A Socio-Historic Analysis of the Multicultural Education Movement and its Relationship with Higher Education

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A SOCIO-HISTORIC ANALYSIS OF THE MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION MOVEMENT AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH HIGHER EDUCATION

by

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A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Masters of Arts
Department of Sociology

Western Michigan University
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The focus of this thesis is a socio-historic analysis of the multicultural education movement and its relationship with Higher Education. This research has four objectives: (1) to identify the multicultural education movement as a social movement; (2) to identify the historical background of the multicultural education movement and explain its relationship to the social movements of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s; (3) to identify and discuss the social theories developed to explain and understand these movements and their relationship to each other; and (4) to review and analyze data gathered concerning the impact of the multicultural education movement on higher education.

The research gathered has shown that the multicultural education movement arose out of the socio-political climate of the 1960s and early 1970s, and occurred as a result of, and in conjunction with, other social movements of that time. Even though recent research found that over half of all colleges and universities in the United States have instituted cultural and ethnic study programs and more than one-third have a multicultural general education requirement, they also show that the issue is by no means resolved, and will remain a high priority for some time to come.
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CHAPTER I

PROBLEM STATEMENT AND THE THEORETICAL LITERATURE

The Problem

In recent years there has been a social movement gaining momentum concerning the issue of multicultural education. This movement has been surrounded by controversy because of its special relationship with elements of the Civil Rights, the Feminist, the Gay and Lesbian movements and the "Political Correctness" debate. This Thesis will be a socio-historic analysis of the multicultural education movement and its impact on the institution of higher education in the United States. Specifically, this Thesis will examine and present the multicultural education movement as a social movement; identify and discuss the specific social movements related to the general movement; discuss the social theories developed in order to explain and understand these movements and their relationship with each other; and investigate the movement's relationship with higher education, focusing on effects, outcomes and implications for the future.

Movement advocates argue that as we near the 21st century, the diverse nature of society in the United States demands an approach to education which centers on academic excellence through equity and the development of inter-cultural competence. Controversy and debate centers around how educators can best prepare their students for a future
where they will be required to possess the knowledge and skills necessary to be productive and effective in a global society that is becoming increasingly interdependent. A knowledge of other languages, cultures, politics, and philosophies will foster better understanding and promote global cooperation and peace (Bennett, 1990).

A multicultural education perspective views a culturally pluralistic society as a positive force that sees differences as vehicles for understanding by moving beyond a mere appreciation and acceptance of different cultures to acknowledgment of their contributions to society as a whole (Grant, 1977). The goal of the multicultural education movement is to seek acceptance of multiculturalism in education and a modification of the traditional canon of American education, namely, Eurocentrism (Banks & Banks, 1989, 1993; Baptiste, 1986; Bennett, 1990; Berman, 1992; Grant, 1977, 1992; Grant & Sleeter, 1986). Specific objectives include: maximizing cultural and ethnic alternatives; presentation of both cultural and ethnic alternatives; and, development of the skills necessary to function successfully in co-cultures (Banks, 1975).

The focus of this research will be a socio-historic analysis of the multicultural education movement and an examination of its relationship with higher education. This research has four objectives: (1) to identify the multicultural education movement as a social movement; (2) to identify the historical background of the multicultural education movement and explain its relationship to the social movements of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s; (3) to identify and discuss the social theories developed to explain and understand these movements and their relation-
ship to each other; and (4) to review and analyze data gathered concerning the impact of the multicultural education movement on higher education.

The significance and importance of this study is two-fold. First, an examination of the multicultural education movement as a way to bring the University in line with society's needs is beneficial in determining whether or not the existing structure of higher education reflects the current diversified nature of our society. Secondly, from a sociological perspective, an investigation of this nature has significance because it analyzes the effects that the multicultural education movement is having on the organizational structure of one of America's oldest institutions. Thus, this research has the ability to enhance both the empirical and theoretical understanding of the multicultural education movement and the resulting consequences and effects on higher education in the United States.

The Multicultural Education Movement

Education is a crucial process for achieving a more equitable society (Sleeter, 1992). Multicultural education emerged as educational institutions designed and implemented programs, courses and practices to address the demands, needs, and aspirations of the various ethnic, racial and minority groups now living in the United States (Banks & Banks, 1989). Multicultural education programs serve an important role in helping students develop awareness of other cultures, as well as promoting a heightened awareness of world issues (Coller & Summers,
Educational scholars and leaders such as Grant and Sleeter (1986) and Baptiste (1986) define and use the concept of multicultural education to represent a wide spectrum of programs and practices related to achieving educational equity for women, ethnic groups, language minorities, low-income groups and the disabled.

Banks and Banks (1989, p. 6) agree with this approach and support the other leaders of this movement who view multicultural education as a "total school reform effort designed to increase educational equity for a range of cultural, ethnic and economic groups". The challenge to educators pursuing this approach is to insure the attainment of educational equity for oppressed groups while at the same time insuring that the opportunities for others are not limited.

**Major Themes of Multicultural Education**

A multicultural education approach is based on democratic values and beliefs which seek to foster and incorporate cultural pluralism within culturally diverse societies and an interdependent world. The definition of multicultural education has four dimensions: (1) the movement, (2) the curriculum approach, (3) the process of becoming, and, (4) the commitment (Bennett, 1990). This approach was focused primarily on individual societies, however, the increasing interdependence among all countries and nations in the world have broadened its scope to include global perspectives (Banks & Banks, 1993).

The movement is focused on securing the opportunity for all
groups, particularly ethnic and racial minorities, to achieve both educational and economic equity (Bennett, 1990). The aim of the multicultural education movement is to transform the total educational environment with emphasis placed on changing hidden curriculums (Bennett, 1990). It is a reform movement that is trying very hard to change educational institutions "so that students from all social classes, gender, racial and cultural groups will have an equal opportunity to learn" (Banks & Banks, 1989, p. 3) and be in a better position to attain economic equity.

The knowledge construction process is important to the multicultural education movement because this process defines the role teachers play in helping students identify, understand and examine any given discipline. Students need to be able to critically analyze the cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases inherent in any discipline in order to understand how disciplines influence the way knowledge is created (Banks, 1991). Students need to understand that knowledge reflects the economic, political and social context in which it is created.

The curriculum approach in multicultural education is centered on developing knowledge and understanding about the differences between cultures and recognition of their history and contributions (Bennett, 1990). The multicultural curriculum begins with a study of self by helping students to become aware of their own cultural backgrounds, attitudes and beliefs. This positive self-awareness of one's own culture allows students to compare and contrast their cultural identities with those of others. The process permits students to see diversity as
fascinating and non-threatening (Teidt & Teidt, 1990).

Additionally, a multicultural curriculum approach strives to incorporate and integrate multi-ethnic and global perspectives into the traditional American curriculum which has been dominated historically by a Eurocentrist perspective (Bennett, 1990). The goals of any multic Culturally-oriented curriculum are centered around helping students to know and to act in ways that facilitate and foster the development of a just and democratic society in which all groups experience cultural democracy and empowerment (Banks, 1991).

Multicultural education is an on-going process whereby a student develops the capacity, ability, and competency necessary in developing "multiple ways of perceiving, evaluating, believing and doing" (Bennett, 1990, p.12). This means that students will recognize the fact that they do not need to reject their own cultural identities before they can succeed in another cultural milieu. The process involved in a multicultural education approach helps bring about the awareness of multiculturalism as the normal human experience (Gibson, 1984).

The commitment associated with a multicultural approach is one that combats racism and discrimination through the development of appropriate attitudes and skills (Bennett, 1990). This technique is committed to establishing an educational system which is designed to prioritize cultural diversity. Before education in the United States can meet the needs of its diverse population it must first be committed to the implementation of a multicultural curriculum "in order to be sociologically relevant, philosophically germane, psychologically material, and peda-
gogically apropos" (Hunter, 1974, p.11).

The Theoretical Literature

Prior to classifying the multicultural education movement as a social movement, it is necessary to define what exactly a social movement is and identify certain general characteristics found in all social movements. The following section defines the concept, identifies general characteristics, reviews relevant theoretical perspectives, and discusses five general categories utilized in analyzing social movements. The final segment of this section will present the multicultural education movement as a social movement.

Social Movements

Ash (1972) defines a social movement as being

....a set of attitudes and self-conscious action on the part of a group of people directed toward change in the social structure and/or ideology of a society and carried on outside of ideologically legitimated channels in innovative ways (p. 1).

Underlying this definition is the postulate that power is unequally distributed in society and that some members of society are in power only as long as they can maintain control over other groups (Ash, 1971). For the purpose of this research, the following assumption will be made: "[individuals] may act collectively (in the form of a social movement) and thereby affect the direction of social change" (Lauer, 1976, p. xi). It is important to understand that social change can both generate social movements and can be the result of social movements (Lauer, 1976).
According to Freeman (1983) there are three/four essential elements necessary for movement formation:

(1) the growth of a pre-existing communications network that is (2) co-optable to the ideas of the new movement; (3) a series of crises that galvanize into action people involved in a co-optable network, and/or (4) subsequent organizing efforts to weld the spontaneous groups together into a movement (p. 21).

Social movements tend to come into being within their own populations, e.g., the civil rights movement and the women's movement. Rogers (1962) and Lionberger (1960) argue that the essential role of the communications network is evidenced in diffusion theory which focuses on the importance of personal interaction in the spread of ideas over the use of impersonal wide-spread media communications. Lionberger (1960, p.73) further maintains that it is through the organizational patterns of the community that this personal interaction occurs. Mass media is seen as only one source of information (Freeman, 1983).

