TEACHING CRITICAL THINKING THROUGH CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE TAKING: POTENTIAL INSIGHTS FOR THE ASIAN CRITICAL THINKING MOVEMENT FROM U.S. MULTI CULTURAL EDUCATION REFORM

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What is critical thinking? When we teach critical thinking what is it that we wish students to learn? Is critical thinking culture specific? Recent Asian interest in transforming Asian higher education and school curricula to include critical thinking, and the subsequent difficulties experienced by Asian and western educators alike in teaching critical thinking to Asian students, have spawned a new round of educational debate over the nature of critical thinking, its desirability, and even its possibility in Asian cultures (Hongladarom 1998, Atkinson 1997).

The emerging Asian debate over whether or not critical thinking is culture specific is reminiscent of the American debate over whether or not critical thinking is domain specific (Ennis 1988, 1987; McPeck 1990a, 1990b, 1985, 1981; Kinach and Moore 1991). The debate over the domain-specificity of critical thinking played out pedagogically

on American university campuses in curriculum debates over the desirability of generic versus discipline-specific critical thinking courses. One important insight to emerge from the pedagogical debate was the realization that specific instruction was needed for students to transfer critical thinking learned in one academic subject to another because critical thinking abilities such as analysis or synthesis or evaluation were too vague as terms to distinguish, for example, among "analysis" of a chemical compound, an argument, a word, an opponent's weakness in a tennis match, or a political situation in the Middle East (Ennis, 1987). Researchers found moreover that students were more successful in their academic coursework and writing assignments if their instructors made the style of disciplinary argumentation explicit for them (Coulomb, 1988). Overall the pedagogical reality suggested that while generic critical thinking abilities might exist, their character was significantly masked by the the context of thinking so as to make teaching for transfer necessary across disciplines.

Because the philosophical debate over the domain-specificity of critical thinking was narrowed or partially resolved from the pedagogical reality of having to teach critical thinking to students, I suggest in this article that the Asian debate over the cultural specificity of critical thinking may glean potentially useful insights from the pedagogical problem of having to teach critical thinking in a culture whose values seemingly oppose critical thinking itself. In particular, this article suggests an experiential way of pedagogically introducing the very idea of something alien to a culture as a way

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for Asian educators to go about teaching critical thinking in Asian educational contexts despite the apparent incompatibility between critical thinking and traditional Asian beliefs and value systems (Hongladarom 1998).

The pedagogy for teaching critical thinking through cultural perspective taking that I propose in this paper is rooted in lessons learned from the multicultural education movement at American universities. In section one of this paper, I describe this movement which aimed to infuse multicultural perspectives into what was essentially a monocultural university curriculum. In particular, I refer to American educators' efforts during the eighties and early nineties to infuse "outsider" racial, cultural, and gender perspectives into the dominant Eurocentric curriculum. Because the essential tension in the U.S. multicultural education movement was a conflict of cultural values, it seems likely Asian educators will find the curricular resolution of these tensions of interest, and potentially useful for understanding the sorts of incremental changes the Asian curriculum is likely to undergo to incorporate this "outsider" critical thinking perspective.

In section two of the paper, I describe a pedagogy for teaching critical thinking through cultural perspective taking and the shortfalls of the U.S. multicultural education reform movement leading to its design (Kinach & Moore, 1993). The aim of this pedagogical approach is to shift the emphasis in multicultural education from "information about cultures" to "critical thinking and problem solving in different cultural contexts." The pedagogy rests on a broad working defi-

nition of critical thinking as "reasonable reflective thinking that is focused on deciding what to believe or do (Ennis, 1987). The pedagogy aims to develop both critical thinking dispositions and abilities, in particular the dispositions of looking for alternatives and being open minded and the critical thinking abilities of cultural perspective taking, comparison of cultural perspectives involving the seeing of similarities and differences, and integrating or synthesizing competing cultural perspectives to resolve some realistic cultural issue or problem. In its sequencing of coursework and learning experiences, the approach also applies theories of intellectual and ethnic development.

Section three of the paper details the theoretical underpinnings of this pedagogical model (Kinach and Moore, 1993). Finally, the paper concludes with a summary of the intellectual benefits of the model commenting specifically on its possible use in Asian educational contexts where critical thinking as an educational goal seems, at first glance, to be at odds with traditional Asian cultural values.

I. Recent Curriculum Trends in American Multicultural Education at the Baccalaureate Level

As I have said, the challenges U.S. educators encountered during the multicultural education movement offer potential insights for Asian educators facing similar, but not identical, difficulties in the effort to teach critical thinking in a culture whose values seemingly oppose this educational goal. What Asian reformers may gain from the fol-

lowing brief account of incremental changes in the U.S. curriculum are insights into the sorts of changes they may want to refine and then plan for (or plan to avoid) in the Asian curriculum.

