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## Genres of Research in Multicultural Education

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*This article develops a conceptual framework of research genres that illustrate the complex multidisciplinary roots of multicultural education. The primary objective is to provide educational researchers and teacher educators with a lens as they design new (or rethink existing) inquiry and teacher preparation programs in the meta-disciplinary field of multicultural education. Other objectives are to encourage multicultural theoreticians to consult a range of original research (as opposed to other theoreticians and secondary or tertiary sources in the field), and to underscore hopeful possibilities for practice. The framework also invites a rethinking of the genres as conceptualized in this paper. The proposed genres originate from the author's immersion in multicultural theory, research, and practice spanning over three decades. Examples of research are included to clarify the nature of the genres, as well as the interactive connections across genres within the framework as a whole and implications for practice.*

On several recent occasions I have been invited to explain the field of multicultural education in a session or two to educators from abroad—in the past year to Russians and South Africans. Often I am asked to give a speech to students or teachers who are new to the field. I also encounter graduate students who have taken one or two courses in multicultural education, or who developed literature reviews for dissertations, and who perceive lack of definition, conceptual clarity and purpose in the field other than broad affirmations of diversity. The idea of mapping genres of research and practice in multicultural education originally came to mind as a means of introducing newcomers, as well as more experienced students, to the complexity and richness of the field.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, the map invites critical dialogue with veteran scholars who would parse the field differently.

To offer a prelude to the map, I often give a brief overview of the origins of multicultural education and the foundational ideas, to provide cohesiveness to the map's conceptual framework. I describe the field of multicultural education as a hopeful and idealistic response to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s that developed into a Black Power movement and spread to include many other minority groups, including women. The Brown 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, Native-American, 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 field of multicultural education emerged quickly and passionately, drawing on a long history of multidisciplinary inquiry, artistic and literary achievement, social action, and scholarly writing (e.g., C. Banks, 1996). The earliest expressions were disparate, taking numerous shapes such as ethnic studies curriculum projects, human relations workshops for teachers, community action programs, and studies of school desegregation (Gay, 1983; Gollnick, 1995). By the early 1970s, however, the field had embraced a set of core values and ideals that provide conceptual clarity and power to its contemporary research and practice. Yet, since its beginnings and continuing into the present, multicultural education has been perceived as lacking definition and purpose (e.g., Gibson, 1976, 1984; Hoffman, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 1987), posing a threat to continued vision and accomplishment. The complexity seems invisible to critics who ask for research studies to show that multicultural education works. As a possible antidote, this article provides a conceptual framework of research genres that illustrate the multidisciplinary nature of multicultural education (see Table 1).

TABLE 1  
*Genres of research in multicultural education*

Cluster One: Curriculum Reform	Cluster Two: Equity Pedagogy	Cluster Three: Multicultural Competence	Cluster Four: Societal Equity
<b>Assumptions</b> Knowledge is contested and constructed. A Eurocentric curriculum in the United States is a tool of cultural racism.	<b>Assumptions</b> All children have special talents and the capacity to learn. The major goal of public education is to enable all children to reach their fullest potential. Cultural socialization and sense of ethnic identity influence the teaching and learning process.	<b>Assumptions</b> The reduction of racial and cultural prejudice is possible and desirable. Individuals can become multicultural; they need not reject their familial worldview and identity to function comfortably in another cultural milieu.	<b>Assumptions</b> Societal change is a necessary condition to bring about equitable education access, participation and achievement. Societal equity (change) is possible and consistent with basic democratic values and the American creed.
<b>Genre 1</b> Historical inquiry	<b>Genre 4</b> School and classroom climate	<b>Genre 7</b> Ethnic identity development	<b>Genre 10</b> Demographics
<b>Genre 2</b> Detecting bias in texts and instructional materials	<b>Genre 5</b> Student achievement	<b>Genre 8</b> Prejudice reduction	<b>Genre 11</b> Culture and race in popular culture
<b>Genre 3</b> Curriculum theory	<b>Genre 6</b> Cultural styles in teaching and learning	<b>Genre 9</b> Ethnic group culture	<b>Genre 12</b> Social action

### **Principles of Multicultural Education and the Genres**

This conceptual framework stands in contrast to the culturally disadvantaged and assimilationist Anglo-Eurocentric perspectives that underlie much of the educational research in the past century (Grant & Tate, 1995; Padilla & Lindholm, 1995). It rests on four broad principles of multicultural education: (a) the theory of cultural pluralism; (b) ideals of social justice and the end of racism, sexism, and other forms of prejudice and discrimination; (c) affirmations of culture in the teaching and learning process; and (d) visions of educational equity and excellence leading to high levels of academic learning for all children and youth. In particular, the ideal of cultural pluralism is a foundational principle of multicultural education in the United States (although it is insufficient as noted below). The concept of cultural pluralism was developed early in the 20th century by democratic philosopher Horace Kallen (Kallen, 1924; Konvitz, 1974) and has been transformed by scholars of color such as Carter G. Woodson (1933/1969), W. E. B. DuBois (1961), Jack Forbes (1973), Ronald Takaki (1989), and Richard Ruiz (1991). This ideal vision of society affirms the democratic right of each ethnic group to retain its own heritage. It envisions a society based on core values of equity and social justice, respect for human dignity and universal human rights, and 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 (Feagin & Feagin, 1993; Sills, 1968). Although ethnic minorities may be expected to compromise in some areas 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.

The transformation of Kallen's (1924) ethnicity paradigm to embrace multiple diversities (such as race, racial or ethnic identities, class, and gender) and eliminate structural inequities related to these groups constitutes the second foundational principle. In particular, the redress of *racial* inequities in a society built on and maintained by White privilege is a primary focus of foundational multicultural education scholars (e.g., Baker, 1983; J. A. Banks, 1970, 1973; Cortés, 1973; Forbes, 1973; Gay, 1973; Grant, 1978; Suzuki, 1979, 1984). They concentrated on deep-seated structural injustices and systematic patterns of dominance and suppression that denied people of color material and political equality. Therefore, they moved beyond efforts to end prejudice and discrimination by individuals, and included societal structures. Institutional and cultural racism are at the heart of their writings, even when conceptions of diversity are expanded to include gender, class, disabilities, and sexual preference.

A third foundational principle is the importance of culture in teaching and learning (e.g., Bennett, 1979; Pai, 1990; Shinn, 1972). 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" (Gonzalez, 1995, p. 234). Culture refers to a society's shared beliefs, social values, worldviews, and preferred standards of behaving. In a culturally diverse society such as that of the United States, it is not possible to individualize or personalize instruction, an idea most teachers embrace, without considering culture. Geneva Gay reaffirmed

this principle in her new book, *Culturally Responsive Teaching* (2000). Gay argues that “culture counts” and “is at the heart of all we do in the name of education, whether that is curriculum, instruction, administration, or performance assessment” (2000, p. 8). She writes that

race, culture, ethnicity, individuality, and intellectuality of students are not discrete attributes that can be neatly assigned to separate categories, some to be ignored while others are tended to. Instead, they are inseparably interrelated; all must be carefully understood, and the insights gleaned from this understanding should be the driving force for the redesign of education for cultural diversity. (p. 14)

Finally, the need for academic excellence and equity is a foundational principle of multicultural education (e.g., Bennett, 1986–1999; Gay, 1979, 1994; Irvine, 2000). 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 whereby all students are perceived to be capable of learning at high levels and are provided opportunities to be academically successful.

These principles of cultural pluralism, social equity for racial and ethnic minorities, the importance of culture in teaching and learning, and high equitable expectations for student learning provide the basic premises and philosophy that underlie multicultural education and the genres of research. They provide a unifying ideology for the four genre clusters that constitute the conceptual framework proposed in Figure 1: Curriculum reform, equity pedagogy, multicultural competence, and societal equity. By way of this map, the field of multicultural education commands more conceptual integrity and complexity than critics and advocates may realize.

### A Conceptual Framework of Research Genres

The map in Figure 1 provides a way to view research in the complex and rich field of multicultural education. The framework is an adaptation of the dimensions of multicultural education developed in *Comprehensive Multicultural Education: Theory and Practice* (Bennett, 1990). In their totality, the genre clusters reflect the canonical core of the field evident in curriculum revision and reform, equity pedagogy, multicultural competence, and societal equity.<sup>2</sup> Several compatible fields that are sometimes equated with multicultural education, such as ethnic studies, social studies, gender studies, bilingual education, and special education are excluded from my conceptual framework. These fields have their own extensive bodies of theory and research and are beyond the scope of this article.

Twelve genres of research have been identified and categorized into one of the four clusters; these clusters are interactive categories of studies within the larger body of educational research that reflect the principles of multicultural education previously described. Each genre cluster represents a different dimension of multicultural education and each genre, or category of studies, focuses on a particular way of thinking about making a difference in the intellectual, social, and personal development of all children and youth in our society. I call them *genres* because studies within each genre share a similar primary emphasis in content and purpose that differ sub-

