NINTH EDITION

COMPREHENSIVE
Multicultural Education

Theory and Practice

CHRISTINE I. BENNETT

Comprehensive Multicultural Education:

Theory and Practice

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Christine I. Bennett
Indiana University at Bloomington

Pearson

Brief Contents

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Preface

This revision has taken place throughout the 2016 presidential campaign season and the early months of the Trump administration. At this time our society is more politically and socioeconomically divided than in many decades; "multiculturalism" and multicultural education have become more controversial, often dismissed as "political correctness" or the work of liberals whose ill-defined focus on "social justice" is out of touch with reality. Some critics of multicultural education view the emphasis on pluralism and democracy as fostering the dangerously divisive "identity groups" that are on the rise in our society today. This is a time of "fake news," biased news media, and the incitement of hate crimes and bullying of schoolchildren through social media. This is also a time of rising poverty among the nation's children under age 18; a time of increasing school and neighborhood racial segregation; a time when students of color attend high-poverty schools at shocking rates; a time where disproportionate numbers of students of color, especially males and those with disabilities, are suspended, expelled, and vulnerable to incarceration; and a time when our nation's schools are becoming ever more diverse due to the influx of newcomers from Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. Today, teachers and students at all grade levels are witness to an increasing number of racially and faith-based hate crimes, the vulgar expressions of sexism and homophobia during the presidential debates, and the increasing anti-immigrant and antirefugee rhetoric and violence in the news media. Gang violence, racial profiling in law enforcement, and the tragic police shootings of minority youth as well as the shootings of police officers in the line of duty continue to plague communities across the country.

But this is also a time of hope and possibility. This is a time when many Americans, especially educators and many older schoolchildren, continue to be inspired by President Obama who reminded us of "the promise of our democracy" during his second inaugural address. This is a time when more people are speaking out about the urgent need for citizens who are fair-minded critical thinkers focused on the common good. This is a time when citizens initiated peaceful action for democracy, such as the Women's March on January 21, 2017, in Washington, D.C., that has inspired peaceful political action across the country; the Standing Rock Lakota Sioux movement to "protect the water" that was joined by thousands of non-Sioux, including U.S. military vets; the spring of 2017 marches for science and the environment that swept across the country; and sports fans who are taking steps to address racist hate speech directed at athletes on the court or field. And this is a time when, in response to the dramatic increase in anti-Semitic, anti-Muslim, and anti-immigrant hate crimes that occurred immediately after the presidential election, there was an outpouring of public financial support for organizations working with schools to address injustice in all forms such as the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) and *Rethinking Schools*.

More teachers are consulting the SPLC's quarterly, *Teaching Tolerance*, a tool kit that is available to teachers at no cost, and *Rethinking Schools* is a nonprofit publisher's quarterly dedicated to sustaining and strengthening public education through social justice teaching and educational activism. Both organizations discuss at length how teachers across the nation are dealing with the aftermath of the 2016 presidential election.

Role of This Book

Today our school-age population is more diverse than ever before in terms of languages spoken at home, race, religion, and national origin. Religious pluralism is growing; more than 20 percent of our school-age population is either an immigrant or the child of immigrants, and more and more of these newcomers are moving into the heartland of America. Therefore, a major aspect of this book is to provide readers with an accessible overview of contemporary immigration, how it affects our schools and society, and how teachers can be successful in linguistically and ethno/racially diverse classrooms. Culturally competent teachers have a critical role to play in the education of future citizens who affirm cultural, linguistic, religious, and racial diversity and are willing to take a stand against stereotyping and scapegoating "others."

As we face horrific global terrorism; persistent conflict in the Middle East; growing economic inequalities at home, with about 40 percent of our children living at or below the poverty level; and ongoing racial and socioeconomic inequities in our schools, there are ways future decisions can be enlightened by greater multicultural knowledge and competence. As we seek wise and compassionate decisions for the future, the ideals, knowledge base, and practices of multicultural education are essential. Classroom teachers as well as educators in college, community, and religious settings across the globe can make a difference in meeting this need. We can start small with the young children and youth in our own classrooms, making sure each one reaches his or her potential for academic achievement as well as fairminded thought, compassion, and concern for fellow humans everywhere. In addition to developing a strong sense of self, including ethnic, national, and religious or spiritual identities, our children and youth need to gain the ability to view people and events from multiple perspectives and to recognize hidden societal structures of oppression as a foundation for action as young adults. To some readers this may sound overly optimistic or unrealistic, given the many demands teachers face every day. Indeed, since the 1960s, multicultural education scholars and advocates have been idealistic and hopeful for educational reform that can make a difference in our society and world. Current national and world events have only intensified these hopes and ideals.

New to This Edition

In response to extensive reviewer feedback as well as new research and world events since writing the last edition, this ninth edition reflects the following changes and additions:

- Revised Chapter: Chapter 5: "Immigration and Cultural Pluralism: Anglo-European American Perspectives".
- Revised Chapter: Chapter 10: "The Promise of Culturally Competent Teaching".
- New Chapter: Chapter 11: "How Does Gender Make a Difference?".

- New Chapter: Chapter 12: "The Impact of Poverty on American Children and Youth".
- New Chapter: Chapter 13: "The Challenges of Special Education in Inclusive Classrooms".
- Inclusion of John Ogbu's work on "voluntary immigrants" and "caste-like minorities".
- Expanded discussion of colonialism, Indigenous Peoples, and Latinos in the Southwest.
- Inclusion of Pakistanis in discussion of immigrants from South Asia.
- Inclusion of major scholarly, artistic, and scientific accomplishments during the Arab Empire prior to the Middle Ages in Europe that have changed the world, and new discussion of misconceptions, including different meanings of *jihad*.
- Expanded discussion of the Multicultural Curriculum Development Model to include connections with social justice standards, content standards, mission statements, and a case example of a school district's implementation of the model.
- Updated content on indicators of the nation's racial climate, and an expanded discussion of White privilege, anti-racism, talking about racism, and teaching for social justice.
- Revised discussion of ethnic identity development moved to Chapter 2 where reviewers felt it fits best with discussions of culture and ethnicity.
- New alignment of Chapter Learning Outcomes to content and section quizzes.
- New end-of-chapter follow-up questions and activities for each new chapter.
- New case examples to illustrate teaching for social justice and multicultural curriculum transformation.
- Substantial updates to census data, current indicators of racism, and the demographics of immigration, poverty, school achievement, and so on.

Goals and Rationale

Comprehensive Multicultural Education: *Theory and Practice* was first written for my students and others new to the field of multicultural education. My goal in the early 1980s was to create a framework that would help them make sense out of a complex, ambiguous, multidisciplinary field that asks teachers to take risks and deal with controversial topics such as prejudice, racism, social justice, and cultural pluralism. I wanted to provide some of the historical background, basic terminology, and social science concepts that many students have not yet encountered when they enter the field. I hoped to engage readers on an emotional level, move them to take action in their classrooms, and encourage them to pursue academic inquiry and self-reflection after the book had been read. While the book's basic philosophy and approach remain the same, changes in later editions have grown out of more than 30 years of conversations with my own students as well as other students and instructors who are engaged in multicultural teacher education. These conversations have provided a steady barometer of the book's strengths and limitations, and they indicate that the book stimulates thinking and dialogue about critical issues in multicultural education in ways that I had only hoped would be possible.

The book deals with questions students continually ask that too often are left hanging. Doesn't multicultural education lead to lower academic standards? Won't

cultural pluralism lead to the Balkanization of our society? Aren't we really stereotyping when we talk about cultural differences? Isn't it racist? Are you saying I can't set up my own standards for acceptable behavior in my classroom? How can I add multicultural content when I don't have time to cover the basic curriculum? What does multicultural education have to do with math and science or with physical education? Doesn't multicultural education really boil down to indoctrination?

My approach to multicultural education focuses on ethnic diversity and community in the United States, diversity rooted in racial, cultural, and individual differences; it also emphasizes basic human similarities and global connections; and it addresses the structural barriers (often hidden) in schools and society that keep racial injustice and oppression alive. This approach rests upon our nation's ideals of pluralism (the idea that people of different religions and ethno/racial groups can live together in one country) and democracy (the idea that people are free and equal citizens who can openly disagree, argue, make decisions, and govern themselves). Given that we live in a multicultural society, multicultural education is for everyone. Few of our nation's schools, however, have become multicultural in their vision or practice. They are hampered by societal policies and practices, often beyond their control, that impede reform of formal and hidden curricula. Shortage of funds and lack of understanding make it difficult for schools to replace or supplement biased or outdated books and films, to hire new personnel who can provide positive role models from a variety of ethnic groups, or to study alternatives to discriminatory school practices in areas such as co-curricular activities or student discipline. Teachers and administrators who are uninformed about cultural diversity, whose knowledge of history and current events is monocultural in scope, and who are unaware of institutional racism and/or their own prejudices are likely to hinder the academic success and personal development of many students, however unintentional this may be. And curriculum standards usually provide little help in the development of content that includes diverse ethnic, gender, socioeconomic, or global perspectives. How we might meet challenges such as these through multicultural education is what *Comprehensive Multicultural Education* is about.

A Conceptual Framework of Multicultural Teaching

The book's approach is unique in several ways. First, it provides a conceptual framework of multicultural teaching (see Figure 1.1) that integrates four interactive dimensions: (1) equity pedagogy (a focus on *classroom instruction* and an end to the achievement gap); (2) curriculum reform (focus on *content* inquiry and transformation guided by four core values: acceptance and appreciation of cultural diversity, respect for human dignity and universal human rights, reverence for the earth, and responsibility to a world community); (3) multicultural competence (focus on the *individual's* ethnic identity development and reduction of all forms of prejudice and discrimination); and (4) social justice (a focus on *society*; becoming agents of change to address the opportunity gap, however small the steps; and the eventual eradication of racism and other forms of oppression locally, nationally, and globally). Its content is comprehensive and interdisciplinary in scope and practical in focus. Key concepts from education, history, ethnic studies, and the social sciences often draw upon primary source material, and the implications for teaching and learning are developed through vignettes of teachers and students I have known over the years. A primary goal is to assist practicing and prospective teachers to bridge the gap between multicultural concepts or theories and practices in our schools, such as classroom management, instructional strategies, and curriculum development.

