

The Social Psychological Influence of Ethnicity, Multiculturalism,
and Bilingualism within the Classroom

Marlene Azzo

Ryan M. Grillo

Wayne State University

Abstract

The purpose of this project was to examine how ethnicity, multiculturalism, and bilingualism affect the student-teacher relationship as well as the efficiency of student-student social development. In our examination, we will discuss how the difference in ethnicity between a teacher and student played a role in determining how thoroughly developed the student-teacher relationship was. This is important because, as we will argue, the strength of the student – teacher relationship has an effect on student success. Furthermore, we will explore the socialization of ELL students in the presence of fellow ELL students along with the socialization of ELL students in the presence of native English speakers. Finally, the influence of the social interaction among the two groups on the ELL learner’s academic achievement will be discussed.

The Social Psychological Influence of Ethnicity, Multiculturalism,
and Bilingualism within the Classroom

When it comes to pedagogy in classroom teaching, often terms like “relevance, rigor, and repetition” are used in a bright light. But, what about another, more informal teaching term that begins with the letter r, “relationship”? In the life – span development of an individual, it is relationships that matter. Early on in life, it is the relationship between an infant and a caregiver that affects the infant’s attachment prospects. In fact, as stated by Rey, Smith, Yoon, Somers, and Barnett in a 2007 study, “early attachment...with a primary caregiver influences the development of other positive relationships as children come to expect others to be sensitive and supportive of their needs,” (p. 347). In adolescence, it is relationships that may help dictate which identity status an individual has advanced through (such as James Marcia’s Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium, Achievement statuses). Also in adolescence, we may discuss the different peer groups with which an individual chooses to hold relationships with and how those relationships affect which ideals an individual will conform to. Finally, in adulthood it is the strength of close relationships that may help determine whether an individual will progress through the conflict of Intimacy versus Isolation, as described by Erik Erikson.

So the variety, strength, and dynamics of the relationships that an individual forms matter, in terms of that individual’s development outside of the classroom. The research has shown that they also matter inside the classroom.

First, let’s refer to the relationship between the teacher and student. Furrer and Skinner (2003) reported that a child’s emotional experience in the classroom was related to all three categories of relationships between parents, between teachers, and between peers. However, they also reported that the most trustworthy dictator of emotional experience (meaning levels of

happiness, sadness, and comfort) between the three relationships was that of the teacher. Aside from emotional experience, Rey et al. (2007) inform us that there have been studies that suggest, “positive relationships between teachers and children are associated with a variety of scholastic outcomes, including academic competence, classroom behavioral adjustment, and attitudes about school,” (p. 348). In terms of peripheral qualities of a student, relationship has also been shown to play a role. Children that perceive themselves as having caring and emotionally supportive relationships with their teacher behave better, feel more connected to school, and are more involved in school – related activities (Rey et al., 2007).

Based on the research above, the development of the teacher – student relationship can go a long way in predicting student and school outcomes. So, let us redefine our thinking of the student – teacher relationship. Let us now define the word from a social psychological perspective. The teacher – student relationship is a continuous one in which the attitudes and behaviors of the teacher, along with the virtual presence, affect the emotions and expectations of the student in such a way that it becomes a factor in predicting student success.

Now that we know relationships affect student success, another question must be raised: what mediates the student – teacher relationship? To answer this question, let’s first confront the subject of race.

For a student to initially buy into a relationship with a teacher, there is a certain level of conformity the student must subscribe to. Now, the student doesn’t necessarily have to want to *be just like* the teacher. However, if during the relationship, the student and teacher’s aspirations can coincide, then we may describe this aspect of the relationship as Aronson’s strongest level of conformity, “internalization” (2008, p. 35). Aronson would agree because in *The Social Animal* (2008), he further goes on to describe internalization as a response from the student to a social

influence (the teacher) in which the reward for buying in (into the relationship) is intrinsic. The next reasonable question to ask is whether or not the race of the teacher mediates the likelihood of internalization by the student.

