Framing the Effect of Multiculturalism on Diversity Outcomes among Students at Historically Black Colleges and Universities

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Historically Black colleges and universities [HBCUs] have been a tremendous asset for African Americans seeking higher education over the past 150 years (Anderson, 1988). Before 1950, traditionally Black institutions educated more than 75 percent of African-American college students (Anderson, 1984). Although the percentage of African Americans educated at HBCUs has decreased to 20% since that time (U.S. Department of Education, 2005), retention rates among Black students at HBCUs are significantly higher than at traditionally White institutions (TWIs) (Redd, 1998). In addition, HBCUs reported better outcomes in student learning and self-confidence (Allen, 1992; 1996; Fleming, 1984). For example,

compared to Black students at TWIs, Black students at HBCUs are more likely to report higher grade point-averages, better psychological development, greater satisfaction with campus activities and cultural support, and academic growth and maturity (Allen, 1987, 1992, 1996; Fleming, 1984). Moreover, students have better relationships with faculty and staff and are more likely to aspire to an advanced degree (Allen, 1996; Harvey & Williams, 1996). Furthermore, because of racially hostile campus climates at TWIs (Hurtado, 1996), HBCUs provide students with an alternative to predominantly White campuses wherein African American students may spend much of their time feeling alienated, frustrated, and unsupported (Oliver, Rodriguez, & Mickelson, 1985; Smith, 1989; Watson & Kuh; 1996).

However, greater numbers of African-American students are choosing to attend TWIs over HBCUs (Allen & Jewell, 2002; Harvey & Williams, 1996; Redd, 1998). Harvey and Williams (1996) suggest that this shift has occurred because African-American students now have a large array of institutions to choose from. As a result of the school desegregation acts of the 1950s (i.e., *Brown v. Board*, etc.) and the desegregation of higher education in the 1970s through the 1990s,[1] HBCUs must now contend not only with being one of several institutions, historically Black or otherwise, from which African-American students choose to attend, but must also consider admitting greater numbers of non-Black students into their institutions (Allen & Jewell, 2002; Blake, 1991; Brown, 2002). As a result of the greater numbers of White, Hispanic, Asian American, and Native American students attending HBCUs (Brown, 2002), the already existing international student population, and the diverse faculty that teach at these institutions (Anderson, 1988), HBCUs are becoming more racially diverse institutions.

The diversification of HBCUs has emerged as a result of factors specific to these institutions, yet despite the contributing factors, their bent towards diversity aligns with the recent push in higher education towards greater diversity, inclusion, and multiculturalism. Although diversity outcomes and multicultural curricula have been a part of an important discourse within mainstream higher education, these conversations have in large part neglected discussing multiculturalism and diversity outcomes at HBCUs. This investigation addresses this gap by examining the multiculturalism literature, as well as the literature specific to HBCUs, in an attempt to answer the question: *What is the effect of multiculturalism on diversity outcomes of HBCU students?*

Defining Diversity Outcomes

Before progressing with the discussion, it is important to define the way in which the term *diversity outcomes* will be employed. In a 2002 research investigation conducted by Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, and Gurin, the concept ìdiversity experiencesî was used to describe both the classroom and informal interaction with college students from diverse experiences. This term describes most closely the phenomenon that is

investigated in this study. However, I use *diversity outcomes* as a way of capturing the experiences students have as they interact with diverse others within their college environment; as well as the ways in which these experiences shape the interactions students will have with the world once they graduate from college. This term has been chosen in order to shift the focus away from the broad term ìlearning outcomes,î and a more specific term, ìdemocracy outcomes.î *Diversity outcomes* describes more specifically the learning that occurs from exposure to diversity. Furthermore, it is an attempt to intentionally highlight studentsí facility with diversity and draw closer connections between diversity experiences and multiculturalism.

Contextualizing Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education

Multiculturalism within education is defined and contextualized in different ways depending on the specific educational field. The literature within higher education discusses multiculturalism in terms of democratic outcomes and the ways in which exposure to diverse others in college provides individual and societal benefits (e.g., Bowen & Bok, 1998; Gurin, et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2003; Milem, 1994). In comparison, the literature in educational studies on multiculturalism is described as, ìa nonhierarchical approach that respects and celebrates a variety of cultural perspectives on world phenomenaî (Asante, 1991b, p.172). Furthermore, most often in educational studies, the topic of multiculturalism is discussed by using the term multicultural education (Banks, 1993). I have included literature from K-12 research in order to provide an additional perspective on multiculturalism in education and to discuss how these approaches may inform work in higher education, particularly the ways in which they contribute to a conceptual framework for understanding multiculturalism in HBCUs.

Multiculturalism

The higher education literature contextualizes multiculturalism in two main ways, as democratic outcomesóthe ways in which exposure to multiculturalism in college provides benefits to the greater U.S. society (Bowen & Bok, 1998; Gurin, et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2003; Hurtado, Engberg, Ponjuan & Landreman, 2002); and through curricular means (Clayton-Pedersen & Musil, 2003). Democratic outcomes are discussed first within the context of learning outcomes students acquire in college, and secondly in terms of the benefits to society attained as students are exposed to diverse others (Antonio, 2001; Greene & Kamimura, 2003; Gurin, Dey, Gurin, & Hurtado, 2004; Gurin, et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2003; Hurtado, et al., 2002; Hurtado, Bowman, Dwyer, & Greene, 2004; Milem, 1994). These different discussions of multiculturalism, most often occur concurrently within studies and cumulatively demonstrate that diversity experiences influence studentsí learning in college, their sense of civic responsibility once they graduate, and better equip them to work in this increasingly diverse

society (AAC&U, 2002; Carnevale & Fry, 2000; Gurin, et al., 2004; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2003).