Highly publicized by its coverage in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, the Stanford University debate about introducing a non-western perspective into the undergraduate general education core exemplifies the practical difficulties and strong ideological opposition that advocates of multicultural education encountered on American university and college campuses during the eighties. The key issue in the Stanford debate was the canon (Banks 1993). Whereas opponents of multiculturalism argued that Western civilization was the cornerstone of the curriculum and should be preserved (Bloom 1987), multiculturalists maintained that voices outside the western tradition contributed equally valuable perspectives, and ought to be part of the canon (Banks 1993, Asante 1991, Asante and Ravitch 1991, Conrad and Hayworth 1990, Minnich 1990, Delpit 1988, Harding 1986). The degree to which infusion of these “outsider” voices changed the canon — its fundamental assumptions, claims, and perspectives — was the crux of the academic debate over the content and aims of multicultural education in this period (Banks 1993, Conrad and Haworth 1990).

Other less “intrusive” ways of infusing “outsider” voices into the university curriculum paved the way for the canon debate during the 1980s. Indeed, the historic roots of the U.S. debate over multicultural education can be traced back further to the Ethnic Studies pro-

grams of the sixties. These programs, which were launched in the aftermath of the U.S. civil rights movement and designed to educate members of “minority” groups about their own culture, can be viewed as the first attempts to include outsider voices in the baccalaureate curriculum. Nevertheless these programs did not change the dominant curriculum. Like the Women’s Studies programs which followed during the 1970s, Ethnic Studies programs were simply additions to the traditional list of university concentrations. Gradually, however, as the social benefits of cultural awareness were recognized, cross-cultural courses emerged as elective choices in the curriculum to educate members of different cultures about each other. Eventually, during the eighties and nineties, even these cross-cultural courses were considered too limited of a curricular offering, and efforts were made to incorporate multicultural education into the baccalaureate experience for all university students. Since not all students could major, or concentrate, in ethnic or women’s studies, nor would students necessarily elect to take a cross-cultural course, institutions approached the problem of multicultural education for all American college students through the general education component of the university curriculum, requiring all students to take at least one multicultural issues course as part of their graduation requirement.

Gaff (1990, 1991) reports that during the widespread General Education Reform movement of the 1980s in the U.S., 100% of the institutions surveyed added a multicultural requirement to their general education program. Fifty-three percent of the institutions surveyed changed their

general education requirement by adding *one or two* "non-western culture" courses to the core curriculum. Examples of such courses include Latin American or African-American history courses, cross-cultural psychology courses, or literature courses focused on the writings of authors like Neruda or Angelou who at the time were considered "outsiders" to the traditional western canon. An especially intriguing example is the cultural exchange experience provided by a course called *The Bi-racial Undergraduate Experience* at Louisiana State University in which undergraduates learn first-hand about life in the homes of other racial groups. The *Chicago Tribune* reports the experience of one white student who while living in the home of an African-American family for a semester, participated in a full range of family-life activities from shopping and preparing meals to singing in the gospel choir and having conversations with family members that made her more sensitive her own stereotypical ways of viewing black females as well as to the social conditions affecting black persons (Thomas 1993).

Gaff reports that the remainder of the institutions surveyed adopted an *across-the-curriculum* approach to undergraduate multicultural education. This approach incorporates non-western perspectives into targeted liberal arts courses in the general education core. Typically students complete from two to four of these courses to fulfill their graduation requirement. Some interesting examples of across-the-curriculum approaches include the Academic Improvement Program (AIP 1991) which California State University adopted between 1981 and 1988 to introduce cross-

cultural issues and perspectives into the multiple-campus curriculum. Another example of an across-the-curriculum model is the teacher education program at Baruch College. This program maximizes the diversity New York City has to offer, while also experimenting with a developmental approach to multicultural education in which the entering first-year cohort begin their study of diversity in a series of courses, beginning at the first level with art and music courses focused on the different cultural backgrounds of students in the class, proceeding at the second level to cultural study in literature and history courses, and culminating in more theoretical discussions about diversity and culture in sociology courses (Project 30 1990).

Insertion versus infusion. The above analysis suggests that two approaches to multicultural education — insertion and infusion — were in use by reformers during the eighties (Kinach and Moore 1993). The single multicultural-course-requirement exemplifies *the insertion approach* to multicultural education in which the existing (or dominant) curriculum remains in tact while (outsider) multicultural courses are added on to the curriculum. The advantages of such an approach are obvious. For one, students of color, women, the handicapped, and members of other groups outside the mainstream "see" themselves in the curriculum, making it easier for them to relate to the university course of study. For another, with the addition of multicultural issues courses, faculty gain an important opportunity to develop new scholarship in such areas as women's studies and Afro-American history. A similar argument might be made for the ethnic studies major, or

concentration. However, because the ethnic studies major and the multicultural course requirement were simply added to the university curriculum using the insertion approach, their potential for challenging traditional western values in the curriculum were never realized thereby leaving the values of the traditional curriculum in tact. By comparison, the across-the-curriculum approach, which Gaff reported as an alternative to the multicultural-course requirement, exemplifies *the infusion approach* to multicultural general education. In this approach, the perspectives of other cultures find their way into all (or at least the majority of) discipline-based courses in the general education curriculum. The advantage of this approach is that students get more exposure to multicultural issues meeting them in more than one course before they graduate.

