

ATTITUDES TOWARD INTENTIONALLY MULTICULTURAL CONTENT: A MIXED

METHODS STUDY

By

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ATTITUDES TOWARD INTENTIONALLY MULTICULTURAL CONTENT

Abstract

This study gauged student attitudes toward intentionally multicultural content in introductory anthropology courses. Particularly, the goal of this mixed methods study was to develop a deeper understanding of the phenomenon while capturing the intricacies of teaching diversity content at a community college. The interview protocol used as part of this study consisted of open-ended questions developed using Patton's (1990) six question types to gather data on student experiences and interpretations of a curriculum imbued with intentionally multicultural content. Additionally, implementation of a modified self-report questionnaire developed by Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn, and Terenzini (1996) helped measure the quantitative relationship between exposure to intentionally multicultural content and perspectives toward multiculturalism. Situated in the theoretical frameworks of Boas' (1963) principle of cultural relativism and Banks' (1997) dimensions of multicultural education, qualitative and quantitative data was analyzed concurrently. The results of this study suggest that there is a general, positive relationship between exposure to intentionally multicultural content and growth of pluralistic tendencies among students. However, the results of this study also suggest that not all enrolled students experienced multicultural content the same way. Fluctuation and regression of multicultural values varied based on racial/ethnic affiliation as well as preexisting knowledge brought into the classroom by adult learners.

Keywords: higher education; community college; multiculturalism; anthropology

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Introduction

Over the last two decades, multicultural initiatives have been a big part of higher education as universities moved toward cultural as well as racial inclusivity on college campuses (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Hurtado, 2005; Milem, 1994; Piland & Silva, 1996). Focus on enrollment of diverse students, hiring of diverse faculty and staff, along with changes in practice and content choice are meant to facilitate learning environments where multicultural values develop (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Hurtado, 2001). Many institutions of higher education promote an agenda of multiculturalism, defined in this study as the acceptance of all cultures being equally important and that the contributions of various cultures should be fairly represented in the curriculum and campus atmosphere (Robinson, 1996). Moreover, multiculturalism can also be thought of as an approach to education that incorporates diversity content and encourages discourse on cultural-ethnic traditions (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2008).

However, as an instructor of introductory anthropology courses at a community college that supports multiculturalism, I nonetheless find ethnocentrism, homophobia, and xenophobia, as well as lack of awareness regarding multicultural diversity among enrolled students. Over the last several years, I have observed a lack of tolerance and a partiality toward one's own values and behaviors as superior in student discourse and written assessments on issues of race, ethnicity, sex, religion, and behavioral norms.

Research suggests that professional and demographic characteristics of college faculty influence rates of responsiveness toward implementation of multicultural initiatives in the classroom (Hurtado, 2001; Laird, 2011). For the purposes of this research, faculty responsiveness can be defined as an instructor whom has awareness of diversity present in the classroom and as a result, develops a sense of responsibility to foster a culturally inclusive environment where

multicultural values are emphasized as part of the learning process. Literature on rates of faculty responsiveness postulates that variation in gender identity, race/ethnicity, and college status has been associated with different levels of responsiveness where younger, non-tenured, and ethnically diverse instructors have been observed to be most responsive toward diversity in the classroom (Maruyama, Moreno, Gudeman, & Marin, 2002). Alternatively, resistance to curricular and pedagogical changes has been observed in older, tenured faculty resulting in a reduced incorporation of multiculturalism in the classroom (Hurtado, 2001; Laird, 2011).

Responding to campus efforts toward multiculturalism and my personal experiences as an educator, a mixed methods study approach will be utilized in order to better elucidate student experiences and interpretations of curricular content infused with multiculturalism. The importance of this study is in its potential to address an existing gap in literature due to extensive focus on four-year institutions. As such, the study will take place at a community college rather than a four-year institution (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Hurtado, Alvarado, & Guillermo-Wann, 2015). Moreover, findings can also be used as baseline data for future decisions and improvement of the existing program (Patton, 1990). At the same time, a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods allows for triangulation as empirical analysis in conjunction with formal, detailed individual narratives will provide a more intricate account of the phenomenon (Gall et al., 2010; Patton, 1990). To address the problem of practice and gap in research literature, the questions listed below guided the study and were used to assess attitudes toward intentionally multicultural content and multicultural values.

1. How do students experience and interpret a curriculum imbued with intentionally multicultural content within socioeconomically and ethnically diverse introductory anthropology classrooms at an urban community college?

2. What is the quantitative relationship between exposure to intentionally multicultural classroom content and attitudes toward multicultural content among community college students?

Conceptual Framework

This mixed methods study is grounded in the theoretical perspective influenced by Boas' (1963) principle of cultural relativism and Banks' (1997) dimensions of multicultural education. The conceptual framework that informed this study falls under the umbrella of cultural relativism, an anthropological construct developed by Franz Boas (1963) in order to address issues of growing cultural and racial inequity during the first half of the twentieth century. Defined as a principle where the values and behaviors of one's own culture should not be used to judge and criticize the practices and behaviors of other cultures (Kottak, 2016), this theoretical construct has the potential to facilitate an atmosphere where multicultural values are emphasized. In the context of education, a multicultural atmosphere in introductory anthropology classrooms is constructed in a way that helps promote cultural relativism via inclusion of diverse content and discourse on cross-cultural diversity (Pelissier, 1991).

Moreover, in order for multiculturalism to be an influential component in a pedagogical model organized around cultural relativism, content choice plays an important role in the anthropology classroom. Drawing from the work of Banks (1997) and his five dimensions of multicultural education, the instructor as a facilitator of multicultural content has the potential to shape learning environments to include all students in discourse on multicultural values while creating opportunities for acknowledgment of cross-cultural diversity present in the classroom and the public sphere. Specifically, the lens of content integration, one of the five dimensions proposed by Banks (1997), will be utilized to analyze the scope of multicultural education in its ability to cultivate critical thinking in enrolled students with regard to course content that deals with multicultural diversity and group discourse on culturally relevant issues (Banks, 1997).

Literature Review

Over the last two decades, multicultural initiatives have been a big part of higher education as universities emphasized a movement toward cultural as well as racial inclusivity on college campuses (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2005; Milem, 1994; Piland & Silva, 1996). As a result, a growing body of literature has been produced on the influences of multiculturalism in higher education. Review of selected literature led to the formation of three thematic categories: policy changes and institutional initiatives, faculty responsiveness, as well as the influence multiculturalism on growth of social outcomes in enrolled students (Chang, Astin, & Kim, 2004; Denson & Chang, 2009, 2015; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Hurtado, 2005; Mayhew & Grunwald, 2006). All three thematic categories are interconnected in ways that elucidate general perceptions and rates of commitment toward the concept of multiculturalism among administrative staff, instructional faculty, and enrolled students (Chang et al., 2004; Denson & Chang, 2015; Hurtado, 2001, 2005; Nagda, Gurin, & Lopez, 2003). In particular, research has focused on policy initiatives such as the hiring of diverse faculty and staff, enrollment policies to include greater student diversity, as well as the restructuring of academic programs, and their influence on the experiences of students with multiculturalism in classroom settings (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Hurtado, 2001, 2005; Laird, 2011). Secondly, the three thematic categories are used to inform research design in order to account for overarching inconsistencies and contradictions that emerged out of the reviewed literature (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Chang et al., 2004; Hurtado, 2001; Hurtado et al., 2015; Kuh & Pike, 2006; Mayhew & Grunwald, 2006).

Multiculturalism and Institutional Initiatives

Discourse on policy initiatives goes back almost two decades as most universities made attempts in the promotion of learning environments to accommodate the increasing degree of diversity among students enrolled (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2005; Milem, 1994; Piland & Silva, 1996). Review of policy initiatives and empirical studies indicated that there are many variables at play when higher education institutions commit to the promotion of multiculturalism (Chang, Denson, Sáenz, & Misa, 2005; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Hurtado, 2001, 2005). With that said, there is general agreement across the literature positing that variables such as the hiring of diverse faculty and staff, enrollment policies to include greater student diversity on campus, reorganization of curricular and academic program structure, and socialization activities as well as events that take place on campus, are all designed with the goal of fostering environments conducive toward the growth of multicultural values among enrolled students (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Hurtado, 2001, 2005; Milem, 1994; Piland & Silva, 1996; Robinson, 1996). Furthermore, literature also noted that positive experiences with multiculturalism depend on an environment that can facilitate high rates of quality interactions among diverse groups of students, faculty, and staff (Chang et al., 2005; Denson & Chang, 2015; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Kuh & Pike, 2006).

By focusing on the various influences of multiculturalism as well as grounding research design and empirical analysis in theories and literature, the aforementioned authors strengthened the overall argument for the positive influence of multicultural initiatives. However, taking a closer look into the application of institutional initiatives and levels of university commitment to effectively implement multicultural values, a several inconsistencies emerge (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Hurtado, 2001). First, a number of works noted that even though institutional

initiatives may emphasize incorporation of multicultural values campus-wide, departmental and administrative resistance reflective of individual perspectives regarding multiculturalism have potential to create obstacles for effective incorporation of institutional initiatives (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Hurtado, 2001; Mayhew & Grunwald, 2006). As a result, one of the overarching contradictions across research literature on institutional initiatives is that although multicultural initiatives have been demonstrated to have positive influence on campus, it is rather difficult to discern which of the previously suggested institutional initiatives is most influential due to the different levels of institutional commitment (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Hurtado, 2001; Laird, 2011; Mayhew & Grunwald, 2006).

In addition, because some institutions expressed greater interest in multiculturalism than others, reviewed literature also noted that select schools underestimated the amount of student support programs, student clubs, organizations, and approaches to teaching that would have to be developed to accommodate the enrolment of ethnically and culturally diverse students (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Hurtado, 2001; Hurtado et al., 2015; Kuh & Pike, 2006; Mayhew & Grunwald, 2006). Furthermore, lack of standardization in initiative implementation across schools was cultivated by institutions not accounting for the amount of changes that would need to take place in terms of hiring diverse faculty, and formation of support programs, as well as changes to pedagogical approaches and ideology to ensure that the multicultural initiatives are effective (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009).

Different perspectives regarding the methods of implementing multicultural initiatives across institutions makes it difficult to pinpoint which of the institutional initiatives have the most influence. Even though campus policy, enrollment and hiring strategies, as well as on-campus programs are all collectively suggested to foster positive attitudes toward

multiculturalism, these same policies also seem to vary in influence and application from one institution to the next (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Hurtado, 2001; Hurtado et al., 2015; Kuh & Pike, 2006). Moreover, because there is no general consensus on which of the multicultural initiatives is most influential, there does not seem to be a single model of multiculturalism that can be applied to all schools as there are too many fluctuating variables being analyzed.

Implementation of multicultural initiatives differs from one institution to the next and the reader is left to assume whether positive attitudes toward multiculturalism are a byproduct of combined, broad institutional initiatives being promoted across schools, or if the positive outcomes are due to specific initiatives at each individual institution (Chang et al., 2005; Hurtado et al., 2015).

Faculty Responsiveness

Studies that researched the influence of policy reform and institutional commitment also analyzed the role of faculty responsiveness toward multiculturalism and how faculty perceptions of multiculturalism can influence classroom atmosphere (Hurtado, 2001, 2005; Laird, 2011; Maruyama et al., 2000). Reviewed literature suggested that faculty awareness and engagement are important in the promotion of multicultural initiatives on campus (Chang et al., 2004; Hurtado, 2001, 2005; Laird, 2011). Faculty responsiveness heavily influenced the effectiveness of multicultural initiatives with regard to content choice, promotion of open-minded discourse, and pedagogical approaches toward facilitating a culturally sensitive atmosphere. Uniquely enough, even though policy reform and institutional commitment are crucial to the promotion of multicultural initiatives, studies posit that faculty perspectives and responsiveness toward multiculturalism played a bigger role because of their influence in the classroom (Hurtado, 2005; Laird, 2011).

Additionally, literature pointed to a large number of characteristics that influence faculty responsiveness toward diversity present in the classroom. Factors such as race, ethnicity, gender identity, status, age, comfort with diversity content, and willingness to change one's pedagogical approach, are all suggested to be heavily influential when it came to fostering learning environments that promote multiculturalism (Hurtado, 2001, 2005; Laird, 2011; Maruyama et al., 2000). For instance, literature tended to converge on the conclusions that racially and ethnically diverse faculty were more likely to incorporate intentionally multicultural content in their courses in comparison to White faculty, and that non-tenured adjunct faculty were more likely to be more open toward curricular change to incorporation of intentionally multicultural content as opposed to older, tenured faculty (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Hurtado, 2001, 2005; Laird,

2011). As a result, inclusion of multicultural content heavily depended on the perspectives of individual faculty regarding multicultural values. Even though an institution may promote awareness and implementation of multicultural initiatives, varied faculty perspectives as an extension of demographic characteristics are suggested to be strong indicators of responsiveness (Hurtado, 2001, 2005; Laird, 2011).

Looking across the literature supports the overarching argument that demographic characteristics are an important factor to consider when facilitating a multicultural classroom atmosphere (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Hurtado, 2001; Laird, 2011). There were however, several inconsistencies in the interpretation of findings and data collection procedures. First, there seemed to be lack of consistency with regard to the percentage of faculty who are actually responsive and inclusive of intentionally multicultural content in their courses. A campus may have multicultural institutional initiatives in the form of hiring and enrollment strategies as well as emphasis on inclusive pedagogical approaches, but even with increased diversity among faculty, low percentages of faculty participation in incorporating multicultural content were recorded (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Maruyama et al., 2000; Mayhew & Grunwald, 2006). For instance, faculty admitted to be aware of diversity present in one's classroom, yet only a third out of 460 faculty members actually modified their courses to incorporate intentionally multicultural content (Maruyama et al., 2000), and fewer than 50% of faculty out of 7,100 admitted to doing the same in another study (Laird, 2011). A critical conclusion that can be drawn out from the literature is that most faculty are aware of the multicultural initiatives and classroom diversity, however, awareness of diversity and campus initiatives does not guarantee that multicultural values will be translated to the classroom. A number of faculty whom actually incorporate multiculturalism fluctuated and did not seem to be entirely dependent on demographic

characteristics (Laird, 2011; Maruyama et al., 2000; Mayhew & Grunwald, 2006). One potential explanation for low participation rates is that institutional and departmental commitment played a role on a case-by-case basis in whether faculty were comfortable enough to incorporate intentionally multicultural content (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Maruyama et al., 2000).

Another critique of the literature on faculty responsiveness is with regard to data collection procedures. To measure rates of faculty responsiveness, empirical data was collected on diversity courses and the faculty who taught them (Laird, 2011). However, in some cases, it was the faculty that made the decision whether a course was a multicultural course and what course to include as part of the study (Laird, 2011; Maruyama et al., 2000). Bias toward the multicultural nature of one's course can develop when actual participants in the study had an opportunity affirm whether their class meets the standards of a diversity course. Moreover, in one instance, instructors were also allowed to self-evaluate the multicultural quality of their content in order to determine their own rates of awareness regarding cultural diversity in the classroom (Laird, 2011). Self-evaluations pose an ethical dilemma associated with the accuracy of collected data and in order to avoid such a criticism, there is a need for greater institutional organization in order to officially identify courses as multicultural courses (Laird, 2011).

Impacts of Multicultural Initiatives on Students

The themes of policy reform and institutional commitment, as well as faculty responsiveness come together when analyzing student perspectives regarding multiculturalism as a product of multicultural initiatives (Chang et al., 2004; Denson & Chang, 2015; Hurtado, 2005; Milem, 1994; Sáenz, Marcoulides, Junn, & Young, 1999). As discussed in the aforementioned subsections, there are cases of limitations and challenges when it comes to effective incorporation of multiculturalism with regard to institutional commitment and faculty attitudes toward multiculturalism on campus (Hurtado, 2001; Kuh & Pike, 2006; Laird, 2011; Mayhew & Grunwald, 2006). However, numerous studies demonstrated that there is a strong, positive correlation between committed institutional as well as faculty efforts toward multiculturalism and growth in multicultural values among students attending higher education institutions (Chang et al., 2005; Hurtado, 2005; Laird, 2011). For instance, empirical studies utilizing multivariate correlation analysis suggested that students had positive college experiences when they interacted with peers of different ethnic groups in environments that were conducive to such interaction (Chang et al., 2004; Denson & Chang, 2015; Hurtado, 2005; Taylor, 1998).

Moreover, literature also suggested that courses emphasizing open-minded discourse on issues of diversity and equity regarding race, ethnicity, and gender led to a reduction of racial prejudice and generally greater desire to interact with ethnically and culturally diverse peers (Denson & Chang, 2015; Gurin et al., 2002; Henderson-King & Kaleta, 2000; Hurtado, 2005). At the same time, students displayed positive social outcomes when they participated in course programs as well as engaged with diverse faculty (Chang et al., 2004; Locks, Hurtado, Bowman, & Oseguera, 2008). Greater appreciation of multiculturalism, and in particular, higher rates of tolerance and awareness of ethnic cultural diversity along with increased interest in global social

issues was noted as a product of the students' active engagement in courses and campus life fueled by multicultural initiatives (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2005; Locks et al., 2008).

