? Write without stopping for 10 minutes or fill up one page.

Progress Note 10: As you approach the end of this ethnographic project, take time to reflect on the process of this assignment. Think back to your initial expectations (what you hoped you'd learn from the project, what you thought you knew about your informant's culture, etc). Did the project meet your initial expectations? What did you learn from this assignment? What did you learn about yourself? Write without stopping for 10 minutes or fill up one page.

"Arts of the Contact Zone" by Mary Louise Pratt: In "Arts of the Contact Zone" Pratt talks about the difference between ethnography and autoethnography. Describe what each of these terms means for you. How would describe your ethnography for this class in relation to these terms?

"Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" by Clifford Geertz: Geertz writes that "the culture of people is an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles, which the anthropologist strains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong." Think about this quotation in terms of your ethnography project. How are you a reader of your informant's culture? What part of your informant's culture does your ethnographic project represent?

Final Progress Note: Describe the culture you belong to. Write without stopping for 10 minutes or fill up one page.

Figure 1. Progress Notes.



English was seen as a means of communication which should not be bound to culturally-specific conditions of use, but should be easily transferable to any cultural setting. Authenticity was a key quality, but only insofar as it provided reliable models of language in use. Content was important as a source of motivation, but it was seen as equally important to avoid material which might be regarded as "culture bound." Throughout the 1970s and much of the 1980s, syllabus design and materials writing were driven by needs analysis, and culture was subordinated to performance objectives. (p. 7)

An example of this devaluing of culture under the communicative model can be illustrated by the comments of a new language teacher, telling her graduate school colleague about getting her job: "He asked, 'Can you teach grammar? I don't care if you can teach that culture stuff. But, if you can teach grammar, you've got the job!'" she reported confidently (personal communication May 14, 1999).

More recently, however, the role of culture in language teaching has taken on more value, in particular, as language teachers have acknowledged the social functions of language (Corbett, 2003, p.2). Language educators have recognized that social negotiations are contextually-bound, and an important goal of language education should be that students learn to observe themselves in cultural context. In this framework of language teaching, the emphasis is not on developing native-speaker proficiency, but rather on developing intercultural communicative competence. Learners who have intercultural communicative competence begin to understand and demonstrate knowledge of not only the target language, but also the target culture; such learners can serve as cultural bridges between their native cultures and their target cultures.

Much of the theorizing about the importance of culture in language teaching has occurred in the European context (Buttjes & Byram, 1991; Corbett, 2003). Within the context of Europe, it is not surprising that this process of acquiring greater cultural competence was termed "intercultural." While European countries themselves are diverse, much of this discourse of cultural competence arose

from international exchange; educators recognized that more than language proficiency was necessary to be competent in another country. In the United States, language education has continued to use the broad concept of intercultural education rather than the more commonly used term, "multicultural education." This is, in part, due to the fact that language teacher education in the United States prepares teachers to work both domestically and abroad. Furthermore, more recently, intercultural educators have asserted the claim that intercultural is inclusive of both domestic and international diversity. This intercultural framework is the basis for the course, *Culture Learning in the Language Classroom*, that the students who participated in the research project described here took.

Within the field of intercultural education, theorists have suggested that intercultural education is transformational. From his interviews with adults who had an intercultural experience, defined as living in another culture for at least 2 years, Taylor (1994) described a process of transformative learning that begins with a moment of "cultural disequilibrium" (p. 169). These are times when people are "thrown off balance" because their way of doing something is challenged (p. 169). Qualley (1997) has defined this moment as a reflexive moment, or the moment when, in trying to understand a cultural other, one's "own beliefs and assumptions are disclosed, and these assumptions, themselves, can become objects of examination and critique" (p. 11). In response to a reflexive moment, Taylor noted that in order for the experience to become transformative, the person must achieve a level of awareness he terms a "reflective orientation" (p. 170). For Taylor, this orientation is "a cognitive process whereby participants make a conscious connection between their cultural disequilibrium, possible learning strategies, and necessary change toward competency" (p. 170). Taylor explained that when something is in a person's awareness, the person can experience transformative learning; however, if something is out of a person's awareness, a person can not have such an experience. Although Taylor has observed the link between cross-cultural experience and the greater self-awareness that comes from reflexivity, he has not made a connection to how this process may be facilitated in an educational context.

Although not focusing exclusively on the nature of transformation within intercultural experience, Mezirow (1991) has explored transformation within the context of adult education. Mezirow asserted that transformation is unique to adult learning because prior learning experiences such as that of elementary and secondary education serve to establish a particular perspective. Only after a perspective is formed can it be *transformed*. Mezirow further defined perspective transformation as:

the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our assumptions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; changing these structures of habitual expectation to make possible a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrative perspective; and finally, making choices or otherwise acting upon these new understandings. (p. 167)

Mezirow's definition of perspective transformation is intercultural because, like reflexivity, through perspective transformation learners become aware of themselves in cultural context.

Like Taylor (1994), Mezirow (1991) asserted that perspective transformation is the result of a disorienting dilemma, which can either be a negative event such as divorce or death, or it can be "any challenge to an already established perspective" (p. 168). Once the disorienting dilemma happens, the process of perspective transformation begins. Mezirow described a number of phases of the process, as follows: (a) a disorienting dilemma occurs; (b) self-examination, with feelings of guilt or shame; (c) a critical self-assessment of epistemic, sociocultural, or psychic assumptions; (d) recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation are shared and that others have negotiated a similar change; (e) exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions; (f) planning a course of action; (g) acquisition of knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans; (h) provisional trying of new roles; (i) building of competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships; and (j) a reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions indicated by one's new perspective (pp. 168-169). This process was delineated by Mezirow through his own field research with adult learners. While

many subsequent studies on this process have been conducted, including, but not limited to Morgan (1987), Candy (1989), and Gould (1990), no research to date has focused on perspective transformation as an intercultural education process within the context of language teacher education.

In relation to the research project described here, I have hypothesized that the mini-ethnography project in the CLLC course may set up a "disorienting dilemma" because the experience of interviewing a cultural other may well challenge a person's already established perspective. However, as Mezirow (1991) suggested, not all disorienting dilemmas may lead to transformation. He discovered that adults tend to progress toward their own meaning perspectives, and interestingly, that perspective transformations were more likely to occur after the age of 30 (Mezirow, p. 193). Further, because perspective transformation involves action, Mezirow also found that some adults may be resistant because they feel overwhelmed and immobilized by change (p. 171). Perspective transformation cannot occur on demand.

Mezirow (1991) observed limitations in conducting research on transformative learning. One problem may be "finding a way to gain access to the meaning schemes and subjects of the research" (p. 221). Some research methodologies, such as observation, Mezirow argued, are limited because they reveal behavior only and not the thought-process critical to transformation, while other methodologies, including case study, participant observation, and open-ended interviews, are more appropriate because they allow researchers the opportunity to "look for similarities and differences in perception, thought, judgment, feelings, and action, preferably in real life, rather than in contrived situations" (Mezirow, p. 221). I would add that the analysis of student text is an appropriate means to discover perspective transformation because through writing, students attempt to make clear their own meaning schemes as they explain their thoughts to others.

Method

The research project described here is a case study of the Culture Learning in the Language Classroom course. The research question this study



sought to answer is, can an intercultural education course, such as CLLC, promote the development of intercultural competence in pre-service language teachers? If so, how? And, from this question, a secondary research question arises: how might student writing illustrate the process of intercultural learning?

To answer my research questions, I conducted a case study of the CLLC course, drawing upon document analysis, in-depth interviews with selected participants, and pre-post measures of intercultural sensitivity (see Christensen and Brown, 2003). All students registered in the CLLC course were invited to participate in the study. Students who agreed to participate in the study gave me permission to collect copies of all informal writing, the Progress Notes, drafts of the mini-ethnography, and the final ethnography. In addition, four students agreed to in-depth interviews.

Participants

The Culture Learning in the Language Classroom course admits students who enroll in the course through the Applied Linguistics department, but also students who enroll in the course as “Preparation for the International Experience,” through International Studies. This study did not address the role of intercultural learning for the international studies students. Of those enrolled in the course through linguistics, all of the students participated in the study. In all, 17 students took part in the study, representing exactly half of the students who were enrolled in the course. Of the students who participated, not all were Applied Linguistics majors; some were taking the course to fulfill requirements for other departments, including education and foreign languages. Some students were completing a certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), while others were pursuing a major in Linguistics or a Master’s degree in TESOL. I did not collect specific data from each student beyond general enrollment information.

In all, the participants in the study included 13 women and 4 men. The study also had both undergraduate and graduate student participants, with 8 undergraduate students and 9 graduate

students agreeing to take part in the study. The students who participated in the study were from the United States, Japan, and Korea. Examining this information further, several participants described themselves as bicultural—Mexican American, Filipino American, and Korean American. One student described herself as being in an intercultural marriage. Most participants had traveled or lived abroad prior to enrolling in the course.

In presenting the writing samples here, I use pseudonyms. In some cases, these false names were chosen by the writer; in other cases, I chose the names. Although the names reflect the gender of the writer, and in some cases, the ethnicity (i.e. Japanese writers have Japanese names), the grade level of the writer is not indicated, as this was not a focus of the research question. Quotations from journal entries are reproduced as they were turned in; they have not been edited for grammar or spelling. Finally, although the students themselves use several labels to refer to themselves, for students born in the United States, I use the label “U.S. American,” rather than “American,” a term that potentially refers to a person from any country in North, Central, or South America.

Results

In the first week of the term, students were asked to complete Progress Note 1, asking them to describe their cultural background. In this freewrite, students generally responded using a combination of three different strategies: (a) considering their individual culture, (b) problematizing the question, or (c) comparing their culture to another culture.

Many students responded to the freewrite by focusing on their individual culture, as did Mark, who wrote that “American (USA) culture is multi-faceted and complex.” He continued in his freewrite to suggest that many factors play a role in his cultural background, including “ethnic group, geographical location, and economic/educational status.” Interestingly, he did not identify these for himself, but rather, observed the importance in defining cultural background. Many U.S. American students answered similarly to Mark: first, stating that they are “American” and then describing in some detail what that means for themselves.

These writers often referred to their heritage cultures, as did Laura, who described herself as “a mixture of Swedish, Norwegian, English and Irish blood.” Another writer who focused on her individual culture, Meg, focused on action, when she wrote “[m]y husband + sons keep me busy. Scouting, soccer, play practice, plus family time is a lot of my culture.” Others wrote of going to church or feeling themselves to be resistant consumers. In these cases, individualism was a focus, as Rachel, a U.S. American student, explained:

My culture is becoming more diverse over time—culture seems to be an “individually defined” state, as I would define my culture differently than my sister based on her different life experiences and alliances.

For some U.S. American students, defining their cultural background focused on defining themselves as an individual within a greater context.

For other students, this initial question was problematic. One student, Kelly, attributed herself to being U.S. American, then continued by questioning the political tenor of the country:

I belong to American culture. It has recently become disappointing to me that our society here in the USA is so politically correct and multicultural that we can no longer call Christmas, Christmas and we can't sing songs about Jesus in school as part of Christmas. This is just one example, but I think it is a very important one. Ours is the only country that does this. People from our country and others do not minimize the importance of cultural celebrations for others. There is also the point of these areas that have Spanish as an official language. I don't think I need to explain how language reflects culture and although I support speaking other languages and retaining ones own cultural customs, I truly believe that in order to have cultural cohesion in the USA we should all speak English at one level or another. At the very least English schools should be in English. I am an ESL teacher and I know the importance of knowing English for clear communication.

After this focused political statement, Kelly returned to the problem at hand, defining American culture and focusing on independence, class differences, and valuing gender equality.

Like Kelly, other students found this question challenging. Amy, a student who had traveled abroad and lived in many places, found the question difficult because she realized she defined her culture in context. She observed that when she was in Ecuador, for example, she defined her culture more broadly than she did in the United States. Similarly, Lisa, who spent 3 years living in Canada, was unsure how define her culture, except to focus on “90s American culture.”

Other students thought the question was problematic because they did not see themselves belonging to one culture. Instead, they defined themselves as bicultural. Georgine is one student who defined herself this way:

The culture that I belong to is primarily American culture, however, I was raised with a wide range of cultural values and traditions. My mother is Filipino American. She came to the U.S. when she was a teenager. Her cultural reference point(s) have been both Filipino and American culture. Her experience in this country has influenced how I see myself as a second generation mestiza. The word “mestiza” means a mix of two cultures (usually Spanish culture with another)—my father is [W]hite and my mother is Filipino. So I am a mix of both cultures. It is interesting for me to reflect upon what culture I belong to because I feel that I belong to many cultures.

Other students who identified primarily as U.S. American described similar situations to that of Georgine's. For example, John wondered whether to call himself American because that is his country, or German because his family is of German ancestry. He pointed out that he is not alone in his confusion because “plenty of other Americans [are] in the same boat. To call oneself American doesn't mean much.”

Finally, another approach to this particular freewrite was to describe oneself in comparison to



another culture. This approach was characteristic of Japanese students in the class, perhaps signifying their recognition that their cross-cultural experience had changed them. One student, Naoko, stated that she belongs to two cultures, although her dominant culture is Japanese. Another student, Takae, observed that she is “familiar with Japanese culture” but she was not sure if she belongs to Japanese culture because she was not currently living in Japan. On the other hand, she admitted, “I don’t think I belong to American culture because I’m still not quite sure what American culture is.” For Takae, part of the difficulty was defining culture.

In the beginning of the course, all of these freewrites illustrated a degree of hesitance on the part of the writers in defining themselves in terms of their cultural background. Some writers resisted placing themselves in a culture beyond themselves; others recognized the challenge because of their bicultural identities. Over the duration of the class, however, students’ writing shifted during the process of completing the ethnography project.

The Ethnography Project

The students had little trouble finding people who were willing to serve as informants for the ethnography project. Students found volunteers among their colleagues in the course and in other classes. Others asked friends or acquaintances to be interviewed. In the sample of the class represented here, the cultures investigated varied greatly. While four students interviewed someone from Japan and two students interviewed people from Finland, many other cultures, including Sri Lanka, China, the United States, India, Indonesia, Vietnam, Korea, Mongolia, and Tibet were the focus of ethnographies.

For the most part, the students had little difficulty establishing rapport with their informants. Because the majority of the students met their informants because they were classmates, they felt they already knew each other before they began the project. In other cases where the students met their informants through an acquaintance or through the International Student Office, they found that starting off slowly and getting to know each other helped facilitate rapport.

By the time the class did the freewrite asking them to consider Geertz’s (1973) quote that “the culture of a people is an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles, which the anthropologist strains to read over the shoulders to whom they properly belong” (quoted from Bartholomae & Petrosky, 1996, p. 391), some students had already encountered limitations in the information they had gathered from their informants.

Some students found that their informants did not represent the culture-specific information they found in books. For example, Lisa wrote, “I have found that there are times when I will find something in a book about Japanese culture, and my informant will either contradict the information in our interviews or straight out tell me the information is false or outdated.” Lisa handled this discord smoothly, as she explained, “I guess to some extent you can make generalizations about a certain culture, but without the input of people who live that culture day-by-day how authentic can it be?” Lisa recognized that her informant illustrated individual variation within a culture.

Unlike Lisa, who believed that she was getting an accurate understanding of Japanese culture from her informant, other students thought that their understanding was much less clear. Takae articulated her frustration, writing, “I’m still struggling to feel my informant’s culture personally. I still feel like I’m only seeing the surface of the culture and being unable to reach the deeper context.” Amy, too, communicated similar sentiments. Amy did not fault her Japanese informant when Amy did not understand; instead, she suggested that she was unclear in her approach:

It’s like I keep jumping up and down and moving around trying to see over their shoulder and my project is just all those bits and pieces I have seen. The problem is that I don’t know how to move so I can see clearly, if that makes sense.

Amy observed her limitation in processing information that her informant shared.

In contrast, Kelly thought that her Japanese informant told her primarily what he thought she

wanted to hear. In addition, Kelly had difficulty understanding his indirect communication style:

My informant has provided me with many details about his personal life. But as for putting together a cultural puzzle there are too many pieces that I do not have or cannot see. My informant does not tell me his personal opinion. He does not show strong emotions one way or another. I could interpret this as a cultural by-product, but I won't.

Feeling frustrated by this lack of information, Kelly stated that she was "without a mental picture of Japanese culture."

For Cleo, the importance was in recognizing that her Vietnamese informant could give her only his understanding of Vietnam. In response to the Geertz (1973) writing prompt, Cleo responded:

Geertz's quote eloquently states the feeling that I've had about my ethnographic project. I, however, have not attempted to put my feelings into words. My ethnographic project is a representation of a part of one person, from one culture, set in a limited span of time. The fact that this project is not autobiographical, but biographical also adds the element of the writer's/interviewer's own subjectivity. How I "read" an individual from another culture has got to be different from how that person reads his own culture. What I have chosen to focus on in my ethnographic project may or may not be what my informant would have chosen. My ethnographic project represents only a miniscule portion of what my informant is made of—oh, well. I just hope that what portion I am able to represent, I represent accurately and sensitively.

In this freewrite, Cleo observed the limitations of the ethnography, acknowledging her own lens and also her responsibility as the author of the ethnography.

Other students approached the project with interest, but less intensity. Laura focused her ethnography on saunas in Finnish culture, and

while she admitted that she did not experience the sauna for herself, she reported learning a great deal about Finnish culture from her informant. John, who also interviewed a person from Finland, stated that he found little difficulty in understanding his informant's culture. He focused on the idea of texts being open to interpretation, and he suggested that the key to understanding is "to access the texts without rushing to settle on a particular interpretation too soon." After the project was complete, both Laura and John concluded that while the project was challenging, it was also "easy" and "inspiring" at the same time. They enjoyed the time they spent with their informants and hoped they would continue to have a relationship with them in the future.

For other students, the project was most definitely described as "challenging." Some were surprised by the amount of time required to complete the ethnography; others thought the interviews were difficult. In some cases, students believed that they had exhausted the range of topics; in other cases the informant did not want to talk about a particular topic the interviewer was hoping to discuss. Hannah, who had a very positive experience with her Tibetan informant, summed up the challenges of the ethnography project, with the following long freewrite:

I can surely say that this project has been challenging—not in a negative way, but I've been challenged in my interviews to come up with better and better questions, for example & it's been challenging to match J—'s commitment level of these huge issues. It's quite an enlightening experience to meet someone who is so completely committed to social change in this world. The connection itself has, however, been effortless. By this, I mean, I feel like J—is a friend. This new relationship is important to me and very demanding on some levels. Also, in an indirect way, it's been challenging for me—it's hard to put into words but I've had some pretty big issues in my own life going on at the same time, and J—'s steady faith & his clear articulation of his beliefs in the face of great difficulties has translated often into my own personal experiences—& it's taught me valuable lessons. This project definitely



isn't typical, and most assuredly is inspiring. I've also been very moved that J—has begun, I think, to trust me on a deeper level. I can tell by the direction of our conversations, the incredible moment when he shared the fact that his marriage is ending. I felt really honored that he felt comfortable enough to share such personal information. More recently, I went to his classroom (this last Sunday), for 2 hours and watched him in action with his students. Little things, like the way I was introduced to his friends, and the way I was made to feel welcome in the classroom, made me feel that J—doesn't consider me just to be a student doing a task. I feel very good about that, and have spent a lot of time sharing all this with my husband, who I hope will be able to meet J—at some point in the near future. It's amazing how you can initiate one action in your life that gives way to other actions and leads in totally new directions. It is my hope to continue to be a part of the Tibetan community and to help and volunteer my time when I can. As this project winds down, I feel that I am really only beginning to be in a position to begin to do the interview & ethnography!

Finally, the biggest problem I've encountered is the definite conflict between doing something totally real, juxtaposed against an intense schedule with school and classes that allows me precious little time to fully commit myself to this remarkable project.

Hannah had a very positive experience with her Tibetan informant, and although she acknowledged challenges at all points during the process, she also alluded to the transformative nature of the ethnography: the new friendship she had in her informant had helped her better understand her own experiences.

Cleo, whose informant was from Vietnam, acknowledged the limitations of the ethnography project when she was asked to consider how she experienced the process of doing the ethnography. Initially, Cleo had been eager to begin the project; by the end of the course, she noted the challenges:

I'd say that for me this project has been

more challenging than effortless. The whole process of ethnographic work was unknown to me before this class. I had to learn the techniques of effective interviewing in order to successfully get at the underlying aspects of my informant's culture. I needed to find many outside sources and read up in order to make hypothesis and then search to see if they were correct. The sheer amount of time involved made this project atypical. Would I call it inspiring? I don't know. I guess not at this point. Maybe three weeks from now I'll feel differently.

I feel that in some ways I've experienced my informant's culture. Just meeting with him weekly and talking about culture was enough for me to feel as if I experienced his culture. My informant also brought many visual materials such as pictures, holiday items, and even incense that created a visual picture of his world. He even brought me a video that he checked out of the . . . library. Of course, I don't feel like I've experienced the full depth and breadth of Vietnam through this project, but I'm a little closer than I was before. This project made me realize all the more my desire to visit Vietnam and see the country for myself.

Cleo wrote this Progress Note shortly after having finished her final ethnography project; she was aware here that she could not fully comprehend the full effect of the project. Initially, Cleo stated that she had chosen Vietnam because she would like to travel there; in this final Progress Note, she returned to her original intent, yet recognizing that there is much she does not know about Vietnam.

Near the end of the project, students were asked to reflect on what they learned from the project. For some students, this was a difficult prompt because they were still processing their learning and possible transformations. For other students, like Phillip, the project changed them, and they could articulate these changes. Phillip described what he learned from his ethnography with a Japanese informant:

Yes, I learned quite a bit about myself. I thought this project was to learn about

another person, not about myself. I learned that I am a Third Culture Person and that I have lots of things in common with my informant. She is Third Culture as well. I also had some of my views challenged about education and physical touching. What I expect is “normal” or acceptable is opposed to what is acceptable in Japan. I didn’t know I liked my independence and individuality, something I would have a hard time with in Japan. I did not have any expectations because I did not know anyone from Japan prior to my informant.

In interviewing his Japanese informant, Phillip believed he had just skimmed the surface of what it means to be Japanese. In the conclusion of his ethnography, Phillip explained that this project helped him realize the important role he has as a cultural bridge, a new understanding he gained through the process of completing the ethnography project.

After the Ethnography

At the end of the course, the students were asked again to describe the culture to which they belong. Although this question did not directly relate to the process of completing the ethnography, I wanted to know if students described themselves differently after they had experienced an intensive encounter with a person from another culture. Many students made this connection between the ethnography project and their cultural selves. For example, Mark explained, “Learning about another culture (Finland) has helped me learn about my own. By looking at others closely, we can see ourselves in a different point of view, in a sense. It made me think of what I am & what I come from.”