II. A Pedagogical Approach to Resolve Shortfalls in Multicultural Education Reform

The model of multicultural education proposed in this article challenges the curricular trend in recent General Education reform of “adding a multicultural course requirement” (Gaff 1991). A shortfall of this trend is that it sets multicultural issues “apart from” the rest of the curriculum. This separation has the effect of making the multicultural ideas “different from” ideas in mainstream courses which translates for students into “less important than” or “not being relevant all of the time” (Kinach and Moore 1993).

In theory, the “across-the-curriculum” approach addresses this problem of sepa-

rate courses by infusing cultural perspectives into several mainstream courses. Nevertheless as practiced, the across-the-curriculum approach oftentimes falls short of the ideal of multicultural education because the values of the dominant curriculum typically remain in tact and the cultural content added to courses often is limited to information about cultural traditions, holidays, and cuisine (Banks 1993). The ideal educational outcome (at least from the perspective of the multiculturalists mentioned earlier) would be for the “outsider” perspective to challenge the mainstream assumptions and viewpoints of students to promote both a deeper understanding of the “outsider” culture and the ability to act with discernment in intercultural situations.

The proposed curricular model and pedagogy addresses this shortcoming of recent multicultural education reform. By broadening the content of baccalaureate multicultural studies to include *cultural perspective-taking* and *cross-cultural problem-solving* as well as *basic information about cultures* (i.e., their arts, history, heroes, music, literature etc.), mainstream ideas become one of several potentially legitimate perspectives from which to view social issues and problems. This openness to other perspectives, and the discernment required to choose among perspectives, are among the critical thinking dispositions and abilities Asian and other educators seek to develop to prepare students to function successfully in our increasingly information-oriented and interculturally networked global society (Hongladarom, 1998; Stedman, 1997; Newell and Green, 1981). Moreover

because the proposed pedagogy is based on a constructivist philosophy of learning, students are given opportunities to learn at deeper levels through *experiencing* cultural perspectives different from their own in realistic situations where they are asked to collaborate and resolve the tension conflicting worldviews oftentimes create (Kinach, in press).

Another shortfall of baccalaureate multicultural education reform which the proposed model addresses is the lack of attention to theories of ethnic development for college students. The proposed model follows the stages of ethnic development proposed by Banks (1988). For example, the ordering of the freshman multicultural seminar in the first year which is focused on developing individuals' awareness of their own ethnic identity and the cross-cultural field experience of years two and three follows Banks' suggestion that the development of an individual's own ethnic identity precedes their ability to operate successfully in another culture. While it is recognized that participating in another culture can help to clarify an individual's own cultural values and perspectives, the course sequencing in the proposed model is designed to strengthen students' own ethnic identity before asking them to function in another cultural setting.

The course sequencing and objectives of the model also align with Perry's (1970) stages of intellectual development for college students. For example, courses are explicitly designed to teach students who are dualistic thinkers (i.e., those students who tend to see knowledge and behavior as either right or

wrong) to appreciate the perspectives and values of other cultures and to act with discernment in intercultural situations. Recent research indicates how vital this critical thinking disposition of tolerance is for the professions. For example, research in the field of teacher education indicates how intercultural field experiences often solidify, rather than ameliorate, teacher candidates' cultural stereotypes. Open dialogue and the free exchange of ideas, beliefs, and values have been found to be vital for moving these dualistic thinkers along the scale of Perry's stages of intellectual development to multiplistic thinking where individuals at least will *acknowledge* the validity of perspectives other than their own (Grant 1993, 1981).

In sum, the across-the-curriculum model of multicultural education proposed in this article goes beyond the current practice of conceiving multicultural content to mean *basic information about cultures*, and expands the educational goals of baccalaureate multicultural education to include the development of critical thinking abilities (cultural perspective-taking, comparison of cultural perspectives, and cross-cultural problem solving through the synthesis of different but compatible cultural perspectives) and critical thinking dispositions (looking for alternative viewpoints and being open minded). The theory for this curricular model draws from five recent higher education curriculum reform efforts: (1) lessons about curricular sequencing from the gender balance movement of the 1970s (Van Dyne and Schuster 1984); (2) lessons about a pedagogy for teaching critical thinking through perspective taking from interdisciplinary studies

(Newell and Green 1981); (3) lessons about the teaching of thinking in value contexts from the critical thinking movement (Ennis 1987; Lipman 1989; Paul 1989); and (4 and 5) theories of ethnic (Banks 1988, 1989) and intellectual (Perry 1970, Belenky et al 1986) development.

A Curricular Model and Pedagogy for Teaching Critical Thinking through Cultural Perspective Taking

The proposed curricular model for teaching critical thinking through cultural perspective taking uses an across-the-curriculum approach to infuse multicultural critical thinking into a four-year university curriculum (Figure 1). Not all courses in the university curriculum are affected by the model. Only select courses in the general education core, i.e., the portion of the university curriculum taken by all baccalaureate students, are targeted to be re-designed by infusing the multicultural critical-thinking perspective. Non-targeted courses in the general education core are simply infused with information about other cultures. In other words, these latter courses remain at what scholars have called the “add and stir” stage of curriculum transformation (Van Dyne & Schuster 1984), while the content of targeted courses is likely to be more deeply re-shaped by the presence of non-western cultural perspectives. Asian and other educators wishing to adopt, but adapt the model to a different curriculum structure, need only identify a sequence of coursework and divide it into

four phases.