Besides the positive social outcomes postulated by the aforementioned academics, researchers also tested for other variables deemed critical in their ability to influence multicultural outcomes. Emphasis on variables such as the academic status of participating students, preferred topics of conversation, time spent on campus, and socioeconomic demographics showed that the aforementioned variables influence students' perception of and engagement with multicultural initiatives (Chang et al., 2004; Denson & Chang, 2015; Henderson-King & Kaleta, 2000; Hurtado, 2005; Hu & Kuh, 2003). At the same time, these variables were suggested to have an effect in terms of how different racial and ethnic groups engaged with multiculturalism and in turn, how said experiences with multicultural values influenced perspectives toward multiculturalism (Chang et al., 2004; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Hurtado, 2005).

Although reviewed literature overwhelmingly supported the general conclusion that positive attitudes toward multiculturalism were influenced by campus experience, several contradictions regarding methodology and conclusions were noted. For instance, with regard to the effectiveness of multicultural values, certain research literature demonstrated that not all ethnic groups have equal or positive experiences with multiculturalism on campus (Bowman & Park, 2014; Chang et al., 2004; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Sáenz et al., 1999). Even with implemented multicultural initiatives, growth in positive attitudes fluctuated and occasionally did not have the anticipated positive influences (Bowman & Park, 2015; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Sáenz et al., 1999). Of specific interest were rates of interaction among ethnic minorities. Research literature noted that African-American and Latinx students were recorded attempting fewer multicultural interactions

in comparison to other ethnicities, while having increased rates of interaction within their own ethnic groups (Chang et al., 2004; Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Hu & Kuh, 2003). Similarly, Asian-American students were also observed to have fewer multicultural interactions due to higher rates of interaction within their ethnic groups (Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Hu & Kuh, 2003). Contrary to what the majority of reviewed literature postulated regarding the positive effectiveness of multicultural initiatives, higher enrollment numbers of diverse students and implementation of multicultural initiatives do not necessarily facilitate increased multicultural interaction. Instead, what select works suggested is that due to unequal rates of multicultural interaction, it is the White student population that had greater rates of positive experiences with multiculturalism on campus because of their higher enrollment numbers (Chang et al., 2004; Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Sáenz et al., 1999).

Additionally, research suggests that the aforementioned fluctuation regarding experience with multiculturalism and growth of values over time has to do with already existing multicultural proclivities when entering college (Engberg & Hurtado, 2011). Particularly, Feldman and Newcomb (1969) stressed that exposure to campus atmosphere promoting multicultural values and pluralistic tendencies has potential to further accentuate values already imbued in students entering college; resulting in what are known as accentuation effects (Feldman & Newcomb, 1969). As such, when students from varied demographic backgrounds enter college, they do so with different predispositions toward multicultural values (Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Feldman & Newcomb, 1969). In turn, varied initial predispositions may impact the rates of growth and in some cases, even foster attenuation, or regression in plural attitudes as seen with Asian students (Chang et al., 2004; Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Feldman & Newcomb, 1969; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Laird, Engberg, & Hurtado, 2005).

Another interesting proposition regarding variation in perceptions of and experiences with multiculturalism on campus has been discussed by researchers studying adult learners. For example, Taylor and Marienau (2016) explored the adult brain in connection to learning patterns and how to better foster learning experiences for adult learners. One salient takeaway is that adults, in comparison to children, enter the classroom with a bank of life experiences, which are used to rationalize, interpret, as well as find meaning in what they are exposed to in the classroom (Taylor & Marienau, 2016). What adult learners already know, as well as how they think has strong potential to impact how new experiences are perceived in the classroom. Of relevance is the argument that when adult learners are exposed to ideas and values that depart from their already established perspectives, new experiences may be interpreted as irrelevant and may even be rejected if they conflict with already existing norms that can be accentuated or reinforced when exposed to conflicting knowledge (Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Feldman & Newcomb, 1969; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Taylor & Marienau, 2016). As such, exposure to new content and multicultural experiences can very well be challenging to some adult learners and as a result, lead to the rejection in the form of attenuation, or regression of new pluralistic values and ideas if they are in conflict with already established value systems and ways of thinking (Bowman & Park, 2014; Chang et al., 2004; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Sáenz et al., 1999; Taylor & Marienau, 2016).

In connection to recorded rates of unequal experiences with multiculturalism, another critique of reviewed literature is the overrepresentation of White students over other races and ethnicities (Bowman & Park, 2015; Chang et al., 2004; Chang et al., 2005; Sáenz et al., 1999; Taylor, 1998). It is difficult to ascertain experiences with multicultural initiatives if the sample does not accurately reflect the demographics of the general student population.

Overrepresentation of a single race or ethnic group raises issues of population validity that can influence the results of a study, bringing conclusions into question (Lauer, 2004). Perhaps one potential reason for the skewed representation of White students in these studies is due to the selective enrollment policies of four-year public and private institutions (Bowman & Park, 2015; Chang et al., 2005; Hurtado et al., 2015; Hu & Kuh, 2003). Uniquely enough, instances of selective enrollment policies being acknowledged as limitations in sampling contradicts the overarching multicultural initiative of enrolling greater numbers of diverse students (Chang et al., 2005; Hurtado et al., 2015; Hu & Kuh, 2003). Different levels of institutional commitment toward multiculturalism become apparent once again as overrepresentation of White students in large-scale studies is not necessarily representative of multicultural initiatives that institutions claimed to promote (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2005; Milem, 1994; Piland & Silva, 1996).

Conclusions and Implications for Research Design

Overall, reviewed literature built a strong case for a positive relationship between implementation of multicultural initiatives and growth of positive attitudes toward multiculturalism. However, there are some obvious challenges to successful incorporation of multicultural initiatives on a college campus. Issues can range from departmental/institutional levels of commitment toward multiculturalism, reduced rates of faculty responsiveness, as well as variation in course content, campus programs, and rates of student interaction, all of which were noted to be conducive toward improved cross-cultural interaction and positive attitudes toward multiculturalism. One factor that stood out in particular is the need for complete cooperation on behalf of faculty, staff, administration, and admittedly the students to make multiculturalism work. As seen with reduced rates of interaction among certain ethnic groups and lack of institutional consensus on which initiatives are most effective in successfully implementing multiculturalism, effective incorporation of multicultural values seems to fluctuate from one school to the next. Therefore, if colleges commit to multicultural diversity initiatives, they need to carefully reevaluate commitment and support for diverse inclusion from within (Hurtado, 2001, 2005).

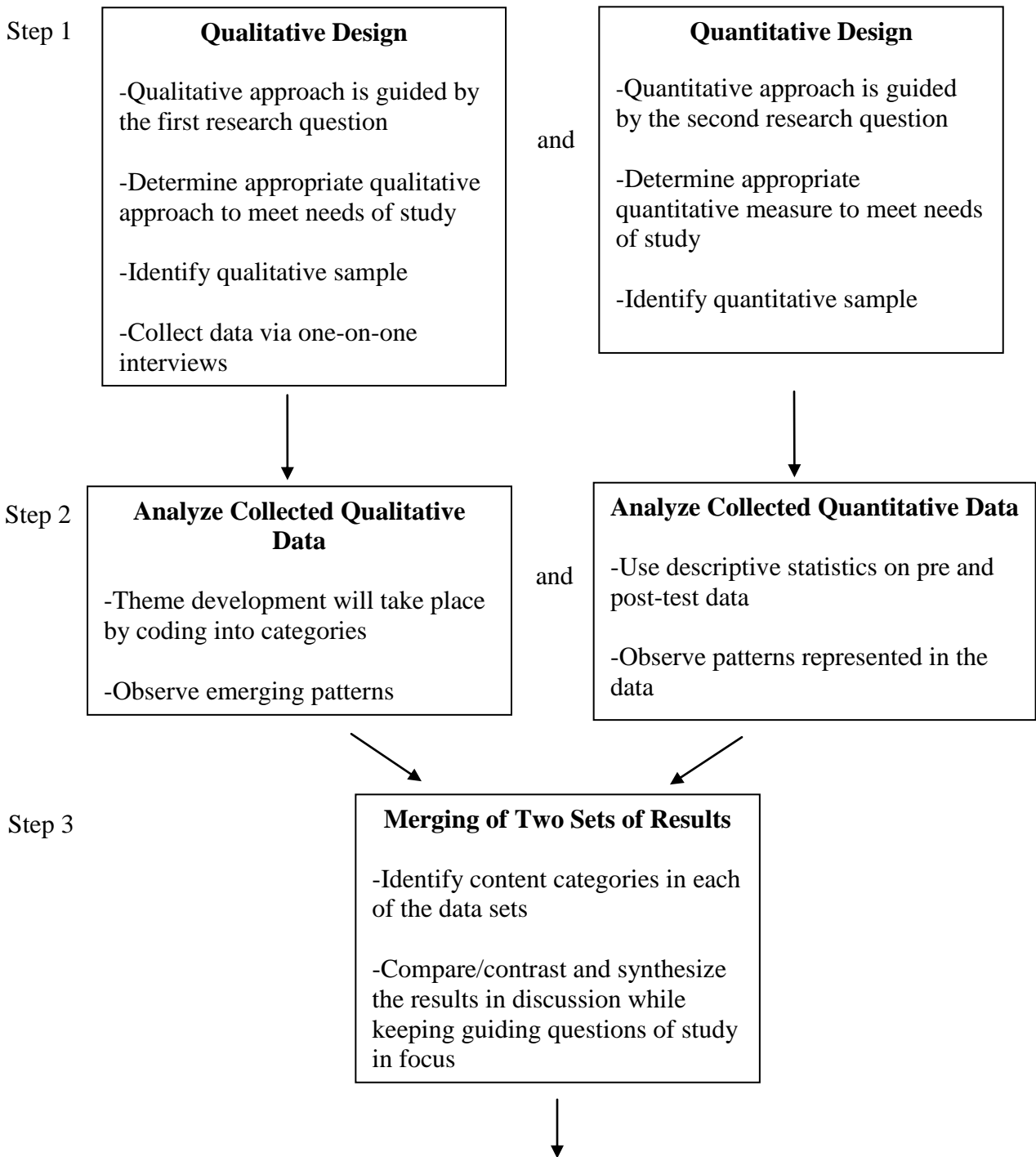
In addition, literature reviewed as part of this study also informed research design in a number of ways. First, a general question remains in relation to the effectiveness of multiculturalism in community colleges. Most research on multiculturalism revolved either around a single four-year institution, or a large-scale sample of four-year institutions. As a result, there is a gap in literature regarding two-year institutions because community colleges have been consistently excluded from most studies on multiculturalism. Alternatively, literature pointed out that community colleges enroll culturally and socioeconomically diverse students that need to be

prepared for the realities of the modern globalized world (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Denson & Chang, 2015). Therefore, perceptions of and experiences with multiculturalism in a community college should be as equally important for study by researchers and policy-makers (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009). Lastly, with regard to research design, analysis of multiculturalism at a community college allows for student samples to be more diverse. Unlike in large-scale studies where over 85% of student participants identified as White resulting in oversampling (e.g. Chang et al., 2004; Chang et al., 2005; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Sáenz et al., 1999; Taylor, 1998), students enrolled at community colleges are likely to have greater rates of demographic diversity resulting in research samples that foster a better representation of the institution (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Denson & Chang, 2015).

Methods

As part of the mixed methods approach to the study, the methodology was situated in the philosophical underpinnings of the convergent parallel design. Incorporation of such an approach was advantageous as it allowed for the implementation of both qualitative and quantitative methodology in order to facilitate a more complete understanding of the phenomenon (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011; Creswell, Plano-Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003). In particular, convergent parallel design methodology promotes the collection and analysis of qualitative and quantitative data in congruence with one another. The data collected are meant to be different but complementary in their approach to the phenomenon as well as the research questions (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011; Creswell et al., 2003). Additionally, the strength of the convergent design as it is commonly referred to (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011), is that it takes into consideration both the advantages and disadvantages of solely qualitative and quantitative methodology; generalization and large sample size of the quantitative approach and focus on depth as well as small sample size of the qualitative approach (Creswell et al., 2003). Convergent design is also advantageous when engaging in data analysis and triangulation because direct comparison can be made between collected numerical data and themes that emerge from interview sessions. Therefore, validation as well as corroboration can take place as quantitative and qualitative results can be synthesized in ways that help better elucidate the phenomenon being studied (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011; Creswell et al., 2003; Gall et al., 2010). Lastly, because application of the convergent design allows for the collection, analysis, and synthesis of emerging data at the same time, it is an efficient design for those with limited time to collect data or visit the research site. In the context of this study, the aforementioned advantage of the convergent design played an important role because the time constraints of a college semester

would have made it difficult to complete the study in a timely matter (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011; Walonick, 2004). As such, convergent design guided the study and its flowchart as it applied to the methodology, can be seen below:



Step 4

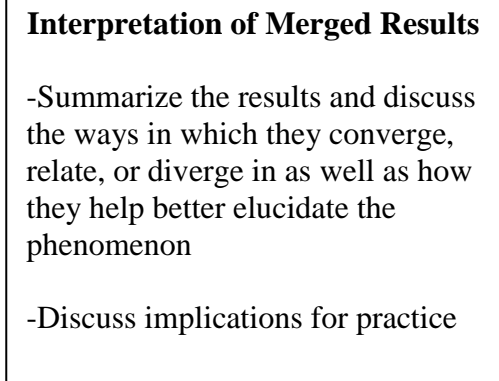


Figure 1. Flowchart of convergent parallel design

Moreover, in response to reviewed literature, the proposed study only focuses on the role of intentionally multicultural content rather than collectively addressing policy, learning outcomes, and institutional commitment toward multicultural values (Chang et al., 2005; Hurtado, 2001). Lastly, research design has been refined in response to an earlier pilot study gauging the effectiveness of qualitative and quantitative instruments (Gall et al., 2010).

Site Description

The study took place at a Northeastern community college that has a current enrollment of over 15,000 students. Being a prominent school of choice due to its location, the campus enrolls students from diverse socioeconomic and ethnic/racial backgrounds (32% Caucasian, 27% African-American, 15% Asian, and 21% Latinx) with 62 % of enrolled students between the ages of 20-29 (US DOE, 2018). Moreover, a choice institution based its offering of vocational track certification as well as its intensive ESL program, this school sees high enrolment numbers of first generation of English language learners.

With regard to course requirements for graduation, there is no general set of requirements as to when a student should take an introductory anthropology class. That is why introductory anthropology sections have a mixture of first and second year students. Even though a major in anthropology is not offered at this institution, introductory anthropology is currently part of the civic engagement initiative requiring students to take a course that fosters awareness of social and cultural diversity as a prerequisite for graduation.

Introductory anthropology courses taught at Northeastern community college are required to cover the four-field approach to anthropology e.g. cultural, linguistic, biological, and archaeological anthropology. Cultural anthropology focuses on human cultures and present-day societies with emphasis on topics such as gender and sexuality, race and ethnicity, religion, and family organization. Topics covered as part of linguistic anthropology include analysis of the relationship between culture and language, historical linguistics, and descriptive linguistics. Additionally, the biological anthropology sub-discipline covers topics such as human evolution, human adaptation, as well as primatology. Last but not least, archaeological anthropology topics analyze deposited material remains to describe the cultural patterns of past societies (Kottak,

2016). Faculty members teaching introductory anthropology courses have the freedom to choose the order in which course topics are covered, however, as per departmental requirements, coverage of the four sub-disciplines is expected throughout the semester. Furthermore, a customized textbook is assigned in all introductory anthropology courses and focuses on a plethora of topics such as linguistics, race and ethnicity, as well as biological and archaeological anthropology. Lastly, all introductory anthropology courses incorporate the same course objectives on syllabi in order to frame the knowledge that students are expected to attain throughout the semester. The course objectives used in all introductory anthropology courses are listed below:

- Students will evaluate anthropological information from a variety of sources, utilize critical thinking about what it means to be human and examine information from multiple cultural perspectives. They will produce written and oral arguments using these sources and perspectives.
- Students will explain and analyze the diversity of economic, political, religious, gender, kinship, language and cultural change in the modern world and the past using the anthropological holistic perspective.
- Students will analyze and discuss the role of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation and beliefs in a cross-cultural perspective. They will compile examples of cultural bias, ethnocentrism and social injustice; they will be able to demonstrate how cultural relativism will foster respect for other behaviors.
- Students will debate the effects/impacts of globalization and global cultural diversity on peoples and cultures around the world.

- Students will increase their awareness of racial and/or cultural diversity, and develop reflexivity about their own place in society.
- The students will gain competency in understanding key anthropological concepts, methods and terminology. They will recognize the four-field approach and define each sub-discipline.
- Students will recognize the scientific process of discovery. Students will discover the major changes in primate and human evolution over the last 65 million years.
- Students will demonstrate an understanding of the use of material culture in exploration of past cultures and analyze the historical development of non-western societies.