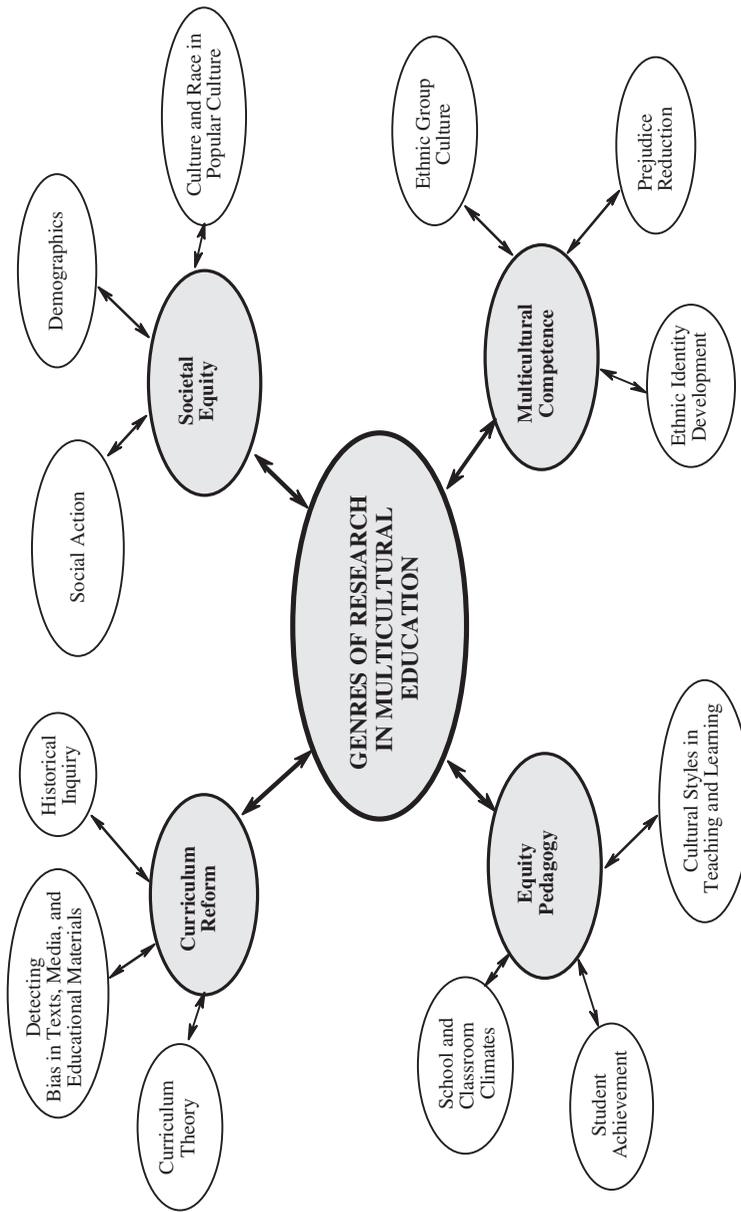


FIGURE 1. A Conceptual Framework of Research Genres

stantially from studies in the other categories. Each contains several lines of research that span a decade or more, and researchers within each genre tend to use similar theoretical frameworks and build on other research within the genre. Research is defined broadly and methodology is not a distinguishing factor in the suggested genres; thus, for example, it would be possible to find survey, experimental, and ethnographic studies within a single genre.

In the discussion that follows, a definition and brief overview of theory and research within each cluster is provided, followed by an explanation of the related genres. One or two research studies are used to illustrate each genre, for a total of 22 examples. Neither meta-analysis, nor a comprehensive review of the research within these genres, nor a critical review of the research methodology in the selected research illustrations, is possible within this article. Therefore, the selected research illustrations are all taken from publications in scholarly journals known for rigorous review of methodology or from books published by an academic press. Other considerations I used in the selection process include (a) a diversity of disciplines, primarily in the social sciences; (b) a diversity of ethnic perspectives; (c) a diversity of authors; (d) saliency of the study or series of studies; and (e) a sampling of studies that range over several decades. These factors behind my selection process limit the pool of possible illustrations and leave out some important scholarship in the field that appears in other books, book chapters, and journals with less emphasis on research methodology. The illustrations, like the genres and sources they represent, differ in terms of the methodological detail and description I include. A brief summary of the state of research to date is provided for each cluster of research genres.

#### *Cluster One: Curriculum Reform*

Research genres in this cluster focus on subject matter inquiry aimed at rethinking and transforming the traditional curriculum that is primarily Anglo Eurocentric in scope. Curriculum reform requires active inquiry to discover and include knowledge and perspectives that have previously been ignored or suppressed. Two assumptions that underlie research in curriculum reform are that (a) knowledge is contested and constructed and (b) a Eurocentric curriculum in a multicultural society such as that of the United States is a tool for cultural hegemony.

The idea of centrality, or using students' own culture and history as a context for learning and helping them relate socially and psychologically to other cultural perspectives, is at the heart of the three genres in this cluster. As defined by Asante (1991),

Centricity is a concept that can be applied to any culture. The centrist paradigm is supported by research showing that the most productive method of teaching any student is to place his or her group within the center of the context of knowledge. For White students this is easy because almost all the experiences discussed in American classrooms are approached from the standpoint of White perspectives and history. American education, however, is not centric; it is Eurocentric. Consequently, non-White students are also made to see themselves and their groups as "acted upon." Only rarely do they read or hear of non-White people as active participants in history. [For example] most classroom discussions of the European slave trade concentrate on the activities of Whites rather than on the resistance efforts of Africans. A person educated in a truly centric fashion comes to view all groups' contributions as significant and useful. Even a White person educated in such a system does not assume superiority based upon racist notions. (p. 171)

Asante argues that Eurocentricity is “based on White supremacist notions whose purposes are to protect White privilege and advantage in education, economics, politics, and so forth” (p. 171). A truly centric education is different from Eurocentrism in that it is nonhierarchical and recognizes and respects diverse cultural perspectives on world phenomena. The subject matter research found in the three genres within this cluster is necessary to create the multicentric curriculum advocated by proponents of multicultural education. It is required for rethinking and transforming the curriculum in most U.S. schools. This category is rich and highly complex, and it can be analyzed in terms of historical inquiry in the content areas; studies of bias in textbooks, trade books, and other instructional media; and curriculum theory.

### *Genre 1: Historical Inquiry in the Content Areas*

Research and teaching in this genre involves rethinking history and the history of any discipline (e.g., physics, mathematics, American literature, music, or art) through a lens of race, ethnicity, culture, class, and gender. Major events, persons, themes, and societal, cultural, or political developments are studied from multiple perspectives and experiences to create an inclusive curriculum. Gay (2000) writes that

Students should learn how to conduct ideological and content analysis of various sources of curriculum content about ethnic and cultural diversity. These learning experiences involve revealing implicit values and biases, modifying attitudes and perceptions, developing different evaluation criteria, and acting deliberately to first deconstruct and then reconstruct common ethnic and gender typecasting. . . . [Students] might learn how to search for evidence of how . . . “positionality factors” affect the presentations writers and typesetters make about ethnic issues and groups. (p. 143)

J. A. Banks (1993) describes the knowledge generated within this research genre as transformative academic knowledge:

[This] knowledge consists of concepts, paradigms, themes, and explanations that challenge mainstream academic knowledge and that expand the historical and literary canon. [It] challenges some of the key assumptions that mainstream scholars make about the nature of knowledge. . . . Transformative academic scholars assume that knowledge is not neutral but is influenced by human interests, that all knowledge reflects the power and social relationships within society, and that an important purpose of knowledge is to help people improve society. (p. 9)

Examples of this genre include revisions of U.S. history by Ronald Takaki (1993), Eric Foner (1990), and Howard Zinn (1995); ethnic studies by Lawrence Levine (1977), Rudolf Acuña (1988), and Sonia Nieto (1998); social science research such as the work of Joe and Clarice Feagin in sociology (1993) and Roger Abrahams in folklore (1992), as well as Afrocentric research by scholars such as Appiah and Gates (1999), Asante (1987, 1990, 1991), and Diop (1974). Examples of revised theory and scholarship literature include *Criticisms in the Borderlands: Studies in Chicano Literature, Culture, and Ideology* (1991) edited by Calderón and Saldívar; “Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent” (1985) by Brantlinger; and *The Sacred Hoop* (1986) by Paula Gunn Allen. Rethorizing is also occurring in the fields of mathematics (e.g., Zavslasky, 1993), science (e.g., Gill & Levidow, 1987), and art (e.g., Cahan & Kocur, 1996).

An illustration of the historical and subject matter research genre is found in two books written by Jack Weatherford, *Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World* (1988) and *Native Roots: How the Indians of the Americas Enriched America* (1991). Weatherford draws on primary and secondary historical, anthropological, and archeological sources to make the case that Indian achievements in mining, architecture, agriculture, medicine, commerce, and government contributed to the development of human societies throughout the world in ways that remain largely unrecognized. His research spanned over a decade and engaged a team of family and professional colleagues, several of them Native-American scholars with connections in indigenous communities across several continents. He argues that Indian skill and hard labor in gold and silver mining in the Americas led to the industrial revolution in Europe and the rise of capitalism; that Indian agricultural technology contributed 60% of the world's food products (including the potato that transformed European agriculture and social structures); that sophisticated Indian pharmacology produced healing substances that contribute to modern medicine; and that Northeast Indian confederacies such as the Iroquois League influenced political ideas that are at the core of the U.S. federal system of government.

Another illustration is the study of Chinese-, Japanese-, Korean-, Indian-, Filipino-, Vietnamese-, Cambodian-, and Laotian-American stories and perspectives by Ronald Takaki (1989). In *Strangers From a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*, Takaki corrects the misconception that the United States is a nation of immigrants from Europe who were the only pioneers in a westward expansion movement. In this narrative study of Asian immigrants, Takaki shows that

the term “shore” has multiple meanings. These men and women came from Asia across the Pacific rather than from Europe across the Atlantic. They brought Asian cultures rather than the traditions and ideas originating in the Greco-Roman world. Moreover, they had qualities they could not change or hide—the shape of their eyes, the color of their hair, the complexion of their skin. They were subjected not only to cultural prejudice, or ethnocentrism, but also racism. . . . Unlike the Irish and other groups from Europe, Asian immigrants did not become “mere individuals, indistinguishable in the cosmopolitan mass of population.” (p. 13)

Asians migrated east, through Oahu, Hawaii, or Angel Island in San Francisco Bay, not through Ellis Island. They contributed to such national undertakings as the transcontinental railroads and development of agriculture in Hawaii and California. Takaki (1989) documents the diversities and similarities in their experiences and perspectives, the history of racism such as the anti-Asian immigration laws and the internment of Japanese-American citizens during World War II, as well as the resurgence of racism directed at the “model minority” today. Despite the privileging of Anglo-European peoples and cultures, Takaki argues that America also has a counter tradition and vision, springing from the reality of racial and cultural diversity. The country has been, “as Walt Whitman celebrated so lyrically, ‘a teeming Nation of nations’ composed of a ‘vast, surging, hopeful army of workers,’ a new society where all should be welcomed.” (p. 16)

### *Genre 2: Detecting Bias in Texts, Trade Books, and Instructional Materials*

The study of bias in curriculum and text materials is one of the earliest and most prolific areas of inquiry in multicultural education. Much of this research builds on

the foundational research by the Council on Interracial Books for Children (CIBC) that used evaluation criteria in five main categories: characterization, language, historical authenticity, cultural accuracy, and illustrations. Textbook studies in the 1970s revealed “some improvement from the blunt racism of previous decades,” although the portrayal of African Americans, Native Americans and other people of color was still marginalized, omitted, or presented inaccurately or negatively (Grant & Tate, 1995, p. 148). More recent studies provide evidence that ethnic and gender stereotypes in trade books and the curriculum are still a problem (e.g., J. Garcia, 1993; Pewewardy, 1998).