In discussing the effectiveness of a piece of communication, such as a teacher/student dialog within a classroom, Aronson (2008) describes the race of the communicator as a “peripheral aspect” of the communication (p. 78). This peripheral aspect can have quite an effect on the receiver of the communication, the student. Some people perhaps have such deeply rooted prejudiced beliefs that they are only willing to trust a source of communication when they are of a particular race, namely their own (Aronson 2008). So, as we relate these professed principles of conformity to the notion of a student buying into a relationship with a teacher, we must conclude that for *some* students, the race of the teacher will influence the effectiveness of the teaching.

To clarify, it's not being proposed that a student of different ethnicity than the teacher will be less willing to believe the academic content a teacher's presenting. However, it is being proposed that a student may be less willing to formulate great aspirations as the teacher of a different ethnicity than his may preach. For an example, think of the typical African – American child attending an inner – city public school system as depicted in Jonathan Kozol's *Savage Inequalities* (1991). This child has grown up in near poverty and carries the burden of a low socioeconomic status. If this child has a white teacher in school who grew up with a higher socioeconomic status, we can conclude that he may be less willing to agree with his teacher's claims that he should have high aspirations for himself based on Aronson's idea of internalization. After all, his self – esteem and motivation may have already been diminished by the plight of his neighborhood and home life. So, if a student is harboring any racial prejudices

towards his teacher, then it is safe to predict that this will negatively affect the strength of his relationship with that teacher and along with the likelihood of internalizing any great aspirations the teacher holds for him.

Aside from the difference in ethnicity creating a potential difference in agreement upon aspirations and thus upon the teacher – student relationship, ethnicity also relates to a difference in communicating care from the teacher to the student.

Any interpretation of Carl Roger's Humanistic theory of learning includes the tenet that for a teacher to be effective, he must be able to communicate that he cares or that he is willing to support students' efforts in completing tasks so that they may fulfill more of their potential. Also, if a teacher can communicate that he cares about a student, then this will aid in developing a strong relationship with that student. Well, as evidenced in a study by Tosolt in 2008, students have different perceptions of which behaviors of a teacher actually demonstrate that the teacher cares. Tosolt categorized teachers' caring behaviors into the following: academic caring, interpersonal caring, and fairness caring. Academic caring relates to the teacher encouraging completion of class assignments and prodding the student to do work because they know it is essential to the student's academic outcome. Interpersonal caring relates to the teacher's level of kindness, such as complimenting the student on their clothes or asking how their day has been. Finally, fairness caring relates to how much the teacher makes the classroom a safe atmosphere, such as a teacher standing up for a student when he's being teased by another student.

Tosolt's (2008) research demonstrated that different ethnicities of students value different categories of caring behavior from a teacher at different levels. For instance, African – American females valued academic caring more than they did the other two categories. Also shown was that African – American males valued interpersonal caring more than the other two

categories. What should be taken from this research is that teacher's need to be aware of the different cultures that students bring into the classroom. It is our culture that shapes our perception of others and thus the relationship with our teachers. If the teacher knows this, then he may be better able to assess the function of student behaviors.

All of the above rationale stems from the student perspective. We've discussed how students' decision to agree upon aspirations and goals set by the teacher can be affected by the teacher's ethnicity along with how the student perceives the teacher's caring behaviors. Now, how does ethnicity affect the student-teacher relationship from the teacher's perspective?

One might like to think that someone with as much will and dignity as a classroom teacher would be as "color blind" of an individual as there could be, holding no biases towards any students and having the highest expectations for all students. However, there is research that suggests otherwise. A study by Oates in 2003 found that, "The (mis)match between teacher's and student's race seems primarily consequential to the standardized test performance of African-American students," (p. 520). Oates (2003) goes on to interpret other research regarding white teachers' perceptions of black students in a rather disturbing manner as he states that they (white teachers) have a "relatively unfavorable impression" (p. 520) of them (black students). Oates purports that teacher perceptions are actually more influential in racially dissonant classrooms (white teacher/black students) than in racially consonant classrooms. He combines this idea with the "anti - black bias" (Oates, 2003, p. 516) from his and previous research to posit that, "Teacher perceptions foster perpetuation of the black - white achievement gap," (Oates, 2003, p. 516). Reasons for the anti - black bias discovered in this study can be traced back to Aronson's (2008) basal social psychological concept of the stereotype. He defines it on page 311 as, "generalization of characteristics, motives, or behaviors to an entire group of

people,” (Aronson 2008). It is quite possible that some of the white teachers that caused the results of Oates 2003 study stereotyped their black students as all being equally unable to be academically successful. The damage is not done by the stereotype itself, however. The damage is done to the student when the teacher commits the “ultimate attribution error,” (Aronson, 2008, p. 316). In committing this error, the teacher makes attributions consistent with their prejudices. An example from the classroom might go like this: a black student may take a pencil off of the teacher’s desk, after the teacher sees this, he attributes the stealing to black people in general while not knowing that the student thought it was ok to take the pencil because he had seen another student take one (but did not see the other student ask the teacher if it was OK to borrow it).