Second, the book develops an interaction between cultural and individual differences. Teachers often fear that tuning into students' cultural differences is an indication of being prejudiced or racist. This fear is related to the misconception that equates color consciousness with racism. It also stems from feelings that differences are bad or inferior and from the mistaken notion that recognition of differences means we must imitate or adopt these differences. Many cultural awareness and human relations workshops have failed because these basic concerns of the participants were not dealt with. On the other hand, most teachers do believe in differentiating or personalizing their instruction. Most would agree that our ultimate goal as teachers is to foster the intellectual, social, and personal development of all students to reach their fullest potential. This book shows that the ability to reach this goal can be strengthened by an understanding of cultural and individual differences, as well as unfair societal contexts. Today, as society becomes ever more diverse and unequal, a focus on social justice is required in order to reach this ultimate goal.

Third, the historical overviews of major ethnic groups in the U.S. helps readers see how current issues of racism, poverty, anti-immigrant sentiment, ethno/racial hate crimes, and education opportunity gaps among students of color and low-income White students are rooted in our history. This history must be addressed if we are to end societal injustices, provide *all* children the opportunity to develop their full potential, and ensure a well-educated citizenship for the future. These historical overviews also are a reminder of our nation early role as an indispensable beacon of pluralism and democracy that has inspired nations across the world. Although initially self-government (democracy) applied only to White men of wealth and only religious pluralism was affirmed, after decades of social action *all* law-abiding citizens are included.

Four, the book's teacher-tested Multicultural Curriculum Development Model provides a structure teachers can use to create a transformative multicultural curriculum. The ninth edition provides an expanded discussion of how the model can connect with required content standards, school mission statements, and social justice teaching standards.

Overview of Text Content

The ninth edition contains four distinct yet interrelated sections: Part I, The Case for Multicultural Education; Part II, Roots of Cultural Diversity in the United States: The Conflicting Themes of Assimilation and Pluralism; Part III, Reaching All Learners: Perspectives on Culture, Gender, Class, and Exceptionalities; and Part IV, Teaching in a Multicultural Society. Chapter 1, "Multicultural Schools: What, Why and How" provides a comprehensive conceptual framework of multicultural teaching that lays a foundation for the book's remaining chapters and helps students think and plan for teaching as they move through the text. This framework underlies chapter content throughout the book, as well as the questions and activities designed to engage students in chapter concepts; provides a context for the many case examples about teachers and students; and is extended via the text's teacher-tested multicultural curriculum development model in the final chapter and the sample lessons noted in Appendix A.

The text differs from most multicultural education textbooks with its inclusion of history and social science to develop content knowledge teachers need in order to become informed, culturally competent, and caring advocates for all students. This content knowledge helps future teachers understand complex societal issues that

impact our schools, and may encourage them to become more effective change agents working for the common good in their respective communities. Ignorance breeds prejudice, and yet many teacher education programs do not provide sufficient attention to important topics in history and the social sciences that teachers need if they are to address pervasive prejudice and stereotyping in society today. For example, Chapter 4 on religious pluralism illustrates how content knowledge can help teachers address one of the most difficult topics teachers will face in hate crimes at home and across the world that are based on religion and race. The chapter provides an historical overview of the origins of religious diversity and conflict in the U.S., religious freedom and the First Amendment, and religious pluralism today; discusses religious pluralism and prejudice through Jewish and Muslim American perspectives; and concludes with case examples of educational leadership professionals in "From Prejudice to Pluralism: What Can Teachers Do?" While an overview of the nation's diverse faith groups is provided, the emphasis is on Jews and Muslims because they are the primary targets of religious hate crimes in the U.S. today, along with other individuals who are mistakenly believed to be Muslim.

The five chapters in Part II highlight the historical roots of this cultural diversity, showing how both colonialism and immigration engender ethnicity and create ever more culturally diverse schools across the nation. The first of these chapters, renamed "Immigration and Cultural Pluralism: Anglo-European American Perspectives," begins with a new section on current immigration controversies. This section highlights the nation's essential legacy of pluralism and democracy as a lens to view the American Dream and current challenges to our nation's vision of democracy, cultural pluralism, and social justice. As a whole, the five chapters reveal how our population has changed dramatically since the late 1960s due to immigration policies and the influx of newcomers from Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. They provide background and context to understand why and how our school-age population is more diverse than ever before in terms of languages spoken at home, race, religion, and national origin; while nearly half of our school-age population are students of color, over 20 percent are either immigrants or children of immigrants, and more and more of these newcomers are moving into the heartland of America. Together these chapters provide an historical overview of immigration, enslavement, and the conquest of Indigenous Peoples' lands, as well as the differing experiences of major ethnic groups and the diversity within these groups. And they connect social science research on the legacy of slavery, colonialism, and other areas of oppression that contribute to societal inequities with the "opportunity gaps" faced by many students of color and low-income students today. This accessible overview develops content knowledge teachers need to become successful in linguistically and ethno/racially diverse classrooms—the focus of Chapter 10 in Part III.

Part III, renamed "Reaching All Learners: Perspectives on Culture, Gender, Class, and Exceptionalities," applies content from Parts I and II of the text to teaching and learning in a multicultural society. It includes three new chapters and a revised Chapter 10 that is renamed "The Promise of Culturally Competent Teaching." The new chapters include: (1) "How Does Gender Make a Difference?"; (2) "The Impact of Poverty on American Children and Youth"; and, (3) "The Challenges of Special Education in Inclusive Classrooms." In the ninth edition, these three new chapters greatly expand the content in the previous edition's Chapter 11 that combined gender, class, and race into one chapter and discussed how they come together and interact in special education. Drawing on events in the 2016 presidential election, Chapter 11 discusses how news and entertainment media impact the gender socialization of

young children and youth, and how children's gender identity development differs in traditional sex-role socialization, feminist, and men's rights perspectives of masculinity. The chapter also examines how and why the academic and social-psychological experiences of male and female students differ, and gender differences in academic challenges and outcomes that have become more evident—especially among boys and young males of color. The section on gender identity includes a brief glossary of terminology, the challenges and benefits of creating "safe schools" for LGBTQ students, and inclusion of gender equity in classroom instruction. Chapter 12, in recognition of increasing socioeconomic inequity in the U.S. over the past few decades, provides a thorough discussion of the demographics of poverty in the U.S., the over representation of children of color in high-poverty neighborhoods and schools, different views on the causes of poverty that impact social assistance programs, and the impact of poverty on young children and youth. The chapter also discusses environmental conditions and challenges of teaching in high-poverty schools, and the possibilities of cooperative team learning in economically diverse classrooms. Chapter 13 discusses how IDEA's six principles, disability categories, and insufficient funding impact special education; and how identification categories such as intellectual disability, fetal alcohol spectrum disability, specific learning disability, and gifted and talented can negatively label students as well as improve their chances of reaching their fullest potential. Racial, cultural, gender, and socioeconomic disparities in special education are addressed, as well as the disproportionately high numbers of youth with disabilities in the juvenile justice system, the "school to prison pipeline," restorative justice, and the promise of My Brother's Keeper. The advantages and challenges of teaching in inclusive classrooms, and an illustration of differentiated instruction in Maria Montana's inclusive classroom, concludes this section of the book.

Part IV, "Teaching in a Multicultural Society" includes two chapters. Chapter 14, "Teaching in Linguistically Diverse Classrooms" by James Damico and Suriati Abbas, addresses issues of linguistic diversity in classrooms across the nation and how teachers can connect with children and youth from varied language backgrounds. Chapter 15, "Curriculum Transformation: A Multicultural Curriculum Development Model for Teacher Decision Making," provides a foundation for students to create a transformative multicultural curriculum while addressing school mission statements, social justice standards, and content standards in their respective subject areas and/or grade levels. The curriculum model provides goals, core values, and decision-making guidelines to help students implement social justice practices and a transformative multicultural curriculum in their future teaching.

The ninth edition's four-part structural organization gives readers and instructors flexibility as to the order in which chapters are read or assigned. Some instructors will prefer to start with Part III (the opportunity gap associated with culturally incompetent teaching, gender, poverty, and exceptionalities), some will prefer curriculum transformation (multicultural curriculum decision making and sample lessons) as a starting point, and some prefer Chapter 2 (culture, ethnic identity, and the contexts of multicultural teaching), whereas many others use the book's structure as a basic outline for their course. Designed for readers new to multicultural education, graduate and undergraduate students alike, beginning undergraduates often work in "expert groups" associated with one of the ethnic group chapters in Part II to prepare an exemplary class presentation inspired by their chapter; they are then encouraged to view the other Part II chapters as resources for the future. Advanced undergraduates and graduate students can work with Part II in its entirety. Several case studies are especially useful for teachers seeking continuing education.

Supplements for the Instructor

The following ancillary materials have been developed to support instructors using this text. These instructor supplements are located on the Instructor Resource Center (IRC) at www.pearsonhighered.com. Please contact your Pearson representative if you need assistance downloading them from the IRC.

Instructor's Resource Manual and Test Bank

The new Instructor Manual (IM) is broken into two parts: Instructor's Material, and Test Bank with Answer Key. The Instructor's Material provides major areas of learning per chapter, as well as compare and contrast concepts, suggested lessons and teaching strategies, many of which can be a springboard for group work and/or class discussion.

PowerPoint™ Presentations

Ideal for lecture presentations or student handouts, the PowerPoint™ Presentations for each chapter include key concept summaries.

Acknowledgments

About the Author

Christine Iverson Bennett,
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Christine Iverson Bennett is Professor Emerita in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at Indiana University (IU). During her 31 years at IU, Professor Bennett developed and taught graduate and undergraduate courses in multicultural education; she initiated and directed the Teacher as Decision Maker Program for career-changers, the Research Institute on Teacher Education, and Project TEAM, a program to recruit and support students from underrepresented minorities. She worked extensively with schools in and around Indianapolis during school desegregation initiatives. Bennett also served as director of Indiana University's Exchange Program with Hangzhou University and conducted seminars for faculty at Al-Ain University in the United Arab Emirates and for visiting international scholars at Indiana University. Her funded research and publications focus on the impact of multicultural social studies for African American, Anglo, and Latino youth; classroom climates in desegregated middle schools; causes of racial inequities in secondary school suspensions and expulsions; explanations of minority student attrition at predominantly White universities; and the impact of multicultural teacher education programs on preservice teachers. She earned her B.A. in Sociology at Northwestern University, her M.A. in Social Studies Education at Stanford University, and her Ph.D. in Social Science Education with specializations in Ethnic Studies at the University of Texas in Austin. Prior to her doctoral studies she taught high school social studies in San Jose and Los Angeles. She can be reached at bennettc@indiana.edu.

Monkey Business/Fotolia.