Sampling Strategy

Given the nature of a mixed methods study geared toward analyzing a phenomenon, data for both of the research questions was collected using the criterion sampling strategy (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990). All stakeholders in the study met the general criterion of being enrolled in an introductory anthropology course. Additionally, criterion sampling allowed for greater collection of rich data, as all students were eligible for in-depth qualitative interviewing because individual demographic characteristics were not used as basis for exclusion from the study. Reviewed literature informed the aforementioned decision because studies suggest that demographic characteristics are not entirely indicative of student experiences and attitudes regarding multiculturalism (Chang et al., 2004; Hurtado, 2001; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Laird, 2011; Sáenz et al., 1999). However, in order to accurately represent the diversity present in introductory anthropology classrooms, general demographic information such as college standing, gender identity, language use off campus, interaction outside of one's racial or cultural background in the public sphere, and ethnic/racial affiliation was collected as part of the quantitative measure discussed in a section below (Creswell, 2007; Gall et al., 2010).

The overall sample size for qualitative interviewing and analysis of the phenomenon included a total of 7 stakeholders who were enrolled in introductory anthropology courses at time of data collection (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990). Student participants were recruited using a predetermined electronic flyer made available on the online course sites of all introductory anthropology classes. The flyer provided potential participants with information regarding the goals of the study, the importance of student participation, as well as assurance that participation will have absolutely no impact on their grade. Lastly, to mitigate risk associated with student research, electronic flyers with information on the study were shared with all students regardless

of their interest in order to not single out any potential participants (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990).

Quantitative sampling, on the other hand, included a total of 504 stakeholders in the pre-test measure and 441 stakeholders in the post-test measure. A modified questionnaire was administered to students during the first two weeks as well as last two weeks of each semester over the course of one academic year. After information about the study was shared with the students, copies of the questionnaire were handed out to all students in each participating classroom. The number of students participating in the study was contingent on enrollment numbers and the number of sections taught by participating faculty members for that semester. Participation in both the pre and post-test measures was also contingent on voluntary participation to avoid the issue of coercion (Figueroa, 2014). All students received a copy of the questionnaire, and if students did not want to participate, they left the questionnaire blank and it was collected with the responses. In addition, collected demographic data is an aggregate of enrolled participants and was not matched to each individual participant to avoid issues of privacy and coercion (Figueroa, 2014). Limiting the data collection stage to one academic college year was ideal due to time constraints (Walonick, 2004). Lastly, collected racial/ethnic demographic data via the pre and post-test measures in introductory anthropology classrooms is reflective of the demographic breakdown seen on campus as a whole (US DOE, 2018). The tables seen below display collected pre and post-test demographic data:

Table 1a

Racial/Ethnic Affiliation of Stakeholders in Pre-Test Measure, n=504

Race/Ethnicity	n	Percentage %
American Indian/Alaska Native	1	.2
Asian	97	19.2
African-American	169	33.5
White	105	20.8
Hispanic/Latino	95	18.8
Pacific Islander	0	0
Native Hawaiian or Other	11	2.2
I prefer not to respond	26	5.2

Note. Total Percentage is 100.

Table 1b

Racial/Ethnic Affiliation of Stakeholders in Post-Test Measure, n=441

Race/Ethnicity	n	Percentage %
American Indian/Alaska Native	0	0
Asian	72	16.3
African-American	125	28.3
White	117	26.5
Hispanic/Latino	82	18.6
Pacific Islander	1	.2
Native Hawaiian or Other	7	1.6
I prefer not to respond	37	8.4

Note. Total Percentage is 100.

In response to the second research question as well as the goal of better understanding the general phenomenon, in addition to any potential evaluation of the program in the future, baseline pre and post-test demographic data on gender, school standing, language use as well as interaction with diversity outside of school was also collected (see Appendix C).

Alternatively, the criterion sampling strategy did not include students enrolled in introductory courses taken strictly online or in hybrid learning environments. The reasoning

behind the exclusion of students who are not in face-to-face courses is that distance education facilitates a different learning dynamic than what is found in the classroom. Educators in online courses function more as the facilitators of content instead of providers of that same content, leading to different forms of teacher-student interaction as well as learning (Williams & Peters, 1997).

Data Collection

As part of the mixed methods approach to the study, data was collected using both qualitative and quantitative approaches. To gather data on student experiences and interpretations of a curriculum infused with intentionally multicultural content, one-on-one open-ended interviews were held with the stakeholders enrolled in introductory anthropology courses. The structure of open-ended interviews was advantageous because it permitted the interviewer and interviewee to engage in a conversation instead of a dichotomous question-answer session (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990). Interview protocols were put together using Patton's (1990) six question types. Focus was placed on opinion, knowledge, feeling, and experience question types in order to elicit specific information as relevant to the interests of the first research question (see Appendix A). Each interview was held at a campus location most convenient to the interviewee, but the primary investigator's office was suggested as an option as it provided privacy with few distractions (Creswell, 2007). Additionally, in response to the reviewed literature, one-on-one interviews were held closer toward the end of each academic semester after the stakeholders were exposed to most of the anthropology content. Having interview sessions closer to the end of the semester was advantageous as participants had ample time to be exposed to the multicultural nature of the introductory anthropology curriculum (Gall et al., 2010). Furthermore, even though the suggested length of each interview was between 30 minutes and 1 hour in order to allow participants enough time to engage with the interview questions, time constraints were respected. Stakeholders were always notified that although participation in the interview is a one-time commitment (Walonick, 2004), if time constraints were to cut the interview short, a second meeting would be requested (Patton, 1990). Lastly, other than taking notes during the interviews,

all interviews were audio recorded with the permission of the interviewee and were prepared for analysis using REV transcription services.

In order to minimize risk, participants were notified both verbally and physically via a consent form that their participation in a one-on-one interview with the investigator would have absolutely no influence on their overall course or my opinion of them as students (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990). Furthermore, students were also notified that their participation is voluntary, that they could end the interview whenever they want, and that all responses would be kept confidential. Confidentiality was further ensured by providing pseudonyms to all participants and their interview responses (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990).

As part of the quantitative approach to answer the second guiding question of the study, data was collected two times en masse via the pre-test and post-test implementation of a questionnaire known as the Openness to Diversity and Challenges (ODC) likert scale developed by Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn, and Terenzini (1996). The instrument was physically administered to measure attitudes toward multiculturalism and multicultural values using a standard five point measure where 5= strongly agree and 1=strongly disagree (Gall et al., 2010). The goal of the questionnaire was to measure the relationship between exposure to intentionally multicultural content and perspectives toward multiculturalism. As such, students had the measure administered during the second week of class as well as the last week of class with the goal of measuring the relationship between exposure to intentionally multicultural content and perspectives toward multiculturalism. Participating in this measure early in the semester heightened the validity of the pretest data because students were not exposed to any anthropological content (Gall et al., 2010). The post-test was administered during the last weeks of class when students have been exposed to all content. Lastly, for the purposes of data analysis,

each statement as part of the ODC scale was coded as ODC 1-ODC 7 using shorthand identifiers that were developed based on a key theme of each statement in the questionnaire. Coded shorthand identifiers can be seen as part of table 2 below:

Table 2

Coded Shorthand Identifiers for ODC Measure

Coded ODC Statement

ODC 1 (enjoyment) I enjoy having discussions with people whose ideas and values are different from my own.

ODC 2 (real value of education) The real value of a college education lies in being introduced to different values.

ODC 3 (better understanding) I enjoy talking with people who have values different from mine because it helps me better understand myself and my values.

ODC 4 (different cultures) Learning about people from different cultures is a very important part of my college education.

ODC 5 (challenge beliefs) I enjoy taking courses that challenge my beliefs and values.

ODC 6 (different perspective) The courses I enjoy most are those that make me think about things from a different perspective.

ODC 7 (contact) Contact with individuals whose backgrounds (e.g., race, national origin, sexual orientation) are different from my own is an essential part of my college education.

Note. Original by Pascarella et al., 1996.

Students had the option of participating in both the interview and the questionnaire. Students also had the option of responding to the questionnaire, but not participating in the interview. The original Pascarella et al. (1996) ODC scale contains eight questions, however, the last question was not included as part of the scale because it is seen as redundant (Reason, Cox, Quaye, & Terenzini, 2010). Additionally, the ODC scale was modified to include questions on general demographic information as seen in the section above to ensure that classroom diversity was accurately represented in the collected data in relation to general campus demographics (see

Appendix B). Lastly, the ODC scale has a Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient of 0.954 (Ryder, Reason, Mitchell, Gillon, & Hemer, 2015). A positive reliability coefficient identified this scale as suitable to use in order to look for quantitative relationships between intentionally multicultural course content and attitudes toward multiculturalism.

Data Analysis

Situated in the theoretical perspectives of Boas's (1963) principle of cultural relativism and Banks' (1997) dimension of knowledge construction as well as utilizing a post-positivist research lens, collected data was analyzed in several ways (Gall et al., 2010). First, as part of the qualitative stage, I initially read interview transcripts numerous times in order to start developing initial thoughts about the data. As I was reading, while keeping the qualitative research question of the study in mind, I took notes and wrote memos about phenomena that initially stood out (Charmaz, 2006). Particularly, in relation to the theoretical framework, I was interested in perspectives and experiences that are associated with the multicultural nature of classroom content and classroom discourse. Furthermore, by reading the transcripts numerous times, I hoped to establish patterns about how knowledge is constructed as a result of exposure to intentionally multicultural content. Next, I read the interview transcripts and applied incident-by-incident coding as part of my initial coding strategy while remaining open-minded to the possibilities that can be extracted from the data (Charmaz, 2006). The goal at this point was to start defining general conceptual categories, to chunk preliminary codes, and to make connections as they emerged (Coffey & Atkinson 1996; Saldaña, 2009; Shank, 2006).

Additionally, engaging in thematic analysis, a focused coding technique was applied to determine definitive codes while I used them as part of the data analysis process. At this point of data analysis, I decided which codes I found to be most relevant in connection to the guiding qualitative question of the study and the thematic categories that emerged (Charmaz, 2006; Coffey & Atkinson 1996). Applying inductive approach to the data, focused coding was used until the point of saturation was reached and no new codes emerged. Lastly, as I participated in thematic analysis and focused coding, I applied the theoretical lenses of Boas (1963) and Banks

(1997) in order to start making meaning of my finalized codes and themes. Analyzed interview data helped construct narratives about student experiences and how said experiences impacted learning throughout the semester. As such, the thematic categories that emerged as part of my meaning making process were used to develop the discussion and implications sections about collected data in relation to the guiding research question (Creswell, 2007; Shank, 2006).

Finalized codes, their definitions, and examples can be seen as part of the table below:

Table 3

Codes, Definitions, and Examples

Code	Definition	Example
NYC	Geographical region referenced by stakeholders in relation to exposure to diversity	“Look at New York City, there’s a lot of different cultures”
Relevance	Perceived real-world application and benefits of learned information	“It’s just really not capturing my attention”
Self-awareness	Recognition and affirmation of one’s own identity after exposure to content	“I’m not just black. I’m also Hispanic. I’m also a woman. I’m also on the queer spectrum”
Bio	Any content pertaining to the sub-discipline of biological anthropology	“ I mean I didn’t like it, but I think it was necessary”
Class Time	Amount of time spent on individual topics	“There’s so much content that it deserves, maybe, more time”
Open-Mindedness	Being open to new ideas, cultures, and values	“It is important to be open-minded. I would say that it’s important to approach it objectively”

Sheltered	Lack of exposure to multicultural diversity in public sphere	“I guess they grew up in one environment...just not aware of the different beliefs”
Ethnocentrism	Judgment of cultures from one’s own cultural perspective	“Abandon all notions of centrism. Egocentrism, ethnocentrism, all of it”
Adult Brain	Academic, emotional, and cultural challenges experienced by adult learners via exposure to content	“He’s very much comfortable with his world and his understanding of it”

With regard to the quantitative research question, collected survey data was used to help establish a numerical relationship between intentionally multicultural content and attitudes toward said content as well as helped verify and triangulate all collected data (Gall et al., 2010). Collected quantitative pre and post-test data was analyzed for measures of central tendency after being tabulated using SPSS computer software. Moreover, collected data from the survey was also used as part of the meaning making process and development of general narratives (Shank, 2006). The narratives were buttressed by student’s responses to the survey as measures of central tendency provided a deeper understanding of knowledge construction and perspectives toward cultural relativism and multiculturalism in an intentionally multicultural classroom (Creswell, 2007; Gall et al., 2010). See tables 4a and 4b below for a complete list of pre and post-test variables that include standard deviation and means. Furthermore, frequency of response rates to each of the ODC statements can be seen as part of the appendices (see Appendix D).

Table 4a

Descriptive Statistics for Pre-Test Data, n=504

Statement	Mean	SD	Min	Max
S1(enjoyment)	3.96	.821	1	5
S2(real value of education)	3.81	.900	1	5
S3(better understanding)	4.12	.806	1	5
S4(different cultures)	3.95	.938	1	5
S5(challenge beliefs)	3.68	.976	1	5
S6(different perspective)	4.11	.888	1	5
S7(contact)	3.80	.950	1	5

Table 4b

Descriptive Statistics for Post-Test Data, n=441

Statement	Mean	SD	Min	Max
S1(enjoyment)	4.12	.832	1	5
S2(real value of education)	4.02	.851	1	5
S3(better understanding)	4.16	.817	1	5
S4(different cultures)	4.10	.915	1	5
S5(challenge beliefs)	3.90	.975	1	5
S6(different perspective)	4.22	.826	1	5
S7(contact)	3.99	.912	1	5

Researcher Role

The site where data collection took place was not only a source of the guiding research questions but was also the location where I had insider access to the data sets. Working as an educator at the community college for almost five years, there was a certain level of rapport and trust that was expected to expedite my access to data sets. Such access could be considered as a benefit of having of insider status, however, at the same time, this also raised concerns regarding issues of power relationships and coercion (Figueroa, 2014). Being an educator in a position of power, I had to be aware of the power dynamic at play when asking students to participate in the study (Gall et al., 2010). Internal awareness of where I stood in terms of positionality and power relationships was critical to creating a safe environment for participants throughout the duration of the study. Moreover, researcher positionality and recognition of power dynamics was another salient component of ethical research methodology that established an atmosphere where I would be seen as an individual who is trying to get a deeper understanding of a phenomenon and was relying on participants to learn about the phenomenon rather than an authority figure (Blackburn, 2014; Martinez, 2016). In order to establish an environment where participants felt safe enough to respond truthfully, various variables needed to be taken into account concerning power dynamics and positionality (Patton, 1990). For instance, based on research literature, I needed to be aware of variables such as cultural capital, race/ethnicity, linguistic abilities, socioeconomic status, data collection tools, and their ability to influence trust, insider/outsider status, and reinforce power relationships throughout all stages of the study (Blackburn, 2014; Figueroa, 2014; Martinez, 2016).

To that end, careful attention was given to the issue of trust and power (Figueroa, 2014; Martinez, 2016). In order to avoid issues of coercion that can arise if students are compelled to

participate in their instructor's study, I made the decision not to collect data from students enrolled in my anthropology courses (Gall et al., 2010). Instead, data was collected from students enrolled in anthropology courses taught by other faculty. As a result, there was a degree of separation between researcher and participants where students would not feel mandated to participate in the study. Furthermore, issues of privacy were also considered as all interviews took place in spaces that are private and agreeable to the interviewees in order to maintain confidentiality (Gall et al., 2010; Patton, 1990). Lastly, taking into account that some students may not be comfortable being audio recorded, I always asked for permission to record our conversation before starting the interview. If the student was not comfortable, I was prepared to ask if it would be all right for me to take handwritten notes instead (Martinez, 2016).

Validity

Validity of the collected data and the subsequent analysis stage was ensured in a number of ways due to the nature of a mixed methods study and the implementation of the convergent design (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011; Creswell et al., 2003; Gall et al., 2010). For instance, one advantage of a mixed methods study was that it allowed for triangulation of collected data by utilizing different methods to gather said data. By collecting qualitative and quantitative data, triangulation as a validity procedure was used to sort through gathered data for common themes and in turn, provided evidence in relation to the posed research questions (Gall et al., 2010; Patton, 1990). Furthermore, with regard to qualitative procedure, member checking was utilized to share collected data with participants in order for them to confirm the credibility of the information (Creswell, 2007). Lastly, a thick, rich description of the settings, participants, and narratives helped immerse readers in the settings and phenomena taking place by providing as much detail as possible (Patton, 1990).

Additionally, in order to ensure validity of quantitative data collection and analysis, a series of steps were taken to reduce threats to internal and external validity during the course of the study. For instance, the threat of instrumentation was reduced because the pre and post-test data collection stage incorporated a standardized questionnaire that did not change throughout the study (Creswell, 2014). Similarly, selection bias and mortality was also accounted for by having a large student sample where the students were selected via the criterion sampling strategy (Patton, 1990). Moreover, use of a larger student sample accounted for withdrawals during the course of a semester, as well as increased the likelihood that sampled students will have diversity in characteristics reflective of the entire student body on campus and that one

population group is not oversampled (Chang et al., 2005; Creswell, 2014; Sáenz et al., 1999; Taylor, 1998).