Students’ responses to this final writing prompt were markedly different at the end of the term from what they were at the beginning. Students who focused on their individual culture in the beginning now used language to describe themselves in terms of belonging to a bigger culture group. Students who looked on the question as problematic in the beginning were now able to write more clearly about their cultural backgrounds. And, some students who described themselves as bicultural at first now focused on their belonging to one primary culture.

Mark, the student quoted previously, reflected on the fact that focusing on personal identity is a U.S. American cultural pattern. Furthermore, he observed that “many Americans denounce any sense at all of a national culture”; yet, he realized that “individualism [and] critical thought” are part of his culture. Another student, Rachel, added to the list of “American” cultural values: “independence, education, Christian morality, and collective responsibility.” This language to describe cultural values connects directly back to the goals of the course and the emphasis on bringing into the students’ awareness the language of cultural difference. In all of the end of term freewrites, there is a greater use of intercultural terminology.

This increase in use of intercultural terms is particularly true for those students who had found the initial freewrite problematic. One of those students was Kelly. In the first freewrite, she focused on the politics of the U.S., almost ranting about the role of English in education. At the end of the term, she broke free of the narrative structure of the freewrite, instead writing a poem that emphasized the language she learned in class (Figure 2).

Not only did Kelly use the language describing cultural values such as “values media input and stimulus” and “is future oriented,” but she also recognized an important lesson learned from her ethnography when she pointed out that these kinds of words “do not describe everyone. . . . They are generalizations.” She learned both the intercultural terminology as well as the context in which these terms are most effectively used.

Like Kelly, other students who found the initial freewrite problematic described more resolve in the final freewrite. Lisa, the student who described herself as being part of “90s American culture,” wrote a little of her family’s Polish background, but summed up that she is “all-in-all American.” John, who, initially wrote that he was not comfortable defining himself as “American” did not use that term to define himself at the end of the course. Instead, he focused on what he termed “European values”: “nature is considered separate from man. . . . emphasis on ‘doing’ rather than on ‘being’ . . . importance of the individual . . . an obsession about time and efficiency.” Here, John recognized



My culture. . .
 values honesty
 distrusts authority
 believes itself to be self reliant
 is motivated by pride and progress
 discriminates against those who are
 different but does not consciously
 persecute them.
 values media input and stimulus
 is future oriented
 does not like to accept blame
 avoids finding fault with ones self
 values fairness above all else
 believes hard work can get you anything
 lacks knowledge of the world around it
 believes itself to be the leader of the
 developing world (superiority complex)
 wants everything as quickly as possible
 "Time is money" . . . impatience
 Some people I would have to say value
 work over family
 Fear death
 Fear the unknown
 values money, status, and prestige

(These observations do not describe everyone,
 including myself. They are generalizations.)

Figure 2. Kelly's poem.

that these values have a tradition that goes beyond "American culture." John admitted that these values influenced him, even though he has "different notions of the ideal culture I would prefer to claim membership in." At the end of class, while John still resisted labeling his cultural context, he acknowledged that he has one, and he defined the values associated with his culture.

Another student, Amy, found the initial freewrite difficult because she defined herself by context. In the end, she maintained that defining herself was still difficult. She stated that the difficulty lies in the fact that an individual may vary from the culture, as she further explained:

When you think of maybe the "typical" family or maybe the stereotype of a US family—ours may not match up—what comes to my head is a family who doesn't really get along—the kids don't like the

parents, cause trouble—the whole "teenage" thing, etc. So how do you describe "the culture you come from"—You could say life is fast pace, fast food, no home cooked meals, kids in daycare, both parents working + often divorced + remarried. This could be a way of describing my culture because it is what is around me—but so is the opposite—my friends + their families are more like mine than you may see, say on TV for example. So for me, describe "my culture" is hard unless it's more specific. Maybe—I don't know—maybe it's just me—I guess you just have to pick one and describe it + say what it is you are describing.

Interspersed among her acknowledgment that individuals are different from their culture, Amy presented some of the values of the U.S. culture she considered herself a part of—importance of family, focus on time, valuing work, and so on. Although Amy did not agree with everything about U.S. American culture, in her final freewrite, she not only described U.S. American culture, but also located herself within it.

Finally, the group of students who initially defined themselves in comparison to another cultural group had similar responses to this final freewrite about cultural background. While these students, who were primarily from Japan, wondered at first about being Japanese in the physical context of the United States, at the end of the class they placed themselves more specifically as belonging to Japanese culture. Like other groups of students, this group was also able to use more explicit intercultural terminology relating to cultural values.

Takae, an international student from Japan, initially described herself primarily as Japanese and unsure of her place in American culture, described herself at the end of the course as clearly Japanese. She used intercultural terminology to explain her culture, stating that her culture "values harmony," "respects people who are older than us," and "makes a clear distinction between in-group and out-group." Yuko, who wrote quite a bit about Japanese cultural values in the beginning of the class, responded similarly. She described some Japanese cultural values such as "solidarity" and

“harmony,” and concluded with a comment related to the class’s position within a U.S. American context: “I found learning is enjoyable when people can discuss freely without worrying about keeping harmony all the time.”

Another Japanese student, Naoko, who described herself initially as having two cultures, although admitting that Japanese was her “dominant culture,” wrote at the end of the class about herself as being different from the culture surrounding her. She explained:

I come from a culture that holds many different cultural norms from the culture in this culture. I was just working on my First Lang Acquisition paper, and there was a scholar (Pat Clancy in U of Santa Barbara) who talked about the cultural norms that Japanese mothers promote in mother-child interaction. According to Clancy, the ability to anticipate the speakers’ intentions w/out being told them directly is one such cultural norm in Japanese communication style. I think this holds true even for adult-adult interactions in Japanese and those who cross cultures using different languages in a different culture would be problematic.

Culture of Japan has been discussed and promoted very ostentatiously everywhere nowadays—you can get so much info about the country and what’s so called “Japanese culture”; however, I see it remain at very surface level—namely informational side of culture: what people (esp. in language learning setting) need is more of behavioral culture, which concerns cultural norms in Japanese communication, for instance.

I see my culture I belong to from more 3rd world perspective now; this was already taking place before this class, but enabled me to delineate what’s going on! Thank you.

While initially Naoko saw herself as belonging to both Japanese and U.S. American cultures, by the end of class, she clearly saw herself more from a Japanese perspective. Yet, as she acknowledged in the last line, the U.S. context has given her a different position from which to understand herself, even if

she does not fully explain her final comments. She is able, however, to see herself from both inside and outside Japanese culture.

Overall, the members of the class had different approaches to the initial and final freewrites, as well as the ethnography and the writings in between. A pattern in the writing emerged. Initially, the students used much less specific intercultural terminology in describing their cultural background. Whether they focused on their individual culture, compared themselves to another culture, or problematized the question and prompts, they did not use much, if any, specific intercultural terminology. However, by the end of the course, all three groups of students showed a marked increase in the amount of interculturally-appropriate terminology they used. They also showed a greater understanding and self-awareness that accompanies this terminology.

This shift can be partially explained by the course’s explicit focus on bringing such terminology into the students’ awareness. The class is rich in opportunities to present these terms—readings, film, and in-class discussions. In addition, both the midterm exam and the ethnography project give students the opportunities to synthesize their understandings of culture learning. However, the ethnography itself, I assert, plays the biggest role in creating the context for the shift in awareness to occur because the ethnography project gives the students the opportunity to compare their culture to another person’s culture. And, while the students in this class may have had previous experiences in another culture, this class provided them with the intercultural contact and a focus on bringing terms to explain cultural difference into the students’ awareness simultaneously. The ethnography project provides a context for the students to explore the cultural differences described in the readings, class lectures, and other classroom texts. The combined effect of the ethnography and the focus on intercultural awareness make the cognitive shift illustrated in the students’ writings possible. As Mark said of the ethnography project, “Learning about another culture (Finland) has helped me learn about my own. By looking at others closely, we can see ourselves in a different point of view, in a sense. It made me think of what I am & where I come from.”

Reflections on Transformation

In the Culture Learning in the Language Classroom class, cognitive shifts are clearly illustrated in the students' writing. However, the question remains as to whether or not these cognitive shifts amount to transformation for the students. In returning to Mezirow's (1991) theory, I assert that many students experienced some degree of perspective transformation during the course.

A critical element of perspective transformation is the experience of a disorienting dilemma. Some students clearly did not experience the ethnography project this way. Laura, for example, who learned about Finnish saunas through her project, did not experience the project as disorienting and, therefore, did not engage in the perspective transformation process. Bob, another student in the class, also did not experience disorientation in his interviews with his Mongolian informant. When asked about his project, which had been described by the instructor as lacking in depth, Bob insightfully suggested that he was not ready to experience a perspective transformation. Through my own conversations with Bob, I know that he was not prepared to engage in the self-examination necessary to experience transformation.

Other students described the ethnography project as challenging their assumptions, although generally not so much about their cultural assumptions. Students tended to guard their cultural assumptions, like Phillip, who wrote that he had no assumptions about Japan. Instead, the assumptions that were challenged were more about the belief that a culture could be understood through interviews with just one person. Most students shared Cleo's belief that she gained an understanding of only one person's experience of a culture.

Another aspect of Mezirow's (1991) process of perspective transformation includes exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions and planning a course of action (pp. 168-169). Some students strongly identified with this component. Marion, an older student in class, reported that she was planning to learn Spanish as a result of her experience with her informant. Cleo reiterated her intent to visit Vietnam, and Phillip acknowledged his commitment to becoming a stronger cultural

bridge between Mexicans and U.S. Americans in his community.

Two students sought me out at the end of the term to tell me that the ethnography project had truly changed them. One was Hannah, the student who had interviewed a Tibetan teacher. She felt empowered by the new relationship she had developed with her informant, and his own commitment to social justice had inspired her. The other student was Marion, who wanted to tell me that she had been surprised by how the project changed her. Marion told me that she already had a doctoral degree in music theory, and she had begun the class believing that she was taking the class more for the credential than for the learning. She had interviewed a Sri Lankan priest at a local church; in addition to committing to learning Spanish, Marion also decided to teach regular English classes at the church. She was strongly motivated by her experience in the course, and excited to continue her intercultural education.

In another interview at the end of the course, I asked Cleo if she thought her experience had been transformational. Cleo responded by suggesting that other intercultural experiences, such as her time abroad in Japan, had been more insightful to her. She acknowledged that these previous experiences had caused her to experience reflexivity, and she observed during the ethnography project that both she and Long, her informant, had stayed within their comfort zones. However, she also pointed out that the effects of the project may be long term and not immediately known.

Limitations

One of the primary limitations of this study, previously noted by Cleo, is that the effects of the ethnography project may not be immediate. Although the study design accounted for changes in the students' thinking over the duration of the course, there was no follow-up after the course ended. Additional follow-up with the study participants may uncover the continued importance and relevance of the ethnography project to the students in the course. Furthermore, additional follow-up with these students as they began their teaching may have also ascertained whether or not this



ethnography project was memorable, or beneficial, as they interacted with their students, designed curriculum, and developed their professional selves. The field of language education would benefit from future studies that consider the transfer of knowledge from pre-service teacher curriculum to professional teacher classrooms.

Conclusion

As Carter and Gradin (2001) have maintained, reflexivity is a concept central to writing. Writing about a person from another culture promotes reflexivity because it requires the writer to make connections between his or her own personal culture and the culture of the person being interviewed. Because the writing process itself can be the dialogic engagement necessary to trigger reflexivity, it creates a context that facilitates seeing the self from the perspective of a cultural other. The Culture Learning in the Language Classroom offers a model of intercultural learning that explicitly allows students to engage in reflexivity through the direct encounter with a cultural other in the form of the ethnography project.

Moreover, reflexivity is related to intercultural competence because reflexivity itself requires reflection on the experience of encountering a cultural other. To experience reflexivity means to reconsider one's own thoughts or actions based on an experience with someone culturally different from oneself. Responses to this process can take a variety of forms, as the students who participated in this research project have illustrated.

Overall, I assert that reflexivity is a natural outcome of the ethnography project in CLLC. The conditions of the project—extended interviews, getting to know someone from a different culture, in-depth writing—create an opportunity to see oneself from a different cultural perspective. Yet, I believe that it may be possible for a student to complete the ethnography project without experiencing reflexivity. This might happen because of a failure to establish rapport, limited contact with the informant, or an unreflective approach. While the ethnography itself invites reflexivity, the student must follow through.

Reflexivity can lead to transformation, as has been described by both Mezirow (1991) and Taylor (1994). Reflexivity itself may be the result of experiencing the disequilibrium necessary to precipitate transformation. In considering transformation, Mezirow reminded us that every experience of disequilibrium does not result in transformation; as teachers, all we can do is create the opportunity. Again, the ethnography project presents the conditions for perspective transformation; the students must seize the opportunity.

With regard to language teacher preparation, Nelson (1998) asserted that “it is the responsibility of master’s programs in TESOL to ‘raise [graduate students’] cultural consciousness’ (Kumaravadivelu, 1994, p. 40), and to train teachers who are effective intercultural communicators” (p. 28). Language teachers, whether they are working domestically or internationally, in elementary, secondary, or postsecondary contexts, are preparing their students to function across languages and across cultures. Through the ethnography project in the Culture Learning in the Language Classroom courses, pre-service language educators experience the process of negotiating meaning across cultures. In so doing, they are able to develop an increased cognitive understanding of intercultural education concepts, as described in their writing about the ethnography project. Ideally, this increased intercultural awareness and competence on the part of pre-service language teachers will translate into classroom practice. For some, including Phillip, it has, as he explained:

[the process of becoming interculturally competent] is a good thing to know because it will allow me to treat someone in a way that they are ready for. A person who is not even aware that there is a difference can not be ready to accept another culture until they go through the proper steps.

For language teachers to help their students “go through the proper steps” to become more interculturally competent as they gain proficiency in a target language, language teachers themselves should also go through similar steps to become interculturally competent. Teacher preparation programs have a responsibility to



create opportunities for their students to develop their intercultural competence. As demonstrated by the students who participated in this study, one focused course on intercultural learning that includes an ethnography project with intensive writing can begin to encourage the development of pre-service teachers' intercultural competence. The lingering question for teacher preparation programs, however, is, *is one course enough?*

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Students With Psychological Disabilities in Allied Health Sciences Programs: Enhancing Access and Retention

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Faculty and administrators in allied health sciences programs have the opportunity to create social justice environments in which all students can be nurtured to achieve academic success. A welcoming environment that supports and engages a diverse range of students from initial entry in postsecondary institutions to future work opportunities in allied health sciences fields is as important to student success as the curriculum being taught in the classrooms. This chapter offers a research overview and practical recommendations to develop inclusive practices for faculty and administrators to increase access and provide support for students with psychological disabilities in allied health sciences programs.

Postsecondary institutions serve as training grounds for future doctors, nurses, educators, and other professionals requiring licensure and certification. The Bureau of Labor Statistics projects that of the 25 fastest growing occupations during 2000 to 2010, 13 are in the medical and allied health sciences fields. In addition, 11 of the 25 highest paying occupations are in the aforementioned fields (CAREERINFONET). To ensure that individuals with disabilities are afforded equal access to medical and health professional careers, postsecondary institutions must have the capacity to admit, retain, and graduate students with disabilities.

Campus communities are microcosms of a larger society and strive to reflect diversity and encourage sensitivity to all aspects of access. Students with disabilities contribute to the fabric of diversity among individuals seeking admission to postsecondary education's allied health sciences

programs. However, a groundbreaking report from the Institute of Higher Education Policy (Wolanin & Steele, 2004) revealed major obstacles to college access nationwide for students with disabilities. The report acknowledged students with disabilities as the most recently marginalized group struggling to gain full access to higher education in the U.S.

Students with psychological disabilities are those who have a persistent psychological or psychiatric disorder, emotional, or mental illness resulting in impairment of educational, social, or vocational functioning as reported by a mental health professional, based on a diagnosis from the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (Duffy, 1994). For this chapter, I address students with psychological disabilities as those documented with depression, post-traumatic stress disorders, anxiety disorders, delusional disorders, bipolar disorder, and schizophrenia. Students with psychological

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disabilities are often labeled with a prescriptive diagnosis emerging from a medical model approach. I suggest the journey of mental illness is one not only based on a diagnosis of disability but also on an individual's functional ability, self-awareness, and understanding of fluctuating biological episodes.

Students with psychological disabilities preparing for professional careers in an allied health sciences field can be cognizant of their functional ability, which may be extremely variable relative to medication, stress, and other factors associated with specific psychological disabilities. This awareness can assist a student with a psychological disability and other academic constituents in developing strategies to accommodate when an episode impacts on the individual's present functional ability. The mere existence of a diagnosis does not constitute whether students will be successful or not in their allied health sciences program. Therefore, any student with a psychological disability whose condition does not pose a substantial limitation to learning or completion of the technical requirements may prepare and successfully complete degree requirements to work in the allied health sciences. A climate open to working around episodic functioning of these individuals, understanding of the student's mental illness, and providing appropriate support services such as advising, tutoring, counseling, and counseling can enhance access and retention. There is no correlation between specific psychological disabilities in relation to success or failure in allied health sciences careers.

Postsecondary institutions have struggled with understanding students with psychological disabilities and methods to increase student support services for this diverse population. Researchers (Gajar, 1998; Stodden & Dorwick, 2000) affirmed the need to improve the quality of postsecondary services in order to increase access, retention, and graduation rates. Unger (1992) identified that student affairs professionals may experience frustration due to a perceived lack of knowledge about how to serve students with psychological disabilities. As confirmed by Sharpe, Bruininks, Blacklock, Benson, and Johnson, (2004), little information exists pertaining to the presence of individuals with psychiatric disabilities in postsecondary settings. Numerous examples, such as surveys conducted in U.S. colleges and

universities, indicate that students with disabilities are categorized into physical, learning, chronic health, or other disabilities. Psychiatric disabilities often are regarded with a lack of specific focus and placed in the "other" category (Henderson, 1995). Another example of this nonspecific categorizing of psychiatric disabilities can be noted in the National Center for Education Statistics' (NCES, 1999) *Students With Disabilities in Postsecondary Education: A Profile of Preparation, Participation, and Outcomes*. Again, the NCES did not separate psychiatric disabilities from other disabilities in the statistical data collection.

Today the enrollment of students with psychological disabilities is dramatically increasing in postsecondary education. Although postsecondary education is viewed as an opportunity for students with psychological disabilities to be successful, stigmas and assumptions directly impacting on student access to postsecondary education exist. Factors contributing to limited access for students include attitudinal barriers (Nelson, Dodd, & Smith, 1990) and discriminatory policy practices and procedures. Recent federal laws designed to reduce discrimination were enacted to influence educational attitudes and practices relative to students with disabilities. However, more research must be done to determine the current stigmas and assumptions associated with disclosing to faculty and administrators the educational supports needed to succeed in professional programs as a student with a psychological disability.

Postsecondary institutions are required to provide reasonable academic adjustments for students with psychological disabilities. Qualified individuals with psychological disabilities are increasingly enrolling in allied health sciences programs. Institutions of higher education are required by law to provide equal access to students with psychological disabilities regardless of the academic program if the student meets the admissions criteria, technical standards, and essential functions of that program. Because the largest number of discriminatory cases reported to the Equal Educational Opportunity Commission (EEOC) involves individuals with psychiatric disabilities, it is important for professional schools to be aware of the legal responsibilities, accommodation



needs, and support services available to assist the student with a psychological disability.

Increased academic success of individuals with disabilities in elementary and secondary education has dramatically impacted the numbers of students with disabilities applying to allied health sciences programs in postsecondary education. The National Center for Educational Statistics in 1999 documented “more than 400,000 students in American postsecondary institutions report having a disability” (Rickerson, Souma, & Burgstahler, 2003). Data from the National Center for Education Statistics (1999) suggest that of 400,000 students, 33,000 reported having a mental or psychological illness. Federal legislation such as the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA, 1990), Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act (1973), and the reauthorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Act (IDEA, 1994) have been influential in increasing the number of students with disabilities attending postsecondary education.

The National Council on Disability (2003) documented that as many as 17% of all students in postsecondary education in the United States report having a disability. Of that 17%, the estimated number of students identifying as having a psychological disability is approximately 15% to 21 % (Henderson, 2001; Horn, Berktold, & Bobbitt, 1999; Lewis, Farris, & Green, 1999). Students with psychological disabilities experience supportive interventions from disability providers such as vocational rehabilitation, psychosocial rehabilitation programs, and disability support service offices. In addition to federal laws, the contributions of these support services to those with mental illnesses have empowered students to continue their education. As a result, marked increases in the number of students with psychiatric disorders attending colleges and universities are occurring (Matusow-Ayres, 2002; Sharpe, Bruininks, Blacklock, Benson, & Johnson, 2004; Weiner & Weiner, 1996).

The outcomes regarding faculty concerns associated with these studies may be important considerations in working with students with psychological disabilities. The studies appear promising, based on the theoretical rationale underpinning the design: specifically, that all students with disabilities will face the same

concerns in working with faculty in allied health sciences programs. However, as more allied health sciences faculty are faced with the growing number of students with psychological disabilities entering their programs, more specific academic support strategies will be required to assist faculty and students.

Currently, there is a paucity of research regarding access and retention of students with psychological disabilities in allied health sciences programs. Allied health sciences faculty require more support strategies to work with students with psychological disabilities in order to construct informed decisions regarding the student’s technical competency, the student’s success in the clinical experience, and retention and completion of the student in the allied health sciences program. Faculty and staff are in need of information pertaining to the types of accommodations, proactive approaches, and instructional support services that will facilitate successful outcomes for students with psychological disabilities in allied health sciences fields.

Allied Health Sciences Programs

The term “allied health” has been used for over 30 years to identify a cluster of health professions that are aligned in a higher educational setting as an academic unit or department of a school, college, or university. Allied health sciences programs in the 21st century continue to be prestigious and competitive programs in higher education. Examples of allied health sciences programs include: dentistry, dental hygiene, medical technology, physical therapy, occupational therapy, nursing, surgical technology, and other programs offering a medical focus with both didactic and practical academic requirements. Many of these fields require licensure or certification to practice in the allied health specialty. These programs evolved over the centuries and additional professional programs such as colleges of nursing, colleges of medicine, colleges of dentistry, and colleges of pharmacy now offer diverse programs for professional careers. The continued emergence of allied health sciences programs poses new challenges for administrators and institutions of higher education in regards to equal access to students with disabilities who are admitted to these programs. Technology and science continue to evolve



and influence society, requiring the need for more educators and practitioners with experience and expertise in the allied health sciences.

