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FACING THE CHALLENGE OF
DIVERSITY AND MULTICULTURALISM

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THE PROGRAM ON CONFLICT MANAGEMENT ALTERNATIVES

The Program on Conflict Management Alternatives was established in January, 1986 by a grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and additional funds from the University of Michigan. These basic grants were renewed in July, 1988 and again in July, 1991. The Program supports an agenda of research, application, and theory development. PCMA also establishes links among other university research and teaching efforts relevant to conflict management alternatives, and maintains liaison and collaboration with similar efforts in other Universities and Practitioner agencies. The Program staffers own work focuses explicitly on the relationship between social justice and social conflict, specifically: (a) the use of innovative settlement procedures and roles for disputants and third parties; (b) the institutionalization of innovative mechanisms and the adoption of organizational and community structures that permanently alter the way conflicts are managed; and (c) the fundamental differences and inequalities between parties that often create conflict and threaten its stable resolution.

We examine these issues primarily in United States' settings, in conflicts arising within and between families, organizations and communities, and between different racial, gender, and economic constituencies. These specific efforts are supported by a variety of research and action grants/contracts with governmental agencies, foundations, and private and public organizations/agencies.

The Program in Conflict Management Alternatives is housed within the Center for Research on Social Organization, College of Literature, Science and the Arts, Room 4016 LS&A Building, Telephone: (313) 763-0472.

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**FACING THE CHALLENGE OF DIVERSITY AND
MULTICULTURALISM**

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Introduction

"Equal Opportunity," "EEO Employer," "Affirmative Action," "We Will Not Discriminate"....

These phrases are seen by many in the United States as Negative. Throughout its history, the United States has struggled with its racial identity and diversity. Our asset and our strength has also been our embarrassment and our nemesis. We are still fighting as a nation to make our democratic principles a reality. For those who are different because of their race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, physical ability, or national origin, much of the move toward equality has been a struggle (filled with harsh words, demands, anger and at times, violence). The legacy of racism in the U.S. includes a 300 year history filled with a glaring discrepancy between words of a democratic, equal society and actions of discrimination and oppression (Katz and Miller, 1986B).

At times, attempts to close the gap between Black and White and other people of color have, in fact, widened the schism. As we look to the 1990s, we are still faced with the question and challenge of: "How do we help the United States become a nation that values and acknowledges the benefits, resources and contributions of our multiracial and diverse society?" Some consider racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression a thing of the past in the United States today. Many would like to believe there is no longer a need for Affirmative Action because the issues have been resolved. The message from the federal government reinforces this view, as it has removed the clout from

many of the laws passed in the 1960s and 1970s. The reality is that racism is still an open wound in the United States and we are far from being a truly multicultural and diverse nation. Equal opportunity and equality does not yet exist for people of color, nor do we value the differences they bring.

The challenge for higher education is to make our dreams of being a multicultural and diverse nation a reality. Higher Education is the point of departure for preparing the next generation to interact in the world successfully. Although some universities and students have renewed their interest in issues of race as is evident in response to apartheid and taking a stand on divestiture in South Africa, many have seemingly ignored the issues at home. What has become increasingly clear is that we can no longer be a monocultural, ethnocentric, and xenophobic nation if we want to survive and succeed in the ever-shrinking global community. Students, faculty, administrators, and other educational personnel need to be prepared to deal effectively with multicultural and diverse populations, both at home and overseas, to be effective in the workplace. Issues of nuclear war make us much more interdependent with our global neighbors. Through our diversity we as a nation will find our strengths. If we cannot deal with diversity at home, we surely will not work successfully with individuals and nations overseas. It is time that we begin to see our strengths not only in terms of our similarities, but also in the value-added that our differences bring.

Only when each of us -- African-American, White, Asian-American, Hispanic, American Indian -- see it in our self-interest and to our benefit to move toward becoming a multicultural society will that dream become a reality. Past efforts to address racism and to move our nation and organizations to becoming more multicultural did so in a way which highlighted the lack of opportunity for people of color in the United States. A side effect of this perspective was a reinforcement of the view held by many Whites that people of color were lacking or deficient because of that lack of opportunity in education, government and industry. We must stop viewing people of color as individuals who must be compensated or are somehow deficient in their experience and knowledge base. Rather, we must come to see the strength in our differences as well as find our commonalities. This creates a significant shift in perspective from a view of people of color as deficient to an acknowledgement of the value that is added by their involvement, presence and experience. Only when each person and group is viewed as making a unique and positive contribution to the larger society because of their differences, as opposed to in spite of them, will multiculturalism become a reality.

A multicultural society must be built on strength, not weakness; on contribution, not limitation; on opportunity, not deficiency. A society built on deficit, weakness and limitation finds itself in collapse. A society built on strength, contribution, and opportunity is empowered. For the United States to remain in the forefront as a world power, we must honor

our nation's principles and values. These values are founded on the belief in freedom and equality for all people. Our leadership in the world must be to be a model for ourselves and others to actively pursue this dream. Our survival as a nation and as a people lies in our ability to make our dreams a reality. Through our differences of culture, gender, race, etc. we can have a greater range of resources. Our differences can lead to greater productivity, better problem-solving, greater synergy, and more possibilities. Current and projected demographic data show that the U.S. population is becoming a more diverse nation. Education must begin to define a "quality" education as one that facilitates a student's ability to interact effectively with diversity -- diversity of ideas, diversity of style, diversity of culture, and diversity of race. The challenge facing our educational system is how to create a climate that will support and value such diversity.

TODAY'S REALITY: TWO STEPS FORWARD OR BACK?

Racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression are woven into the cultural fabric of the United States. The questions that get raised when we address issues of creating a more multicultural society are: What does it mean to have equality? If equality is to be a reality, on whose terms is the vision of equality defined? Does equality mean: equal numbers? equal power? equal access? The '60s presented a clear picture of what people of color did not want -- namely racism. What has been less clear is what we do want and what our lives would be like if we lived in a

society that valued our richness in diversity. We are a society made up of diverse cultures, values and groups. But, we do not function as such. Racism is as real today as it was 100, 200, or 300 years ago. It has changed in form but not in function. On the one hand, society continues to keep people of color in a one-down position. The gap between Black and White has widened as an ever growing "under-class" grows. On the other hand, the past 30 years have brought changes. We no longer live in a dejure segregated society, and White only drinking fountains and resturants are a part of recent history. We must not, however, overlook our history and its lessons.