Part I
The Case for Multicultural Education

CHAPTER 1

Multicultural Schools: What, Why, and How

> ## Learning Outcomes
>
> - Discuss the origins, principles and dimensions of multicultural education.
> - Explain how the core values can help teachers advocate for multicultural education.
> - Rank the four arguments for why we need multicultural education in the United States today and justify your priorities.
> - Use the conditions that characterize multicultural schools to critique a school you are familiar with.
> - Discuss the main criticisms of multicultural education.

Envision a society where *all* the nation's schoolchildren are provided the educational opportunities and support needed to reach their fullest potential; a society where all teachers are caring and culturally competent advocates for students from all ethnic, linguistic, socioeconomic, family, and personal backgrounds; a society where teachers are fully supported in material and nonmaterial ways as they engage in this important work for the nation. Envision, also, an interconnected world where local, national, and global societies are working toward equity, environmental sustainability, wise innovation, economic security, and affirmation of the common good on a global scale.

Can we ever attain this vision? Whatever the answer, it is imperative that we try; the alternative is increasing injustice, conflict, and violence on a global scale. Because teachers play a crucial role in this vision, their work can be extraordinarily rewarding. However, classroom teaching in the twenty-first century is demanding and difficult work, especially given the intense national climate of educational standards, high-stakes testing, growing racial and cultural diversity within the school-age population, inadequate resources in many schools, and the ever-increasing expectations for schools to address special needs and community concerns. While recognizing the challenges teachers face, this book takes a hopeful approach that teachers *can* make a difference. It provides a foundation for multicultural teaching in any school context, a foundation developed from theory, research, and practice in multicultural education that spans more than four decades. Advocates of multicultural education believe teachers can make a difference—locally, nationally, and globally—by preparing future world citizens who understand that without social justice there cannot be lasting peace.

What Is Multicultural Education?[1]

This section describes the origins of multicultural education and defines it in terms of four basic principles and four dimensions of multicultural teaching.

Origins

Multicultural education originated in the United States as a hopeful and idealistic response to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s; its primary purpose was reformation of the nation's schools. The *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* decision in 1954 reversed the legality of "separate but equal schools" and triggered rising expectations and aspirations for equal opportunity and social justice, especially in public education. Instead, disproportionately high numbers of the nation's African American, American Indian, and Latino children and youth were placed in "special" education for the "handicapped" or "culturally disadvantaged." Others were suspended or expelled for reasons of "teacher discretion," or attended schools where teachers and the curriculum reflected primarily Anglo-European American perspectives. In reaction, the multicultural education movement emerged quickly and passionately, drawing upon a long history of multidisciplinary inquiry, artistic and literary achievement, social action, and scholarly writing. By the early 1970s, the movement had embraced democratic values and ideals built on principles of social justice that stand in contrast to the old "**culturally disadvantaged**" and **assimilationist** Anglo-Eurocentric perspectives that pervaded the nation's school systems.

Principles

Multicultural education rests upon four broad principles: (1) the theory of cultural pluralism; (2) the ideals of social justice which would bring an end to racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression; (3) affirmations of culture in the teaching and learning process; and, (4) visions of **educational equity** and excellence leading to high levels of academic learning and personal development for all children and youth.

Cultural Pluralism

The ideal of cultural pluralism is a foundational principle of multicultural education in the United States. Developed early in the twentieth century by democratic philosopher Horace Kallen at the time of the "great deluge" of immigrants from Europe, the concept of cultural pluralism affirms the right of each ethnic group to retain its own heritage as the newcomers become **acculturated** and are integrated into society.[2] It envisions a society based upon democratic values of equity, fairness, and social justice; respect for human dignity and **universal human rights**; and the freedom to maintain one's language and culture, provided the human dignity and rights of others are not violated. It stands as a compromise between cultural assimilation on the one hand, whereby ethnic minority groups are expected to give up their language and culture to blend into mainstream Anglo-European culture, and segregation or suppression of ethnic minorities on the other hand.[3] Although ethnic minorities may be expected to compromise in some areas in order to maintain societal harmony and national identity, implicit are the assumptions that every child's home culture must be affirmed and respected and opportunities must be provided for *all* children to reach their fullest potential. Although cultural pluralism was not widely accepted during Kallen's lifetime and most immigrants from past eras did assimilate, as we shall see

in Part II of this book, it was revived in the 1960s and 1970s, and today this ideal is widely accepted.

Antiracism

A second foundational principle of multicultural education is antiracism and the elimination of structural inequities related to identity groups beyond ethnic groups, such as race, class, and gender. In particular, the redress of *racial* inequities in a society built upon and maintained by **White privilege** is a primary focus of multicultural education, especially societal structures rooted in deep-seated structural injustices and systematic patterns of dominance and suppression that denied people of color economic and political equality. The end of institutional and cultural racism is at the heart of multicultural education, even when conceptions of diversity are expanded to include gender, class, disabilities, and sexual preference.

Culture in Teaching and Learning

A third foundational principle is the importance of culture in teaching and learning. The concept of culture has been described as anthropology's "seminal contribution" and a "welcome palliative to existing notions of inherited, and therefore immutable, racial differences."[4] *Culture* refers to a people's shared knowledge, beliefs, social values, worldviews, and preferred standards of behaving, as well as the material products they create. In a culturally diverse society such as the United States, it is not possible to "individualize" or personalize instruction, an idea most teachers embrace, without considering culture.

Excellence and Equity

Finally, the need for academic excellence and equity is also a foundational principle of multicultural education. *Equity* in education means equal opportunities for all students to reach their fullest potential. It must not be confused with *equality* or sameness of result or even identical experiences. Student potentials may be diverse, and at times equity requires different treatment according to relevant differences, such as instruction in a language the child can understand. Achieving educational excellence requires an impartial, just education system where all students are perceived to be capable of learning at high levels and are provided opportunities to be academically successful.

These principles—cultural pluralism, eradication of racism and other forms of oppression, the importance of culture in teaching and learning, and high equitable expectations for student learning—provide the basic premise and philosophy that underlie the conceptual framework proposed in Figure 1.1. The framework depicts four interactive dimensions of multicultural teaching that are developed throughout this book.

A Conceptual Model of Multicultural Education

Multicultural education is an approach to teaching and learning that includes the movement toward equity in schools and classrooms (Equity Pedagogy), the transformation of the curriculum (Curriculum Reform), the process of becoming multiculturally competent (Multicultural Competence), and the commitment to address societal injustices (Social Justice).

Dimension One: Equity Pedagogy

Equity pedagogy envisions teachers who create positive classroom climates, use culturally responsive teaching to foster student achievement, and consider cultural
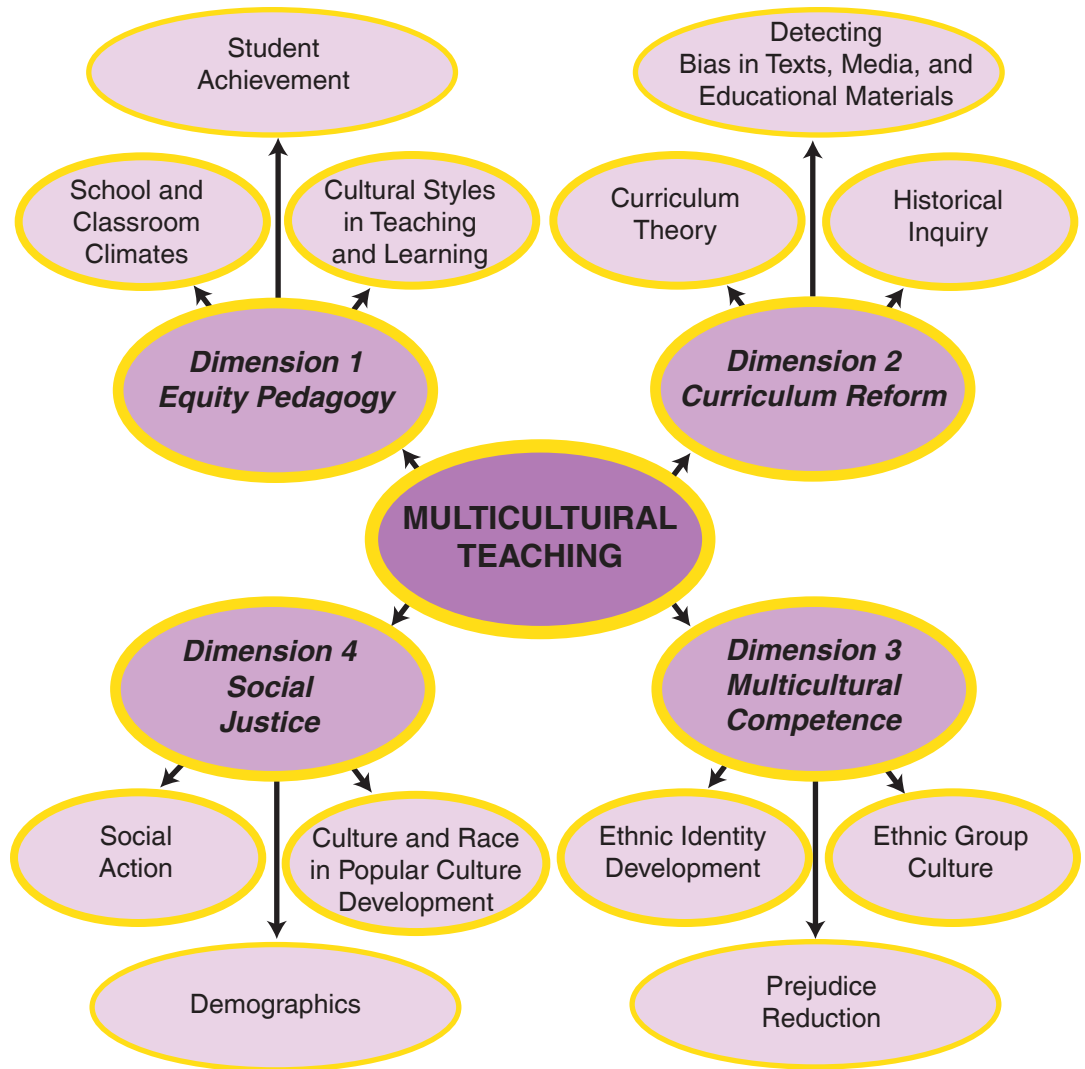
Figure 1.1 A Conceptual Model of Multicultural Teaching

styles and culturally based child socialization, as well as the conditions of poverty or wealth, in their approach to teaching and learning. Equity pedagogy aims at achieving fair and equal educational opportunities for all of the nation's children and youth, particularly ethnic minorities and the economically disadvantaged. It attempts to transform the total school environment, especially the hidden curriculum expressed in teacher expectations for student learning, as well as the grouping of students and instructional strategies, school disciplinary policies and practices, school and community relations, and classroom climates. Greater equity would help reverse the problems many ethnic minorities and low-income students

The Example of Jesús Martinez

Jesús Martinez was a bright, fine-looking six-year-old when he migrated with his family from Puerto Rico to New York City. At a time when he was ready to learn to read and write his mother tongue, Jesús was instead suddenly thrust into an English-only classroom where the only tool he possessed for oral communication (the Spanish language) was completely useless to him. Jesús and his teacher could not communicate with each other because each spoke a different language, and neither spoke the language of the other. Jesús felt stupid; his teacher perceived him to be culturally disadvantaged and beyond her help. However, she and the school officials agreed to allow him to "sit there" because the law required that he be in school.