As previously mentioned, allied health sciences programs offer both didactic and practical curriculum requirements. Students learn in both the classroom and the clinical environment how to apply the theoretical and practical applications required for their selected allied health sciences program. Students completing the necessary classroom curriculum programs in allied health sciences expect to transition into clinical experiences seamlessly, and many institutions have implemented initiatives to address these seamless transitions (Cohen & Brawer, 2003; Sausner, 2004; Townsend, 2001). The seamless transition for students from the classroom to the clinical experience provides a stable and consistent process. For example, students entering the clinical setting expect to have acquired lab skills to help them in the clinical experience. These skills provide a smooth transition because the skills were learned and performed in a teaching and learning environment prior to being performed onsite. Unfortunately, for students with psychological disabilities other factors impede a seamless transition. In specific instances the clinical environment poses additional barriers such as rigorous hours, physical demands, and negative attitudes (Sowers & Smith, 2003) that were not encountered in the lab setting. These barriers may have intentional or unintentional effects on “weeding out” students participating in allied health sciences programs. Faculty can work with students to improve performance but only within reason. If a student cannot improve to meet the standards of the program, then a failing grade may be the appropriate measure. However, students with psychological disabilities have the ability to be successful in the classroom and clinical experiences if given the academic support necessary.

Legislation, Legal Expectations, and Technical Standards in Postsecondary Institutions

The foundation of equal access for individuals with disabilities in higher education evolved from the passage of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disability Act of 1990.

Both laws obligate institutions of higher education to provide academic adjustments to students as long as the adjustments are not unduly burdensome and do not compromise proven essential requirements of the educational programs, (Section 104.44). Thus, Federal legislation has provided a legal framework to bring about greater public access and equal treatment than previously allowed. The outcomes of each act’s legislation started a process of expanding the rights of people with disabilities and afforded individuals the opportunity to participate in higher education allied health programs.

College and university disability support services (DSS) offices offer students with psychological disabilities assurances that federal law will be followed for access to educational programs. In postsecondary education it is the student’s responsibility to initiate the process of self-identification and requests for academic accommodations. A collaborative process between DSS, the student, and faculty is a central aspect of providing academic adjustments to students with psychological disabilities. Harris, Horn, and McCarthy (1994) stated, “Ideally an accommodation results from collaborative effort among the student, faculty, and student affairs professional designated to assist in this individualized process” (p. 40). A balance between meeting the needs of the student and maintaining academic standards is a fundamental aspect of the intent of the federal laws (Hart, Zimbrich, & Whelley, 2002).

Reasonable accommodations in the work place, such as a clinical setting for allied health practice, are any modifications or adjustments to a work environment that enable a qualified applicant or employee with a disability to participate in the application process or perform essential job functions. Examples of reasonable accommodations include (a) making existing facilities used by other employees readily accessible to and usable by an individual with a disability; (b) restructuring a job; (c) modifying work schedules; (d) acquiring or modifying examinations; (e) providing qualified readers or interpreters; and (f) appropriately modifying examinations, trainings, or other programs.

In allied health sciences programs essential functions are referred to as technical standards.



Technical standards are current practices used in many allied health sciences programs. The standards also serve as guides to assist the faculty and administrators in complying with the ADA. These technical standards also allow students with disabilities the opportunity to reflect on whether they can meet the technical functions of the program to which they are applying. Typically, each technical standard will have an example of an activity that a student must perform while enrolled in the program. However, Maheady (1999) stated in her research on students with disabilities enrolled in nursing programs that guidelines were not readily available or utilized on most campuses. She acknowledged in her study that a taskforce to the Board of Directors of the Southern Council on Collegiate Education for Nursing (SCCEN) assisted in the development of guidelines for nursing education programs in the southeast. The guidelines were developed to respond to students covered under the ADA. A few examples of the technical requirements included: (a) critical thinking, (b) interpersonal, (c) communication, (d) mobility, (e) motor skills, (f) hearing, (g) visual, and (h) tactile (p. 3).

An accommodation or academic adjustment is considered the removal of a barrier in the academic setting that allows full participation and learning to occur (Belch, 2000). Following the self-identification of a student with a psychological disability, the institution and student determine if there is an accessibility issue that is impeding academic access. Based on the specific barriers hindering accessibility, physical or academic adjustments are then discussed and a plan is arranged to provide equal access (Chaffin, 1998). Accommodations for students with psychological disabilities may include testing modifications such as extended time on exams, separate environment for testing, exam readers, and classroom auxiliary aids and services (e.g., readers and note-takers). In the clinical environment accommodations may include: flexible work schedules, scheduled breaks, advance notice of clinical assignments, scheduled clinical hours that complement students' physical needs, and food and water breaks. Extended length of time for degree completion, course substitutions, and adaptation of how courses are conducted may also be considered. All requests for academic accommodations are to be determined on a case-by-case basis (Tucker,

1996). Postsecondary institutions are not required to provide academic adjustments that result in an undue hardship to, or fundamental alteration of, the proven essential program requirements (Unger, 1992). Academic adjustments are not linked to the specific diagnosis of a psychological disability but are utilized to compensate for functional deficits (e.g., inability to focus for extended periods of time, managing time, medication complications) manifested by the disability. Brinckerhoff, Shaw, and McGuire (1993) affirmed that accommodations are intended to provide equal access for students with disabilities, not to guarantee success or provide advantages over other students.

Attitudes Toward Individuals With Disabilities

Makas (1988) indicated that individuals with disabilities acknowledge the greatest barrier to full participation in society is not functional limitation or inaccessible buildings but rather biased attitudes. The literature related to rehabilitation and social psychology regarding disability addresses the attitudinal effects of interactions between individuals with and without disabilities.

However, for students with psychological disabilities the barriers such as climate of the departments, negative attitudes, lack of academic support services, and limited interactions with faculty and staff impact the student's academic success in the classroom and clinical environment. These barriers have the potential to contribute to the success or failure of students with psychological disabilities in allied health sciences programs.

Attitude theory (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Bourke, Strehorn, & Silver, 1997; Kalivoda & Higbee, 1998) suggests it is important to examine the attitudes behind an individual's actions. Examination of attitudes has provided useful information regarding the merit of professional training strategies. A qualitative study (Hatfield, 2003) on Universal Design principles and professional training strategies questioned whether participants in a workshop on Universal Design in the classroom changed their attitudes because of personal beliefs, sense of obligation, or beliefs regarding "the presence or absence of social support for



engaging in the [action]" (Kalivoda & Higbee, p. 14). Consistent with attitude theory framework, Hatfield examined the connection between attitude and action. There is a difference between attitudes toward people with disabilities and attitudes toward providing accommodations. It is apparent from research (Casey, 2006; Kalivoda, 2003) documenting Universal Design and professional development reveals that faculty members' negative attitudes regarding implementing accommodations for students with disabilities may come from heavier workloads rather than from personal beliefs regarding disability.

Individuals with psychological disabilities are influenced by societal norms and attitudes (Horne, 1988). Reintegration of individuals with psychological disabilities into the mainstream of society results in opportunities for employment and education (Marrone, 2004). Community-based support services and mental health agencies empower individuals with self-advocacy strategies and technical skills to enhance individual social status and livelihood. Although these strategies and services are in place, individuals with psychological disabilities are still stigmatized and categorized by society's fears and assumptions. Limited exposure to individuals with psychiatric disabilities, media-embellished incidents portraying individuals as violent, and widely sensationalized events contribute to a number of misperceptions regarding this population (Duffy, 1994, p. 90).

Many factors influence the academic success of students with disabilities. They include physical access, campus support services, institutional climate, and faculty willingness to make accommodations. Although students are generally satisfied with accommodations (Hill, 1996) some students have difficulty acquiring accommodations, and some faculty members project negative attitudes toward students with disabilities (Anderson-Inman, Knox-Quinn, & Szymanski, 1999; Blackhurst, Lahm, Harrison, & Chandler, 1999). Faculty attitudes toward students with psychiatric disabilities influence their willingness to provide academic adjustments in the classroom, which in turn directly impacts student performance.

My own research (Casey, 2006) investigated indicators linked to the success of students with psychological disabilities in allied health sciences programs. The quantitative and qualitative findings for the research study were linked by the climate indicators of attitude, academic support provisions, and interactive measures being implemented to contribute to the success of students with psychological disabilities in allied health sciences departments. Students with disabilities may encounter negative attitudes, which in turn have been shown to lead to negative educational outcomes (Katz, Huss, & Bailey, 1988). Negative climate may prevent students with disabilities from being successful in both academic and clinical settings. My qualitative findings highlighted similar experiences of students who were unsuccessful in their respective programs.

The consideration of accommodating students in the academic classroom and clinical sites also creates issues for faculty concerning academic integrity. Some faculty perceive an added advantage will be provided to students with disabilities if given certain academic adjustments (Kalivoda, 2003). The Institute for Higher Education Policy (Wolanin & Steele, 2004) key findings in *Higher Education Opportunities for Students with Disabilities: A Primer for Policymakers* cited faculty attitudes and the entrenched academic culture as major barriers to implementing accommodations for students with disabilities. Faculty often are ignorant of their responsibilities and resent the perceived intrusion into their academic roles. This perception created an additional attitudinal barrier for the student to overcome.

In addition to individual attitudes, institutional attitudes and barriers toward students with psychological disabilities are influenced by lack of knowledge about students' functioning capabilities. Students with psychological disabilities may be fearful in disclosing to higher education administrators or faculty a need for services or disability support in the academic environment. Institutional attitudinal perceptions may also influence policies and procedures that could directly impact access and retention for students.



Professional Development Initiatives Contributing to Student Access and Retention

In the area of faculty professional development related to disability services, initial programs typically have focused on “outreach activities and training materials on legal mandates, including compliance requirements, accommodations, and office procedures” (Scott & Gregg, 2000). As students with disabilities have been increasingly attending postsecondary institutions, emerging pressures have been placed on faculty to ensure accessible classroom and clinical experiences. Scott and Gregg completed a comprehensive review of the literature related to faculty development practices and suggested a number of ways to educate and support faculty in working with students with disabilities. The training components were typically focused on increasing knowledge of disabilities, legal issues, and awareness of campus resources. However, the current research is limited when it comes to professional development best practices focused on support strategies specific to students with psychological disabilities in allied health sciences.

The research (Magilvy & Mitchell, 1995; Maheady, 1999; Thompson, 1995) conducted with medical and nursing faculty revealed a need for additional professional development aimed at increasing knowledge to change attitudes and decrease misconceptions of students with disabilities. Many allied health sciences faculty assume students with disabilities may not be appropriate students for their programs (Christensen, 1998; Martini, 1987; Swenson, Foster, & Champagne, 1991). The most cited concern of medical and nursing faculty related to students with disabilities was the question of whether students could provide safe patient care in the clinical training sessions (Marks, 2000; Reichgott, 1998; Sowers & Smith, 2003). Other concerns documented included: impact of students with disabilities on lowering the academic and clinical standards of programs, the additional amount of faculty time necessary to accommodate students, and the negative attitude and reaction of other students toward students who are accommodated (Hartman & Hartman, 1981; Maheady).

One study conducted by Getzel, Briel, and McManus (2003), titled *Strategies for Implementing Professional Development Activities on College Campuses: Findings from OPE-Funded Project Sites (1999-2002)*, surveyed recent Department of Education grant recipients to determine what colleges are doing in terms of faculty development, the outcomes of such activities, the effective strategies used, and the challenges and barriers colleges face when conducting professional development. The responses to an open-ended survey were analyzed qualitatively by identifying recurring issues and themes. Three challenges and barriers emerged from the survey regarding faculty professional development. They included: (a) time constraints of faculty, (b) lack of understanding or buy-in by faculty members of the need for professional development activities and the relevancy of the information and materials provided to their teaching, and (c) lack of administrative support.

Sowers and Smith’s (2003) research addressed the willingness of faculty in health sciences programs to accommodate students with disabilities. Responses from their study revealed that faculty were concerned about patient safety, cost of accommodations, fear of having academic standards compromised, lack of faculty time available to work with students, the reputation of academic and clinical programs, and the reaction of other students toward students with disabilities receiving accommodations. Although the study revealed a change in attitude after faculty attended a workshop regarding all disabilities, Sowers and Smith acknowledged that faculty perceptions regarding students with mental health disabilities were fairly negative. Faculty negative perceptions may exist because the training workshop was not specific to individual disability types and specific to psychological disabilities such as bipolar disorder, schizophrenia, or depression.

Professional development programs have expanded as technology has developed, offering faculty alternative formats to learn more about support services for students with disabilities. Technology-based training can use computer hardware and software, as well as related technologies, to transfer information (Izzo, Hertzfeld, Simmons-Reed, & Aaron, 2001). Education has embraced the concept of training



and development through technology, and more institutions of higher education are utilizing this strategy to provide professional training and development. The U.S. Department of Education offered 21 grants to provide technical assistance and professional development activities to faculty and administrators to enhance quality educational opportunities for students with disabilities in postsecondary education (United States Department of Education, 1999). All 21 projects (100%) used some form of technology to provide faculty training and development (Izzo et al.).

Another format utilized for faculty professional development was the introduction of mentors to train colleagues on disability issues in postsecondary education (Rohland et al., 2003). This study used a pre-post confidence scale based on a 4-point Likert-type scale. A pretest was administered and followed by a 4-day workshop and a posttest. This study suggested that there is strong evidence supporting the effectiveness of a mentor training seminar on educating faculty on mental health issues and other disabilities. The outcomes of this study showed evidence of systemic impact through department policy changes, funding of new positions, and reduction of attitudinal barriers. However, one limitation of this professional development workshop was that it was a long-term process that required intensive day-to-day interactions between mentor and colleague.

Recommendations for Practice, Policy, and Future Research

Observations from my research of allied health sciences programs revealed a number of concerns related to students with psychological disabilities which could be addressed with appropriate leadership initiatives. The most critical aspects of my research revealed that allied health sciences programs implementing professional development for faculty and staff specifically related to access and retention of students with psychological disabilities were the most successful at improving retention and graduation rates (Casey, 2006). To tackle the challenges of reframing and implementing a climate to provide access for and retain students with disabilities, faculty and administrators may

want to consider the following recommendations from a professional level, a leadership level, and a policy level.

Professional development on campus can be facilitated in an array of training formats to faculty and staff. College and university professional development is typically facilitated by centers for teaching and learning excellence, human resources, or other departments conducting or participating in the professional development of faculty and staff. One functional area providing extensive professional development may be the disability support services office. DSS personnel may attend and be asked to present at a weekly, monthly, or quarterly staff meeting in which the majority of faculty or staff are assembled. Another alternative may include a detailed presentation in the form of a full-day workshop. A panel of experts including students with psychological disabilities is organized allowing different perspectives to emerge from a more comprehensive professional development approach. The viewing of video segments of individuals with and without disabilities, sharing stories, or of faculty and students discussing experiences in working with individuals with disabilities is another alternative if individuals are not available to be a part of panel. Videos are available through various research grants such as Disabilities, Opportunity Internet-working, and Technology: DO-IT (1996) presenting accessible issues in a succinct and diverse manner utilizing Universal Design principles.

Faculty and staff may also be hesitant to attend a partial or full-day presentation due to heavy workloads, research expectations, emergencies, or a number of other valid time-consuming reasons. Distance learning courses may be an alternative solution to meeting the professional development needs of these individuals. These course offerings provide a more tailored format to meet scheduling dilemmas. One strategy to offering a distance learning course is to coordinate with the disability support services provider to identify a disability-related topic and invite faculty and staff to register. The DSS provider develops an outline, for example, on the topic of serving students with schizophrenia. The course curriculum is divided into areas such as: reasons for schizophrenia, common misperceptions about schizophrenia, training and development



issues, specific accommodations used in the classroom, and so on.

Another electronic approach for professional development is a chat room for faculty and staff where safe-zone conversations can occur. The chat room can offer helpful dialogue regarding questions and information about working with students with psychological disabilities. Creating safe environments for training and development opportunities can facilitate open dialogue, dismiss incorrect assumptions, and provide accurate information.

Understanding clinical technical standards and protocol is another aspect of professional development that needs to be addressed when working with allied health sciences faculty and students with psychological disabilities. Educating disability support services providers and creating open communication about the technical standards of allied health sciences programs is an important professional development need for disability support services providers. A DSS provider may be aware of the job duties and technical requirements in a clinical setting but may not be aware of other critical components students must meet to complete a program. The pace in some clinical settings can be challenging for certain students with psychological disabilities. For example, a small outpatient clinical setting may have a completely different work pace and culture than an inpatient psychiatric or emergency room setting.

The interpersonal relationships with clinical supervisor, faculty, or student peers may also present challenges for students with some types of psychological disabilities. A DSS provider may benefit from observing job duties and interpersonal interactions first hand in the clinical setting. This strategy may provide the DSS provider with a better position to understand the technical requirements and social milieu that students with psychological disabilities encounter.

I recommend that faculty, staff, and students maintain an open dialogue as clinical technical standards change and student interactions mature and develop. Clinical settings are also a place to examine how Universal Design principles can be applied and modified as needed. Ongoing

professional development and dialogue between faculty, clinical coordinators, DSS providers, and students will continue to be an important component throughout the educational process. Conversations and continued monitoring of student success should occur before, during, and after clinical experiences.

Allied health sciences programs may want to consider developing information packets that include role expectations of each party involved, a clinical handbook, and other helpful reference materials. Examples of packet and handbook information include: essential clinical components, technical standards needed to graduate, and clarification to whom accommodations or support provision requests will be made as well as how these accommodations will be implemented.

Interacting and collaborating with faculty, students, and staff throughout the process is a critical element in a successful clinical experience for all constituents. Identifying student needs before the student enters the clinical environment should be initiated by both the faculty member and student if the student is currently utilizing accommodations in the classroom and lab setting. I recommend the development of a brochure containing information about ways faculty can assist students with psychological disabilities in the transition from the academic classroom to the clinical environment as an ideal resource for allied health sciences faculty. In addition, a brochure on self-advocacy and how students can approach faculty for accommodations in the clinical environment would be helpful to students as they take proactive steps to coordinate clinical accommodations.

One important consideration for faculty and administration to address is faculty perceptions of what is “fair” when it comes to classroom and clinical accommodations. The degree and perception of fairness may vary from instructor to instructor and impact on the willingness to accommodate. Determining under what circumstances faculty and clinical coordinators are willing to make adjustments may help in arranging and implementing accommodations. For example, two students with an identical diagnosis of bipolar disorder may experience different symptoms. One student may exhibit functional limitations



from medications which may prevent the student from functioning clearly in the morning. This may impact when the student is scheduled for clinical work. Another student may be able to attend an early morning clinical affiliation without any accommodation requirements. Students without disabilities may have childcare and or work schedules that may also cause clinical scheduling dilemmas. A Universal Design strategy implemented to assist all students fairly may include a selection of available times to begin and end a clinical day. However, not all allied health sciences programs have a number of clinical sites available to them, nor can all sites have scheduling flexibility.

Psychological disabilities present unique challenges and issues to campus leadership. Everybody benefits when academic and student affairs administrators identify challenges and issues associated with accommodating students with psychological disabilities in allied health sciences programs. Leaders should commit to providing professional development workshops to increase awareness, modify policy, and develop strategies to assist with student achievement and success. Workshops for faculty and staff focused specifically on the accommodation challenges and solutions of working with students with psychological disabilities in the allied health sciences can create a positive environment and decrease attitudinal barriers. Another important leadership commitment is to foster institutional dialogue on ways in which students with psychological disabilities can disclose disability-related concerns without facing attitudinal barriers.

An important leadership practice is the monitoring of student outcomes in allied health sciences programs where enrollment, retention, and persistence of students with psychological disabilities are lower than for other students. The monitoring should be established and supported by academic and student affairs administrators. Monitoring can also identify the success of students with psychological disabilities and allow for celebration and acknowledgment of the contributions of this diverse student population.

Recommendations to consider for policy-level action involve determining funding sources for

professional development training for faculty and staff regarding students with psychological disabilities in allied health sciences. In addition, it is important to align support across academic and student support services areas (e.g., disability support services, counseling, advising) to assist students with psychological disabilities. It is beneficial to all parties to create clear policies outlining technical standards essential to the classroom and clinical program. A critical and often overlooked issue is the development of a policy addressing student medication usage when in the classroom and during clinical affiliation. Do the side effects of particular medications interfere with the function of a student to perform specific clinical duties that are essential to the clinical experience? Some medications are known to cause slower responses or drowsiness or to interfere with alertness and may have a significant bearing on clinical expectations. However, the recent generation of medications is designed to improve attention span and general well-being in a way that earlier generations of medications were not able to do (Souma & Casey, in press). For example, a student on antidepressants may experience improved concentration that targets a specific area of the brain to alleviate symptoms of depression. As a result, the student may resume more functional clarity.

Several recommendations for future inquiry into student success in allied health fields are suggested. The validation of the impact and effectiveness of allied health sciences professional development workshops on faculty should be conducted. Specifically, researchers will want to measure long-term individual and institutional changes and the outcomes of these workshops on the clinical experiences and academic success of students with psychological disabilities.

It is suggested that ongoing research and evaluation be conducted to assess how colleges and universities incorporate the use of Universal Design in both the classroom and clinical environment. The evaluation should also consider the impact of instructing students with psychological disabilities and the delivery of services to meet their educational needs.



Summary

Despite the paucity of research regarding students with psychological disabilities in allied health sciences programs, a wide range of instructional support provisions, professional networks, and professional development initiatives is being employed to enhance access and retention for students with psychological disabilities. Postsecondary institutions will continue to see dramatic increases in the enrollment of students with psychological disabilities. As this population continues to emerge within postsecondary education, the issues will present more challenges to student services (e.g., admissions, financial aid, counseling, judicial affairs), faculty, and disability support providers. While research regarding best practices and professional development continues to provide some direction, institutions must begin to study and document empirical data regarding students with psychological disabilities in allied health sciences programs. This data will be necessary to match the unparalleled growth of the number of students with disabilities entering these professions and the demands of the allied health sciences workforce.

Allied health sciences faculty, students, and staff would be better served by establishing a climate of acceptance and openness. A nonjudgmental approach and the incorporation of support provisions such as Universal Design will constitute a more effective practice. Evaluating attitudes and academic support strategies among allied health sciences constituents will ultimately help all students be academically successful. The recommendations in this chapter provide a framework to support and engage a diverse range of students in their access to future academic success and work opportunities in allied health sciences fields. As the number of students with psychological disabilities increases in postsecondary education, it can be expected that the number of allied health sciences students with disabilities will also increase. Proactive planning by postsecondary institutions to support students with psychological disabilities serves as symbolic evidence of an institution's commitment to comply with the intent behind federal and state open-access mandates.

Students with psychological disabilities are continuing to apply (Keyes, 1993; Maheady, 1999) and be accepted to allied health sciences programs. Postsecondary institutions will be expected to meet the needs of this fast growing population in the classroom as well as the clinical environment. Additionally, a growing number of allied health sciences fields (e.g., nursing) are in critical personnel shortages and require more proactive measures to recruit diverse individuals with an interest in working in the field. Students with psychological disabilities are diverse individuals with the potential to make a valuable contribution to the workforce.