Lerone Bennett, Jr. (1981) describes the parallels between the first Reconstruction of the 1860s-1880s and the second Reconstruction of the 1960s to present. The first Reconstruction, which occurred soon after the Civil War, led to the passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, the Civil Rights Act, and the Voting Rights Act. As a result, Black pride increased in the 1870s and a substantial number of Blacks were elected as mayors, sherrifs, and as officials in other positions of authority. Louisians had a Black governor; South Carolina's legislature consisted of a Black majority, and there was speculation about a Black vice-presidential candidate. As the North pulled out of the South, a strong White backlash emerged. The new slogan was: "Emancipate the Whites." The Klan became more powerful, and the federal government began to retreat in its support of equality due partially to the negative White sentiment, a national economic

crisis, and the defection of White abolitionists who had previously supported change. By 1896, a conservative Supreme Court decided in the landmark case of Plessey v. Ferguson, that "separate but equal" was fair and just. In the second Reconstruction, which followed the Vietnam War, similar Civil Rights legislation was passed. As a result, there was an increased hope for equality. However, the rights and gains made in the past two decades have deteriorated rapidly in the 1980's. The Reagan administration's stand on Affirmative Action, busing, working to overturn Civil Rights legislation through the Supreme Court, and the lack of action on the part of the Justice Department shows us taking steps backwards.

Overt incidents of racism are becoming more common place in our cities, schools and communities. The Ku Klux Klan is active once again and yet is not seen as a threat to the very principles upon which this country is built. In 1986 at The Citadel in South Carolina, five White cadets donned sheets and burned a paper cross in the room of a Black student. A Black man was beaten by Whites and subsequently killed when hit by a car in Howard Beach, New York. California passed Proposition 64, which declares English the "official" language of the state. At a time when we should be expanding our multiracial and multilingual capabilities to deal more effectively with diversity, our society is becoming more entrenched. In Europe, a student speaking two languages is considered cultured; in California a student speaking two languages is seen as deficient. It is, therefore, quite possible that by 1996 legislation similar to Plessey v.

Ferguson could once again be a reality. Although this reality seems bleak, there is some hope. Many U.S. companies have continued to see the value-added in difference and are working hard to continue their Affirmative Action and multicultural efforts. Although some would like to return to a nation whose values are based solely on a White society, the reality is that we cannot return to "the way we were." What has stopped us from moving forward is the issue of racism and oppression and the lack of a true vision of how society could be different.

RACISM AND OPPRESSION

Racism can be defined in several ways. It can be examined from: (1) a view of power and control in our institutions; (2) the interplay of White culture and racism; and (3) individual forms of racism.

Racism: Power and Control

Racism is defined as containing both prejudice against a group of people and the power to reinforce that prejudice. The power can be social, economic, and political and includes the power to grant resources, to change structures, to reward and punish, to define standards, and to decide who's in, who's out, and what's important (Katz, 1978). In essence, having power means "the hand that giveth can taketh away."

In the United States, this has meant that issues of equality can be defined as important or unimportant depending on whether the people in power decide it's in their best interest to address these issues. Therefore, President Carter could say that

Affirmative Action was critical, whereas President Reagan can say it is a non-issue and blinds himself to the plight of people of color.

This dimension of racism denies reality and focuses on the victims of oppression, namely Blacks and other people of color. Therefore, the true power and emphasis for change is obscured. What is needed is for Whites to recognize the power they have and make efforts to create change. Rather than define racism as a Black, Hispanic, Asian or American Indian problem, it must be seen for what it really is -- a White problem (Katz, 1978). Whites who have positions of leadership and power must use these positions as a means of implementing change. Whites have supported the continuation of racism through their action and inaction, and must take responsibility to create change as well. This does not mean, however, that people of color have no responsibility. Blacks and other people of color in positions of leadership and power must also create change in whatever ways they can. They must do their part by dealing with ways in which they have internalized racism (Freire, 1972; Jackson & Hardiman, 1983) and ways in which they consciously or unconsciously collude to not address incidents or issues of racism (Baker, 1978). In these ways racism as a system is maintained (Miller, 1986).

Racism and White Culture

To understand racism thoroughly, we need to see how institutions and society work with an invisible layer of culture that keeps people of color out and most Whites in. It is

important to recognize how White culture permeates U.S. society's values, beliefs, and communication patterns. It is impossible to see the value-added of other cultures if Whites cannot see their own culture (Katz, 1985). Most often White Americans deny the existence of a White culture (Katz and Ivey, 1977). Many Whites define themselves by their ethnic identity (Irish, Italian, German), their religious identity (Christian, Catholic, Jewish), but rarely by their racial identity (White). Nonetheless, the White culture that exists in the synthesis of ideas, values, and beliefs coalesced from descendants of White European ethnic groups in the United States. White culture is the dominant cultural norm in the United States and acts as the foundation of our institutions. The truth is that the White cultural system is only one system and yet many believe it is the only system. This belief denies the reality that any other cultures can and do exist and that the others are as credible as the White culture system.

By understanding White culture, we can begin to see how that culture has become the basis for the norms by which institutions operate. A significant dilemma exists in our institutions and organizations which operate on norms and values that support White culture and at the same time expect people of color to feel valued and comfortable in these systems which mainly support Whites. Part of the challenge facing organizations and the United States is to grapple with the question of how systems would operate if White culture was not the one right way to be.

But before we explore that question, the following chart outlines a taxonomy of the key components of White culture:

Table I

The Components of White Culture: Values and Beliefs
(Katz 1986)

Rugged Individualism

Individual is primary unit
Individual has primary responsibility
Independence and autonomy highly valued and rewarded
Individual can control environment

Protestant Work Ethic

Working hard brings success

Competition

Winning is everything
Win/lose dichotomy

Action Orientation

Must master and control nature
Must always do something about a situation
Pragmatic/utilitarian view of life

Decision Making

Majority rule when Whites have power
Hierarchical
Pyramid structure

Communication

Standard English
Written tradition
Direct eye contact
Limited physical contact
Control emotions

Time

Adherence to rigid time schedule
Time is viewed as a commodity

Holidays

Based on Christian religion
Based on White History and male leaders

Progress and Future Orientation

Plan for Future
Delayed gratification
Value continual improvement and progress

Emphasis on Scientific Method

Objective, rational, linear thinking
Cause and effect relationships
Quantitative emphasis
Dualistic thinking

Table I -cont.-Status and Power

Measured by economic possessions
Credentials, titles and positions
Believe "own" system
Believe better than other systems
Owning goods, space, property

Family Structure

Nuclear family is the ideal social unit
Man is breadwinner and the head of the household
Woman is homemaker and subordinate to the husband
Patriarchal structure

History

Based on European immigrants' experience in United States
Romanticize war

Aesthetics

Music and art based on European culture
Women's beauty based on blonde, blue-eyed, thin, young
Men's attractiveness based on athletic ability, power, economic status

Religion

Belief in Christianity
No toleration for deviation from single god concept

This explication of White culture was developed by asking Whites and people of color to identify the key components of White culture. Although the White culture seems invisible, people of all racial groups quickly identified consistent components. Because individualism is a core value of White culture it is sometimes difficult for people to see how a network of beliefs exist within the White culture. And yet, the very notion of being an individual is a fundamental value within the culture. The notion of rugged individualism incorporates the belief that each person should be independent and autonomous and in control of the environment. Therefore, if we are all individuals, it makes it difficult to see our connection to others and to a shared culture. Another essential part of White culture is the belief that we must master and control nature. An example of this is watching how upset people in the United States are when they cannot control the weather, stop a volcano from erupting, or avoid the consequences of polluting our waters.

