

# Creating a New Kind of University

*Institutionalizing Community-University Engagement*

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# The Grassroots Approach to Curriculum Reform: The Cultures and Communities Program

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Can community engagement really become part of the core curriculum at a large research university in the 21st century? And how should such engagement be conducted given the university's corresponding commitments to diversity and multicultural education? These questions increasingly arise on campuses across the nation as institutions undertake two difficult, related tasks: revising their "general education" or "core" undergraduate requirements to be more diverse and repositioning their programs to more broadly and effectively partner with their communities. Since taking on either one of these challenges has provided more than enough frustration for many campuses, why would an institution tackle both at the same time in a single coordinated effort?

At the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee (UWM), we came to see these twin concerns as deeply intertwined and were convinced that neither could be adequately addressed separately. Community engagement undertaken as peripheral add-ons to the core curriculum would never have broad impact on the undergraduate student body; core curriculum revisions that failed to engage students in real-world activities that enhance learning through diversity would likewise accomplish little. If a campus is serious about diversity and community engagement, it needs to commit itself structurally to mainstreaming these principles in the everyday practice of its

primary task—the education of undergraduate students. The campus's core requirements present a terrific place to begin.

In October 2002, the provost at UWM gave final approval to launch just such a curriculum option. Designed over a three-year period by the new Cultures and Communities (CC) Program Office, this plan allows students to organize their general education distribution requirements in a meaningful way, complete at least one service-learning experience, and earn a certificate upon graduation that documents their training in cross-cultural understanding and community engagement. (In the University of Wisconsin System, a *certificate* is distinguished from a major or minor by its interdisciplinary concentration of related courses from various departments.) Beginning in 2003, enrollment in the certificate program began and by December 2004 hundreds were involved in CC-affiliated classes and more than 150 students had signed up to complete the entire program. Though it is too early for predictions, we believe it safe to surmise that CC will become the largest undergraduate certificate program at UWM and a major force in altering the direction of the undergraduate general education experience. While every campus faces unique obstacles and local challenges, the CC experience offers lessons many will find useful in undertaking a revision of their core curriculum with an eye to increasing student engagement and diversity.

## An Action Plan for Culture and Education

How did it all start? In 1998 the then-new-chancellor, Nancy Zimpher, asked more than 100 administrators, faculty, staff, students, and community representatives to meet regularly in order to come up with some “big ideas” for moving the campus in new directions. Eventually, the results became unified under the banner of The Milwaukee Idea, with a promise of supporting funds and the mentorship of a new chancellor's deputy, Stephen Percy. One of the working groups, “Culture and Education,” debated at length how we might infuse our commitments to diversity and multiculturalism, community engagement, critical thinking, and recruitment and retention into the campus's new plans. Participants in the working group included more than 20 faculty from the Schools of the Arts, Education, and Social Work and the Colleges of Health Sciences and Letters and Science; 10 or so academic staff from Enrollment Services, the student union, and

the library; and community representatives such as Deborah Blanks, executive director of Milwaukee's Social Development Commission, and Anne Kingsbury, director of the Woodland Pattern Book Center. Also represented were the university's Institute for Service-Learning, the UWM Roberto Hernandez Center for U.S. Latino Studies, and the Vice Chancellor's Office for Student Affairs. These participants became an "Action Team" led by two conveners, Gregory Jay, professor of English, and Marcia Parsons, professor of dance. Faculty and staff of color were well represented and expressed their frustration at lack of progress on diversity issues in the past and their excitement at the prospect that a coalition of campus and community participants might at last forge an alliance with real prospects for success (and funding!).

### The Cultures and Communities Action Plan

From the fall of 1998 into the following spring the team talked, argued, and planned, surprised at the momentum that seemed to build. All of us were astonished when a meeting called for an afternoon in August (a time when most academics have gone AWOL) drew a standing-room-only crowd exceeding 40 people. Most of these had a hand in writing the final Action Plan submitted that fall, which articulated the team's educational vision and provided a draft outline for the certificate. The plan recommended establishment of the Cultures and Communities Program Office, which UWM chartered in January of 2000 with an initial staff including a half-time faculty director, a full-time academic staff assistant director, and a full-time clerical office manager.<sup>1</sup>

The preamble to the Action Plan read, in part:

Citizens of the 21st century will live amidst diversity—at school, at work, and at play, from the arenas of art and science to religion, sexuality, and politics. Everyday life will be increasingly a multicultural experience for everyone. Cross-cultural understanding will not be a luxury, or only a survival skill, but a key to human relations, economic prosperity, creative expression, and personal growth.

For the student of the 21st century, cross-cultural literacy will be an essential aspect of learning, no matter the field or profession. . . . Just as the original Liberal Arts grew out of the expanding humanistic vision of the Renaissance, so

a renewed Liberal Arts for the 21st century will emerge from a multicultural, global vision that appreciates the true diversity of humankind and recognizes the challenge of living with differences. . . . Situated in one of the most racially and ethnically diverse American cities, UWM is well positioned to meet the challenge of educating citizens for the coming century. Despite good intentions, however, UWM has yet to fulfill its potential in regards to the communities of the greater metropolitan area, especially those with high proportions of Latino, Asian American, American Indian, and African American citizens, or communities that are predominantly working class.

Wisconsin's cultures and communities are rich with resources that can be brought into our classrooms. At the same time, our classrooms need to get out into our communities so that students better understand the world they are studying. As Milwaukee becomes a hub of international commerce, scientific inquiry and socio-cultural exchange, students will need to learn about communities around the globe, as well as around the city and state, and to develop global perspectives in their chosen fields of study. UWM must be an engaged university, combining its research and scholarship with an innovative program of undergraduate education serving students from every background. It must be a place where every student feels welcome, and where students from vastly different backgrounds talk, laugh, argue, analyze, experiment and learn together.

The series of conversations, meetings, and workshops that produced the Action Plan were characterized by a grassroots approach to program building. The Action Team looked at how comparable institutions were responding to the same issues, but realized that the problem of curriculum reform is always stubbornly local. While one can find great ideas at other institutions, developing the right formula for your home campus depends on a grassroots process of soliciting ideas, listening to stakeholders, mapping the terrain, piloting experiments, codifying best practices, and only then institutionalizing what works.