The information from Oates 2003 study and Aronson’s (2008) definition of prejudice leads us to conclude that there are indeed prejudice teachers in some classrooms of this country and that they make some poor attributions of their students, thus lowering their perceptions of those students and their performance. To bring the discussion back to development of the student – teacher relationship, it is important now to state that if a teacher does hold an anti – black bias, the potential for a relationship is immediately thwarted. A teacher with a bias will see less value in educating the student which he has a bias against. And, if the teacher sees less value in that student’s education, he then has less motivation to form a strong relationship with that student.

And so four ways have been established in which the difference in ethnicity between student and teacher affects the development of the student – teacher relationship: student internalization of teacher aspirations, the student seeing the teacher as an untrustworthy source of

communication, students' different perspective as to which behaviors of a teacher demonstrate caring, and finally white teacher bias against black students.

Before breaking down the socialization of students from various cultural backgrounds, it is extremely important to spotlight the true definition of multiculturalism and its various implications. Macionis (2008) defines multiculturalism as educational programs that are designed to recognize the cultural diversity that exists in the U.S. as well as to promote respect for all of the cultural traditions (p.80). As Macionis (2008) points out, immigration is on the rise, and as a result, schools have had to improve the quality of their bilingual programs to maximize student learning (p.98). While schools have taught generations of children about the idea that the United States is actually a cultural "melting pot" that unifies human diversity into a single culture that we call "American", multiculturalism claims that the U.S. society has actually been downplaying its cultural diversity (Macionis 2008). The racial and ethnic inequality can be attributed to the societies that attach significance to skin color and cultural background in the process of ranking people in a hierarchy (p.12, 2008). However, race and ethnicity have actually formed somewhat of a hierarchy. According to multiculturalists, the U.S. culture is an expression of prejudice against the people in this country who are different from the white American (p. 80, 2008). Cultural theory supports the notion that prejudice is built directly within our culture by favoring certain categories of people and avoiding others (p.79, 2008). Macionis goes on to suggest that prejudice isn't actually a trait of deviant individuals as much as it is a standard part of our skewed cultural system (2008). Furthermore, multiculturalism suggests that we should actually reexamine our national heritage and acknowledge the accomplishments not only of the cultural elite but also of ethnically and racially diverse individuals (p.81, 2008). One of the ways that we can integrate this message is through education within schools nationwide.

Effective schooling is no longer about teaching children how to read and write or add, subtract, multiply, and divide. School, in fact, is a means to socialize children, especially those that come from diverse social backgrounds. From social clusters in the classroom to group collaboration in the lunchroom, schooling allows children from various cultural, ethnic, and religious backgrounds to become involved in the U.S. culture. As Medway and Cafferety's point out, "A school classroom provides a good setting for illustrating the responses of different individuals to a group" (p83, 1992). When it comes down to English as a Second Language students (ESL) and New English Speakers (NES), one must take notice of how these particular students socialize in various types of groups. One of the first things to mention is the difference between ESL and NES students, especially when we are examining the socialization process in depth within the school. Students who are brand new to a country and have very limited or no ability to speak English are considered to be NES. These types of students have had little or no prior exposure to the U.S. culture and the English language. However, ESL students have been in the country for a reasonable amount of time and are learning the U.S. culture and working to improve the quality of their English-speaking abilities. According to Woolfolk, this distinction is vital in determining the type of social interaction that ESL and NES students have with one another as well as other students in school (1998).