For the next two years Jesús "vegetated" in classes he did not understand—praying that the teacher would not call on him. She rarely did and seldom collected his papers, since she felt Jesús was not capable of what "more fortunate" children could do. Jesús' self-concept began to deteriorate.

Another Puerto Rican boy in the classroom who spoke English was asked to teach Jesús English and help him in the process of adjustment. They were not permitted, however, to speak Spanish to each other because the teacher believed it would "confuse Jesús and prolong the period of transition" into English; also, it annoyed other people who could not understand what they were saying. The other boy, then, could not translate academic subject matter for Jesús. Jesús was expected to "break the code," to learn English before learning his other subjects. By the time he began to understand English, he was so far behind in all his coursework that it was impossible to catch up. He was labeled "handicapped" by his teachers and taunted by his schoolmates. In fact, each time he would attempt to use his English, some of the other children would ridicule him for his imperfect grasp of the language. The teacher thought the teasing was all right because it would force Jesús to check his mistakes and provide him an incentive to learn proper English. School had become a battlefield for Jesús, and he began to find excuses to skip his classes. The situation became unbearable when, as a result of a test administered in English, Jesús was put in a class for students with severe learning disabilities.

When Jesús finally dropped out of school, he had not learned English well. Today, although he is fluent in Spanish, he has never learned how to read and write his mother tongue. He is functionally illiterate in both languages.

Source: Based on F. Cordasco and D. Castellanos, "Teaching the Puerto Rican Experience." In J. A. Banks (Ed.), *Teaching Ethnic Studies: Concepts and Strategies* (pp. 227–228). Washington, DC: National Council for Social Studies.

face in our schools and ensure that they attain the highest standards of academic excellence.

The story of Jesús Martinez, a highly intelligent Puerto Rican child, shows the need for equity pedagogy. His school experience is echoed in the classrooms of many language minority children in schools across the country.

The example of Jesús Martinez shows how the exclusive use of English in the classroom provided equal treatment without equity. Equity in education means equal opportunities for all students to develop their fullest potential; it must not be confused with equality or sameness of result or even identical experiences. At times equity requires different treatment according to *relevant* differences. The common language of instruction was unfair for Jesús because he did not understand English as well as his classmates and was at a disadvantage because all the subjects, including mathematics, science, and social studies were taught only in English. Jesús is one of the millions of children who enter our schools each year with little or no proficiency in the English language.

Dimension Two: Curriculum Reform

Curriculum reform envisions teachers who conduct inquiry to rethink and transform the traditional curriculum, which (in the United States) is primarily Anglo-European in scope. Curriculum reform expands traditional course content through

The Example of Sam Johnson's General Science Class

Sam Johnson, general science teacher in Oak Grove Middle School, leaned back in his chair and sighed. The student reports had been a disaster. It's true that technically they were terrific. The students had dutifully done extensive research, and the classroom was decorated with the results of their labor: an elaborate bulletin board on world hunger; large poster displays on nuclear weapons; the expense of toxic waste control, American technological superiority, and biological differences among races; a pictorial essay of famous scientists; an audiovisual show of how the U.S. government disposes of nuclear wastes; and another bulletin board on the AIDS epidemic throughout the world.

What bothered Johnson were the subtle (and not so subtle) expressions of attitudes, values, and beliefs that permeated the student reports. It was clear that the students felt culturally, and even biologically, superior to people from other nations, especially those from the Third World, the "undeveloped countries," as Stacey had referred to them, or the "primitive people," according to John. Sam Johnson had been chilled by Steve's remark that AIDS had originated among African Negroes, showing "a weakness among these people that makes it dangerous for us to associate with them." Margaret and Mark were concerned that nuclear wastes are indeed damaging to human health, as evident by the high rate of leukemia, sterility, and birth defects found in people who drink water from rivers that flow near the deposit sites; they were relieved that these deposits are located on barren lands where few people, mainly Indians, live. One of the bulletin board panels on world hunger explained how the infant death rate climbed in "undeveloped countries" after the United States sent huge supplies of canned formula, because the sanitary conditions were inadequate to keep the baby bottles clean. One would also conclude from this display that all the world's starving people are dark skinned and have naked children; there was no indication that millions of North American children suffer from malnutrition and poverty. Rachael's research on famous scientists showed the "superiority of modern Western Civilization"; all of her selections were White and male (with the exception of Madame Curie), and there was no recognition of the scientific developments in earlier civilizations across the globe.

Johnson was appalled, and actually a bit scared, by Steve and Peter's brilliant but uncompassionate report on nuclear weapons. The boys had glowed over the fact that "today nuclear weapons are over one million times more destructive than the bombs that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki," and they went on with statistics about the nuclear weapons various nations have stockpiled. Without questioning, they accepted the assumptions that these stockpiles are necessary to prevent a future nuclear holocaust.

What happened to these kids? Sam wondered. How had he failed them? Could anything be done? As he thought back over the school year, he remembered the students' reactions when the Japanese plant for Honda parts was set up in the county. The students reflected their parents' outrage and concern that this was unfair competition for the General Motors factory that provided a major source of employment for the townspeople. Sammy Nakamura, Johnson's only non-White student and one of a handful of Japanese Americans in a town that is over 99 percent White, was beaten on the way home from school, and his family received hate mail and taunts of "Japs go home." Then there was the time Vicki Miller was struck by a car and killed. Joshua had remarked, "That's one less mouth for the government to feed. That whole family has been on welfare for years."

Sam had let these occasions (and others) slip by without any class discussion. So much had to be covered in the eighth-grade curriculum, but he wondered, isn't there a way to do both? Couldn't he teach science in a way that would lessen his students' ethnocentrism and prejudices and deepen their awareness of human similarities and the increasing global interdependence?

inclusion of multiethnic and global perspectives. For most of us, this revision requires active inquiry and the development of new knowledge and understanding about cultural differences and the history and contributions of contemporary ethnic groups and nations, as well as of various civilizations in the past. This aspect of multicultural education focuses on both minority and nonminority students, in contrast to equity pedagogy, which targets primarily ethnic minorities and the poor. The importance of curriculum reform is evident in the classroom of Sam Johnson, a middle school science teacher.

The case of Johnson's science class illustrates the importance of a multicultural curriculum for students in mainstream schools and classrooms; in this example the students are primarily White, middle-income, and attend school in a small town that is ethnically encapsulated. Students from mono-cultural backgrounds need to learn about multiple perspectives and worldviews in order to live harmoniously in a multicultural world. Whether a school's student population is multi-ethnic or mono-ethnic, it is important that students know about our nation's history, including the legacies of racism. They also need to know about increasing global interdependence, the worldviews associated with different nations, and an awareness of the state of the planet.[5] In Chapter 15, we will revisit Sam Johnson's classroom and witness the transformation in his students' presentations as a result of the changes Sam makes in his curriculum.

Dimension Three: Multicultural Competence

Multicultural competence envisions teachers who are comfortable with and can interact well with students, families, and other teachers who are racially and culturally different from themselves. The process of becoming multicultural is one whereby a person develops competencies in multiple ways of perceiving, evaluating, believing, and doing.[6] The focus is on understanding and learning to negotiate cultural diversity among nations as well as within a single nation and a single classroom. In their book *Communicating with Strangers*, for example, Gudykunst and Kim describe the multicultural person as:

> . . . *one who has achieved an advanced level in the process of becoming intercultural and whose cognitive, affective, and behavioral characteristics are not limited but are open to growth beyond the psychological parameters of any one culture. . . . The intercultural person possesses an intellectual and emotional commitment to the fundamental unity of all humans and, at the same time, accepts and appreciates the differences that lie between people of different cultures.*[7]

According to the authors, *intercultural people*:

- Have encountered experiences that challenge their own cultural assumptions (e.g., culture shock or "dynamic disequilibrium") and that provide insight into how their view of the world has been shaped by their culture
- Can serve as facilitators and catalysts for contacts between cultures
- Come to terms with the roots of their own ethnocentrism and achieve an objectivity in viewing other cultures
- Develop a "Third World" perspective that "enables them to interpret and evaluate intercultural encounters more accurately and thus to act as a communication link between two cultures"[8]
- Show cultural empathy and "imaginatively participate in the other's worldview."[9]

This process of developing multicultural competence is a major goal of multicultural education. It enables students to retain their own cultural identity while functioning in a different cultural milieu; for example, the school. Furthermore, this dimension avoids divisive dichotomies between native and mainstream culture, and brings about an increased awareness of multiculturalism as "the normal human experience."[10]

Dimension Four: Social Justice

Social justice is at the heart of multicultural education as it provides an ethical foundation for the mission, policies, and practices in our nation's schools that serve increasingly diverse student populations. It embraces ideals of equality and equity to ensure that *all* students develop to their fullest potential and achieve high levels of academic success. In equitable classrooms both teachers and students believe *all* students are capable of learning both basic content and high-level concepts. *Social justice* envisions teachers who are concerned about (and encourage student inquiry about) inequitable social structures; images of race, culture, class, and gender in popular culture; and social action to bring about greater societal equity, both locally and globally. Teaching toward social justice affirms the commitment to combat racism, sexism, and classism (as well as other prejudices and forms of discrimination that degrade an individual's basic human rights and dignity) through the development of appropriate understandings, attitudes, and social action skills.

The social justice dimension can begin with clearing up myths and stereotypes associated with race, culture, and gender, as well as other identity groups. It brings out basic human similarities, as well as the historical roots and current evidence of individual, institutional, and cultural racism, sexism, and classism in the United States and elsewhere in the world. The ultimate goal is to develop an anti-oppression orientation and antiracist, antisexist, anticlassist behavior in basic everyday life. In Chapter 3, Figure 3.4 visualizes teaching for social justice along a continuum beginning with the acquisition of knowledge about societal inequities that eventually lead to actions aimed at the eradication of these injustices.