Freeman (1983, p. 24) argues that this communication network "must be co-optable to the ideas of the movement" or it just won't work. A co-optable network is one in which members share common experiences that serve to predispose them to be receptive to certain new ideas of the incipient movement and who do not face structural and ideological barriers to action. It is perceived as logical to participate in a social movement if experiences and perceptions point out channels in which social action can occur.

Crisis is often the method used for translating similar perceptions into actions because such crises serve to crystallize and focus discontent (Freeman, 1983). According to Rogers (1962), people are more predis-
posed to change when they perceive an immediate need. Crisis situations make the desire for change acute and tend to embody collective discontent (Freeman, 1983).

Finally, for a social movement to occur, there must be some level of organization (Wilkinson, 1971). Because social movements don't simply just happen, organizers are instrumental as movement innovators and play an essential role in movement formation and success (Freeman, 1983).

Wilkinson's (1971) work in identifying three quintessential characteristics of a social movement serves to reinforce Freeman's work. According to Wilkinson (1971) the first characteristic is that a social movement is a deliberate collective action to promote change. Second, a social movement must have at least a minimal degree of organization. Third, a social movement is founded upon conscious volition and normative commitment to the movement's goals and direction and the active participation of followers. Social movements tend to be multi-dimensional in nature, i.e., simultaneously concerned with "values, norms, forms of organization and material conditions and resources" (Wilkinson, 1971, p. 25). In fact, social movements are in reality "an affirmation of the desirability of change and a choice of certain kinds of change rather than other kinds" (Lauer, 1976, p. xv).

Theoretical Perspectives of Social Movements

Because of the influence of such sociologists as Durkheim, Marx and Weber, most perspectives of social movements revolve around three
concepts: social disorganization, class and status (Rush & Denisoff, 1971). Durkheim's concept of anomie provides three explanations of social movements: the politics of mass society, alienation, and the politics of isolation. Marx's theory of social class explains both the theoretical and empirical conditions necessary for social movement formation, i.e., class conflict and class consciousness. One of Weber's major contributions was the concept of status and the use of social stratification in explaining and understanding social movements. Even though social disorganization, class and status are contributory causes of social movements, history, propinquity and social significance also need to be included in any explanation of social movements (Rush & Denisoff, 1971).

Prior to 1970 there were four major perspectives of social movements: collective behavior, mass society, relative deprivation, and the institutional school (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zeld, 1988). There was very little intellectual conflict between these four perspectives. Most of their attention was focused on movement emergence (McAdam, et al., 1988).

The world-wide social and political turbulence of the 1960s and 1970s served to generate new theoretical perspectives on social change and social movements (Pfohl, 1994). Many sociologists thought that certain popular social movements, clearly political in nature, seemed incompatible with and were poorly explained by existing perspectives. These criticisms helped to shift the focus of analysis away from "microsocial-psychological to more macro-political and structural accounts of movements and dynamics" (McAdam, et al., 1988, p. 697).

Resource mobilization and political process models are the two
most recent principal theoretical perspectives to come out of the field of social movement theory. Both these perspectives "attribute rationality to movement participants and posit a fundamental continuity between institutionalized and movement politics" (McAdam, et al., 1988, p. 697). However, the two models differ in emphasis and empirical focus.

In resource mobilization, emphasis is placed on the constancy of discontent and resource variability (used to account for the emergence and development of discontent) (McAdam, et al., 1988; McCarthy & Zald, 1973, 1977; Oberschall, 1973). The principal goal of resource mobilization is to understand how the flow of resources is mobilized. Because this perspective poses "the production of social movements as the production of social order (rather than a symptom of disorder)" it breaks sharply with past research (Zald & McCarthy, 1979 p.36). In essence the resource mobilization perspective addresses the question: "How can these people organize, pool resources, and wield them effectively?" (Zald & McCarthy, 1979, p.9).

The political process model has a somewhat different approach to the study of movement dynamics. According to McAdam (1982) and Tilly (1978), the political process model emphasizes both the importance of indigenous organization and a favorable structure of political opportunities. Both of these components are perceived as necessary in order to organize and successfully sustain a social movement (McAdam, et al., 1988).

Social movements are located squarely within the realm of rational political action in both the political process model and the resource
mobilization model. In this context, social movements need to be responsive to the broad political trends and characteristics of the areas/regions in which they occur (McAdam, et al., 1988).

Analyzing Social Movements

For the purpose of analyzing social movements, Rush and Denisoff (1971) identified five general categories of study: (1) origin, history & development; (2) organization of the movement; (3) techniques of spreading the movement; (4) satisfactions derived, and (5) evaluation of the objectives and movement results. Rush and Denisoff (1971) maintain that results of a study of this nature will demonstrate how relatively small numbers of people (protagonists) have been successful in building large and powerful movements; and, that

Those who wish to lead in influencing large numbers to change attitudes, to adopt policies, to further programs, should be sensitive to crisis situations, to unfulfilled needs, and thwarted human cravings, and present their programs in terms of these demands (p. 11).

Multicultural Education as a Social Movement

In conducting an analysis of a social movement it would be useful and informative to follow the steps outlined by Rush and Denisoff (1971). For the purposes of this thesis the following section will place the multicultural educational movement within the five general categories of study identified by Rush and Denisoff (1971). The multicultural education movement can be defined as a social movement because it meets the requirements necessary for a social movement to exist. First, the
multicultural education movement is an organized effort on the part of a considerable group of people who are actively striving to change/alter the existing social structure in innovative ways. Secondly, the elements necessary for movement formation are present. A pre-existing communication network was in place that was easily co-opted to the ideas of the multicultural education movement. A series of crises were occurring that galvanized the members of the network into action, as evidenced by the civil rights movement, the women's movement, the anti-war movement, etc. Finally, there was an organized effort taking place to weld these various groups and interested parties together into a movement.

The origin, history and development of the multicultural education movement has its roots in the social and political turbulence of the 1960s and 1970s. The movement developed as educational leaders and institutions designed and implemented programs, courses and practices to address the demands, needs, and aspirations of the various ethnic, racial and minority groups living in the United States. However, it was the effects and impact that the civil rights and other social movements were having that provided the impetus for the movement's creation. Chapter II will provide a socio-historical analysis of the events leading up to the creation of the multicultural education movement.

A wide variety of educational scholars and leaders as well as members from other social movements and other concerned individuals comprise the leadership and membership of the multicultural education movement. Their goal is to bring about structural change to the institution of education in the United States. Techniques and methods utilized
by movement members include research, meetings, publications, protest, discourse and dialogue. Through these methods movement members have pioneered, often against strong opposition, a series of educational reform efforts designed to increase educational and economic equity for all groups.

Evaluation of the effects and results of the multicultural education movement can be examined and measured by qualitatively and quantitatively examining the structure of education in the United States. One way to measure the effects and results of the movement is to examine the movement's effects, outcomes and implications for the institution of higher education. Chapter III will provide an in-depth analysis of the multicultural education movement on higher education.

However, no social movement can be truly understood and evaluated unless there is a clear perception of the background of the society against which the movement plays its part (Cameron, 1966). Accordingly, this thesis will utilize a socio-historic approach in order to enhance understanding of the evolution of the multicultural education movement within the larger structural framework of society.

Methods

Strauss and Corbin (1990), define qualitative research as any research that does not arrive at its findings through the use of "statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (p.17). They argue that qualitative research is a good approach to use when trying to "uncover and understand what lies behind any phenomenon" (p.19). Further-
more, qualitative research can "give the intricate details of phenomena that are difficult to convey with quantitative methods" (p.19).

A qualitative analysis of a social phenomenon usually starts with the following questions: (1) what are the origins; (2) what are the major features; and, (3) what are the effects, outcomes and results (Kramer, 1978, cited in Kauzlarich, 1991)? Research incorporating a socio-historic approach can be used to answer these questions.

Good socio-historic research has four characteristics (Skocpol, 1984). First, this method questions social processes and structures which are understood to be situated correctly in time and space. Second, this method takes seriously temporal sequences in accounting for outcomes. The third characteristic featuring the interplay of meaningful actions and structural contexts is emphasized so that both unintended and intended outcomes in the lives of individuals and social transformations can be understood. Fourth, particular and varying aspects of specific kinds of social structures and patterns of change are highlighted.

This research is predicated on the assumption that structural conditions within the United States and throughout the world are important forces within the multicultural education movement. Only by using a method that accounts for change and process can the evolution and meaning of the multicultural education movement be understood. The socio-historic approach best lends itself because socio-historic methodologists believe that the past is not simply one cohesive developmental story or a set of standardized sequences (Skocpol, 1984).

The data gathered in this study come from multiple sources such
as historical and governmental documents, legislative and judicial decisions, contemporary works, existing research, and various other publications. The use of multiple sources of data when conducting a case study increases the probability for researcher accuracy (Yin, 1984).

Both historical and government documents will be used in order to detail the history of immigration patterns, minority rights, educational standards, legislation, and, the social movements associated with the movement. US Census documents, Department of Education publications, and Department of Justice reports will help provide necessary information.

Contemporary works will serve to provide vital and relevant information regarding the multicultural education movement and its relation to other social movements. Important information will be gathered from the works of current scholars in the fields of education and sociology. Existing research on the multicultural education movement and its relationship with higher education will help document the effects this movement is having on the institution of higher education within the United States.