As mentioned earlier in the article, a broad definition of critical thinking undergirds the model which aims to develop both critical thinking dispositions and abilities in a sequence of developmentally designed coursework organized around yearly themes created to align with theories of ethnic and intellectual development (Banks 1989a, 1989b; Perry 1970). Themes begin in the first year with *introduction to cultural awareness and analysis*, proceed in the second and third years to *comparing cultural perspectives*, and culminate in the fourth year with *cultural problem solving through integrating cultural perspectives*. For each year, themes apply only to the general education courses targeted as part of the “critical thinking through cultural perspective taking” across-the-curriculum program. The purpose of the themes is to ensure common critical thinking goals across courses in each year of the across-the-curriculum program. This coordination of educational objectives of courses in each level of the program is important because while students will take at least one course in each of the four years or levels of the program, they will be choosing their courses from a list of what are called “multicultural critical thinking intensive” courses created for each of years 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the program. Faculty use the themes to re-think the content and purposes of whatever existing general education course is being re-designed to incorporate the multicultural critical thinking goal.

Figure 1

Critical Thinking through Cultural Perspective Taking: An Across-the-Curriculum Approach to Baccalaureate Multicultural Education

YEAR	THEME for Targeted Courses & Field Experiences in the General Education Core	a c c u u l t u r a l l o r n s e s
1	Theme: Introduction to Cultural Awareness and Analysis Targeted Course: Multicultural Freshman Seminar Field Experience: Clarifying Personal Ethnic Identity	
2 and 3	Theme: Comparing Cultural Perspectives Targeted Courses: Faculty Selected Arts & Sciences Courses Field Experience Option: Community Service Project	
4	Theme: Cross-Cultural Problem Solving through Integrating Cultural Perspectives Targeted Course & Field Experience: Senior Project on Resolving a Cross-Cultural Dilemma	

The model has both academic and experiential, campus and field-based, components. The academic portion of the model, which emphasizes critical thinking in cultural contexts, embraces a broader view of multicultural content than typically exists in baccalaureate multicultural education coursework where the content is ordinarily limited to information about and appreciation of other cultures. The experiential portion of the model is developmentally designed according to Banks' (1989) stages of ethnic development beginning with the fostering of students' own ethnic identity, proceeding to the expansion of students' cultural experience in cultures

different from their own, and culminating with cross-cultural problem solving in a self-designed senior project.

To illustrate how this model works in practice, the educational theory underlying each of the four years is elaborated below using as examples courses typically found in the general education requirements at most U.S. colleges and universities.²

² The course examples are selected from General Education programs at University of Maryland Baltimore County, Vanderbilt University, Mercy College, and Lesley College.

Year 1. Introduction to Cultural Awareness and Analysis

The first-year theme is Introduction to Cultural Awareness and Analysis (Figure 2). One General Education course in the first year is designated to be the Multicultural Freshman Seminar. In this course, students reflect on their personal experiences with cultural, ethnic, and racial differences sharing their experiences, and listening to the experiences of others, through class discussions to simultaneously deepen their own sense of ethnic identity and build a knowledge base about other cultures and a sensitivity to other traditions and ways of being in the world.

The beginnings of cultural analysis are also introduced in this course where culture is defined broadly to mean racial,

ethnic, religious, gender, political, or organizational groups, and cultural perspective following Geertz (1973) is defined as the meaning a cultural group attributes to artifacts and symbols, behavior, and social events.

The ideal in the first course would be to teach students the critical thinking skills of observation and analysis and to emphasize the difference between observation and interpretation. Videotapes of children and teachers of diverse cultural backgrounds interacting in classrooms, as well as, written case studies similar to those typically used in management education depicting dilemmas or decision-making scenarios might be useful pedagogical tools for teaching skills of observation and analysis and the distinction between observation and interpretation in cultural situations.

Figure 2

**Teaching Critical Thinking through Cultural Perspective Taking:
First-Year Educational Objectives**

FIRST YEAR Theme: Introduction to Cultural Awareness and Analysis	
Courses	Course Content
Freshman Multicultural Seminar	Clarifying One's Own Ethnic Identity Sharing Cultural Experiences with Peers Introduction to Cultural Analysis
Non-Targeted General Education Courses in the Arts & Sciences Disciplines	Information about Cultures

Only the general education course targeted to be the first-year multicultural seminar would teach the beginnings of cultural analysis. The critical thinking skills learned during the first year in this course could then be practiced in subsequent sophomore and junior year courses which emphasize the comparison of cultural perspectives. Discipline-based courses in the first year, not targeted to be the multicultural seminar, would remain at the "add and stir" stage of multicultural course development.

A likely candidate for the first-year multicultural seminar on most campuses would be the Freshman (or First Year) Seminar. Widely adopted at many institutions in response to poor attrition rates (Gaff 1990), this course is typically designed to help students make the transition to college and to introduce them to the particulars of college life. Other likely candidates for the freshman multicultural seminar include Education in the United States, English Composition, or Communications Studies, which as typical first-year general education courses, might be sequenced to allow for the development of multicultural perspectives in both semesters of the first year of college study.