“An Analysis of Stereotypes and Biases in Recent Asian American Fiction for Adolescents” by Violet Harada (1994) provides the first illustration of this genre. Harada’s study draws upon research that documents a century and a half of stereotypical depictions of Asian-Americans in fiction through images that “ranged from Asians portrayed as sinister, inscrutable heathens and sexually alluring China dolls to Asians depicted as super-achieving success models” (p. 43). The purpose of her study was to determine how many titles published between 1988 and 1993 included Asian-American characters, to identify the nature of Asian American stereotypes found in previous trade-book research, and to determine the degree to which these biased images still exist in recent fiction for adolescents or children ages 11 to 17. In the study, Asian-American characters included those from the following countries of origin: China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Philippines, Laos, Burma, Taiwan, and India (p. 45).

An extensive search for appropriate titles identified 24 books published between 1988 and 1993, out of approximately 5,000 works of children’s fiction published annually. Only 6 of the 11 Asian-American groups were represented, including Chinese, Cambodian, Japanese, Korean, Taiwanese, and Vietnamese (Harada, 1994, p. 47). A three-page checklist was created by adapting and expanding on CIBC guidelines, and three raters independently analyzed and documented their findings for all 24 titles. A variety of biases and stereotypes were discovered in all but 1 of the 24 titles. More than half of the books presented an image of Asians as a super-achieving model minority. Other images included “mysterious but alluring Orientals” and “yellow bananas,” a reference to “those who are Asian in appearance but who are striving to be white on the inside” (p. 55). In one third of the books, Asian-Americans were portrayed as passive characters who required assistance from White characters to resolve problems (p. 52). Derogatory language, token references to history, and the absence of cultural references about customs and lifestyles was also noted in these books.

A content analysis of California textbooks and follow-up case study by Joyce King (1992) provides the second illustration of this research genre. King had served on the California Curriculum Development and Supplemental Materials Commission (the advisory body of the State Board of Education in California) during the 1986–1990 history textbook adoption period. Her work expands traditional textbook studies based on CIBC guidelines by adding a Black studies, or Afrocentric, lens to the analysis. King grounded her textbook inquiry in “Diaspora literacy,” defined as “the ability to comprehend the literature of Africa, Afro-America, and the Caribbean from an informed, indigenous perspective” (Clark, 1991, p. 42, cited in King, 1992, p. 318). Her analyses focused on “ideological representation of the Middle Passage and how slavery began, as depicted in classroom textbooks utilized by public schools

in the state of California” (p. 318). King challenged the “immigrant perspective” that “distorts the historical continuity of African Americans, Native Americans, and the indigenous peoples now known as Chicanos, Hispanics, or Latinos, who did not come to America in search of material gain or freedom but were conquered by European American settlers” (p. 326). She argued that the “reified immigrant experience” affirms visions of

*individual* opportunity for upward mobility and economic advancement, more so than collective struggle for justice. For the descendents of indigenous peoples forced off and forced to give up their lands, one political consequence of accepting this ideology is the forfeiture of any basis of collective claims for redress and justice. On the other hand, to identify with one’s collective interests is not “excessive veneration of one’s ancestors,” but a logical antidote to domination and alienation. . . .

Black students’ ancestral origins are doubly tainted within the cultural model framework that naturalized the immigrant experience. Not only did their ancestors “come” to this land as slaves, but the masses of black folk still live in poverty. The reality of the African presence, then, as now, contradicts the myth of America as a land of freedom, justice, and equality of opportunity. . . . [The immigrant experience] inherently implies that Black people’s failure is a failure to assimilate and acculturate. The immigrant bias in the textbooks obscures the contradictions occasioned by racial injustice and mismeasures the Middle Passage [the trans-Atlantic slave trade] with Ellis Island, thus distorting the African experience and making it an anomaly rather than a paradox of the American reality. (p. 327)

King (1992) followed up this analysis with an exploratory case study based on parent and educator responses to her critical analysis of the textbooks. Study participants, African American parents and multicultural education specialists, were presented a Black studies scholarly critique of ideology in California’s adopted textbooks. King convened two meetings, one with the parents and another with Black multicultural education specialists, to view a videotape and experience a presentation of her textbook critique. Before the presentation of this critique, King gathered data on the parents’ and consultants’ images of the Middle Passage. Follow-up focus group discussions encouraged participants to reflect on their own educational and social experiences (including racism) and the needs of Black children and youth. Participants expressed ideas about individual and collective social action strategies, power structures in schools and society, and areas of disagreement with the videotape. King concluded that although a Black studies ideology critique does provide a lens to understand the textbook controversy, it also illuminates “a deeper crisis of legitimacy within the disciplines and in the nature of schooling itself” (p. 334) and “the role of textbooks under conditions of racism” (p. 336).

### *Genre 3: Curriculum Theory*

Research in this genre focuses on the nature of multicultural education in terms of concepts and principles, as well as curriculum goals, rationales, models, and designs. These theoretical studies may be descriptive analyses, critical explanations, or prescriptive recommendations. Writings of the scholars and theoreticians in the field who emphasize multicultural curriculum goals, concepts, and development are included in this genre (e.g., Baker, 1983; J. A. Banks, 1993, 1994; Bennett, 1986–1999; Gay, 1995; Sleeter & Grant, 1987).

One selection from James Banks's extensive writings within this genre provides a classic example: "The Canon Debate, Knowledge Construction, and Multicultural Education" (1993). In the "Canon Debate," Banks identifies and describes five types of knowledge that have implications for both formal and informal multicultural curriculum development and design: (a) personal or cultural knowledge, (b) popular knowledge, (c) mainstream academic knowledge, (d) transformative academic knowledge, and (e) school knowledge. He argues that

an important goal of multicultural education is to help students to understand how knowledge is constructed. Students should be given the opportunity to investigate and determine how cultural assumptions, frames of references, perspectives, and the biases within a discipline influence the ways the knowledge is constructed. Students should also be given opportunities to create knowledge themselves and identify ways in which the knowledge they construct is influenced and limited by their personal assumptions, positions, and experiences. (p. 11)

Personal or cultural knowledge refers to "the concepts, explanations, and interpretations that students derive from personal experiences in their homes, families, and community cultures" (J. A. Banks, 1993, p. 7) and is central to this view of multicultural teaching. It provides a lens through which knowledge in the other domains is viewed and interpreted. Personal or cultural knowledge may help to explain why many low income students develop an oppositional culture to school culture, why many students of color are unfamiliar with school cultural knowledge regarding power relationships, and why resegregation often occurs when students from ethnically encapsulated neighborhoods meet in desegregated schools. Furthermore, when the personal or cultural knowledge of students and teachers differs, uninformed teachers may lower their expectations for student success. On the other hand, informed teachers can use this knowledge as a vehicle to motivate students and as a foundation to teach school knowledge. *Transformative Academic Knowledge*, as noted previously in the historical inquiry genre, challenges the basic assumptions of *Mainstream Academic Knowledge* and its offshoot, *School Knowledge*.

*Iroquois Corn in a Culture-Based Curriculum: A Framework for Respectfully Teaching About Cultures* by Carol Cornelius (1999) provides a second illustration of this genre. That author develops a case study of the Haudenosaunee, "The People of the Longhouse" (Iroquois or Six Nations of New York State, including the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora). A culture-based curriculum rests on four assumptions—that all cultures (a) have value, (b) have a worldview that structures their values and society, (c) have an indigenous knowledge base, and (d) are dynamic (p. 37). In a culture-based curriculum, teachers and students conduct cultural research about the worldview of a particular people and how it influences their thinking and way of life; about cross-cultural interactions; and about change and continuity in culture and worldviews, including contemporary times. Cornelius demonstrated the curriculum inquiry process in her own case study of the complexity and continuity of Haudenosaunee culture. She reviewed historical documents beginning in the 1500s, studied 240 paintings by Ernest Smith, Tonawanda Seneca (1907–1975), and interviewed the elders during 1991 to 1992 to develop her case study of the Haudenosaunee worldview and the role of white flint corn, from the people's creation story to the present day.

*The State of Research in Curriculum Reform*

Curriculum reform is the most visible dimension of multicultural education, and it is sometimes misconceived as the totality of multicultural education. Research in the historical inquiry genre spans several decades, has contributed dramatically to revisionist U.S. and world histories, and has led to the discovery of contributions of women and ethnic minorities in numerous fields. The impact of this research is most significant at the university-level curriculum, resulting in new courses, programs, and departments in ethnic studies and women's studies on campuses across the country, as well as revision of courses in Western civilization, art history, and American and world literature. However, with some exceptions, the core curriculum on most campuses does not require students to take these courses, or any course in multicultural studies. For example, a survey of a random sample of 270 colleges and universities stratified to be representative of American higher education showed that only about 30% have a multicultural general education requirement and offer coursework in ethnic and gender studies, and 54% have introduced multicultural studies into some of their departmental offerings, particularly English, history, and the social sciences (Levine & Cureton, 1992). Still, the vibrant research in African and African-American studies, Latino studies, Asian studies, Women's studies, and (increasingly) American-Indian studies over the past three decades, has inspired the curriculum transformations that are now occurring.

However, the work of scholars such as Takaki (1989, 1993) and Weatherford (1988, 1991), not to mention the impressive line of historical research by African, African-American and Latino scholars, is charged with controversy. It has led to conflicts regarding "political correctness" as well as academic and political opposition that perceives such work as divisive and a threat to national unity, or based on biased or even shoddy scholarship. Critics of multicultural historical inquiry and curriculum reform identify a set of problems: the narrow set of issues, tendentious definitions and heightened politicization, a focus on "special problems" of minorities and women, and an emphasis on differences (at the expense of sameness) that brings divisiveness into the academy (Butler & Schmitz, 1992). Advocates assert that under conditions of democratic pluralism where society is free of social inequalities based on race, culture, or gender, the affirmation of differences need not lead to divisiveness.