In summary, this research describes the multicultural education movement and its relationship with higher education. The description includes an explanation of how the movement came about, details the major features of the movement, and examines the effects, outcomes and results of the movement. This study's findings will help inform, clarify and enhance the existing knowledge base concerning the multi-cultural education movement and the consequences for higher education.
CHAPTER II

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter examines the historical background and social forces from which the multicultural education movement has arisen. The historical view presented will highlight the early settlement of the United States, focusing on the culturally diverse composition of immigration to the United States; briefly examine the structure of the social, political, economic, and educational institutions established by early English immigrants; and, answer the questions of how and why the multicultural education movement developed. Special emphasis will be placed on the theories that underlie the movement. The relationship of the multicultural education movement to other social movements of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s will also be examined. This historical perspective is presented in order to enhance understanding of the evolution of the multicultural education movement within the larger structural framework of United States society.

From the Colonial Era to the 1960s

Prior to the European colonists arriving in the 15th century, there were many different tribes of people living in what would become the United States. These groups were comprised of many varied cultures, languages, and physical characteristics (Banks, 1981). When the earliest Spanish explorers came they brought with them Africans, adding to
the diversity of cultures. However, it was the English who were the first true large scale colonists in the United States. In 1934, the American Historical Association published a report which identified immigration patterns through 1790. This report showed that 60.1% of immigration to the United States up to 1790 was English with the next closest being Scottish and Scotch-Irish at 14.0% (Feagin, 1984).

The English fought the indigenous people, killed many, drove them off their land, and replaced their existing structures and rituals with vestiges of Anglo-Saxon, European institutions. Thus having created the institutions, it followed that the English colonists would have dominance and control of the political, social, educational, and economic institutions in the United States (Jones, 1960).

In addition to the native groups already living in this country, other immigrants such as the French Huguenots, the Irish, the Scotch-Irish, and the Germans were also excluded and discriminated against by the English, and as a result, were not able to participate fully in colonial life and culture (Banks, 1981). It soon became apparent that unless these minority groups were willing to become fully assimilated to the dominant English culture they would continue to remain outsiders (Hunter, 1974).

Because these early English settlers were able to establish economic and military dominance over later settlers, with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, they were able to institute a policy of Anglicization based on the desirability of maintaining the English language, English institutions and English-oriented cultural patterns
Mercer, 1989). These actions laid the ground work "for Americanization to become synonymous with Anglicization" (Banks, 1981, p.16).

The first implementation of this Americanization policy was through free schools which had been established through private funding in order to teach immigrants the English language and instill in these immigrants loyalty to Anglo institutions and values (Katz, 1971). This Anglo policy remained a guiding principle when tax-supported public education was established. All instruction in school was in English and the curriculum was "focused exclusively on Anglo-American institutions, history, literature and values" (Mercer, 1989, p. 290). This policy resulted in public schools becoming "the cultural bearer for only one of the many cultural streams brought by immigrants to this continent" (Mercer, 1989, p. 290).

Little, if any, attention was paid to the needs and problems of minority and ethnic groups living throughout the United States. During this period, schools were used to control uneducated immigrants and as a vehicle to assimilate students into the culture of the United States as quickly as possible (Tiedt & Tiedt, 1990). In fact, schools became one of the main vehicles for social control. Minority students were expected to stop using their native language and to become proficient in speaking, reading, and writing English (Sult, 1983).

Public schools were considered to be the "great equalizer" among this country's social institutions (Rivlin & Gold, 1977). There was an underlying assumption that sameness resulted in equality. There was also widespread belief in the myth that public schools encouraged the
upward mobility of immigrants and minorities. Rivlin and Gold (1977) argue that the fallacy of this perspective is that when assimilation is imposed upon different racial, ethnic and other minority groups rarely is a sense of equality achieved by these groups.

Most American institutions continued to be assimilation-oriented between World War I (W.W.I) and World War II (W.W.II) (Banks, 1988). However, it was during this period between the two world wars that a few leading scholars and educators began formulating policy and programs specifically designed to educate ethnic and minority groups. By the 1930s, a systematic study of racial and ethnic groups began to take root in institutions of higher education throughout the United States (Grant, 1992).

W.W. II created the opportunity for African-Americans to gain limited access to social terrain that had here-to-fore been strictly for whites (Pfohl, 1994). This increased exposure helped to create an environment where for the first time African-Americans began to believe that they, too, could achieve the American dream. However, the modest gains made by African-Americans during the war were soon reversed as white males once again reclaimed positions of privilege in a booming post-war economy (Pfohl, 1994).

The social developments that emerged as a result of W.W.II were responsible for the inter-group educational movement (Banks, 1988). The field of inter-group relations aimed to improve the connections that groups had with each other (Grant, 1992). Specialists like Robin Williams and his group at Cornell University were at the center of this
movement (Grant, 1992). Their efforts were centered around the fundamental concept that interaction matters (Dean & Rosen, 1955).

These specialists believed strongly that inter-group connections could and should be used to eliminate the tensions that existed between different racial and ethnic groups. They felt that these tensions were threatening the very foundations of society in the United States (Weinberg, 1977). In fact, these tensions were so strong at this time that conflict and riots were occurring in cities as blacks and whites and anglos and chicanos competed for housing and jobs (Banks, 1988). The inter-group education movement tried to help reduce interracial tensions and promote better inter-cultural understanding. However, examination of data shows that the inter-group relations movement of the 1950s was not seriously able to challenge the assimilationist ideology dominant in American society (Banks, 1988).

It was a combination of this wartime optimism and the deprivations of post-war existence which served to fuel African-Americans toward a conflictual march toward social equality. According to Omi and Winant (cited in Pfohl, 1994)

By challenging existing patterns of race relations the black movement created new political subjects; expanded the terrain of political struggle beyond "normal" politics; and inspired and galvanized a range of 'new' social movements... (p. 418).

The 1960s to the 1990s

While the inter-group relations movement of the 1950s did not lead to significant changes regarding assimilationist ideology, the social and political climate of the 1960s and 1970s did lead to changes. This era
promoted the concept of equality in educational opportunity and led to
the development of the multicultural education movement. It is impor-
tant to understand that this reform effort in the schools was directly tied
to other movements outside the field of education (Banks & Banks, 1993).

The Civil Rights and the Women's Movements

A renewed push by African-Americans for social equality and so-
cial justice gained momentum in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Activist
organizations like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
(SNCC), the Black Panther Party, progressive African-American
Christian organizations and the Nation of Islam led this push (Pfohl,
1994). The passage of civil rights legislation in 1964 was a response to a
hard-fought campaign, spear-headed by African-Americans, on issues
such as the right to sit where they wanted to on buses, the right to use
integrated public bathrooms, and the right to vote. However, these were
only modest gains and did not eliminate the anger being expressed by
many African-Americans. The remainder of the 1960s was character-
ized by violent protest, police brutality, and rioting (Pfohl, 1994).

There is a clear association between the socio-political racial
struggle that was occurring in the 1960s and the impetus behind the
push towards the development of the multicultural education movement
Sleeter, 1992). Geneva Gay (1983), one of the principal participants in the
development of multicultural education, explains that in the mid-1960s:

The ideological and strategic focus of the Civil Rights movement
shifted from passivity and perseverance in the face of adversity to
aggression, self-determination, cultural consciousness, and political power. Multicultural education originated in a socio-political milieu and is to some extent a product of its times. Concerns about the treatment of ethnic groups in school curricula and instructional materials directly reflected concerns about their social, political, and economic plight in the society at large (p. 560).

One of the major goals of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s "was to eliminate discrimination in public accommodations, housing, employment and education" (Banks & Banks, 1989, p. 4). The success of the Civil Rights movement acted as a catalyst for oppressed groups to take up the challenge and demand both an end to discrimination, and that the educational system be made to develop programs which respond to their specific needs, aspirations, cultures and histories (Banks & Banks, 1993). Multicultural education was seen as the vehicle through which school practices could be examined and reformed.

During the 1960s and 1970s, attention was once again focused on the rights of women. The Women's Rights movement brought to the nation's attention the fact that discrimination and institutionalized sexism were severely limiting the opportunities available to women and adversely affecting the country (Banks & Banks, 1993; Steinem, 1983). The problems in the educational system identified by racial and ethnic minority groups were also the same problems identified by feminists (Geertz, 1973). Other oppressed groups such as the mentally and physically impaired, senior citizens, and gays and lesbians took their lead from these efforts and also demanded that reforms be instituted that would minimize discrimination and guarantee basic human rights for all (Banks & Banks, 1993).
The influence of feminism is particularly important. According to Pfohl (1994), by challenging heterosexist hierarchies of power within social institutions, the women's movement has propelled critical theorists to the recognition that the marginalization of women in the social sciences is a mirror reflection of the second-class citizenship experienced by women in society. According to Millman and Kanter (cited in Pfohl, 1994)

Feminist critiques have shown us how social science has been divided by models representing a world dominated by white males, and so our studies...have been limited by the particular interests, perspectives and experiences of that one group (p. 425).

Development of women's studies programs, feminist pedagogy and curriculums are all tied to this. According to Howe (cited in Wonders & Caulfield, 1993)

the women's studies program was the vanguard of the women's movement on campus...It was to offer a new supplementary curriculum to students, and through that curriculum, to transform academe (p. 80).