Some of the educational outcomes associated with interactions between students with diverse backgrounds include: cognitive skills (e.g., cognitive flexibility, socio-historical thinking, and critical thinking); socio-cognitive outcomes (e.g. leadership skills, social, and cultural awareness); democratic outcomes (e.g., propensity to vote in elections, a belief that conflict enhances democracy, and a concern for the public good), prejudice reduction, cultural awareness and cultural acceptance (Antonio, 2001; Astin, 1993a; 1993b; Cheng, 2003; Hurtado, 2003, Milem, 1994).[2]

Although all of the previously mentioned learning outcomes occur on college campuses, they each occur in different ways, and as a result of various campus circumstances. Research shows that structural diversity, or a critical mass of students from underrepresented groups, impacts studentsí interaction with diverse others on campus (Gurin, et al., 2002; Hurtado, Carter, & Kardia, 1998). Additionally, the literature is rich with quantitative studies that analyze the curricular, co-curricular, and informal experiences students have interacting with diverse peer groups (Antonio, 2001; Hurtado, 2003; Hurtado, et al., 2002; Hurtado, et al., 2004; Greene & Kamimura, 2003; Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn, & Terenzini, 1996).

Moreover, further literature on multiculturalism within higher education indicates that multiculturalism is found, practiced and implemented through the curriculumóeither through required courses that meet what has been termed a ìdiversity requirementî (AAC&U, 1995a; AAC&U, 1995b; Levine & Cureton, 1992), or through departmental infusion of multiple perspectives into the curriculum (Levine & Cureton, 1992). While the departmental infusion is haphazard, the more common method of implementing multiculturalism into the curriculum has been through university-wide diversity requirements which expose students to experiences different from their own. These curricular experiences include courses on gender studies, ethnic studies, institutional or societal racism, religion, ethnicity, intolerance, and social class (Butler & Walter, 1991; Humphreys, 1997; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999). In addition, diversity requirements may also take a more social justice orientation and analyze systems of inequality and discrimination (Humphreys, 1997).

Multicultural Education

The K-12 literature uses the term multicultural education and addresses it in a multifaceted way. Banksí (1993) model of multicultural education considers several dimensions including: content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowering school culture. Banksí (1993) c*ontent integration* explains the extent to which teachers use ìexamples, data, and information from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalization and theoriesî (p. 5). Furthermore, it pertains to Gayís

(1997) discussion about multicultural infusion through the curriculum. *Knowledge construction* refers to the frames of reference and the cultural experiences that inform thinking and produce knowledge. Loewen (1995) and hooks (1990) purport that the knowledge constructed is dependent upon the frame of reference from which it is taught. *Prejudice reduction* describes strategies that can be used to enhance democratic values among students (Lynch 1987). Furthermore, prejudice reduction occurs not only through exposure to diversity within the curriculum, but is also affected by the racial awareness of children and occurs when youth have greater interaction with others of different racial and cultural backgrounds (Milner, 1983).

Equity pedagogy occurs when teachers utilize instructional techniques that are beneficial to students of various racial, ethnic, and socio-economic backgrounds. Banksí concept of *empowering school culture* builds off the previously discussed dimensions of multicultural education. Banks (1993) suggested that while content integration, knowledge construction, and equity pedagogy occur within the school, ìthe school itself can also be conceptualized as one social system that is larger than its interrelated parts (e.g., its formal and informal curriculum, teaching materials, counseling programs, and teaching strategies),î (p. 33) and schools are cultural systems with specific values, traditions, customs, and shared meanings (Willis, 1977).

The literature within higher education, as well as with educational studies, offer specific notions about what multiculturalism and multicultural education are and how they apply to specific settings. However, they do not address the way in which multiculturalism exists at HBCUs, nor the way multicultural education in K-12 settings relates to or prepares students for HBCUs. As a result, there is only a small collection of works that discuss aspects of multiculturalism at HBCUs.

Multiculturalism at HBCUs

Sims (1994) posited that multiculturalism should accessible to all students regardless of the institutional type they attend. Furthermore, she stated that experiences with diversity are just as important to foster at HBCUs as in other institutions of higher education. She echoed the majority of literature on diversity in higher education, stating that diversity promotes awareness, respect for difference, and a variety of cultures. In addition, Bey (2004) indicated the importance of multiculturalism at HBCUs by highlighting the 71% increase in White student enrollment at HBCUs between 1976 and 1994. Willie (1991) imparted that exposure to non-African-American students is beneficial for African Americans as this helps disconfirm stereotypes. This exposure is particularly important due to highly segregated high school environments from which both African-American and White college students come (Orfield, Frankenberg, & Lee, 2003).

With this in mind, multiculturalism at HBCUs is an important topic that warrants attention. The limited literature that is present on multiculturalism at HBCUs does not define itself as such, nor is it comprehensive. Rather, separate and

unrelated pieces have been published covering various aspects of HBCUs including: curricular multiculturalism at HBCUs, White students at HBCUs, diverse faculty at HBCUs, identity development of students at HBCUs, and a single study on diversity outcomes at HBCUs. Within this article I will to bring this literature together forming a portrait of multiculturalism at HBCUs, and to identify areas for future research. Although these disparate studies relate to multiculturalism at HBCUs, they do so indirectly and some perhaps address it unintentionally. However, they are useful in this discussion because, as I will argue, they inform a conceptual framework for research that can directly address diversity outcomes and multiculturalism at HBCUs.