Teaching interpretive skills and perspective-taking in this course is important for several reasons. First, it shifts the focus of the multicultural curriculum from the characteristics and contributions of racial, ethnic, and cultural groups to the perspective which these groups typically bring to the negotiation table. Thinking with cultural lenses is important for developing students' facility with cross-cultural problem solving for, on the one hand, it teaches students to expect to

view problems, issues, and concepts from more than one perspective and, on the other hand, it hones students' ability to predict the concerns and perspectives which different cultural groups are likely to bring to any issue.

Second, teaching interpretative skills also challenges traditional-age, first-year college students, who tend to view the perspective of their own ethnic group as RIGHT and the perspective of other ethnic groups to be WRONG, to consider different perspectives as valid sources of knowledge. By teaching perspective-taking the freshman seminar thus has the capacity to move students from right/wrong dualistic thinking to more multiplistic thinking that recognizes the validity of other viewpoints (Perry 1970; Kurfiss 1990). Developmentally, this prepares students for the cross-cultural problem-solving project in the fourth year when they will have to consider seriously points of view other than their own in order to identify and formulate criteria for choosing among these alternative cultural solutions.

At this stage it also would be important for faculty to recognize a different role in the classroom. Because faculty cannot possess expertise in all cultures nor can they all be expert in the methodologies of sociologists and anthropologists, the metaphor of "teacher as facilitator" for the faculty role may be useful here. It is a role recently made popular by constructivist theories of learning where the teacher is not the giver and knower of all knowledge but rather a guide for students who construct knowledge for themselves from teacher-designed curricula (Kinach in press). This is a pivotal issue for in my experience cross-

curricular efforts are most frequently thwarted by the argument of “lack of expertise,” i.e., I cannot be responsible for teaching writing skills in a psychology course because I am not the English teacher, or by faculty simply being uncomfortable commenting upon a subject outside of their own area of expertise.

Years 2 and 3, Comparing Cultural Perspectives

The second and third year theme is Comparing Cultural Perspectives (Figure 3). To further develop students’ ability to think critically in cultural situations, targeted General Education courses in the second and third years of the across-the-curriculum program emphasize comparing and contrasting cultural perspectives. Through the “comparing cultural perspectives” theme, these courses develop a variety of critical thinking abilities and dispositions including

seeing differences and similarities, considering seriously other points of view than one’s own (dialogical thinking), and asking and answering questions of clarification or challenge. Non-targeted general education courses simply add cultural information as appropriate, and thus remain at the “add and stir” stage of curriculum transformation mentioned earlier. An optional Community Service Project, which adds an experiential component to the curriculum, requires students to function in a cultural setting different from their own, an ability called bi-ethnicity which Banks (1988) identifies as the second stage of ethnic development. With respect to intellectual development, courses in the second and third year move students toward Perry’s second stage of multiplistic thinking where individuals come to acknowledge the validity of perspectives other than their own and toward his third stage of relativism where individuals begin to apply criteria in judging and choosing among different perspectives.

Figure 3
Teaching Critical Thinking through Cultural Perspective Taking:
Second and Third Year Educational Goals

SECOND and THIRD YEARS Theme: Comparing Cultural Perspectives	
Courses	Course Content
Targeted General Education Courses in the Arts & Sciences Disciplines	Comparing and Contrasting Cultural Perspectives
Non-Targeted General Education Courses in the Arts & Sciences Disciplines	Information about Cultures “Add & Stir” Stage of Curriculum Transformation
Optional Community Service Project	Cultural Diversity Experience

One example of a traditional course which easily could be revised to incorporate multicultural critical thinking is the American History Course. Re-thought as a clash of British, Spanish, and North American Indigenous Peoples culture, this course could provide an opportunity for faculty to model how to compare and contrast and integrate cultural perspectives in preparation for the sort of thinking students will be called upon to do in the senior cross-cultural problem solving project. Another example is the cross-cultural psychology course which grew in popularity on many American university campuses during the nineties. In such a course, notions of identity, views of learning, and stages of development might be highlighted to underscore the comparative cultures theme. Fine arts courses are another natural place to investigate cross-cultural issues, offering students an opportunity to study the artifacts, symbol systems, and values of different cultures.

Year 4 , Cross-Cultural Problem Solving through Integrating Cultural Perspectives

The fourth-year theme is Cross-Cultural Problem Solving through Integrating Cultural Perspectives (Figure 4). One General Education course in the fourth year is designated to be the Multicultural Capstone Course. In this course, students undertake a Senior Thesis/Project. In consultation with faculty, students identify a problem that lends itself to resolution by integrating the perspectives of at least two different cultures. Integrating multicultural perspectives, as I will further explain in the next section, means more than laying diverse views side-by-side to compare and contrast them. In-

tegration, as used in this context, means the creation of a genuine synthesis, that is, a third perspective which neither of the cultural perspectives alone could produce. Integration of cultural perspectives is therefore more than the recognition and tolerance of diversity: it is the reworking of diverse perspectives into a new whole that resolves some culturally rooted dilemma. The overall aim of the project is to build what Banks (1988) calls multiethnicity, or the ability to function comfortably within a broad context of national cultures.