Conservatism in the 1980s

There was a shift in thinking during the 1970s which resulted in change in the political climate. This was a time when "Americans experienced defeat in war, the resignation of a President, an inflationary peak of 22%, peacetime shortages of oil and gas, and the fall of Keynesianism and the political alignment which it sustained" (Omi & Winant, 1986, p.137). By the early 1980s many Americans were clearly skeptical that they or their children could ever achieve the American dream (Grant, 1992). Conservatism became the dominant discourse.
The political left lost a great deal of its momentum, and minority groups went from trying to confront and change the system to working within the system (Grant, 1992). This shift affected social movements when supporters were forced to defend their positions and often times rediscover ideas that seemed obvious in the late 1960s. Although government-supported educational reforms of the 1980s were presented as having themes of equity and excellence, the reality of their mission was, in fact, the re-establishment of the traditional social order (Shor, 1986). Implementation of multicultural education programs during this decade was severely challenged because of the differences between classroom and government goals (Kennedy, 1989).

Recent Demographic Trends

Immigration patterns also began to change in the late 1960s. There was a dramatic decrease in European immigration from almost 50% in 1964 to approximately 22% by 1984. Records show that between 1960-1984, Canada, Mexico and West Indies immigrants represented 45.2% of total immigration and Asian immigration totaled 30.3% (Fischman, 1986). Even though more immigrants were coming into the United States from Mexico than any other country, six of the top ten countries sending legal immigrants into the United States were Asian: Vietnam, the Philippines, Korea, China, India and Laos (McLeod, 1986).

An increase in the racial and cultural composition of the United States can be further demonstrated by the fact that domestic minority birth rates exceed those of whites. At the beginning of the 21st century,
the Hispanic population will have increased by 21%, the Asian popula-
tion by 22%, Blacks by 12% and Whites by 2% (Henry, 1990). According to
a 1989 census report, projections of population trends for the next four
decades, from 1990-2030, show that the white population in the United
States will grow by 25%, the African-American population will grow by
68%, and the Asian, Pacific Island, and Native American populations
will leap by 187% (Cortes, 1991). Further projections, provided by the
Population Reference Bureau, estimate that by the year 2080, more than
half of the United States population will be comprised of people of Latino
(24%), African-American (15%), and Asian-American (12%) descent
(Cortes, 1991).

This new wave of immigrants, primarily from the Caribbean,
Asian, and Latin American countries, had a major impact on the so-
cial, political, economic and educational institutions in the United States
(Banks, 1988). The extreme cultural differences this new wave of immi-
grants brought with them created many new problems, especially where
education is concerned. A need developed for educational preparation in
the United States to address the social, political, and economic realities
brought about by the growth in both immigration and births among na-
tive minority groups (King, 1986).

University Demographics

The complexion of universities has clearly changed over the
years. In the 1960s, roughly 94% of all college students were white and
approximately 63% were men. In addition, university faculties were at
least 80% male (Scott, 1991). The 1990s certainly show a different picture. Now women represent about 30% of university faculties. People of color now comprise 20% of all college students, with the number of women college students increasing to 55% (Scott, 1991).

Every year some 13 million students enroll in institutions of higher education. Of these students, 2.5 million are minorities. The Department of Education's statistics show that in 1988, there were 10.3 million Whites (79%), 1.1 million Blacks (8%), 680,000 Hispanics (5%), 497,000 Asian Americans (4%), 93,000 Native Americans (1%), and 361,000 foreign students (3%) enrolled in colleges and universities in the United States (Chronicle of Higher Education, April 11, 1990, p.A-1).

It is important for schools to be aware of their students' cultural diversity and other factors such as the influence of family values, peer groups, and the community at large (King, 1986). The multicultural education movement strives to encompass the needs of these groups as well as providing a vehicle for social change (Banks, 1988).

Theories, Pedagogy and the Movement

Having examined the historical forces leading up to the development of the multicultural education movement, it is now time to examine the theoretical perspectives which serve to underlie and drive the movement. These perspectives are part of the empirical data examined and represent the discourse and arguments of those scholars who were talking about and trying to understand and explain what was really going on. Used in this context, these perspectives are empirical data
which help explain how the multicultural education movement developed. These perspectives are presented as an important part of the history of the multicultural education movement. The people and organizations that were a part of these struggles used these theoretical perspectives to explain the world and then let these explanations guide their actions.

There have been a number of models presented that use a combination of various perspectives to describe an integrated explanation of multiculturalism and its impact on education. However, there are four perspectives which best serve to underlie and drive the multicultural education movement. They are: (1) cultural pluralism, (2) conflict perspective, (3) a critical theoretical perspective of education, and (4) a model in which the school is viewed as a social system. This later model is often subsumed under a systems perspective. However, such an approach is not used in this thesis; instead, a brief discussion of the model is presented as additional information on the history of the multicultural education movement. Each of these perspectives will be discussed.

From Assimilation to a Cultural Pluralist Perspective

One image of American society has been the "melting pot" concept. This image emphasizes the many racial and ethnic groups living together to form the "American Blend"1 (Feagin, 1984). This concept is based on assimilation theories which serve to explain how "the host so-

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1 "American" is a term used to denote members of United States society. It is noted that the United States is not representative of all the Americas.
ciety, Anglo United States society in this context, has received and ab­
sorbed immigration groups or ethnic minority groups" (Garcia, 1982, p.46).

Sociologists like Milton Gordon and Andrew Greeley argue that the rosy view presented in the "melting pot" concept in which old and new groups freely blend together on an equal basis is nothing more than a pipe dream that has constantly glossed over the reality of unequal eth­nic relations in the United States. They argue that the reality has been a consistent and continuing subordination of many non-white Americans in the lower social, political, and economic tiers of American society (Feagin, 1984; Gordon, 1964; Greely, 1974).

Gordon (1964) postulates that structural pluralism is the best way to define the reality of the ethnic mix in the United States. He argues that even though the many ethnic groups comprising society within the United States have experienced levels of cultural assimilation, the na­tion is, in fact, characterized by cultural pluralism. Gordon believes that the many ethnic subgroups in the United States are struggling to maintain their cultural identities. Multiple acculturation is a theory which combines with structural pluralism to define the American soci­ety as being a mix and blend of cultures and ethnic groups (Banks, 1981). In other words, the American culture has been derived from a synthesis of the ethnic elements and cultural components representative of the many diverse groups living in the United States. Thus, all residents of this country participate both within the overall society and culture as well as within their ethnic subsociety (Banks & Banks, 1989).
Cultural pluralism views the composition of society in the United States as multicultural and emphasizes the outlook that the word "different" simply means different—not better than or worse (Rivlin & Gold, 1977). Stickel (1981) identified four conditions necessary in order for cultural pluralism to thrive: cultural diversity must exist in society; interaction must occur both within and between groups; groups co-existing with each other must have approximately equal political, economic, and educational opportunity; and, cultural diversity must be valued by society.

Because society is in a constant state of flux, each group within society is continually evolving and changing. Thus, some groups become assimilated, other groups form, and still others increase in size. A multicultural education approach emphasizes the desirability of cultural pluralism and encourages interaction among the different groups living in the United States (Petit, 1982).

Cultural pluralism places emphasis on a model of cultural transformation that focuses on the breath, depth and changes of ethnic groups within society (Stickel, 1987). In addition to emphasizing the meaning and the nature of different cultural groups, cultural pluralism recognizes how group images develop and create different perspectives of reality along with acknowledging the value and potential of cross-cultural communication (King, 1986). A culturally-pluralistic approach to multiculturalism emphasizes a broader interpretation of the common culture in the United States and encourages recognition of the fact that this nation's national culture has been transformed by the many diverse
cultural, ethnic and racial groups living here (Ravitch, 1992).

The Conflict Perspective

The conflict perspective analyzes conflict and power as they relate

to social policy and societal change. This includes the analysis of con­

flict in its basic dimensions (economic, social, and political), at all levels

of society. In addition to examining varying types and forms of social

conflict, attention is paid to the ways in which power is acquired and

concentrated in society (Semones, 1990).

Conflict theories are most concerned with issues that relate to
economic and political subordination and structural inequality (Feagin,
1984). Conflict theories have certain reoccurring themes such as: a con­
cern for the ethnic and racial inequalities which exist in the accumula­
tion of power and resources; a strong emphasis on the economic roots
underlying hierarchies and inequalities; a major concern with capital­
ism in regard to economic history and class structure; a rejection of the
concept of shared values across major racial and ethnic lines; and an
emphasis on value and group conflict (Feagin, 1984).

The work of conflict analysts has brought to the forefront the
forced nature of both cultural and economic adaptation for those people
who are not members of the dominant culture and ideology. These ana­
lysts argue that there can be no question that the eurocentristic-based
dominant ideology in the United States has resulted in the use of coer­
cion, segregation, and institutionalized discrimination in order to keep
certain groups on the bottom of the societal ladder in this country. This
unequal distribution of wealth and power results in persistent conflict (Schermerhorn, 1970).

The importance of conflict theory is that it emphasizes the fact that the adaptation process which has been occurring in the United States has, in reality, operated to keep most minority and ethnic groups from accessing the political and economic system (Feagin, 1984). Thus, many minority and ethnic groups are denied the opportunity to accumulate wealth and property, and often times, even denied jobs which pay enough to enable them to move up social and economic ladders (Glazer, 1971).

The reality has been that in terms of political and economic advancement, most members of minority and ethnic groups run as hard as they can just to keep from becoming more unequal than they already are (Feagin, 1984). In order to rectify this situation, a re-education process must take place. Before a new way of thinking can be implemented, old thinking must be overcome.