Curricular Multiculturalism at HBCUs

In a mixed methods study conducted by Bey (2004), multicultural education at two HBCUs in Virginia was investigated. In her study, Bey sought to understand the ways in which multiculturalism is situated within the general education curriculum of HBCUs, how faculty and administrators defined it, and the extent to which there was an institutional responsibility to promote multicultural education. In this examination she found that in all of the general education courses with titles that suggest inclusion of underrepresented persons, only two of them included multiple perspectives, and according to her index, provided a moderate amount of multicultural education. Furthermore, both courses concentrated on people of African descent. However, in 45% of her interviews with faculty, respondents indicated that diversity was promoted not by the structure of the general education curriculum, but by the faculty within the classroom.

The chief academic officer at one of the institutions studied by Bey (2004) indicated that multiculturalism was at the core of their institution because of their diverse faculty and student population, as well as the ìlarge number of multicultural and diversity courses taught throughout the curriculumî (p. 178). However, additional findings indicated that definitions of multicultural education included: appreciation of cultural differences, integration of cultural material, expanding knowledge, and valuing difference. Within these definitions, more than 50% of respondents at both institutions defined multiculturalism in terms of African American or Black experiences; thus indicating a very narrow definition of multiculturalism. Bey (2004) suggested that these definitions may indicate that respondents did not understand the multidimensional aspects of multiculturalism, or that the HBCU setting influenced the definition of the term.

Beyís (2004) research also found that faculty and administrators were split approximately 50-50 as to whether or not a multicultural education perspective should be included in discipline specific requirements, or be made a part of the general education requirements. Yet faculty suggested that they employed multicultural teaching tactics by encouraging students to insert their own experi-

ences into educational contexts, allowing sources other than the instructor serve as information centers, and encouraging students to challenge conventional notions of knowledge. They also believed that multicultural education was an important empowerment tool for the well being of students. However, respondents indicated that issues pertaining to multiculturalism and the curriculum were not the most pressing ones at these institutions.

Beyís research finds that multicultural education does exist within the core curriculum at HBCUs, but not in the traditional sense. She suggests that HBCUs affinity towards African American centered multiculturalism is rooted in the history and mission of HBCUs to serve and prepare the African American community.

White Students at HBCUs

Brown (2002) indicates that in 1994 White students comprised 16.5% of the HBCU enrollment and that there have been significant demographic shifts within the HBCU student population since 1976. During this 18-year period there was a 19% decrease in African American enrollment, a 70% increase in White student enrollment, a 45% increase in Hispanic enrollment, a 274% increase in Asian student enrollment, and a 139% increase in the Native American student enrollment at HBCUs. Despite this growing diversity among the student body at HBCUs, research has focused almost exclusively on the experiences of White students on these campuses. This dearth in scholarship on other non-African-American students at HBCUs is problematic and needs to be addressed; however, because of the nature of this review, I am limited to discussing existing research.

The growing number of White and other minority students at HBCUs has added an aspect of multiculturalism to HBCUs. By virtue of diverse students being present on campus, they are creating greater structural diversity (as defined in Hurtado, et al., 1999) at HBCUs which helps inform Banks (1993) dimensions of knowledge construction and prejudice reduction. However, as Hurtado, et al. (1999) and Gurin, et al. (2002) insisted, structural diversity is not enough. Simply because student bodies are more diverse on HBCU campuses it does not mean that a multicultural climate is being fostered. In fact, according to Conrad, et al. (1997), many White students choose to attend HBCUs not with the intension of diversifying HBCU campuses or interacting with African-American students, but rather for specific reasons such as to enroll in particular majors or due to scholarships and financial aid. Conversely, Conrad and associates (1997) also found that some White students do attend HBCUs because of the welcoming environment they perceive on theses campuses and because they view them as multi-racial institutions that are supportive and inclusive.

However, while the above mentioned examples may speak to the reasons White students choose to attend HBCUs, the experiences they have on campus can be quite different than anticipated. One White student on Howardís campus explained that

he ìexperienced pressure to remember that [he] was a guest and not challenge the campus cultureî (Ruffins, 1999, p. 22). Furthermore, Sims (1994) found that African-American students do not see White students as peers due to the historical experiences of slavery Whites have not endured.

Although the experiences White students have at HBCUs may be uncomfortable and challenging for them, studies have shown that the experiences they have interacting with diverse peers develops their sense of understanding and learning. Brown (2002) and Willie (1983) both stated that White students who attend HBCUs have greater ease communicating with people of different backgrounds. Furthermore, in her quantitative dissertation White (2000) highlighted this learning that White students obtain as she states:

> it is important that White students possess an opportunity to enhance their learning experience by developing an awareness and sensitivity to the Black studentís experience, as well. Efforts in this direction may serve to counteract the pervasiveness of racial and ethnic stereotypes within the college environment. (p.13)

Although White students seem to benefit from attending HBCUs, there is some concern about the ways in which greater numbers of White students at HBCUs will lead to changes in campus climate HBCUs and specifically to a decrease in service to African American students. Bluefield State University (BSU) is often presented as a case in point of such shifts. Once an institution with a large majority of African-American students, in 1994 the student enrollment of BSU was 92 percent White as was the percentage of White faculty (Brown, 2002). Today, many argue that BSU bears very little resemblance to a traditional HBCU because its Black Greek organizations are absent, as is its marching band, and the president of this institution is White (Brown, 2002).[3] Because climate and culture are the primary contributors to African American student success at these institutions (Allen, 1992; 1996; Brown, 2002) there is great concern over the possibility of a changing climate at HBCUs.