To date there exists little evidence to show any K-12 classroom impact from the years of curriculum reform research. Scholarly research into the impact of a multicultural curriculum on the knowledge, dispositions, and school success of young children and adolescents is extremely limited. Thus, the field is often perceived as having failed to fulfill its early promise to achieve equity and excellence in education through curriculum transformation. Furthermore, there is a small but growing body of research, primarily dissertations, that points to a gap between multicultural curriculum theory and classroom practice (e.g., Dilworth, 2000; Titus, in press). For example, studies of teachers who do use multicultural content in their classroom focus on multiple perspectives in history and the reduction of prejudice and stereotypes, but not the curriculum transformation and social action advocated by multicultural curriculum experts (e.g., Dilworth, 2000; Titus, in press). The textbook stands as a centerpiece of their instruction, a phenomenon that underscores the importance of research such as Joyce King's that found evidence of "egregious racial stereotyping and inhumane social practices, including racial slavery" (King,

1992, p. 322). Early research in detecting bias in texts and educational materials has resulted in cosmetic changes in textbooks and some inclusion of contributions by members of underrepresented ethnic groups and women. Also, both genres have contributed to greater ethnic and gender diversity and authenticity in children's literature, as well as an increase in multicultural trade books for children and adolescents. However, given the standardization of K–12 curricula through state and national content standards, the commercialization of textbooks, and the prevalence of mandated statewide testing, the minimal level of curriculum transformation at this level is understandable as well as disturbing.

#### *Cluster Two: Equity Pedagogy*

A second dimension of multicultural education is the movement toward equity (Bennett, 1990, p. 11) that addresses the disproportionately high rates of school dropouts, suspensions, and expulsions among students of color and students from low-income backgrounds. This movement 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 that is expressed in teacher attitudes and expectations for student learning, grouping of students and instructional strategies, school disciplinary policies and practices, school and community relations, and classroom climates. Greater equity would thus help reverse the problems that many ethnic minorities and low-income students face in school and ensure that they attain the highest standards of academic excellence.

Three genres of research fall within equity pedagogy: studies of school and classroom climate (genre 4), student achievement (genre 5), and cultural styles in teaching and learning (genre 6). Three important assumptions underlie these genres: (a) all children have special talents and the capacity to learn, (b) the major goal of public education is to enable all children to reach their fullest potential, and (c) teachers' and students' cultural socialization influence the teaching and learning process. Theory and research in this cluster argue that low-income and ethnic minority students often experience mismatches between home and school cultural expectations that may impair school success. Furthermore, teachers are likely to lower their academic expectations for low-income and ethnic minority students if they are uninformed about cultural styles and differences such as communication patterns, social values, learning styles, time and space orientations, and discussion and participation modes.

#### *Genre 4: School and Classroom Climates*

Research within this genre focuses on school and classroom conditions and the positive (or negative) influences on children and youth. Positive climates refer to school and classroom structures and practices, as well as the attitudes, values and beliefs of teachers and administrators, which contribute to high and equitable levels of student achievement and positive intergroup relations. The main point is that positive teacher-student (as well as student-student) relationships based on caring, respect, and trust, facilitate learning. A number of scholars within this genre use social contact theory as a conceptual framework to study positive school and classroom climates (e.g., Allport, 1954; Schofield, 1995). According to contact theorists, at least four basic conditions are necessary if social contact between groups (e.g., racially

diverse students who have had little previous contact) is to be positive: (a) opportunities to become acquainted and develop friendships; (b) equal status among students from the different groups; (c) experiences that require intergroup cooperation to achieve a common goal; and (d) authority figures who encourage, model, and support comfortable intergroup contact and relationships. Included are studies of schools and the degree to which they are integrated (e.g., Forehand & Ragosta, 1976; Sager & Schofield, 1984), school tracking and grouping for instruction (e.g., Cohen, 1994; Oakes, 1985), teacher expectations (Rist, 1970; Steele, 1997), and equitable school discipline practices (e.g., Bennett & Harris, 1982). An important line of research spanning more than two decades is the study of student interaction in heterogeneous classrooms aimed at solving problems of unequal status among students (Cohen & Lotan, 1997). These researchers have developed an instructional strategy, Complex Instruction, to enable teachers to teach at high intellectual levels with ethnically and linguistically diverse groups of students. Cooperative team learning is another line of research in this genre to strengthen academic achievement and positive intergroup relations among racially and culturally diverse students (e.g., Slavin, 1995).

The first illustration of research in this genre is Stacey Lee's ethnography (1996), *Unraveling the "Model Minority" Stereotype: Listening to Asian American Youth*. Lee spent an entire semester immersed in campus life at "Academic High School" (AHS), interviewing Asian and non-Asian students, faculty and staff, observing classes and extracurricular activities, making careful field notes, and analyzing documents. She had regular contact with 82 of the 356 Asian students on campus and taped semistructured interviews with 47 of them. Her research shows how high-status extracurricular activities at AHS, such as the school newspaper and instrumental music program, contributed to the negative school climate. It also reveals how a highly competitive school climate can hinder equity pedagogy by undermining student achievement. All students who were admitted to AHS had scored at the 85th percentile or higher on standardized placement tests and were strongly recommended by their junior high schools. (Asians who scored below the cutoff score on the English language test but significantly higher on the mathematics test were provided special English-as-a-second-language [ESL] coursework throughout their freshmen year.) Despite the previous academic success of all students who were accepted, AHS tracking policies divided them into Advance Placement (AP) classes, Star (honors) classes, regular classes, and the remedial classes (ESL for Asian ninth graders). There were also "mentally gifted" classes for some of the AP and Star students who received special tutors and mentors. Few African-American students were placed in the AP or Star classes, which contained a disproportionately high number of Asian students. In 1990, among the 93 distinguished graduates, 44% were White, 38% were Asian, and 16% were African American. African-American students were perceived by most teachers to be lazy or lacking in interest and talent, whereas the success of Asian students was seen as proof that anyone, regardless of race, could succeed if he or she puts in the proper effort.

The second illustration of this genre is a study of Latino immigrant youth by Susan Katz (1999), which examined "how teachers' attitudes and practices that the Latino students perceived as racist were linked to structural conditions within the school that went beyond the responsibility of the individual teachers" (p. 811). Findings are based on data gathered through interviews and observations during a year-long ethnographic study focused on the school experiences of eight Latino students at a

desegregated middle school in Northern California. Five teachers were also interviewed regarding their perceptions of the ESL students.

Coolidge Middle School, rated as one of the city's best in terms of standardized test scores, was located in a quiet middle-class Asian and European-American neighborhood. As a result of a federal court order to desegregate in 1984, 270 of the school's 1,400 students were bused in from the barrio of Las Palmas (historically one of the city's most vibrant neighborhoods but known for intense poverty and the highest level of gang activity) or from Oakdale, an African-American community. However, through tracking or ability grouping, segregation was maintained. One third of the student population was enrolled in the gifted and talented program (GATE), in which 43% were Asian and 49% were European American, with only 1% Latino, 2% African American, and 5% other. On the other hand, among the Latino students, 31% were in ESL classes (located in dingy "cottages" outside the school building) and another 6.5% were in special education (located in the school basement); 21% of the African-American students were in special education. Latino and African-American students rarely participated in after school activities (due largely to the busing schedule) and none were in school government; on the other hand, 75% of the students on the dean's list of discipline problems were African American or Latino.

Students selected for the study included four females and four males, six of whom were first-generation immigrants (two were second generation) from Central America and Mexico. Spanish was spoken at home and all had experienced bilingual education in elementary school, where most were perceived to be bright and promising. At the time of the study, all were enrolled in the Grade 7 intermediate-level ESL class (where Spanish was actively discouraged), had developed "well-defined friendship groups within the class," had older siblings or close friends involved in gangs, and were viewed to be at risk because of poor grades (D average or below), standardized test scores below 26%, and perhaps for poor attendance (S. Katz, 1999, p. 823).

Despite their good or excellent elementary school records, all eight students became increasingly alienated from school during Grades 6 through 8. The Latino students and their teachers both felt tensions in their relationships. Students perceived that their teachers discriminated against them as a group and preferred the Asian students; they felt the teachers regarded them as criminals, prostitutes, and students unable to learn. As a result of feeling uncared for and disrespected at school, many of them developed a reshaped Latino identity through "their own styles of language, literacy, and representation" (S. Katz, 1991, p. 828) and formed social groups to create a space of their own at school. Teachers, on the other hand, stated that they assessed Latino students as individuals and singled out those that were worth investing in. They also saw the peer group pressure among Latino students (manifested in dress and hair styles, graffiti-style writing, and nicknames) as a negative force and tried to single out the higher-achieving students for encouragement and support.

S. Katz (1999) concluded that social structures at the school shaped teacher attitudes and practices, which led to the students' perceptions of racism against them as Latinos. "The structural factors of tracking, resegregation, English-only curriculum, and reliance on standardized test scores along with high teacher turnover in all but the GATE programs together contributed to an environment that greatly limited the Latino students' opportunities for success. They also discouraged the establish-

ment of productive teacher-student relationships” (p. 837). Although all eight students completed the seventh grade, three dropped out in eighth grade, and only two made it to their senior year.

### *Genre 5: Student Achievement*

Research in this genre focuses primarily on successful teachers of children who historically have been poorly served by the school. Researchers within this genre describe the characteristics of successful teaching as “culturally appropriate,” “culturally congruent,” “culturally compatible,” or “culturally responsive” (e.g., Au, 1980, 1993; Escalante & Dirmann, 1990; E. Garcia, 1999; Gay, 2000; Irvine, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995a, 1995b; Locust, 1988). In contrast to the previous genre that focuses on school and classroom climate, this genre focuses on teaching and learning. Culturally relevant pedagogy focuses on “reversing the underachievement of students of color” (Gay, 2000, p. 1) and can be defined as

using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them. It teaches *to and through* the strengths of these students. It is culturally *validating and affirming*. (Gay, 2000, p. 29)

Through culturally relevant pedagogy, students maintain or develop cultural competence, as their culture becomes a vehicle for learning, and they experience genuine academic success and a strong sense of self-esteem. Furthermore, students are encouraged to develop a “critical consciousness” through which they learn to challenge social injustices. Some of the research also focuses on communication processes whereby teachers interact with their culturally and linguistically diverse students and families (e.g., Delpit, 1995; Garcia, 1999).