Figure 4
Teaching Critical Thinking through Cultural Perspective Teaching:
Fourth-Year Educational Goals

FOURTH YEAR Theme: Cross-Cultural Problem Solving through Integrating Cultural Perspectives	
Course	Course Content
General Education Capstone	Integrating Cultural Perspectives
Senior Project/Thesis	Cross-Cultural Problem Solving
Non—Targeted General Education Courses in Arts & Sciences Disciplines	Information about Cultures “Add & Stir” Stage of Curriculum Transformation

Examples of typical general education courses which could be re-framed as the Multicultural Capstone course will again vary from institution to institution. But courses in policy and economics, ethics, or environmental issues are good candidates for this curriculum transformation. At one institution, the World System course in the biology major was transformed into an *interdisciplinary* capstone seminar where topics such as “acid rain” and “save the rainforest” were explored from cross-disciplinary perspectives in the fields of biochemistry, economics, social science, and ethics.

III. Theoretical Underpinnings of the Curricular Model and Pedagogy

The previous section provided a brief description of the model and educational objectives for each year. This section describes the theoretical and pedagogical influences shaping the curricular sequencing and course content.

Lessons about a Pedagogy for Teaching Critical Thinking through Perspective Taking from Interdisciplinary Studies

This approach to teaching critical thinking through cultural perspective-taking adapts a pedagogy used interdisciplinary studies. Advocates of interdisciplinary studies maintain that perspective taking enhances critical thinking ability. Specifically, Newell and Green (1981), research faculty at the widely respected School of Interdisciplinary Studies at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, have found interdisciplinary studies to foster in students a tolerance for ambiguity, a

disposition to expect alternative perspectives, and a predisposition or tendency toward uneasiness if they fail to show up. Interdisciplinary studies programs are also known to foster the critical thinking abilities of integrative and synthetic thinking.

It is important to note the precise meaning given above to the term interdisciplinary. Interdisciplinary refers very specifically here to the *integration* of two or more disciplinary perspectives into a new interdisciplinary perspective greater than either of the contributing disciplinary perspectives. In other words, the interdisciplinary perspective is a true synthesis, a perspective which neither of the disciplinary perspectives could have arrived at alone (Kinach 1992). This very precise use of the term interdisciplinary differs radically from the way the term is commonly used to mean the bringing together of different subject matters.

Researchers recommend a three-step pedagogy for teaching this sort of integrative interdisciplinary thinking. First, begin by having students articulate a disciplinary perspective. Second, develop students' ability to compare disciplinary perspectives. Third, model for students, and subsequently have them practice, integrating disciplinary perspectives into a new whole by developing their ability to either integrate compatible perspectives or to reconcile complementary but contradictory perspectives into a third (interdisciplinary) perspective or synthesis (Newell and Green 1981; Kinach 1992; Kinach and Moore 1992).

The pedagogy for teaching critical thinking through cultural perspective taking proposed in this paper simply replaces

disciplinary perspective with cultural perspective (Figure 5). In year one, students learn cultural perspective taking; in years two and three, comparing cultural perspectives; and in year four, integrating cultural perspectives to resolve some realistic cross-cultural problem.

Figure 5
A Pedagogy for Teaching Cultural Perspective-Taking and Problem-Solving

Articulate the Cultural Perspective

Compare Cultural Perspectives

Integrate Cultural Perspectives

In the case of intercultural studies, therefore, the potential intellectual benefits to be gained from focusing the curriculum on cultural perspectives rather than limiting the curriculum to information about different cultural groups can be predicted from past assessments of interdisciplinary studies programs.

Lessons about Curriculum Sequencing from the Gender-Balanced Curriculum Movement of the 1970s

The goal of the gender-balanced curriculum movement during the 1970s in the United States was to transform the existing male-dominant curriculum in which

women were conspicuously absent. If higher education is to learn any lesson from feminist scholars' efforts to create a gender-balanced curriculum, it is that curriculum transformation of this type takes time. Van Dyne and Schuster (1984) found that faculty and students passed through five predictable stages or phases of curriculum transformation in their effort to infuse the "outsider" women's perspective into the existing curriculum (Figure 6): (1) male dominant curriculum, (2) women's contributions (add & stir), (3) women's studies (bifocal curriculum), (4) women as challenge to the disciplines, and (5) gender-balanced curriculum (Tetreault 1989).