The Core Values in Multicultural Education

Multicultural education has ideological overtones based on democratic ideals that are lacking in less controversial content areas of the curriculum, such as mathematics, reading, or spelling. Arguments may take place over what methods are most appropriate in these other areas, but there is little disagreement about what should be included in the basic content standards. In multicultural education, however, where there are no hard and fast rules about content standards, there is disagreement about not only what the curriculum entails, but also whether it should exist at all.

Four core values provide a philosophical framework for the multicultural curriculum model described briefly at the end of this chapter and developed more fully in Chapter 15:[11]

1. acceptance and appreciation of cultural diversity,
2. respect for human dignity and universal human rights,
3. responsibility to the world community, and
4. honor and protection of our planet.

These core values are ideals that are yet to become a reality, or even widely accepted, as seen in controversies over environmental issues, national and global inequities between the rich and the poor, terrorism, the death penalty and criminal justice system, and insufficient public support for children living in poverty. They are rooted in democratic theory and the "common ethics and morals that underlie the world's great wisdom traditions (Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and others.)"[12] Together they illustrate the strong ethical foundations of multicultural education.

Although democratic principles are set forth in such documents as the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the U.S. Constitution, democracy in the United States falls short of democracy as an ideal. Still, the ideals provide an inspiration for change and reform, as was evident in the civil-rights movement of the 1960s, when nonviolent civil disobedience was a tactic used to change unjust discriminatory laws and practices. As a form of government, a way of life, and a goal or ideal, democracy is based on principles of justice and the recognition of the equality and dignity of all persons regardless of race, religion, gender, or lifestyle. It is also based on procedural justice that assures all citizens equal protection under the law and establishes the principle of majority rule with minority rights. Democratic society protects basic liberties such as freedom of speech, conscience, expression, and association, provided that the human dignity and liberty of others are not violated. A democratic society fosters a "free marketplace of ideas" and depends on an informed, participatory citizenry. Thus it is opposed to indoctrination and censorship and respects dissent, a free press, free elections, and diverse political parties. Democratic societies attempt to provide equal educational opportunities to help all citizens develop their full potential.

The fourth value, honoring and protecting the planet, originates in the belief that "all things in the universe are interdependent." This philosophy develops an understanding of "the balances that exist in all natural systems, or ecology. . . . All beings are related and therefore human beings must be constantly aware of how our actions will affect other beings, whether these are plants, animals, people, or streams."[13] It requires a caring and compassionate populace, an ethical community where people do not seek the best for themselves and their families at the expense of

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Apollo 17 picture of the Earth. This NASA picture was taken on 7 December 1972, as the spacecraft traveled to the moon as the last of the Apollo missions.

others. Resistance to the 1,200-mile-long Dakota pipeline near the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in South Dakota that began in 2015 exemplifies this value in the call for "Climate Justice." The protesters see themselves as "protectors of the water," the source of life for themselves and all living things on earth.

The possibility that these core values might someday become widely acceptable is evident in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 and reaffirmed in 1993 at the International Human Rights Conference in Vienna. The declaration, which is designed to serve "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations," states that all persons are born free and equal in dignity and expresses basic civil, economic, political, and social rights of all humans.

These values are brought to life in the following Human Manifesto, a document prepared by the Planetary Citizens Registry in Ottawa, Canada:

Human life on our planet is in jeopardy.
It is in jeopardy from war that could pulverize the human habitat. It is in jeopardy from preparations for war that destroy or diminish the prospects of decent existence.
It is in jeopardy because of the denial of human rights.
It is in jeopardy because the air is being fouled and the waters and soil are being poisoned.

*If these dangers are to be removed and if human development is to be assured, we the
    peoples of this planet must accept obligations to each other and to the generations
    of human beings to come.*
*We have the obligation to free our world of war by creating an enduring basis for
    worldwide peace.*
*We have the obligation to safeguard the delicate balance of the natural environment and
    to develop the world's resources for the human good.*
We have the obligation to make human rights the primary concern of society.
*We have the obligation to create a world order in which man neither has to kill or be
    killed.*
*In order to carry out these obligations, we the people of this world assert our primary
    allegiance to each other in the family of man. . . .*
Life in the universe is unimaginably rare. It must be protected, respected, cherished.
*We pledge our energies and resources of spirit to the preservation of the human habitat
    and to the infinite possibilities of human betterment in our time.*[14]

The core values enable teachers to clarify basic goals about teaching and learning that is multicultural. This clarification is essential in protecting, improving, and building the case for multicultural education, and points the way to needed changes should currently held goals be found inappropriate in the future. The core values can also enable teachers to deal more effectively with controversial issues that are an integral part of multicultural education, such as violations of human rights and destruction of the environment.

Why Is Multicultural Education Essential?

The case for multicultural education centers on the need for equity in our schools and society. There is little educators can do on their own to end opportunity gaps rooted in inequitable societal structures such as unfair housing practices and racially segregated neighborhoods, high poverty schools, and inadequate job opportunities for people trapped in poverty. However, educators can bring these conditions to light, create the conditions of multicultural education in their own classroom, and, if challenged, be able to explain why multicultural education is essential.

The Call for Academic Excellence and Equity: Closing the Opportunity Gap

Demand for the reform of schooling in the United States was a persistent theme throughout the twentieth century, and it continues today. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, signed by President Lyndon Johnson as part of the War on Poverty, was a civil rights law designed to ensure that every child has access to an education. Johnson was the son of a tenant farmer and knew first-hand the importance of a good education; ESEA's Title 1 addressed Johnson's goal of equity in educational opportunity by providing financial assistance to schools with high percentages of students from low-income families. ESEA required Congressional reauthorization every three to five years and in January 2002, the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001 was passed with overwhelming bipartisan support. The goal of this legislation was to close the academic achievement gap between White middle-class students and low-income students, as well as students of color and English language learners. On one level, NCLB was consistent with principles of multicultural education in its emphasis on academic success for *all* schoolchildren and the elimination of racial, linguistic, and socioeconomic disparities. But the narrow emphasis on high-stakes standardized tests, a shrinking of the curriculum to line up with the tests rather than curriculum reform and transformation, inconsistencies in how states and school corporations define "success," inadequate funding, and inequitable school resources, especially in urban areas and high-poverty regions have made it impossible to reach the NCLB's goal. In December of 2015, Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) replaced NCLB; the new law gives the states more flexibility while maintaining NCLB's emphasis on high standards, accountability, and closing the achievement gap. ESSA differs from previous versions of ESEA with the inclusion of early childhood education; it supports early childhood programs that better prepare low-income children for kindergarten and are aligned with K-12 education. The common thread throughout all these reports and initiatives is the demand for a national commitment to true excellence in education. It remains to be seen as to whether the new act will be effective in helping schools implement equitable practices to address the achievement gap by ending the educational opportunity gaps rooted in societal inequities beyond the schools.

Persistent Inequity in Education

Evidence of extensive inequity in education exists in the nation's high school dropout rates, which are disproportionately higher among African American, American Indian, and Hispanic youth and the poor. Latino and African American students are dropping out at a rate more that twice the national average; and in our "largest metropolitan areas, at least half of students who attend public schools do not graduate."[15] Moreover, the typical White middle school student at age thirteen "reads at a higher level and performs better in math than the average Black or Latino 17-year-old."[16] In many schools across the nation, racial and language minority students are overrepresented in special education and experience disproportionately high rates of suspension and expulsion. The majority of African American and Latino students attend schools that have large concentrations of economically disadvantaged and/or lower-achieving students. The latter may be attributed to outdated texts, poor facilities, and underprepared teachers.[17] These are schools where teachers often deemphasize higher-order thinking skills because of the misconception that low-achieving students must master the basic skills before they can develop higher-level

skills.[18] Other studies suggest that there is differential treatment and lower teacher expectations of racial and language minority students, compared with their non-minority peers.[19] Moreover, gifted and talented children of color and low-income students rarely have access to Gifted and Talented Education.[20] If these inequities are to be reversed, drastic steps are needed to enhance the achievement and academic success of students labeled "at risk" as well as students without access to challenging programs that are best suited for their exceptional abilities. Achieving educational excellence requires an impartial and just educational system; and beyond the system, inequalities children face due to racial segregation in schools and neighborhoods, poverty, and differences in home and school languages can no longer be ignored.

In 2012 the U.S. graduation rate for public high school students broke 80% for the first time in the nation's history,[21] and in 2013–2014 total graduation rate increased to 82.3%.[22] Still, several million students failed to finish high school in four years and "students from historically underserved groups are disproportionately represented among U.S. nongraduates."[23]

According to NCES, in 2014 the percent of graduates within identified ethnic groups are as follows: American Indian/Alaskan Native, 69.6%; Asian/Pacific Islander, 89.4%; Hispanic, 76.3%; Black, 72.5%; and White, 87.2%. Four-year graduation rates were also identified for the following groups: Economically disadvantaged, 74.6; Limited English proficiency, 62.6%; and Students with disabilities, 63.1%. In addition to national graduation rates for these student identity groups, NCES also reports the four-year high school graduation rates in all fifty states and the District of Columbia. Table 1.1 shows the four lowest state high school graduation

Table 1.1 Four Lowest State High School Graduation Rates by Race/Ethnicity and Selected Demographics

Race/Ethnicity and Demographics	*Four Lowest States*			
Black	Nevada (53.9%)	District of Columbia (59.7%)	Oregon (60.0%)	Minnesota (60.4%)
Hispanic	Minnesota (63.2%)	New York (63.9%)	Georgia (64.0%)	Nevada (64.6%)
White	Oregon (74.3%)	New Mexico (74.7%)	Nevada (76.9%)	Alaska (78.5%)
Asian / Pacific Islander	Alaska (74.0%)	Nebraska (78.0%)	Idaho (79.0%)	Minnesota (81.7%)
American Indian / Alaska Native	South Dakota (47.0%)	Wyoming (47.0%)	Minnesota (51.0%)	Nevada (52.0%)
Economically Disadvantaged	New York (59.6)	Michigan (60.1%)	Missouri (62.3%)	Alaska (62.5%)
Limited English proficiency	Arizona (18.0%)	Nevada (29.0%)	Alaska (32.0%)	New York (37.1%)
Students with disabilities	Nevada (27.6%)	Mississippi (28.1%)	Georgia (36.5%)	District of Columbia (41.0%)

Source: NCES Digest of Educational Statistics, 2015 Table 219.46. Public high school 4-year adjusted cohort graduation rate (ACGR), by selected student characteristics and state: 2010–11 through 2013–14

rates by race/ethnicity, economically disadvantaged, United English proficiency, and students with disabilities. Given that high school graduation is an indicator of academic attainment these findings document a persistent nationwide opportunity gap based on race/ethnicity, gender, and class (family income), as well as geographic region of the country.