Let's next explore the idea that being bilingual and bicultural means that one must master the knowledge that is necessary to communicate in two different cultures as well as coping with potential discrimination (Woolfolk 1998). Determining a student's level of proficiency in a second language has two aspects: face-to-face communication and academic uses of language, like reading and grammar exercises. In reality, Woolfolk points out that it takes students "about two years in a good-quality program to be able to communicate face-to-face in a second

language, but mastering decontextualized, academic language skills in the new language takes five to seven years” (p.189, 1998). But, how do these types of children socialize with native English speakers without feeling excluded or irrelevant in the classroom community?

With cultural diversity on the rise, a classroom setting is no longer a homogenous arrangement of students that belong to one ethnic, racial, or cultural background. A teacher must enhance their cultural sensitivity in order to give every student within the classroom an equal opportunity to socialize comfortably with members of all ethnic, racial, and cultural backgrounds. Since each student will have different level of language proficiency, it is vital that we consider how NES, ESL, and native English speakers blend together and socialize in a classroom setting. As Macionis (2008) points out, children that are brand new to this country will be extremely timid when they are first asked to exercise their speaking abilities. In fact, the majority of NES students fear that their phonetic and syntactic abilities are completely inaccurate and at times, offensive (p.213). As a result, NES students tend to speak primarily in their native language until they have mastered enough English words to practice their vocabulary. However, as Woolfolk (1998) indicates, studies have shown that it is actually more beneficial to the NES student if they are not forced to abandon their first language because the more proficient they are in their first language, the quicker they will master the second (p.198). NES students are then more likely to develop a dependence on members of their own social group rather than explore relationships with native English speakers. Consequently, NES students have greater difficulty developing friendships with native English speakers as well as fostering a healthy awareness of the U.S. culture. Another downfall to NES students confining themselves to the same social group is that children tend to learn skills and attitudes from others that are troublesome. Macionis (2008) discusses how the learning theory can be attributed to students who group

themselves in similar social pods and therefore acquire troublesome behavior from one another (p.13). When NES students are in an English speaking classroom for a long duration of time, they tend to acquire more deviant behavior since they cannot understand the context that is being taught by the teacher (p.16). On the other hand, ESL students are more comfortable with interacting with all types of students at school because they have developed the survival language that is essential when socializing with members of other social groups. Woolfolk (1998) recognizes that ESL students are thirsty for more assimilation into the U.S. culture and the English language itself. As a result, ESL students are more likely to immerse themselves in social situations with native English speakers to acquire more knowledge and boost their socialization skills. Maruyama and LeCount (1992) also point out that “individuals who are physically disfigured, lower class, or ethnic racial minority hold lower social status and are less frequently looked to as friends” (p.86). This suggests that other students might view NES and ESL students less desirable and therefore reduce their social interaction with these students. However, cultural desirability can be extended to other students simply by equipping NES and ESL students with appropriate social cues and using these skills to behave in an acceptable, attractive way (p.86). Maruyama and LeCount (1992) go on to suggest that this type of interpersonal attraction can help to shape and build the necessary social skills for experiencing successful relationships with a variety of students (p.86).

According to Macionis (2008), one of the best social relationships that can exist within the school setting is a student-teacher relationship. Thanks to multiculturalism, NES and ESL students have programs to acquire the survival language and become exposed to the U.S. culture firsthand. Although such programs isolate ESL and NES students into a homogenous classroom, they still provide students with fundamental tools that are necessary for ESL and NES students to

apply once they return to the regular classroom setting. For example, more than half of the school population at Hiller Elementary in Madison Heights is ESL students. Therefore, the ESL program at this particular school pulls out students, (based on their level of proficiency and social needs), from the regular classroom setting to get these students caught up in language and social skills. During this time, students learn appropriate school conduct in the U.S., teacher expectations, communication avenues, and elemental academic content. This type of bilingual program within schools like Hiller are crucial for students and teachers alike because it provides both parties with the opportunity to enhance the learning process for English language learners. When teachers build a strong and relaxed relationship with ESL and NES students, student learning is maximized and expectancy becomes elevated as well.