Figure 6
Lessons about Curriculum Transformation from the Gender-Balanced Curriculum Movement

PHASES OF CURRICULUM TRANSFORMATION
WHEN INFUSING "OUTSIDER" PERSPECTIVES

Values of Dominant Curriculum Remain in Tact

Phase One:	Male-Dominant Curriculum
Phase Two:	Women's Contributions (Add and Stir)
Phase Three:	Women's Studies (Bifocal Curriculum)

Values of Dominant Curriculum Adjusted to Incorporate 'Outsider' Perspective

Phase Four:	Women as Challenge to the Disciplines
Phase Five:	Gender-Balanced Curriculum

During the early phases of the curriculum transformation process, the male-dominant curriculum remains intact despite the addition of women's perspectives. During the first phase, male dominant curriculum, the curriculum is completely devoid of women and their perspectives. During the second phase, "add and stir," important females and their contributions to the culture are searched out and inserted into the curriculum *without challenge* to the dominant male perspective. The bifocal curriculum, or third phase, opens the possibility of seeing the world through the eyes of women although the dominant male perspective remains in tact. For example, in the field of history, the infusion of women's perspectives into the curriculum raised questions about the place of public and private life in history, opening the door to what was called the "new history." At the fourth stage, women as challenge to the disciplines, the foundations of the academic disciplines are fundamentally transformed by the perspective which women contribute to scholarship. As a consequence of research on women, for example, gender analysis has been added as a legitimate methodology in the fields of literary criticism, history, and the natural sciences. Finally, the last stage of curriculum transformation, the gender-balanced curriculum, presents an academic picture of the world in which women figure as a natural part of the whole.

Based on the experience of feminist scholars in the gender-balance movement, it seems reasonable for Asian educators to expect the Asian curriculum to undergo a similar transformation process in the current effort to infuse "outsider" critical thinking voices into the

curriculum. Thus, it is to be expected that the infusion of "outsider" critical thinking perspectives will begin at the "add & stir" stage where traditional Asian beliefs and values will remain in tact while the "outsider" critical thinking perspective is simply noted. The focus of these courses may change moving toward the balanced-curriculum stage as faculty and students, with the support of a vigorous faculty development program, evolve through the various states of consciousness involved in this type of deep curriculum transformation. The faculty-development point is critically important from a practical point of view for it informs administrators of the vital role which faculty and program supports play in the curriculum change process — a fact which Gaff (1991) reports deans consider to be essential in developing any across-the-curriculum program.

Lessons about Teaching Thinking in Value Contexts from the Critical Thinking Movement

From proponents of critical thinking we learn that critical thinking and making value judgments occur within contexts, and that thinking is made more difficult when the values of the thinker and context differ. In particular, Paul (1989) identifies *weak-sense* critical thinking to be the sort of thinking one does in contexts whose values are similar to one's own, and *strong-sense* critical thinking to be the sort of thinking required when the thinker operates in contexts of different or contradictory values. As it is especially difficult to think and make decisions in value contexts different from or contradictory to one's own, Paul

conceives *strong-sense* critical thinking to be a higher, or more developed ability, than *weak-sense* critical thinking. In the case of multicultural studies, thinking

(both strong sense and weak sense) is made more difficult by any negative experiences students may have had when trying to operate in a culture different from their own (Figure 7).

Figure 7
Lessons about Teaching Thinking in Value Contexts from the Critical Thinking Movement

FOCUS OF CRITICAL THINKING INSTRUCTION

CRITICAL THINKING IN VALUE CONTEXTS

In recognizing strong-sense and weak-sense critical thinking to be distinct abilities that need to be taught, instructors can come to appreciate the challenge students face when asked to think in value contexts different from their own. This is especially true if one's experience with ventures into other value systems have been less than positive, a fact that makes the achievement of social tolerance, the expectation of difference, and the ability to communicate fluidly across cultural borders an even higher level of critical thinking and psychological integration.

Lessons from Theories of Intellectual and Ethnic Development

Any model of multicultural education must also account for what we know about ethnic development and intellectual development across the life span. The schemes proposed for ethnic and intellectual development by Banks (1988) and Perry (1970) respectively for college students are therefore important for faculty to consider when designing critical thinking instruction for undergraduates in the area of multicultural education. Banks posed the existence of eight stages of ethnic development which I have collapsed into four for practical purposes of curriculum design (Figure 8).

Figure 8
Banks' Theory of Ethnic Development

Stage	Stage Description
Ethnic Identity Clarification	Clarify Attitudes Toward Own Ethnic Group
Biethnicity	Ability to Function within Own and Another Ethnic Group
Multiethnicity	Ability to Function within Range of National Ethnic Groups
Global Competency	Ability to Function within Cultures throughout World

The experiential component of the proposed model for developing multicultural critical thinking is designed to follow Banks' (1988, 1989) stages of ethnic development as outlined above in Figure 8. During the first stage of ethnic development, *ethnic identity clarification*, students clarify attitudes about their own ethnic group. The first-year Multicultural Freshman Seminar is designed to foster this development. It builds ethnic identity through students' reflections upon their experiences with diversity and sharing those experiences with coursemates. The next stage of ethnic development, *biethnicity*, refers to the ability to function within two ethnic groups — your own and another. The Community Service Project fosters this aspect of students' ethnic development. *Multiethnicity* is the third stage of ethnic development. It entails the ability to function within a range of ethnic groups within the individual's own national group. Both the Community Service Project in the second and third years and the final Senior Intercultural

Problem Solving Project foster multiethnicity. Finally, *global competency* which refers to the ability of an individual to function within cultures throughout the world, is the fourth aspect of ethnic development. The Senior Intercultural Problem Solving Project moves the student toward multiethnicity and globalism. The integration of cultural perspectives which students are expected to accomplish in this project is evidence of their ability to function successfully in a variety of cultural groups in national or global contexts.