Given that the major goal of multicultural education is the development of the intellectual, social, and personal growth of all students to their highest potential, it is no different than the goal of educational excellence. However, it depends on the teacher's knowledge, attitudes, and behavior and whether he or she provides equitable opportunities for learning, changes the mono-cultural curriculum, and can help all students become more multicultural in outlook. This goal includes students in relatively mono-cultural classes and schools. Although one's ethnic group is just one of a number of identity sources available, ethnicity and social class are at the heart of the equity problem in U.S. society. Therefore, discussions about achieving educational excellence require concern about why these ethnic groups are consistently cut off from equal access to a good education.

Multicultural Education Affirms Equality of Opportunity

There is a lot of rhetoric in education about the human potential and the need for equality of opportunity. Multicultural education moves beyond the rhetoric and recognizes that the potential for brilliance exists equally across all ethnic groups. When social conditions and school practices hinder the development of this brilliance among the millions of students of color and low-income students stuck in high poverty schools, as is the case within our society,[24] the waste of human potential affects us all. The cumulative loss of talented scientists, artists, writers, doctors, teachers, spiritual leaders, and financial and business experts is a tragic waste of human resources. The concern for developing human potential goes beyond individuals with special talents and gifts. High levels of development and achievement are believed possible for nearly everyone. Even those who are known to have severely limited mental capacity or to have severe psychological problems can achieve and inspire when nurtured and supported by teachers and peers in well-resourced schools.

Multicultural Education Expands the Nation's Knowledge Base

Multicultural education contributes to excellence by expanding the curriculum to include overlooked knowledge about women, ethnic minorities, and non-Anglo-European nations. It corrects the traditional curriculum's inaccuracies and omissions concerning the contributions and life conditions of major ethnic groups locally, nationally and globally; and it affirms content knowledge needed to address our society's current conflicts and challenges. With deeper knowledge about African American history, for example, people can better understand the roots of racism in our criminal justice system and the frustration and anger that erupted into the Black Lives Matter movement. Likewise, fuller knowledge of the history, culture, and geography of countries in the Middle East will foster wiser decision-making in our national government. Obviously, the attainment of any degree of excellence is stunted by curriculum content that is untrue or incomplete. Given that we live in an interdependent and interconnected world, a limited knowledge and understanding of global issues and multiple national perspectives is foolish and even dangerous.

Monkey Business/Fotolia.

By the year 2020, children of color will exceed 45 percent of the school-age population in the United States.

The Existence of a Multiethnic Society

Today, close to 50 percent of this society's school-age children are ethnic minorities.[25] Current patterns of immigration, particularly with the influx of people from Southeast Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean, ensure that ethnic pluralism will continue to characterize American society in the foreseeable future. Today it is estimated that 43 percent of this nation's school-age children live in low-income families; half of these children are living at or below the poverty level.[26] Given the extensive research indicating that disproportionately high numbers of ethnic minority and low-income students are dropping out of school or are being suspended or expelled, and that disproportionately high numbers of those who do remain in school are achieving far below their potential, teachers today face a tremendous challenge. Schools must affirm cultural diversity, if these patterns are to be reversed. Multicultural schools would obviously be better equipped to deal with the complexities of a pluralistic society than are the traditional mono-cultural schools. Multicultural schools support the ideal of cultural pluralism as well as the practice of culturally competent teaching and represent a compromise between cultural assimilation on the one hand and cultural separatism or segregation on the other.

Some believe that cultural pluralism heightens ethnic group identity and leads to separatism, intergroup antagonism, and fragmentation that is dangerous to our society. Cultural pluralism seems possible in a nation such as the United States, because it is, from a non-Indigenous Peoples perspective, a nation of immigrants.[27] With the exception of American Indians and some segments of the Latino population, "homeland" areas are not an issue in the ethnic identity for most groups. In contrast to those areas of the world where cultural pluralism has resulted in fragmentation—for example, portions of Europe and the former Soviet Union—many ethnic groups in the United States have contributed to the development of the predominant culture or were immersed in an already existing dominant culture when they arrived.[28]

Clearly, our schools are faced with educating a culturally pluralistic population. Pluralistic schools can identify baseline expectations for learning and

behavior that are expected of all students. Every attempt must be made to lessen the cultural conflict that may result from cultural bias at this baseline. Some groups may perceive certain rules as culturally biased, such as the prohibition of scarves, turbans, and yarmulkes, or unexcused absences during religious holidays, in schools that serve students with diverse religious traditions. The scheduling of extracurricular activities after school discourages students who live in distant segregated neighborhoods and must travel long distances to school by bus; and certain school traditions, such as team names and colors, school emblems, and yearbook titles, may also symbolize the preeminence of a particular group.

The Existence of an Interconnected World

The human race faces a number of critical concerns that if left unresolved are likely to result in the destruction of life as we know it: destruction of the ozone layer, environmental pollution, poverty, overpopulation, nuclear arms, drought and famine and world hunger, and the pandemic spread of diseases. Most recently, the growing refugee population and global terrorism are challenges that depend upon local to global cooperation. The resolution of these problems, as well as positive participation in global trade and economic development, travel, technology and social media, demands global cooperation. Effective cooperation requires human beings who possess some degree of intercultural competence.

The urgency of teaching about the state of the planet and of developing responsible world citizens was expressed over three decades ago by Robert Muller, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and International Youth Year (1985):

A child born today will be faced as an adult, almost daily, with problems of a global interdependent nature, be it peace, food, the quality of life, inflation, or scarcity of resources. He will be both an actor and a beneficiary or a victim in the total world fabric, and he may rightly ask: "Why was I not warned? Why was I not better educated? Why did my teachers not tell me about these problems and indicate my behavior as a member of an interdependent human race?" It is, therefore, the duty and the self-enlightened interest of governments to educate their children properly about the type of world in which they are going to live.[29]

All of us are participants in the global arena. It is unavoidable. The question is the degree to which this participation is informed and enlightened. Thus it is urgent that we foster global awareness among today's children and youth.

Equity in Education and Democratic Values

Equity is not only a matter of bettering our country's educational system. It is required if we value this nation's democratic ideals: basic human rights, social justice, respect for alternative life choices, and equal opportunity for all. Making reality fit these ideals, however, is not always easy. Reconciling the differences between these democratic ideals and the realities of social injustices in our society has been a concern for decades and in the 1940s was aptly described as the "American dilemma" by the famous Swedish social scientist Gunnar Myrdal. Recently, I was shocked and dismayed to discover that few of my university students, undergraduate and graduate students alike, had ever heard of the American Creed or the American dilemma, even though they were familiar with famous words from the Declaration of Independence and the Preamble of the Constitution. Thus, I want to quote briefly from this description of Myrdal's thoughts on the American Creed, because it provides moral support for our work in multicultural education.

> *. . . America is a land of great differences and rapid changes. Still there is great unity in this nation. Americans of all national origins, classes, regions, creeds, and colors have something in common: a set of beliefs, a political creed. This "American Creed" is the cement in the diversified structure of this great nation.*
>
> *America, compared to every other country in western civilization, large or small, has the most definitely and clearly expressed system of ideals in reference to human relations. This body of ideals is more widely understood and appreciated than similar ideals anywhere else. To be sure, the political creed of America is frequently not put into effect; but as a principle, which ought to rule, the Creed has been made conscious to everyone in American society. . . . These ideals of essential dignity of the individual, of basic equality of all men and of certain inalienable rights to freedom, justice, and fair opportunity, represent to the American people the meaning of the nation's early struggle for independence. These principles were written into the Declaration of Independence, the Preamble of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and into the constitutions of the states. The ideals of the American Creed have become the highest Law of the land.*[30]

It is ideally un-American to be racist or sexist, for example, but because many teachers fear teaching about values or changing attitudes, they ignore the issues of prejudice and discrimination. Multicultural education, in contrast, confronts the fact that this is a racist society with a history of White supremacy and privilege. An effective curriculum would point out that White racism has greatly influenced how people perceive, evaluate, believe, and act—and that this legacy persists. Because its aim is to reduce the ignorance that breeds racism and to develop the understanding and actions people need to become antiracist, multicultural education can help overcome barriers to achieving our ideals.

Democratic principles are at the heart of many issues addressed by multicultural education, such as the struggle for minority rights in a society based on majority rule, the right to dissent, and the limits of free speech. Multicultural classrooms nurture freedom of expression, the search for truth, and fair-minded critical thinking, but they are not value free. For example, multicultural advocates affirm fairness in the allocation of scarce positions and national resources and the elimination of economic exploitation, as well as the end of cultural exploitation and "assimilationist models of citizenship."[31]

Multicultural Schools: What Are They?

Multicultural schools are sometimes equated with desegregated schools. We need to ask, however, under what conditions do students benefit from desegregated schooling? At a time when school busing was at its peak, most desegregated schools bused students of color to historically White schools before this question was answered. When the bus arrived, the most common responses to new students on campus were "**business-as-usual,**" **assimilation**, **re-segregation**, and (rarely) **integration**. The assumption over the past decades seems to have been that segregated schools are inherently bad and desegregated schools inherently good. Today our public schools are again becoming more racially segregated, due primarily to increases in neighborhood schools where housing is more racially segregated than ever. In primary schools, nearly 60 percent of Black and Latino children attend high poverty schools that are both racially and economically segregated, compared to about 11 percent of White students.[32] However, there is a growing movement to make schools more integrated by desegregating neighborhoods.

Desegregation Is Not Sufficient

To the degree that segregated schools foster unwarranted fears, misconceptions, and negative stereotypes between isolated groups, in addition to unequal educational opportunities, the assumption that segregated schools are inherently bad is correct. It is false, however, to assume that simply desegregating a school will eliminate these inherent problems. Both research and casual observation in the vast majority of desegregated schools document the existence of re-segregation through formal practices such as tracking, grouping, and scheduling of extracurricular activities, and through informal practices such as student seating preferences in classrooms and cafeterias. Many desegregated schools have faced the problems of racial tension, apathy, and absenteeism as a reaction to forced busing and desegregation. All these conditions mitigate against personal growth and achievement among students.