Our educational systems have taken on the White cultural norms of valuing "standard" English and the written tradition. Rarely would you see students being graded on their abilities to use oral communication as a way to demonstrate their learnings. Our emphasis in White culture on the scientific method has focused much attention on quantitative research that has as its basis a rational and linear approach. White society's emphasis on credentials, titles and positions as signs of status and power has led to a proliferation of bachelor's, master's, doctorates and post-doctoral degrees. We do not have to look far to see

curricula that holds Western civilization, history, music, art and literature as the ingredients for an educated person. Universities and other educational systems have fully incorporated White cultural norms and values as their basis. If we would look at the population makeup of university students, professors, and administrators, we see that they are predominantly White institutions. More often than not, the people of color who are there are seen as underprepared, less than qualified, labeled as high risk, and needing special attention. University activities support a White cultural focus in music, art, and theater. We question the need for Afro-American studies but never the over-emphasis on Western European studies in history. Institutions of higher education have been built on and incorporate White cultural norms and values, and in that way they reinforce and support racism. What is only a system has become the system. The invisible veil of culture has created a racist system. We as individuals have internalized much of what our culture has taught us; that internalization then leads to our own personal behaviors that support racism.

Racism: An Individual Definition

Based on a cultural system that focuses primarily on the individual, many define racism from an individual framework. This definition includes the belief in the superiority of one's own race over another (Jones, 1972). Personal attitudes and behaviors that create, foster or support maintaining an inferior/superior relationship between Whites and people of color are of utmost concern. This definition most closely resembles

that of racial prejudice. In a society which highly values the individual, it is more comfortable to maintain an individual definition and yet, such a definition does not adequately acknowledge the pervasiveness of the cultural and institutional dimensions. It is important then to recognize individual racism and to see it as an outgrowth of cultural racism and acknowledge how it supports and maintains institutional racism.

The most common example of individual racism can be found in attitudes expressed by individuals like Archie Bunker (Wellman, 1977). His overt expressions of Black inferiority and of White superiority is easily identifiable as individual racism. From such a framework, Blacks and other people of color are seen as physically and intellectually inferior to Whites.

However, this is not the only form of individual racism. Individual racism functions on a continuum from overt forms to more subtle dimensions. Laughing at, listening to, or telling racist jokes and racial slurs are forms of individual racism. On a more subtle scale, racism occurs when Whites avoid Blacks and other people of color by: ignoring the existence of issues of racism; living in White only areas; or by sending their children to private schools to avoid integration. Having learned to distrust people who are different, our individual racism also shows in our staying at a distance, avoiding honest feedback to someone for fear of being seen as racist or sexist, or in being overly polite. The messages learned are: "stay away," "don't get too close," and "don't trust." Our individual racism creates a double standard in which we negatively evaluate people of

color. A Black person who is late to a meeting is seen as late or lazy. A White person late to a meeting is assumed to be working on an important project and busy. Our filter of racism creates a lack of honesty and an inability to discuss these issues and learn the truth.

Our cultural socialization adds another layer to individual racism. Evaluating people of color based on White norms is a subtle operationalizing of individual racism. Whites may deny that a Black culture exists and prefer to define a Black person's behavior as the individual's behavior and not related to their cultural identity. At the same time Whites define Blacks as representatives of their group and evaluate whether or not an individual is "a credit to their race." Therefore, socialization in White culture inculcates a belief that White is normal and right. Whites may perceive the differences which exist between Whites and Blacks accurately; however, assign a negative interpretation to Black culture and continue to see White culture positively. Through parents, schools, media and other cultural and institutional systems such a belief is reinforced.

Finally, individual racism is operationalized through inaction. Individuals support racism by failing to confront and challenge the cultural, institutional, and individual acts of oppression that are seen. By doing nothing, remaining silent, we support the continuation of discrimination. Therefore, individual racism occurs in many forms: from overt acts of oppression to avoidance, to subtle reinforcements of name-calling

and joke-telling, to inaction. All are very real ways that individual racism continues to support the reality today.

From Monoculturalism to Multiculturalism: Two Models for Change

Organizations don't become multicultural overnight. As a change agent or a system committed to creating change, one must first have some sense of values or beliefs that serve as an underpinning for a change effort. Secondly, one needs models for understanding and managing such efforts. These serve as principles and processes which help a change agent know where and how to intervene to create a successful effort.

A Foundation of Belief

The foundation for developing multicultural and diverse organizations has several core beliefs:

1. Racism and sexism affect all people and systems.
2. The effects of racism and sexism hurt all individuals - White, Black, woman, man.
3. Racism and sexism negatively affect productivity.
4. It is possible to develop diversity and be different than we currently are.
5. It is important to identify the steps to developing diverse systems so that people have a road map to follow.
6. Organizations move through cycles, not linear processes.
7. Developing diversity is an organizational and cultural change agent.
8. Developing diversity causes people and systems to be upset.

9. Some organizations reach a point of change and get stuck, frightened, or feel done which limits their ability to move forward.
10. The change process must be managed by change agents in order to achieve the maximum benefits of the change.

To move organizations from being monocultural to multicultural, total systems change must occur (Jamison, 1978). Many of the efforts designed in the 1960s and 1970s were training interventions that made people aware and minimally changed behavior. What was missing was a comprehensive, systemic effort which addressed the norms, values and beliefs of the organization as a whole. Racism occurs on institutional, cultural and individual levels. Therefore, to create successful change, interventions must be targeted at all levels. A model of change developed by Bob Chin¹ looks at these three crucial dimensions.

Table II.

Model of Change - Bob Chin

<u>ISSUES</u>		<u>TARGET FOR CHANGE</u>
Who's in control? Decision Making Power Influence Economic Political Power	INSTITUTIONAL POWER	Structure Organization Policy Beyond Numbers Empowerment
Norms Values/Beliefs Communication Style Aesthetics	CULTURE	Organization culture explicit Identity own culture Appreciate others See value-added in others
Who am I? Attitudes Perceptions Impact on others	INDIVIDUAL	Interpersonal learnings Behavioral change

1. Institutions: At the institutional level, questions of power emerge. Who is in control? Who makes decisions? Organizational structure and policies need to be examined. The goal is to create a system that empowers all people within the organization.