Our grassroots philosophy meant that we were not going to get three people together to draw up a master plan on a cocktail napkin to impose on our colleagues. Instead, the Cultures and Communities initiative set up processes—later on including faculty fellowships and mini-grants—that would allow faculty, staff, students, and community members to bring their best ideas to the CC office. The office, in turn, responded by trying to empower as many of these ideas as it could and then evaluate the results. Only when we had a sense of what people actually wanted to do, and what they were achieving, would we be ready to piece these together into a curricular design ready for formal university consideration.

### Engagement, Diversity, and General Education

Why did the Action Team focus on the long-term goal of creating a general education certificate program? As a large comprehensive research university, UWM already had dozens of fine majors, minors, and upper-division degrees and certificates. And there were more than 100 community engagement projects, ranging from one-time collaborations to large, multi-year commitments. Yet people in the community thought of the university as distant and inaccessible, and students did not see any connection between their degree programs and the campus's general education requirements. Clearly the many parts of our institution were not linking up well with one another, nor were they articulating themselves with, or to, the community. We needed to network what we were already doing to give it more transparency and focused direction, and we needed to add central components to achieve coherence as we expanded our efforts. Plus, we needed to focus on who our students were. The vast majority are not from the city of Milwaukee, yet move here and expect to work and flourish in a diverse urban setting. UWM needed a first-year curriculum that addressed this demographic reality and the sociocultural contradictions it contained.

What would be our vehicle? We needed not only an instrument for change, but one that would lead to institutionalization, meaning real stability and real resources. Too many smart college initiatives have been consigned to the dustbin of history, tossed aside after a few bright years of success because they did not have the money, support, or administrative means to endure. The Milwaukee Idea office would fund our start-up efforts; our long-term success, however, would depend on inventing programs that could be woven deeply into the fabric of the university.

Analyzing the university's strengths and weaknesses, we quickly turned our focus to the undergraduate general education distribution requirements. Like most state universities, the University of Wisconsin System had abandoned any notion of a real core curriculum and instead asked students simply to take a sprinkling of self-selected classes in the arts, humanities, and social and natural sciences (including one labeled "cultural diversity.") Targeting the general education requirements had the advantage of affecting all students and involving most of the campus's schools and colleges.

### Useful National Models

In the national context, much debate was underway about the fate of "liberal education" in the 21st century, including how to refashion that traditional mission to accommodate concerns about diversity and engagement. Researchers were consolidating data that correlated diversity education and civic participation with numerous positive outcomes:

There is . . . a significant body of literature which suggests that serious engagement of diversity in the curriculum, along with linking classroom and out-of-class opportunities, positively affect students' attitudes and awareness about diversity, as well as their commitment to education, and their involvement. The research also shows connections between taking such courses and increased satisfaction with college. (Smith & Associates, 1997, p. 36)

That national context would provide both impetus and resources for our effort, as we soon sensed when looking at the web sites for the Association of American Colleges and Universities and the American Council on Education (and others), whose annual conferences proved to be of essential help during our formative years of exploring models and best practices.<sup>2</sup> Across the nation, parents, legislators, and students were clamoring for more accountability in higher education, and more substantive engagement by the "ivory tower" with the communities providing its funding and social setting.

Among the campuses the Action Team initially studied, we found the Arts of Citizenship program at the University of Michigan to be a superb model and inspiration. Arts of Citizenship develops collaborative projects between the university and diverse neighborhood groups and community organizations, helping to create art installations, K-12 curricula, radio broadcasts, youth theater performances, and dozens of other collaborative

activities. What struck us about their work was the reciprocity characteristic of its relationships with its partners, the rigorous oversight of projects by Arts of Citizenship staff, the truly interdisciplinary involvement of faculty, and the commitment to engaging students in service to a diverse metropolitan area. Though our own goal of creating a certificate program was not mirrored in Arts of Citizenship's agenda, its way of creating partnerships struck us as exemplary.

Another impressive model is the University Studies core curriculum at Portland State University, which has earned much national praise for its ambitious structure of sequenced courses that take students from their freshman to senior years. We learned a great deal from the sheer scope of their vision, their creativity in course design, and their focus on student-learning outcomes. Portland State University also makes community service a hallmark of its general education strategy and has a number of successful community engagement initiatives serving its metropolitan area. For a few months one summer we actually dreamed of replicating some of the cohort learning and sequencing of classes in the Portland model, but eventually abandoned that effort, because we could not make it work logistically at our particular institution.

In terms of diversity and the curriculum, we also saw the Core program at Occidental College as a wonderful example of an institution committed to a vision of rigorous student learning infused with the values of pluralism. Occidental College's (2005) mission statement makes its aims clear: "The distinctive interdisciplinary and multicultural focus of the College's academic program seeks to foster both the fulfillment of individual aspirations and a deeply rooted commitment to the public good." Such a concise and bold articulation of progressive values made Occidental's program one to emulate. Some progressive campuses are working to highlight diversity issues early in the college program. Brown University, for example, conducts mandatory lectures and seminars on understanding and respecting difference as part of its freshman orientation, and promotes dialogue across differences during its freshman year program, "Building Understanding Across Differences" (Curtis, 2002).

But useful as these models might be, the Cultures and Communities program would need to keep its eye stubbornly on the issues raised by the particular setting and contradictions of UWM. Nestled in a beautiful residential neighborhood near Lake Michigan, this "urban research university" is worlds away from the lives of the people living just a mile or two away in



Milwaukee's inner city, the majority of whom are no longer of European ancestry. The Great Migration of the early 20th century brought a large and vibrant African American community to the city, where its members worked in many of Milwaukee's then-bustling factories. Since the relaxation of immigration quotas in the 1960s, Milwaukee has become home to a new influx of immigrants from Mexico, Latin America, and Asia, including a substantial Hmong community. According to the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, "the number of Latinos in Wisconsin more than doubled from 1990 to 2000 and has grown by at least 8% since then. A similar rate of growth is taking place in Milwaukee County, where the Latino population has jumped from nearly 45,000 in 1990 to more than 89,000 in 2002. Similarly, in Milwaukee County, the number of Asians jumped by 76% from 1990 to 2002" (Pabst, 2004).