Furthermore, although Brown (2002), White (2000), and Willie (1983) indicated the benefits White students experience from their attendance at HBCUs, direct connections are not drawn between the benefits White students obtain, the benefits Black students gain, and the campus contributions that can occur as a result of White student attendance at HBCUs. Overall the research was primarily concerned with the experiences of White students at HBCUs. However, the focus of this area of literature is either on the individual benefits White students experience from attending HBCUs, or the fear associated with White studentsí HBCU attendance. Thus, because of their growing and diversifying campuses, HBCUs do not appear to be promoting multiculturalism through interactions between their students from diverse backgrounds.

Diverse Faculty at HBCUs

Although the literature on democracy outcomes has focused almost exclu-

sively on the peer to peer interactions of students, literature on structural diversity (see Gurin, et al., 2002; Hurtado, et al., 1998; Hurtado, et al., 1999) and learning outcomes states the important role faculty play in student learning and persistence (Tinto, 1997). Additionally, Bey (2004) indicated that a chief financial officer she interviewed stated that presence of a diverse faculty contributed to their institution being multicultural in nature. Furthermore, Allen (1992) noted that at HBCUs students have more positive relationships with faculty. Moreover, Harvey and Williams (1996) explained the importance of students interacting with diverse faculty by stating:

> Black colleges have always served as welcoming forums for visiting scholars, political statesmen, and business leaders, irrespective of their race, creed, or religion . . . Black collegesí students receive wide exposure to a variety of racial and ethnic groups, and they benefit from the exchange of diverse opinions and views. (p. 236)

In addition to being historically welcoming, HBCUs have attracted a diverse group of Latino, Asian American, and international scholars in more recent years. Yet, despite these shifts in population, the literature on non-African-American HBCU faculty focuses on White faculty (Anderson, 1988; Jewell, 2002). Due to their White missionary founding, HBCUs have a history of having White as well as African-American faculty members. Bey (2004) found that the presence of such faculty on HBCU campuses created a multicultural setting by which African-American students took classes from White professors and interacted with White faculty outside of class. However, Drewry and Doermann (2001) offered that during the 1980s as African-American students began to choose to attend TWIs, African-American faculty were heavily recruited to these institutions to help them become more diverse and supportive for African-American students. In some cases HBCU faculty were recruited to TWIs and wooed by larger salaries. Although there has been a resurgence of African-American students to HBCUs, acquiring African American faculty and retaining them still remains a struggle for HBCUs.

Despite this challenge some argue that HBCUs must retain an African-American faculty and that having a multi-racial faculty composition on campus can be detrimental to the Afrocentric perspectives some HBCUs teach to their students (Johnson, 1971, as cited by Foster & Guyden, 2004). Johnson (1971) suggested that some White faculty teach at HBCUs out of convenience and never fully understand the culture of African Americans and HBCUs. However, as illustrated below, this is not the case for all White faculty members at HBCUs.

Foster and Guyden (2004) present a case study of a White male faculty member who worked at two HBCUs. Although this individual did not seek out employment at an HBCU he found that the experiences he had at these institutions was one from which he benefited tremendously. He was aware of the racial difference between himself and his students, and took advantage of situations in which racial identity was broached to create teaching moments for his students. Furthermore, he learned

a great deal about himself, race, and the way in which he could teach history from multiple perspectives. Moreover, a study conducted by Willie, Grady, and Hope (1991) found that White faculty who left HBCUs to teach at TWIs were not satisfied because of the lack of faculty diversity and negative race relations on campus.

The few findings on faculty at HBCUs suggest that the environment is welcoming for African-American and White faculty alike, and students at HBCUs benefit tremendously from the close interactions they have with these faculty members. However, other opportunities, including higher salaries at TWIs, draw instructors away from HBCUs.

Identity Development at HBCUs

The present social and psychological conditions of African Americans are distinct from those of other racial and ethnic backgrounds, specifically due to the impact of slavery upon them (Merelman, 1993; White, 2000). Arnold (1997, as cited by White, 2000) found that environment plays a significant role in the adjustment of students to college. He stated that ìstudents enter college with their own personalities, attributes, values, skills, and needs based on their prior experience in their homes, families, communities, and peer groupsî (White, 2000, p. 23). Similar findings have been noted by many education scholars including Dey & Hurtado (1994) who found that ìstudents bring values and attitudes associated with larger social forces into academe, thereby creating change within the higher education systemî (p. 249).

In Whiteís (2000) quantitative study of racial identity development at HBCUs and TWIs she coupled the research of Arnold (1997) with the historical experiences of African Americans. In doing so she indicated that African-American students come to college not only with their family experiences, but embedded within these are historical experiences of being a descendent of enslaved people. In her study, White (2000) measured the racial identity brought to college by African-American students who attended HBCUs and African-American students who attended TWIs. Her findings suggested that this identity related to historical oppression brought to college by students is salient. Furthermore, White (2000) found that African-American students at HBCUs reported greater gains in internal racial identity and cultural awareness than African-American students at TWIs. Although her findings indicated positive racial identity outcomes for African-American students at HBCUs, she also found that students at HBCUs reported that there was less of an emphasis on racial diversity.

Additionally, Sleeter (1991) believed it is imperative that African-American students develop a sense of group identity because it helps them navigate the racialized educational and societal hardships they will face in school settings. Furthermore, Merleman (1993) stated that African-American students come to school with ìthe makings of a strong sense of group identity on which the teaching of black history can buildî (p. 336). He further suggested that African-American

studentsí excellence in African-American history is a demonstration of group loyalty. Together these studies suggest the importance of identity and identity development among African Americans at HBCUs.

Diversity Outcomes at HBCUs

Through investigating literature on diversity outcomes at HBCUs only one study was found which dealt specifically with interracial interaction among students at HBCUs. This single study was Wathingtonís (2004) dissertation in which she examined the ìrelationship between pre-collegiate experiences, attitudes, and behaviors and the amount of interracial interaction students engage in before entering collegeî in four public research institutions, one of which was an HBCU (p. 11). The HBCU in Wathingtonís study was homogenous with 95% of students identifying racially as African American. Her research focused on specific pre-college characteristics of students including background characteristics, values, beliefs, and prior interracial interaction.