These dimensions of power raise several critical questions. Namely, does being multicultural mean that people of color have shared and equal power? Does it mean representative power? Does it mean equal numbers? Is equality only for those who are the most visible and speak the loudest? Who decides? All stakeholders must resolve these questions in a collaborative way. One group cannot define for the other. If so, it will continue to create a discriminatory situation.

2. Culture: The major question becomes whose norms, values, beliefs, ways of communicating, styles of interacting, are seen as valid and useful? The dilemma that emerges is how do individuals and systems function when their cultural styles differ specifically, when: one culture values competition and another collaboration? one views time as a product and another time as a process? one follows a written tradition and another an oral? The challenge is to identify both one's own culture and values, and to be able to appreciate and see the value-added in other cultures. With that knowledge, the task is to create systems, to find ways that support a multitude of cultural styles. Some may think this an insurmountable task, yet multicultural and multiracial societies do exist. Canada since 1971, has officially committed itself to a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework (Anderson &

Frideris, 1981). Singapore prides itself on being a multiracial society composed of Chinese, Malayasian, and Indian people. It is common to see one television program in Chinese with Malayan subtitles, followed by a second program in English with Indian subtitles. Singapore identifies their strength in their ability to respond, value and to use their differences to empower their country.

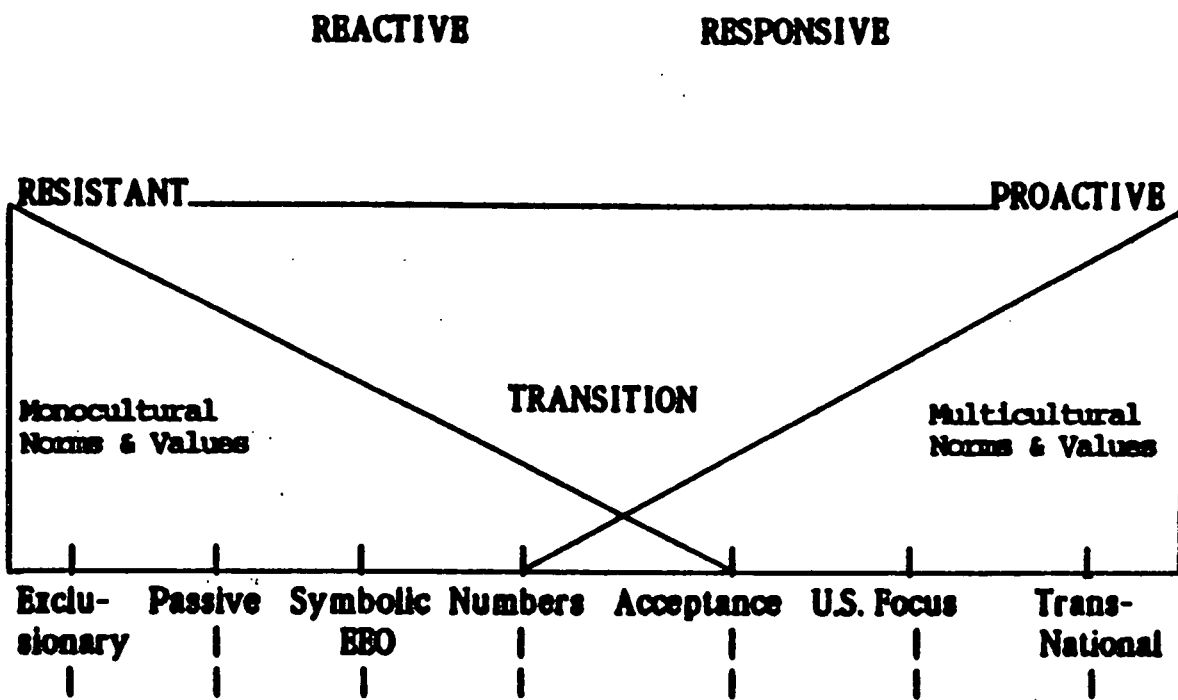
3. Individual: The final dimension which must be addressed to create successful change is our own individual and personal work. Denton Roberts (1975) identifies seven aspects or boundaries which form the gestalt of the individual: (1) the personal boundary - our attitudes, behaviors and perceptions or our core; (2) the sexual/gender boundary - our sense of our womaness/manness, our sexuality and sex roles; (3) the family boundary - the messages we received from significant family members about right and wrong, our notions of loving, of responding to strangers; (4) the racial and ethnic boundary - our racial identity (White, Black, Hispanic) and our ethnic identity (German, Italian, Puerto Rican); (5) the provincial boundary - our regional differences stemming from living in a rural or urban environment, the East, Midwest, or West Coast; (6) the socio-economic boundary - our experiences in being poor, low-income, middle class, or upper class; and (7) the cultural boundary - our national view based on growing up in the U.S., Japan, Kenya or Columbia. According to Roberts (1975), all of these dimensions are key components of who we are. At different times, different boundaries may be more central than others. However, each

dimension affects us and combines to create unique individuals. For us to effectively address issues of oppression and to be able to move to a multicultural society, understanding the effect of each dimension of our identity on ourselves and others is crucial.

Recognizing that changes must occur in terms of power, culture and within ourselves as individuals, we next turn to a presentation of a second model of change. This model outlines specific cycles of change necessary to successfully develop an organization's diversity.²

Table III:

A MODEL FOR DEVELOPING DIVERSITY



**WHITE
MALE
CLUB**

**AFFIRMATIVE
ACTION**

**MULTI-
CULTURAL**

People concerned with creating change will have a higher degree of success if they can: 1) diagnose where the system is along the continuum; 2) develop interventions appropriate to that diagnosis; and 3) help move the system along the continuum. Efforts often fail because the change agents failed to diagnose appropriately, created mistargeted interventions, or were so impatient that they attempted to move the system faster than it was capable of responding to.

This model presents how an organization developmentally moves from being an "exclusionary" monocultural system, whose goal it is to keep people of difference out, to a multicultural system that seeks out and values diversity.

1. The White Male Club

a) **Exclusionary**

The Exclusionary White Male Club maintains White male superiority. As a monocultural system, it excludes people who are not White and male. The belief is that only White men have value, and the system works to maintain a position of domination and superiority. "Sticking with your own kind" and seeing others who are different from the Club members as "bad" are the Club's explicit values. The exclusionary club has restrictive membership requirements and often uses secret handshakes, sayings, or initiation rites to protect the boundaries of who gets in and who is kept out. Examples of the exclusionary club include eating clubs and country clubs throughout the United States who have worked hard to maintain all male and all White membership.