Conflict theories and cultural pluralism relate to issues of education because students, as products of these processes, have developed social identities which influence the way they are perceived by their teachers, their peers, the total environment in which learning occurs, and the subject matter used to teach students (Garcia, 1982). Multicultural education can enhance student understanding and appreciation of cultural differences and acknowledge the contributions of the various groups who have contributed to society (Clark, 1978).
A Critical Theoretical Perspective of Education

Historical and social conditions are sociological concerns which lie at the heart of critical theory because they have everything to do with social power and the ways that power affects our perceptions of the most appropriate ways to act. According to Pfohl (1994), critical theoretical perspectives of social control have both theoretical and practical concerns. Theoretically, these critical perspectives try to make sense "of the relationship between human struggles for power in history and the ritual construction, deconstruction, and resconstruction of normative social boundaries" (Pfohl, 1994, p. 404). Practically, critical theorists are allied with those people "who are committed to the uprooting of hierarchical social forms and the realization of social justice" (p. 404). The combination of theoretical and practical concerns has caused theorists to examine both the symbolic and material relationships between power, social control and those actions which resist social control.

During the late 1960s and 1970s critical theoretical perspectives exploded because of the conflictual social landscape of the United States. These perspectives were rooted in the struggles of oppressed groups who were working to break free of existing racist, sexist and gender-based economic hierarchies (Pfohl, 1994). Colleges and universities across the United States became intellectual battlegrounds where students and faculty contemplated and attempted to explain the nature of the widespread, deeply-felt political crisis occurring in the United States at that time. Out of this controversy came new critical perspectives on power and social control (Pfohl, 1994). Like the Civil Rights Movement,
this challenge to the dominant ideology and values existing in the United States was directly linked to the social, political and economic development which occurred in this country after W.W. II.

The most important theoretical perspective guiding the multicultural education movement is critical theory. Critical theory used in this context refers to both a general theoretical approach in Sociology as well as a "school of thought" and a process of critique based upon the work of the Marxist theorists of the Frankfurt School. According to this school of thought, before the nature of theory can be understood, you must first grasp "the relationships that exist in society between the particular and the whole, the specific and the universe" (Giroux, 1983, p.17). It was through the Frankfurt School's theory of culture that the means for analyzing the role that schools assume as agents of social and cultural reproduction was determined. Specifically, the school is viewed as a cultural site that embodies "conflicting political values, histories, and practices" (Giroux, 1983, p.37). It is through this way of thinking that the school can be seen as an expression of the organizational structure of society as a whole.

Critical theory is characterized by a willingness to question the whole social order and to use various points of view in discussing a specific problem or situation (Tozer, Violas, & Senese, 1993). Applied in this context, education is seen as more than facts and skills. It is defined as a socializing experience that helps to create and shape the people who make society. Therefore, all subject matter, classroom dialogue and discourse, the learning process, the school environment both inside and
outside the classroom, and even the cafeteria menu, play a role in teaching students what kind of people they should be and what kind of society they should build (Shor, 1992).

Critical theory requires that the relationship between the student and the school be the primary unit of analysis. Critical theory concentrates on understanding the relationships among the involved cultures, specifically the student's culture and the culture of the school, in order to assess conflicts (Tozer, et al., 1993).

From a critical perspective, educational goals are related to both political beliefs and politics because of the important role schools are seen as having in facilitating access to jobs, in determining social equality, and distributing knowledge and understanding about the political system (Spring, 1991). Giroux (1992), defines this political and pedagogical struggle by saying:

whenever power and knowledge come together, politics not only functions to position people differently with respect to the access of wealth and power, it also provides the conditions for the production and acquisition of learning; put another way, it offers people opportunities to take up and reflect on the conditions that shape themselves and their relationship with others. The pedagogical in this sense is about the production of meaning and the primacy of the ethical and the political as a fundamental part of this process. This means that any discussion of public schooling has to address the political, economic, and social realities that construct the contexts that shape it as an institution and the conditions that produce the diverse populations of students who constitute its constituencies (pp. 199-200).

Because self and society are perceived as creating each other, the individual is approached as active, cooperative and as a social process. In other words, people cannot create themselves in a vacuum, nor does a society exist unless people themselves create it. "The goals of this ped-
agogy are to relate personal growth to public life by developing strong skills, academic knowledge, habits of inquiry, and critical curiosity about society, power, inequality, and change" (Shor, 1992, p.15).

The appeal for many people of critical pedagogy is that it offers hope that education can lead to action as opposed to passive acceptance of the status quo (Spring, 1991). Critical theorists believe that economic and social justice are accomplished by democratic movements working through government. They perceive that the key to achieving economic and social justice is a democratic struggle (Spring, 1991). Critical theorists define this struggle as the right of all citizens to have an education which enables them to be critical participatory citizens who have the ability to fight for and work toward the reconstruction of public life (Giroux, 1992).

Critical pedagogy for critical feminists means a method for heightening awareness and perceptions about the causes of female oppression. Critical pedagogy for critical intergrationists is a method for educating people so that they will work toward the elimination of all forms of racism. Critical pedagogy for the critical pluralist, is a method of education that will prepare people to work towards accomplishing the elimination of sources of discrimination and prejudice in society (Spring, 1991).

Critical consciousness is the process by which people see themselves in relation to power and knowledge in society, to the way language is studied and used, and the way actions in school and daily life are used to reproduce or transform conditions (Shor, 1992). It is through the de-
development of a critical consciousness that students become better able to see any subject as being something whose parts influence and interact with each other, as something that is related to and conditioned by other dimensions and elements in the curriculum and society, as something that has a relevant historical context, and as something related to the student's personal control (Shor, 1992).

The development of a critical state of mind includes the development of thinking skills encompassing the ability to construct or assess economic, political, and social arguments. The implication is that the process of opening the mind will lead to the cultivation of tolerance and the suspension of ethnocentrism. Projecting beyond ethnocentric thinking means that an individual has developed "the ability to put oneself inside a variety of social, political, and economic frames of reference and develop alternative ways of seeing the world and constructing the future" (Purdue, 1993, p.45).

The School as a Social System

The multicultural education movement incorporates a model in which the school is presented as a social system with all the major variables closely inter-related (Banks & Banks, 1989). This model is connected to the other perspectives because it highlights the importance of the school in a cultural context and contributes to an integrated explanation of multiculturalism and its relationship with education.

This perspective takes into consideration the total school environment in any change strategy in order to implement multicultural
education. The school is perceived as a micro-culture having its own values, norms, statuses and goals much like any other social system. Thus, the school can be defined as having a dominant culture and a variety of micro cultures (Banks, 1981).

The most important aspect of considering the school as a social system is the impact it has on the role of the school and how that role effects the institution's organizational structure. By defining the school as a social system, the total environment should be considered. This way of viewing the school significantly influences the way decisions regarding school policy and curriculum development are made and implemented. In order to be able to implement a multicultural education approach at the institutional level that will work, the reform must include: power relationships, action_interaction between the administration, faculty, students and the support staff, and the total environment, (i.e., culture of the school, curriculum and instructional materials, all activities inside and outside the classroom, and attitudes about the use of language and group practices) (Banks & Banks, 1989).

Multicultural education uses methods and instructional materials which promote and incorporate equity of information and high academic standards while at the same time creating an environment which respects and encourages the potential of each student (Grant, 1992). Multicultural education conforms to the highest standards of educational practice. According to Grant (1992) these standards include:

- the use of well researched content that is accurate and up-to-date;
- the presentation of diverse indigenous accounts and perspectives that encourage critical thinking;
- the avoidance of dated terminologies, stereotypes, and demeaning, distorted
characterizations; the use of intellectually challenging materials presented in an environment of free and open discussion (p.34-35).

Multicultural education is comprised of a pedagogy and practice that demands that there be "a collective representation of all cultures and groups as significant to the production of knowledge" (Grant, 1992, p. 35).

Summary

This examination of the historical antecedents and forces that have helped to shape the multicultural education movement has raised a number of important points. First, continued diversity in the composition of United States society has brought to the forefront the inadequate nature of the traditional eurocentric canon inherent in the educational system in this country. Second, various social movements have questioned the legitimacy of education. The Civil Rights movement has brought to national awareness the inadequacy and inequality of our current system for the many ethnic, racial and other minority groups living in the United States. The Women's movement has addressed the role of education in the continued oppression of women in the United States. These social movements have served to bring attention to the fact that there is a very real lack of ethnic and cultural awareness and sensitivity within the structure of our society resulting in inequality and lack of opportunity for many. Third, the increased interaction between and among the many diverse groups in our society is challenging the status quo. As more diverse people achieve power and success and gain access to decision making processes, more pressure is being brought to bear on
changing the system so that it better reflects the diverse composition of our society.

The social, political and economic struggles of the 1960s and 1970s created a crisis situation in which colleges and universities became a battle ground where students and faculty engaged in intense discourse and debate over how to explain the nature of this political crisis to understand what was going on, the organization of power in general, and how to go about creating social justice for all.

Critical theories argue that education is vital to the realization of social justice in a democratic society. Their fundamental premise is that education is the right of all citizens in a democratic society because it enables them to be critical participatory citizens who have the ability to change things for the better. It was from this environment that the multicultural education movement sprang into being. From a critical perspective of education, multicultural education is viewed as being the vehicle through which people could learn to acknowledge and respect the contributions of all groups and cultures to society.