The National Council on Disability (2003) reinforced the importance of evidence-based practices to enact changes in federal policies that will have an impact on the status of individuals with disabilities in postsecondary education. Despite the progress being made by researchers and practitioners in the field of disability and postsecondary education, numerous barriers and gaps in knowledge and research still exist. Limited research can be found in the literature to support the academic success of students with psychological disabilities in specific workforce areas such as allied health sciences professions. Practitioners in the field of disability are aware of the barriers that hinder the academic achievement of students with disabilities and must continue to conduct evidence-based research to provide evidence-based strategies for postsecondary institutions.

It is apparent postsecondary institutions have a shared responsibility to influence change on campus. Faculty and administrators in allied health sciences programs must create environments in which all students can be nurtured and find social justice allies to support academic achievement. A welcoming environment to best support and engage a diverse range of students from initial entry into higher education to future work opportunities in allied health sciences fields is critical to the future allied health workforce.

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Conceptual Framework of Cultural Capital Development: A New Perspective for the Success of Diverse College Students

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High postsecondary attrition rates and low graduation rates remain a major problem for students of color, students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, and first-generation students. Recent research demonstrates that the concept of cultural capital helps to explain and address this issue. The purpose of this chapter is to review the extant literature on cultural capital and education and identify limitations. Additionally, we propose an emergent comprehensive theoretical framework for better understanding the influence of cultural capital within the context of postsecondary student retention and the achievement of particular student outcomes.

Although the last four decades have brought improved social status and access to education for African Americans, Hispanic and Latina-Latinos, Asians, Pacific Islanders, American Indians, and Alaska Natives, these diverse groups are still disenfranchised (Aragon, 2000). According to researchers, students from diverse backgrounds have been and continue to be marginalized in educational settings (Deschenes, Cuban, & Tyack, 2001; Lipman, 1998; Shields, Bishop, & Mazawi, 2005; Valencia, 1997). In this chapter, “diverse students” refers to students of color, students from lower socio-economic (SES) backgrounds, and first-generation students. This nomenclature places more positive emphasis on these student groups in contrast to terms such as “non-White,” “at-risk,” “disadvantaged,” and “traditionally marginalized,” although we recognize that all students, including those who are White or from higher SES backgrounds, have diversity.

These perspectives correctly position secondary and postsecondary institutions to take greater

responsibility for diverse students, rather than blaming them for educational failure. However, it is important to acknowledge the reality of diverse students who, compared with their more privileged counterparts, are at risk of academic failure at elementary, secondary, and postsecondary levels (O’Brien & Zudak, 1998; Rendon & Hope, 1996). The risk factors associated with not completing a postsecondary program include delayed enrollment, part-time attendance, being self-supporting, single-parent status, full-time work schedules, caring for a dependent, and holding a graduate equivalency diploma (GED). According to a National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (as reported by O’Brien & Zudak), 27% of Hispanic and Latina-Latino students, 31% of African American students, and 35% of American Indian and Alaska Native students have four or more of these risk factors, compared with 22% of White students. Another potential risk for students of color is that they often break new ground as the first in their families to attend college (O’Brien & Zudak). Although these data represent the averages

for the different groups of students, enormous diversity exists within these four populations.

Today, people of color make up approximately 29% of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000b, 2000c). According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2000a) projections, by 2050 people of color will constitute approximately 47% of the U.S. population. The implications of neglecting to understand and address the learning needs of people of color for society, in general, and adult education, in particular, are staggering. Briscoe and Ross (1989) noted that:

It is likely that young people will leave school early, will never participate fully in society or in the decision-making processes of government, and that they will neither enjoy the benefits of good health, nor experience the upward mobility needed as adults to make them full contributors and partners in shaping and participating in the larger society. (p. 586)

A decade later, these issues had yet to be resolved according to the literature (O'Brien & Zudack, 1998; Rendon & Hope, 1996).

Today's Postsecondary Profile

Students of color account for almost one-quarter (24.8%) of postsecondary education enrollment, with African Americans representing approximately 12%, Hispanic and Latina-Latinos 9%, Asians and Pacific Islanders 3%, and American Indians and Alaska Natives 0.8 % (O'Brien & Zudak, 1998). During the period between 1988 and 1997, enrollment of students of color across all institutions of higher education increased by 57.2%, while White non-Hispanic and Latina-Latino enrollment saw a negative 0.2% change (American Council on Education [ACE], 2002). As a result of these demographic changes within society at large and institutions of higher education specifically, the term minority is losing its statistical meaning, as a new student majority rapidly emerges, comprising, collectively, African Americans, Hispanic and Latina-Latinos, Asians, Pacific Islanders, and American Indians and Alaska Natives (Rendon & Hope, 1996).

Despite the significant efforts of educational researchers, college-level administrators, and high school teachers and counselors, high postsecondary attrition rates and low graduation rates continue to be a major problem for students of color, students from lower SES backgrounds, and first-generation students (Castle, 1993; Maldonado, Zapata, Rhoads, & Buenavista, 2005; National Center for Educational Statistics [NCES], 1996, 2000). Not only is recruiting these diverse students to 4-year universities a problem (Castle), keeping them enrolled therein is an equally difficult dilemma (McNairy, 1996; NCES; Tinto, 1999). The attrition rate for diverse college students continues to exceed that of their more advantaged peers (ACE, 2002; NCES).

Researchers have put forth numerous student departure theories (Metzner & Bean, 1987; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1978, 1980a; Tierney, 1999; Tinto, 1987, 1993) and evidence in an effort to try to explain the phenomenon of diverse students' high attrition and low graduation rates. In a comprehensive review of the literature on college attrition, Ishitani (2006) identified student background characteristics, including gender and race, educational expectations, family income, parents' educational attainment, and financial aid as contributing factors. Also among them—and the focus of some of the earliest research on diverse student attrition—is the argument that these students are, generally, academically unprepared for the demands of college-level coursework and thus drop out or are dismissed for academic reasons (Shaughnessy, 1977; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 2003; U.S. Department of Education, 2006).

A large body of research clearly supports the contention that diverse students face multiple obstacles in their primary and secondary education, which logically can be assumed to influence their academic preparation for college. These obstacles include low-quality elementary through secondary schools (Kozol, 1991, 2005); the tracking of these students into nonacademic paths (Oakes, 2005; Oakes & Keating, 1988); teachers' reduced expectations for student of color, first-generation, and low-SES students (i.e., deficit-theory thinking, Jackson, 2005; Valencia, 1997); low parental school involvement and lack of college-educated parents or mentors (ACE, 2002; Ogbu & Wilson, 1990; Wintre & Yaffe, 2000); and insufficient special

education services (Capper, Frattura, & Keyes, 2000; Jorgensen, 1998). Additionally, major universities are unable—and often unwilling—to provide the remedial classes that diverse students need to catch up academically to the majority of the student body (Eaton, 2005).

Other research on diverse student attrition has focused upon the culture-clash—and the corresponding cultural incongruity—that these students experience when trying to adapt to the overwhelmingly White, middle-class, social and cultural environment of most 4-year universities (Gonzalez, 1999; Kaestle, 1983; Mickelson, 2003; Oakes & Keating, 1988; White, 2005). Still other research has shown that the economic difficulty and the accompanying stress diverse students face in trying to fund their college careers influences high attrition rates (Mucowski, 1984).

Needed: A New Perspective for the Success of Diverse College Students

Although the previously-cited research has contributed to understanding the problem of diverse student attrition and provided some valuable partial remedies to it, a second growing body of literature suggests a different means of understanding and enabling diverse students to overcome traditional postsecondary struggles. Authors within this promising line of research point to the “cultural capital” assets and resources of student development that influence college success (CampbellJones & CampbellJones, 2002; Davis, 2004; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996; Maldonado et al., 2005; McDonough, 1997; Romanowski, 2003; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999; Saunders & Serna, 2004; Tierney, 1999; Valadez, 1996). Drawing from Bourdieu (1986), we define cultural capital as the knowledge, skills, education, or resources that provide individuals with the ability to perform at a high level in a given postsecondary context.

Although the meaning of and the processes for building cultural capital are contested (e.g., whether cultural capital efforts affirm or marginalize students’ backgrounds; for example, see Yosso, 2005), the previously-cited research clearly suggests that diverse students have not, for a variety of reasons, developed cultural capital (Kalmijn &

Kraaykamp, 1996; McDonough, 1997). Rendon (1999) previously conveyed a similar concern for educational institutions: “the problem is not so much that low-income students lack ambition, it is that these students have not received the socialization, encouragement, or mentoring to take full advantage of higher education” (p. 197).

White’s (2003; 2005) empirical research implied related struggles for postsecondary settings. He found that many diverse students require various forms of cultural capital that extend beyond academic content knowledge (e.g., science content knowledge), including basic concepts such as: effective study skills; how to balance their social and academic lives; how to communicate effectively in classes, with their professors, and with their White, middle-class peers; how to compute grade point average (GPA) and correspondingly, to determine their academic standing; how to find the courses they need and to register for them; and where to find and how to use campus resources. Complicating matters further, several studies have found that students of color often resist the appropriation of college cultural capital based on the belief that doing so is tantamount to “selling-out” their native culture (i.e., “acting White,” “becoming invisible”; Brayboy, 2004; Mickelson, 2003; White, 2003, 2005).

Purpose of the Chapter

The purpose of this chapter is three-fold. The first purpose is to review the empirical extant literature on cultural capital, beginning with a brief overview of cultural capital theories in education. The second purpose is to identify the current limitations in the cultural capital literature as it relates to diverse student success. We delineate these limitations as we review the literature. The final purpose is to propose a new theoretical framework for better understanding the influence of cultural capital within the context of postsecondary student retention and the achievement of particular student outcomes. Although the literature has contributed to understanding cultural capital and education, we argue for a substantially more comprehensive conceptualization of cultural capital. We see this chapter being valuable to practitioners and researchers. This chapter will help practitioners become aware of cultural capital areas of need

in their teaching and administrative practices. Researchers may wish to investigate identified gaps in the literature. We explicate some of these areas in the implications section. We begin by describing the procedures used to identify the relevant literature for the review.

Focus of the Literature Review

We conducted searches through Educational Full Text and Education Resources Information Center (ERIC). The initial search was conducted using “cultural capital” as the sole search term. After reading the abstracts generated through the search, we clustered articles into four content areas: (a) student cultural capital, (b) organizational practices, (c) across and within student group differences, and (d) student transition from secondary to postsecondary education. Many articles applied to more than one category. We repeated this process using “social capital” as the sole search term. Our rationale for the second search was based on the fact that many of the articles identified through the first search appeared to be using social capital interchangeably with cultural capital. These articles were also organized under the four content areas of cultural capital.

Due to our focus on diverse students, we ran subsequent independent searches using both “cultural capital” and “social capital” for specific student groups. These included African American, Hispanic and Latina-Latino, Asian American, American Indian, Alaska Native, first generation, and second generation. Although this search did identify relevant literature, the numbers were small.

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to addressing the purpose statement, beginning with the review of the literature. We organize the review into (a) theories of cultural capital, (b) empirical studies of cultural capital in education, (c) cultural capital organizational practices, (d) cultural capital differences across and within student groups, and (e) student transition from secondary to postsecondary contexts.

Theories of Cultural Capital in Education

Bourdieu (1977, 1986) used cultural capital to help explain how schools reproduce social inequalities. Trueba (2002) offered that Bourdieu avoided explaining human behavior with “simple notions of biological, genetic, or cultural determinism . . . [and] developed the concepts of *habitus and field*” (p. 17). *Habitus* refers to “a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which . . . functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions” (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 82-83). Cultural capital is then one form of capital that can become a type of power, credential, or resource for accessing a given social context or “field.” In short, people employ their cultural capital through their *habitus*. Cultural capital has been described as the “linguistic and cultural understandings and skills that individuals bring to schools on the basis of their social class location” (Maldonado et al., 2005, p. 609). However, cultural capital may be valued in one particular field but not another (Bourdieu, 1986).

Lareau and Horvat (1999) bolstered the argument in their research that found cultural capital varies according to educational context, in part because schools create moments of “inclusion or exclusion” for parents to enact their cultural capital resources. According to Cabrera and colleagues (2003),

According to [Bourdieu’s] framework, students of lower socioeconomic status are disadvantaged in the competition for academic rewards because their *habitus*, or sociocultural environment, may not provide the types of cultural capital required for success in school, such as academic attention, certain linguistic patterns, behavioral traits, orientation toward schooling, high expectations, or encouragement of college aspirations. . . Bourdieu emphasizes that schools reproduce existing inequalities by essentially failing to teach students the valued cultural capital necessary to succeed. (p. 5)

In other words, traditional or mainstream schools often do not teach diverse students the “rules” of the dominant culture (Delpit, 1988). At the same time, several scholars warned against cultural

deprivation or deficit approaches to understanding or addressing educational disparities. Mickelson (2003) reviewed literature that demonstrates that schooling practices incongruent with the identities of students of color may encourage them to disengage from school, if not exercise their agency in opposition to school. Tierney (1999) raised the issue that “one might implicitly assume that those who lack cultural capital are in some way deficient in a manner akin to those who proffer the ‘culture-of-poverty’ viewpoint” (p. 89). Additionally, arguing against theories viewed as inadequate and flawed for diverse students such as Tinto’s (1987) theory of college retention, Tierney provided evidence that students of color and from low SES backgrounds need to be equipped with collegiate cultural capital but need not drop their cultural background (i.e., maintain their cultural integrity) as some may incorrectly interpret from Bourdieu’s (1977, 1986) work.

Some scholars have proposed alternative theories of cultural capital that work against cultural deprivation theories. Tierney (1999) provided a strong case for his Cultural Integrity and Cultural Capital postsecondary model that draws on Bourdieu’s (1986) notions of cultural capital. Tierney (1999) preferred the use of “cultural integrity” as school and teaching practices that “engage students’ racial/ethnic backgrounds in a positive manner toward the development of more relevant pedagogies and learning activities” (p. 84).

Trueba (2002) and Yosso (2005) gave little credence to mainstream or “dominant” forms of cultural capital and rather redefine cultural capital around the strengths and funds of knowledge that diverse and traditionally marginalized students bring to school and society. Trueba went so far as to suggest that for students with multiple racial, ethnic, and cultural identities, their identities are able to code-switch (e.g., alter behavior to fit different contextual codes or rules), employ multiple languages, and develop flexible mentalities and skills. Trueba suggested these students are becoming equipped with a new and valued cultural capital in an increasingly complex and diverse world.

Drawing from critical race theory (CRT), Yosso (2005) provided a model of community cultural wealth comprised of six forms of capital that “often go unacknowledged or unrecognized” (p. 70). These forms of cultural capital—aspirational, familial, linguistic, navigational, resistance, and social—provide the foundation for our theoretical model and are described more fully in the concluding section of this chapter. Yosso explained that CRT critiques and reconceptualizes the traditional Bourdieuan cultural capital theory that holds White, middle class values as the standard by which all other forms and expressions of culture are judged. As Yosso stated “cultural capital is not just inherited or possessed by the middle class, but rather it refers to an accumulation of specific forms of knowledge, skills and abilities that are *valued* by privileged groups in society” (p. 76). CRT and Yosso’s model place communities of color at the center of focus, shifting from beliefs of White, middle class culture.

Theories on education and cultural capital for diverse students in many ways remain in tension. On one hand, scholars argue that diverse students need mainstream cultural capital to succeed in schools. On the other hand, other scholars contend that rather than defining and exercising cultural capital in only traditional, mainstream, or dominant ways—which likely creates conditions for student disengagement or opposition—cultural capital development should include and build upon diverse students’ backgrounds and cultures.

Empirical Studies of Cultural Capital in Education

The current body of empirical literature, primarily informed by Bourdieu’s (1986) notions of both cultural and social capital, has operationalized and studied the concept of cultural capital from multiple and often inconsistent and narrow perspectives. A large number of scholars have based their empirical research on what would arguably be a social capital perspective. Other scholars have studied the construct in the forms of cultural capital activities or experiences (e.g., language spoken at home, cultural trips, art, classical music), funds of knowledge, and development related to citizenship. A discussion of parental characteristics believed

to influence the development of students' cultural capital is commonly included across the context of activities and experiences. Each of these themes is developed below.

Social Capital Perspectives of Cultural Capital

The majority of the empirical research reviewed operationalized cultural capital primarily from a social capital perspective, drawing heavily from the work of Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988, 1990), although some studies included elements of cultural capital and social capital (Brown & Davis, 2001; Datnow & Cooper, 1997; Horvat, Wieninger, & Lareau, 2003; Maldonado et al., 2005; McNeal, 1999; Perna & Titus, 2005; Singh & Dika, 2003; Smith-Maddox, 1999; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003; Valadez, 2002; Yan, 1999; Yan & Lin, 2005). From this perspective, cultural capital focuses on the networks of people that provide support to students in order to help them navigate through educational (societal) institutions. Within many of these studies, the social definitions are further operationalized through the identification of specific networks including parental networks (Horvat et al.; Maldonado et al.; Stanton-Salazar & Spina), parental involvement in school and school-related activities (McNeal; Perna, 2004; Perna & Titus, 2005; Smith-Maddox; Valadez; Yan; Yan & Lin), peer networks (Datnow & Cooper; Perna), family networks (Stanton-Salazar & Spina), and other adult networks (Singh & Dika; Stanton-Salazar & Spina). Stanton-Salazar and Spina (2003) distinguished family networks from parental networks and parental involvement in that they took into consideration older siblings, extended family members, and family friends. Other adult networks can include teachers, coaches, work supervisors, neighbors, and clergy members (Singh & Dika; Stanton-Salazar & Spina). The focus of each of these studies has centered on determining the role that one or more of these groups play in the achievement of various educational outcomes for the student.

Cultural Capital Activities and Experiences

A second body of literature uses more descriptive activities or experiences as a means of bringing definition to cultural capital. Within this body of literature, researchers have identified activities

in which students participate that are believed to represent the essence of the construct. Additionally, parental characteristics are commonly discussed in conjunction with these student activities and experiences.

Student activities and experiences. Participation in music, art, dance, theatre, and so on (i.e., cultural classes) has been used to operationalize cultural capital (Eitle & Eitle, 2002; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996; Orr, 2003; Perna & Titus, 2005; Simpson, 2001). Additionally, Eitle and Eitle measured cultural capital through students' participation in trips to art, science, or history museums (i.e., cultural trips) and through eight family educational resources including available study space, a computer, and the number of books in the home. Student leadership in educational activities was described by Monkman, Ronald, and Theramene (2005) as a type of embodied cultural capital activity. Smith-Maddox (1999) had earlier included learning computer skills, borrowing books from the public library, and involvement in a religious group. Hursch (2003) discussed cultural capital in terms of understanding the college application process, knowing how to obtain textbooks, and how to interact in college classes. Finally, the language spoken at home has been used as a measure of cultural capital (Perna, 2004; Perna & Titus).

Parental factors. Both cultural and social capital have been associated with parental factors. Parental educational attainment has been used as a measure of cultural capital by Perna (2004) and Perna and Titus (2005). Researchers have also measured cultural capital through parents' expectations for their child's educational attainment (Perna; Perna & Titus; Smith-Maddox, 1999). In their definition of cultural capital, Lareau and Horvat (1999) included the extent to which parents possess large vocabularies. Studies have included parent-to-parent networks as a means of defining social capital (Lareau & Horvat; Yan, 1999; Yan & Lin, 2005).

Funds of Knowledge as Cultural Capital

Gonzalez and Moll (2002) used the concept "funds of knowledge" to operationalize cultural capital. Trueba (2002) stated that the development of multiple identities through code-switching, adaptation, and the ability to change definitions of

self in order to maximize survival is a new form of cultural capital for Latinos. This affirmative stance on students' cultural capital that develops from their background is consistent with arguments made by other scholars (Shaw, Valadez, & Rhoads, 1999; Tierney, 1999; Yosso, 2005). They asserted that funds of knowledge are based on the premise that people have competent knowledge and that their life experiences have given them that knowledge.

Citizenship Capital

At least four empirical studies related to cultural capital have demonstrated the potential for a new form of capital, which we label "citizenship capital." We define citizenship capital as the knowledge, skills, dispositions, and experiences that help develop citizenship capacity as viewed through Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) model of personally-responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented citizenship. It is through this particular form of capital that individuals begin to develop a commitment to or passion for understanding and subsequently addressing social issues of the university, community, nation, and world.

From their examination of community college contexts, Shaw, Valadez, and Rhoads (1999) argued that community colleges should help transform students "into powerful thinkers, knowers, and contributors to society" (p. 202). In analyzing factors influencing academic attainment for female African American Ph.D. recipients, Louque (1999) noted that all of the participants emphasized the need to make a difference for women or people of color in their respective communities using whatever influences they now had as a result of their degree completion. This idea of "giving back to the community" was also found by Brayboy (2005) in his study of American Indians attending Ivy League universities. One student stated "I have always wanted to be lawyer; my father and mother and my elders told me that's what I was going to be, so I wanted it. . . . I do this because it will mean a better life for my people, my siblings, my cousins and nieces and nephews. . . . I can handle anything for those reasons" (p. 208).

In a recent study examining student-initiated retention projects (SIRPs), Maldonado et al. (2005)

included two conceptual points as part of their theoretical framework that they believed to influence the retention of students of color. In addition to using cultural and social capital as originally conceptualized by Bourdieu (1977, 1986), collectivism and social praxis were both included as part of the conceptual framework for their study and validated through the research findings. Within the context of student retention, collectivism explores the connections that students make within communities of color and how, in turn, these connections can help promote student retention. Social praxis focuses on "the ways in which students actually shape the institutional and social environments in which they find themselves" (Maldonado et al., 2005, p. 612). Examples of these activities included promoting education for students of color, protesting for change, working institutionally to influence university decisions, challenging racism, and serving racial and ethnic communities.

We emphasize that citizenship has not been constructed as a form of cultural capital, even though the previously cited literature points to the possibility that citizenship development is an important factor in postsecondary success. Crowell's (2004) use of "political capital" is analogous to our perspective on citizenship capital. Crowell defined political capital through "increased political participation and influence" (p. 24), which includes participation in activities such as voter registration campaigns, political speakers and candidate forums, letter writing, developing coalitions, and joining political organizations. However, Crowell used the term largely outside the context of education; she did not connect political capital as a motivator for persisting through college. As the name political capital lends itself to any type of political activity which may have little to do with citizenship responsibility, we prefer the term citizenship capital. Additionally, Yosso's (2005) resistant capital is similar to yet distinguished from citizenship capital. For Yosso, resistance capital focuses on the knowledge and skills that are developed through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality. However, this oppositional behavior could be employed for the purposes of self-interest rather than civic engagement.