The issue of diversity presents a special challenge to UWM because of the historic mismatch between its student population and the population of the surrounding city and county. According to the 2000 census, 54% of the city of Milwaukee residents were listed as minorities, 37% of whom were black (Borsuk & Sykes, 2001); a majority of Milwaukee Public School students are students of color (MPS, 2003). Yet according to the UWM Fact Book for 2002–2003, university minority enrollments were only 8% African American, 2% Asian, 1% Native American, and 4% Hispanic. These data indicate that UWM needs both to increase its nonwhite enrollment through increased community engagement and, at the same time, provide its predominantly white student body with the skills for cross-cultural understanding that they will need to succeed as productive future citizens of the metropolitan area. Students of color also need support for developing their leadership skills as they work on behalf of their communities. And students from all backgrounds need more experience working together in the common cause of fulfilling our nation's democratic promise.

## Mainstreaming Diversity in the Core Curriculum: The Cultures and Communities Alternative

Like most American universities and colleges, UWM has a token "diversity" requirement in its core curriculum: Students must take one three-credit course that focuses on the experiences, cultural traditions, and worldviews

of African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanic/Latino Americans, and/or Asian Americans (the four “targeted underrepresented” groups according to University of Wisconsin System diversity guidelines). Since most students pursuing a bachelor’s degree earn a minimum of 120 credits in approximately 40 different classes, this one-class requirement represents the most minimal of gestures towards multiculturalism and diversity. Currently there is no campus-wide requirement for community engagement or service-learning.

### Moving Beyond “Tokenism” to “Critical Multiculturalism”

While some campuses across the country have begun to increase their requirements to two or even three classes (often adding an international component), this pattern of tokenism remains the national norm. According to the Association of American Colleges and Universities’ (2000) survey of 543 higher education institutions, 54% of responding institutions have some kind of diversity requirement. Of these positive respondents, 58% require students to take one “diversity” course and 42% require two or more.

The Cultures and Communities general education option aims to address this situation in two related ways. First, it creates a different distribution of course rubrics, within which students may find multiple classes carrying the “cultural diversity” (CD) accreditation. This means effectively that students who complete the certificate are more likely to take three, four, or even five classes with the CD designation. And even classes without the designation are more likely to address issues of multiculturalism and diversity because of the way courses are chosen for the program and how faculty are involved in designing them. Second, the service-learning component of the certificate ensures that students experience the pluralism that *is* Milwaukee. Academic learning about diversity in the classroom gets tested, expanded, and reflected upon through real-world experiences in the community.

Officially, the UWM requirement stipulates one class covering “Minority Cultural Diversity in America,” focused on understanding the perspective, traditions, and life ways of one or more of the underrepresented groups. The requirement does not address “diversity” in the larger sense often used today, encompassing differences in sexuality, gender, and class. Nor does it address structures of racism, discrimination, bigotry, bias, and institutional or structural oppression. This kind of diversity education has

the potential to degenerate into the cafeteria approach of “celebratory multiculturalism,” or a superficial tourism of exoticized “others.”

The Cultures and Communities initiatives instead embraced “critical multiculturalism,” which includes self-reflective critiques of multiculturalist ideologies and agendas (May, 1999). In implementing the certificate, faculty discussions have often centered on debates over the issue of what kind of multiculturalism we are practicing and how to extend the definition of “diversity” without losing the virtue of the original requirement. Some consensus emerged that our courses should analyze racial and ethnic formation *processes* instead of treating groups as objectified or reified entities. In looking at how race and ethnicity emerge historically and socially, we inevitably had to include the kinds of “other differences” we knew needed inclusion if our studies are to be at all complex. This entailed breaking with the habit of positioning white students as “not raced,” and discarding pedagogical norms in which race is only discussed when people of color are the subject. Likewise it led to more systematic articulations of sexism, homophobia, and class exploitation within the context of ethnic and racial formation. In the classroom this approach invites, indeed challenges, every student to reflect critically on his or her ethno-racial formation and cultural identity.

Segregation is still the norm for Wisconsin students, no matter their skin color. Most of UWM’s enrollment continues to come from outside the Milwaukee city limits. Our students arrive from suburbs and small towns where they have had little experience of the racially and culturally diverse landscape they find in Milwaukee and at UWM. We regularly hear comments such as, “I never knew a person of color before,” and, “There were only two or three minorities at my high school.”

Students from Milwaukee and students of color continue to feel that the institution and its curriculum do not adequately address their experiences. They have had to learn much about the dominant culture in order to survive, though people from the dominant culture do not have to know much about them. Moreover, African American students know little about the experiences of Jews or Latinos, and vice versa; the same could be said for any number of combinations. New students at most urban research universities in the United States arrive with a roughly similar load of baggage. Unless faculty and administration recognize how this baggage adversely affects student learning (and recruitment and retention), success in teaching will be limited at best. Serving these quite distinct student groups

together requires a careful plan of curricular and cocurricular opportunities that build bridges of understanding rather than reinforce traditional divisions.

### Linking Diversity and Community Engagement

Scholars have argued that service-learning and community engagement must be integrated with multicultural education and undertaken with a critical awareness of how social justice issues remain caught up in legacies of racial, ethnic, class, and gender discrimination. Nieto (2000) observes,

Community service conjures up images of doing good deeds in impoverished, disadvantaged (primarily black and brown) communities by those (mostly white people) who are wealthier and more privileged. The parenthetical terms are seldom expressly mentioned in community service because they make some professors and students uncomfortable, expressing the inequalities around them too explicitly. . . . Those who do community service at colleges and universities. . . are generally young people who have more advantages than those they are serving. This being the case, concerns about racism and other biases, injustice, oppression and unearned privilege should figure prominently in discussions of community service. (p. ix-x)

By challenging students to question their “assumptions about society and about the people with whom they interact in their community service experiences . . . [we can help them] to move beyond their stereotypical notions of difference” (Nieto, 2000, p. x) as biological, fixed, or innate and towards an historical and structural analysis of how social inequalities originate. In turn this shift of emphasis moves community service “from an individual feel-good experience to a social responsibility,” (p. xi) since inequalities are now understood as the result of systemic arrangements that we can change rather than originating in the “natural” characteristics of individuals or social groups or races.<sup>3</sup>

### Confronting the Economics

In order to mainstream a community engagement curriculum infused with a critical approach to multiculturalism, we had to introduce new courses and reengineer current offerings. Here we had to confront the politics and

financial realities of general education at the large public university. UWM's distribution requirements scheme drives substantial numbers of students into entry-level classes in many departments, often taught in large lecture courses or by inexpensive adjuncts and teaching assistants. These classes bring essential revenues to departments and collegiate divisions that are increasingly dependent on enrollment figures for their budgets; the dollars brought in through these lecture courses then underwrite smaller, faculty-taught classes at the upper division and the graduate level.