A classic illustration of research in this genre is *The Dream Keepers: Successful Teachers of African American Children* (1994, 1995a, 1995b), by Gloria Ladson-Billings. This is a two-year ethnography in schools serving a predominantly African-American community in northern California. Parents and principals in four schools were asked to nominate excellent teachers, and eight of the nine teachers who were on both lists became the primary participants. The study included in-depth interviews with each teacher, unannounced classroom visitations, extensive videotaping of classroom instruction, and collaborative reflection and inquiry with the eight teachers. These teachers differed from each other in classroom organization, teaching style, and personality. Nevertheless, they were quite similar in how they viewed themselves as teachers; how they viewed their students, students’ parents, and others in the community; and how they structured social relations inside and outside their classroom; and how they viewed knowledge. First, they were proud of teaching as a profession and had chosen to teach in this low-income, primarily African-American community. Each of these teachers felt a strong sense of purpose and believed it was his or her responsibility to ensure the success of each student. Second, whether African American or not, they were aware of the societal conditions of discrimination and injustice for African Americans and understood how this influenced the school’s academic expectations for students of color. Third, they avoided “assimilationist” approaches to teaching and wanted to prepare their students to become change agents, not just fit into mainstream society. Finally, they capitalized on their students’ home and community culture by creating a flexible, fluid, and collabora-

tive learning climate where everyone (including the teacher) learned from everyone else.

From these similarities and points of convergence, the principles of culturally relevant pedagogy emerged. First, students must experience high levels of academic success, including literacy, numeracy, and the technological, social, and political skills they need to be active participants in a democratic society. Second, students must develop and maintain cultural consciousness and competence, and the students' home culture becomes a knowledge source for teaching and learning. Finally, students must develop a critical consciousness through which they may challenge social injustice.

The second illustration of research within the culturally relevant pedagogy genre is Carol D. Lee's investigation of the implications of signifying (a prevalent form of social discourse and verbal play within African-American communities that uses metaphoric language to inform, persuade or criticize), as a scaffold for teaching literary interpretation skills to African-American high school students (C. D. Lee, 1991, 1995).

Signifying as ritual insult [the popular view of what signifying means] may involve what has traditionally been called "the Dozens": "Yo mama so dumb she thought a quarterback was a refund." . . . Signifying (in its many forms) almost always includes double entendre and a play on meanings. Language is to be interpreted figuratively, not literally. . . . Because the ability to participate in such verbal display is often highly prized in adolescence, it was expected that the high school students in this study would be highly proficient in this arena. This proved to be the case. (C. D. Lee, 1995, p. 614)

The study included six world literature classes in two high schools located in a large urban school district in the Midwest. The graduation rates in both schools were low (39.8% and 50.9%), approximately one third of the students came from low-income families, and 85% of the students scored below the 50th percentile on national standardized test scores. Six classes, taught by five teacher, participated in the study; all students were African American and all but 8.25% of the study participants scored below the 50th percentile rank nationally on standardized tests in reading.

An experimental curriculum based on the cognitive apprenticeship model using principles of culturally responsive pedagogy and contemporary African-American works of literature was implemented in four of the classrooms; the two remaining classes experienced the usual curriculum. In a cognitive apprenticeship, the teacher models and explains to the students the thinking processes that he or she uses to solve a problem; students then engage in practice and the teacher serves as a coach. C. D. Lee (1995) hypothesized that African-American adolescents who are skilled in signifying use strategies to interpret signifying dialogue that are comparable to strategies used by expert readers who interpret figurative language in narrative texts. She developed an experimental unit that included teacher coaching to help students become aware of and transfer the strategies they use to process signifying in their everyday social discourse to their reading of selected African-American literary works.

Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected in a pretest and posttest design to analyze student achievement gains, classroom discourse within the whole class and small groups, and the correlation between tests of prior knowledge of

signifying with pretest to posttest change scores by treatment. The results showed statistically significant achievement gains for the experimental group only, and significant correlations between prior knowledge and signifying and posttest gains among students in both the experimental and contrast groups. Analysis of the classroom discourse transcripts showed qualitative transformations of knowledge about signifying from “an intuited informal social usage to a formal concept with psychological, structural, and symbolic functions within a literary context” (C. D. Lee, 1995, p. 617). Although it was “not possible to disentangle the effect of specific variables in the experimental treatment that account for the change from pre- to posttest,” Lee argued that an understanding of the language capabilities of ethnically and linguistically diverse students may serve as a platform for equitable pedagogy.

#### *Genre 6: Cultural Styles in Teaching and Learning*

Research within this genre is highly interactive with the previous research genre, student achievement. Whereas genre 5 emphasizes teacher skills and practices that foster student learning, this genre explores aspects of ethnicity that teachers must understand. There are studies of verbal and nonverbal communication, participation modes, time and space orientations, social values, types of knowledge most valued, and preferred modes of learning that may be prevalent within certain ethnic groups (e.g., Boykin, 1978, 1994; Boykin & Allen, 1988; Kochman, 1972, 1981; Smitherman, 1977, 1998). Within this genre there is a long line of research focused on learning styles among African-American (Hale-Benson, 1986; Hilliard, 1992; Shade, 1982, 1989, 1994); Native-American and Pacific-Islander (e.g., Au, 1980; Deyhle & Swisher, 1997; Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1987); Latino (e.g., Ramirez & Castañeda, 1974); and Asian (Pang, 1995) children and youth. Researchers argue that pedagogy in U.S. public schools is founded on European-American cultural values, language, time and space orientations, and epistemology. This Eurocentric orientation creates inequitable learning conditions for many low-income and language minority children, and children of color who are less familiar with mainstream culture than their middle-income European-American classmates.

The first illustration of research within this genre is the work of Wade Boykin and his associates at Howard University (Allen & Boykin, 1991, 1992; Boykin, 1978, 1982, 1994; Boykin & Allen, 1988). Boykin (1983) has developed a conceptual framework for the study of African-American child socialization that reflects the bicultural nature of the African-American community and captures the “uniformity, diversity, complexity and richness of Black family life” (Boykin & Toms, 1985, p. 38). This framework is based on the premise that African-American culture encompasses three different realms of experience: mainstream, minority, and Black cultural or Afro-cultural.

[M]ainstream experience entails beliefs, values, and behavioral styles common to most people living in the United States, whereas minority experience refers to certain coping strategies and defense mechanisms developed by many minority groups to face life in an oppressive environment. Afro-cultural experience is essentially the link between contemporary African descendants throughout the Diaspora and traditional West African worldviews. (Allen & Boykin, 1992, p. 588)

On the basis of a distillation of scholarly writing on linkages between West African cultural ethos and the core character of African-American culture, Boykin

identified nine “interrelated but distinct dimensions” that are manifested, mostly in terms of stylistic behaviors, in the lives of African Americans (Boykin & Toms, 1985, p. 41). The nine dimensions are as follows:

- (a) spirituality, a vitalistic rather than mechanistic approach to life;
- (b) harmony, the belief that humans and nature are harmoniously conjoined;
- (c) movement expressiveness, an emphasis on the interweaving of movement, rhythm, percussiveness, music, and dance;
- (d) verve, the special receptiveness to relatively high levels of sensate stimulation;
- (e) affect, an emphasis on emotions and feelings;
- (f) communalism, a commitment to social connectedness where social bonds transcend individual privileges;
- (g) expressive individualism, the cultivation of a distinctive personality and a proclivity for spontaneity in behavior;
- (h) orality, a preference for oral/aural modalities of communication; and
- (i) social time perspective, an orientation in which time is treated as passing through a social space rather than a material one.

Inspired by studies of the relationship between cultural contexts and cognitive performance among Native Hawaiian children conducted by Tharp and his associates (Tharp, 1989; Tharp et al., 1984), Allen and Boykin (1992) conducted a series of basic research studies guided by Boykin’s conceptual framework of African-American culture. One set of studies focused on verve, a second focused on movement expressiveness, and a third set focused on communalism. Overall, the results of this research supported the conclusion that aspects of African-American culture can be incorporated into classroom pedagogy to facilitate learning among African-American children. These studies lend support to the view that cultural discontinuity between home and school settings contribute to the academic difficulties that many children of color experience in mainstream schools.

The second illustration of research in this genre is a decade-long ethnographic study of Navajo youth by Donna Deyhle (1995). Her research focused on the lives of Navajo youth in a border reservation community and compared their experiences both in and out of school. The students attended one of two high schools: Border High School (BHS), which is located 20 miles from the Navajo reservation and serves a student population that is approximately half Navajo, and Navajo High School (NHS), which is located on the reservation and serves a student body that is 99% Navajo. Deyhle developed a main database that tracked by name all Navajo students who attended the two schools from 1980–81 through 1988–89. Her information included attendance records, GPA, standardized test scores, dropout and graduation rates, current employment, and post-high school education for 1,489 youth. She conducted formal interviews with 168 students who left school before graduating and another 100 who graduated or were still in school.