Social interaction and a teacher's rule are powerful tools for predicting academic achievement. Let's first explore the teacher's role in student academic achievement. Category-based expectancies suggest that simply because "a particular student is categorized as slow or bright, male or female, or black or white, disadvantaged or advantaged, teachers and eventually the student him/herself may develop expectancies regarding the student's academic behaviors" (Levesque and Lowe, p.49, 1992). Category-based expectancies aren't necessarily a negative approach. When teachers use category information to group students, (e.g. high and low readers), they are able to get a better understanding of students' academic behaviors. In turn, students can also gain a better understanding of their own academic behaviors (p.51). Therefore, if a teacher expects a student to do well, their behavior towards the student changes as well. For example, if a teacher expects an ESL student who is advancing in their reading level, the teacher will challenge the student more or grade more leniently. The question, then, comes down to when the teacher should group the ESL/NES students in a homogenous structure and when

ESL/NES students should collaborate with native English speakers. Macionis (2008) suggests that teachers use their own discretion when grouping students, depending on the groups of students and the nature of the group work. For example, if students are conducting a science experiment during science class, Macionis (2008) suggests a heterogeneous group blend in which ESL, NES, and native English speaking students are working collaboratively together to achieve a common goal. In doing so, ESL/NES students can use various social cues to work with native English speakers in completing the experiment. Macionis (2008) recognizes that such a group might not have instant cohesion. However, over time, ESL/NES and native English speakers can develop a strong sense of socialization that can improve over time. When culturally diverse students are given a fair chance to succeed academically and socially within the classroom, students experience a stronger sense of self-esteem and self-worth. Providing students with the opportunity to socialize with various social groups allows students to improve their ability to interact with a mixture of students. Woolfolk (1998) proposes that when students feel comfortable enough to socialize with classmates, they will have a better chance to focus less on social acceptance and more on academic achievement (p.202). When a teacher demonstrates the positive outcomes from collaborative efforts, students from all cultural and racial backgrounds can have more of an opportunity to succeed socially and academically.

Ethnicity and language come together in the classroom to lay a complex and dynamic web with which students and teachers alike can become easily tangled in. So, how are teacher, as the leaders, supposed to modify their instruction and management in such a way that ethnicity and culture become characteristics of a class that help in student success, rather than hinder it? Teachers can answer this question by considering the value of embracing one's own culture and creating a classroom where interdependence is the norm.

In terms of classroom management, a wise teacher fully realizes the importance of classroom climate and atmosphere. As students walk into a room, they must feel safe, as if they're free to express themselves. If they're free to express themselves, they will not be afraid to exert their highest level of effort and thus reach their full potential. Students must have the feeling that no one else in the room will discourage their thoughts. In order to achieve this climate of no fear and atmosphere of positive support, the teacher needs to embrace the diversity of the cultures within a classroom, including the teacher's own culture. If this happens, then everyone feels an identity; they won't feel lost. This is in fact one of the ideas in Gary Howard's *We Can't Teach What We Don't Know* (1999), a book about white teachers working in multiracial schools. Howard argues that if the teacher doesn't embrace his own culture as unique, then he is liable to assume that his is the normal culture and others that don't look like him are part of an abnormal culture. According to Woolfolk, creating a "culturally compatible" classroom can eliminate sexism, racism, and ethnic prejudice while providing equal educational opportunities for all types of students (p.192, 1998). Woolfolk aligns the educational design with the social structures in which students are most engaged, productive, and likely to learn successfully. One way to accomplish this type of social organization is to encourage cooperative work groups in which students of various cultural, ethnic, and racial backgrounds come together to learn. According to Woolfolk, "social structure or social organization in this context means the ways people interact to accomplish a particular goal" (p.193, 1998). Macionis agrees that one of the best ways to encourage socialization between bilingual students and native English speakers is to intertwine both types of students into a small cooperative work group (2008). The most important thing to remember is that in order for students to be successful with their social interaction, they must know the communication rules within the classroom and the when, where,

and how to communicate. Students from various cultural backgrounds might be unfamiliar with the participation structures within a classroom because they may have had different ways to communicate in their previous country. In order to ensure that conflict does not arise, the classroom teacher can familiarize students from different cultural backgrounds on the rules and procedures of appropriate and effective ways of participation and communication. Finally, to help create compatible multicultural classrooms, teachers must know and respect their students, have high expectations of them, and teach them what they need to know in order to succeed (Woolfolk 1998).