The economics of this system inevitably degrades the quality of course offerings in the freshman and sophomore years, and thus in the classes making up the bulk of general education offerings. Given this budgetary structure, the Cultures and Communities team quickly decided against creating a new school, college, or division of undergraduate study that would compete with current departments for enrollment dollars. It was highly unlikely that deans or department heads would approve such a proposal, which might threaten their revenue stream directly. Nor could such a separatist approach achieve our goal of mainstreaming critical multiculturalism and community engagement, since it arguably would have little or no impact on the bulk of current course offerings or faculty.

Instead, we would have to build an alternative program by using some of the courses already offered by the departments themselves, and by inducing faculty to create in their departments new classes that would be in line with our student learning goals and institutional mission. After analyzing the undergraduate catalogue and schedule of classes, we easily determined that there were dozens of general education courses already on the books that might be networked together in a new arrangement, though these would for the most part not include some of the big, moneymaker introductory lecture courses. Since research and anecdotal evidence suggests that such lecture courses often leave new undergraduates feeling disconnected and have high rates of failure for students from underrepresented target groups, it made sense to put our energies into classes with 35 students or less, where discussion and personal faculty-student relationships were more likely to occur. No doubt there would be some financial pressure when we lobbied to have a faculty member teach a smaller course, but we gambled that, at least initially, the impact would be relatively slight, and certainly less costly than a "Freshman Seminar" program (which the university had already begun some years before but found increasingly difficult to fund).

## The Cultures and Communities Certificate

Beginning in spring 2000, the Cultures and Communities Program Office began meetings with department chairs and associate deans to discuss an outline of the certificate and which classes from their units might fit. Faculty became involved through annual fellowships that provided released time for research and course development, as well as for interdisciplinary workshop sessions where personal and intellectual alliances across divisional boundaries were initiated. At the same time, our community-university mini-grant program began to fund community engagement partnerships among faculty, students, and community organizations, bridging the gap between the campus and the city and helping to identify best practices for collaboration. In these startup years, the fellowship and grant activities assisted in curriculum development, intellectual exchange, and the enlargement of the roster of community partners. CC also worked more and more with UWM's Institute for Service Learning, which had already created numerous student learning opportunities in sites around the city (this partnership eventually led to the formal incorporation of the Institute for Service Learning into the CC program in Fall 2003).

The CC staff continued to evaluate what was working and what was not, who the committed allies were, and what processes we needed to institutionalize. More than 30 faculty worked with these programs in our first three years, and more than 20 mini-grants solidified our community engagement efforts. By the spring of 2002 we were ready to take a plan for the certificate to UWM's curriculum committee, for by then we had built an extensive network of allies and a track record of success. Still it took two long hearings and some negotiation to win approval, for we were asking to create a unique certificate, limited only to general education classes and without a fixed list of classes. Candor requires emphasizing that we would not have succeeded without support and guidance from the highest levels of campus administration, who championed our work through their public speeches to the faculty and in the everyday commerce of administrative meetings. The chancellor effectively protected our experiment, though of course we were held to high standards when it came to judging the results.

For each of the CC certificate's four general rubrics, we sought to affiliate courses that already carried GER accreditation. We produced a set of "Program Guidelines" written collectively by CC faculty and articulating principles for approaching curriculum priorities, diversity, pedagogy, and community engagement (see <http://www.cc.uwm.edu/guidelines.htm>).

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University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee’s Cultures and Communities  
Certificate Required Areas of Study

**Cultures and Communities Core Course (3 credits).** “Multicultural America.” Currently offered as English 150 or History 150 (satisfies Humanities and Cultural Diversity General Education Requirements [GER]) or Anthropology 150 or Sociology 150 (satisfies Social Sciences and Cultural Diversity GERs).

**Cultures and Communities of the United States (at least 3 credits).** Issues and methods in the comparative study of cultures and communities of the U.S. May be fulfilled by appropriate accredited GER or Cultural Diversity courses in any discipline, school, or college.

**Global Perspectives on Culture and Community (at least 3 credits).** Issues and methods in the comparative study of cultures and communities outside North America. May be fulfilled by appropriate accredited GER courses in any discipline, school, or college.

**Art, Culture, and Community (at least 3 credits).** May be fulfilled by courses that relate the theory and production of art (dance, music, visual arts, film, and theater) to cultural and community contexts. Restricted to courses in the Peck School of the Arts, except through special petition.

**Science, Culture, and Society (at least 3 credits).** Includes courses that examine how scientific knowledge can be understood in relation to issues in culture and society. May be fulfilled by enrollment in classes with a natural sciences or social sciences accreditation.

**Community Engagement and Service-Learning:** Within their course distribution, students will take at least one class with a service-learning or community engagement component.

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The CC staff use these guidelines to evaluate courses and help faculty who are planning new classes. Department chairs were given these guidelines and asked to nominate appropriate classes for affiliation; faculty were then asked to provide syllabi for assessment. Each semester certificate classes are marked with a “CC” in the schedule of classes, where they also appear as a separate list for easy reference. Students can log on to the certificate web site to see a list of the classes that fulfill each area of the CC distribution areas.

The successful implementation of the certificate depended on the hiring of a full-time student services coordinator. This coordinator advises CC students, markets the program to classes and faculty, and works as a liaison

with other advisors and with student organizations. The CC director, assistant director, Institute for Service-Learning (ISL) director, and student services coordinator meet weekly in staff sessions to review all program activities, including course developments and offerings, administrative issues, and event planning.

### Designing a Core Course: “Multicultural America”

To give our curriculum a foundation, the certificate needed a core course. Our approach to designing the core was influenced by the American Cultures Program at the University of California–Berkeley, where every student must take at least one American Cultures–accredited class. One of the program’s architects, historian Ronald Takaki, coincidentally came to UWM as a visiting lecturer during this time and made a persuasive case for the controversial comparative requirement of University of California–Berkeley courses. For a department’s class to qualify for American Cultures, it must address theoretical or analytical issues relevant to understanding race, culture, and ethnicity in American society and *take substantial account of at least three groups* drawn from the following: African Americans, indigenous peoples of the United States, Asian Americans, Chicano/Latino Americans, and European Americans. It must also be *integrative and comparative* in that students study each group in the larger context of American society, history, or culture.