These issues have many implications and consequences for the institutional structure of education in the United States and will be discussed and evaluated in the next chapter. Emphasis will be placed on examining the structural impact the multicultural education movement is having on higher education in the United States.
CHAPTER III

THE MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION MOVEMENT AND HIGHER EDUCATION: IMPLICATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES

This chapter examines the impact of the multicultural education movement on higher education. The chapter opens with a brief discussion of the law and the multicultural education movement focusing on relevant legislation and its impact on higher education. Specific implications and consequences of the multicultural education movement on higher education are further examined and analyzed through a discussion of identity politics, ethnic and women's studies programs, speech codes, and the "political correctness" debate. Recent studies are presented to provide additional documentation. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the challenges facing colleges and universities now and in the future.

The Law and Multicultural Education

Throughout this country's history, legislation and judicial decisions have served to reinforce national thinking (Tiedt & Tiedt, 1990). The legislation and judicial decisions enacted during the 1960s and 1970s reflect the turbulent social forces which were exemplified by the civil rights, feminist and other social movements. In general, these laws and judicial actions have reflected a greater insight towards acceptance of all citizens in the United States as having equal worth.
During President Lyndon Johnson’s administration, the Civil Rights legislation of 1964 was passed (Atwell Wright, 1965). An integral component of the 1964 Civil Rights legislation was The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-454) which states that:

The United States can achieve its full economic and social potential as a nation only if every individual has the opportunity to contribute to the full extent of his capabilities, and to participate in the workings of our society. It is, therefore, the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity. It is the purpose of this Act to strengthen, supplement, and coordinate efforts in furtherance of that policy.

There have been several laws enacted that were specifically designed to increase the access and opportunity students have for achieving equal educational opportunities (Garcia, 1981). Many of these laws have paved the way for bilingual education and multicultural education (Tiedt & Tiedt, 1990). A national educational policy promoting educational opportunity has been supported by passage of numerous laws and Supreme Court decisions (Atwell-Wright, 1964; Banks & Banks, 1993; Bennett, 1990; Garcia, 1981; Grant, 1992; Rumrill, Gordon, & Roessler, 1993, Tiedt & Tiedt, 1990; US Congressional Committee on Education and Labor, 1993):

- **Brown v. Topeka Board of Education** (1954)
- **The Civil Rights Act** (1964)
- **Elementary and Secondary Education Act** (1965)
- **Title VII, The Bilingual Education Act** (1968)
- **Title VIII, Education Amendments Acts** (1972)
- **Title IX, Education Amendments Acts** (1972)
Bilingual Education Reform Act (1973)
Education Amendments Acts (1974)
Age Discrimination Act (1975)
Indian Education Act (1975)
Education for All Handicapped Children Act (1975)
Educational Amendments of 1978, with Title XIV and Title XV.
Southeast Asian Refugee Children Act (1978)
The Americans with Disabilities Act (1990)
The Education Amendments of 1992

The specific laws and decisions which have had the most dramatic impact on higher education in this country are:

The Civil Rights Act (1964): Title IV of this act deals specifically with desegregation of public education and Title VI addresses nondiscrimination in Federally Assisted Programs. The Act also provides financial and technical assistance to school systems so that they can comply with Brown v. Topeka Board of Education.

Title IX, Education Amendments Acts (1972): this act states that:

No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

Educational Amendments Acts (1974): Parts A and B of Title II-
Equal educational opportunities and the transportation of students (Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974).

Age Discrimination Act (1975): this act states that:

No person in the United States shall, on the basis of age, be
excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be
subjected to discrimination under, any program or activity
receiving Federal financial assistance.

The Americans with Disabilities Act (1990): this act guarantees
persons with disabilities anti-discrimination protections as well as ac-

cess to employment opportunities, education, public services and ac-
comendations, and communication systems.

These laws have provided the impetus for desegregation of college
and university campuses, affirmative action and equal employment op-
portunities within higher education for women and minorities, and the
elimination of age discrimination. The response among colleges and
universities regarding The Americans with Disabilities Act (1990) has
been both significant and encouraging.

Clearly, the social forces and social movements, of which the mul-
ticultural education movement was certainly a part, led to certain legal
changes which in turn have had an impact on public education at all
levels. Progress has been slow and often times controversial. Although
resistance and legal challenges have resulted in diminishing some of
the potential impact of these laws, there can be no doubt that they serve
an important role in helping to insure equal educational opportunity
and access for everyone.

Identity Politics

Increased cultural diversity on college and university campuses
has impacted the multicultural education movement in higher educa-
tion. The move toward adopting multicultural policies and curricula at
institutions of higher education "has managed to raise nearly every im­
portant question connected to culture and education--the proper relation
of culture to a democratic society, the relation of literature to life, and the
purpose of higher education" (Berman, 1992, p.26).

University populations began to change in the post W.W. II. per­
iod and continued in the 1960s and 1970s, a period when concerns for so­
cial justice were widespread, and plans were implemented to increase
the possibilities for equality (Scott, 1991). Social movements started and
were maintained as vehicles for achieving equality and empowerment
for those members of society who were consistently being excluded
(Berman, 1992).

As a result of these efforts, the concept of identity politics devel­
oped. Used in this context, identity politics can be described as the
movements for women's rights, for gay and lesbian liberation, for vari­
ous ethnic revivals, and for black nationalism (Berman, 1992). The un­
derlying premise behind these movements was an acceptance of the fact
that in abandoning the idea of any kind of cultural "center", a new and
more egalitarian society will emerge, giving full reign to a diversity of
cultures. The desire to see universities reflect cultural, racial, and gen­
der diversity is a direct result of the philosophy that developed in the
1960s and the social movements which stemmed from this philosophy
(Berman, 1992).

Ethnic Studies, Women's Studies and Multiculturalism

Today, there are approximately 700 ethnic and 621 women's stud-
ies programs and departments in colleges and universities throughout the United States (Butler & Schmitz, 1992). The center core of inquiry in these programs is people of color and women. These populations currently comprise more than three-quarters of the world's population. The collective histories of these populations include "removal, enslavement, internment, and subjugation; they give voice to the stories of those who had to fight to gain access to formal education and other benefits of citizenship" (Butler & Schmitz, 1992, p. 39).

The catalyst for these programs was the social and political protests of the 1960s. During the civil rights, black power and women's movements, students and supportive faculty expressed their desire and support for "greater access to coursework on groups that had been historically invisible in the curriculum except as minor figures or subordinated groups with special problems" (Butler & Schmitz, 1991, p. 37). Higher education was targeted because it was seen "as one of the institutional manifestations of discrimination" (Wonders & Caulfield, 1993, p. 80).

During the 1970s, ethnic and women's studies programs in higher education proliferated as financial resources were made available. One of the fundamental goals of these programs was to explore interdisciplinary approaches to scholarship. Faculties drew upon "concepts, ideas and frameworks from many disciplines for scholarship that elucidated the experiences of their respective populations" (Butler & Schmitz, 1992, p. 38). Faculty attempted to break down traditional hierarchical models of teaching and tried to teach students how to take re-
sponsibility for their own learning.

Speech Codes

Colleges and universities across the United States have enacted speech codes which prohibit the use of "hate language" or "fighting words"—this is language that makes derogatory references to "race, sex, sexual orientation, or disability" (Hentoff, 1992, p. 55). The term "fighting words" comes from a 1942 Supreme Court decision, Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire. This decision by the Supreme Court ruled that "fighting words" are not protected by the First Amendment.

The debate on campuses concerns the rights of free speech guaranteed under the First Amendment versus the right of equal protection for all guaranteed by the 14th Amendment. Those who support speech codes maintain that negative, hurtful comments cause negative self-images and create a hostile environment that interferes with the right of minorities and women to acquire an equal education (Stimpson, 1991a).

However, a recent Supreme Court ruling in RAV v. St. Paul signals a clear victory for free speech and seriously challenges the legality of instituting speech codes on campuses (Leo, 1992). In writing the majority opinion, Judge Antonin Scalia charged that prohibitions against specific forms of speech and expression are impermissible and that the government must not regulate these expressions based on feelings toward their messages. This ruling is causing colleges and universities to rethink their policies on hate speech and put on hold those already adopted (Helms, 1992). Mark G. Yudof (as cited in Helms, 1992, p. 14),
Dean of the Law School at the University of Texas, Austin notes:

All these campuses are faced with some choices - they can abolish [hate speech codes] or write more general ones. Unless you have a really general provision, it renders all of them on public campuses unconstitutional.

However, many colleges and universities may have escaped the ramifications of this Supreme Court decision because their codes are targeted toward more general acts and do not focus specifically on hate-spawned speech acts (Helms, 1992). Clearly, the future of speech codes on campuses across the United States is uncertain. Because the multicultural education movement has identified speech codes as one means of helping to achieve a positive environment on campus for all, much concern is being generated over the possible impact this new ruling will have.

"Political Correctness"

The United States is in the midst of an extended debate regarding the character of undergraduate education. Competing claims concerning multiculturalism are resonating in colleges and universities all across the country. Members of academic communities disagree over the meaning of diversity and how to go about achieving it (Gaff, 1992).

Misconceptions about political correctness and multicultural education are rampant. "Political correctness" is a pejorative term that is used by some to mean an unwarranted and excessive sensitivity toward minority groups. In fact, this term has been used to mock what some have identified as the excesses of affirmative action programs on college campuses (Van de Wetering, 1991).