Wathingtonís findings indicated that of the entering HBCU students, the only background characteristic that predicted interracial interaction was race. Moreover, African-American students beginning at this HBCU were more likely to interact with other African-American students and less likely to interact with students of different racial backgrounds. Finally, Wathington determined that the values students perceive other groups to have are strong deterrents for cross-racial interaction.

Wathingtonís study established the pre-college effects of cross-racial interaction among students attending one public HBCU. Her introduction to this literature is valuable, yet it alone does not tell the story of cross-racial interaction or multiculturalism at HBCUs. However, together with Beyís (2004) research on multiculturalism in the HBCU curriculum, Whiteís (2000) study on identity development at HBCUs, the research studies on White students and diverse faculty at HBCUs, a portrait of multiculturalism at HBCUs begins to emerge. It is the collective of these studies that informs my conceptualization of multiculturalism and diversity outcomes at HBCUs presented below.

Conceptual Framework

As discussed, the literature related to multicultural issues at HBCUs is rather scare, disparate, and largely unconnected. However, after reviewing this research, I believe that synthesizing the various areas of study can inform the construction of a conceptual framework that examines diversity outcomes and multiculturalism at HBCUs. Through this effort five components of multiculturalism at HBCUs have emerged which create diversity outcomes: (1) classroom multiculturalism, (2) structural diversity, (3) pre-college experiences, (4) internal development, and (5) empowerment. They can be grouped more specifically into two sub-categoriesó HBCU institutional factors and the individual factors brought to the HBCU by

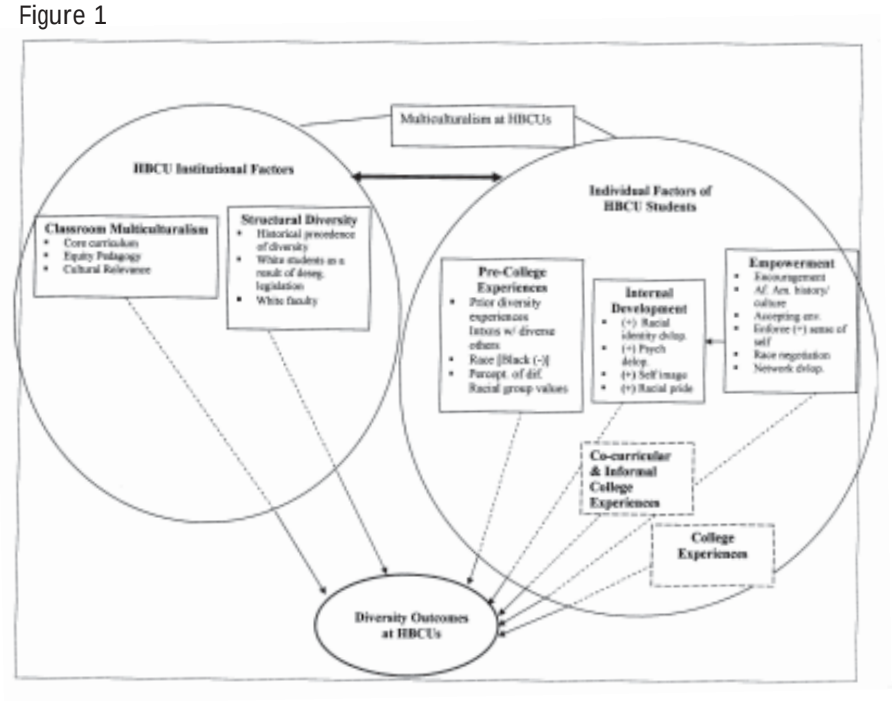
students. A diagram of this conceptual framework appears as Figure 1. In the following sections, I will discuss each of the five components of the framework in greater detail.

Institutional Factors

Classroom multiculturalism. This dimension is informed by the contributions of Beyís (2004) research on the core curriculum at HBCUs, Banksí (1993) study that addresses equity pedagogy, and a concept I have labeled ìcultural relevanceî which combines the work of both Bey (2004) and Banks (1993). Beyís (2004) research on multiculturalism at HBCUs is an introduction to literature in this area. Beyís findings indicated the presence of multiculturalism within the core curriculum of the two institutions in her study. Furthermore, she found that the teaching methods employed in classrooms are considered to be inclusive of diverse perspectives, and finally that the most frequently used ìdiverse perspectiveî at the HBCUs in her study is an African American one.

Banksí (1993) presents equity pedagogy as one of the dimensions of multicultural education that is transformative for studentsí education. He describes this dimension as one which takes into consideration the cultural or ethnic background of the students in order to better assist their learning. This dimension

Figure 1



can be applied to HBCUs as Beyís (2004) research indicated that HBCU instructors invoke the African-American perspective within their classrooms.

The use of equity pedagogy by HBCUs to employ an African American perspective that is taught in the HBCU curriculum is what I have chosen to call cultural relevance in the curriculum. Within the study conducted by Bey (2004) the HBCUs she examined were institutions with a large majority of African American students. As a result, the employment of education that utilized an African American perspective takes into account the cultural background of the majority of students in the classroom. Collectively, the findings of Bey (2004), Banks (1993) and classroom cultural relevance, form a component of multiculturalism at HBCUó *classroom multiculturalism*.