NHS was more successful than BHS in retaining and graduating Navajo students, even though the curriculum was identical (a 28% dropout rate compared to 41% at BHS). NHS students come from the most traditional parts of the reservation, and there are four Navajo teachers. Navajo is the dominant language in most of the homes, and 90% of the students are eligible for subsidized school meals (Deyhle, 1995, p. 420). The greater success of students at NHS may be due to a stronger sense of cultural identity and the

sympathetic connection between the community and its school. Where there are fewer Anglo students and more Navajo teachers, racial conflict is minimal

and youth move through their school careers in a more secure and supportive community context. (Deyhle, 1995, p. 420)

Furthermore, Navajo students from the reservation who attended BHS were more likely to stay in school and felt more positive about their education experiences than did Navajo students who lived in the town. Deyhle (1995) concluded that Navajo students who identify with and maintain connections with their traditional culture are more academically successful in schools that implement an assimilationist curriculum and are vocationally centered than students who are not secure in their traditional culture:

The Anglo community views assimilation as a necessary path to school success. In this view, the less "Indian" one is, the more academically "successful" one will become. Anglos perceive living in town, off the reservation, to be a socially progressive, economically advantageous move for Navajos. In fact, the opposite is true. The more academically successful Navajo students are more likely to be those who are firmly rooted in their Navajo community . . . are not alienated from their cultural values and who do not perceive themselves as inferior to the dominant group. . . . In contrast, those who are not academically successful are both estranged from the reservation community, and bitterly resent the racially polarized school context they face daily. (Deyhle, 1995, pp. 419–420)

### *The State of Research in Equity Pedagogy*

In contrast to curriculum reform, the dimension of equity pedagogy is often overlooked as an essential component of multicultural education. It has been invisible in the political and academic attacks against multicultural education. Yet, there exists decades of research on school and classroom climate that affirms conditions of integrated pluralism and classroom conditions of acceptance due to its positive influence on student learning and peer relations in desegregated classrooms. Research related to student achievement also spans several decades. There exists a strong body of research composed primarily of small-scale studies focused on a single ethnic group, mainly African-American, or Native-American, and Pacific-Islander children. These studies provide consistent evidence of positive impact on student learning when teaching is based on principles of culturally relevant pedagogy. However, to date there are fewer studies of culturally relevant pedagogy with Latinos or Asians, and none in multiethnic classroom settings. Given that many children of color attend predominantly White schools and that Asian and Latino children may be uncomfortable with teaching that includes confrontation and controversy (aspects of culturally relevant pedagogy that are affirmed with African-American youth), more research on culturally relevant teaching in these settings is important. On the other hand, when one considers bilingual education research (which is beyond the scope of this article), there is considerable evidence that language, a central aspect of culture, can serve as a foundation to facilitate student learning. Furthermore, in *Lessons from High-Performing Hispanic Schools* by Pedro Reyes, Jay D. Scribner, and Alicia Paredes Scribner (1999), several case studies show that culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogy were related to strong student performance in schools that serve a high percentage of Latino students.

The research on cultural styles associated with ethnic groups is both promising and risky. We see promise in Boykin's work (Boykin & Toms, 1985), for example,

with increased student learning when pedagogy is compatible with the cultural styles of African-American children whose socialization is strongly influenced by an African-American ethos. On the other hand, the research has also contributed to ethnic stereotyping. There is the danger that researchers and practitioners will apply these cultural characteristics uniformly to all members of an ethnic group; they may attempt to teach to a particular style without realizing that individuals within any group vary in the strength of their ethnic identities. Furthermore, this research can create misconceptions that culture is reified and static. Used properly, however, knowledge about cultural styles provides teachers with a means for accurately interpreting students' thoughts, feelings and actions that are indeed fundamentally different from their own, while raising their expectations for student success.

*Cluster Three: Multicultural Competence*

Some time ago, I suggested, "Multicultural competence may soon become one of the basic skills that schools are required to teach. Just as some states have recently added decision-making or thinking skills to the traditional basics of reading, writing, and computation, so they might require competence in multiple ways of perceiving, evaluating, and doing" (Bennett, 1986, p. xv). More recently, Gay (1995) identified "Multicultural Social Competence" as one of the major goals of multicultural education. She wrote,

It is imperative that students learn how to interact with and understand people who are ethnically, racially, and culturally different from themselves. The United States and the world are becoming increasingly more diverse, compact, and interdependent. Yet, for most students, the formative years of their lives are spent in ethnically and culturally isolated or encapsulated enclaves. This existence does not adequately prepare them to function effectively in ethnically different and multicultural settings. Attempts at cross-cultural interactions are often stymied by negative attitudes; cultural blunders; and by trying to impose rules of social etiquette from one cultural system onto another. The results are often heightened interracial and interethnic group frustrations, anxiety, fears, failures, and hostilities. (p. 18)

Research genres in this cluster emphasize the nature or development, or both, of individual competence in a multicultural society. Implicit in the idea of multicultural competence are dispositions of open-mindedness and the absence of racial or cultural prejudice, and knowledge about the worldviews and funds of knowledge associated with various culture groups, as well as the diversity within and across ethnic groups. Also implicit is a sense of cultural consciousness, or the recognition on the part of an individual that he or she has a view of the world that is not universally shared and that differs profoundly from that held by many members of different nations and ethnic groups. It includes an awareness of the diversity of ideas and practices found in human societies around the world and some recognition of how one's own thoughts and behaviors might be perceived by members of differing nations and ethnic groups (Bennett, 1995, p. 343).

Multicultural competence includes the ability to interpret intentional communications (language, signs, gestures), unconscious cues (such as body language), and customs in cultural styles different from one's home culture. It varies along a continuum of high to low, and the interculturally competent person can communicate and empathize to some degree with culturally different others and is well aware of

his or her own culturally conditioned assumptions. Since an individual's knowledge, attitudes and beliefs are limited by opportunities to experience and learn about the cultural heritage of his or her primary heritage group, there is a great deal of diversity within any one group. Individuals also differ in their access to multiple cultures and therefore differ in their multicultural competence. Some studies focus on ethnic identity development (genre 7); other studies focus on prejudice reduction (genre 8) or ethnic group cultures (genre 9).

The genres in this cluster differ from equity pedagogy genres in that research focuses on cognitive and social psychological variables of individuals (e.g., the knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs of teachers or students, or both, associated with their primary cultural group) that indirectly influence or interact with school and classroom climates, teaching strategies, and student learning. In contrast, research in the equity pedagogy genres focus primarily on social structures, teacher skills and pedagogical practices, or broad-based cultural norms and worldviews associated with groups (often based on ethnicity, gender, or social class) that have a direct impact on student learning.

Research in multicultural teacher education is evident in all three genres within the multicultural competence cluster, and it is particularly prevalent in the prejudice reduction genre. There exists a long line of research on the impact of teacher preparation programs on the knowledge, attitudes and beliefs of preservice and in-service teachers (e.g., Zeichner, 1996). The broader view of multicultural education to include attitudes and intergroup competence focused on race, class, culture, gender, disability, and sexual preference is not an updated approach. It has long been the preferred view of some multicultural theoreticians; others have argued that the expanded view of diversity detracted from efforts to address racial prejudice and discrimination that they believe (in the United States) trumps all other forms. Most of the research within these genres focuses primarily on interethnic competence (race, culture, or both) and the intersections with class and gender. A major assumption is that the reduction of racial and cultural prejudice is possible and desirable. A second assumption is that individuals can in fact become multicultural; they need not reject their familial worldview and identity to function comfortably in another cultural milieu.

### *Genre 7: Ethnic Identity Development*

Ethnic identity refers to the degree to which a person feels connected with a "racial" or cultural group, one's familial ethnic group while growing up. It is a complex cluster of factors such as self-labeling, feelings of belonging or feeling set apart, and a desire to participate in activities associated with the group. The genre focuses on stages of ethnic identity development and themes of preexposure and precontact, encounter or conflict, retreat into one's own culture or (for Whites) overidentification (that is, trying to be like and to gain acceptance) with minorities, developing a healthy sense of one's own ethnicity, and becoming multicultural and committed to social justice. Ethnic identity research has important implications for teaching and learning in racially and culturally diverse classrooms. Students' readiness and comfort with intergroup contact is influenced by their sense of ethnic identity; students in stages of immersion or retreat are less able to interact comfortably in a diverse setting. Most scholars in the field argue that teachers who work with racially and culturally diverse students need a strong sense of their own ethnic identity. Teach-

ers must be at a stage of ethnic identity clarification or higher to be effective in helping all students in their classroom be academically successful (J. A. Banks, 1984; Ford, 1979).

Most of the research has focused on ethnic identity development among African Americans (e.g., Cross, 1979, 1991; Cross, Strauss, & Fhagen-Smith, 1999). Several theories of White identity development also exist, notably Hardiman's White Identity Development Model (WID), Helm's Model of White Racial Identity Development, and Ponterotto's White Racial Consciousness Development Model. These models share common themes and have been integrated into an all-inclusive model of White identity development consisting of five stages: Pre-Exposure/Pre-Contact, Conflict, Pro-Minority/Antiracism, Retreat into White Culture, and Redefinition and Integration (Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993).

Racial identity research by William Cross provides the first illustration of research within this genre. Cross developed his original typology of Black racial identity several decades ago through a quantitative analysis of the responses of large samples of African-American and White participants on a pencil-and-paper questionnaire that was published first in an article entitled "The Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience" (Cross, 1979). Cross has continued to develop and refine his work over the years and has strongly influenced other research within this genre (Cross, 1991; Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 1999). Cross (1979, 1991) focused on the identity transformation process that began as African Americans lived through the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Although his theory focuses on Nigrescence, the "process of becoming Black," it may be applicable to any group that has experienced oppression and is moving toward liberation, for example, other ethnic minority groups and women. Cross identified five developmental stages: Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization, and Internalization-Commitment.

African Americans in stage one, or pre-encounter, accept the dominant Anglo-European worldview. They seek to be assimilated into White mainstream society and could be described as anti-Black and anti-African. The second stage, encounter, is triggered by a shattering experience that destroys the person's previous ethnic self-image and changes his or her interpretation of the conditions of African Americans in the United States. Individuals in stage three, immersion-emersion, want to live totally within the Black world. Cross (1979) described the stage-three person as having a pseudo-Black identity because it is based on hatred and negation of Whites rather than on the affirmation of a pro-Black perspective. Stage-three Blacks often engage in "Blacker than thou" antics and view those Blacks who are accepting of Whites as Uncle Toms. In stage four, internalization, the individual internalizes his or her ethnic identity and achieves greater inner security and self-satisfaction. There is a healthy sense of Black identity and pride and less hostility toward Whites. Individuals who move into stage five, internalization-commitment, differ from those in stage four by becoming actively involved in plans to bring about social changes.

The second illustration of research within this genre is Beverly Tatum's decade-long applied research on ethnic identity development among college undergraduates enrolled in a class about the psychology of racism (Tatum, 1992). She taught the course 18 times, at three different institutions: a large public university, a small state college, and a private, elite women's college. In all cases, student enrollment was limited to 30, with 24 as an average. The class makeup has been predominantly White and female, but it has always been mixed in terms of gender and race; the students

of color include Latino and Asian, but most frequently have been Black. Over the years, Tatum has noted a profound change in many of her students' ethnic identity development, "although movement through all the stages of racial identity development will not necessarily occur for each student within the course of a semester, or even four years of college" (p. 18).