University of California–Berkeley’s approach embodies what can be described as today’s “progression in intellectual curricular design,” from “first, the study of one’s particular inherited and self-chosen communities,” to “second, an examination of the dynamic interaction among several groups” (McTighe Musil, 1997, p. xii). In a study of recent innovations in diversity requirements, Humphreys (1997) likewise observes that “while frequently beginning from the perspective of a group identity category, courses in these programs tend to teach about identity groups neither in isolation nor ahistorically. Instead, they focus on interconnections and comparisons and on the systematic and structural workings of prejudice and discrimination” (p. 5).

The course at Berkeley was opposed by some who saw its comparative mandate as a threat to enrollments in departments or units focused on only one of the specified groups. These groups (except for the Europeans),



after all, had fought for decades to gain representation in the curriculum and thus feared they might again be marginalized. But CC imagined that our own core course could be positioned as a kind of gateway to the more specialized classes in such departments; moreover, since those departments would be invited to list their classes in our certificate program, it seemed unlikely they would find the core course threatening.

### Creating a Pilot Core Course

Using the Berkeley model as a starting point, Cultures and Communities' Sandra Jones and Gregory Jay used an English department course, "Introduction to Ethnic and Minority Literatures," as a vehicle for piloting the new core offering. Initial grant funds to assist course development came from our participation in the UWM School of Education's federal Title II project to improve the preparation of future urban teachers. The Title II program mandates revision and improvement of liberal arts training for future urban teachers, outside the course work done within the School of Education. The development of the CC certificate took place with the intention of creating a general education experience that would provide these future teachers, in particular, with knowledge of the communities they would serve when they received their degrees.

Fortunately, our team for designing and piloting the core course included two Milwaukee Public School teachers, Darrell Terrell and Thomas Brown, who worked full time for two years at Cultures and Communities as part of UWM's Teachers in Residence Program. Elsewhere we have written of how the team put the course together and what goals we set for our students and ourselves (Brown, Jay, & Terrell, 2002). Terrell and Brown were invaluable colleagues, in part because their collaboration meant that community engagement constituted the *process* as well as the *outcome* of the course project. By this, we mean that we, as university educators, did not presume in advance to design an engagement component that we would then impose on the community. Rather we began by enlisting community partners in the process of curriculum development itself. We aimed to avoid the common "missionary position" adopted by many institutions of higher education when they set out to engage their communities: The missionary attitude puts the college or university in the position of dictating both the nature of the problem to be solved and the best methods for addressing it. The university uses the community as a laboratory or guinea pig just long enough to get results,

then leaves. The core course's development also followed the grassroots principles that had informed CC's philosophy from the start.

In terms of the syllabus for the English department version of the core course, we quickly settled on a structure that combined historical and literary study with analyses of popular culture. To provide the history, we chose Takaki's (1993) *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*, which begins with Shakespeare's Caliban and the "racialization of savagery" (p. 24) during the Colonial period and then proceeds through chapters focused on the experiences of specific groups—primarily those of African, Mexican, Chinese, Japanese, Irish, Jewish, and Native ancestry. Takaki's schema proceeds chronologically from the 17th to the late 20th centuries, but does so in chapters that focus on the struggles of these groups for identity, land, wealth, and power. While each group gets individual treatment, the analyses are also comparative and integrative, giving students critical thinking tools for connecting the experiences of various groups through such common themes as labor, family, citizenship, and assimilation. The syllabus can follow this schema week by week, aligning short stories and novels with the Takaki chapters to explore the literary work of these groups as a response to their historical experience. For this we have used various literature anthologies, particularly Brown and Ling's (2003) *Imagining America* and Rico and Mano's (2000) *American Mosaic*. From the beginning, student evaluations regularly cited the comparative treatment of multiple ethno-racial groups as among the course's strongest points and expressed the desire for more such classes.

### The Service-Learning Component

The first semester, we spread the service-learning placements among a wide network of social service agencies and schools. Though our pilot group of students was mainly from the School of Education, we became dissatisfied with placements that had them doing only youth tutoring or after-school care. These placements put our white students into relationships primarily with younger children of color, over whom they might tend to feel superior or towards whom they might have inappropriate feelings of pity or condescension. In any event, these students would have plenty of opportunity to serve in schools when they did their upper-division placements. In their freshman and sophomore years they needed to learn about Milwaukee communities outside the walls of the schools and to establish relationships with adults from whom they could learn.

A key best practice here was setting up the service-learning placement in a manner that did not always position the community as a “problem” or “deficit,” but rather as co-teacher. Working with UWM’s Institute for Service Learning, we were able to identify a core list of 10 agencies where students would likely develop skills of crosscultural understanding. These included food pantries, senior centers, and adult tutoring in English as a Second Language programs, places where students could really get to know individuals from many nations. A writing assignment asked students to profile, through conversation and oral history, one of the people they met. This paper encouraged their reflections on diversity and helped position their community partner as a resource for education, not a “problem” to be fixed.

### Studying “Whiteness”

Another major change we made as the core course evolved concerned the study of “whiteness.” White student attitudes of resistance to antiracist or multicultural education are all too familiar: they think it is not about them; they are being made to feel guilty; racism is something that happened in the past (Jay, 2005). These white students believe that since they are not personally racist, studying multiculturalism has nothing to do with them. Many have been taught that multiculturalism is a “celebration of differences,” analogous to a folk fair or food court where you get to taste all the nice things “those people” create. And many believe that America is a place where anyone can make it if they just work hard and play by the rules, and thus people who are poor, illiterate, in jail, or stuck in dead-end jobs got what they deserved.

The first step in a pedagogy of whiteness begins with recognizing “white privilege,” for, “you can’t deal with a problem if you don’t name it” (Johnson, 2001, p. 11).<sup>4</sup> At first, this term surprises our students, for it names a reality that they have been taught not to see. And since many UWM students are working class, they react with skepticism to the notion that they are privileged. Their consciousness of privilege functions mainly along lines of class and wealth, which they rarely racialize. By reading a packet of articles on whiteness studies, including McIntosh’s (1997) classic essay, “White Privilege and Male Privilege,” white students examine concrete examples of the way they are implicated in racism regardless of whether they themselves are “racist.” The privileges and preferences given to whiteness are not dependent on what the individual feels or thinks about race.