More extreme examples include the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan.

b) Passive:

Within the Passive White Male Club is a goal to maintain White and male privileges through the organization's monocultural norms and values. The founders of these systems did not specifically or overtly decide to exclude women and people of color. Rather, they just conduct "business as usual" based on their cultural framework and values. Many of these organizations began as family businesses that saw themselves as a large extended family. The good old boys are "in" and White women and people of color can also be "in" if they assimilate into the White male model. There is little acknowledgement of people who are different except when they do something wrong. Most U.S. companies and institutions of higher education have been founded as passive White male clubs. They did not intend to discriminate or exclude people. They maintain a belief that they are open to White women and people of color as long as they meet "the standards." What often goes unrecognized is that "the standards" themselves benefit Whites and are founded on the values, norms and beliefs of White culture.

2. Affirmative Action

a) Symbolic Equal Employment Organization

At some point, organizations begin to realize that a White only system is insufficient. Much of this awareness was an

outgrowth of the '60s as legislation and litigation brought racism to White's attention. To be within the law, many systems began placing people of color and White women symbolically within their ranks. Although this is a step for the organization to change its composition, for many systems it remains as a token effort with little real change. The norms of the system remain monocultural (i.e., White and male), and the values reinforce that everyone should assimilate, and not challenge these norms. The organization wants "qualified minorities and women" to fit into the organization, play by the rules, and not make an issue of their race and gender. The symbolic Affirmative Action organization is reactive to the external environment, using the fear of lawsuits or loss of government contracts as a motivating factor for change. Within this system, there is a great deal of fear of differences which support White individuals' avoidance of the issues.

b) Numbers

As organizations become more serious about moving from monoculturalism to multiculturalism, they turn their attention to a more serious examination of their population makeup as a way to create change. For some organizations, this is still a result of external pressure to create Affirmative Action plans in return for federal contracts. Many organizations identify numerical goals only to be within the law, and do little else to follow through. Some organizations have made their targeted goals serve as a

quota or ceiling to limit the number of women and people of color in their ranks. As the federal government has lessened its pressure and concern for diversity, many organizations have filed away their Affirmative Action plans. Affirmative Action organizations that focus on numbers only can be misleading because many of them have revolving doors: people of color and White women get hired but never stay. They leave because the organization has failed to take the critical next step, which is to create a climate to support diversity. For other organizations, numbers are critical because they begin to believe that it is within their interest to have diversity. Numerical targets and goals are developed as a step to change the complexion of the working population. This means not only setting those targets, but actively recruiting women and people of color at all levels. At this stage organizations serious about creating a diverse work force take aggressive steps in their hiring procedures. They also begin to develop a tolerance for differences and believe that people of color and White women should have a place within the organization.

c) A Climate of Acceptance

As organizations continue efforts to become multicultural, the next step is to create a climate which supports diversity. To create such a climate, an organization must want to move beyond the numbers and begin to accept the differences that individuals and groups bring. Such an

organization focuses on the growth and development of people of color and women. Groups of women, Blacks or Hispanics within the organization develop their own coalitions and networks. Such coalitions are not seen as threatening or negative, but rather as supportive in helping those individuals develop their identity and strength. As a result, the organization becomes more responsive to the needs of its members and begins to address institutional forms of discrimination which may block people who are different from advancement.

This is a crucial transition point for the organization. Until this time in the organization's history, the norms and values of monoculturalism were firmly entrenched. As the organization moves forward and examines the possibility of accepting people of difference, it begins to face the real questions regarding power and culture and the need for those to change. The organizational norms are now in transition. There is a great deal of discomfort stemming from the fact that people have a clear sense that they no longer want racism, sexism, or other forms of oppression within the organization, but few clear models or visions of what they would be like if they were operating as a multicultural system. It is at this point that some organizations try to go back to "the way they were" and stop many of their efforts and programs to move forward. Those who do move forward, find themselves in uncharted waters which are frightening, scary, and exciting. This is a point where

many organizations stop. However, some chose to move forward and take the next step.

3. Multicultural Organizations

a) U.S. Focus:

The multicultural organization sees the value-added of its diversity and operates in ways that are multicultural. The system incorporates people of all races and both genders in ways that empower them as individuals and as groups. The style differences between women and men, Blacks and Whites are acknowledged and valued. Multicultural values and norms are institutionalized as racism and sexism once were. Multiculturalism is fundamentally connected to the organization's business, mission, values and purpose. The organization is multicultural not because it wants to "do social good," but because it recognizes the benefit of having diverse ideas, opinions and styles of operating. Diversity is seen as the organization's strength, allowing each person to be a full contributing member of the system. There is a belief that multicultural teams yield more creative, synergistic and effective outcomes. The organization recognizes that the development and maintenance of a multicultural organization is on-going. Therefore, it sees this work as a process and does not believe "it has arrived," but is prepared to continue to learn and grow on this and other issues as they emerge.

b) Transitional Focus

When an organization functions as a multicultural system in relationship to its interactions and makeup or individuals from the United States, it begins to look outside of its borders to its interactions with individuals of other nations. Such organizations realize the benefit of being transnational and multicultural. Namely, they apply their learnings from changing their monocultural system to a multicultural one to their interactions and work with clients overseas. The unique cultural aspects of individuals from other nations is seen as being additional value to productivity and problem solving. In order for this to become a reality, the organization may find itself following a similar path of growth: moving from being a monocultural United States "club"; to symbolically including individuals of other nations; to focusing on increasing multinational numbers; to creating a climate of acceptance; to being a multicultural system which sees the values added of transnational differences.

INTERVENTIONS FOR CHANGE

Diversity: From Concepts to Possibilities

Once we understand how racism operates on institutional, cultural and individual dimensions, we can take the next step and begin to imagine a world that can be different and multicultural. We need to see the value and opportunities in our diversity. What blocks us from envisioning such a world is our own conceptual traps. A conceptual trap is a way of thinking that is

like a room which - once inside - you cannot imagine a world outside (Dodson-Gray, 1982). Everett Mendelsohn, chair of the History and Science Department at Harvard University, asked MIT scientists if they could imagine science which was not dominated by maleness, elitism, profit-orientation, and relationship to war. Mendelsohn could imagine a different science, but the other scientists could not. His point was in order for change to occur, we need to step outside of our current experience and imagine a different world (Dodson-Gray, 1982). Christopher Columbus envisioned a world that was round when others thought it was flat. People imagined putting a person on the moon even before we knew about space travel. Technology has advanced by leaps and bounds. However, in the realm of human relationships and our ability to envision a world free from racism and other forms of oppression, we are in the Dark Ages. As long as we imagine that what has been is the way it has to be, oppression will remain the same. Our hope for change lies in a view that people, organizations and society can value its multicultural composition.