Structural diversity. The other HBCU institutional dimension that comprises multiculturalism at Black colleges is *structural diversity.* In addition to the developmental benefits accrued by African Americans in the above-mentioned studies, African-American students may also receive benefits from the increasing structural diversity at many HBCUs. As a result of the desegregation legislation (i.e., *Adams v. Richardson, Ayers v. Mabus, United States v. Fordice*) that brought more White students to public HBCUs (Blake, 1991; Brown, 1999; Williams, 1988), the history of inclusion at HBCUs (Anderson, 1988; Jewell, 2002), and the greater numbers of White faculty to HBCUs (Anderson, 1988; Bey, 2004; Foster & Guyden, 2004; Jewell, 2002), many of these campuses are more structurally diverse.

Due to this additional diversity, students have greater opportunities to interact across racial groups. However, Wathingtonís (2004) research found that upon entering an HBCU, African-American students have a very low likelihood of interacting cross-racially. Furthermore, Gurin, et al.,ís (2002) study found structural diversity in and of itself is not enough to promote cross-racial interaction; rather, institutions must take an active role to create opportunities for diverse interactions. Yet there is not existing research that investigates the extent to which HBCUs promote cross-racial interactions between students let alone research that measures the benefits of these interactions. Additionally, it should be noted that many HBCUs are already structurally diverse; therefore, many institutation may already promote cross-racial interaction. However, without further exploration we cannot know the extent of institutional initiatives and programs.

Individual Factors

Pre-college experiences. The *pre-college experiences* dimension is grounded in the research studies conducted by Hurtado (2003), Hurtado, et al., (2004), and Wathington (2004). This dimension consists of four componentsóprior diversity experiences, interactions with diverse others, Black students being less likely to interact cross-racially, and perceptions of different racial group values.

The research conducted by Hurtado (2003), Hurtado, et al. (2004), and

Wathington (2004) all found that students have predispositions to diversity prior to college attendance. Although the research conducted by Hurtado et al. (2004) did not explicitly focus on African-American students, nor on HBCUs, it found that a studentís racial background, their gender, SAT score, motherís education, experience with discrimination, previous participation in diversity related activities, and social identity awareness are determinants of ìwhether or not students developed cultural awareness during their first two years of collegeî (p. 24). Furthermore, the portion of Wathingtonís (2004) study that focused on HBCUs found that incoming Black HBCU students were less likely to interact across racial lines. Moreover, she determined that the lack of interaction across racial lines was the result of Black studentsí perceptions that non-Black students had different values from them.

This last finding of Wathingtonís indicates that Black HBCU students are predisposed not to cross-racially interact. Although not explicitly stated, nor a part of Wathingtonís research, this finding, coupled with Hurtado and her colleaguesí research, suggests that African-American HBCU students could also be positively predisposed to interact cross-racially depending on their pre-college experiences. Furthermore, depending on their pre-college experiences, African-American HBCU students may also be positively or negatively predisposed to other pre-college dimensions of multiculturalism in addition to cross-racial interaction. However, other pre-college dimensions of multiculturalism among HBCU students have not been researched and therefore were unable to be included in this model.

Internal development. Internal development includes four main concepts that have emerged from the research of White (2000), Allen (1992, 1996), and Gurin and Epps (1975). Whiteís (2000) research on the identity development of African-American students at HBCUs and TWIs found that more positive racial identity outcomes are obtained for African-American students at HBCUs than at TWIs. Whiteís findings align with results from other studies on students learning and internal development outcomes at HBCUs, such as Allen (1992 1996) and Gurin and Epps (1975). The studies conducted by Allen found that African American students on Black campuses fare better in terms of psychological development. Furthermore, Gurin and Epps (1975) determined that African American students at HBCUs had a strong positive self-image, racial pride, and high aspirations. Collectively these studies present a comprehensive picture of the dimensions of the internal development of HBCU students. Finally, the addition of the internal development dimension contributes to the individual factors that make up multiculturalism at HBCUs.

Empowerment. In her study Sleeter (1991) indicated that when multicultural education and empowerment are combined they make for a very effective education for African American students. The literature on empowerment that relates to HBCUs and multiculturalism has led me to determine that there are five aspects that

comprise this dimension: (1) African-American history and culture, (2) an accepting environment, (3) the enforcement of a positive sense of self, (4) race negotiation, and (5) networks of support. These aspects have emerged as the result of the literature from Asante (1988, 1991a, 1991b), Banks (1993), Freeman and Cohen (2001), Ginwright (2004), and Merleman (1993). Additionally, as a collective they create a diverse view of empowerment. However, more than any of the other dimensions of multiculturalism at HBCUs previously discussed, empowerment is the most complex. Not only is its literature diverse, but the concepts overlap. Furthermore, this dimension as a whole, acts on another dimension of multiculturalismóinternal developmentócreating dynamic interactions within the conceptual model.

Banks (1993) suggested that creating an empowering school culture centered on multicultural education does not come solely from the curriculum, but rather from the formal and informal curriculum, teaching materials, counseling programs, and teaching strategies. However, Ginwright (2004) took a different approach to empowerment and suggested that an Afrocentric curriculum is the way to empower African-American students. Although all of the concepts from Banksí research do not explicitly appear in the visual depiction of my conceptual model, his research along with Ginwrightís set the stage for empowerment as a dimension of multiculturalism at HBCUs.

Freeman and Cohen (2001) align with Ginwright (2004) in their determination that empowered African-American students are created by providing them with African American history and culture. However, where Ginwrightís research focuses on Black high school students and Afrocentric education, Freeman and Cohen specifically address issues at HBCUs. In addition, Freeman and Cohen found that HBCUs create empowered students through the existence of a welcoming atmosphere, a reinforced sense of self, providing students with the tools necessary to confront race in academic and work environments, and assisting with the development of personal as well as professional relationships and networks.