Limitations

This study explored the relationship between multicultural content presented in introductory anthropology courses and attitudes toward multiculturalism on behalf of enrolled students. Although parallels and divergences emerged between exposure to multicultural content and perspectives toward multiculturalism as seen in earlier works discussed in the literature review chapter (Denson & Chang, 2015; Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Gurin et al., 2002; Henderson-King & Kaleta, 2000; Hurtado, 2005), several limitations should be taken under consideration for future research. First, classroom interactions were not directly observed as part of the study. Instead, participating students were relied upon during one-on-one interviews as well as the ODC measure in order to gauge classroom atmosphere as multicultural content was taught. Reliance on the aforementioned measures in order to draw out conclusions in relation to the guiding research questions had potential to incorporate particular bias such as the social desirability bias, for instance. Interviewing participants one-on-one may have pressured them to provide socially acceptable answers as opposed to those that are meaningful and truthful (Grimm, 2010). It is suggested that future research incorporate qualitative methodology in the form of observations so that classroom experiences can be analyzed in the potential ways that they can impact attitudes toward multicultural content.

Another limitation to consider is the short time frame to conduct the study. Even though collected quantitative demographic data was reflective of the student body on campus, having more time would allow for analysis of a larger sample size as well as to take into consideration other factors that may impact attitudes toward multiculturalism (Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Hurtado, 2001, 2005; Milem, 1994; Piland & Silva, 1996). Future research should allow enough time to consider and include curriculum taught in the classroom and any other

extra-curricular activities that may influence students' perspectives regarding multicultural diversity.

Lastly, bias needs to be considered with regard to the selection of courses that were included as part of this study. Even though one of the overarching goals of the study was to aggregate baseline data for future evaluation of the existing anthropology program on campus, there are a number of other courses that were likely to incorporate intentionally multicultural content as part of their curricula. Focus on a single course such as introductory anthropology had potential to limit the amount of salient data that was collected throughout the duration of the study. It is advised that future research incorporate numerous disciplines as part of the data collection stage in order not only to expand the sample size of participants but to develop a better understanding on how campus policy regarding multiculturalism is expressed via different departments (Hurtado, 2001; Hurtado et al., 2015; Kuh & Pike, 2006; Mayhew & Grunwald, 2006).

Findings

The overarching argument of this section is that collective student experiences and perspectives regarding multicultural values are positively impacted by exposure to intentionally multicultural content. Concurrently, positive sentiments are reflected in pre and post-test quantitative responses suggesting that exposure to intentionally multicultural content has a positive effect on attitudes toward pluralistic tendencies. The findings assert that positive student experiences resulted in behaviors and observations reflective of growth in multicultural values and awareness of multicultural diversity. However, I will also argue that not all students experienced the intentionally multicultural content the same way. Differences in established systems of norms, knowledge accrued outside the classroom, perceived academic difficulty of content, and demographic characteristics such as racial/ethnic affiliation resulted in inconsistent patterns of positive growth and in specific cases, negative regression among enrolled students. Emerging data that informed the findings section was summarized into thematic categories that can be seen as part of figure 2 below:

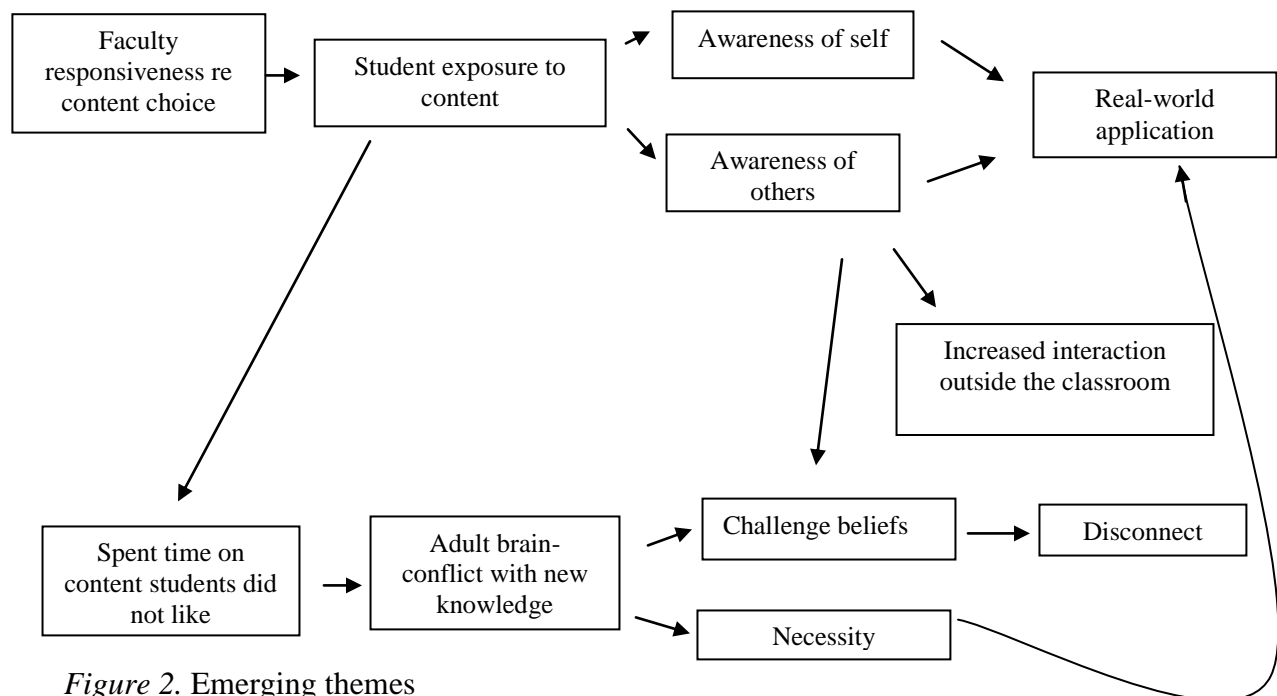


Figure 2. Emerging themes

Salient to the entire findings section is a theoretical concept that emerged out of the data, which can be suggested to have operated alongside the original theoretical underpinnings of Banks (1997) and Boas (1963) throughout the entire duration of the study. Specifically, another dimension of multicultural education as introduced by Banks (1997) emerged as data was being analyzed. It can be asserted that the dimension of knowledge construction informed the conversations of one-on-one interview sessions as well as impacted the responses to the ODC measure. The premise of knowledge construction is that instructional staff, in this case responsive anthropology faculty, helped students to develop knowledge regarding anthropological principles in ways that helped them better elucidate, think critically about, and engage in discourse on the embedded cultural assumptions and perspectives when dealing with various cultural issues. Furthermore, it can also be suggested that in addition to the original conceptual framework, the dimension of knowledge construction began to be cultivated when students experienced diverse anthropology content as classroom time was spent on a plethora of topics. As such, knowledge construction functioned as a core component behind positive classroom experiences, increased levels of interaction among students, growth in awareness of self and others regarding identity and multicultural diversity, as well as overall growth in multicultural values and cultural relativism. However, it can also be posited that newly constructed knowledge imbued the core of negative experiences as well. Specific subsections below will extrapolate on the challenges, miscommunication as well as disconnect experienced when exposed to new knowledge, and rationalization when reflecting on the relevance of conflicting content in relation to the real-world application of what is learned in the classroom.

The findings section is divided into five subsections, all of which explore varied experiences with multicultural content. First, the findings will suggest that the catalyst to

increased exposure with multicultural anthropology content was faculty responsiveness. Faculty choice regarding which content to share with their respective classes exposed students to a multitude of topics throughout their 12 and 6 week-long semesters. As such, faculty decision-making in relation to content exposure facilitated student experiences that tended to diverge into one of two paths as broken down in figure 2 above. The subsection is titled “Important to Learn and Go Through” lays out the overarching argument of faculty responsiveness and relation to incorporated content and classroom experiences. Next, in the subsection titled “Students like Me”, I explore students’ positive experiences with the course content where students stressed their interest in particular topics resulting in reflection as well as affirmation of one’s own identity as a stakeholder in the classroom. Collectively, the aforementioned subsections will explore growth in multicultural awareness and values by looking at the relevance of real world application placed on covered content as well as increased interaction outside the classroom due to curiosity and growth in the awareness of cultural diversity present in the classroom.

At the same time, this section also explores negative experiences with multicultural content as not all students exhibited high rates of positive growth. The subsection titled “That’s the Only Problem” argues that negative experiences with course content are due to the lack of comfort when course content deals with the topics of religion, sexuality, and evolution, all of which have been noted to challenge student values and preexisting knowledge bases. Next, the subsection titled as “I think it was Necessary” looks at negative classroom experiences that are associated with confusion, agitation, and lack of interest when dealing with content that is too academically challenging and time consuming. However, what will become clear in this subsection is that negative experiences do not always translate to the disregard of the content and its relevance.

Finally, the findings section will explore the instances of low percentile growth among Asian and African-American students as well as negative regression among Hispanic/Latino students in the subsection titled as “Accentuation and Attenuation among Enrolled Students”. In this section, I discuss the connection between out-of-school experiences and established knowledge bases in relation to students’ negative experiences with the multicultural content. Parallels are drawn between what student experiences outside of the classroom and how much of a role said experiences may play when it comes to exposure to multicultural values and intentionally multicultural content. Secondly, faculty responsiveness is explored to draw connections with pedagogical approach to the multicultural content and classroom atmosphere.

“Important to Learn and Go Through”: Students’ Appreciation of Multiculturalism

As part of their semester-long anthropology course experience, students were exposed to multicultural content in ways that fostered positive collective growth of pluralistic values and behaviors. Furthermore, content choice on behalf of responsive faculty played a big role in cultivation of open-minded discourse as well as a culturally sensitive classroom atmosphere. As such, this subsection will explore the role of faculty influence in the classroom by means of promoting open-minded discourse as well as the increased awareness of a culturally sensitive classroom on behalf of the students and the role that this approach plays in connection to the development as well as buttressing of multicultural values.

As part of the introductory anthropology experience, students were exposed to a multitude of topics reaching across all sub-disciplines of anthropology. Furthermore, in line with Banks’ (1997) dimensions of multicultural education, students recognized decision-making made by anthropology instructors as part of their role as facilitators of multicultural content. Faculty responsiveness with regard to content choice fostered learning environments that were conducive to knowledge construction regarding multicultural diversity as well as awareness of cultural diversity in the classroom. For instance, pedagogical approaches to the course reinforced the idea of anthropology being an inclusive discipline is reflected in the positive growth regarding the significance of learning about different cultures. Student comments, like those of Ashley, reflected their growing awareness of anthropology as an academic field capable of fostering meaningful discourse and reflection on culturally relevant issues:

I’m actually really happy I took the course....I think that it’s really important to learn and go through...I don’t know the word that I want to use, but where people mostly immediately, we look at each other and how we’re different matters most and I know I’ve

never felt that way. So I think it's a good way to maybe open someone up or maybe have them consider that we are really more alike than we are different and even in the ways that we are different...it sounds cliché, but it makes the world a better place.

As can be seen with the excerpt above, the student acknowledged the importance of enrolling in an anthropology course. Exposure to the content as part of the course strengthened positive notions of multiculturalism as Ashley reflected on the fact that taking the anthropology course allows one not only be aware of the observable cultural differences in the classroom but also engage in discourse to acknowledge said differences. In this case, Ashley stressed that facilitated discourse on classroom diversity has potential to help students realize that they are more alike than they are different. Emphasis on “making the world a better place” suggests that the student was associating engagement with classroom diversity as a positive experience with real-world implications. Similar sentiments were shared by, Robert, another student that reflected on the multifaceted and holistic nature of the introductory anthropology course, saying, “Anthropology is holistic. Every topic should be treated with equal importance. With the examples given in class...it was everything. It was economics, it was psychology, philosophy, and classism, all of it.” The quotation indicates that the diversity of topics presented by responsive faculty touched on aspects of real-world relevance as students were exposed to content. The aforementioned quotation also suggests that students developed a greater awareness of the content diversity and appreciated the role of faculty whose pedagogical approach utilized diverse content. The importance of faculty responsiveness was similarly authenticated by, Jane, who was asked the same question. Jane responded by commenting:

It was very new to me. I took this class and it was really interesting...Most of the facts were new to me... I was surprised on why we do what we do and how it connects to

culture and then, why not everything is cultural, but how it connects to rest of anthropology.

Jane rationalized her positive experience in the classroom as a result of newly acquired information. Knowledge construction that took place allowed this student to make critical connections regarding human behavior, cultural differences, as well as how anthropology as a field is able to cultivate critical thinking about what it means to be human.

Students' recognition of and appreciation for the intentional diversity of anthropology content was corroborated through survey data. Tables 4a and 4b covered in the data analysis section depict aggregated responses to pre and post-test ODC statement 4 (different cultures) with a positive mean growth of 3.8% from a mean value of 3.95 to that of 4.10 suggesting that on a collective scale, students positively responded to diversity content as part of their semester-long experience of the course. Of particular interest are the response rates to ODC 4 (different cultures) when broken down based on demographic characteristics such as racial/ethnic affiliation as a representation of the student diversity enrolled in the introductory anthropology classes. Responses to ODC statements broken down based on racial/ethnic affiliation can be seen as part of tables 5a and 5b below:

Table 5a

Race/Ethnicity Mean Values in Pre-test Data, n=504

Race/Ethnicity	n	ODC 1	ODC 2	ODC 3	ODC 4	ODC 5	ODC 6	ODC 7
American Indian/Alaska Native	1	4.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	4.00
Asian	97	3.98	3.69	4.10	3.76	3.55	3.96	3.64
African-American	169	4.07	3.94	4.14	4.12	3.82	4.21	3.91
White	105	3.80	3.68	4.10	3.76	3.54	4.01	3.55

Hispanic/Latino	95	3.94	4.05	4.17	4.07	3.75	4.17	4.00
Pacific Islander	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Native Hawaiian or Other	11	3.54	3.27	3.81	3.90	3.27	4.27	4.09
I prefer not to respond	26	3.96	3.57	3.96	3.80	3.76	4.07	3.84

Table 5b

Race/Ethnicity Mean Values in Post-test Data, n=441

Race/Ethnicity	n	ODC 1	ODC 2	ODC 3	ODC 4	ODC 5	ODC 6	ODC 7
American Indian/Alaska Native	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Asian	72	4.09	4.05	4.18	4.11	3.59	4.20	3.97
African- American	125	4.24	4.11	4.18	4.21	4.03	4.28	4.12
White	117	4.07	3.94	4.11	3.94	3.88	4.15	3.78
Hispanic/Latino	82	4.08	3.97	4.10	3.98	3.93	4.26	4.03
Pacific Islander	1	4.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Native Hawaiian or Other	7	3.57	3.71	3.85	3.71	3.28	4.14	3.57
I prefer not to respond	37	4.02	4.00	4.13	4.43	4.08	4.59	4.18

Response rates to ODC 4 (different cultures) based on race/ethnic affiliation demonstrated positive growth among Asian, African-American, and White students (9.3%, 2.2%, and 4.8% respectively). In addition to the interview excerpts discussed above, survey findings suggest that

there is a positive correlation between faculty efforts toward multiculturalism and growth in recognition and reception of intentionally diverse content among students. As discussed with stakeholders in the one-on-one interviews, responses to ODC 4 (different cultures) may be reflective of the knowledge construction that takes place. Students experienced an entire semester of diverse anthropology content and were exposed to ideas and discourse that had potential to foster an increased appreciation and awareness of cultural diversity. In turn, as mentioned by Ashley, connecting exposure to diversity content and how it can “make the world a better place,” if more students have positive experiences in the course while they are constructing new knowledge, the likelihood of them applying what they learned in the classroom to the public sphere is higher, as seen in earlier studies (e.g. Denson & Chang, 2015; Gurin et al., 2002; Henderson-King & Kaleta, 2000; Laird, 2011). At the same time, fluctuations in positive growth also suggest that not all students felt equally the same way about the exact same content. Clearly some students had a more positive reaction when exposed to diversity content than others (Asian 9.3% vs. African-American 2.2%), and the difference in percentile growth patterns is a phenomenon that will be explored in the succeeding subsections titled “That’s the Only Problem” and “Accentuation and Attenuation among Enrolled Students”.

Another outcome of exposure to internationally multicultural content was the increased interest to interact with students in the classroom whose ethnic and cultural backgrounds differed from one’s own. It is possible to posit that learning experiences as part of the introductory classroom fostered increased interest in cultural relativism and in turn, motivated students to reach out to their classmates to engage in discourse on a multitude of course-related issues. During an interview session, Adam, a participating student, reflected when talking about cultural diversity with a classmate:

But I know my classmate, he's just like, "I didn't know we were so diverse. I didn't know. Oh my god"... "I didn't know there were this many people. I didn't know this happened, that happened"...I was just like, welcome to New York City.