Tatum (1992) has identified four strategies for reducing student resistance and promoting student development. First, a safe classroom environment must be created. Through years of inquiry and reflection, she identified a number of factors that contribute to a climate of safety: small class size; clear guidelines for discussion, such as confidentiality, mutual respect, and speaking from one's own experience; and interracial dialogue. Second, opportunities for self-generated knowledge must also be created; they are an important way to reduce "the initial stage of denial many students experience." Tatum learned that outside of class, hands-on assignments that accompany course readings—such as interviews, community visits to grocery stores and shopping malls in neighborhoods of diverse racial groups—were highly effective. For example, a powerful assignment for White students was to go apartment hunting with an African-American student and experience the discrimination first hand (p. 19). Third, an appropriate model that helps students understand their own process of ethnic identity development must be provided. She argues that students need to know that their feelings after learning about and discussing racism are "quite predictable and related to their own racial identity development" (p. 19). Feelings of "guilt, shame, embarrassment, or anger" must be understood as normal and natural, however painful they may be. Finally, the exploration of strategies to empower students as change agents must be included over the semester. Tatum argues that to heighten students' awareness of racism without also developing an awareness of possibilities for change creates feelings of despair and is unethical (p. 20). She recommends reading news media, biographies, and autobiographies about individuals who serve as models of effective change agents. Tatum found that meta-comment papers help students analyze and reflect on course journal entries and enable them to reflect on their own process of racial identity development.

#### *Genre 8: Prejudice Reduction*

Clearly, research in this genre is closely connected with ethnic identity research previously described. Stages of ethnic identity are marked by one's relative degree of prejudice or openness toward other racial and cultural groups. The prejudice reduction genre differs from the foregoing genres in that it includes all types of prejudice, not only race and culture, and moves beyond description and identification of a stage of ethnic identity. It seeks an understanding of prejudice reduction, as well as reduction of discrimination that is typically expressed as a result of these prejudices.

The *Nature of Prejudice* by Gordon Allport, published originally in 1954, provides a theoretical framework for much of this research. Allport's theory of positive intergroup contact is also a foundation for research in genre 4, school and classroom climate, which falls within the equity pedagogy cluster. Research studies in these two genres can be distinguished by their primary focus; studies in the climate genre examine how structures and aspects of the hidden curriculum influence student academic achievement, whereas studies in prejudice reduction examine how structures and teaching practices influence attitudes and interpersonal relations. The long line of promising research in cooperative learning illustrates these interactions; both climate

and prejudice reduction research build on social contact theory as a foundation for cooperative learning. However, one genre is primarily concerned with the impact of structured intergroup relations on student achievement and the other emphasizes prejudice reduction (e.g., Slavin, 1990). Thus, although studies of cooperative learning (e.g., Slavin, 1995) and complex instruction (e.g., Cohen & Lotan, 1997) show promise for prejudice reduction, they are aimed primarily at student achievement in ethnically diverse classrooms and therefore fall into cluster 2, equity pedagogy.

Prejudice is an attitude based on preconceived judgments or beliefs that are based on unsubstantiated or faulty information. These attitudes are learned from significant others, such as parents and peers, experiences in school, and societal messages in films, television, and the news media. Prejudice becomes discrimination when the individual actively excludes the group, or denies them participation in some desired activity. Research in this genre includes sociological studies in housing projects, the workplace, and schools; socio-psychological studies; curriculum intervention studies; and studies of anti-racist teaching. Although no single theory adequately explains the development of prejudice, Allport (1954) argued that less prejudiced people feel less aggression toward others, hold a generally favorable view of their parents, and perceive their environment as friendly and nonthreatening. No child is born prejudiced; prejudices are learned within a context influenced by personal needs and social influence.

The first illustration of this research genre is a study of teacher efficacy among preservice teachers and in-service teachers in Southern California, with a particular focus on teacher beliefs about their ability to teach students of color (Pang & Sablan, 1995). On the basis of the realization that "stereotypical notions about specific ethnic groups exist in the minds of many teachers," and studies of underachievement among students of color have not focused on "issues of teacher-student relationships," Pang and Sablan investigated "how confident preservice and in-service teachers feel about their skills to teach African American students" (p. 2). An underlying assumption of the research was a relationship between ethnic prejudice and a sense of teacher efficacy with students of color. Presumably, the more prejudice that teachers hold regarding African-American students (or other students of color), the lower their sense of teaching efficacy, and the less efficacious they will be in the classroom.

Participants in the study were 100 preservice and 75 in-service teachers enrolled in multicultural education courses at a large Southern California university; three fourths were female, three fourths were Caucasian American, 13% were Latino or Latina, 6% were Asian American, about 3% were Native American, and less than 3% were African American. At the beginning of the course, participants completed a paper-and-pencil questionnaire that included sections on teaching experience, previous multicultural study and experience, and beliefs about personal and teaching efficacy with African-American students. The results showed that preservice teachers expressed higher levels of personal efficacy than did in-service teachers, and that the predominantly Caucasian sample had limited knowledge of African-American students and culture (less than half had African-American friends and 69% had not taken any multicultural coursework). Furthermore, 41% did not disagree that they had little or no influence on African-American students; they perceived that a negative home environment was to blame for poor academic achievement. The authors concluded that teacher efficacy is an important construct in student achievement; unfortunately teachers' stereotypes about students of color influence their ability to

teach children from underrepresented groups. They cautioned that the more hopeful view of preservice teachers (higher personal efficacy) might erode over time. The study did not explore connections between teacher prejudice or teacher efficacy and student achievement in the classroom.

The second illustration of this genre is a study that describes the development of two empirical measures of educators' beliefs and diversity in personal and professional contexts (Pohan & Aguilar, 2001). The researchers took a broad view of multicultural education, inclusive of many socio-cultural variables, to match their interest in measuring beliefs about a range of diversity issues. Their two-dimensional approach to assessing beliefs was based on the idea that an individual's personal beliefs about issues of diversity might differ from his or her beliefs in a professional context. After reviewing the multicultural beliefs literature, the researchers concluded that few studies reported instrument reliability and validity data, and most focused on only one or two aspects of diversity, such as race, gender, ethnicity, and social class. On the basis of the results of this review, their approach included historically marginalized groups of gender, social class, religion, languages (other than English), and sexual orientation rather than what previously existed. They addressed both personal and professional beliefs about diversity (i.e., educational contexts) and set out to develop an attitude assessment tool that was rigorous and psychometrically sound (p. 163). During an extensive process of pilot and field-testing, reliability scores ranged from 0.71 to 0.81 on the personal beliefs scale, and from 0.78 to 0.90 on the professional beliefs scale (p. 173). Construct validity was established through a number of analyses (e.g., relationships with variables such as courses in multicultural education, cross-cultural experience, and scores on the Rokeach dogmatism scale (p. 175).

The researchers concluded, "the developmental process of the measures has been rigorous, leading to psychometrically promising measures" (Pohan & Aguilar, 2001, p. 175) and included copies of both scales in the appendix. However, they cautioned that their interpretations are limited by a number of factors, such as the fact that most respondents to date have been White, and most have been enrolled in multicultural or diversity related courses. Nevertheless, studies like this one can contribute to prejudice reduction research in teacher education where there is a long line of pretest and posttest studies designed to assess the impact of multicultural education interventions.

### *Genre 9: Ethnic Group Cultures*

Studies of ethnic group culture (including European-American "mainstream" culture in the United States) focus on the changing systems of beliefs, social values, worldviews, standards of behaving, and artifacts of other cultures, and can help develop consciousness of one's own culture (including basic assumptions, prejudices, and stereotypes). This genre originates from a line of anthropological studies of non-Western societies and cultures, as well as indigenous people and traditional societies in the Americas conducted early in the 20th century. Early ethnographies are sometimes criticized as ethnocentric and voyeuristic, but they have laid a foundation for contemporary research.

Research in this genre is distinguished from genre 6, cultural styles in teaching and learning, in that the primary purpose is to uncover knowledge about culture that will enhance an individual's intercultural competence. When the individual is a

teacher, it is assumed that new cultural knowledge will enable the teacher to facilitate learning among culturally diverse students. Simply learning about cultural styles and socialization patterns (genre 6) may not be sufficient; dispositions of caring and respect, rooted in new cultural knowledge, are also required for multiculturally competent teaching.

Studies by Edward T. Hall, which began in the 1950s, provide a theoretical foundation for much of the research in this genre, although some contemporary critics argue that his work fosters a reified and essentialist view of culture. Hall's writings, such as *The Silent Language* (1959), *The Hidden Dimension* (1966), *Beyond Culture* (1976), and *The Dance of Life* (1983) are classics in the area of intercultural study and vividly describe how humans can be unknowingly influenced by their culture. People from different cultures may perceive the world differently, often unaware that there are alternative ways of perceiving, believing, behaving, and judging. Hall argues that most humans hold unconscious assumptions about what is appropriate in terms of personal space, time, interpersonal relations, and ways of seeking truth (e.g., scientific inquiry, meditation, revelation, etc.). He argues that these cultural differences exist to varying degrees among Anglo-Europeans and ethnic minorities within our society (for example, Native-American nations such as the Hopi and Navajo, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Chinese Americans, and rural Appalachians), as well as among the peoples of different nations.

The first illustration of this genre is the cultural funds of knowledge research by Luis Moll and a team of educators and anthropologists working with schools and communities in Southern Arizona (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). It focuses on teachers learning about the "household knowledge" of Mexican origin and Yaqui families living in the borderlands near Tucson, Arizona. In the original study, 10 teachers each conducted research in three households of children in their classroom. In partnership with an anthropologist skilled in ethnographic inquiry, the teachers entered these households as learners or ethnographers who wanted to know and understand their students and their students' households' "funds of knowledge." This term refers to "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being." To discover these funds of knowledge, the teachers interviewed family members and served as participant observers, keenly listening and watching, and learning about the lived practices of their students' households.

As they approached the households, they noted gardens, recreational areas, tools, equipment, physical and spatial layouts of the homes, books, toys, and any other material clues that might lead to the discovery of household strategies and resources. They engaged in a series of open-ended interviews with parents that focused on family histories and social networks, labor histories of households, and language and child-rearing ideologies. In this way, teacher-researchers came to appreciate the repertoire from which households draw in order to subsist and validated household knowledge as worthy of pedagogical notice. (Gonzalez, 1995, p. 238)

The household funds of knowledge that the teachers initially gathered are based on a sample of about 100 families and include areas such as ranching and farming, including horse and riding skills, animal management, soil and irrigation systems; mining and timbering, including minerals and blasting; business, such as market

values, appraising, renting and selling, loans, labor laws, building codes, accounting and sales; household management such as budgeting, child care, cooking, and appliance repairs; home construction, design, and maintenance; repair of airplanes, automobiles, and heavy equipment; contemporary and folk medicine; and religion such as catechism, Baptism, Bible stories, moral knowledge, and ethics.