As early as the 1920s, educator and philosopher Horace Kallen (1956) developed a theory that saw pluralism as allowing people to exist both as independent and interdependent segments of society. He believed people could live in several cultural environments and move in and out freely from group to group. He saw pluralism or a multicultural society as fluid, creating unity through diversity. Hunter (1973) likened United States society and pluralism to a molecule. Each molecule has properties and

characteristics unique to its substance. However, it exists only as long as its atoms work together to maintain its existence. Each of the atomic units preserves its own unique characteristics, but the larger molecular structure does not survive without its contributing atoms. A multicultural society then: (1) sees people of all racial groups as bringing value-added to the workplace and society; (2) enables all people of color to make a contribution in their own way; (3) supports all individuals "owning" their cultural identity; and (4) develops institutions and organizational structures which are multicultural and diverse in power, numbers and climate. In a functionally multicultural society, people believe it is in their best interest to value the diversity that exists. by valuing people for their unique identity and enabling them to make their contribution, we can then strengthen our resources, problem-solving, decision-making and vitality as a nation (Katz and Torres, 1985).

How do we make the vision a reality? How can we help systems move from being monocultural to multicultural? What interventions are necessary?

Few multicultural organizations exist in the United States, but many organizations are moving in these directions. Following is a discussion of interventions that help move systems from one stage to the next.

1. The White Male Club

A first step in motivating the White Male Club to change is to identify how it may be in legal jeopardy. The cost of

being a monocultural organization can be very real in terms of lawsuits. The lack of exposure the employees have to people of difference may limit the organization's ability to serve its customers or adequately develop products to meet growing markets.

At this stage a helpful strategy is to bring in human relations training programs and concepts that are designed to make the workplace more humane overall. Making White men aware of how their own differences may not be valued within a team helps them understand the necessity of including and valuing others who may bring substantial differences of race and gender to a group. Making implicit dimensions of racism explicit is critical. A useful approach can be to conduct White-on-White groups to explore the realities of racism (Katz, 1978). These groups are designed to help White people learn about racism in systematic ways that address institutional, cultural, and individual dimensions. The program creates awareness and action in ways that help Whites learn in positive ways (Katz, 1978). Most important is to find pockets of readiness within the organization that are willing to begin work.

2. Affirmative Action

a) **Symbolic Equal Employment Opportunity**

To help move systems from being symbolic EEO systems, it is important to increase the number of people of difference in

the organization. Bringing together groups of people of color and White women to examine the realities of discrimination in the system helps end isolation and the invisible nature of the individuals, groups and the issues. Discussions can address dimensions of discrimination and obstacles for advancement. As a result, the organization can develop more equitable salary scales, non-discriminatory job assignments, and non-discriminatory policies and practices. Educational events that make explicit how institutional racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination function within society and the system are useful interventions.

b) Numbers

To make numerical targets realities, managers need to be accountable for creating both goals and a supportive environment. Organizations need to take steps to be proactive in hiring, recruiting and the development of promotion plans for people of color and White women. Establishing timetables and projections for hiring help organizations realize their goals and bring an end to the revolving door. Mentoring and coaching systems and establishing career ladders for people of color and White women need to be considered as part of an effective manager's job. Assigning people of color and White women to managers' who are good at developing people, who value differences, and who actively support the vision of a

multicultural organization will help an organization increase and retain the numbers of diverse people within its ranks.

c) Climate of Acceptance

To create a climate that is accepting of diversity, the organization must encourage the development of support groups, networks, and coalitions for people of color and White women. Each person's job should include a responsibility to create such an environment and used in the development and evaluation of performance reviews. Rules, procedures and policies which support a multicultural organization must be established, and swift action must occur when individuals have violated the rules. Educational events that help people accept difference should take place. Finally, a group of people in the organization, who continue to support and help the organization grow in relation to its diversity, should be established. This group helps to monitor issues of oppression within the organization and assists with helping the organization become more multicultural in its operations. Such a group should itself be diverse, including people of color and Whites, women and men.

3. Multicultural Organization

A major shift occurs in an organization when it moves from a position of "tolerating" or accepting differences, to seeing the value-added of difference. The differences in style

that people bring are seen as important to the organization's successful operation. The organization is spending less energy fighting racism and sexism and more time working to positively develop and value its diversity. Discussions no longer focus on how to avoid discrimination, but rather on what is the value of each of our cultural styles, and how can we best bring them to enhance a team.

To make the vision a reality, the organization must develop a long-term three to five-year strategic plan. The organization needs to tie multiculturalism as a goal to business efforts and mission. Top management should reflect diversity in color and gender, and model the values and norms of being different. Events that educate people about style differences and build diverse teams are ways to operationalize the value-added dimension in people's work. As the organization moves toward being multicultural, there is a greater ability for individuals to be honest, confront and challenge one another and the system. There is less fear of being labeled as racist or sexist, and more of a willingness to trust and support each other as individuals and groups who are learning about their differences. At this point in the organization's life, Affirmative Action programs, targets, and goals are seen as helpful means to creating a new organizational culture, but not the end point itself. In this environment, individuals can grow to their fullest potential and make their unique contribution. Differences between groups are valued and do not act as

barriers. Finally, as an organization begins realizing itself as a multicultural system in the United States, it follows similar steps to deal with diversity in the international arena.

TRAPS TO BECOMING A MULTICULTURAL ORGANIZATION

As organizations become multicultural, certain traps block successful change (Katz & Miller, 1986A).

Trap # 1: Short-term training will do

Short-term training programs have been one common approach to addressing racism and sexism. These efforts name the issues as a problem to be solved vs. a process to be worked. Many universities have taken their students, faculty, and administrators through one-time, eight-hour workshops and believe that the problems have been resolved. This event-centered training approach does little more than put a band-aid on the issues and gives people some sense of awareness. This strategy mainly emphasizes individual learning and neglects the development of a long-term vision for the system at large.

Part of this trap results from using several external consultants to address issues of racism and sexism. If each new consultant must learn about the system, no one ever has a chance to get past the superficial layers. The system looks as if it is actively addressing the issues and can point to all the in-service training events that have taken place. However, no substantial change will occur because no one consultant is in the system long enough to see how the

norms and values need to change. Superficial attempts also occur when organizations try to cover all the "isms" lightly instead of working on one or two critical issues in depth. What is needed is a total system approach that examines how the fabric of the organization can be changed to incorporate multicultural values and norms.