Two relevant points can be extrapolated from the above excerpt. First, Adam was acknowledging the awareness of his classmate whose experience in the course facilitated greater awareness of present diversity. It can be suggested that this student's experience with anthropology content fostered notions of knowledge construction which in turn, resulted in increased awareness of others; a notion that can be connected to the positive growth as seen with response rates to ODC 4 (different cultures). Secondly, Adam reflecting on the interaction responded in a way that could be seen as a reaffirmation of his own awareness of diversity; a salient phenomenon that will be discussed in the succeeding subsection. Once again, the bigger takeaway is that exposure to content on behalf faculty responsiveness resulted in classroom atmosphere conducive to student growth with regard to awareness and perhaps, even interest in classroom diversity.

Keeping the notion of increased awareness of others in mind, similar outcomes were recorded with the collective responses to the quantitative measure. When asked how students felt about contact with individuals whose backgrounds are different from one's own as being an important part of the college experience (ODC 7), there is a 5% increase across all racial/ethnic categories as the mean value grew from 3.80 to 3.99 (seen as part of table 3a and 3b). What is interesting is that the increase in percentages coincided with similar growth represented in other works suggesting that there seems to be a relationship between exposure to course content imbued with multicultural values via faculty responsiveness and the increased desire to interact with students from multicultural and ethnically diverse backgrounds (e.g. Chang et al., 2005; Denson & Chang, 2015; Gurin et al., 2002; Henderson-King & Kaleta, 2000; Laird, 2011). This

further suggests that exposure to multicultural content has a positive connection to the growth of pluralistic values of students whom in turn, respond by showing interest in interacting with classmates whose backgrounds are different from one's own.

Furthermore, contrary to the low rates of varied faculty responsiveness in connection to one's demographics as well as college standing found in other studies (e.g. Hurtado, 2001, 2005; Laird, 2011; Maruyama et al., 2000), in this study, students were exposed to high rates of multicultural content regardless of faculty characteristics. Albeit a small sample, anthropology faculty made attempts at responsiveness by incorporating different topics across all sub-disciplines of anthropology. In line with multicultural initiatives of the college campus, the anthropology course curriculum was noted by participants to reflect diversity. When asked if incorporation of diversity content was beneficial as part of the college experience, Emma responded:

You're observing other people's cultures and also trying to learn about other people's cultures without judgment or without sort of categorizing it, but it's also basically encompassing everyone's perspectives and learning about their perspectives. And seeing how their perspectives affect their behavior, or their life, or the choices that they make and stuff like that.

One important take away from the aforementioned response is that Emma recognized the effectiveness of incorporating diversity content. Developing a knowledge base regarding different cultures and behaviors was deemed important by the stakeholder. Additionally, Emma stressed that exposure to diversity content resulted in classroom environments where students were engaging with different cultures without passing judgment. Facilitation of open-minded discourse by responsive faculty was accomplished and as a result, it can be suggested that some

students, such as Emma quoted above, saw value in open-minded discourse. The student also noted the importance of not passing judgment while discussing cultural differences as expressed by Emma when responding to whether exposure to diversity content was a relevant aspect of one's college experience. When asked if seeing more diversity content in the anthropology course was advantageous in relation to the overall class experience, Emma responded, "Yeah. In all my courses... because in a way, you also see yourself relate to other cultures." The answer indicates that, once more, Emma saw value in exposure to cross-cultural diversity via classroom content. Emma along with the other participants corroborated their interest in seeing more diversity content suggesting that knowledge construction throughout the course of one's semester fostered interest and increased awareness of diversity.

In this study, the intentional incorporation of responsive diversity content was connected to the cultivation of multicultural values as well as cultural relativism toward other cultures. The assertion is reinforced with analyzed quantitative data. For example, response rates to ODC statement 2 (real value of education) have collectively grown from a pre-test mean value of 3.81 to a post-test mean value of 4.02 for a positive growth rate of 5.5%. The aforementioned data posits that students positively perceived their experiences with multicultural content in ways that suggest the incorporation of pluralistic tendencies as an important component of the college experience. Alternatively, it would be prudent to point out that, as seen in table 6 below, growth rates fluctuated when analyzed based on race/ethnic affiliation with Asian students experiencing 10% of growth, African-American students experiencing 4.7% growth, and White students experiencing 7% of growth. This suggests that some racial/ethnic groups developed similar sentiments toward intentionally multicultural content as reflected by students participating in one-on-one interviews. However, it is also prudent to mention that not all race/ethnic groups

experienced growth. Hispanic/Latino students experienced negative percentile regression of -2% when responding to the ODC 2 (real value of education) post-test statement. Negative regression demonstrates that not all students experience multicultural classroom experience the same way, as seen in earlier works (e.g. Bowman & Park, 2014; Chang et al., 2004; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Sáenz et al., 1999), the significance of which will be discussed as part of the “That’s the Only Problem” and “Accentuation and Attenuation among Enrolled Students” subsections below.

Table 6

Percent Increase/Decrease Across all Statements

Race/Ethnicity	ODC1	ODC2	ODC3	ODC4	ODC5	ODC6	ODC7
Asian	2.8%	10%	2%	9.3%	1.1%	6.1%	9.1%
African-American	5.5%	4.3%	0.9%	2.2%	5.5%	1.7%	5.4%
White	7.2%	7%	0.2%	4.8%	9.6%	3.5%	6.5%
Hispanic/Latino	3.5%	-2%	-1.7%	-2.2%	4.8%	2.1%	0.75%
Native Hawaiian or Other	0.8%	13.4%	1%	-4.8%	0.3%	-3%	-12.7%
I prefer not to respond	1.5%	12%	4.3%	16.6%	8.5%	12.7%	8.8%

The overarching take away from this subsection is that there is a positive collective connection between faculty responsiveness and growth in pluralistic tendencies among enrolled students. Functioning as catalysts of open-minded discourse, faculties’ efforts in establishing classroom environments promoting multiculturalism were not stymied by difference in college standing or one’s demographics. Instead, what has been argued is that instructors were able to successfully incorporate course content imbued with multicultural values in ways that fostered interest in as well as recognition of content diversity and cultivated environments where students

developed interests in interacting with their classmates, acknowledged the relevance of multicultural values, and noted the importance of including diversity content in more courses. As such, the significance of increased interactions among students in addition to the impact of said interactions on one's classroom experiences will be explored in the next subsection in connection to the reaffirmation of one's own identity.

“Students like Me”: Awareness of Self and Others in the Classroom

In conjunction with faculty responsiveness being associated with collective positive experiences, I argue that positive experiences in the classroom fostered reflection on as well as reaffirmation of one’s own identity as a stakeholder. Reflection of self overlapped with the theme of growing awareness of those around them as participants connected exposure to multicultural content as well as class discourse with developing an understanding of multicultural diversity present in the classroom. At the same time, this subsection argues that positive experiences with multicultural content in relation to increased awareness of self and others was concurrently associated with real-world application and content that the stakeholders found relevant. Recognition of different multicultural as well as racial/ethnic identities in the classroom was referenced with importance as students discussed the real-world application of covered content and how it impacted one’s engagement and awareness of the public sphere.

Reference to increased awareness of other students and self when reflecting on levels of open-mindedness has been noted numerous times by participating stakeholders. It is important to note that said stakeholders emphasized their high levels of awareness of cultural diversity in the public sphere, but were surprised to learn that many of their classmates, in fact, had different cultural perspectives regarding course content and experiences in the public sphere. Robert commented, “I know that I am very open to experiences...Openness and all that. I’m very open to new experiences. Multiculturalism, that’s nothing new. I live in New York.” The student stressed that his identity is that of a New Yorker and as a result, the expected norm of being a New Yorker is being open to multiculturalism and pluralistic values. It can be suggested that the Robert was reaffirming his own open-mindedness by virtue of residing in New York City; an environment deemed ripe with cultural diversity by the student. When asked a follow up

question regarding the importance of applying multiculturalism to the classroom, Robert responded:

Maybe it's ethnocentric to say this, but as a New Yorker, you walk down five blocks and you're in a completely different area with completely different people. So the logical conclusion of that would be that most of these students would have some exposure to multiculturalism, even the act of just conceptualizing it. And, to be able to take that and make something tangible out of that would further their anthropological interests.

Once again, the participant was acknowledging his identity as a New Yorker while reflecting on the multicultural diversity of the New York City. Robert emphasized that one is able to walk a relatively short distance and be exposed to different cultural norms and population groups. As such, Robert's conclusion was that it is anticipated for most of his classmates to have similar experiences. Specifically, the stakeholder pointed out that due to the diverse nature of New York City, it is difficult ignore the cross-cultural diversity found in different neighborhoods.

Therefore, it is anticipated for classmates to have some form of experience dealing with multiculturalism outside the classroom. By reaffirming his own identity as a New Yorker, Robert argued that having exposure to multicultural diversity outside the classroom would be enough to cultivate interests in anthropology content seeing how it is relevant to real world application.

Similar sentiments were shared by Jane who noted that living in New York City exposes people to different cultures and that multiculturalism is at the core of society. Jane took her logic a step further and commented on the benefits of multiculturalism when residing in New York City:

For example, look at New York City, there's a lot of different cultures and too many kinds of them. It kind of shows cultural relativism. We live in a society where there's

multiculturalism. We start to understand them [cultural differences], rather than judge them.

What is interesting regarding the above excerpt is that the Jane reaffirmed her own identity as a New Yorker and acknowledged the cross-cultural diversity of New York City. Additionally, the student also reflected on anthropological principles and their applicability outside the classroom. Jane mentioned cultural relativism and how in a society where multiculturalism is present, understanding of cultural diversity has potential to reduce miscommunication and ethnocentrism. The aforementioned connection made by Jane between applying cultural relativism to a multicultural society further reinforces the argument of the positive impact that responsive faculty and intentionally multicultural content have on learning experiences. Therefore, it can be posited that students with positive learning experiences were able to make connections between their own place in a multicultural society and the anthropological content they were being exposed to. Newly acquired knowledge by students was being associated with greater awareness of others as well as reinforced the importance of having exposure to multicultural diversity.

The concept of increased awareness went beyond the identification of oneself as a New Yorker. Diversity content also fostered reaffirmation of identity in other regards as well. For example, Sarah mentioned the following when asked about whether multicultural anthropology content was relevant:

What I meant by some of the things I knew before, some of the things I personally experienced...It's like phenomena I felt as a person within our culture, but also essentially I was an ethnographer, I think? And then taking this class it was just like, "Oh! That's what I've been doing this entire time." It [anthropology content] actually

kind of helped...it actually helps me see the world a little... it helps me connect the dots more.

Here, the student commented on how exposure to multicultural content fostered reflection on personal experiences in ways that cultivated a sense of recognition and buttressing of one's own identity. Drawing parallels between the classroom content and personal experience not only reinforced the importance of exposure to the content but also facilitated sentiments that allowed Sarah to better understand herself. The student associated the role of being an ethnographer with experiences of navigating her own culture. Emphasis was placed on the relevance and real-world application of the content as the stakeholder accredited classroom experiences with her own understanding of reality and the public sphere. Additionally, Emma shared similar sentiments when responding to the same content:

Yeah... because I'm not just black. I'm also Hispanic. I'm also a woman. I'm also on the queer spectrum. I don't have just one aspect of myself that fits into the world and I think that's the same for everyone... There's so many things that go into one person so to take one aspect of them and be like this is what I'm going to think about you, it's kind of almost like in a way, degrading. Or at least, it's just such a horrible way to categorize people. You're this, you're not that, you can't be anything else.

What can be extrapolated from the above response is that the student connected her identity to the importance of diverse course content. Emma stressed that it is not possible to categorize people via a single identity or label. Instead, she emphasized that being seen from only one perspective can be "degrading" because people are such complex, multifaceted individuals. As such, Emma felt that the classroom content should be reflective of the multiple identities seen in the public sphere, but also acknowledged that such commitment toward representation of

everyone's diverse backgrounds is not without its challenges. As the Emma responded to a follow up of whether inclusion multicultural content is advantageous when it comes to representation of multiple identities in the classroom she said, "I don't know, it might be hard to sort of be broad but also be very specific. I don't know. It seems hard in practice." A salient take away from these excerpts is that, once again, newly constructed knowledge is being utilized to make connections with real world scenarios of the public sphere further buttressing earlier claims of positive growth in multicultural values. At the same time, some participants such as Emma also developed an awareness that even though it is advantageous to incorporate content reflective of all classroom diversity, the practicality of it may prove to be a challenge.

On the other hand, the same students also noted a sense of surprise that occurred when they found out that their classmates did not feel the same way about the course and its multicultural content. Participants commented on the lack of awareness and interest among their classmates when being exposed to the exact same content. Robert said, "I guess I was surprised. Yeah. Last semester I was taking an ethics course. Everybody was relative, ethically. But then switching over from ethical relativism to cultural relativism, they got more ethnocentric. More than anything else, it was shocking." The student expressed an element of concern when commenting on classmates that were exposed to diversity content in his anthropology class. Even though he mentioned that awareness of cross-cultural diversity and multiculturalism was something he anticipated from his classmates, Robert's perceptions regarding his classmates were challenged. The aforementioned realization by the student is a reoccurring theme throughout this study.

Although participating stakeholders admitted that enrollment in the introductory anthropology course increased their interest in global issues, multiculturalism, and discourse on

culturally sensitive issues, they were oftentimes surprised to find out that not all of their classmates felt the same way; a dichotomy attributed to what several interviewees identified as “sheltered” (personal communication with participant). Adam commented on the newly formed awareness of his classmates:

From what I’ve noticed, a lot of my classmates are sheltered. My classroom, there’s a mixture, I would say 85% sheltered, 15% not sheltered and 5% of the sheltered people are open-minded. I guess they grew up in one environment...but without much diversity or no different belief systems or just not aware of the different beliefs, kind of how everything is on the spectrum...For students like me, it’s very eye-opening.

The student above provided a rather detailed account of what he considered to be “sheltered” classmates and how many of them were in the classroom. Adam identified himself as an open-minded individual that has lived in cross-culturally diverse environments while other students whom were deemed to be sheltered were assumed to have lived in and exposed to only a single environment. Additionally, the 85% of students identified as sheltered were assumed to have lived in an environment with limited diversity and perhaps, even single belief systems. What is rather salient is the way that Adam reaffirmed the identities of open-minded classmates (including his own) while at the same time rationalizing the reasoning behind differences in open-mindedness. The stakeholder categorized and labeled students deemed as being sheltered as their attitudes regarding open-mindedness toward multicultural content did not meet the perceived standards of this individual. Another student also commented on the newly established awareness of having students in the classroom whose perspectives regarding diversity content was different from one’s own. Ashley noted:

I think...unfortunately a lot of us, or people, grow up in certain contexts or, I don't want to say bubble, but in their own bubble and without being presented this information or these ideas, they're never introduced to this information. So, it's learning and you're not going to accept everything but if you learn something new, even if it's one thing, I think it's important.

In this case, the idea of “sheltered” was replaced with the concept of a “bubble”. Ashley pointed out that residing in environments lacking cultural diversity has potential to foster lines of thinking that may conflict with intentionally multicultural content presented in the classroom. Instead of categorization as seen with the aforementioned excerpt, here, emphasis was placed on the learning process and how exposure to brand new ideas is bound to facilitate internal conflict. Ashley also stressed the value of acquiring new knowledge and the fact that the process of learning is not easy, but nonetheless, was deemed important by the student. At the same time, although it is not explicitly stated as seen with Adam using percentages for categorization, the idea of “us” vs. “them” is imbued in the response. The student was once again reaffirming his own identity as an open-minded individual and referring to students with different perspectives towards multicultural content as “they.” Additionally, it was also assumed that “they” must reside in environments that lack multicultural diversity, or at least enough multicultural diversity that is expected of one being a denizen of New York City. The sentiment of differentiation between open-minded students versus those that are not is particularly felt in the response by Robert:

It seems like more people, more of the students were trying to relate it [content] anecdotally to their own personal lives...but I think it's more that most of the students would just not abandon their centrism, I guess. Ethnocentrism or whatever, and look at it

from the most third-party perspective that they could get. It was all very individualistic, the responses that were upset.

The student emphasized the reactions of classmates when exposed to content dealing multicultural diversity. The illusion of similar perspectives towards intentionally multicultural content was deconstructed as Robert's classmates were questioning and rationalizing the information presented to them. Rationalization that took place was not in line with the multicultural values being promoted by the content and was interpreted as such by the interviewee. Robert proposed that the different lines of thinking presented by his classmates fell under the umbrella of ethnocentrism further reinforcing earlier notions of having fewer multicultural interactions outside of the classroom and the connection to classroom experiences; a similar assertion made by earlier studies (e.g. Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Hu & Kuh, 2003).