Finally, in his study of empowerment in predominantly African-American schools that have a multicultural curriculum, Merleman (1993) found that students were not empowered to create change, but rather acted as followers as changed occurred. Based on this finding he suggested that students needed more encouragement in order to be empowered and create change without simply following others.

Cross-Dimensional Connections

In addition to the connections made between the researchers within the dimension of empowerment, Asanteís (1988; 1991a; 1991b) research creates links between the empowerment dimension and the internal development dimension. Furthermore, his work highlights the reciprocal relationship between the institutional and individual factors of multiculturalism at HBCUs.

Asante (1991a, 1991b) believes that for African Americans to have higher

achievement levels they must be empowered and centered in their classrooms. Furthermore, he deemed that ìby ëcenteringí their students of color, teachers can reduce feelings of dislocation engendered by our societyís predominantly ëWhite self-esteem curriculumsíî (Asante, 1991a, p. 28). To Asante, centering allows African Americans to see themselves in their education and it makes learning more intimate as well as interesting for students. This concept relates to Banksí (1993) notion of equity pedagogy. Thus, these researchers draw connections between individual and institutional factors of multiculturalism at HBCUs.

In addition to connecting internal and institutional dimensions, Asanteís research also illustrates the connections between two internal factorsóinternal development and empowerment. In one of his 1991 articles Asante (1991b) indicated that seeing themselves within the curriculum created a ìrenewed sense of purpose and visionî in the lives of African American students (p. 177). Moreover, in his 1988 book on Afrocentricity, Asante described that the way in which one becomes more Afrocentric has much to do with focusing on personal identity. Therefore, this focus on personal identity as a component of empowerment can promote self reflection among students, thereby allowing them to delve into another dimension of multiculturalism at HBCUs presented in this frameworkóinternal development. Asanteís research leads me to believe that while empowerment is in and of itself a dimension of multiculturalism at HBCUs, it also informs this second dimensionóinternal development.

Additions to the Conceptual Model

Up to this point, the discussion of the conceptual framework has focused on the aspects that have been included within the model and substantiated by existing research. However, there are additional components that may in fact be relevant to this framework, but have yet to be researched. One such component is college experiences with diversity, specifically, interactions with diverse peers in co-curricular and informal settings. As was noted in the discussion of pre-college experiences, African-American HBCU students in Wathingtonís (2004) study did not interact cross-racially. Although this may be the case for students entering HBCUs, it is possible that students interact with diverse others in their later college years. Despite the possibility that these interactions may occur, there is no existing research that covers the experiences of racial interactions among HBCU students in their later years of college. Thus, the insertion of a sixth dimension of multiculturalism at HBCUs, *college experiences,* has been included as possibility, but its specific components have not been detailed as it should be examined in future studies.

Similarly, the inclusion of *co-curricular and informal experiences* with diversity have been added in this model. The historical literature on HBCUs indicates that co-curricular learning opportunities have been incorporated into Black colleges and universities (Drewry & Doerman, 2001). Additionally, higher

education literature found that co-curricular learning and informal interactions are ways in which students can obtain benefits from interactions with diverse others (Antonio, 2001; Hurtado et al., 2004; Milem, 1994). However, there is no empirical research that specifically focuses on the outcomes associated with exposure to the HBCU co-curriculum or informal settings. Therefore, like college experiences, these dimensions are included in this model as components that should be tested in future studies.

This review and framing of the literature has utilized the term *diversity outcomes* as a way to highlight the learning students obtain as a result of their experiences in college with diversity. However, undergoing this investigation has revealed that at HBCUs, little research reports on the interactions students have with diverse others. Without information on the college experiences HBCU students have in relation to diversity, the outcomes they will obtain are unable to be determined. Thus, in order to gain an understanding of this concept, additional research must be conducted on the college diversity experiences of HBCU students. Additionally, because limited research exists on this topic, the conceptualization of the term *diversity outcomes* is in its infancy and its definition deserves further consideration in future studies.

Furthermore, structural diversity along with the presence of curricular multiculturalism at HBCUs, the history of inclusion of diverse faculty and students, the sense of empowerment cultivated at HBCUs, and the internal development of African-American HBCU students (including: racial identity development, positive psychological development, positive self image, and racial pride), suggests that despite HBCU studentsí predisposition not to interact cross-racially, I suggest that HBCUs have the potential to promote diversity outcomes among their students. Finally, credence should be given to the possibility that HBCUs may already be promoting diversity outcomes among their students; however, the lack of research in this area does not allow for this conclusion to be definitively drawn.

Expanding Current Conceptual Models. Through the organization of this literature on multiculturalism at HBCUs I have found that the ways in which the pieces fit together differs from the organization employed by previous studies that address multiculturalism and exposure to diversity within higher education. Specifically, Hurtado (2003) discussed that context, pre-college experiences, college experiences, and some internal characteristics contribute to studentsí formation of democratic outcomes related to diversity. Similarly, Gurin, et al., (2002) examined students interactions with diverse others, classroom diversity, and informal interaction in college environments. However, due to a lack of literature on diversity outcomes and because Hurtadoís (2003) research along with Gurin et al.ís (2002) research was not designed to specifically consider the diversity experiences of HBCU students, the framework presented in this review expands previous conceptualizations in order to create one that more adequately reflects the

needs of HBCUs. Unique factors in this framework that do not appear in Hurtadoís (2003) research, nor Gurin et al.ís (2002) research, but contribute to diversity outcomes at HBCUs include the presence of empowerment and the prominence of structural diversity.