Analyzing white privilege can thus be one way to get past white resistance, since it moves the discussion from the personal to the structural, from hazy feelings about guilt to practical, objective recognitions of how society works. For students of color, the McIntosh (1997) essay gives expression to what they see every day, and so validates observations that these students offer and that are sometimes dismissed in other classes. White privilege becomes the first of a number of keywords and concepts—such as cultural identity, oppression, social dominance—that students become competent in using, and that thus create a common language among them, despite the differences in their backgrounds. The whiteness unit also benefits from screening one of Jane Elliott’s powerful “blue eyed/brown eyed” workshop videos, which puts critical multiculturalism to work in devastating and disturbing role-playing scenarios that spark much discussion.<sup>5</sup>

This unit on whiteness helps most students write reflectively about their service-learning experience, often because they either suddenly see their own whiteness which had long been invisible to them or they see the whiteness of others in a new light. Crucial to this transformation is building relationships of trust with people in the community: These people become their teachers as well as their friends, and students build bonds of communication with them that establish commonalities as well as differences. Students write analytical reflections on their own cultural identities, conduct family tree investigations, and compose narratives about people that they have met. In presenting these assignments to the class, students regularly express a sense of transformation, of having discovered their place in a social system that had previously been invisible to them, and of having discarded old stereotypes through the intercultural communication made possible by engagement.

### Institutionalizing “Multicultural America”

After three years of pilot classes, English 150, “Multicultural America,” gained university approval. In the next two years, faculty in other departments joined the effort and soon we had Anthropology 150, History 150, and Sociology 150, each of which accomplishes common ends through specific disciplinary means. Along with Jay and Jones, the faculty and teaching assistants teaching the core classes include a senior white male anthropologist, a Filipino assistant professor of sociology, an associate professor of Native American literature, the university’s first African American history professor, and a Korean-born doctoral student in Eng-

lish (Cultures and Communities Program, 2005). We meet together to review syllabi and assignments, share suggestions for readings and videos and, most importantly, to argue and debate key concepts and methods. These interdisciplinary conversations have been among the most rewarding intellectual aspects of the program for many of the instructors involved, have created a close-knit network across departments, and have ensured that students in the certificate program get a truly coherent foundation experience.

Our strategy for institutionalizing the Cultures and Communities core course took a page from the University of California–Berkeley model, in that we spread the opportunity for the course among a number of departments rather than relying on one department for the class or trying to create our own curricular area that would compete for student enrollments with established courses. If we succeeded, then we could also avoid teaching the class in large lecture format, since we could get enough “seats” per semester if we had multiple sections in a number of departments. Our ability to involve more departments depended on having sufficient funds to initially “buy out” faculty instructional time, especially for team teaching. Through our faculty fellowship and mini-grant programs, we assembled a cadre of interested faculty who could then be recruited to propose a core class in their own department. Departments like the arrangement because it adds new classes and student bodies to their rosters, satisfying the professional goals of the faculty and better meeting student needs. Cultures and Communities benefits because the core program allows us to sponsor curricular changes that increase the attention to diversity and expand the opportunities for community engagement. And the university can point to it as a campus-wide effort to improve the freshman-sophomore experience, a long-neglected area at major research universities.

## Taking the Class Into the Community

During the two years we worked on the core course, Associate Professor of Anthropology Cheryl Ajirotutu was pioneering another new class with potential to be a model for other faculty. This course is deeply embedded in community engagement with an African American neighborhood just a few miles from campus. Ajiortutu had become involved with Cultures and Communities through one of our mini-grants. We hoped that the

mini-grants would draw faculty into community engagement pedagogy by providing them with released time for research, course development, and community outreach. We made six to eight Faculty Fellowship awards annually, and from these continued our work with a number of professors who received the title Senior Faculty Associate, as well as an enduring affiliation with CC and funds set aside to support their activities. Often individual departments do not have the extra dollars to help faculty with such activities, so dedicating part of our budget in this manner earned us the goodwill of department chairs and the ongoing contribution of dedicated professors like Ajiroto.

Parallel to the Faculty Fellowship program is our Community-University Partnership Mini-Grant program which provides small seed funds (typically \$1,500–\$3,000) to enable collaborations between university faculty or staff and their community partners. One of the first of these went to a proposal linking Ajiroto's freshman seminar in "Oral Traditions" with the Walnut Way community, centered in the most historic of Milwaukee's African American neighborhoods. The Walnut Way Conservation Corporation had been established by residents to revitalize their community through economic, social, and educational activities. In a series of meetings with the Walnut Way board and residents, Ajiroto designed a course in which students conduct oral histories of the residents, documenting the life of the neighborhood and contributing to the analytic history of race relations and urban change in Milwaukee.

In the first weeks of the semester, Ajiroto immerses her students in the study of anthropological approaches to oral history and instruction in use of audio and video equipment. She complements this disciplinary examination of best practices with screening parts of *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* (Rosenberg, Christiansen, & Korty, 1974), which depicts an interviewer taking down the tale of an elderly black woman whose life encapsulates much of African American history from slavery to the present. Students also attend orientation events in the neighborhood, such as volunteering to plant new vegetable and flower gardens in vacant lots. In collaboration with the Walnut Way advisory board, a series of appointments for oral interviews is set up. Students, accompanied by an instructional assistant, travel to the homes of the residents, where they are often greeted with food as well as talk. Over the next few weeks, they write and revise their oral histories, thus gaining valuable skills in civic awareness, intercultural communication, composition, and critical thinking essential to general education.

At the end of each semester, the course holds two public forums, one on campus and one in the community, at which students read their narratives to an audience, which includes most of their subjects, to whom they then present a copy of their work. These are moving ceremonies that cement the reciprocal collaboration of the community and the university and illustrate how our community partners function as teachers and sources of knowledge. Students regularly testify to how their community engagement and the personal relationships they create transform and deepen their academic knowledge. Since they are freshmen, many also find that this experience is vital to their evaluation of possible career choices and plans of study, with a number expressing increased interest in civic service. In 2004, the forums were videotaped and broadcast locally on the UWM access channel, thus disseminating the university's work to the community.