Unfortunately, there has rarely been time for thoughtful consideration of the question, under what conditions do students benefit from desegregated schooling? In most U.S. schools, teachers, students, and administrators were forced to desegregate without the help of guidelines to establish good race relations and academic achievement among minority and majority students alike. Nevertheless, answers to the question do exist. This is important and hopeful because today there exists a small but growing nationwide movement to desegregate schools by desegregating neighborhoods.[33]

Our focus will be on the urban setting, which typically has involved racial desegregation. Urban desegregation highlights the process that occurs unrecognized in many other school settings where race may not be a factor. Numerous possibilities come to mind: rural versus urban, labor versus management, wealthy versus poor, military versus civilian, Christian versus non-Christian, Polish American versus Italian American, and town versus gown. Whatever the setting, needed are teachers who can mitigate inequitable social structures in the schools, such as tracking and ability group practices that separate students into groups that are identifiable by race, culture, class, or gender.

Monkey Business/Fotolia.

Student interaction in the school cafeteria is an indicator of integration.

Positive Teacher Expectations

Teachers often make snap judgments, based on their perceptions, about students and go on to treat them differently. Many teachers interact with students differently according to the student's race and socioeconomic status. Sara Lawrence Lightfoot has aptly referred to teachers as "judges of deviance."

Much has been written about the power of teacher expectations. Research also supports the basic assumption that teacher attitudes influence student achievement. One of the first studies, and probably best known, is the controversial study by Rosenthal and Jacobson, who reported their success in influencing student achievement by giving teachers phony data about their students.[34] Approximately 20 percent of the student population, selected at random, was identified as "bloomers" on an intelligence test. Teachers were given the names of these supposedly high-potential students, to be held in confidence, and these students did indeed achieve at significantly higher levels than their classmates. Although some scholars question the methodology used in this study, even its critics accept the notion that teacher expectations often affect student achievement.

Decades of research since this study "leads to a consensus that teachers' expectations can and sometimes do affect teacher-student interaction and student outcomes; however, the processes are much more complex than originally believed."[35] One conclusion, for example, is that teacher beliefs and expectations interact with student beliefs and behaviors. To the extent that ethnicity influences behaviors and beliefs, it is a factor in teacher expectations.

In one follow-up to Rosenthal and Jacobson's "Pygmalion" study, social studies student teachers were asked by their university supervisors to rank their students from high to low in terms of academic ability after only two days in the classroom.[36] The student teachers did so without expressing uncertainty or difficulty. During the semester, their university supervisors coded their interactions with the high and low students. Results showed that lows were less frequently encouraged to participate in class discussion or to interact with the teacher, either directly by being called on or

indirectly by receiving extended teacher feedback when they volunteered. Teachers tended to neglect the students they rated low.

In another study involving student teachers, all White females, the women were asked to teach a comparable current events lesson to a biracial group of students.[37] Each was given a class roster that contained fictitious IQ data for each student. High and low IQs were assigned randomly but equally among Black and White students. Classroom observers recorded no significant difference in student behavior during the lesson, but the student teachers perceived the bright African American students as more hostile and disruptive. A likely explanation is that these student teachers felt threatened by students who did not fit their expectations (that is, they were not expecting a group of African American students who were also bright). In fact, several recent studies show that many teachers do in fact hold implicit biases against Black students (primarily male) as early as preschool. (This phenomenon is discussed more fully in Chapters 2 and 13.)

Evidence also indicates that many White teachers have lower expectations for their non-White students. In one Midwestern study of high school student discipline in two large urban school corporations, teachers who responded to an anonymous questionnaire felt Black students had less innate potential than White students on every variable, except basketball (where Blacks were perceived as having equal potential). Other variables included band, orchestra, drama, and scholastics.[38]

Another study of classroom interaction in 41 middle school classrooms showed that when teachers have equal achievement expectations for Black and White students there is more interracial friendship and interaction among the students. A classroom climate of acceptance among students was more likely to exist when teachers did not distinguish between the learning potential of Black and White students.[39] Other research has shown that a classroom climate of acceptance is related to increased student achievement, especially among minorities in the classroom.

Studies by Gay, Rist, and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission report that many teachers have lower expectations for African American and Mexican American students.[40] In the Rist study, which involved Black teachers and students, the teacher had lower expectations for the darker-skinned children. All three studies showed that teachers interacted with low-expectation students in intellectually limiting ways and were more supportive and stimulating with their White or lighter-skinned students.

Given the fact that teacher expectations can and do influence student achievement, and given the fact that many teachers hold lower expectations for African American and Latino students, is equitable education possible? I believe it is. Not all administrators, teachers, and students are racially prejudiced and not all have low expectations. Therefore, racial prejudice is not necessary to the human condition. Many teachers, administrators, and students who are racially prejudiced can develop the kinds of understanding required to become less so. This is a major goal of multicultural education among adults. Lower teacher expectations for particular racial or ethnic groups are based on negative racial or ethnic prejudice. Teachers, like all people, often are not aware of their prejudices; thus they may not be aware of their lower expectations for some students.

A major theme in this book is the belief that if teachers are to have equally positive expectations for students of all ethnic backgrounds, they must understand the cultural differences that often exist in our increasingly diverse classrooms. The fact that cultural differences frequently are associated with racial differences often confirms myths and stereotypes associated with race. Teachers need guidelines, such as

the Aspects of Ethnicity discussed in Chapter 2, to help them observe and interpret culturally different behavior. Such guidelines can help prevent blanket assumptions that certain behaviors and values go with certain racial groups.

A Learning Environment That Supports Positive Interracial Contact

Too often, we simply bring together groups of students who share different histories and hope for the best. The best rarely happens. Casual contact between different ethnic groups may reinforce existing negative stereotypes or generate new ones. I observed this phenomenon in a kindergarten classroom in a Florida school district during its initial attempts at desegregation. As the school year began, White students, most of whom had already had several years of nursery school, could be found busily working in one of the higher ability achievement groups. Their African American classmates, who had been bused from across town and had not had preparatory nursery school experience, ran wildly around the room until they could be settled into one of the remedial or lower achievement groups. White parents who advocated school desegregation were dismayed by their children's negative reports. For many of these White kindergartners, initial contact with Black children appeared to be creating negative racial prejudices. For most of the African American kindergartners, the vicious cycle of low expectations and low academic achievement was beginning.

Scenes like this can be avoided when school policies and practices are guided by social contact theory. In 1954, the year of the landmark school desegregation decision, Gordon Allport first published his theory of positive intergroup contact. He summarized his theory as follows:

> *Given a population of ordinary people, with a normal degree of prejudice, we are safe in making the following general prediction: Prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or local atmosphere), and if it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups.*[41]

It is unlikely that the young children described in this scene harbored deep-seated racial prejudice. If this is also true for the teacher, classroom practices can be implemented to encourage academic achievement and good race relations. Social contact theory provides a framework that can help educators identify policy guidelines for effective school desegregation, as well as promising practices that have been uncovered by recent research in desegregated schools.

According to contact theorists, at least four basic conditions are necessary if social contact between groups is to lessen negative prejudice and lead to friendly attitudes and behaviors:

1. Contact should be sufficiently intimate to produce reciprocal knowledge and understanding between groups.
2. Members of various groups must share equal status.
3. The contact situation should lead people to do things together. It should require intergroup cooperation to achieve a common goal.
4. There must be institutional support—an authority and/or social climate that encourages intergroup contact.[42]

Monkey Business/Fotolia.

How a school responds to court-ordered desegregation is critical in the development of equitable, effective learning environments.

These four conditions of positive social contact can be used as guidelines for observing schoolwide and classroom interactions and for detecting problem areas. One of the most difficult conditions for most schools to establish is an equal status environment for the different racial groups within the student body. Often there are sharp socioeconomic differences, as well as differences in the initial achievement levels of students of color and their White classmates. Tracking and grouping practices may be viewed as necessary, but they may also lead to re-segregation. A history of racial discrimination in education and hiring practices means schools often face a limited pool of available Black and Latino administrators and teachers who can serve as high-status role models.

Other potential violations of the conditions of positive intergroup contact are due to school rules, discipline practices, extracurricular activities, and symbols and traditions. Some rules are perceived as inequitable (for example, prohibition of "bad language" and hats). Scheduling extracurricular activities after school excludes students who travel by bus and limits opportunities for intergroup contact in co-curricular activities. School traditions often become a problem during initial stages of desegregation and act as symbolic indicators of where the school's authority stands on integrated pluralism.

> *If "new" students come to an "old" school, there is a frequent tendency for both racial groups to perceive the school as "belonging" to the "old" group. The school name, team nicknames, school songs, and titles of school publications are a few of the many symbols that may symbolize preeminence of a particular racial group. There are other, more subtle, customs that may symbolize segregation in ways not anticipated. If editors have always been college preparatory students, and there are few college preparatory students in the "new" group, continuation of the tradition will symbolize unequal status. . . . "Preserving traditions" can be a euphemism for "putting minorities in their place." Opposition to integration may focus on defense of symbols. When this happens, school personnel need to realize what is happening and deal with reality.*[43]

Underlying these relatively visible concerns is a hidden problem: a mutual lack of knowledge about communication modes, values, and perceptions among culturally

different students and teachers, which often leads to misunderstanding and conflict. For example, many White teachers and students are unknowingly ignorant about the structures and meanings of Ebonics, African American vernacular. The double negative "ain't got no" may signify a "low-class," uneducated person, while use of the term "nigger" among Blacks may be viewed by Whites as insulting or threatening. Black students, on the other hand, might regard all Whites as racist and interpret the behaviors of White teachers and classmates from that perspective. As long as students and teachers are left to their own devices, there is little opportunity for the kind of intimate contact between culturally different students that could foster mutual understanding. Informal segregation is typically the rule throughout the school.

Let's look at two examples of desegregation in action. Although they took place several decades ago, they ring true today, as shown in the 2005 book by Stephen J. Caldas and Carl L. Bankston, *Forced to Fail: The Paradox of School Desegregation*.

The case of Isaac Washington portrays the unfair burden African American schoolchildren and their families have borne in the struggle to desegregate U.S. schools. Typically, though not always, it is the Black children who are bused farthest from home into areas that are unfamiliar and sometimes hostile: it is the Black children who have to adjust to new school expectations, sometimes numerous times in a single school career; it is the Black community that is forced to give up its schools, and all of the history, symbols, and traditions these schools represent.