Future Research on Multiculturalism and HBCUs

The work of Bey (2004), Wathington (2004), and White (2000) is valuable to the research on multiculturalism and diversity outcomes at HBCUs. They provide new information about the HBCU curriculum, predispositions to diversity, and identity development, all of which are previously undocumented. However, three studies cannot adequately comprise an entire area of research. Their work provides an important foundation and suggests areas that need to be studied further. Furthermore, future research on HBCU curricular multiculturalism should address the HBCU curriculum from the vantage point of students to determine their perceptions about multicultural education, as well as to determine the types of diversity outcomes these students obtain from their attendance at HBCUs. Additionally, there are aspects of campus in addition to the curriculum life that contribute to multiculturalism and diversity outcomes that warrant examination. Thus, future research should investigate the multiple dimensions of multicultural education on HBCU campuses.

Further investigation of studentsí experiences is greatly needed. For example, Wathington (2004) looked at studentsí pre-college experiences at a single public research institution. Future research should examine the types of cross-racial interactions students have at various types HBCUs. It is also important to expand upon Whiteís (2000) comparison of identity development among African-American students at HBCUs and TWIs. Whiteís findings indicate that the greater gains in identity development of HBCU students is largely due to the environment, however, the specific environmental effects that contribute to this development are not specified. Additional studies in this area should tease out the specific environmental forces that contribute to positive gains in identity development of HBCU students.

Furthermore, Simsí (1994) model of diversification at HBCUs could be expanded. Her depiction of diversity at HBCUs confronted only the experiences of African Americans and White students which omits out the experiences of other ethnic and racial groups. Although Sims indicates that she has omitted other groups from this study due to the history of Black-White relations in this nation, the experiences of Latinos, Native Americans, and Asian American students are necessary components to this countryís racial composition which need to be explored.

Moreover, future research on multiculturalism at HBCUs should look beyond the Black-White paradigm to better understand the experiences of students, faculty, and staff on HBCU campuses that are neither African American, nor White. Statistical projections indicate that by 2015, 8% of college student will be Asian American, and 13% will be Hispanic in addition to the 15% of African American

students, and the 63% that will be White (Carnevale & Fry, 2000). With these changing college student demographics it is increasingly likely that more non-African-American students will be attending HBCUs in years to come (Allen & Jewell, 2002; Brown, 2002; Sims, 1994). Additional benefits can be achieved from surveying and interviewing students of various racial and ethnic backgrounds in order to determine the experiences of various students on HBCU campuses. Moreover, Bey (2004) suggests, further research on multiculturalism should be conducted at other minority-serving institutions to investigate the ways in which diversity and multicultural education exists within these contexts. Specifically, she suggested that research should investigate the definitions other HBCUs have for multicultural education and the pedagogy of instructors at these institutions.

Through employing the conceptual framework presented in this piece and embarking on the future research suggested above, a more cohesive picture of multiculturalism at HBCUs should be able to be developed. By further developing literature we should then be able to better understand the role multiculturalism plays in relation to diversity outcomes. Furthermore, it is from these developments that the question posed at the beginning of this article should be able to be answered. That is, we should be able to better understand *what the effects are of multiculturalism on diversity outcomes among HBCU students.*

Conclusion

Although there is limited research that explicitly addresses multiculturalism or diversity outcomes at HBCUs, there is existing research relating to HBCUs that embodies multiculturalism. HBCUs have a clearly established mission of serving African American students, and providing opportunities for students that they may not have at TWIs. Because of increasing diversity at HBCUs and the continuing debates about desegregation and equality in education, HBCUs continue to occupy an interesting yet contentious role in the U.S. In a nation that simultaneously values colorblindness and multiculturalism, these institutions must answer to a mainstream society that views them as primarily single race institutions, and so called relics of the past that have out lived their purpose and mission (Jewell, 2002).

Further research is necessary to inform these conversations about the changing roles and social contributions of HBCUs. Beyís (2004) dissertation should not remain as the sole research study that directly examines multiculturalism at HBCUs, rather as she states, ìthe limited amount of multicultural research generated by HBCUs needs explanation in light of a 71% increase in white enrollment at such institutions between 1976 and 1994î (p. 3). Additionally, HBCUs must individually decide the ways in which their institutions will promote diversity and multiculturalism on their campuses. However, in order to be colleges and universities that fully embrace multiculturalism HBCUs must ensure that:

> their institutionsí diversity efforts help all members learn to see phenomena through

> othersí eyes as well as their own and that each institutional member has the opportunities to find his or her place within the institution and create more tolerance and understanding of those who are different. (Sims, 1994, p.17)

The literature examined within this paper reveals that HBCUs are clearly still needed within the higher education context. Over the course of their existence HBCUís have maintained their mission to serve African American students by creating social mobility for those who have been left out of higher education. Not only do HBCUs diversify the college choice pool, they still provide educational opportunities for students that may not otherwise be able to afford college (Sims, 1994), and provide learning environments which benefit African-American students more than White schooling environments (Allen, 1992, 1996; Fleming, 1984; Gurin & Epps, 1975). Furthermore, HBCUs have shown themselves to be institutions committed to creating and maintaining supportive learning atmospheres and valuing difference while educating the disenfranchised (Jewell, 2002).

Notes

[1] Higher education desegregation cases include, but are not limited to: *Adams v. Richardson,* 1972, *Ayers v. Mabus I,* 1987, *Ayers v. Mabus III* 1990, and *United States v. Fordice* 1992.

[2] A majority of the literature on diversity outcomes originates from Hurtado and her associates work on the Diverse Democracy Project at the University of Michigan. This project was a two-year longitudinal study of students from 10 Research I institutions located throughout the United States.

[3] Greek organizations and marching bands are traditional markers of HBCUs and are often integral components to the culture of these institutions (see Taylor et al., 2005).

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