From a quantitative standpoint, collected survey data displayed overall positive growth when looking at ODC statements directed at gauging perspectives regarding discourse on multicultural topics, enjoyment of engaging in said discussions, and classroom experiences where students are made to think about topics from a different perspective. Of interest are response rates to ODC statements 1 (enjoyment) and ODC 4 (different cultures). As demonstrated with select interview data above pertaining to the perceived importance of multiculturalism and relation to having conversations about different topics, ODC statement 1(enjoyment) demonstrated positive mean growth from 3.96 to 4.12 indicating a percentile growth of 4% across all ethnic groups. The positive growth suggests that just like the interviewed stakeholders, other students enrolled in introductory anthropology courses also felt that exposure to diverse content and engaging in discourse in relation to the content is an important component of class experience. Furthermore, when looking at the connection between class content that

intentionally exposes students to multiculturalism and cultural relativism, interviewed participants stressed that learning about different cultures is an important part of the course experience and related the content's relevance and real-world application to that of functioning as a New Yorker in a plural society. A similar connection has been noted in quantitative data as students collectively displayed positive growth in ODC statement 4 (different cultures) with a growth of 3.8% based on calculated mean growth from 3.95 to 4.10. Once again, suggesting that there is a collective interest in being exposed to intentionally multicultural content, and as indicated by the interview responses, the reasoning for said interest may be the relationships that are established between the content and the public sphere.

Looking at the same data through a more focused lens, positive growth is seen across all four major race/ethnic categories with at least 50 participants in the pre and post-test measure. Moreover, of interest is that the highest growth in response rates to the ODC 1 (enjoyment) statement was seen among White students with a growth of 7.2% compared to 2.8% among Asian students, 5.5% among African-American students, and 3.5% among Hispanic/Latino students. The data further buttresses earlier claims of White students benefiting more from exposure to multicultural content as argued by earlier researchers (e.g. Chang et al., 2004; Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Sáenz et al., 1999). Highest growth among White students also suggests that they are most impacted by the multicultural content as they have potential to cultivate interests in other cultures as well as cultivate cultural relativism toward other cultures and ethnic groups. Growth in multicultural values is a prime initiative of diverse content integration in the anthropology classroom and the fact that positive growth has been recorded across all major race/ethnic groups, although in some more than others demonstrates that students were receptive of the content. As such, it is possible to posit that anthropology courses,

as an extension of the greater campus commitment toward multiculturalism, are meeting their overarching goal of developing multicultural values among enrolled students.

Alternatively to how students referenced other classmates engaging in what were perceived as ethnocentric and sheltered attitudes, quantitative data does demonstrate collective growth in ODC statement 3 (better understanding) where there is an increase of 0.9% from a mean pre-test value of 4.12 to a post-test value of 4.16. The small percentile increase allows to posit that there are students whom at the end of the semester, felt that interaction with classmates whose cultural backgrounds and values were different from one's own was an important part of the classroom experience. However, as referenced by participants during the interview process as well as seen in earlier studies (e.g. Bowman & Park, 2014; Chang et al., 2004; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Sáenz et al., 1999), percentages of growth do necessarily not impact all racial/ethnic backgrounds equally. Participating interviewees acknowledged the trend as well, albeit rationalized in rather specific ways "85 %" and "bubble", the participating stakeholders were recognizing that not all enrolled students experienced content the same way.

Based on the findings above, I argue that exposure to intentionally multicultural content facilitated students to think about their own identity. Not only were students cultivating relationships inside the classroom as awareness of others was heightened while they were exposed to new knowledge but they also thought about themselves as individuals navigating course content while simultaneously navigating the public sphere. Importance of multicultural content was referenced once more as participants reaffirmed its role in helping them think about their complex, multifaceted identities but they also emphasized as well as recognized the importance of multicultural content in relation to real-world application. Multicultural content via responsive faculty was credited with making an attempt to connect to the outside world and

real-life issues; helping “connect the dots”. Being able to draw parallels between multicultural content and one’s own identity seemed to help students apply the principles and topics covered as part of their course engagement to experiences outside of class, on campus, and in the public sphere. The opportunity to draw parallels further reinforced the connection between exposure to multicultural content and the cultivation of positive attitudes regarding multicultural values and real-world application. At the same time, participants also came to a realization that not all of their classmates felt the same way about classroom experiences and multicultural values promoted by the content. Trying to rationalize the reasoning behind the ideological differences, some stakeholders attributed the differences to sheltered lifestyles, lack of interest and awareness in cross-cultural diversity and in some cases, claimed that ethnocentrism was at play. Albeit rationalized in rather specific ways, “85 %” and “bubble”, participating stakeholders were recognizing that not all enrolled students experienced content the same way. Although qualitative data supports the argument of positive growth on a collective scale, the results of this study also indicate that student population groups also experienced stagnation in growth and in other cases, negative regression, raising salient questions on what impacts stagnation and negative regression in connection to exposure to intentionally multicultural content; a set of themes that will be discussed in the upcoming subsections below.

“That’s the Only Problem”: Multiculturalism and the Adult Learner

Although positive growth of multicultural values was observed, not all students perceived multicultural content the same way and some of the enrolled students exhibited instances of negative regression at the end of the semester. This subsection will explore the potential reasoning for why aforementioned regression took place and its relationship to both the presented content and the nature of the adult learner. Particularly, the argument of the adult brain will be utilized to elucidate the findings. The adult brain is a concept that applies to students experiencing conflict while acquiring new knowledge. Conflict may arise when particular course content is challenging students in ways that are making them uncomfortable e.g. discourse and content on religion, sexuality, and evolution. Additionally, newly established awareness of others in the classroom allowed participating students to reflect on how exposure to specific course content made their classmates feel confused, agitated, and uninterested. Classroom atmosphere was noted to have been impacted by the lack of comfort as intense debates among faculty and select students as well as between the students themselves broke out and resulted in what was identified as a negative classroom environment.

Not all stakeholders benefited from the exposure to intentionally multicultural content. A common assertion made in the subsection above is that exposure to diversity content has potential to grow pluralistic proclivities, however, when utilizing a narrower lens of analysis, experience with multiculturalism varied based on racial/ethnic affiliation among enrolled students as noted in earlier works (e.g. Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Feldman & Newcomb, 1969; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Laird et al., 2005). In this study, positive, albeit inconsistent, response rates have been recorded across all racial/ethnic groups other than the Hispanic/Latino category. Out of racial/ethnic categories that had at least 50 participants in the pre and post-test measure,

positive percentile growth of up to 10% has been noted among Asian students (ODC 2- real value of education, 10%, ODC 4- different cultures, 9.3%, ODC 7- contact, 9.7%), and among White students (ODC 5- challenge beliefs, 9.6%). This data suggests that in certain regards, students did develop elements of positive growth when it came to increased interest in different cultures via course content and interaction with classmates as well as considered exposure to multicultural values as a desired experience of their college education. Additionally, responses based on racial/ethnic categories with fewer than 50 participants in each of the measures also recorded positive growth of slightly over 10% as seen with Native American or Other students (ODC 2- real value of education, 13.4%), and among students who preferred not to affiliate with any provided racial/ethnic category (ODC 2- real value of education, 12%, ODC 4- different cultures, 16.6%, ODC 6- different perspective, 12.7%). Once again, as explored in the subsections above, on a collective level, there are elements of positive growth among student population groups. Being exposed to rigors of a college semester, student population groups still displayed positive growth indicating that multicultural values were generally well received by the students.

Breakdown of data clearly demonstrates that not all enrolled students experienced content the same way. As such, the question of why some racial/ethnic groups displayed increased growth over the course of a semester while others have not has been attributed to the intertwined phenomena of the adult brain and accentuation effects in earlier research (e.g. Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Feldman & Newcomb, 1969; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Taylor & Marienau, 2016). One key take away from the results of this study is that adult learners enter the classroom with preconceived notions regarding their experiences and meaning-making processes. Therefore, exposure to diversity content dealing with issues regarding sexuality, nationality, notions of

religion, and physical development has potential to challenge the already present knowledge that adult learners bring to the classroom. Although the course emphasized cultural relativism, Ashley noted the following when reflecting on a classmate exposed to content on sexuality:

We have one particular student in the class he's very comfortable with his world and his understanding of it. So, we had the gender and sexuality presentation...and he challenged some of the ideas in regards to sexuality because, within his community, being gay is not okay and that came out in class.

This particular student was demonstrating increased awareness of a classmate's behavior as she recalled her experience. Ashley noted that her classmate was "very comfortable with his world" indicating an element of closed-mindedness or perhaps, being too "sheltered" when exposed to course content dealing with the cross-cultural expressions of sexuality. The classmate's adult brain was challenged as his understanding of norms has been put into question with content promoting same-sex sexuality, which as seen in the excerpt above, was noted as something that was rejected in that classmate's community. At this point, an impasse has been reached. Ashley experienced a scenario where the multicultural atmosphere of the class had also been put into question. She continued to comment on the atmosphere of the class "Well, in the beginning, he would speak out, our class wasn't very understanding and actually, at one point, got combative and it was not really nice between the two students." Here, Ashley provided an example of a difference in values and experience with the exact same classroom content. What is obvious in connection to the adult brain is that preconceived notions regarding experiences, perceived norms, and knowledge outside of the classroom are all instrumental in determining classroom experience. In this case, differences among the norms and experiences of the adult learners regarding same-sex sexuality resulted in a physical altercation between the two students.

When new knowledge and classroom discourse conflicted with students' preexisting knowledge, they noted a feeling of discomfort and in some cases, tension. Linda commented on being exposed to diversity content:

From religion point of view, I have conflict. That's the only problem. While they say we came from the species that is different, but from the religion point of view, it's the content that is making me confused...I am from Muslim religion...So in anthropology what we are seeing is that there is no creation....so this is a little bit making me think, which way to go.

The excerpt above is a good example of what some of the study participants experienced when they were exposed to content that conflicted with their preexisting knowledge. Being a person of faith, exposure to content that facilitated discourse and critical thinking on human variation and evolution has potential to foster frustration. Linda also reflected on classroom atmosphere when exposed to content that contradicted established ways of thinking on behalf of the students:

They were like... "Well, the human species has been living since six million years and where is the Jesus? When is the time period of Jesus?"...Students were asking in what part of the tree [evolutionary tree] does Jesus fall in?

The above quotation is a clear example of how adult learners attempt to rationalize new information as they make meaning and negotiate knowledge that has accumulated outside of the anthropology classroom. Students fell back on already existing knowledge, in this case, knowledge regarding their system of faith to try and understand how the new information fit in. If students were told that scientific and spiritual phenomena do not work in conjunction with one another, it is no surprise then that adult learners may have a difficult time understanding the content as well as amalgamating it with their preexisting knowledge. As such, frustration and

“confusion” has potential to develop and learning experiences have potential to suffer as a result. For example, when asked how the class reacted to the above comment, Linda mentioned “There was a lot of eye rolling and kind of distracted from the whole class. It [class] tends to veer off track when someone says something that’s kind of extreme.” The interviewee indicated that when a powerful comment was made or a salient question was asked, the student speaking imbued some of their own understanding, knowledge, and norms into said comment/question resulting in scenario where a student is potentially making a point or asking question that permeates with bias and one’s behavioral norms. Such commentary has potential to impact classroom atmosphere if it causes disconnect between faculty and student, or student and student. In the comment made by Linda regarding the inclusion of religious connotations into a discussion on evolution resulted in a class distraction that took away from class time; presumably because the faculty initiated a dialogue, or opened up the classroom floor for other students to respond. Once again, what becomes apparent is that, on a collective scale, pluralistic tendencies show growth, but classroom experiences are bit more sporadic and depend on how comfortable students are with not only exposure to new content but content that is very likely to challenge one’s sense of behavioral norms. Navigation of already developed knowledge bases regarding appropriate versus inappropriate behavior as seen in the earlier excerpt on sexuality as well as challenging notions regarding human evolution has potential to challenge the stakeholders’ adult brain and can result in conflict that impacts classroom experience.

Quantitatively speaking, notions regarding levels of comfort when exposed to challenging content and discourse were met with inconsistent growth. When aggregated, responses to ODC statement 5 (challenge beliefs) grew 6% from a mean pre-test value of 3.68 to a post-test value of 3.90 suggesting that exposure to diverse, multicultural content has potential

to facilitate plural tendencies and open-mindedness. However, when looking at the same data based on racial/ethnic affiliation, the narrative of overall growth starts to falter as some racial/ethnic groups experienced more growth than others. For example, White students experienced highest rates of growth when asked whether they enjoy courses that end up challenging their beliefs and values (ODC 5) with 9.6% of growth with a change in mean from 3.54 to that of 3.88. At the same time, African-American students displayed a positive growth of 5.5% from a mean value of 3.82 to 4.03 and Hispanic/Latino students displayed a positive growth of 4.8% from a mean value of 3.75 to that of 3.93. Alternatively, Asian students displayed the lowest percentage of growth to ODC 5 (challenge beliefs) with 1.1% of growth from 3.55 to 3.59. What the above data suggests is that the behavioral norms and already established knowledge bases may vary based on race/ethnicity. Fluctuation in the levels of comfort that students experienced when their beliefs and value systems were challenged by course content and discourse indicates that students may be exposed to different experiences outside of the classroom. Analysis of the above data via the lens of the adult brain allows one to posit that individual histories, knowledge, as well as perceived appropriate behavioral norms can translate to the classroom where they may very well be challenged and as a result, lead to different learning experiences. Further corroboration of the argument lies with statements that experienced lowest as well as negative instances of growth. For example, reduced growth and regression has been recorded across all race/ethnic categories in response to ODC 3 (better understanding). Out of the four highest recorded categories participation-wise, ODC 3 (better understanding) recorded the following results from different student groups: Asian 2%, African American 0.9%, White 0.2%, Hispanic/Latino -1.7. What is interesting is that the ODC 3 (better understanding) statement is specifically asking students to respond how they feel about

interaction with classmates whose value systems are different from their own. Based on the results of this study, it becomes apparent that at certain points of their class experiences, students felt that they were not completely comfortable engaging in content discourse that may conflict with their own already established value systems. Course content that makes students question their established behavioral norms such as a system of faith, open-mindedness to cross-cultural variation, and levels of comfort when exposed to conflicting content in connection to existing knowledge, can be conducive to a negative learning experience. It is then possible to assert that not everyone benefited from their learning experiences as was reflected in the response rates to ODC 3 (better understanding).

Lastly, as seen in “Students like Me”, exposure to diverse content resulted in classroom discourse and series of events that led to greater awareness of others in the classroom. In this case, awareness was facilitated as stakeholders observed classmates experiencing conflict with course content. Once again, students were surprised when they realized that their classmates had different perceptions regarding the same content and reacted to said content in different ways. The fact that stakeholders were exposed to situations where their classmates exhibited varied emotional reactions to the content as well as ideas presented as part of the classroom experience further reinforced the assertions of earlier works that posited the importance of multicultural content in connection to exposure to new ideas (e.g. Chang et al., 2005; Hurtado, 2005; Laird, 2011). What is also interesting is that after establishing awareness regarding the difference of opinion and acknowledgment of experienced challenges via the adult brain, stakeholders engaged in student-student interactions in order to better understand their classmates as well as to emphasize the importance of pluralistic values and cultural relativism. When realizing that one classmate was engaging in homophobic remarks toward the content, Ashley recalled:

He's very defensive and wants to have his point understood as the only one that's right in this moment. But the other classmates are trying to make him understand that his point of view is okay, it's his, but they're trying to explain something else or something that's acceptable in another part of the world. It's interesting, the interactions, but it's evolved into something more, like teaching moments between the classmates... At the beginning, his expression or the way he expressed himself was different than it is now... Most of the class tries to work with him and make him understand the concept that's being presented.

Of importance in the above response is the ability of faculty responsiveness to incorporate diverse content that results in knowledge construction and real world application of newly learned information within the classroom itself. Students engaged in what can be interpreted as a real-world scenario where they utilized information learned in the classroom in order to bridge the gap in the ethnocentrism and homophobia exhibited by one of their classmates. Based on the aforementioned reflection by Ashley, it is possible to assert that the overarching goal of exposing students to multicultural values has been met. Successfully fostering growth in open-mindedness and cultural relativism as a result of exposure to course content has effectively prepared students to deal with issues that can be encountered in a real-world setting as member of a plural society.

Debate, physical confrontation, and disconnect were all noted as a result of exposure to content that one might deem as challenging one's adult brain and by extension, is in violation of one's preexisting knowledge and out-of-class experiences. Based on the analyzed data, what seems to strike a balance among adult learners is that content can be diverse and is appreciated for its real world application (as seen in earlier subsections) as long as it does not start to get too personal and begin to challenge stakeholders in ways that make them question their value systems and perhaps, even levels of cultural relativity when engaging in discourse on topics of

religion, sexuality, and evolution. At the same time, what seems to play a role in the balance is the understanding that even though some of the content may conflict with one's norms, it is still perceived as relevant enough to study. This phenomenon is explored in the succeeding subsection below.