The Example of Isaac Washington

Isaac Washington is a junior at Jefferson Davis High School, a school known for its academic excellence and located near a burgeoning metropolis in Texas. Having entered Davis High as a freshman, Isaac is among the first group of Black students to attend the school in response to a school desegregation court order.

Isaac had attended elementary and junior high schools in the African American community. He and his friends had expected to enroll in George Washington High School, an outstanding all-Black educational facility with a national reputation. For decades, Washington High School had provided a nurturing learning environment that encouraged academic excellence and fostered personal ambition and self-confidence among the student population, many of whom became successful in business, the arts, and the professions. The school was shut down three years ago, despite pleading and protest from the African American community, and its student body was distributed throughout the previously all-White schools. This was done so that the incoming Black students would not exceed 10 to 15 percent of the host school student population. Most of these students face a lengthy bus ride at the beginning and end of each school day, and most can remember the anger and resentment expressed by members of the White community who opposed their presence in the school. Sports and other extracurricular activities scheduled after school have become impossible because of the long bus ride home.

In contrast to most of his former classmates from Washington High School, who were placed in the low-ability tracks, Isaac's classes are in the advanced placement and honors sections. Although he excels in all of his classes, his new school experience weighs heavily on him. Most of his close friends have dropped out of school, even the ones who had thrived in elementary and junior high school, and he is experiencing tensions with old friends in the neighborhood.

At school he is uncomfortable being the only African American in most of his classes. The phenomenon of all-eyes-upon-him whenever a Black writer is studied, for example, or a civil rights issue is discussed is a daily occurrence that he feels he will never get used to. And then there are the insults and racial slurs that constantly occur and seem incurable.

The Example of Marcia Patton

Marcia Patton is the 12-year-old daughter of Mavis and Lew Patton, two politically active lawyers who practice law in a large Midwestern city. Marcia is in the first group of White children to attend Jefferson Junior High School, traditionally a school for inner-city Blacks. Although most of the children in her neighborhood attend a high-powered prep school, Marcia's parents are sending her to Jefferson on principle.

On her second day at Jefferson, Marcia clutched her books tightly to her chest as she entered Ms. Samson's language arts class. The teacher smiled as she greeted Marcia. She stepped into the hall to speak with several noisy students who were scrambling around the drinking fountain.

At that moment five classmates burst into the room. They slammed their books down on the desk and crowded around Marcia.

Most of the students were very friendly to her. Several offered to take her to the cafeteria at lunch. Marcia became uncomfortable with the attention when one classmate handled her braids and another swatted them out of the offending student's hands shouting, "Let her hair alone!"

That evening Marcia wrote a letter to Ms. Bryant, her teacher last year, in the secrecy of her bedroom.

"When I first walked in, I saw all these dark faces and for the first time I felt so White. There was nothing but laughing, noisy, dark-skinned faces. My heart was beating so fast I thought I would drop dead for sure. I guess a lot of them won't like me. Still, most of the kids are real nice to me. But even so, I'm scared. Everyone is so loud and sometimes they get so close I can hardly breathe.

"The teachers are real nice to me but I wish Ms. Samson wouldn't call on me so much. We use the book we used in your class last year, and lots of the kids in the class can't read it.

"I've been there over a week now and was feeling better until today. A horrible thing happened and I can't tell anybody but you.

"I went to the bathroom after lunch, and two girls I don't know told me to give them all my money or they would hurt me. I gave them twelve dollars, all I had. They said they'd slash my face if I told anybody. I'm afraid to go back."

White children from middle- and upper-income backgrounds can also find it difficult to adjust to new schools. Thrust into a desegregated setting, they often misinterpret and are misunderstood, and they are sometimes fearful and vulnerable.

Marcia's situation, that of being one of a few White students in a predominantly African American urban school, is a reversal of what many Black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian children often face. Marcia's situation is complicated by the fact that her parents are using her to act in accordance with their belief in school desegregation. Liberal White parents are frequently criticized for not sending their children to inner-city schools. Students in this school situation may require a good deal of emotional support. Marcia is afraid of disappointing her parents; she confuses her fears and anxieties about her classmates with being racist and thus is unable to confide in her parents. Although most of the African American students are willing to accept Marcia and try to make her feel welcome, there are some students who will take out their anger and frustration on her. Because she is a symbol of what they believe to be White oppression, her safety is threatened.

Social contact theory can be used as a guide to alleviate obstacles experienced by students like Isaac Washington and Marcia Patton. Although visions of integrated schools may differ, there are at least two necessary observable characteristics. First, there is a relaxed interracial mixing among the majority of students

and teachers in casual and informal settings at school. Second, there is real academic achievement and personal growth among all students, as seen in formal course work and extracurricular activities. These two characteristics appear to be interactive. Where good race relations exist, student achievement is higher, and the reverse is also true.

There is no standard recipe for integrating the desegregated school. Neither are there specific requisite practices. There are, however, necessary conditions for positive intergroup contact (equal status, knowledge, cooperation, and institutional support) that schools can use as a guide in making decisions about specific desegregation practices. Some form of ability grouping might be appropriate in creating an equal-status environment in one school but not in another. What is important is that ability groups do not produce racially visible differences and do not limit the opportunities for low-income students.

Research by scholars such as Elizabeth Cohen suggests ways of creating equal status among racially different students who bring differing entry-level skills to the classroom.[44] In one study, Cohen provided special instruction to lower achievers before their participation in small-group cooperative learning. The lower achievers could then make unique contributions to their group, which helped equalize their classroom status. Furthermore, achievement and interracial friendship were enhanced.

A study conducted by Garlie Forehand and Marjorie Ragosta focused on school characteristics of effectively desegregated schools.[45] They defined effectiveness in terms of student achievement and good race relations. Data were collected from tests, questionnaires, and interviews in nearly 200 schools. All the schools were racially mixed and represented a wide range of socioeconomic, demographic, and geographic conditions.

The results identified school conditions under which benefits in integrated education were maximized in a wide variety of settings, sometimes even where large socioeconomic differences existed within the student population. In their *Handbook for Integrated Schooling*, which developed from their findings, the researchers identify a number of practices that characterize effectively desegregated schools. Table 1.2 presents an overview of these and other research findings and shows their relationship with the conditions of positive intergroup contact.

Other research shows that biracial work and play teams among students are one of the most powerful ways to improve race relations. As seen in Table 1.2, this practice meets the four conditions of positive intergroup contact. One promising strategy that builds on this fact is team learning, an approach developed by Robert Slavin and his associates at the Center for Social Organization of Schools at the Johns Hopkins University. Team learning can help establish an equal-status environment among students who bring different entry skills to the classroom, because the tasks can be designed to fit student strengths. (Team learning is examined in Chapter 12.)

Culturally Competent Teaching

Given the cultural and racial complexities of contemporary society in the United States, as well as the disproportionate number of students of color and low-income students who are being left behind in our schools, we need teachers who are both culturally competent and antiracist. Equity pedagogy, a major dimension of

Table 1.2 Strategies for School Integration: Summary of Research Findings

School Practice	Shows Conditions of Positive Intergroup Contact that			
	Create Equal Status	*Lead to Interpersonal Acquaintance*	*Are Based on Common Goal*	*Show Institutional Support*
Multiethnic curriculum	✓	✓		✓
Extracurricular activities scheduled during school day	✓	✓	✓	✓
Open discussion of race and racial issues in classroom		✓		✓
Biracial work and play teams among students	✓	✓	✓	✓
Biracial seating patterns		✓		✓
Rules and discipline: equal punishment for equal offense	✓			✓
Equitable rules (If punishment for the infraction of a rule appears to be associated with race, determine whether the rule is equitable.)	✓			✓
Academic achievement and good race relations established as explicit goals				✓
Biracial staffing that reflects school's racial composition	✓			✓
Biracial staffing in high-status positions				✓
Student-focused human relations activities	✓	✓	✓	✓
Class and program assignments that do not result in racially identifiable groups	✓	✓		✓
Individualized instruction that rewards improvement as well as academic absolutes	✓			✓

Source: Christine Bennett, Comprehensive Multicultural Education: Theory and PracticeTheory and Practice, 9e, © 2019, Pearson Education, Inc., New York, NY

multicultural education, as defined in the discussion of Figure 1.1 on page 5, is needed in schools across the heartland as much as in our inner cities. Culturally incompetent teachers, especially those unable to work with English Language Learners, or teachers who are unable to counter institutional racism in both its hidden and overt forms, cannot implement it.

The need for culturally competent teachers was recently addressed by one of the writing teams working with the Educator Standards Board in the State of Ohio.[46] The team defined cultural competence as the teacher's ability to

> . . . (s)ee differences as assets. They create caring learning communities where individual and cultural heritages, including languages, are expressed and valued. They use cultural and individual knowledge about their students, their families, and their communities to design instructional strategies that build upon and link home and school experiences. They challenge stereotypes and intolerance. They serve as change agents by thinking and acting critically to address inequities distinguished by (but not limited to) race, language, culture, socioeconomics, family structure, and gender.

Beyond using images, literature, and other forms of expression that represent students' diverse cultures and backgrounds, teachers understand, affirm, and use students' home and primary languages, communication styles, and family structures for learning and discipline.[47]

Although this definition was not included in the final document adopted by the Ohio Board of Education in 2005, it has inspired others who are writing about racial and cultural competence in the classroom.[48] The promise of culturally competent teaching is discussed in more depth in Chapter 10.

A Multicultural Curriculum

Curriculum can be viewed as the experiences, both official and unofficial, that learners have under the auspices of the school. Following this definition, a multicultural curriculum is one that attends to the school's hidden curriculum—for example, teachers' values and expectations, student cliques and peer groupings, and school regulations. It also attends to the values, cultural styles, knowledge, and perceptions that all students bring to the school. A multicultural curriculum, in its broadest sense, influences the total school environment. Curriculum transformation, the topic for Chapter 15, will focus on planned experiences in school that are intended to develop student understandings, values, attitudes, and behaviors related to six goals of multicultural education:

1. Understanding Multiple Historical Perspectives
2. Developing Cultural Consciousness
3. Developing Intercultural Competence
4. Combating Racism, Sexism, and All Forms of Prejudice and Discrimination
5. Raising Awareness of the State of the Planet and Global Dynamics
6. Developing Social Action Skills

Multicultural content can extend, enrich, and perhaps even transform state and national content standards across the curriculum. With clarification of multicultural goals, it becomes possible to connect them with curriculum standards, as is illustrated in the final chapter.