Other Perspectives

The remaining two articles reviewed for this section each had different definitions of cultural capital across which themes could not be found, nor would these definitions fit into the existing themes previously discussed. Lareau and Horvat (1999) defined cultural capital to include “. . . sense of entitlement to interact with teachers as equals, time, transportation, and child care arrangements to attend school events during the school day” (p. 42). Furthermore, they stated that being “White” has become a type of cultural capital. Monkman, Ronald, and Theramene (2005) explicated three types of cultural capital that were important for low-income, Spanish-speaking students to understand, negotiate, practice, and access for success in the classroom—embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. Embodied cultural capital concerned style and preferences (e.g., empowering students as capable leaders, pointing out what is unacceptable behavior). Objectified cultural capital involved artifacts such as lesson plans, literature, and other classroom resources. Institutionalized cultural capital included valued educational qualifications and credentials (e.g., graduation from high school).

Summary

In reviewing the empirical literature on cultural capital—which include social capital perspectives as well—the concept of cultural capital was often studied narrowly and inconsistently. We hope that the theoretical framework presented in this chapter will provide a starting point for uncovering a deeper, more comprehensive, and nuanced understanding of the dimensions of college cultural capital for diverse students. We recognize the potential issue that Kingston (2001) mentioned in his argument that “cultural capital has expanded almost to the point of not being distinctly recognizable” (p. 95). But rather than consistently using a narrow definition of cultural capital, we believe cultural capital needs a broader and reconceptualized definition.

Cultural Capital Organizational Practices

In the coming pages, we review research and scholarship closely tied to organizational and

teaching practices and cultural capital. We also explore literature that offers important implications for educational institutions despite a less explicit or absent emphasis on organizational practices. Finally, we identify the relevant literature gap for future research to bridge.

Research and Scholarship on Organizational Practices That Influence Cultural Capital

A number of scholars have employed theories of cultural and social capital to explain how social inequalities are reproduced in schools. In other words, they have pointed out organizational practices to avoid or organizational tensions and challenges that need to be addressed. Mickelson (2003) provided a synthesis of social science research on racial disparities in education that includes cultural explanations that explicitly intersect with theories of cultural capital. One theme of this synthesis—especially when looking across cultural difference, cultural oppositional, and stereotype threat theories—is the common incongruence between the identities of students of color and the culture and practices of schools. For example, when schools are associated with an oppressive majority culture, activities associated with school success are often resisted. Griffin (2002) had previously found that Black and Hispanic and Latina-Latino students were more likely to dis-identify from school and academic achievement when deciding to drop out of school than their White and Asian counterparts for similar reasons. In her conclusion, Mickelson (2003) offered a related point: “I argue that racial discrimination in education, in fact, structures and conditions the exercise of agency by [B]lack youths. Black students make choices if they stifle academic achievement because they care whether their peers feel that doing well in school compromises their [B]lack identity” (p. 1075). Other studies have also implied the need to avoid secondary and postsecondary practices that attempt to assimilate African American students (Horvat & Antonio, 1999) or American Indian students (Deyhle, 1995; Jeffries, Nix, & Singer, 2002) into schooling without affirming their background identities.

Trueba (2002) examined a similar strand of literature that pertained to multiple ethnic, racial, and cultural identities in education and presented

ways in which persons of color overcame and used negative experiences to persevere through various educational contexts. Prior to Mickelson's (2003) similar contention, Trueba argued that the resistance of people of color (e.g., to school) demonstrates their resilience in the face of oppression. Her main argument relevant to secondary and postsecondary institutions is that multiple and shifting racial, ethnic, and cultural identities should not only be affirmed rather than pathologized; they should be viewed as an asset in an increasingly diverse and complex world.

CampbellJones and CampbellJones (2001) argued that African American children cannot be educated in a system that ignores their cultural capital. They also suggested the need for teachers to reflect critically on their practice, avoid "color blindness," and establish culturally relevant pedagogy. Similarly, in their literature review, Monkman, Ronald, and Theramene (2005) further confirmed that cultural and social capital help explain how schools reproduce inequalities. They offered clues for how schools can help derail the processes of social reproduction in a low-income, Spanish-speaking, urban school community. They particularly focused on positive teaching practices: critically reflecting on the relations between social and school inequalities, changing practices to interrupt these inequalities, increasing students' access to social and cultural capital, and incorporating students' backgrounds into the classroom.

English (2002) raised a different issue by arguing that as long as achievement tests are inherently biased and associated with SES and elite cultural capital, and schools continue to support them, the American educational gap will remain. Ecclestone (2004) studied the influence of British national outcome-based assessments on students' cultural and social capital. One implication from this scholarship is for educational institutions to understand how assessments can empower or constrain cultural or social capital and how assessments may narrow or inhibit desired or important cultural or social capital.

In contrast to McCollum (1999), who demonstrated how schools unwittingly devalue Mexican American students' Spanish language to assimilate them into speaking English, Gonzalez

and Moll (2002) used existing literature to build a case for the Puente program for incorporating Hispanic and Latino communities' local funds of knowledge into precollege preparation. The Puente model encourages teachers to investigate and validate local cultural and social capital—and thus, student identities—often by exploring and understanding local communities. They suggested that teachers foster community and family involvement (e.g., in the classroom) and construct student identities as researchers and producers rather than only consumers of knowledge. These authors also contended that schools should create relevant study groups as opportunities for teachers to reflect and grow professionally. Ulichny (1996) had previously found that a high school that implemented a multicultural program helped non-English speaking students to perceive school as an inviting place in which they could take risks. However, Ulichny also found the same practice that supported immigrant students threatened African American students, who viewed schooling changes as diminishing their cultural capital.

Other scholars purported to examine "Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness for Undergraduate Programs" (GEAR UP) related programs, which often start in sixth grade, through a cultural and social capital lens (Cabrera et al., 2003). They suggested that GEAR UP enfolds elements of Bourdieu's (1977, 1986) notions of cultural capital in providing systemic approaches to cohorts of students rather than individuals to prepare them for college. GEAR UP, according to these scholars, helps students and their families "learn about, plan for, and prepare for college" (p. 3). However, these scholars failed to delineate the types of cultural capital students may actually be developing as part of GEAR UP beyond vague descriptions. Cabrera and colleagues found GEAR UP students had small, but statistically significant gains in standardized math scores from sixth through eighth grades when compared to non-GEAR UP students but no statistically significant gains in reading. Although these findings provide marginal general evidence for GEAR UP-related school practices in relation to academic achievement, Cabrera and others provided no analysis of specific and concrete GEAR UP practices that impact academic growth, let alone development of cultural capital.

Research also suggests that school principals can utilize understandings of cultural capital in their practice. Spillane, Hallet, and Diamond (2003) interviewed and observed 84 teachers to investigate how various forms of capital influence principal instructional leadership. They argued that principals should recognize that teachers construct and are willing to follow leadership based on cultural, social, human, and economic capital. However, this study did not focus on how principals or teachers can employ cultural capital for students. In an in-depth qualitative study of three school principals committed to equitable student learning and diversity, Kose (2005) found that principals navigated complex tensions between leading professional development for affirming diverse students' backgrounds and professional development for building dominant cultural capital for success in school, the latter of which was not necessarily congruent with their cultural backgrounds.

Postsecondary Organizational Practices

A few studies shed light on utilizing cultural capital frameworks at the postsecondary level. One study (Yonezawa, Jones, & Mehan, 2002), analogous to Spillane and others' (2003) approach to principal leadership, focused on the distribution of cultural and social capital between a university and local schools, but did not explicate cultural capital as it related to student learning.

Tierney and Jun (1999, as cited in Tierney, 1999) conducted a 3-year study that examined existing college preparation programs and especially the Neighborhood Academic Initiative (NAI). Their research suggests that NAI was a successful intervention at the University of Southern California for select low-income diverse students in grades 7 through 12. Tierney (1999) suggested that this success was predicated on three organizational practices: engaging local contexts and parents; affirming local definitions of identity; and creating academic capital through rigorous, rich, relevant, and extensive academic opportunities that are driven by the oft-repeated expectation of a college degree.

Maldonado and colleagues (2005) similarly argued that contemporary social integration and multicultural theories of student retention theory

do not adequately address the academic needs of underrepresented populations of students of color. They concurred with Tierney's (1999) Cultural Identity Model, but questioned the belief that administrators and institutionalized mechanisms will—given the inertia of their norms and bureaucracy—lead to desired multicultural changes. Maldonado and colleagues suggested greater empowerment of students of color. From case studies of SIRPs, the authors suggested three key insights of SIRPs: (a) developing knowledge, skills, and social networks; (b) building community ties and commitments; and (c) challenging social and institutional norms (e.g., challenging racism). They argued for a theoretical framework that is in part grounded in Bourdieu's (1977, 1986) notions of cultural and social capital.

Brown and Davis (2001) reviewed literature on Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and argued in part that they provide important access to and development of social capital. Important HBCU practices that develop social capital include offering culturally relevant experiences that build on students' unique social capital; promoting faculty engagement with students, providing opportunities for campus activities; and preparing students "for participation in a broader society that has been exclusive, indifferent, and hostile" (p. 44).

Finally, Shaw, Valadez, and Rhoads (1999), as well as Aragon (2002; 2004a; 2004b), provided a comprehensive argument for multicultural approaches to community college organizational practices in contrast to monocultural approaches. Looking across all contributors to Shaw and colleagues' volume—consisting of practices to avoid and practices to embrace, including the exemplary practices of Palo Alto College (Trujillo & Diaz, 1999)—these scholars develop a conceptual framework for multicultural organizational "elements." Although only a few chapters explicitly involved cultural capital, their conceptual framework provided elements relevant to cultural capital. These elements include (a) commitments, pedagogy, and curricula that are democratic, critical of the status quo, and student and community centered; (b) a belief that community colleges prepare students for more than work and/or 4-year colleges; (c) the preparation of students as engaged citizens; (d) administrators

and faculty who represent different cultures and recognize multiple cultural identities; and (e) culturally relevant and abundant student services and resources. Although this book does not highlight important differences between and within various student groups (e.g., African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans) and the various chapters reveal a limited understanding of the nature of civic engagement and culturally relevant curricula in contrast to pedagogy, it provides an invaluable and comprehensive understanding of organizational practices that likely build diverse student cultural capital at the community college.

Other Relevant Research and Scholarship on Organizational Practices

Another body of literature that focuses on the intersection of cultural and social capital, students, and parents further implies suggestions for organizational practices. However, this scholarship did not examine organizational practices as the primary area of examination.

In part by using the lens of cultural capital, recent scholarship implies that secondary and postsecondary institutions need to improve their organizational practices to meet the needs of diverse college students. Walpole and colleagues (2005) examined urban Latino and African American high school students' perceptions of standardized college admissions tests (e.g., the SAT). They found that students lacked fundamental information about tests, preparation, and test-taking strategies; relied on uninformed and unavailable school personnel for information; had high stress levels due to the desire for high test scores; and believed the tests were racially biased and an unfair obstacle—all of which they framed as cultural capital. In his description of an unexpected journey to the professorship as a first-generation, economically diverse White student, Hursh (2003) recalled his disconnect and struggles with elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education. Particularly in college, Hursh reflected on the difficulties associated with lack of middle class social and cultural capital or lack of opportunities to develop this capital. As Hursh puts it:

While I might have had the ability to initially succeed in college, my unfamiliarity with

college culture undermined my efforts. I nearly failed my courses that first year. But I learned that success in college depended in part on not what you knew, but how you presented yourself in class. I came to understand that academic and economic success depended on more than merit. During my college years I gained both the cultural background and social capital necessary to enter the middle-class, and at the same time began to critique middle-class culture.

Almost simultaneously with learning how to succeed in college, I began to question whether university success was desirable. I became disillusioned with the university's silence regarding the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement. . . . I was astonished at the lack of students of color in the university. . . . Then and now, one of my central concerns was what appeared to me the increasing difficulty of questioning the status quo and imagining a better world. (pp. 63-64)

Both of these examples imply that educational administrators and instructors need to provide students with systematic opportunities to learn the "rules" of college and school. They also reaffirm that identity influences both educational aspirations and success and thus imply that organizations should provide experiences and teaching relevant to who students are. Hursh (2003) demonstrated another level to cultural capital development—success in college was not only dependent on the painstaking process of equipping himself with cultural capital, it was coupled with a moral question of whether "university success was desirable" and implicitly congruent with his mission to create a more democratic and just world.

Additionally, a large body of literature involving cultural and social capital implies that schools and colleges understand ways in which social and cultural capital can be employed for parental involvement toward positive student outcomes. On one hand, Wells and Serna (1996) implied that schools and administrators learn how elite parents' social and cultural capital actually works against detracking movements (i.e., to include diverse

students in rigorous academic classes). On the other hand, authors recommend rethinking and reengaging parent involvement of diverse students for a number of reasons. In a review of the literature on cultural and social capital, McNeal (1999) noted inconsistent results with parent involvement and positive and negative effects on their children's education. In part, this was because earlier studies failed to examine parental differences in race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status, but also in part because (a) social and cultural capital was often conflated or (b) the form of capital was inadequately or incorrectly operationalized. It is unsurprising then that Smith-Maddox (1999), Yan (2005), Yan and Lin (1999), and Valadez (2002) found parent involvement was correlated with higher academic achievement and educational aspirations for students of color, whereas McNeal (1999) found parent involvement did not impact achievement or lessening of problematic behavior such as truancy for any racial student group, and De Graaf and Kraaykamp (2000) found that cultural capital as participation in "beaux arts" (a narrow definition) had less impact on educational attainment than parents' reading behavior.

McNeal (1999), Lareau and Horvat (1999) and Valadez (2002) found that involvement of higher SES parents of various racial and ethnic backgrounds was more influential on positive student outcomes than involvement from lower SES parents. They found a similar trend with White parental involvement having greater positive influence on their children's educational outcomes than the involvement of parents of color. These authors put forth several explanations for this discrepancy, but most importantly suggested that schools need to be more sensitive and receptive to cultural and socioeconomic differences in parents, especially considering their possible negative prior experiences with school. For example, Lareau and Horvat found that teachers believed they offered "neutral" requests for parental involvement but in practice favored White parents with similar communication styles. In a review of what Latino parents know about college, Tornatzky, Cutler, and Lee (2002) also recommended that schools employ more culturally relevant practices such as providing information about college in Spanish. They maintained that Latino parents and students

require more frequent communication about college as well as additional bilingual counselors and teachers.

It is important to note two schooling organizational practices that surfaced in our literature review that were related to building student cultural capital. The first practice concerns detracking schools so that all students have access to high quality coursework. While Mickelson (2002) reviewed literature demonstrating the detrimental effect of tracking diverse students in schooling, Kose (2005) reviewed literature that demonstrated how school principals can detrack schools to their benefit. Kose found principal leadership in professional development that is directed by teaching students about diversity and social issues is a complex endeavor. School principals should employ a systemic approach to optimize professional learning (e.g., aligning curricula and assessments, scheduling common planning time, creating a culture that values collaboration and diversity). Although each of these organizational practices would be less relevant if building student cultural capital was not central to student learning, they likely provide the organizational structures, culture, and conditions under which this student cultural capital can flourish.

Summary

As a whole, our literature review on cultural capital organizational practices demonstrated that equipping various student groups with cultural capital is a promising but complex and difficult endeavor that warrants further study particularly as it relates to understanding effective secondary and postsecondary practices. Three main reasons contributed to a limited understanding of organizational and teaching practices that build cultural capital for diverse students. In certain instances, scholars used the construct of cultural capital or social capital to examine and critique schools and society without studying how educational institutions build student cultural capital. Other times cultural capital was defined narrowly and thus offered limited corresponding teaching or organizational practices. Finally, with a few exceptions, there simply is a dearth of scholarship that employs cultural and social

capital theory to the study of especially effective organizational and teaching practices *and* links these practices to student cultural capital development.

Operationalized Differences Across and Within Student Groups

We also reviewed empirically-based scholarship to identify the ways in which various student groups were operationalized in combination or in isolation. These investigations of cultural capital predominantly focused on students of color (Brown & Davis, 2001; Deyhle, 1995; Eitle & Eitle, 2002; Gonzalez & Moll, 2002; Louque, 1999; Maldonado et al., 2005; McCollum, 1999; Perna, 2000, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Walpole et al., 2005; Yan, 1999; Yan & Lin, 2005) or combinations of students of color and SES (Horvat & Antonio, 1999; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; McNeal, 1998; Orr, 2003; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999; Smith-Maddox, 1999; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Tierney, 1999; Valadez, 2002). Other relevant cultural capital studies focused primarily on rural students (Singh & Dika, 2003) or students from lower SES backgrounds (Kingston, 2001; Moore, 2004). Although we found no study that focused solely on first-generation students and cultural capital, Strage (1999) and Ulichny (1996) examined the influence of cultural capital for first-generation students and students of color. Hursh (2003) provided an autobiographical account of the cultural capital he found necessary to acquire in his transition through college as a lower SES first-generation student. Several relevant qualitative studies explored various combinations of all three of these factors (race and ethnicity, first generation, and class) with community college cultural capital (Shaw, Valadez, & Rhoads, 1999).

A common theme across this literature review is that group differences matter for how cultural capital is interpreted, negotiated, and employed. These differences for diverse students were largely captured in the review of cultural capital and organizational practices sections of this chapter. However, as previously noted, cultural capital has been defined in vastly different ways. Consequently, the literature base lacks a comprehensive and robust understanding of cultural capital similarities and differences across different student groups. In other words, although the literature has identified

important differences and similarities in cultural capital for different student groups, these differences concern dissimilar constructs, not to mention entirely different outcomes (e.g., homework, course selection, attitude toward school, test-taking knowledge and skills, academic achievement). This absence of a comprehensive understanding provides little guidance for secondary and postsecondary institutions seeking to respond to the likely nuanced cultural capital needs of diverse student groups.

Student Transition From Secondary to Postsecondary Education

With few exceptions, the reviewed literature on cultural capital examined secondary or postsecondary sites independently without tracing student experiences and development across both contexts (as a reminder, cultural capital had many different meanings). At the secondary level, a limited number of scholars have examined precollege cultural capital for diverse high school students (Gonzalez & Moll, 2002; Walpole et al., 2005), while others have focused on cultural capital for diverse students in school without connecting it to college (Eitle & Eitle, 2002; Horvat & Antonio, 1999; Orr, 2003; McCollum, 1999; McNeal, 1998; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999; Simpson, 2001; Smith-Maddox, 1999; Ulichny, 1996; Yan, 1999; Yan & Lin, 2005). At the postsecondary level, a number of studies have examined various conceptions of cultural capital for diverse students but did not study their transition from high school (Brown & Davis, 2001; Hu & St. John, 2001; Louque, 1999; Maldonado et al., 2005; Perna, 2004; Shaw et al., 1999).

Other scholars recounted secondary to postsecondary transition and cultural capital experiences later as an adult (Hursh, 2003) or asked undergraduate students to reflect on their journey from high school to college (Russel & Atwater, 2005). Tierney (1999) provided a longitudinal investigation of the Neighborhood Academic Initiative—a precollege program that annually targets approximately 40 low-income urban diverse students from grades 7 through 12—in part by using cultural capital as a means to examine these students' accounts of their transition from secondary

to postsecondary education. Certainly, this review of the literature supports the contention that more longitudinal research is needed to understand how cultural capital influences this transition from high school to college (Ecclestone, 2004) and how secondary and postsecondary institutions can help build the cultural capital that matters.

Future Research

Our literature review suggests future research should expand ways in which cultural capital can be employed to increase diverse students' opportunities and success in college. An important area for future research concerns the development of a more nuanced and integrated conceptualization of cultural capital necessary for various diverse students situated in different educational contexts. McNeal (1999) suggested that researchers better operationalize and frame social capital's "form" (typically meaning cultural capital) to understand how it operates (e.g., in organizations, teaching, or parental involvement) to influence student achievement or other outcomes. Trueba (2002) stated, "Research on new cultural capital must be focused on human action. . . . We must reject the idea of breaking human actions into more basic components, and examine larger action units in their entirety" (p. 21). We agree in principle with this latter contention, but also see the value of eventual quantitative studies that examine the impact of cultural capital components on student development outcomes.

Our literature review and scholars also suggest further research is needed on organizational practices that develop student cultural capital. Tornatzky, Cutler, and Lee (2002), for instance, suggested the strong need for "best practices" research for high schools and colleges to "uncover demonstrably effective approaches to addressing the issues of increasing college knowledge and Latino college matriculation" (p. 23). Tierney (1999) and Maldonado and colleagues (2005) implied the need to study more systemic approaches to organizational practices beyond programs that influence *the entire organization* and *all students*, not just programs that hand-select already motivated diverse students. From a qualitative perspective Shaw, Valadez, and Rhoads (1999) have provided a

strong starting point for bridging this literature gap at the community college level, but more research is needed to confirm that these practices make a difference to diverse community college students. Additional qualitative and quantitative bridges also need to be built to understand organizational practices that serve and impact various diverse students' cultural capital within different secondary and postsecondary contexts (e.g., what are the similarities and differences of the practices of 4-year colleges and community colleges).

This research review suggests that a better understanding is needed of how organizations can address the often unresolved and implicit tension between two directions of student development. On one hand, it appears that organizations should equip diverse students with the "dominant" cultural tools necessary to navigate postsecondary education. On the other hand, organizations should, in the least, affirm the cultural capital students bring to educational settings. The reviewed literature additionally indicates that more research is needed to understand organizational practices that equip students with the knowledge, skills, and dispositions to detect, grapple with, and confront cultural or institutionalized forms of racism or other discrimination and subsequently how this development impacts their success in postsecondary education. It is one thing to counter traditional marginalizing practices by embracing student identity; it is another to prepare students to face institutionalized forms of oppression they will likely face in the future.

The Cultural Capital Conceptual Framework

To help researchers and practitioners understand and address the limitations of the current literature, we created a cultural capital framework (see Figure 1). This model suggests several areas of study for research and practice. The central area of focus concerns the student cultural capital that is necessary for diverse students to succeed in postsecondary education. We adopted and built upon the six-component conceptual framework of cultural capital established by Yosso (2005)—aspirational, familial, social, navigational, resistant, and linguistic capital—as a starting point for this

area for two primary reasons. First, this model builds on student backgrounds and strengths, thereby avoiding cultural deprivation practices that mitigate against diverse student educational success (e.g., Mickelson, 2003). Second, although this model may overemphasize the cultural capital that students develop outside of education, it offers six distinct forms of capital that cast a wide net for developing a comprehensive understanding of the nuances of this student development. In line with the previously reviewed literature, we add citizenship capital as a seventh component to our model. Each of these forms of capital build upon one another as opposed to remaining mutually exclusive. Each component is described next.

The Forms of Capital

Aspirational capital “refers to the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers” (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). Those with this form of resiliency are capable of dreaming of possibilities beyond their present circumstances

even without specific means of attaining those goals. Huffman (2001) studied this construct in the form of commitment and endurance while studying American Indian students in a predominantly White university, finding that they were able to overcome acute alienation and, in general, experience successful college careers as a result of keeping a focus on their goals. Tierney (1999), in examining models of minority college retention, described this resiliency as a willingness to learn.