For traditional-age college students, these intellectual abilities and phases of ethnic development must also be viewed within the context of the stages of intellectual development as charted by Perry (1970). Perry's continuum of intellectual development (Figure 9) identifies predictable shifts in students' understanding of knowledge and the source of knowledge.

Figure 9
Perry's Theory of Intellectual Development

Dualistic Thinking	Teacher as Authority/Knowledge Source
Multiplicistic Thinking	All Perspectives Equally Valid
Relativistic Thinking	Preferred Perspectives based on Given Criteria
Commitment in Relativism	Unique Perspective based on Self-Created Criteria

Beginning with *dualistic thinking*, the student views the teacher as the ultimate knowledge authority and source. A shift is made to *multiplistic thinking* when the individual comes to regard the perspectives of peers to be a valid source of knowledge. When applied to ethnic or cultural groups, the shift from dualistic to multiplistic thinking refers to a shift from thinking that your own ethnic group is right and others' wrong, to the acknowledgment that other ethnic and cultural groups hold equally valid views. Yet another shift toward *relativistic thinking* is made when the individual recognizes that some perspectives might be preferred over others given specific criteria. Ultimately, the stage of *commitment in relativism* is reached when the individual crafts their own unique perspectives based on self-generated criteria.

These stages have relevance for ethnic development in that dualistic thinkers, theoretically, are likely to have difficulty with biethnicity or multiculturalism or global thinking in that they are firmly rooted in the view of "teacher as sole knowledge source" and tied to their own frame of reference. Explicit learning experiences designed to move dualistic thinkers toward the multiplistic-type thinking required for biethnicity might have the teacher ask students to compare and contrast cultural perspectives on an issue. In the proposed model for developing multicultural critical thinking, this might occur in the First Year Seminar, where after students share their experiences of diversity the professor asks them to analyze a campus issue from their different cultural perspectives. The goal of such an exercise is to point out how knowledge is constructed, and

perhaps limited (or at least shaped) by one's own experiences and viewpoint.

Summary Benefits of the Across-the-Curriculum Approach

I have argued that the across-the-curriculum approach to developing multicultural critical thinking has the power to achieve a level of internalization of multicultural concepts and perspectives which a single multicultural-issues course is not likely to achieve. There are also other advantages of the across-the-curriculum approach which a course on multicultural issues cannot begin to approximate. First, it builds the *critical ability* of baccalaureate students by requiring them to develop the skill of perspective-taking in several discipline-based courses. Second, in setting aside *more curriculum time* for multicultural issues, this model makes the achievement of multicultural awareness and critical thinking more likely. The added curricular attention given to multicultural critical thinking in several venues acknowledges the long developmental timeline which (Banks, 1989) has proposed in his model of ethnic development. Third, the interdisciplinary approach nurtures the development of value-free perspective-taking and synthesis and problem-solving ability in students. These outcomes of baccalaureate multicultural education are important for higher education in Asia, the United States, and elsewhere because they are compatible with some of the basic tenets of global cooperation (i.e., discernment through critical thinking, collaboration, and opening the mind to multiple perspectives) which Asian educators currently argue are important for learning how to deal with the deluge of information in 21st

century society and which American educators and policy-makers maintain are critical for developing a generation inclined toward international and global awareness and cooperation.

I believe that the benefits of the across-the-curriculum approach to developing multicultural critical thinking at the baccalaureate level far outweigh the administrative difficulties of managing cross-curricular programs. Further, I maintain that an advantage of this model is its theoretical framework which provides administrators and faculty curriculum-leaders with conceptual principles for shaping the faculty conversations that, in my experience, are needed to introduce both critical thinking and multicultural perspectives into curricular systems where such ideas are either foreign to, or in conflict with, dominant value systems and/or educational practice. Any sequence of existing coursework can be restructured, and the content of individual courses changed, to meet these goals. Further benefits of this model for university curriculum reform efforts is the broad vision of critical thinking in cultural contexts that it espouses, and the attention it gives to students' intellectual and ethnic development.

For the Asian context specifically, this framework offers a practical pedagogical approach for introducing critical thinking through the lens of culture. Specifically, I have argued that perspective-taking, as practiced in interdisciplinary studies, is one way to foster critical thinking in cultural contexts. In Asian cultures where educators are concerned about the curricular emphasis on information and underemphasis on critical

thinking, this pedagogy offers a way for instructors to scaffold students' thinking from an information-oriented curriculum to a thinking curriculum. It is also a curricular blueprint for faculty to introduce critical thinking into the curriculum in a gradual and planned way, moving from information-about-cultures to cultural perspective-taking and intercultural problem-solving. An additional benefit of this approach to critical thinking instruction is the positive meaning it gives to critical thinking through its emphasis on perspective-taking, and its de-emphasis on asking probing questions of the teacher authority, an aspect of critical thinking which Hongladarom (1998) suggests is sometimes problematic in Asian education.

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