Here is a specific example of how a teacher could apply this idea of embracing culture in the classroom. If the classroom has bulletin boards, sacrifice one of them which is normally used for instruction and use it as a sort of Culture Board. At the beginning of the year, students can post pictures, drawings, stories, et cetera which help explain some of the culture and ethnicity they bring into the classroom. As the year moves on, students can modify what they've posted as they learn more about themselves and others' cultures. Students can even be assigned to find information about fellow students' cultures and post that information as well.

Interdependence is the term to describe a situation in which individuals of a group must rely on each other's knowledge or behavior to complete a common goal. Aronson (2008) calls interdependence a possible method to quelling the storm that desegregation of public schools created some 50 years ago. Although "desegregation" is not the buzz word associated with diversity in public schools today, tensions between students of different ethnicities can still be found often. And, the competitive nature of the typical American classroom can enhance that tension. What interdependence does, is shift the focus of the individual in a group from ridiculing another individual to advance ahead in status to cooperating with that individual in

order for the whole group to advance and develop. In other words, if a student is too focused on ridiculing a fellow student, he will be wasting time and energy that should've been spent trying to gain from that student the knowledge that relates to their common goal. In terms of organized, segmented instruction, the application of interdependence has been coded as the Jigsaw approach. In the Jigsaw approach, the class is divided into groups containing 4 – 7 students each. Each student in the group must teach a specific lesson, thereby becoming an expert on his own lesson but still learning the other necessary lessons from his group members. Consider the following example from an elementary or middle school math class. The unit would be Operations with Fractional Numbers. The teacher would first divide the classroom into groups of four. Then the teacher would assign each student from a group an operation (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division). The teacher could meet with all the addition students and teach the concepts of adding fractional numbers, then with the subtraction students, etc. These are sometimes called “counterpart groups” (Weyant, 1992, p. 455). After the teacher has consulted with each counterpart group, students could then meet as their originally assigned groups of four. They could teach each other their own operation. Afterwards, the teacher could assign group practice exercises, followed by individual practice exercises with remediation along the way. In this Jigsaw method, students are forced to try to understand what each other member has to say in order to achieve highly on an assessment afterwards, rather than ridiculing a student when he stumbles.

So, we have examined the social psychological influence of ethnicity, multiculturalism, and bilingualism within the classroom. We found that the student-teacher relationship is important in predicting student success and this relationship can be mediated by differences in

race and ethnicity. Moreover, we discovered how social interaction between ESL, NES, and native English speakers plays a significant role in influencing academic achievement.

References

- Aronson, E. (2008). *The social animal* (10th ed.). New York, NY: Worth.
- Furrer, C., & Skinner, E. (2003). Sense of relatedness as a factor in children's academic engagement and performance. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 95*(1), 148 – 62.
- Howard, G. R. (1999). *We can't teach what we don't know: White teachers, multiracial schools*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Kozol, J. (1991). *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools*. New York, NY: Crown.
- Levesque, J.M., & Lowe, A.C. (1992). The importance of attributions and expectancies in understanding academic behavior. In F. J. Medway & T. P. Cafferty (Eds.), *School psychology: A social psychological perspective* (pp. 47-81). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Maciounis, J. (2008). *Social problems*. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Education.
- Maruyama, G., & LeCount, J. (1992). The role and importance of interpersonal attraction and social acceptance in educational settings. In F. J. Medway & T. P. Cafferty (Eds.), *School psychology: A social psychological perspective* (pp. 83-111). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Medway, F.J. & Cafferty, T.P. (1992). *School psychology: A social psychological perspective*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Oates, G. L.
- Rey, R. B., Smith, A. L., Yoon, J., Somers, C., & Barnett, D. (2007). Relationships between teachers and urban African American children. *School Psychology International, 28*(3), 346 – 364.
- Tosolt, B. (2008). Differences in students' perceptions of caring teacher behaviors: The intersections of race, ethnicity, and gender. *Race, Gender & Class, 15*(1/2). 274-288.

- Weyant, J. M. (1992). Social psychological approaches to the integration of culturally different and handicapped students in schools. In F. J. Medway & T. P. Cafferty (Eds.), *School psychology: A social psychological perspective* (pp. 449- 466). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Woolfolk, A.E. (1998). *Educational psychology* (7th ed.). Needham Heights, MA: A Viacom Company.