Linguistic capital “includes the intellectual and social skills attained through communication experiences in more than one language and/or style” (Yosso, 2005, p. 78). Linguistic capital acknowledges the idea that students of color have multiple language and communication skills. This form of capital also refers to the ability to communicate through visual art, music, or poetry. Other forms of linguistic capital include the ability to code-switch, use discourse common to the school setting, and speak up in class (White, 2005).

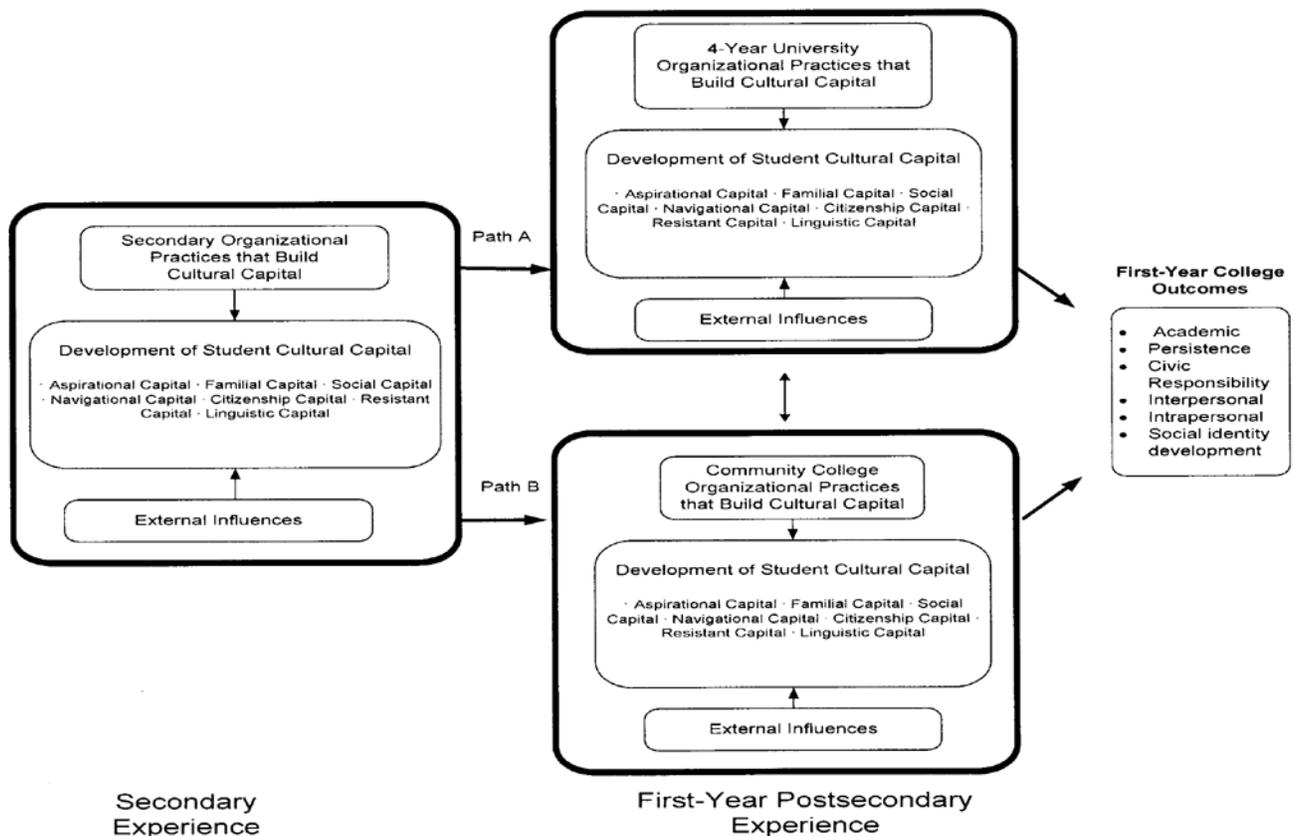


Figure 1. Conceptual framework of cultural capital impact on first-year college outcomes.

Familial capital “refers to those cultural knowledges nurtured among *familia* (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory, and cultural intuition” (Yosso, 2005, p. 79). Familial capital may be developed through extended family (living or deceased) and friends who would be considered part of our families. Yosso also stated that this capital can be facilitated through the participation in sports, school, religious gatherings, and other social community settings. Familial capital has been the focus of much research within the context of social capital. Findings have revealed positive relationships between familial capital and the development of social capital. Stanton-Salazar and Spina (2003) operationalized familial capital as older siblings, extended family members, and family friends when they studied the development of social capital for urban Mexican-origin adolescents. Eitle and Eitle (2002) studied the development of social capital in secondary Black and White male students who participated in football and basketball. The influence of parental networks (Horvat et al., 2003; Maldonado et al., 2005; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003) and parental involvement (McNeil, 1999; Perna, 2004; Perna & Titus, 2005; Smith-Maddox, 1999; Valadez, 2002; Yan, 1999; Yan & Lin, 2005) has been the focus of much research within this construct.

Social capital includes the network of people and community resources that provide instrumental and emotional support to navigate through society’s institutions (Yosso, 2005). As noted in an earlier section, social capital has been the predominant perspective from which cultural capital has been operationalized. Furthermore, social capital has in general been found to have a positive influence on educational outcomes (Dika & Singh, 2002). Antonio (2004) found that friendship groups positively influence intellectual self-confidence and educational aspirations in college for White students and students of color. Peer networks were found by Datnow and Cooper (1997) to affirm academic success and racial identity for African American students in predominantly White elite secondary schools. Singh and Dika (2003) examined the relationship of social networks (e.g., parents, teachers, coaches, work supervisors, neighbors, or clergy) for rural high school adolescents and how these related to educational and psychological

outcomes. Results revealed that academic and emotional support provided by network members explained a moderate amount of variance in educational outcomes. In research conducted by Stanton-Salazar and Spina (2003), urban, low-income immigrant Latino youth experienced empowering influence from adult, non-family informal mentors, and role models.

Navigational capital “refers to skills of maneuvering through social institutions” (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). For the purposes of this model, navigational capital focuses on the technical aspects of successfully moving through the university system. From Bourdieu’s (1986) perspective, this would include learning specific rules of how college works, including how to apply for financial aid, where and how to purchase books, and how to register for classes. However, navigational capital also includes knowing the options for the technical rules (e.g., cheaper places to buy books, different options for financial aid) and knowing different resources for getting information.

Resistant capital “refers [to] those knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality” (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). Examples of resistant capital can include affirming one’s self and background and recognizing and persevering through both individual and institutional discrimination. Individuals with high levels of resistant capital avoid falling victim to stereotypes based on what others say about them. Furthermore, they will assert behaviors that work against the negative stereotypes. These individuals will recognize obstacles to academic success and persevere because they are motivated to succeed. They may also use role modeling as a means of resistant capital.

Citizenship capital refers to the knowledge, skills, dispositions, and experiences that help develop citizenship capacity as viewed through Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004) model of personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented citizenship. They call attention to “the spectrum of ideas about what good citizenship is and what good citizens do that are embodied by democratic education programs nationwide” (p. 237). An adoption of this model suggests that students learn to act responsibly in their community (i.e., personally-

responsible citizenship); are active members of community organizations and improvement efforts (participatory citizenship), and critically assess social, political, and economic structures to see beyond surface causes (justice-oriented citizenship). Other scholars (Banks, 1997; Marri, 2005; Parker, 2003) have also spoken broadly to the importance of critical and diverse educational approaches to citizenship. Cornel West (2004) argued convincingly that traditionally disaffected youth have been positioned to ignore their connection to community and society, but reengage when given the opportunity to play a positive role in a story larger than themselves. Previously cited research provides evidence that citizenship capital may be an important component of cultural capital for diverse student success in educational contexts (Brayboy, 2005; Louque, 1999; Maldonado et al., 2005; Shaw et al., 1999).

Contexts and Pathways for Cultural Capital Development

Our model examines the cultural capital that diverse students develop during their secondary education through their first year of postsecondary education. According to the theory, there are multiple ways through which students develop cultural capital. As indicated in Figure 1, these include high school, community college, and 4-year university settings as well as external activities and experiences. External influences include, but are not limited to, family, peer, media, churches, and other organizations. Our model emphasizes two direct pathways from high school to postsecondary education. Pathway A traces students from high school to a 4-year university. Pathway B follows students' transition from high school to a community college. While this model focuses on these two pathways through the first year of postsecondary experience, we understand that other pathways are becoming the norm (e.g., reverse transfer) and this model lends itself to study beyond the first year of postsecondary experience. This potential exploration is signified by the arrow between community college and 4-year university contexts. A more detailed discussion of how the various components of the model interact to influence student outcomes will be addressed in a later section.

Organizational Practices

The model recognizes that one of the important influences on the development of cultural capital is the educational institution. As with any organization, secondary and postsecondary institutions have missions, values, beliefs, assumptions, policies, programs, training, and curricula that influence practice. These reside in both artifacts and organizational personnel including faculty and administration. The model recognizes the need to understand how these various elements work together to influence the development of cultural capital. A critical organizational practice involves understanding and negotiating the potential tension between affirming the funds of knowledge and identities that diverse students bring to education and bridging their gaps in college cultural capital for their postsecondary success.

Student Outcomes

Two outcomes frequently used to measure success in higher education are persistence and academic performance, as measured by GPA. In addition to these important and straightforward measures, other less tangible outcomes seem logically connected to the proposed seven-component framework and worthy of exploration. Although we consulted other literature to help initiate the development of these constructs, as the study of our model progresses we will investigate ways in which to operationalize and measure these constructs while remaining open to other important outcomes.

Persistence. This outcome is measured by institutional data indicating whether students enroll in classes for the second academic year of postsecondary education (Berger & Milem, 1999; U.S. Department of Education, 2006). Persistence research in higher education more commonly focuses on this year-to-year persistence than within-year persistence (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1980b, 1991; St. John, Hu, Simmons, & Musoba, 2000).

Academic. This outcome is measured as GPA and the number of earned credits at the end of the first year of postsecondary education. GPA is a common means of assessing postsecondary academic achievement in general (DeBerard, Spielmans, & Julka, 2004; Woosley, 2005; Zajacova, Lynch, &

Espenshade, 2005) and for diverse students (Filipp, 2004; St. John et al., 2000). The accumulation of earned credit hours is an important indicator of students' momentum toward degree completion (U.S. Department of Education, 2006).

Civic responsibility. This outcome refers to the continuing development of a value system committed to understanding and addressing social issues of the university, community, nation, and world. Civic responsibility includes a commitment to learning about the complexity and multiple perspectives of social issues, the ability and willingness to speak out against individual and institutionalized forms of discrimination at school and at work, and the belief that an important aspect of one's future life is to understand and address social issues in personal, professional, and political contexts (Banks, 1997; Maldonado et al., 2005; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Interpersonal development. This outcome includes, but it is not limited to, selecting beneficial social networks; avoiding negative social networks; empathy (i.e., awareness of others' feelings, needs, and concerns; Goleman, 1995); and working effectively with groups in general and with groups different from one's identity or background.

Intrapersonal development. This outcome includes, but is not limited to, self-efficacy, self-awareness of one's larger goals, perseverance, self-monitoring, distinguishing between short- and long-term consequences, and self-affirmation in general (Goleman, 1995).

Social identity development. This outcome is measured through awareness and affirmation of one's own and others' multiple social identities (e.g., race and ethnicity, socioeconomic background, gender, etc.). Social identity development also entails self-advocacy (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 1997).

Fitting the Components Together

As shown in Figure 1, we believe that the seven types of student cultural capital influence each of the six postsecondary outcomes. Although the forms of cultural capital have distinguishing characteristics, they likely develop and work together. For example, opportunities to understand and improve

community and social issues (citizenship capital) may lead to new social networks and groups of friends (social capital) or motivate visions and goals for relevant career ambitions (aspirational capital). Ideally, each form of cultural capital plays an integral role in the holistic system of student development toward desired outcomes. As these types of cultural capital develop, student college outcomes improve (e.g., civic responsibility, persistence, and social identity development).

As displayed in the model, high schools, community colleges, and 4-year universities employ organizational practices that cultivate the development of cultural capital. This model assumes increased college cultural capital during high school leads to greater success in postsecondary education. Similarly, the model assumes additional college cultural capital develops during the first year of postsecondary education, which in turn improves student outcomes. As mentioned, our model also assumes that students develop cultural capital in contexts external to educational settings, which may further students' success in college. Therefore, the model suggests that strengthened and coordinated cultural capital efforts across these different contexts increase the likelihood of diverse student collegiate success. For example, partnerships between schools, communities, and community colleges or universities will help optimize students' opportunities to build college cultural capital. The implications section that follows will delineate needs assessment areas for secondary and postsecondary faculty and administration.

Implications

Although it is premature to provide prescriptive recommendations and specific strategies for employing this model in practice, this model can help practitioners and researchers identify current and future needs and decisions. We offer various areas of needs assessment for faculty, administrators, and researchers based on our model and review of literature.

Implications for Faculty

Our model and the reviewed literature imply at least three areas of needs assessment for secondary

and postsecondary faculty who teach students. The first needs assessment area concerns teaching or instructional methods. It should be apparent by this point that faculty should examine the extent to which they know their students' complex, diverse identities and affirm them in the classroom. Additionally, faculty should determine which forms of capital their students need most, which forms they regularly develop in the classroom, and which ones remain underdeveloped. Second, and similarly, faculty should assess the extent to which their curricula, activities, and assessments are culturally relevant and provide opportunities for diverse students to develop the seven forms of cultural capital. Finally, faculty should analyze their own professional development needs. These include surfacing and reflecting upon expectations, beliefs, and assumptions about diverse students' needs and capacities; studying desired areas of cultural capital and their interrelationships through literature, workshops, or conferences; and establishing a network of colleagues to enhance cultural capital practices.

Implications for Administrators

As with faculty, secondary and postsecondary administrators should consider the extent to which relevant administrative areas directly or indirectly foster the affirming development of college cultural capital for their diverse students. While postsecondary administrators will likely concentrate on the cultural capital development necessary for their institutional context, secondary administrators should consider the cultural capital required for various postsecondary institutions that appeal to their students.

Four needs assessment areas serve as a starting point for administrators. Secondary and postsecondary administrators should consider the extent to which their organization's and organizational members' mission, values, beliefs, assumptions, and practices align with the affirming cultural capital development of diverse students. Second, administrators should assess the degree to which programming and service areas such as courses, counseling, student services, and orientation explicitly facilitate the development of cultural capital and are accessible and inclusive

for diverse students. Third, administrators should examine the strength of educational, business, community, and parent partnerships, particularly as they influence opportunities for cultural capital development. Finally, administrators should appraise hiring practices and professional development opportunities and procedures. For example, to what extent are interviewees expected to articulate strategies for developing diverse students' college cultural capital? What institutional professional development opportunities and communities intersect with this expertise development?

Implications for Researchers

Several areas of future research are implied from our model and literature review. First, a more comprehensive understanding of cultural capital is needed for diverse students. Although our model anticipates seven forms of capital, researchers might examine their nuanced development, interrelationships, and limitations. Other forms of capital may emerge from this research. Second, investigators might examine how cultural capital varies within and between different student groups. Third, researchers could study how cultural capital changes according to different educational contexts and develops in students across time. Fourth, studies might examine organizational practices that influence cultural capital development. Finally, cultural capital's impact on student outcomes could be determined.

We believe this model of cultural capital development for diverse students offers a promising starting point for future practitioners and researchers to explore and investigate. We hope such actions will help to address the issues of high attrition and low graduation rates for diverse students and foster their holistic success in postsecondary education.

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Diverse Behaviors, Diverse Results: A Motivation-Based Model for Students’ Academic Outcomes

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Many developmental education students earn high school grade point averages above 3.0 and enter college exceedingly confident of their academic abilities. Some of these students are ready for college, but others are underprepared and must overcome obstacles with a variety of motivation-based behaviors. Many students’ overconfidence is associated with a variety of poor academic behaviors that result in poor grades. Most students who earn poor grades do not change their academic behaviors, and continue to earn poor grades. This chapter presents a model that unifies these and other experimental data while making predictions that explain a variety of diverse results.

Students enter our classrooms with diverse ethnic, socioeconomic, and academic backgrounds. This diversity often enriches our classrooms while simultaneously presenting instructors with many challenges. Increasing numbers of researchers are incorporating this diversity into their models for educational success. Indeed, researchers have proposed a variety of models to account for the academic outcomes of college students, including models based on personality and aptitude (Baird, 1984), stress and social class (Barney, Fredericks, & Fredericks, 1984), and self-esteem and critical thinking (Bassarear, 1991; Berenson, Best, Stiff, & Waskik, 1990). Although each of these models has been informative, it is difficult to show a causal relationship with any one of these factors. Moreover, there are always exceptions, and no model can account for all outcomes. Nevertheless, models can be tested and, based on the results, refined. These refinements can help us better serve our students.

Few studies have addressed one of the most important and most obvious sources of diversity in our classrooms—namely, students’ diverse levels of academic motivation. This diversity spans virtually all other distinctions among students, including their differing ethnic, academic, and socioeconomic differences. In this chapter I present a motivation-based model to account for the diverse academic outcomes of developmental education students. The model focuses on students’ academic motivation, which is their motivation toward performance goals (e.g., high grades, praise, outperforming other students) or learning goals (e.g., improving oneself, learning for learning’s sake; Cavallo, Rozman, Blickenstaff, & Walker, 2004). Motivation is important because it affects students’ willingness to approach academic tasks, invest the required time and effort, and maintain enough effort to complete academic tasks on schedule (Ray, Garavalia, & Murdock, 2003). Although academic motivation can be defined and expressed in many ways, a strong indicator of academic motivation is students’ attendance at, and participation in, their classes (Bridgeland, Dilulio,

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& Morison, 2006; Karabenick & Knapp, 1988; Rumberger, 2001). For example, attending class and submitting assignments require a consistent and ongoing effort that is directly related to the students' academic success. The model presented here also encompasses the role of students' prior experiences while focusing on students' motivation-based behaviors such as attending class, doing assigned work, and participating in class-related activities as predictive measures of students' academic success.

Like all models for human behaviors, the model presented here has limitations and does not account for all academic outcomes. For example, the model does not include factors such as students' ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or eating habits, nor does it include factors such as military obligations that can sometimes cause students to leave college for reasons unrelated to their academic motivation. Also, like all models, the model presented here oversimplifies some aspects of students' behaviors. Nevertheless, the model is testable and predictive, and provides insights for how instructors and learning assistance professionals can improve the academic performances and fates of many college students.

A Motivation-Based Model for the Academic Fates of Developmental Education Students

Figure 1 presents a motivation-based model to account for the diverse academic outcomes of many college students. Subsequent sections of this chapter describe the evidence supporting the major tenets of the model, as well as the model's explanatory powers. The model begins with high school and the academic experiences that developmental education students have there.

High Schools Claim to Prepare Students for Success in College

An important goal of most high schools is to prepare students for the possibility of college. This goal is often mandated by state educational agencies. For example, to graduate from high school, students must pass a diverse array of courses and assessment examinations, all of which are meant to ensure that students are ready for college.

Many of Today's Students Graduate From High School With High Grades

The high school average grade point average (GPA) of many developmental education students who enroll in college exceeds 3.0. For example, developmental education students enrolled at the University of Minnesota had an average ACT composite score of 20, an average high school rank of 57%, an average age of 20, and a gender distribution of 17% African American, 2% American Indian, 16% Asian American, 4% Chicano/Latina, 58% Caucasian, and 3% Other. These students had an average GPA in high school of 3.3 + 0.2 (N = 1837; Moore, 2006a). In many high school courses, such as biology and math, more than 90% of these students earned As or Bs, fewer than 10% earned Cs, and not one of the 1837 students I surveyed earned a D or F (Moore). On average, these students had an A- to B+ average in high school, which is near what would be considered an "honors level" performance. In fact, many developmental education students *were* honors students in high school (Rutti, 2000). At some high schools, more than half of all students are honors students (Rutti), and some states award diplomas to students who have repeatedly failed state exit exams (Olson, 2006c).

These high grades are due partly to grade inflation, which is an increase in students' grades without an accompanying increase in their academic achievement (Rutti, 2000; Wankat & Lovell, 2002). For example, (a) 48% of college-bound high school students have an A average, up from 28% 15 years ago (Schouten, 2003); (b) an A- average ranks a student in the middle of his or her class, and (c) at universities such as UCLA, almost half of the applicants have GPAs greater than or equal to 4.0 (Pope, 2006). However, many experts also attribute this problem to high schools the low standards of which have "institutionalized low performance" (Barrett, 2005, p. 13A; Diament, 2005; Hoover, 2004; Toppo, 2005a, 2005b). For instance, today's high school students have the highest grades on record, despite these students' declining test scores (Draper & Walsh, 2006; Marklein, 2006c) and the fact that they have studied less than any previous generation of students (Henry, 2001; Young, 2002). Even students who drop out of high school usually have relatively high grades; although they have

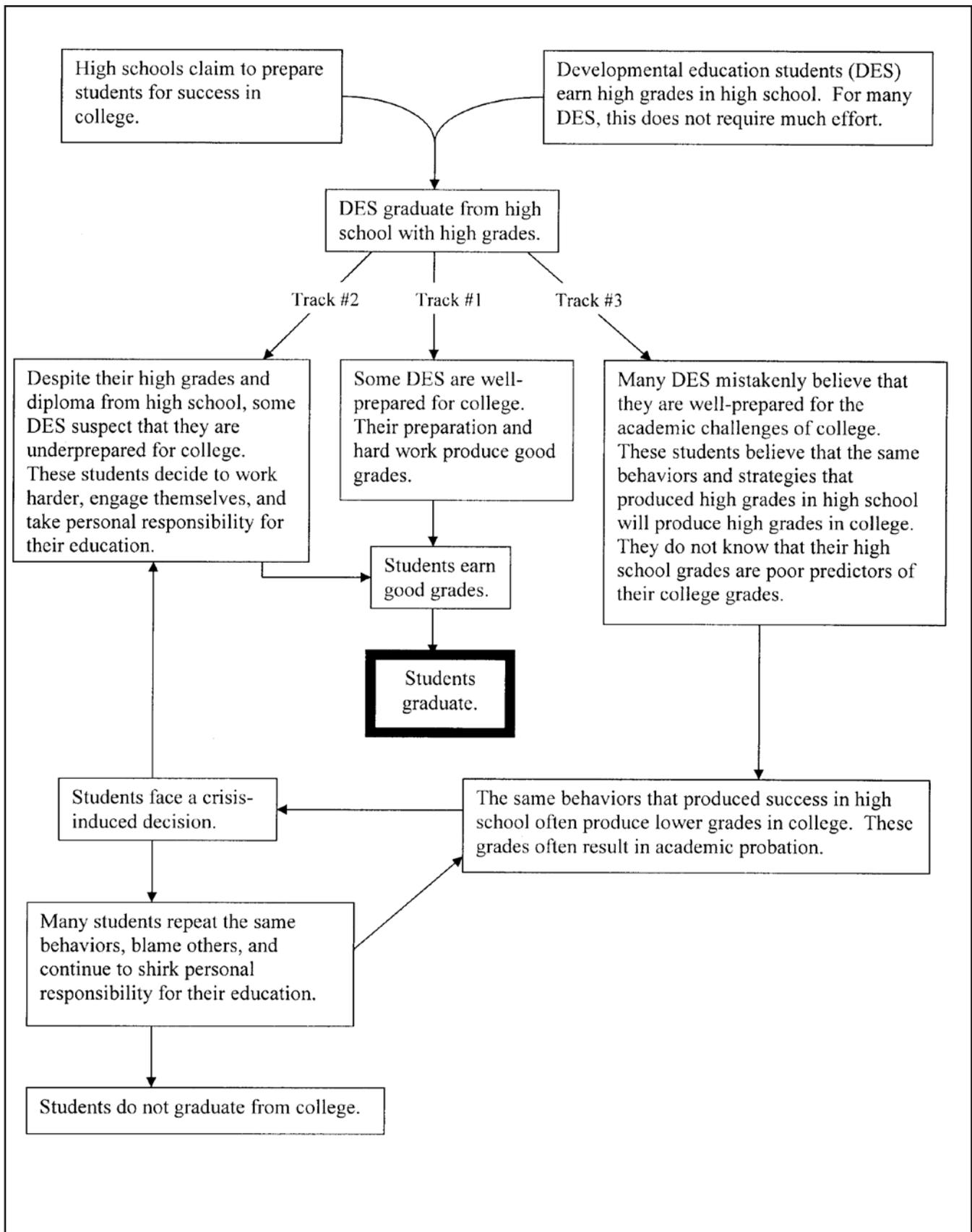


Figure 1. A motivation-based model for the academic outcomes of developmental education students.

missed most of their classes and have not engaged themselves in their education, almost 90% of high school dropouts had passing grades when they quit school, and more than 60% had better than a C average (Bridgeland, Dilulio, & Morison, 2006; Hoff, 2006). Clearly, the academic behaviors that help ensure failure in college (i.e., high rates of absenteeism and academic disengagement) seldom produce low grades—much less failing grades—in high school.