Trap #2: No bottom-line, no vision, no values

This trap occurs when efforts to address multicultural issues stem from a belief that it is socially "the right thing to do." There is no sense of how multiculturalism ties to the mission of the system. For example, a university may see the necessity of hiring Blacks and other people of color in order to support equal employment opportunity. The university makes the effort because it is attempting to support the dream of equality and to "help" Blacks and other people of color. Within this missionary mentality is an anger or resentment when people of color are not grateful for these efforts. To support multiculturalism, the university must recognize how a diverse population will create a quality education that will enable all students to be more effective when they graduate from higher education. Namely, the more all students, Black-White, women-men, can be exposed to differences, value these differences, and learn from them, the more they will be able to effectively deal with the complexity of the world as they have the academic world. Multiculturalism must, therefore, be seen

as a critical aspect of the mission, purpose and values of the university.

Trap #3: Perceptions don't count - Data, data and more

One way individuals block the development of a multicultural system is by repeatedly requesting data about the problem. To understand the magnitude of the problem, a person asks for more research to prove a problem exists. The reliance on data obscures the hurt and pain people experience in real life. As Peters and Waterman (1982) point out, perceptions are real and need to be taken as such. This trap is particularly obvious in higher education, which relies on quantitative research and studies as a way to "prove" reality. Many believe that a logical approach will cure racism. This blocks significant dialogue and action. Organizations need to treat perceptions as real and to make a commitment to more action, not more research.

Trap #4: Waiting for a key person - or - If only so and so would change

By looking to the top of the organization and waiting for the lead person to show the way, individuals stop themselves from taking action. A stalemate, or institutional inertia occurs (Katz, 1981). Waiting for key persons or pointing to individuals who are not changing allows others to stay stuck. What is needed is to find the opportunities for change and the power individuals have to create change. For example, people working in residence life may say they can do nothing until the president of the

university declares a commitment to becoming multicultural. However, those in residence life could develop their own staff as a model of multiculturalism and, thereby, influence the students living in their halls. Similarly, staff members involved in planning activities for college unions can also influence students to develop multicultural activities and clubs which reflect a commitment to diversity.

Trap #5: Let's not upset anyone

Cries of "reverse discrimination" often stop change efforts. Such outbursts are really positive signs that the system and the rules are changing. When people of color and women are upset in an organization, few people seem concerned. When White men begin to feel the change, efforts often stop. To deal with this trap, those involved in the change must be prepared to respond to cries of "reverse discrimination" as a positive sign of change and help individuals understand how the system is changing and how they can adapt to the new rules.

Trap #6: Isolation - or - Let Affirmative Action or
 Afro-American Studies Take Care of It

Issues of diversity are often left to one function within the system who then gets labeled as the caretaker of the effort. Each department must incorporate a multicultural perspective into its work. It isn't enough to offer one course related to multicultural issues; multiculturalism must become part of the fabric of all

curricula. Similarly, multicultural efforts in hiring should not be isolated in the Affirmative Action office. Each department and administrative function needs to be concerned with both its numbers of diversity and its climate. In this way, becoming a multicultural organization is a shared responsibility.

Trap #7: The Divide and Conquer

Another common trap occurs when women and people of color perceive the pie as only being so large and decide they must fight one another for their piece of it. Each group limits the resources available to them by failing to challenge the perception that White men "own the pie and the system." White women and people of color believe they must somehow take what is left over or given to them. The perception of White men's ownership of the system needs to be challenged. Groups of White women and people of color need to develop networks, support systems and to reinforce their coalitions. They must recognize the need for them to have unity in their diversity and collaboratively work for change.

Trap #8: Let's Nibble the Effort and the Consultant

In efforts to create a multicultural organization it is easier to see what is wrong, what is missing, and what is not happening than to focus on where change has taken place. Individuals often nibble (Jamison, 1984) at whatever steps are being taken by constantly criticizing the path and the individuals involved. This is based on an assumption that

there is one right way to create multicultural change. It would be wonderful if that were true. However, the reality is that issues of racism and attempts to create diversity have a long and complex history. Criticism of both the efforts for change and the individuals involved with those efforts creates more frustration and slows down the process. People concerned with creating change must see what is being changed in a positive way and to celebrate those successes and changes (Shepard, 1985). Documentation of how a system has changed can assist people in not losing sight of the positive changes. Some people feel that change will occur only when the staunch, hard-core racists "see the light." However, this belief often keeps systems stuck from making change where possible. Instead concentrating efforts on the pockets of readiness and changing parts of the organization, others who seem more entrenched will be pressured to change as well.

Trap #9: Intent versus Effect

Many systems feel more comfortable focusing on their intentions to address racism than the outcome. Intentions to have a non-racist or multicultural organization are an important start but they are not enough. It is not the intent to be non-racist or multicultural, but rather the effect that counts. Many systems fall into the trap of focusing solely on their intentions and little on behavior and the outcome of those actions. Whether active or inactive, our actions (or lack thereof) make a statement

about our values and attitudes. Only action makes a difference. The effect of our policies, behaviors and attitudes must, therefore, be clearly designed to eradicate racism and foster a positive multicultural system.

Trap #10 Let's Include All Diversity - or - The World View

In the attempt to create a multicultural organization, a dilemma arises about which group should receive the most attention. This trap usually rears its head during the time of transition when an organization feels the pressure of moving from numbers to climate. At this stage the organization begins to question and address other isms. Addressing all issues of oppression is critical. However, attempting to cover all of them at once can create a superficial intervention. What is needed is to work one or two issues in depth as a way to move the organizational norms and values, and then other issues will more easily be addressed. It is important to not "change horses in midstream," but rather to see the multicultural effort through. Once the value-added of diversity is part of the fabric of the organization, understanding other forms of oppression is facilitated.

Trap #11 Change Agent Burnout

One way to stop a successful change effort is to have one individual responsible for multicultural work. Others will view the work as that individual's, not as an organizational agenda. When that person leaves or becomes

overloaded, the effort stops. Change agents burn out because there are few rewards or support for such work. Labelling multicultural work as Affirmative Action can also leave the change agent in a dilemma of cross-purposes: protecting the institution from lawsuits or helping the organization to develop a climate that incorporates and supports diversity. Individuals involved with change must be part of a system-wide change effort and receive support and reward for their work. Their work in assisting the organization to become non-multicultural must be defined as helping the organization achieve its mission and purpose.