“I think it was necessary”: Recognition of Disliked Content

Other than conflicting with students' established out-of-class knowledge, multiple references were made to introductory anthropology content that was thought to have been too difficult. Participating stakeholders pointed out that they spent too much time both looking up explanations on their own and spending too much time trying to understand the topic out of class. Students also expressed their frustration with having spent time trying to rationalize particular content and make connections to real world application. In this subsection, I argue that even though some stakeholders did not like the content and did not like the amounts of time spent on it, they nonetheless, recognized its importance in relation to the greater purposes of the overall anthropology course. Students' perceptions regarding the importance of content that they did not necessarily like were not negative. Rather, it will be argued that content was thought of as a necessity because students took into consideration the greater importance of real world application and rationalized a reality that covered content will not always be fun or interesting, but it does nonetheless, have potential for relevance in its connection to awareness of diversity and application in the public sphere.

The results of this study indicate that content presented in class as a product of faculty responsiveness has potential for positive growth of pluralistic tendencies. At the same time, however, results also suggest that content may be challenging in terms of difficulty, may not be students' favorite, and can foster disconnect in the classroom. Alternatively, the content was also deemed as an important part of the course experience due to its potential to foster greater notions of cultural relativism and multicultural values. For example, Emma pointed out the following when reflecting on biological anthropology content:

It was mostly the different genus things, but just cause it's very hard for me to grasp that sort of stuff. So I've really been kind of looking at it every day so that I really understand it for the exam...cause in my brain it doesn't make sense. But that's a learning thing... I mean I didn't like it [content], but I think it was necessary. There's a lot of stuff that I don't like in classes but I think it's necessary.

The student was clear about her dislike of biological anthropology content due to difficulties she experienced when trying to understand it. Emma also admitted that she spent extra time out of her day in order to elucidate some of her confusion. However, she attributed her confusion to the natural process of learning. Emma was clearly having a difficult time with the content, but instead of exhibiting elements of agitation or resentment, she rationalized it as part of her learning process. Furthermore, she placed emphasis on the necessity of the content. Emma stressed that there is something she dislikes in many of her classes, but she stayed motivated regardless. To better understand this motivation, the participant was asked to clarify what she meant by necessity. Emma responded with the following:

It seems necessary to me because then you understand...how humans adapt to their environment and how the environment plays such a huge factor...Specifically with evolution stuff, I know some more conservative classmates did not like that because they didn't like the idea that we could be cousins to animals, but other than that, everyone seemed pretty engaged.

What is critical in the excerpt above is that disliked content was still appreciated in its ability to meet the greater objectives of the class. Emma may not have made the connection to course objectives, but it is quite apparent that she deemed course content relevant enough to motivate her to keep studying. It appears that the catalyst behind said motivation was the rationalization of

the benefits that the disliked knowledge could provide. In this case, it was a better understanding of the human condition in relation to change over time and the environment. Emma also pointed out that although some of her classmates that she identified as “conservative”—akin to being identified as “sheltered” or one that lives in a “bubble”, did not seem to be receptive of the content, demonstrates that her awareness of classroom atmosphere and her classmates has grown, and continues to buttress assertions made in the preceding subsections.

Appreciation of disliked content is an assertion further corroborated by Sarah who responded when asked about what she thought regarding faculty spending less class time on content that she did not enjoy “I’m not like too heartbroken over it. Personally, I find linguistic and cultural anthropology more interesting than archaeology and biology is last because...I don’t do numbers...I’ve always liked experiencing different cultures across the world.” The student explicitly pointed out that archaeology and biological anthropology are sub-disciplines she enjoyed the least because of the difficulty she had understanding the content, particularly biological anthropology content. Sarah welcomed moving on to topics that she deemed to be more entertaining because of her proclivity toward cross-cultural variation. This individual preferred to spend class time being exposed to content that focused more on cultural anthropology and linguistics, two sub-disciplines that are arguably easier to relate to seeing how language and culture are intertwined and are a critical component of all societies. When asked how the stakeholder felt about whether incorporation of content that students may not enjoy is a worthwhile endeavor for faculty, Sarah noted:

It’s a good foundation...For students like me, it’s very eye-opening...At least, if it was content that I liked, it would also get boring...And it would feel lackluster without the boring parts or the parts I don’t like as much.

One salient extrapolation from the response is that the student acknowledges the benefits of incorporating disliked content into the curriculum. Disliked content was identified as a “good foundation.” Here, Sarah rationalized exposure to disliked content as a positive, necessary experience that was identified as “eye-opening”, which in turn, can be interpreted as content that is relevant and informative, albeit disliked. Furthermore, the student emphasized the need for diverse content because exposure to enjoyable content would eventually not only get boring but would also seem “lackluster” or in this case, inclusion of only enjoyable content would result in a curriculum may not have the same element of relevance and real-world application.

Other than being boring or simply not enjoyable, some course content was also identified as too complex. However, although content was difficult to comprehend, it was still perceived to have a positive impact on the students’ learning experiences. For example, Jane was reflecting on the difficulties that she had understanding a lecture on gender and sexuality. Her difficulties arose from being an English language learner, and yet, Jane still found the content to be informative and more importantly, relevant as well as applicable to her historical experience.

Jane emphasized:

I’m learning. When I was in my country, I thought that everything had to be like this, we were born to this and I didn’t think there could be another way...but when I came here, I realized many things differently...I have a choice to choose or compare and contrast, but I still see things through my world. For example, women before and women now. For example, before, a woman used to stay at home to keep the kids or do the housework. Then, a man used to be a provider...now it’s shifting...Women start to get more education now and women are going to jobs, so it’s making men do more houseworks or childcare.

The student was making a direct comparison to her life back in her home country and her experiences in the United States. More specifically, Jane was reflecting on her experiences from the perspective of a woman. What is critical is that the stakeholder made connections between cultural norms back home and what she learned about the cross-cultural variation in the gendered division of labor as taught in the classroom. Jane heavily emphasized the fact that she initially did not know that women could participate in any other activities other than being a mother and a housewife. Exposure to anthropology content cultivated a realization that women can get an education and have a career; a polar opposite of the cultural norms instilled in the student as part of Jane's historical experience. The potential of multicultural content is at play as Jane was developing a sense of pluralistic and progressive values that she considered to be very important to her. Difficulties of understanding the English language and occasional inability to comprehend the content did not deter this student from understanding its value and relevance in connection to the public sphere. Jane continued, adding "I agree with it because if I see women are working and I'm a woman so I think that...I feel kind of free. I feel like I have more power." Clear parallels were being drawn between what was being learned in the class and its applicability to the real world. Jane clearly connected exposure to content and what can be identified as reclaiming of one's identity. Jane stressed that her engagement with the course facilitated notions of independence and power; freedoms she claimed to not have back at home. Even though the content was identified as difficult, the catalyst for motivating this student to trying to understand is her ability to make meaning out of said content in ways that allowed Jane to reflect on real world issues. As such, it is possible to suggest that although there is potential for students to have negative experiences with the content that they are presented with, they nonetheless, consider it

to be an important part of the overall classroom experience for a multitude of reasons, some of which are quite personal.

Similar notions regarding exposure to disliked content has also been extracted from quantitative analysis. Responses to ODC 6 (different perspective) demonstrate a collective growth of 2.7%, which certainly signifies positive growth when aggregating all of the student racial/ethnic affiliations. Positive growth, albeit on the lower end of the growth range, does suggest that stakeholders remain open-minded to the plethora of different topics they will encounter throughout the semester. It can be posited that the sentiments regarding the importance of disliked and difficult content is a reflection of the multiculturalism and values promoted by the campus which in turn, is translated to the curriculum. However, once again, looking at the same data based on individual racial/ethnic affiliation also points to inconsistent growth patterns among enrolled students. Looking at percentages of growth to ODC 6 (different perspective) among racial/ethnic affiliations with 50 or more participants enrolled in both the pre and post-test measures (Asian 6.1%, African-American 1.7%, White 3.5%, and Hispanic/Latino 2.1%) suggests that being exposed to diversity content that facilitates thinking and discourse from a new perspective is not always well received. As seen with the qualitative excerpts, having all students exposed to the same diversity content does not ensure that all students experience positive growth in multicultural values as recorded in earlier works (e.g. Chang et al., 2004; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Sáenz et al., 1999). Difficulties in understanding the content, conflict with already established knowledge bases and norms via the adult brain, as well as varied perspectives regarding the value of the presented content, all have potential to influence how people feel about the course overall. Yet, the elements of positive growth to ODC 6 which explicitly asks student if they enjoy taking courses that make them think from a different perspective makes it

clear that at least some of the enrolled students were taking something positive away from their classroom experiences.

In this subsection I argued that even though there is potential for students to have negative experiences with the content they are presented due to difficulty in comprehension or lack of interest, they nonetheless, consider it to be an important part of the overall classroom experience. Whether diversity content is associated with developing a greater understanding of self in relation to discourse on human variation and adaptation, acknowledging the role of disliked content as part of a greater foundation on which the class is based, or the connection of course material to the real world, interviewed stakeholders were able to make meaning of the disliked and difficult content in ways that rationalized its necessity in the curriculum. Students' exposure to disliked and difficult content introduced them to values and multicultural principles that form an important part of plural societies. It has been indicated by low percentages of positive growth that not everyone feels the same way, but nonetheless, the diverse nature of the anthropology course content was identified and recognized for its relevance and contributions to the better understanding of self and relevant application to real-world issues. On the other hand, the lingering results of low positive growth and negative regression among substantial numbers of enrolled students, as seen in the responses to the survey, remain. The relationship between negative experiences with diverse content as well as negative learning experiences will be explored next.

Accentuation and Attenuation: Stagnation and Regression among Enrolled Students

An overarching result of this study is the numerous instances of low positive growth as well as negative regression among enrolled students. In this section, instances of low percentile growth among Asian, African-American, and White students as well as negative regression among Hispanic/Latino students is discussed in connection to out-of-school experiences and established knowledge bases. There are parallels drawn between what students experienced outside of the classroom and how much of a role said experiences played when it came to exposure to multicultural values and content. Parallels are also drawn between faculty responsiveness and students' preexisting knowledge in connection to potential rejection of multicultural values.

Similarly to what was argued with the adult brain, when it comes to negative regression, accentuation effects or exacerbation of preexisting attitudes, have potential to reinforce already existing values if content that enrolled students are exposed to heavily conflicts with their preconceived notions of reality, as noted in earlier research (e.g. Bowman & Park, 2014; Chang et al., 2004; Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Feldman & Newcomb, 1969). In this study, due to exposure to intentionally multicultural content, an argument can be made that certain student population groups may have experienced attenuation due to the accentuation effects that took place. For example, Asian students experienced low percentages of growth to ODC statements 1 (enjoyment) with 2.8% of growth, 3 (better understanding) with 2% of growth, and 5 (challenge beliefs) with 1.1% of growth. The aforementioned percentages indicate that even though the quantitative aggregate implied elements of positive classroom experiences, not all stakeholders felt the same way by the end of the semester. Similar trends are seen with African-American students whom displayed 0.9% of growth in ODC 2 (real value of education), 2.2% of growth in

ODC 4 (different cultures), and 1.7% of growth in ODC 6 (different perspective). And lastly, a low growth rate of 0.2% has been recorded among White students in response to ODC statement 3 (better understanding). Above data suggests that at the beginning of the semester, when data was collected, participating students displayed sentiments indicative of a more positive outlook toward the course. However, throughout the duration of the semester, particular ODC statements displayed extensive positive growth while others did not. An assertion of attenuation or reduction of growth in pluralistic attitudes can be made. The variation in growth among ODC statements between different racial/ethnic groups can once again, be associated with the concept of the adult brain. The campus enrolls a socioeconomically and culturally diverse population of students and in turn, adult learners that are enrolling in anthropology courses enter the class with different historical experiences, notions of norms, and based on the findings of this study, different perspectives regarding multicultural values. As such, it is possible to suggest that responses to the ODC measure after experiencing diversity content are in part, reflective of the initial predispositions regarding pluralistic tendencies. Exposure to the diversity content, as discussed in earlier sections, has potential to either accentuate positive growth, or foster attenuation and stagnation when it comes to the principles of multiculturalism.

With regard to negative regression, stagnation and attenuation was particularly felt among enrolled Hispanic/Latino students. Hispanic/Latino students have experienced the least amount of positive growth and in a several cases, demonstrated negative regression when responding to ODC statements. Highest percentages of growth were recorded on ODC 5 (challenge beliefs) with 4.8% of growth and ODC 1 (enjoyment) with 3.5% of growth. Additionally, the third highest instance of growth among Hispanic/Latino students is with ODC statement 6 (different perspective) displaying 2.1% of positive growth. Slight positive growth

allows one to posit that at least in some respects, Hispanic/Latino students had enough positive classroom experiences in ways that allowed them to partly enjoy the course while having exposure to content that fosters thinking from cross-cultural perspectives. Comparatively, aforementioned instances of growth rank very low when compared to other racial/ethnic groups and raises questions regarding the overall classroom experiences of Hispanic/Latino students. Moreover, negative regression has been recorded with ODC statement 2 (real value of education) with -2%, ODC statement 3 (better understanding) with -1.7%, and -2.2% with ODC statement 4 (different cultures). Yet again, responses to the post-test measure by Hispanic/Latino students suggest that their experiences with the same diversity content varied greatly from that of other enrolled students. Attenuation seen with Hispanic/Latino students results in salient questions regarding the perceptions of external, out of school experiences of said students in addition to classroom experiences throughout the semester. At the same time, questions arise about whether course content, at any point of the semester, distorted the balance between comfort and conflict among said students in connection to the adult brain. The fact that one racial/ethnic affiliation demonstrated negative regression warrants further analysis as to what Hispanic/Latino students are going through on a daily basis in and out of class that resulted in the attenuation. Seeing how intentionally diverse course content is a byproduct of greater campus initiatives toward multiculturalism as well as faculty responsiveness, further research could better elucidate the reasoning behind the attenuation among Hispanic/Latino students as well as the relationship between attenuation and the multicultural values promoted in the classroom.

Another way of looking at recorded attenuation among enrolled students can be through the lens of negative classroom experience in connection to faculty responsiveness. Perhaps being exposed to classroom atmosphere that is making students think in ways that make them

uncomfortable has potential to foster attitudes that reject multicultural values. If Hispanic/Latino students displayed negative regression to ODC 2 (real value of education) with -2% of regression, then, the collective Hispanic/Latino student body enrolled in the anthropology courses deemed multicultural values as an irrelevant component of their college experience. This suggests that either multiculturalism is simply seen as an unimportant value system on the path to graduation, or that Hispanic/Latino students have deeply rooted sentiments toward their culture as well as community, which in turn, prevents them from developing pluralistic tendencies. This logic is further corroborated by responses to ODC 3 (better understanding) with -1.7% of regression. Negative regression to ODC 3 (better understanding), a statement directly asking students their level of enjoyment talking to people whose cultures are different than one's own, indicates that Hispanic/Latino students may feel strongly about their value systems. As a result, engaging in discourse on pluralistic tendencies and different perspectives may have distorted the balance between comfort and conflict, and led to the rejection of multiculturalism. The same argument can very well be made with other racial/ethnic groups e.g. Asian, African-American, and White students who also displayed minimal growth. The difference, however, is that perhaps, greater numbers of Asian, African-American, and White students were more open-minded and receptive of the intentionally diverse content resulting in slight positive growth as seen in responses to ODC 3 (better understanding) with 2% of growth for Asian students, 0.9% of growth for African-American students, and 0.2% of growth for White students, as opposed to displaying negative regression as seen with Hispanic/Latino students.

It is also possible that the intentionally multicultural content was promoted in a heavy-handed fashion, which resulted in students retreating toward their already established knowledge and experiences e.g. comfort zone as seen with minimal and regressive growth. If faculty

responsiveness was applied in ways that made students feel burdened, or overwhelmed with cultural pluralism being promoted in the classroom, it is possible that students simply either rejected arguments toward multiculturalism, or they were agitated enough that their learning experiences suffered. For example, Robert pointed out the following when speaking about the multicultural nature of the class:

In the first and second lessons, the instructor kept repeating, kept trying to drill it into the class that for anthropology, you're going to have to get rid of ethnocentrism. You're going to have to adopt a mentality of cultural relativism.

The student emphasized that the class had to experience, on a several occasions, their instructor promoting multicultural values. It is possible to posit that even though numerous students responded positively toward such an approach, some may have not. Perhaps some of the students experienced a level of frustration regarding the promotion of a value system that may be in opposition to one's own. Enjoyment of the class perceptions regarding different cultures as well as the need to think from a different perspective, are values bound to trend downward if students' values and perspectives regarding diversity are in conflict with what is being presented in the class. This may explain the low percentages of growth that was experienced by African-American and Hispanic/Latino students with regard to ODC 6 (different perspective) with 1.7% and 2.1% of growth respectively. Being consistently exposed to different content and values that conflict with one's perception of norm, could have impacted learning experiences in ways conducive to stagnation and closed-mindedness. Having constant exposure to diversity content promoting multicultural values that are too different has the ability to reduce enjoyment of the class overall and may foster behaviors that are counterintuitive to multiculturalism. Specifically, instead of facilitating interest to interact with students of different demographic backgrounds,

students may feel that they want to interact with those that share demographics characteristics instead. For instance, Hispanic/Latino students recorded 0.75% of positive growth when asked whether contact with students from different demographic backgrounds e.g. race, nationality, sexual orientation, were an integral part of the college experience (ODC 7). Minimal growth of 0.75% to ODC 7 (contact) corroborates earlier claims of Hispanic/Latino students having strong sentiments toward their own culture and behavioral norms as minimal interest in the interaction with others coincides with displaying reduced interest in learning about different cultures and values (ODC 3- better understanding -1.7%; ODC 4-different cultures -2.2%), as well as disagreeing with the notion of multiculturalism being an important aspects of one's college experience (ODC 2- real value of education -2%).