Many College Students Did Not Have to Work Hard in High School

Almost half of developmental education students at the University of Minnesota report that they studied less than 1 hour per night in high school (Jensen & Moore, in press). These poor study habits, which have been noted in several other studies (Henry, 2001; Toppo, 2004; Young, 2002), produced an average GPA above 3.0 and were enough for students to pass the myriad required courses and assessment tests that states claim ensure that students are ready for college. Students have done this with relative ease; in a recent study, only 34% of developmental education students claimed that their high school classes were challenging (Jensen & Moore).

When developmental education students arrive at college, their academic futures diverge as they follow one of the three tracks depicted in Figure 1. Tracks 1 and 2 produce successful students, albeit in different ways, whereas Track 3 produces the most common outcome for developmental students—namely, that they do not graduate from college.

Track #1: Some Students Are Well Prepared for College, Work Hard, and Earn Good Grades

Many developmental education students do well in college; they earn high—or at least satisfactory—grades. How can we identify these students? Such students are not likely to be identified by admission tests; indeed, developmental education students' ACT scores are poor predictors of college success (Britton & Tesser, 1991; Meeker, Fox, & Whitley, 1994; Moore & Jensen, 2006; Ray, Garavalia, & Murdock, 2003; Wolfe & Johnson, 1995). This is because the academic problems encountered by

developmental education students often result from motivational rather than cognitive deficiencies (Langley, Wambach, Brothen, & Madyun, 2004; Moore, 2004a, 2004b; Resnick & Klopfer, 1989; Ray, Garavalia, & Murdock, 2003).

One factor that often distinguishes successful students is the academic rigor of the high school from which they graduated (Cohen, 2006; Rumberger, 2001). Students who graduate from high schools having high academic standards have a decided advantage in college, for the rigor and “academic intensity” of high school courses are the most important pre-college factors associated with collegiate success (Hoover, 2006, p. A37). Schools having low standards—Balfanz and Legters (2006) have referred to them as “dropout factories” (p. 41)—put their students at a distinct disadvantage in college. These schools' low standards are not the result of students' refusal to do the required work; two-thirds of dropouts claim that they would have worked harder if more had been asked of them (Bridgeland, Dilulio, & Morison, 2006; Olson, 2006a, 2006b; Toppo, 2006). As some dropouts noted in a recent study (Gewertz, 2006), “they just let you pass” (p. 14).

Rigorous high schools prepare students for collegiate success by instilling the academic skills, attitudes, and behaviors that produce success (Boylan, Bonham, & White, 1999; Cohen, 2006). Indeed, what distinguishes the most successful students is not their ACT or SAT scores, but their academic motivation, which is expressed in their academic behaviors (Bandura, 1986; Côté & Levine, 2000; Ley & Young, 1998; Lindner & Harris, 1998; Pintrich & DeGroot, 1990; VanZile-Tamsen & Livingston, 1999). Students *choose* to attend class, do homework, and engage themselves in their education, all of which are strongly associated with academic success. For example, several studies have reported a strong correlation—especially for developmental education students—of class attendance rates and GPA (Launius, 1997; Moore, 2004a; Romer, 1993; Wiley, 1992). This explains why developmental education students who earn high grades and graduate from college are significantly more likely to attend more classes (Launius; Thomas & Higbee, 2000; Wiley), attend more help sessions (Moore, 2004b), and take advantage of more course-related learning opportunities (Moore, 2005b) than

do developmental education students who earn poor grades and who do not graduate from college (Brocato, 1989; Hollister, 1993; Jones, 1984; Lamdin, 1996; Launius; Moore, 2003; Moore & Jensen, 2006; Romer; Snell, Mekies, & Tesar, 1995; White, 1992; Wiley). Apathy and academic disengagement hurt all students, but are especially damaging to developmental education students (Boylan, Bonham, & White; Moore & Jensen).

Developmental education students motivated enough to take control of and engage themselves in their educations usually do well in college. These students are our success stories. However, these students are relatively rare, for only about one-third of developmental education students who enroll in college graduate from that college (Boylan, Bonham, & White, 1999; Moore, Jensen, & Hatch, 2002).

Track #2: Despite High Grades in High School, Some Students Are Under Prepared for College

Approximately 20% of developmental education students at the University of Minnesota suspect that they are underprepared for college (Jensen & Moore, in press). Although some of these students compound the problem with poor academic behaviors, others implement the many academic behaviors that are strongly correlated with academic success; for example, they attend virtually every class, meet regularly with their academic advisors, attend every help session, and take advantage of every opportunity to improve their grades (Moore & Jensen, 2006). Despite their diverse educational histories and admission scores, these students' high levels of academic motivation, as expressed by their academic behaviors, enable them to earn high or adequate grades, and often to graduate from college. These students, too, are our success stories. However, many other developmental education students exhibit decidedly different academic behaviors and, not surprisingly, different outcomes.

Track #3: Many Students Assume That They Will Continue To Get High Grades in College

These students, like the students described for tracks 1 and 2, earned high grades in high school, and predict that their grades in college will be

even higher. For example, first-year developmental education students at the University of Minnesota had high school GPAs of 3.3 and predicted that, on average, they would earn college GPAs of 3.5 (Jensen & Moore, in press). Similarly, 96% of these students believed that they would graduate within 5 years, and 81% believed that their high school experience prepared them well for the academic challenges of college (Jensen & Moore).

Clearly, most students are exceedingly confident about their academic futures at college. In one sense, they *should* be; after all, they earned high grades in high school and passed all of the tests that are meant to assess their readiness for college. These students have no way of knowing that they are underprepared for college. They have never been told that that many of their regular courses in high school were actually remedial courses (Welsh, 2006b). They have never seen, been told, or been shown that their academic behaviors are inadequate, and that they are at-risk for failure in college. But they are. For example, (a) only one-third of 18-year-olds are even minimally prepared for college (Schouten, 2003); (b) in some states, nearly one-third of high school graduates awarded college scholarships have to take remedial courses when they start college (Wasley, 2006); (c) many students with high school GPAs above 3.5 end up taking remedial courses in college (Rutti, 2000; Schouten); (d) more than 30% of college-goers in some states (e.g., Minnesota) take at least one remedial course; and (e) more than half of students in some states who earn academic scholarships lose their scholarships after their first year of college because of poor grades (ACT scores reveal much, 2006; Pope, 2006; Schouten). Similarly, and despite their lofty high school grades, most college-bound students have poor reading skills (Manzo, 2006; Marklein, 2006b), and only half of students who take the ACT meet the ACT's college-readiness benchmark in reading and other subjects (Ferguson, 2006). In all 50 states and the District of Columbia, students can earn a high school diploma without acquiring the knowledge and skills needed for success in college (Honawar, 2005). Even students who have taken Advanced Placement (AP) courses are often unprepared for college, often because these courses have been watered down (Marklein, 2006a; Viadero, 2006a).

Several educators have expressed concerns about high schools' use of inflated grades as a means of "protection and encouragement of self-esteem" (Pope, 2006, p. 1). Similarly, other researchers have claimed that the use of inflated grades to pacify parents and convince all high school students that they are ready for college often hurts students (Schouten, 2003). As noted by Tom Loveless (Viadero, 2006c), director of the Brown Center on Education Policy, "Our national obsession with student happiness over academic content may, in fact, be hurting" students (p. 7). Northwestern University professor James Rosenbaum described the situation as "killing students with kindness. It's giving them excessively high goals without any fallback options" (Olson, 2005, p. 18). The extent of the problem is often surprising; at some high schools more than half of graduates are honors students, and there are often 40 or more valedictorians (Pope, 2006).

Many unprepared students come from high schools having academic standards so low as to greatly diminish the value of a high school diploma. As Cohen (2006) has noted, the "American high school diploma has lost its currency" (p. 28). Indeed, today's entering freshmen have spent less time studying than any previous entering class, yet they have higher grades than any previous class (Marklein, 2006b; Young, 2002). This lack of studying has important consequences because academic behaviors such as studying and completing homework assignments improve not just the mastery of the information at hand, but also encourage learning during leisure time, improve study habits and skills, and enhance students' abilities to manage time, solve problems, and exert self-discipline, all of which are important for academic success in college (Alleman & Brophy, 1991; Corno, 1994; Corno & Xu, 1998; Johnson & Pontius, 1989; Warton, 2001; Zimmerman, Bonner, & Kovach, 1996). This has prompted Ohio governor Bob Taft, co-chair of the Achieve study, to conclude that "there is a huge gap between the skills and knowledge required for success in college and the work force, and the skills and knowledge of most of our high school graduates" (Cohen, p. 28). Cynthia Schmeiser, ACT's Vice President for Development, summarized the situation this way: "American high school students are not ready for college" (Cavanagh, 2004, p. 5).

Much data support Taft's and Schmeiser's claims: On average, only about one-third of developmental education students who enter college graduate from that college (Boylan, Bonham, & Bliss, 1994). At the University of Minnesota, only 8% of developmental education students who enter the University graduate within 4 years, and only 33% graduate within 6 years. For comparison, 38% of traditional students graduate within 4 years, and 63% graduate within 6 years. Clearly, and despite their confidence and high high-school grades, developmental education students are highly at-risk for failure in college (Marklein, 2006b; Olson, 2006c, 2006d). These data are consistent with the recent finding that the most confident students are seldom those who have the highest levels of academic success (Viadero, 2006c).

Behaviors That Produce Success in High School Often Produce Lower Grades in College

Many students do not know that succeeding in college is not the same as succeeding in high school. College is more difficult than high school, especially for developmental education students (Feller, 2005). Nevertheless, when students enroll in college, they often assume that the same effort that produced their high grades in high school will produce similarly high grades in college (Toppo, 2005a, 2005b; Young, 2002). This seldom happens. For example, at the University of Minnesota, developmental education students' GPAs in high school average 3.3, but their first-year GPAs in college average only 2.7 (Jensen & Moore, in press). Approximately 20% of developmental education students at the University of Minnesota earn first-semester GPAs less than 2.0, are placed on academic probation, and are warned that they will be expelled from the university if their overall GPA does not reach 2.0 after the next semester (Moore, 2005b). At the University of Minnesota, only 7% of developmental education students who withdraw between their first and second semesters do so for reasons unrelated to their grades (Moore, 2006a, 2006b).

Developmental education students who are placed on academic probation after their first semester of college are not identifiable by their ACT scores or differences in gender or ethnicity

(Adelman, 2006), but instead by low levels of academic motivation, which is expressed by the students' academic behaviors. For example, students on academic probation miss many classes and seldom participate in course-related activities (Boylan, Bonham, & White, 1999; Moore, 2006a, 2006b; Moore & Jensen, 2006). Students recognize the problem; most dropouts cite a lack of motivation—and not low grades—as a primary reason for quitting school, be it high school (Bridgeland, Dilulio, & Morison, 2006; Gewertz, 2006; Olson, 2006a, 2006b) or college (Hatfield, 2003). This strong association of students' academic motivation with their academic success recently prompted Welsh (2006a) to conclude that "Politicians and education bureaucrats can talk all they want about reform, but until the work ethic of U.S. students changes, until they are willing to put in the time and effort to master the subjects, little will change" (p. 11A).

Students on Probation Must Improve Their Grades to Avoid Expulsion

Many of the students placed on academic probation experience an academic "culture shock." After all, most of them have never earned a grade lower than a B, yet now their average grade is a C or below. Some of these students realize that they are now in an environment that selects against the academic behaviors that were rewarded, or were inconsequential, in high school. This crisis prompts some students to change their academic behaviors; they begin to come to class more often and engage themselves more fully in their courses. When they do this, these students usually earn higher grades, are removed from academic probation, and can continue their college education. It is this change in their academic behaviors, and not merely their repeating of the course, that is critical (Moore). Regardless of how many times a student repeats a course, the most important determinant of that students' success remains his or her academic motivation (Moore, in press-a). This explains why Thompson (2002) has noted that, "If a student ever complains about a grade or how tough the course is, one of the first things I look at is class attendance. That usually says it all" (p. B5).

However, many students respond to their academic troubles by repeating the same academic

behaviors; they continue to skip classes, ignore course-related opportunities for better grades, and refuse to participate in academic support programs (Dembo & Seli, 2004; Hattie, Biggs, & Purdie, 1996; Karabenick & Knapp, 1988; Moore). According to Dembo and Seli, these students "lack the ability to judge the academic situation as different from high school and hold on to the faulty belief that they have the necessary strategies, when new ones in fact are needed" (p. 4). These students apparently believe that repeating the same behaviors will somehow produce a different outcome. They do not; this is why (a) most developmental education students at the University of Minnesota who repeat a course after earning a low grade again earn a low grade (Moore); (b) more than half (i.e., 57%) of the developmental education students who earn GPAs less than 2.0 during their first semester also earn GPAs less than 2.0 during their second semester (Moore, 2006b, 2006c); and (c) 70% of students who earn first-semester GPAs lower than 2.0 are dismissed from college after their first year (Moore, 2006a, 2006b). Students' first-semester GPAs are strong predictors of their second-semester GPAs, (Moore, 2006b, 2006c), and students' first-year GPAs are strong predictors of their chances of graduation (see Table 1; Adelman, 2006; Moore, 2006b, 2006c). This is why developmental education students at the University of Minnesota who earn low GPAs in their first year of college have exceedingly low probabilities of graduating from college (Table 1). Taken together, these results indicate that academic behaviors, like other behaviors, can become ingrained by years of repeated and rewarded practice (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999; Wegner & Wheatley, 1999).

The unwillingness of some students to change their academic behaviors makes these students "dropouts who are still in school" (Evans, 2006, p. 37). There is little that instructors and learning assistance professionals can do to help these students. As Thomas and Higbee (2000) have noted, "The best . . . teacher, no matter how intellectually satisfying, no matter how clear in providing explanations and examples, may not be able to reach the high-risk freshman who has no real interest in learning . . . and will certainly not be successful with the student who fails to show up for class. . . . Nothing replaces being present in



Table 1

The Relation Between First-year GPAs and 8-year Graduation Rates of Developmental Education Students at the University of Minnesota

First-Year GPA	Percentage of Students	Graduation Rate
0.00 – 0.99	5	0
1.00 – 1.99	13	0
2.00 – 2.49	15	11
2.50 – 2.99	25	29
3.00 – 4.00	42	59

class” (pp. 231, 239). Feller (2005) gave an even more straightforward explanation when she claimed that many of these students fail because of “sheer laziness” (p. A4).

Academic Motivation and the Academic Fates of Developmental Education Students

For developmental education students, the most predictive factor for academic success is academic motivation. This would seem too obvious if it were not so often ignored. Indeed, many developmental educators focus on structural reforms and standardized tests but skirt around traits such as academic motivation that are at the heart of students’ academic success.

Students’ levels of academic motivation are revealed explicitly in their motivation-based behaviors, such as class attendance and course engagement. Traditional (i.e., non-developmental) students often have academic experiences and histories that enable them to recover from poor academic choices such as skipping class, not doing extra-credit work, and missing help sessions. However, developmental education students do not have such an academic “cushion”; their poor academic choices (e.g., skipping lots of classes, ignoring opportunities for extra credit) expose these students’ academic deficiencies and create serious academic problems. In many instances, students’ levels of academic motivation can predict dropping out even after controlling for the effects

of academic achievement and student background (Goldschmidt & Wang, 1999).

Absenteeism is the most common, most obvious, and most predictive indicator of students’ academic motivation and engagement (Alexander, Enwisle, & Horey, 1997; Moore, 2004a, 2006b, 2006c; Rumberger, 2001; Viadero, 2006b). Many students’ poor rates of class attendance begin before middle school and worsen throughout high school (Alexander, Enwisle, & Horsey; Fallis & Opotow, 2003). Students with the highest rates of absenteeism sometimes drop out of high school, but not because of poor grades. Despite missing most of their classes, almost 90% of high school dropouts have passing grades when they quit school (Rumberger).

Many students who had poor rates of class attendance in high school attend college and continue their absenteeism in college. This is why, on any given day, 25% to 50% of college students miss their classes (Friedman, Rodriguez, & McComb, 2001; Moore, 2003; Romer, 1993). As Romer has noted, “A generation ago, both in principle and in practice, attendance at class was not optional. Today, often in principle and almost always in practice, it is” (p. 174). This absenteeism is especially damaging to developmental education students, for whom class attendance is strongly correlated with academic success (Moore, 2006b, 2006c).

If motivation-based behaviors such as class attendance are so important, why do students skip class? Most absences from college classes result from attending or recovering from leisure activities, and not from work or family demands (Devadoss & Foltz, 1996; Friedman, Rodriguez, & McComb, 2001). Also, although most college courses neither require attendance nor give points for attendance, students expect points for coming to class, and their rates of attendance drop if they do not receive points for coming to class (Friedman, Rodriguez, & McComb; Launius, 1997; Moore, 2003). However, regardless of the reason, students’ poor rates of class attendance usually foretell students’ academic problems (Launius; Moore, 2006b; Moore & Jensen, 2006). On average, students having the highest GPAs attend class most often, and those with the lowest GPAs attend class the least (Friedman, Rodriguez, & McComb, 2001).

The Predictive Power of a Motivation-Based Model for Students' Academic Outcomes

The model depicted in Figure 1 accounts for a variety of common observations, including why, on average, (a) students who attend help sessions are the best students in the class, and not the low-performing students who presumably most need help; (b) students who submit extra-credit work are the best students in the class, and not the low-performing students who most presumably need the extra points; and (c) academic success is correlated strongly with motivation-based behaviors such as class attendance, and not with students' academic aptitude as measured by ACT or SAT scores. However, the model shown in Figure 1 also predicts a variety of other diverse academic outcomes involving developmental education students in particular.

How Pre-Enrollment Behaviors Are Linked With Post-Enrollment Results

The model predicts that students who are motivated to attend a pre-college summer orientation program would be more likely to succeed in college than students who are not motivated enough to attend such an orientation. This is precisely what has been observed. For example, students at the University of Minnesota who failed to attend a pre-college summer orientation program attended 34% fewer classes, earned grades that are significantly lower (i.e., GPAs of 2.1 for non-attendees vs. 2.8 for attendees), and were three times more likely to be placed on academic probation after their first semester in college (Moore, 2005b).

The Academic Success of Non-Native Speakers of English

The model predicts that the academic success of non-native speakers of English would be more strongly influenced by their levels of academic motivation than by their enrollment in supporting courses. This is exactly what has been observed. For example, many non-native speakers of English at the University of Minnesota enroll in programs such as Commanding English and Supplemental Instruction to help them overcome their language-related problems. On average, the students who

succeed in these courses are characterized by high rates of class attendance and course engagement (Moore & Christensen, 2005; Moore & LeDee, in press; Welsh, 2006a). However, merely enrolling in the program is not enough, for students in these programs who have low levels of academic motivation (e.g., skip classes, do not complete assignments) have the same academic fates as native speakers who do not engage themselves in their education—they usually fail both the “content” course and the accompanying supplemental course (Moore & Christensen; Moore & LeDee). These failures are usually associated with these students' lack of motivation, self-discipline, and work ethic (Gatherer & Manning, 1998; Moore & Christensen; Moore & LeDee; Welsh).

Comparing What Students Know With What They Do

The model predicts that students' actual motivation-based behaviors are much more important for academic success than students' optimism or their knowledge of what behaviors are important for academic success. This is what has been observed. For example, research at the University of Minnesota has demonstrated that developmental education students know which behaviors are important for academic success; on the first day of classes, more than 80% of developmental education students knew that their grades would be determined primarily by their effort and academic behaviors, and not by their aptitude, luck, or the ease or difficulty of their courses (Moore, 2006a, 2006b). They also knew that attending class, completing assignments, and attending course-related events would improve their grades (Jensen & Moore, in press; Moore, 2003; Moore & Jensen, 2006; St. Clair, 1999). Although students are confident that they will attend virtually all classes, attend virtually all help sessions, and take advantage of other course-related opportunities to improve their grades (Moore, 2003; Moore & Jensen, 2006), these expectations are unfounded and unrealistic; class attendance usually averaged 60% to 75%, and most students did not attend help sessions or do extra-credit work (Moore & Jensen, 2006). It is the lack of academic motivation, and not a lack of knowledge or confidence about which academic behaviors are important, that prevents many developmental education students



from implementing the academic behaviors that they know will help them succeed.