Philosophically, the "PC" movement supports the subordination of
free speech protected by the First Amendment, to guarantee the equal protection for all achieved by the 14th Amendment. The hard line absolutist position is that a person can say anything about anyone, irrespective of how hurtful and derogatory the comments may be (Adler, 1990). The "PC" position is that these negative comments can cause a negative self-image and create a hostile environment. This hostile environment abridges the right of minorities and women to attain an equal education.

In a presidential address to the 1990 Modern Language Association Convention, Catherine R. Stimpson, Dean of the Graduate College at Rutgers University, defined the "PC" movement as being the result of two developments. First, the development of tremendous amounts of humanistic scholarship concerning the relationship between power and culture. Secondly, the linkages between social and intellectual changes taking place on campuses across the United States today (Stimpson, 1991b).

Diversity and equality are central tenets of the "PC" movement. Modification of the canon of eurocentrism is seen as imperative because of the way women and minorities have been presented. Perceptions about language and culture are fundamental to this perspective. Language, as the means of inter-cultural communication and understanding, is fundamental to creating an environment conducive to accepting a multicultural aproach on campuses across the United States. Emphasis is placed on discouraging the use of certain common words and phrases (Stimpson, 1991a).

Opponents of the "political correctness" movement have labeled it
a left wing orthodoxy. Their position is that the movement toward multicultu-
ral education is smothering campuses across this country; that robust political debate is being stifled out of an exaggerated concern about offending blacks and women; that "nutty" professors are replacing "dead white males" like Aristotle and Shakespeare in the curriculum; and that affirmative action is corrupting admission standards and hiring practices. In short, that in the name of tolerance and diversity, universities in the United States are becoming intolerant, unscholarly, and undiverse (Kinsley, 1991).

These opponents contend that higher education's responses to the challenge of increased diversity have been adequate and that further efforts to incorporate democratic pluralism and multiculturalism into education will simply make curricula incoherent or fragmented (Jouzaitis, 1992). Other academicans argue that the university has continued to remain impervious to multiculturalism: that despite the increasing numbers of culturally diverse students and faculty, higher education has tenaciously clung to a eurocentric philosophy, that at best, merely marginalizes diversity concerns (Levine & Cureton, 1992).

The most significant aspect of the debate is over whether or not to broaden the traditional eurocentric "canon" of classical texts to include women and minority groups. Many scholars are opposed to the continued use of texts which contain unpopular, usually conservative ideas that exclude alternative perspectives and vocabularies (Droge, 1992). These scholars believe that it is possible to create a common ground for communication and understanding that does not require everyone who
is different to be the same (Buchen, 1993).

Those who support the move toward a more multicultural curriculum are calling for an undergraduate curriculum that includes an emphasis on liberal arts and sciences, greater attention to the development of such skills as critical thinking, qualitative analysis and writing, and the integration of knowledge that accurately reflects the contributions of all races and cultures (Gaff, 1992).

Others counter that in reality the university has in effect sold its soul to multiculturalism: that higher education is purging its historical Western canon and replacing it "willy-nilly with non-Western, ethnic, and gender studies" (Levine & Cureton, 1992, p. 25).

Both sides of the "PC" issue have been represented by two organizations of university professors. The National Association of Scholars (1992, p. 76) promotes the position that "Educators have failed to reassess some recent policies and practices that, far from promoting tolerance and fairness, are undermining them". They maintain that curriculums and instruction in English, sociology, women's studies and black studies are highly political in many, many cases and have very low intellectual standards (Jouzaitis, 1992, p. 7).

Teachers for a Democratic Culture (1992) support the opposite perspective in that they believe reforms in the content of the curriculum have also begun to make our classrooms more representative of our nation's diverse peoples and beliefs and to provide a more truthful account of our history and cultural heritage (p. 67).

These scholars counter that the questions being raised about race, gender and nationality have added new life to texts and that these controver-
sies have made the humanities and literature more interesting (Jouzaitis, 1992). They also maintain that multiculturalism is needed to provide an accurate picture of American identity (Van de Wetering, 1991).

One fundamental aspect of this debate is that in a poly-cultural democracy there must be an environment conducive to promoting productive differences. Those in favor of multicultural education see the university setting as the proper social space for the promotion of differences.

Recent Studies

Levine and Cureton’s (1992) study was a first-of-its kind study designed to provide an accurate picture of exactly what, if any, changes have occurred in higher education because of the multicultural education movement. After surveying, by questionnaire, a random sample of 270 colleges and universities stratified by Carnegie I type, Levine and Cureton (1992) found that 34% of all colleges and universities have a multicultural general education requirement. Ethnic and gender studies are offered by at least one third of all colleges and universities. Multiculturalism in departmental course offerings exists in 54% of all colleges and universities. The study found 36% of all colleges and universities have active programs to recruit underrepresented populations, and more than 42% of all colleges and universities have multicultural programs to enhance faculty development. Additionally, multicultural centers have been established at
35% of all colleges and universities.

Levine and Cureton (1992) further found that among all four year institutions, research-oriented institutions lead in their efforts to incorporate multiculturalism in their programs. Colleges and institutions in all regions of the country have developed and implemented multicultural programs. An important finding of the study showed that 72% of all four year institutions surveyed indicated that multiculturalism is a major topic of concern on campuses throughout the United States. In addition, four out of every ten two-year schools indicated that multiculturalism is discussed frequently, if not continually.

In a 1992 meeting of the New England Student Affairs Think Tank, a group of senior student affairs administrators from New England colleges and universities discussed in great depth the multicultural education movement, communication, the "political correctness" debate, the challenges which today's students face, and the growing sense of frustration among white men. The consensus of opinion was that it was much better and more important to discuss differences than banning noxious expression in an academic community; that such a community should be characterized by inclusion; that both the responsibility for creating a sense of community and an environment appropriate for differences have to be shared by the faculty, student affairs officers, senior administrators, and students; and that these efforts must remain central to the ongoing life of a college or university (Gamson, 1991).

Gaff (1992) surveyed over 300 colleges and universities and found
that most college deans and campus leaders see multiculturalism remaining a central feature of their general education programs for some time. Two issues were identified as having the most influence on curriculum development in the 1990s: the growing emphasis of global affairs, and the impact of greater cultural diversity.

Project 30, a collaborative effort among 30 universities representing a cross-section of all four-year institutions in the United States that prepare teachers for certification, has a three year mandate to redesign the way prospective teachers are educated. The first year report of this project identified five themes or discussions taking place among faculties of the participating universities in an attempt to clarify the intellectual underpinnings of teacher education: (1) subject matter understanding; (2) general and liberal knowledge; (3) pedagogical content knowledge; (4) multicultural, international, and other human perspectives; and (5) recruitment into teaching. Their three year goal is to have reform addressing these themes implemented at these participating colleges and universities and plan on calling for national reform based on the work and ideas that are consolidated throughout the life of the project (Murray & Fallon, 1993).

The Alliance for Curriculum Reform (ACR) conducted a survey in May 1992 of all member organizations and others who had participated in Alliance activities concerning their policies on issues relating to multicultural education. The purpose of the survey was to provide data on curriculum-centered associations' official policies in order to provide background for developing a general ACR statement on multi-
culturalism in curriculum. The survey addressed three main areas of interest: existing printed policies on multicultural content of curriculum; printed policies on student diversity relative to the organization's field; and policies on multicultural diversity as they relate to staffing, organizational, structural, and/or membership issues. Thirty three associations responded. Of those who responded, 13 already had printed policies in all three areas and four reported policies that were in development at the time of the survey (Renyi, 1993).

These studies show that multiculturalism is indeed an important concern on campuses all across this country. Administrators, faculty and students are struggling with designing and implementing policies and procedures that encourage diversity and promote a multicultural environment. Curricula are being changed to better reflect all cultures and groups and their contributions to society. Diversity is being defined as non-threatening. Universities are becoming able to afford students experiences that will permit them to make decisions and solve problems in situations that include diverse perspectives.

Universities and colleges across the United States recognize that there is much left to be done in this area. Many schools are revising their undergraduate curricula, establishing more ethnic and women's studies programs and actively recruiting larger numbers of diverse students and faculty.

However, the concept of multiculturalism remains a very "messy" one. Discourse is fraught with tension. One of the reasons that tensions exist is because scholars are taught as narrow specialists in their disci-
plines. Incorporating an interdisciplinary multicultural approach is perceived threatening because professionals are not prepared in this way. Additional tensions are being generated by some scholars who believe that cultural and ethnic specific programs will be diminished by a multicultural approach. Compounding the situation further is the fact that there is an ongoing struggle to determine exactly how best to implement a multicultural approach or even if one should be implemented.

The Challenge for Higher Education

University administrators, staff and faculty face an increasingly complex challenge in developing an educational process that recognizes the ever increasing diversity of its students and implements policies and procedures accordingly (Stage & Manning, 1992). At issue is the institutional impact the adoption of a multicultural approach to university policy and curriculum is generating (Bennett, 1990).

Multiculturalism in education has the potential of adding excitement and energy to the classroom. The challenge becomes one in which students and faculty struggle to find commonalities between subjects and forms of discourse. According to Chace (1991), the goal is achieved when: the isolated and passionate voices of cultures that are not yet part of the mainstream become united; preservation of the integrity of these voices is maintained; and, there is prevention of conformity in defining ultimate results. In addition, the struggle over incorporating multiculturalism in higher education has generated the opportunity for universities to create a new order in which groups that were formerly excluded
can now contribute their experiences to a collective understanding of so-
ciety and the world (Siegel, 1991).