Trap #12: The Myth of the Happy Ending

The final trap occurs when people believe that working on issues of diversity is a short-term project and that once the organization is rid of this problem it can get on with its life. The efforts are not seen as a process and there is an assumption that no new issues will emerge. Gloria Steinem made a poignant point when addressing an audience in Oklahoma regarding the passage of the ERA. She said many of us believed we would address racism and sexism for about 10 years and then move on with our lives. However, the reality is that these efforts are part of a thin red line that has existed throughout history and we must continue to create change in our own way. We, therefore, must recognize that our efforts to help organizations and ourselves become more multicultural are part of a process and are not a problem to be solved. If we hope that by undertaking this work we will

live happily ever after, we are setting ourselves up to be severely disappointed.

WHAT IS NEEDED

To respond successfully to the traps and to create multicultural organizations, the following activities are needed.

1. Develop a long-term vision including a total systems change with built-in accountability.
2. Connect the value-added of diversity and multiculturalism to the bottom line, mission, and values of the organization. How will this effort's success make the organization and its people more effective and productive?
3. Recognize that individual's perceptions and feelings are data - and begin to take action on that reality. Stop conducting more studies of the problem and why people of difference have not moved as far. Start creating long-term plans to create change.
4. Move around, under, between key people who seem stuck. Use whatever rhetoric or support they give you as an opportunity to help the change effort.
5. Prepare to respond to backlash as a sign of positive change.
6. Develop organization-wide support for the effort by involving a broad base of key individuals and groups in both support and line functions.
7. Help color and gender groups to get a sense of their individual and collective issues. Develop networks and support groups that are homogenous and heterogenous.

8. Call nibbles when you see or hear them. Look for and acknowledge the positive signs of change. Get people who care involved in a constructive way that supports the change effort.
9. Focus on the effect of actions.
10. Stay on the course, working first United States issues of diversity. As norms change to embrace a more multicultural focus, begin to address transnational cultural dimensions through a planned change effort.
11. Build support systems. Don't do it alone. Find others in the organization to carry the load and be invested in the changed effort. Celebrate your successes.
12. Recognize that these issues are a process not a product. Namely, there will be new issues emerging. Be prepared to see this as an on-going effort in the life of the organization.

IMPLICATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Racism exists both in subtle and overt ways on U.S. campuses. Faculty and staff who continue to see students of color as deficient in academic skills and, therefore, justify why they should not attend universities are examples of blatant prejudice. Beliefs that minority students should feel grateful to be able to attend an institution of higher education, and, therefore, should not make waves reinforce a prejudiced view. On many campuses, there is increased isolation and segregation in the social activities, living situations and interactions between Blacks and Whites. Special programs, such as the Equal

Opportunity Program designed to help low-income students at many campuses, translate to an assumption that all people of color are part of such a program. Similarly, there is an assumption held by many White students, faculty and staff that all minority students are on financial aid. There is little recognition or perception, however, of the numbers of White students receiving financial support. A belief that minority students are lowering academic standards still permeates our higher education institutions.

Racism is viewed as a "minority" problem. Racism is seen as a problem only when minorities are present or voice their concern. What is not seen or recognized is the power that Whites have and the White cultural assumptions upon which the university is built. Racism exists in the structures and culture of academia whether or not people of color are present. Expecting people of color to assimilate to White universities' cultural norms fuels the fire. Many academicians believe inaction, avoidance or a non-direct approach to the issues is non-racist behavior. They assume that racists are only those who are overt in their attitudes and behaviors. Yet, they somehow define the concerns and needs of people of color as special and White student groups concerns and needs as normal. Taking a color-blind approach further negates the strengths of people of color or the valuable learning all could have from their differences (Seldon, 1980).

Faculty and staffs of U.S. colleges and universities are predominantly White and male. Top level administrators and deans do not adequately reflect our country's diversity. Course

content still extols the accomplishments of White theorists and processes. Courses that address issues related to diversity are often electives. Few universities have a goal of developing students' ability to work and interact effectively with diverse populations as part of their core curriculum. From art to zoology, in theory and practice, the notion that "White is right," still predominates in our "ivory" towers and ivy-covered walls.

The culture surrounding our universities continues to reinforce the White only view. Social activities planners often consider White rock-and-roll as the appropriate music. The artists, musicians, and theater brought to campuses are still fundamentally those of interest to White audiences. Events featuring more diverse groups are seen as events mainly for minority students. In many college unions, minority students are expected to reach out and come to White officials and clubs; but Whites are not willing and often fearful to reciprocate.

A university considering a move from monoculturalism to multiculturalism must begin to recast its mission. The university must see its purpose as educating students by expanding their outlooks, broadening their perspectives and reducing their misconceptions about people who are different (Harvey, 1981). Addressing racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression means preparing students for the world that they will have to face as we move toward the 1990s and beyond. Institutions of higher education must stop being archaically slow systems in their efforts to change and become leaders who truly

"educate" their students. Key people within the university must speak to and model a concern for valuing diversity. A new definition of educated must be developed which includes the belief that an educated person is able to work effectively in diverse contexts and with diverse peoples. The university itself must be a model for the values and norms it is trying to create. Traditions that support racism and other forms of oppression are replaced by new traditions that support and draw from our differences. To effectively move from a monocultural to a multicultural system, university administrators develop long-range strategic plans to identify goals and methods.

Universities and colleges which value diversity develop reward systems to support individuals and groups facilitating movement in this direction. Their policies and practices are free from overt and covert racism and sexism. These systems have diverse faculty and staff at all levels. A positive sense of racial and gender identity is fostered for all people. Whites have a positive sense of their White identity as do people of color. Finally, such universities see it in their best interest to become models for multiculturalism. Their efforts improve the quality of education for all students.

If we are to compete in the world and successfully address the speed of technological change and population change, we can no longer maintain our biases. Universities must begin to take seriously their charge of preparing the next generation. This charge means more than just career preparation. It means creating the kind of people who will have the skills and

knowledge to lead us through the 21st century. Without such forward thinking, we will find ourselves trailing in the world. Addressing and becoming multicultural is not a frivolous or insignificant task. It is our survival. If we can recognize the value of our diversity and build upon our strengths, we can succeed as a nation. Martin Luther King once said that it is not our conflict with the Soviet Union and the communist threat that will destroy the United States, rather it is our unwillingness to face the color issue and to find ways to value our diverse nation's resources that will be our demise. We must move beyond inaction and rhetoric to create change. Higher education can lead the way.

NOTES

1. This model was developed by Bob Chin and presented at a Human interaction workshop sponsored by NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Sciences, July 1985, in Bethel, Maine.

2. This model was originally developed by Bailey Jackson, Rita Hardiman and Mark Chesler (1981) "Racial Awareness Development in Organizations." Amherst, MA: New Perspectives. Unpublished manuscript. Adapted by Judith Katz and Frederick A. Miller (1986).

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