Early Warning Systems

The model predicts that early warning systems, which have been touted as an effective tool for helping at-risk students (Bridgeland, Dilulio, & Morison, 2006), seldom affect many students' work, behaviors, or grades. This is what has been observed in several courses at the University of Minnesota (Brothen, Wambach, & Madyun, 2003; Hansen, Brothen, & Wambach, 2002) and elsewhere (Rudmann, 1992). For example, during the past 5 years I have sent hundreds of such alerts to students, some as early as the first week of classes (e.g., to note that they had already missed some assignments). The grade distribution of students who received these alerts is as follows: A = 0%; B = 0%; C = 11%; D = 13%; F = 39%; W = 37%. These grades are easily understood when one also notes the students' attendance rates: on average, students who earned Cs attended 72% of classes, students who earned Ds attended 64% of classes, and students who earned Fs attended 37% of classes. I have yet to have a student visit me about an alert, although many have sent e-mails asking if I "really give low grades." Most developmental education students who are alerted that they are in academic trouble do not respond to the alerts for the same reason that they do not enroll in supplemental activities, attend help sessions, attend orientation sessions, or do extra-credit work.

Mandatory Attendance Policies

The model predicts that students' academic motivation would be a more important determinant of students' academic success than punitive penalties for poor behaviors. This is what has been observed. For example, policies requiring "mandatory" attendance are often ineffective, as are penalties for excessive absences (Moore, 2005a). In some instances, such policies may even worsen students' grades (Hyde & Flournoy, 1986).

Of course, there are alternate explanations for the academic fates of developmental education students. For example, students whose parents or guardians are unfamiliar with college may

discourage the academic behaviors associated with academic success, and students who do not come to class or complete their assignments may not have enough time to succeed in college. Moreover, the associations that underlie this model are not perfect, and correlation is not synonymous with cause. High rates of academic motivation might help students earn better grades, or students' desires to earn better grades may produce high levels of academic motivation, or both. Moreover, conclusions drawn from specific groups of developmental education students might not be entirely applicable to all developmental education students, however they might be defined. Nevertheless, the overall conclusion remains: the most important factor for most developmental education students' academic success is their academic motivation.

This model predicts that interventions that affect academic behaviors will improve the academic performances of developmental education students. For example, systemic efforts involving activities such as learning communities, mentoring, and paired courses might be more effective at accomplishing this than would be random interventions such as academic alerts. I hope that this model will prompt additional studies and refinements that improve our ability to serve developmental education students and help these students to achieve success.

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Ethics and English as a Second Language Writing Assignments

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This chapter discusses the ethical aspect of designing writing assignments for undergraduates in an English as a Second Language (ESL) composition classroom. The author suggests that instructors not only regard assignments as tests, but also regard designing assignments as a social act because of the impact on the students' success as second language writers. The chapter presents four ethical criteria for evaluating writing tasks. Using these criteria can help instructors to provide the best opportunities for students to demonstrate their skills.

Calling for further discussion on the topic, Silva (2006) stated that one area receiving little attention in the field of second language writing “is the matter of ethics (that is, a system or code of conduct) employed in the treatment of ESL writers” (p. 154). Based on a “notion of respect,” Silva developed four ways to respect English as a Second Language (ESL) students: they should be (a) “understood”; (b) “placed in suitable learning contexts”; (c) “provided with appropriate instruction,” and (d) “evaluated fairly” (p. 154). Not respecting students in these ways can hinder their academic success. The way we design writing assignments can also have an impact on the success of second language writers. Therefore, my purpose in writing this chapter is both to encourage instructors to recognize that there is an ethical aspect to designing writing assignments for undergraduates in an ESL composition class and

to provide four ethical criteria that can be used to evaluate writing tasks.

Although the topic of ethics and ESL assignments has not been addressed in the second language writing literature, there appears to be a consensus among some second language writing scholars that care must be taken when developing assignments. For example, Reid and Kroll (2006) have pointed out that instructors need to be especially careful when designing assignments because writing task “design is essential for success of ESL (and other ethnically diverse) students” (p. 278). Leki (1992) asserted “that teachers who wish to help ESL students must be particularly careful about the kinds of writing assignments they make” (p. 69). Ferris and Hedgcock (2005) provided an assignment checklist for instructors to use in evaluating their assignments and stated that “it is crucial for teachers to realize



that meaningful writing assignments—even day-to-day practice activities—should not be devised haphazardly and often are more difficult for students to undertake than teachers think” (pp. 140-141). Reid (1993) instructed that “[w]riting assignments can have a profound effect on students, so they should be as fair and as carefully designed as possible; therefore, designing writing tasks for an ESL writing class requires careful thought and preparation” (p. 195). And finally, Hafernick, Messerschmitt, and Vandrick (2002) suggested that in choosing content and topics, ESL faculty need to be sensitive to cultural and linguistic diversity in their classrooms and to their particular institutional setting (p. 132).

To understand that there is an ethical context involved in designing ESL writing assignments, we must begin by acknowledging not only that care should be taken with assignments, but more importantly by acknowledging writing tasks as tests that hold the potential for either a positive or negative impact on students’ lives. Reid and Kroll (2006), referring to assignments as “prompts,” stated that “academic writing is a form of testing” because “writing assignments ask students to ‘perform,’ to demonstrate their knowledge and skills by composing and presenting written material” for subsequent evaluation (p. 261). Additionally, Reid and Kroll stated that “[b]ecause academic writing assignments can influence the lives of the students they test, all of these assignments should be designed and evaluated as carefully as any other test of student skills” (p. 261). As instructors, we want the impact of our actions to be positive: that is, we want students to be successful in the writing they present for a grade in our classes as well as others. Therefore, as one way to support our goals for student success, I want to encourage instructors to view ESL assignments as tests because of their potential impact on our students’ lives.

In addition to regarding ESL writing tasks as ways of testing students with outcomes that can effect their lives, we should also regard designing those tasks, or tests, as a social act. Viewing developing assignments as a social act is a doorway that can lead to further thinking about the ethical implications in designing tasks because then we are better able to position developing assignments within the social relationships that are created in the ESL classroom by the instructor’s multiple roles and the singular role

of the student-writer. Reid and Kroll (2006) stated that “[w]riting is essentially a social act” (p. 261). As instructors, we play multiple roles in the classroom; we design, assign, and evaluate writing tasks (Reid & Kroll; Ferris & Hedgcock, 2005). Put another way: we are the creator, the audience, and the judge. The students, in their role as writers, are very aware that they must “demonstrate understanding of the assignment in ways that the teacher-reader already anticipates” (Reid & Kroll, p. 261). Moreover, in what Reid and Kroll called the “unusual” social context of academic writing, the evaluation process creates a relationship between the student-writer and the teacher-evaluator that is unlike “an expert-to-novice relationship or a colleague-to-colleague relationship between the writer and the reader (as in ‘real’ writing-reading events); rather “the relationship is skewed: novice-to-expert, with the expert (teacher-reader) assessing the novice (student-writer) in ways that have consequences for the writer’s life” (p. 260). I suggest that it is the “consequences” that place designing assignments in an ethical context.

In summary, I want to encourage instructors to (a) regard assignments as tests; (b) recognize that writing is a social act created by the multiple roles we play in the classroom, particularly as designers of what will prompt students to write and as evaluators of what they have written; and finally (c) be cognizant of the accumulated potential combined in both of these for their effect on our students. Then we will be able to acknowledge the act of designing ESL writing assignments as occupying a specific position within the context of ethics.

As a way to help instructors to acknowledge this position by offering second language writers of all backgrounds “the best possible opportunity to demonstrate their strengths and to learn from their writing” so that they can be successful writers, I have developed four ethical criteria for instructors to use for evaluating tasks (Reid & Kroll, 2006, p. 262) The first one involves evaluating the assignment in terms of the amount of cultural knowledge needed to complete the task. Next the language of the assignment should be evaluated as to whether it can be easily understood by ESL students. Then the assignment should be evaluated on the basis of the amount of personal disclosure it requires from the student and on whether the topic can be offensive to particular groups of students.

And finally, the proportion between the topic breadth and the required length of the assignment should be evaluated.

Cultural Knowledge

Depending upon how long students have been in the United States, their cultural knowledge can vary greatly. For this reason, evaluating assignments in terms of cultural knowledge should be based on the student population in the classroom. For example, instructors working with multilingual newcomers need to be cautious of creating writing assignments that assume a level of cultural knowledge that is beyond them. These sorts of tasks can be daunting and hinder their success. Reid (1993) suggested that one requirement for writing assignments was that they not be “culture bound (that is, they . . . not require intimate knowledge of U.S. culture)” (p. 195). Spack (1994) cautioned instructors to be considerate of “the underlying cultural assumptions of the material” (p.13), because the students’ “lack of cultural background knowledge can interfere with their learning processes” (p. 18). After conducting a student survey, Spack found that ESL students would generally like instructors “to consider ways in which to contextualize information and connect it to students’ background knowledge and culture, and be flexible in their approaches” (1994, p. 19). Leki (1992) stated that “topics which are clearly culture bound will not work” and that “topic selection is particularly difficult for newly arrived international students, who have not had enough experience with the United States to be able to use life here as a frame of reference” (p. 69). Culturally-bound topics can create confusion for newly arrived ESL students and impede their success as writers. This point was illustrated well by Leki (1995) in the case of Ling and the assignment she was given in a behavioral geography class that “required an implicit and sophisticated knowledge of everyday U.S. culture that was far out of the reach of a student just arrived in the U.S. for the first time from Taiwan” (p. 241). According to Leki (1995), the writing assignment involved:

placing a hypothetical group of people into fictional neighborhoods by determining in broad terms their socioeconomic class through an examination of certain personal

characteristics, whether, for example, they drink Budweiser or Heinekin, read *GQ* magazine or *Track and Field*, drive a Dodge or a Saab. (p. 241)

Ling, confused by this assignment and unsure what to do, felt relegated to rely on her past experiences, and believed that she needed to go to the library to find books on the subject of the writing assignment. To complete the assignment, she finally sought out the help of a classmate.

Conversely, instructors with multilingual, long-term United States residents should also evaluate their assignments in terms of the cultural knowledge the students actually do possess to avoid the situation that occurred in Harklau’s (2006) case study. Three students were assigned writing tasks based on the assumption that they were lacking in cultural awareness. They were given assignments such as: “homeless people in your country,” “low-or high-class foods in your country,” “my country—a great place to visit,” “problems of students in my country” (Harklau, 2006, p. 120). For these students, their home country was the United States, but their instructor wanted them to write about their country of origin. Feeling their identity threatened, these students resisted further English instruction at the institution where they were enrolled.

Therefore, I suggest that instructors present students with a questionnaire on the first day of class that asks such things as:

1. What is your home country?
2. How long have you been in the United States?
3. If you have lived here, what states have you lived in and for how long?
4. What are your past educational experiences and where?

First-day discussions and introductions are another option for students to talk about their backgrounds. From the student responses, the instructor can determine the approximate amount and type of cultural knowledge the students possess. The instructor may find it necessary to design a variety



of writing assignments for the purpose of providing each group of ESL students with an ethically equal opportunity to demonstrate their skills. Another suggestion is to present a general topic that crosses cultural boundaries and let them narrow the topic to fit the purpose of the assignment. For example, I use the topic "Issues in Groups" (Lauer et al., 1991, p. 115), and I begin this assignment well into the semester when they have had a chance to become members of organizations on campus. This assignment asks them to begin by thinking about the groups they belong to or—as I describe it—the many hats they wear in life. They realize they are members of many groups. For example they are part of the group of students who live in dorms, part of their family group at home, members of various clubs both here and in their home town or country, and members of religious groups. They are never at a loss for groups. The assignment can either ask them to choose a group from their home country if other than the U.S., or to choose a group from the United States for the purpose of persuading an audience of their choice to bring about a particular change within the group. As insiders in a group of their choosing, the students have the cultural knowledge to complete the task successfully.

Language

The second area for evaluation involves the language, or wording, of assignments and whether they can be easily understood by ESL students. Ambiguity, jargon, and vagueness in the wording of writing assignments can pose serious stumbling blocks for ESL students. Reid and Kroll (2006), when evaluating assignments in a Writing Across the Curriculum program, suggested "that teacher-designers focus on precision in the language of writing assignments" (p. 276). In their study, Reid and Kroll characterized various assignments as unsuccessful because of "flawed language," or language that is "idiomatic and/or culturally vague" (p. 275). For example, "of whatever length" does not clarify the length of the paper and "nature of learning" cannot be clearly defined (p. 275). This type of wording in assignments led to serious comprehension difficulties for ESL students. Additionally, jargon and what Reid and Kroll termed as culturally bound concepts, such as the use of the phrase "performance appraisal" in

a business class for a writing assignment, created similar comprehension problems (pp. 273-274). Ferris and Hedgcock (2005) provided samples of clearly written assignments and cautioned instructors against the use of ambiguous or opaque language (p. 166). And finally, Leki (1992) pointed out that sometimes native English speakers (NES) misunderstand the language of writing assignments, too, and because this is the case, then it is more than likely that ESL students will also misconstrue the language of poorly written assignments. However, NES students will circumnavigate the assignment and make it their own, while many ESL writers may not have the skills to do so. Instead, ESL students will complete the assignment according to the meaning they create from the manner in which it was worded and write essays for assignments they might not have fully understood (Leki, p.70).

Like writing assignments that assume cultural knowledge beyond what the students actually possess, those lacking in clarity can temporarily stop students before they even begin, only to have them continue in a haze of misunderstanding in their efforts to meet assignment deadlines. Additionally, assignments lacking concrete diction can serve to weaken the confidence of multilingual writers. I suggest that ESL composition instructors keep the wording of assignments as simple and as straightforward as possible. One recommendation is to use a listing or outline method in the syllabus to explain each assignment rather than prose. Instructors can provide general topics comprised of single words or phrases, for example "Technology" (Lauer et al., 1991). Students can narrow this topic by listing aspects of the topic that relate to them in some way. Then I would suggest that instructors use language that is used in the classroom with which students are familiar. For example, when I list the purpose of the assignment under the topic in my syllabus, my students have no difficulty comprehending the words "persuasive" or "informative" if they have been attending class regularly. And finally, I would suggest listing the papers and their required length, using numbers, in a policy statement to avoid overloading any assignment with information that can be more concisely placed elsewhere. This strategy can prevent idiomatic word problems from occurring.

Personal Disclosure and Offensive Topics

The third area to evaluate is whether the writing assignment elicits personal disclosure in some form. Topics of a personal nature can pose problems for some groups of multilingual students. Leki (1992) stated that for ESL students presenting personal information to substantiate a general point for a writing assignment with an expressive aim “may demand far more personal disclosure than they can tolerate and may therefore be sources of acute embarrassment for them” (pp. 67-68). The issue of personal disclosure is related to cultural differences in writing between group-oriented writing versus individualistic writing, and many multilingual students are inexperienced in this type of personalized writing. Some multilingual students will make up personal experiences rather than write about their own. Leki (1995) explained the case of Tula, who was given an assignment in a speech pathology class to enact the life of a stutterer for 4 hours, and then write a report (p. 244). Leki reported that instead of doing the assignment, Tula made the report up, with the rationale:

that her nonnative English speech was embarrassing enough to her and probably elicited responses that were similar to responses to the speech of a stutterer; and besides a real stutterer’s most prominent speech characteristic is to avoid talking at all, and so that was what she did. (1995, p. 244)

This multilingual student could not bear the personal disclosure that this assignment required, and so resisted the assignment by fabricating the content.

Also important to evaluate, along with personal disclosure, is whether a topic may offend students in some way. Leki (1992) discovered that certain topics were offensive to certain groups of international students. For instance, Leki explained that “Japanese students . . . may find it unseemly to be asked to discuss religion in any form” while “Islamic students on the other hand, seem to relish writing about Islam” (p. 69). She also cautioned against using NES topics (e.g., dating) indiscriminately, because although this might be very appropriate

for NES students, it can be offensive to some multilingual students. As an instructor, I would not use this topic if I had students who were awaiting arranged marriages because dating is not an option for these students, and I would not want to make them uncomfortable. But dating can also be an uncomfortable topic for any student who does not date for any reason.

Whether or not a writing assignment elicits personal disclosure or holds the potential for being offensive in some form can be very subjective territory that is often the most difficult for instructors to ascertain. My recommendation to instructors is that they get anonymous feedback from their students on the topic they plan to use prior to using it. Instructors can very easily ask students how comfortable they would feel responding in writing to a particular topic. Because the student population varies over semesters, I would also suggest getting feedback from students after the completion of each assignment (Leki, 1992; Reid, 1993; Reid & Kroll, 2006). This can alert us to any change that we may need to implement.

Topic Breadth

The final area for instructors to evaluate concerns the breadth of assignment topics and whether their generality can misguidedly invite students to write volumes within the parameters of what could be called a short paper. ESL students are concerned with the length of the papers they are required to write, but can often become confused over assignments that are designed with a topic that is too big for the required paper length, or worse yet, where no length is clearly provided. Reid and Kroll’s (2006) “Assignment Design Guidelines” contained the criterion, “appropriately focused to accomplish within external parameters (for example, time constraints)” under the category of “Task(s)” (p. 264). This criterion addresses the issue of the proportion between the topic breadth and the required length of the paper. Analyzing one assignment that was particularly problematic in this area from a freshman political science class, Reid and Kroll explained that the task “was broad enough for a book (at least)” and that “the assignment contained nearly 20 separate tasks, at least one third of which could each fill 10 pages of a



research report" leaving students in utter frustration (p. 272). Additionally, Reid and Kroll provided another example of an assignment that required students to write "a 7-10 page paper . . . examining Western culture before, during, and after the Origin of Species" (p. 275). Ferris and Hedgcock (2005) also cited Reid and Kroll in their brief discussion concerning the problem with tasks that are too broad. Leki (1995) implied that shorter tasks are more suitable for building students' confidence to approach longer writing tasks. Impossibly broad assignments do not aid in building the confidence of ESL writers and often have the opposite effect because the distance between the topic and the required paper length cannot be resolved. Therefore, students are often unsuccessful in demonstrating their skills when the topic is too large.

McKay (1994) suggested the use of two types of assignments, those with designated topics and those with open topics (p. 201). Although universal or open topics can be beneficial to students from the standpoint of choosing what to write about, there are pitfalls with these sorts of topics. In their presentation of universal or open topics to students, instructors need to be certain that students are aware of how to narrow a topic and need to be provided with what Reid and Kroll (2006) called "rhetorical specifications" or specific information contained in the assignment that gives "clear direction concerning shape and format(s)" along with "instructions concerning register and tone (i.e., audience relationships" and "adequate rhetorical cues" in the form of words such as "explain" or "describe" (p. 264). Without this information, students will find themselves in the same frustrating position as those students faced with the previously discussed assignments. For example, Reid and Kroll presented the analysis of an assignment from a freshman music class comprised of an open topic lacking in rhetorical specifications. The students were assigned to "write a 3-5 page paper on a musical topic"; "the instructor felt that the topic did not matter (i.e., any topic would do) while "the students could not guess what the teacher wanted" because no rhetorical specifications were provided (p. 273). Assignments like the examples discussed do not provide ESL students with adequate opportunities to demonstrate their writing skills successfully; however, there are ways to create assignments that do so.

Topic breadth can have an impact on the success of second language writers. I believe that a topic that is too large can lead to frustration and can lower the confidence of ESL writers, both of which can have an effect on how they handle future assignments. Ultimately then, topic breadth can affect their grade. First, I suggest that instructors follow Reid and Kroll's (2006) checklist for providing clear rhetorical specifications (p. 264). Secondly, I suggest that instructors provide students with planning strategies for narrowing a topic. For example, when I present the topic of "Free Time," as a planning strategy for narrowing a topic and as a way for students to create a relevant context, I ask them in class to list two or three ways they spend their free time. Then I ask them to choose one of these ideas that they would like to work with based on the purpose of the assignment. The rhetorical specifications are that they will write an article for the school newspaper. Then students are asked to read and to bring to class a copy of the newspaper so that we can analyze the audience and discuss the form.

Conclusion

As instructors, we invest a significant amount of time and effort in developing writing assignments. We do this because we want our students to succeed. We can help them succeed by recognizing that there is an ethical aspect involved in designing ESL writing tasks because developing tasks and viewing them as tests is a social act that can impact the lives of our students. It is my hope that the four ethical criteria that I have presented here will aid instructors in designing assignments that can provide the best opportunities for students to demonstrate their skills so that they can become successful second language writers.

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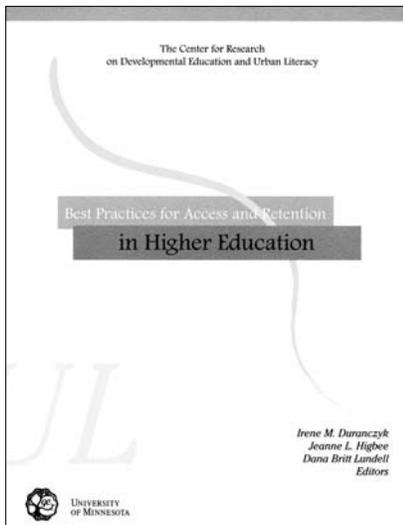
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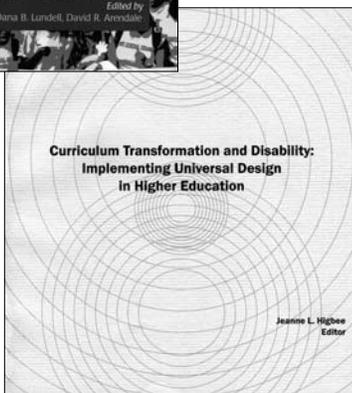
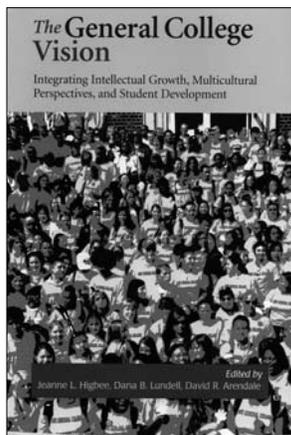
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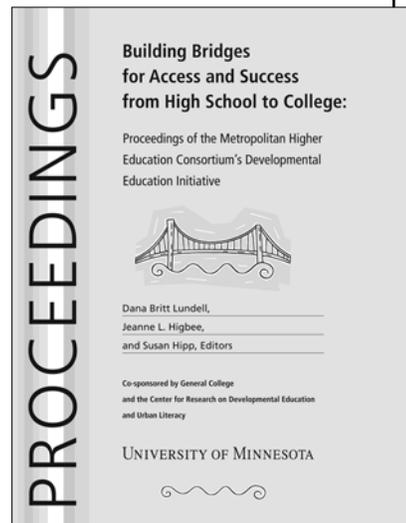


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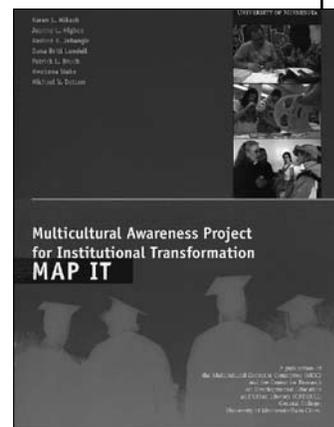
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