Much more could be written about CC courses that connect with Milwaukee's neighborhoods and civic institutions. A revised introduction to the visual arts course now has a multicultural emphasis and takes students into the streets to create installation pieces about changing cultural identities in our city. One of the History 150 sections concentrates on "Multicultural Milwaukee" and is developing service-learning sites at places such as the Black Historical Society. Engagement with Milwaukee's fast-growing Hmong community is a feature of "American Life Stories," a freshman seminar that is enriched by CC-sponsored public events, such as a reading by three Hmong creative writers and a public forum on current challenges in the Hmong cultural adjustment to life in the United States. The geography department, led by Assistant Professor Nik Heynen, is pioneering a new "Introduction to Environmental Geography" that has service-learning students out in the city and surrounding areas learning first-hand about how science and sociocultural factors interact in environmental policy issues.

Our experiences with these courses tend to confirm the "Principal Findings" of the Higher Education Research Institute's report on *How Service Learning Affects Students* (Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, & Yee, 2000), based on data from more than 22,000 undergraduates studied in the late 1990s. The University of California–Los Angeles data show that academically-based service participation: 1) has positive effects on outcome measures such as GPA, writing skills, and critical thinking; 2) deepens commitment to activism and promoting racial understanding; 3) increases leadership skills; 4) heightens a sense of civic responsibility

and awareness of one's personal values; and 5) influences choice of a service career or plans to participate in service after college. The survey also confirmed that performing service as part of a course, rather than as a volunteer, adds significantly to the benefits of the experience, depending on the pedagogy of the course. Classes in which discussion, written reflection, and personal faculty support were characteristic of the pedagogy resulted in greater benefits: "Both the quantitative and qualitative results suggest that providing students with an opportunity to *process* the service experience with each other is a powerful component of both community service and service learning" (Astin et al., p. 2).

## Student and Faculty Responses

How are students responding to the certificate program option for general education? Though it is too early to draw conclusions, some anecdotal evidence is worth offering. In meetings with our student services coordinator, who advises certificate students, a repeated theme emerged. Students at the junior or even senior level were coming in to sign up for the certificate because they had already completed many of the classes required. They explained that previously there had been no way for them to "capture" this interdisciplinary pattern of course work on their transcript or resume, or to document their academic service work and experience with cultural diversity. These "early adopters" were high achievers with GPAs averaging 3.5 and above who saw the certificate as a valuable asset in putting together their tool kit for future success. Many had also done volunteer, internship, or service placements numerous times, and had been looking for a way to connect these experiences to their academic program.

As we begin to reach out to the freshmen and sophomores, the target group in our original plan, we face a number of challenges typical of large universities, especially those situated in metropolitan areas. A high proportion of our students work 20 hours or more per week, which means they are already "engaged with the community," though not usually in positions requiring civic service. Initially these students may find the logistics of engagement onerous, since they barely have time to get to campus, find parking, run to class, and then get back home to children and jobs. This emphasizes the necessity of constructing academic service-learning and engagement opportunities with substantial attention to their relevance to the



individual learning outcomes of the syllabus and the course. Students will quickly become turned off by assignments where they are doing menial tasks which, though helpful to the agency, do not advance the student's understanding of the topic they are studying in anthropology or accounting, English or dance (the "Why am I wasting my time making copies?" phenomenon). In the absence of regular, directed, and reviewed critical reflection writings, engagement activities may drift further and further from relevance to the course and fail to contribute meaningfully to what the student should be learning. Carefully crafted activities, however, do tend to enhance the student's sense of connection to the class and the university, which is crucial to student retention during the first two years.

To facilitate this kind of relevant student engagement work in Cultures and Communities courses, we turned to UWM's Institute for Service Learning (ISL), which had been founded just a year before we began piloting our classes. ISL has a mandate to assist with courses at every level, not just in the general education or liberal arts areas. Many of the best engagement activities, in fact, can be found in the professional schools, such as Health Sciences and Nursing. Nonetheless, as ISL struggled to grow the number of classes and faculty doing engagement, it began to work more closely with Cultures and Communities, especially since we had built service-learning into the certificate program. The more we collaborated, the more we saw the commonalities in our missions and the benefit that might accrue by combining forces.

Thus, in 2003 we proposed an administrative merger of the programs, so that they would operate as parallel, linked initiatives reporting to the same director and dean with flexibility about how to use their budgets to meet joint needs. Though the move does not mean a change in the broader scope of ISL, it does promise to give service-learning a boost by tying it closely to curriculum innovation in the certificate program. We believe that many of the general education classes now affiliating with CC will be good candidates for service-learning as well. Our new administrative union will help bring this opportunity to the attention of faculty more easily and fund pilot projects more efficiently. Since UWM's ISL office was an early partner in establishing Wisconsin's statewide chapter of Campus Compact, CC now is becoming involved with Campus Compact initiatives we might have missed before. The merger also establishes a stronger institutional base for CC and ISL, making them less likely to suffer during future budget crises (which are a regular feature of public education). While this

arrangement may not work for every campus, it could be a useful model for those institutions hoping to infuse community engagement into their core curriculum. Our ISL comes equipped with more than 70 community agencies ready for placements, and its staff is highly knowledgeable about these opportunities and able to advise faculty on which might best suit their syllabi. With a service-learning office in place to undertake most of these logistical jobs, the faculty member can concentrate on syllabus design and academic learning goals. Such an arrangement makes it far easier to persuade faculty to give service-learning a try, since it does not make an unreasonable demand on their time.

Time is always an issue when infusing community engagement into the syllabus of a given course. Faculty have usually worked out a careful, week-by-week plan that they already feel gives students only a glimpse into the complexity of the subject matter. Giving up some of that time for service-learning and its requisite reflection assignments is not something faculty relish. Hence, many resist service-learning because they “can’t make time for it.” We have found a few ways to address this stubborn issue. One solution is simply to persuade faculty that replacing one reading or paper assignment or exam with the service-learning component will achieve their learning goals at least as well, if not better. This usually works only after some extensive review of the syllabus and creative discussion about the overall objectives of the course. It also helps if there are service-learning agency placements already established and of demonstrated quality.

A second solution is to use flexibility in the scheduling of the class and to use online discussion forums and writing assignments. In fall of 2003, for example, we taught the English department version of the core online once a week, from 4:30–7:10 p.m. Though nominally this required the same amount of seat time, in reality it saved time for students in the form of transportation and parking. This setup left more time and flexible hours for completing the service-learning minimum of 15 hours onsite during the semester. Use of Internet courseware also makes reflection activities easier through use of discussion forums accessible 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

A third solution is the creation of a one-credit service-learning “add-on” for faculty to use at their discretion. If an instructor wishes to assign engagement that really pushes students beyond the normal workload, then they can use the one-credit add-on to ensure that students get proper credit for their work.