In this subsection I explored connections between low levels of growth to specific ODC measures as well as negative regression to ODC responses as well as classroom experiences, knowledge accumulated outside the classroom, and pedagogical approaches conflicting with predetermined value systems. Specifically, instances of low percentile growth among Asian, African-American, and White students as well as negative regression among Hispanic/Latino students was discussed in connection to out-of-school experiences and established knowledge bases with potential to conflict with multicultural content and pluralistic values that it promotes. Parallels were drawn between what student experiences outside of the classroom and how much of a role said experiences play when it comes to exposure to multicultural values and content. Heavy-handed approaches to teaching multiculturalism were also analyzed in their ability to impact learning experiences of enrolled students.

Implications for Research and Practice

In response to the growing trend of incorporating multicultural initiatives on college campuses through the enrollment of diverse students and faculty as well as the implementation of multicultural initiatives on campus and within the classroom, this study aimed to explore the persistence of ethnocentrism, homophobia, and xenophobia as well as lack of awareness toward cross-cultural diversity observed in introductory anthropology courses. To address the problem of practice, this study was guided by the two research questions seen below:

1. How do students experience and interpret a curriculum imbued with intentionally multicultural content within socioeconomically and ethnically diverse introductory anthropology classrooms at an urban community college?
2. What is the quantitative relationship between exposure to intentionally multicultural classroom content and attitudes toward multicultural content among community college students?

In this study, there was a general, positive relationship between student experiences in the classroom and the multicultural content to which they were exposed. As seen in the subsections titled “Important to Learn and Go Through” and “Students like Me”, faculty responsiveness functioned as a catalyst for the incorporation of multicultural content and the establishment of culturally sensitive learning environments regardless of individual demographic characteristics. As a result, students were exposed to topics and discourse in ways that fostered greater awareness and interest in cultural diversity in the public sphere as well as the classroom, cultivated interests in interactions with culturally diverse peers, and reaffirmed a sense of multicultural identity among students. Students accredited their positive learning experiences with a better understanding of self as active navigators of a plural society, were able to establish

relevance of presented course content in connection to real-world application, and utilized constructed knowledge to address real-world issues exhibited in the classroom.

Not all students responded the same way to intentionally multicultural content. Racial/ethnic affiliation, in addition to outside knowledge and already established cultural norms, had the potential to reinforce positive accentuation of already present pluralistic values, or cultivate attenuation when conflict with the content arose. Subsections titled “That’s the Only Problem” and “I think it was Necessary” explored the varied experiences of adult learners with multicultural content that facilitated conflict regarding preconceived notions of behavioral norms and knowledge accumulated outside the classroom. Conflict with multicultural content was attributed to concepts of the adult brain and attenuation as students were making meaning out of the multicultural content presented to them in ways that resulted in confusion, agitation, physical altercation, and negative learning experiences. Aforementioned negative learning experiences were reflected in the post-test measure as regression and stagnation was corroborated by the quantitative component of the study. Additionally, racial/ethnic affiliation, in addition to outside knowledge and already established cultural norms, had the potential to reinforce positive accentuation of already present pluralistic values, or cultivate attenuation when conflict with the content arose. Specifically, there was fluctuation and stagnation noted among Asian, African-American, and White students, while negative regression was noted among Hispanic/Latino students. The subsection titled as “Accentuation and Attenuation among Enrolled Students” explored the connection between negative reactions toward multicultural content and out-of-class experiences in relation to recorded rejection of multicultural values.

Based on the results of this study, there are several implications for research. First, as a noted limitation of this study’s methodology, utilization of in-class observations will provide an

opportunity to collect rich data on how students respond to multicultural content, measure degrees of interpersonal interaction, and get a first-hand feel for class atmosphere when discourse is taking place. In-class observations are recommended in conjunction with survey and interview data collection in order to better elucidate the phenomena. Secondly, it is recommended that future research focus on the experiences of students that exhibited attenuation and stagnation in multicultural attitudes. Data on out-of-class experiences of Hispanic/Latino students as well as Asian, African-American, and White students may shed light on the impacts that external environments have on learning and by extension, cultivation of multicultural values, or any resistance toward the content that develops. Emphasis can be placed on extracurricular activities, clubs, and any other location on campus that experiences student traffic. Next, incorporation of other courses that emphasize multicultural values in future research will allow for concurrent analysis of other subjects, which could provide salient data on how policy regarding multicultural initiatives is implemented across different departments. It is also recommended that future research considers allowing more time for data collection both in the classroom and outside of the classroom on campus. Issues of time constraints had to be addressed as a limitation of this study, which did not allow me to take advantage of opportunities to collect more data. If allotted more time, I would visit and observe classrooms in order to better gauge how students respond to multicultural content as well as record how classroom dynamics are impacted as a result. I would also spend time observing student interactions in other public settings such as the cafeteria and clubs in order to gauge levels of multicultural values at play.

Lastly, another recommendation for future research is to include community colleges as sources of data collection. Baseline and questionnaire data collected as part of this study corroborates the importance of utilizing community colleges in academic research. This study

reinforced arguments made by Aragon and Brantmeier (2009) as well as Denson and Chang (2015) where it was asserted that two-year colleges are equally important for studies regarding multiculturalism. The implication of incorporating community colleges in research on multiculturalism is that the enrollment rates and potential participation rates of racial as well as ethnically diverse students is more likely because community colleges tend to enroll numbers of socioeconomically as well as racially/ethnically diverse students. The importance of the latter is that regardless of the responses, participation of a diverse student body, as seen with this study, ensured for a collection of rich data from a multitude of perspectives and different collegiate experiences as opposed to overreliance on data collected from a predominantly White student population as seen in earlier works (e.g. Bowman & Park, 2015; Chang et al., 2004; Chang et al., 2005; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Lauer, 2015).

With regard to implications for practice, the results of this study can inform decision-making processes in numerous ways. Initially, the results of this study indicate that not all students are open-minded when it comes to multicultural content and values. This assertion corroborates earlier research suggesting that implementation of multicultural values may be more difficult than originally thought (e.g. Aragon & Brantmeier, 2009; Hurtado, 2001; Hurtado et al., 2015; Kuh & Pike, 2006). To accommodate enrollment of ethnically and culturally diverse student populations, it is recommended that campus administration explore options that can increase levels of interaction between students as well as increase interest in multicultural values. Emphasis can be placed on social organizations such as clubs as well as support groups, and campus activities in order to foster campus environments conducive toward growth of pluralistic attitudes. Additionally, campus administration can also utilize baseline data aggregated as part of this study in order to better serve students that exhibited instances of negative learning

experiences. Students that identified as Hispanic/Latino displayed the greatest fluctuation as a result of being exposed to intentionally multicultural content. To address recorded rates of negative regression, perhaps campus administration can allocate resources to fund student support groups and services that address the specific needs of Hispanic/Latino students with the goal of improving their campus experiences.

Implications for practice from a pedagogical perspective, the results of this study demonstrate that faculty responsiveness did play a substantial role with regard to content choice as students noted the diversity of content. However, not all content was well liked or well received. Yet, stakeholders noted the importance of disliked content in its ability to foster multicultural values and increased awareness of diversity in the classroom as well as that of the public sphere. It was also revealed that students prefer cultural and linguistic anthropology over biological and anthropological anthropology, but once again, recognize the importance of all sub-disciplines. Incorporation of content that students consistently find interesting and relevant will require instructional staff to modify their curricula. Modification to the course curriculum, however, will require changes in the program with regard to how introductory anthropology courses are taught and the learning objectives that are covered. Emphasis on cultural and linguistic anthropology will no longer allow introductory anthropology courses to teach the four-field approach, so decisions need to be made regarding the financial viability of separating one course into two. Perhaps, biological anthropology and archaeology content can be taught as part of separate, higher-tier courses that students voluntarily enroll into. At the same time, changes to the curriculum will require comfort and willingness to change. Rates of faculty responsiveness have been noted to be rather high and are not expected to present any challenges if changes to the existing program take place.

Alternatively, if the above changes prove to be too financially impractical, then, individual analysis of one's own pedagogical approach and content choice can help improve the course in ways that make it more interesting and relevant for enrolled students. Analysis of one's own pedagogical approach will also allow room for reflection on the way that the intentionally multicultural content is presented. It was posited in the "Accentuation and Attenuation among Enrolled Students" subsection that content promoting multicultural values was presented in a potentially heavy-handed manner resulting in rejection of multicultural values among some of the students. As such, reflection on one's pedagogical approach to the multicultural content may lead to cultivation of different strategies on how to present content and structure discourse so that all students feel comfortable in the course. It is also recommended that a professional learning community is formed among faculty members so that they have a space to collaborate on how to better approach covered content. Establishing a network of communication can help faculty shed light on some of the challenges teaching multicultural content and engage in meaningful discourse on teaching strategies. One factor to keep in mind, however, as demonstrated by the results of this study, is that not all students will be appeased and decisions regarding changes to the curriculum may be best approached with the general consensus of the student body in mind.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Student Interview Questions

Hello. My name is Igor Pashkovskiy, and I am putting together a study aiming to learn about student attitudes toward intentionally multicultural content in introductory anthropology courses. All collected data and responses will remain confidential and will be stored on a password protected computer. If collected data will be used in future writing, all personal identifiers are going to be protected by a pseudonym. If you are uncomfortable with any of the questions or the direction in which the conversation is going, do not hesitate to let me know. We can stop at any point of the interview. Opinions shared during the interview will have absolutely no influence on your final grade or my opinion of you as a student.

1. How is your semester going so far?
2. What topics have you covered in your class?
3. What did you learn that surprised you?

Probe: Is what you are learning about different cultures different what you learned in high school or any other educational setting?

Probe: Tell me about a topic that was particularly interesting/tell me about an experience when your classmates disagreed about a course topic and what the discussion was like.

Probe: Did anything that you have studied make you feel uncomfortable (angry, sad)?

4. In your opinion, what do you think about what you are studying now in comparison to content you have studied in other classes?

Probe: How do you feel about the multicultural element of the course content?

Probe: How would you define multiculturalism?

5. Based on your experience, what would you say regarding learning about different cultures and behaviors, and any other topics in your anthropology class?

Probe: Could you provide an example?

Probe: Are there strengths to this pedagogical approach, how so?

Probe: Are there weaknesses to this pedagogical approach, how so?

6. How do you feel about discussions on topics dealing with cultural diversity and/or different behaviors?

7. How do you think multicultural course content influences class atmosphere?

Probe: Is this a beneficial approach to addressing diversity?

8. Could you tell me about a time when you were exposed content that you were less comfortable with?

Probe: How did it make you feel?

9. Now let's switch gears and suppose that I was a new student enrolled in an introductory anthropology class, what advice would you give me about such a course in order for me to be successful?

10. This covers the things I wanted to ask. Is there anything else that you would like to add or share?

Thank you for your time. Your participation is greatly appreciated

Appendix B

Collected Demographic Information

1. Are you a first year or a second year student? _____
2. Is English your first language? (Yes/No) _____
3. What is your racial or ethnic affiliation? (Please circle all that apply)
 - American Indian or Alaska Native
 - Asian
 - African-American
 - White
 - Hispanic/Latino
 - Pacific Islander
 - Native Hawaiian or Other
 - I prefer not to respond
4. Which gender do you identify most with?
 - Male
 - Female
 - Gender Variant/Non-Conforming
 - I prefer not to respond

Appendix C

Pre and Post-Test Demographic Data

Table 1a

College Standing of Stakeholders in Pre-Test Measure, n=504

Year	n	Percentage %
First Year	172	34
Second Year	332	66

Table 1b

College Standing of Stakeholders in Post-Test Measure, n=441

Year	n	Percentage %
First Year	144	32.7
Second Year	297	67.3

Table 2a

Gender Identity of Stakeholders in Pre-Test Measure, n=504

Gender Identity	n	Percentage %
Male	190	37.7
Female	294	58.3
Gender Variant/Non-Conforming	8	1.6
I prefer not to respond	12	2.4

Note: Total Percentage is 100

Table 2b

Gender Identity of Stakeholders in Post-Test Measure, n=441

Gender Identity	n	Percentage %
Male	175	39.7
Female	241	54.6
Gender Variant/Non-Conforming	5	1.1
I prefer not to respond	20	4.5

Note: Total Percentage is 100

Table 3a

English as Native Language of Stakeholders in Pre-Test Measure, n=504

Yes/No	n	Percentage %
Yes, English is Native Language	337	66.9
No, English is not Native Language	167	33.1

Table 3b

English as Native Language of Stakeholders in Post-Test Measure, n=441

Yes/No	n	Percentage %
Yes, English is Native Language	285	64.6
No, English is not Native Language	156	35.4

Table 4a

Interaction with Ethnic Diversity Outside of School in Pre-Test Measure, n=504

Yes/No	n	Percentage %
Yes, I interact with those of different ethnic backgrounds	436	86.5
No, I do not interact with those of ethnic backgrounds	68	13.5

Table 4b

Interaction with Ethnic Diversity Outside of School in Post-Test Measure, n=441

Yes/No	n	Percentage %
Yes, I interact with those of different ethnic backgrounds	389	88.2
No, I do not interact with those of ethnic backgrounds	52	11.8

Appendix D

Response Rates to Each ODC Statement

Table 1a

Response Rates to ODC Statement 1 (enjoyment) in Pre-Test Measure, n=504

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	6	1.2
Disagree	7	1.4
Neutral	123	24.4
Agree	233	46.2
Strongly Agree	135	26.8

Table 1b

Response Rates to ODC Statement 1 (enjoyment) in Post-Test Measure, n=441

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	4	.9
Disagree	7	1.6
Neutral	84	19
Agree	183	41.5
Strongly Agree	163	37

Table 2a

Response Rates to ODC Statement 2 (real value of education) in Pre-Test Measure, n=504

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	9	1.8
Disagree	19	3.8
Neutral	149	29.6
Agree	208	41.3
Strongly Agree	119	23.6

Table 2b

Response Rates to ODC Statement 2 (real value of education) in Post-Test Measure, n=441

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	4	.9
Disagree	11	2.5
Neutral	98	22.2
Agree	187	42.4
Strongly Agree	141	32

Table 3a

Response Rates to ODC Statement 3 (better understanding) in Pre-Test Measure, n=504

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	3	.6
Disagree	11	2.2
Neutral	86	17.1
Agree	227	45
Strongly Agree	177	35.1

Table 3b

Response Rates to ODC Statement 3 (better understanding) in Post-Test Measure, n=441

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	3	.7
Disagree	9	2
Neutral	72	16.3
Agree	187	42.4
Strongly Agree	170	38.5

Table 4a

Response Rates to ODC Statement 4 (different cultures) in Pre-Test Measure, n=504

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	8	1.6
Disagree	16	3.2
Neutral	139	27.6
Agree	172	34.1
Strongly Agree	169	33.5

Table 4b

Response Rates to ODC Statement 4 (different cultures) in Post-Test Measure, n=441

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	5	1.1
Disagree	15	3.4
Neutral	90	20.4
Agree	154	34.9
Strongly Agree	177	40.1

Table 5a

Response Rates to ODC Statement 5 (challenges beliefs) in Pre-Test Measure, n=504

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	12	2.4
Disagree	33	6.5
Neutral	173	34.3
Agree	170	33.7
Strongly Agree	116	23

Table 5b

Response Rates to ODC Statement 5 (challenges beliefs) in Post-Test Measure, n=441

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	8	1.8
Disagree	24	5.4
Neutral	114	25.9
Agree	154	34.9
Strongly Agree	141	32

Table 6a

Response Rates to ODC Statement 6 (different perspective) in Pre-Test Measure, n=504

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	5	1
Disagree	18	3.6
Neutral	90	17.9
Agree	196	38.9
Strongly Agree	195	38.7

Table 6b

Response Rates to ODC Statement 6 (different perspective) in Post-Test Measure, n=441

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	3	.7
Disagree	8	1.8
Neutral	70	15.9
Agree	167	37.9
Strongly Agree	193	43.8

Table 7a

Response Rates to ODC Statement 7 (contact) in Pre-Test Measure, n=504

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	8	1.6
Disagree	27	5.4
Neutral	157	31.2
Agree	176	34.9
Strongly Agree	136	27

Table 7b

Response Rates to ODC Statement 7 (contact) in Post-Test Measure, n=441

1(SD)-5(SA)	n	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	4	.9
Disagree	18	4.1
Neutral	107	24.3
Agree	161	36.5
Strongly Agree	151	34.2