The global focus of today has educators at institutions of higher
education scrambling to learn more about diversity and how it impacts
the role of higher education. At stake is whether or not universities will
have a significant role in the on-going process of educating people to be
active and critical citizens who will be able to deal with the social prob-
lems facing society today (Giroux, 1992). The new role being defined is
one where the university becomes the vanguard for action and social
change that promotes the elimination of prejudice and the acceptance of
fairness and equality (Berman, 1992).

Michael Sovern, president of Columbia University, observed at a
recent symposium that "I like to think that we are leading society by
grappling earnestly and creatively with the challenges posed by diver-
sity" (1990, p. 20). The fundamental issues facing educators today are
centered around developing policies and curricula in which a culturally
diverse society can be educated (Grant, 1992). Many educators believe
that universities have the responsibility to insure that an environment
both in and out of the classroom is established "where inter-cultural
sensitivity can be cultivated and the notion of social equity can be ente-
tained" (Auferheide, 1992, p. 3).

Cornell University president Frank Rhodes has stated that "we
face an unresolved conflict between the natural impulse toward separate
racial and ethnic identity on the one hand and the genuine desire, on the
other, for meaningful interaction that transcends differences of back-
ground" (Dinkelspeil, 1989, p.57). In a recent address to the Economic
Club of Grand Rapids, Diether H. Haenicke, president of Western
Michigan University, identified one of the most useful functions of a
university as being a safe place in which "intellectual conflict and ideo-
logical warfare can take place without physical confrontation, where
new social concepts can be debated, argued, and rejected or accepted"
(Jones & Baron, 1993, p.1). Professors and administrators from colleges
and universities all across the country are defining the role of the uni-
versity as one that teaches everyone to appreciate the culture of all
groups equally (Stage & Manning, 1992).

Summary

This investigation and analysis of the relationship between the
multicultural education movement and higher education demonstrates
that once again the university in the United States is in the forefront as a
testing ground for social transformation. The questions and problems
facing universities and colleges across this country concerning diversity
and multiculturalism are reflections of the problems facing society as a
whole. The structural changes in higher education which have resulted
because of the multicultural education movement are geared toward
recognition of the ethnic and racial composition of today's society.

The first dramatic changes on campuses across the United States
began to occur as a result of the Civil Rights Legislation of 1964.
Subsequent legislation resulted in colleges and universities being forced
to address issues of racial, gender, age and other forms of discrimina-
tion. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 had a profound impact for women and minorities because it made discrimination based on sex illegal. The Age Discrimination Act of 1975 prohibited discrimination because of age. The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 prohibited discrimination based on a person having a disability. Although these laws have served to help bring about positive changes there is still much to be accomplished.

The composition of society in the United States has changed drastically. The multicultural education movement has resulted in universities working to transform their policies and curriculums to better reflect the changing demographics of their faculties and student bodies. The greatest challenge facing colleges and universities as we near the end of the 20th century is whether or not they can become diverse communities which encourage and exemplify the cultures represented by that diversity.

Dramatic changes in our social world have resulted in discussions about what the role of the university will be now and in the future. Supporters of the multicultural education movement want that role to be defined as one that helps the United States better shape a successful future for survival in the next century through a multicultural approach that will help students gain broader and more accurate views of society and culture.

A review of recent studies shows that multiculturalism is in fact a major concern on campuses across this country and many administrators and faculty believe that it will continue to be a central feature of
their general education programs for a long time to come. Curricula re-
form has been identified as being critically important. The multicultu-
tural education movement is working toward changing curricula so
that it better reflects a global perspective; one which recognizes, re-
spects, and values all students' family, cultural and ethnic origins; one
which will employ educational techniques and activities that reflect
multicultural perspectives; and one which will advocate justice and eq-
uity for all, both in and out of the classroom environment.

Higher education in the United States is undergoing major
changes and adjustments as it struggles to face the challenges of an
ever-changing society. Although many programs and policies have
been changed, there is still a tremendous amount of work to be accom-
plished.
CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

The ultimate goal of this thesis was four-fold: (1) to identify the multicultural education movement as a social movement; (2) to identify the historical background of the multicultural education movement and explain its relationship to the social movements of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s; (3) to identify and discuss the social theories developed to explain and understand these movements and their relationship to each other; and (4) to review and analyze data gathered concerning the impact of the multicultural education movement on higher education. The research conducted has served to enhance understanding of the multicultural education movement and provide some answers to the central issues of this research.

The research gathered has shown that the multicultural education movement arose out of the socio-political climate of the 1960s and early 1970s, and occurred as a result of, and in conjunction with, other social movements of that time (i.e., the Civil Rights, Feminist, Gay/Lesbian, and other minority group movements). Central to all these social movements was the focus placed on achieving social, political and economic equity for all groups living in the United States. Research has pointed out that the multicultural education movement resulted as a function of the interaction occurring among these social forces.

The multicultural education movement can be defined as a social
movement because it is an organized effort on the part of a large group of
people actively striving to change/alter existing social structure in inno-
vative ways. A wide variety of educational scholars and leaders, as well
as members from other social movements and other concerned individ­-
uals, comprise the leadership and membership of the multicultural edu-
cation movement. The movement gained in intensity as educational
institutions recognized the need for programs, curricula, policies and
practices specifically designed to address the needs and demands of the
various ethnic, racial and other minority groups living in the United
States.

Before the multicultural education movement can be truly under­
stood and evaluated there has to be a clear perception of the background
of the society in which the movement plays its part. The socio-historic
method utilized allowed for research to be conducted with a special em­
phasis on the history of the forces from which the multicultural educa­
tion movement has arisen. Examination of documentation shows that
early settlement of the United States was dominated by the English.
This resulted in the development of a dominant eurocentric culture
and ideology and gave the English control of the social, political and eco­
nomic institutions in this country. Because difference was perceived as
unacceptable, forced assimilation of minority groups in the dominant
culture was standard practice and resulted in minority groups being
kept at the bottom of the social and economic ladder.

Evidence derived from this research has shown that as society in
the United States became more diverse and the socio-political climate
changed, social movements sprang into life. Their purpose was to change the social, political and economic institutions in the United States so that they reflect the contributions and worth of all the truly diverse groups comprising society in this country. This research shows that the etiology of the multicultural education movement has been juxtaposed with the aforementioned social forces. As a result, the theoretical models of culture and society which serve to underlie and drive these social movements also underlie and drive the multicultural education movement.

The research conducted identified four perspectives of culture which serve to underlie and drive the multicultural movement. The theoretical perspectives are: (1) cultural pluralism, (2) the conflict perspective, (3) a critical perspective of education, and (4) a model in which the school is viewed as a social system.

Education is viewed as the vehicle through which opportunities for social, political and economic equity becomes available. Empowering education is recognized as a critical-democratic pedagogy for self and social change. Cultural pluralism provides a multicultural model of cultural transformation which values both acknowledgment of different cultures and places value on each culture's contributions to society. Conflict theories emphasize achieving social and economic equity for all participants through social change. Critical theory views the school as an expression of the organizational structure of society as a whole and requires that relationship to be the primary unit of analysis. Research has pointed to the utility of these theoretical perspectives in explaining
the causes and forces which generated and serve to drive the multicultural education movement. However, one limitation of this research is that limited data was examined about the influence of globalism.

The final objective of this research was to evaluate the relationship of the multicultural education movement with higher education and examine the resulting institutional implications and consequences. Unfortunately, this objective was only partially met. Because of the flux and change associated with the movement's on-going evolution, data was limited in scope. Additionally, research indicates that the role of higher education within the multicultural education movement is still being defined. Therefore, the data examined is limited and cannot fully explain the nature of the relationship, nor the full extent of the institutional consequences that result. However, research did provide valuable insight into the on-going debate concerning the role of higher education in relation to the multicultural movement and some of the consequences and implications to date.

Research confirms that the increasingly diverse composition of students and faculty at colleges and universities across the United States has resulted in an intense and often times emotional debate and discourse over what, if any, policy and curricula changes need to be implemented in order for the university to better reflect the racial, cultural and gender diversity of its students and faculty. Even though recent research found that over half of all colleges and universities in the United States have instituted cultural and ethnic study programs and more than one-third have a multicultural general education requirement,
they also show that the issue is by no means resolved, and will remain a high priority for some time to come.

Future Research

Understanding of the multicultural education movement could be enhanced through further research on other levels of analysis. First, an investigation into perspectives of world systems and globalization would increase understanding of the importance of all cultures and societies to each other. Second, an examination from a social psychological perspective would add to knowledge about the development of self image and group interactions. Finally, analysis incorporating a resource mobilization perspective would enhance the enlightenment and understanding of the nature of social movements. Additional research needs to be conducted incorporating these perspectives in order for a more complete explanation and understanding of the multicultural education movement to emerge.

The issue of the role of higher education should be investigated in greater detail. For instance, what impact, if any, has the adoption of multicultural policies and curricula had to date? Does there need to be consensus regarding the role of the university in society? What are the future implications for society on both a micro and macro level? Is there more appreciation and understanding of cultural differences among those who have participated in these programs? What direction should further changes take? Answers to questions such as these would provide a clearer understanding of the multicultural education movement,
the relationship of the movement to higher education, and the role of education in society.

Finally, conducting research into the recent trend of cultural polarization that appears to be gaining in intensity in the United States is also important. An investigation of this nature would serve to inform and enlighten the existing understanding of what is really happening between and among the many diverse groups comprising society in the United States and the effect of these forces upon the multicultural education movement at the university level.
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