## Conclusions and the Future

In 2001 and 2002, Pennsylvania State University sponsored two symposia on general education with invited representatives from nine research universities around the United States. In the follow-up report, organizers reiterated a classic vision of liberal education as preparation for democratic citizenship:

As a social institution, American higher education, particularly public education, is vested with responsibilities for the maintenance and progress of the democracy in which it is situated. While it has embraced missions of research and graduate education, the research university recognizes a basic obligation to foster a reflective, informed, thoughtfully engaged citizenry, capable of discerning what serves justice and the common good. (Pennsylvania State University, 2002, p. 5)

Many of the recommendations in the Penn State report are for actions we have tried to undertake at UWM through the Cultures and Communities initiative: putting tenure-line faculty into the classes, creating coherent links among offerings, challenging the lecture-course model, advocating interdisciplinary approaches, infusing concerns for diversity and social justice, and introducing service or community engagement components. But since CC is a small program (so far), and since it has not replaced the standard general education requirements (yet), its campus-wide impact remains small. This is due in part to a number of shortcomings that the Pennsylvania State University (2002) report describes as disturbingly typical of other campuses. No one person is responsible for the general education program at UWM; there is no administrative figure, dean, vice provost, or faculty committee assessing its outcomes or promoting it among faculty and students. We do have two administrators, a deputy chancellor and an assistant chancellor, assigned to community engagement and partnerships. They have been generous in support of CC, but we have had to invent and market the connection of general education to community engagement mostly on our own, without the correspondent support of an analogous administrative office. The campus administration and departments continue to focus primarily on research, the graduate programs, and degrees in the majors.

Though the Pennsylvania State University (2002) report focuses on general education rather than community engagement, the latter agenda can be articulated well using the report's own conclusions. When we first began, we saw the current general education program as an Achilles heel we could exploit, as a weakness that made for an opportunity. Now that we wish to grow our program and disseminate its ideas more widely, we have come to realize that there continues to be latent power, and potential, in the campus's unfulfilled commitment to general education. There is much that could be done working with advisors, department chairs, faculty governance committees, student life staff, and the university's marketing wing if we wish to put our version of an engaged, diverse general education at the center of our mission and practice. Many on campus have, in fact, been resistant to the push for more multiculturalism and community engagement, seeing these as a distraction from the core liberal arts mission of the university. But the neglect of the general education program suggests that commitment to this core mission is more rhetoric than reality, as energy remains disproportionately invested in disciplinary research specializations, while the general education program languishes in obscurity.

Our recommendation to colleagues elsewhere, however, is to seize upon the general education curriculum as an opportunity for campus-wide reform, no matter how rhetorical or half-hearted the institution's current commitment to it may be. There may very well be a vacuum to be filled. Public and community support can be rallied for efforts to get the university to take its public mission and obligation to diversity seriously. These are agendas well-understood by civic leaders, regents, local politicians, and state officials, who can be allies in curriculum reform. Any campus wishing to make progress in renovating its general education curriculum, in our view, will have to abandon the distribution model based on the divisions of the sciences, humanities, and arts, and replace it with some kind of meaningful set of specified content areas and experiences.

This will require a debate about the learning goals and objectives for the general education program, as well as discussions of how seriously the university takes the task of educating students for citizenship in a diverse democracy and globalized society. It will also mean trying to move faculty away from the "banking" model of pedagogy, in which "content" is delivered irrespective of the identity, background, training, cultural competence, or learning style of individual students, or without reflection on the relation of the content to specific pedagogical theories and practices. In

terms of diversity, campus leaders will have to embrace critical multiculturalism and hold deans, department heads, and faculty accountable for meeting serious goals for achieving educational equity. In regard to campus partnerships, a grassroots effort will be required to make community members true collaborators in long-term relationships. These relationships, in turn, can be catalysts for faculty development and provide crucial political support for progressive change on campus.

A general education program focused on critical multiculturalism and community engagement, we believe, has the potential to revitalize the mission of the university, reconnect the campus to the world, and reinvigorate the academic experience of both students and faculty. Though some may brand this idealistic, we think in the end this agenda will win out against the vocationalism and ivory tower parochialism found on too many campuses today.

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## Endnotes

1) In retrospect, perhaps the most important structural key to the success of the Cultures and Communities Program Office was the decision by Chancellor Nancy Zimpher to create a separate funding structure for The Milwaukee Idea initiatives. These funds are set aside in accounts that are independent of the budgets of the various schools and colleges. Thus the initiatives have considerable autonomy and form a horizontal matrix for campus innovation that cuts through the vertical matrix of the usual administrative hierarchy of department heads, deans, and central administrative officers.

2) The many reports and publications of the Association of American Colleges and Universities have been especially helpful, as is its *DiversityWeb* page (<http://www.diversityweb.org>). Particularly relevant is Debra Humphrey's 1997 report, *General Education and American Commitments: A National Report on Diversity Courses and Requirements* (Washington, DC: AAC&U). My thanks to AAC&U Senior Vice President Caryn McTighe Musil for her counsel and support, and to William Harvey, vice president and director of the American Council on Education's Center for Advancement of Racial and Ethnic Equity, who invited our participation in ACE's biannual conferences on "Educating All of One Nation."

3) Interestingly, the otherwise admirable "Vision Statement" for the federal Corporation for National and Community Service nowhere expresses an awareness of racial injustice or the need for a multicultural analysis of service issues; see <http://www.national-service.org/about/vision.html>. For a fine introduction to the issues, see O'Grady, C. R. (2000). Integrating service learning and multicultural education: An overview. In C. R. O'Grady (Ed.), *Integrating service learning and multicultural education in colleges and universities* (pp. 1–20). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- 4) We highly recommend Johnson's book for all instructors looking for a way to get students thinking beyond their initial resistances.
- 5) Among the videos available, *The Angry Eye* (Elliott & Elliott Eyes, Inc., 2001) uses college students, and particularly challenges insistences on "color-blindness"; *Blue-Eyed* (Claus Strigel & Bertram Verhaag, 1995) is a 90-minute feature including footage from the original elementary school experiment as well as a workshop with adults; and *Stolen Eye* (Annamax Media, LTD & Angry Eye Production, Inc., 2003) conducts the experiment with whites and aboriginals in Australia, giving white privilege a global cast.

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