While they were engaged in this research, the teachers worked together in after-school study groups to develop innovative teaching practices that made strategic connections between homes and classrooms. The authors of this research emphasize that their approach avoids ill-founded attempts at teaching a “culture-sensitive curriculum” that is based on “folkloric displays, such as storytelling, arts, crafts, and dance performance.” Instead, the students’ funds of knowledge are drawn on to enhance student learning in all the content areas, such as mathematics, language arts, science, social studies, and physical education.

The second example of research within the ethnic group culture genre is grounded in the theory of cultural therapy, a philosophy and process created by George and Louise Spindler through decades of ethnographic research with Ojibwe communities and villages in Western Germany (Spindler & Spindler, 1994). Conceived as a means to help teachers and students cope with cultural diversity, cultural therapy is also a vehicle for school reform in culturally diverse schools (e.g., Phelan & Davidson, 1993). Cultural therapy is a process of bringing one’s own culture—assumptions, goals, values, beliefs, and communicative modes—to a level of awareness that permits one to perceive it as a potential bias in social interaction and in the acquisition or transmission of skills and knowledge. One’s own culture is perceived in relation to other cultures, so that potential conflicts, misunderstandings, and blind spots in the perception and interpretation of behavior may be anticipated. Culture becomes a third presence, removed somewhat from the person, so that one’s actions can be taken as caused by one’s culture and not by one’s personality.

Spindler and Spindler (1993) argue that when teachers become conscious of their own culture and understand how it shapes their attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors, they will become more effective teachers. Likewise, when students understand themselves better and become more aware of the culture of their school and how it interacts with their own personal cultures, they will become more empowered as learners. All members of the school community, including parents, can participate in cultural therapy exercises and become involved in changing the school toward mutually agreed-on goals. Cultural therapy can provide guidelines and a process to help teachers, students, and parents become more effective decision makers as they work toward high academic standards in multicultural classrooms.

For teachers, cultural therapy can be used to increase awareness of the cultural assumptions they bring to the classroom that affect their behavior and their interactions with students—particularly students of color. It can be used as a first step to affect and change behaviors, attitudes, and assumptions that are biased (and often discriminatory) and thus detrimental to the academic success of students whose cultural backgrounds are different from their own. For students, cultural therapy is essentially a means of consciousness-raising to make explicit unequal power relationships in the classroom, the school, and the larger society. It can be used to help students clarify the steps necessary to obtain the instrumental competencies they need to gain access to opportunities within the school system and the larger society.

*The State of Research in Multicultural Competence*

As previously noted, much of the research about multicultural competence focuses on in-service and preservice teachers' knowledge and dispositions related to cultural and racial diversity. Although implications for teaching and learning are important, pedagogy is not the primary focus. It is assumed that teachers must have a strong sense of ethnic identity, to work effectively in schools that serve ethnic minority children and youth, especially those from low-income areas who are ill served by the school. However, the research evidence to support this assumption is thin. Scholars express concern that more than 90% of the nation's teaching force is composed of White middle-income teachers, a majority of whom are uninformed about the life experiences of children and youth who are not part of the racial and linguistic mainstream (e.g., Gomez, 1996). Moreover, as many scholars have written, ethnic prejudice among teachers and students is still alive and hurtful. Thus, an active line of research in the prejudice reduction genre has focused on the racial attitudes of preservice teachers as well as on the efficacy of teacher education to reduce prejudice while preparing teachers for a culturally diverse society (Zeichner, 1996). The study by Pang and Sablan (1995) illustrates the complexity of inquiry within this genre, with research that goes beyond more typical studies of a single multicultural course designed to reduce teacher prejudice (e.g., Bennett, Niggle, & Stage, 1990). However, like most of the research in this genre, it does not provide evidence that a strong sense of ethnic identity and low levels of ethnic prejudice have a positive impact on student achievement.

Prejudice reduction has been an important goal of multicultural education from the beginning; it remains a pillar of purpose in the discipline today. Yet, there is a paucity of substantive research evidence about appropriate interventions to bring it about. The major exception is cooperative learning group research (e.g., Aronson & Patnoe, 1997; Aronson & Thibodeau, 1992; Johnson & Johnson, 1992a, 1992b); much of the cooperative learning research uses sociometric and semiprojective data collection techniques to document attitude change, making it less vulnerable to the weak attitudinal measures available. Ethnic identity development, on the other hand, is a hot topic in current research on college students and adults. The two genres are highly interactive, as seen in research such as Tatum's, but not conflated. The stage of ethnic identity research provides research questions or variables for research into prejudice reduction interventions, a topic in need of methodologically sound research.

Studies in the ethnic group culture genre illuminate school and home discontinuities that undermine teaching and learning, and the evidence related to student learning is stronger. The illustration of funds of knowledge research, as a "processual" (that is, dynamic process) approach to multicultural education helps avoid cultural mosaic approaches often found in teacher education. In the latter approaches, practitioners rely on a decontextualized knowledge transmission model for learning about their students, which tends to create new stereotypes (Gonzalez, 1995). Through this study of household and classroom practices within working-class, Mexican-origin communities in Tucson, Arizona, educators are developing innovations in teaching that draw on the knowledge and skills found in local households. A basic assumption of this research is that students will learn more in classrooms where teachers know and understand these funds of knowledge. In contrast to research in the ethnic identity and prejudice reduction genres, there is evidence that

student learning is positively influenced. Other community-based projects in teacher education include similar approaches to cultural studies that enhance multicultural competence (e.g., Aguilar & Pohan, 1998; Mahan, 1982, 1993; Zeichner & Melnick, 1996). There also exists a great deal of research on ways to improve intercultural competence in nonschool settings, which has implications for research and practice aimed at strengthening the multicultural competence of teachers and their students. For example, effective cross-cultural training programs to prepare people for work or study abroad use techniques such as the cultural sensitizer (e.g., Cushner & Landis, 1996; Triandis, 1972), role-playing simulations, and international fieldtrips and cultural immersions to increase intercultural knowledge, understanding and respect (e.g., Brislin & Yoshida, 1994; Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie, & Yong, 1986; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1983).

#### *Cluster Four: Societal Equity*

In contrast to the first three genre clusters that address curriculum, pedagogy, and the individual, respectively, research in this cluster focuses on society—especially aspects of equitable access, participation, and achievement in social institutions. Multicultural ideals of cultural pluralism, anti-racism, and multicultural competence place the field at odds with social structures and cultural norms in societies such as that of the United States. Hence the research genres in this companion cluster envision social action and reform to create societal conditions of freedom, equality, and justice for all. Christine Sleeter provides a context for these genres in her writings about multicultural education as a means of empowerment and social change (Sleeter, 1991). She argues that “*empowerment and multicultural education are interwoven, and together suggest powerful and far-reaching school reform*” (p. 2). Students must be taught how to advocate for themselves individually as well as collectively, and must develop “the insights and skills to work collectively for social justice” (p. 6). She argues for education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist, and that “forges a coalition among various oppressed groups as well as members of dominant groups, teaching directly about political and economic oppression and discrimination, and preparing young people directly in social action skills” (p. 12).

Research explores inequitable economic policies, such as school funding; inequitable social structure, such as access to health care and post-secondary education; inequitable representations in popular culture, such as stereotypes and omissions in film and the news media; and interventions to prepare students to become social change agents. An important assumption is that broad societal change is a necessary ingredient for equity in educational access, participation, and achievement. A second assumption is that such change is possible and consistent with basic democratic values and the American creed. The overall purpose is working for societal justice along a continuum from developing knowledge and awareness of social inequities at one end to active engagement in reform at the other end. The genres focus on studies of population stratification patterns (genre 10); popular culture, particularly its problematic images of culture and race (genre 11); and civic education to prepare students for social action (genre 12).

#### *Genre 10: Demographics*

Demographics refers to population trends, particularly statistical profiles and trends of educational and socioeconomic attainment that are stratified by gender, eth-

nic group and socioeconomic status. The studies emphasize high school graduation and dropout rates; course enrollments and school achievements in the content areas; college enrollment, participation, and completion rates; and school desegregation trends. Also included are population trends in occupational attainment; income levels; languages spoken in the home; health care access; welfare enrollments; and marriage, divorce, and birth rates. The demographics genre often draws on documents published by the National Center for Education Statistics, such as *The Digest of Education Statistics* and *The Condition of Education*. U.S. Statistical Profiles by the U.S. Bureau of the Census also are published as research studies. These studies provide guidelines for educational policies and further research.

The demographics genre is illustrated in a case study of minority and nonminority access to higher education, conducted by Gary Orfield (1988). That study investigated declining college access and public policy in Los Angeles since the early 1970s. It showed that nearly a fifth of the nation's Latinos live in the greater Los Angeles area, as well as many African Americans and Asians. Orfield found that African-American and Latino students attend schools that are inferior to those serving European Americans and Asian Americans. Furthermore, the college-going pool is shrinking for African-American and Latino youth due to high rates of school dropout (43% for African Americans and Latinos compared to 25% for Whites and 15% for Asians) and inability to obtain admission into 4-year colleges. Only the top 7% of high school graduates are eligible for the University of California system. Thus, most African Americans and Latinos "are entitled to nothing but a community college system from which few earn degrees or certificates and few transfer successfully and eventually win a B.A. degree" (p. 152). Orfield concluded that

The educational policies needing close examination include those that increase high school dropouts, that increase the burdens on low-income families desiring a college education, that increase standards for admission to public four-year colleges and universities, that increase reliance on community colleges to prepare successful transfer students, that reduce and de-emphasize minority recruitment and retention programs, and that curtail civil rights enforcement. (p. 157)

He was particularly critical of California's 1960 Master Plan that established "a huge system of public higher education on the basis of a highly selective system of access to the four-year college" (Orfield, 1988, p. 157), and relies on two-year community colleges for everyone else. He argued that since "high school education is unequal, and [since] there are tremendous racial differences in eligibility for public education . . . low-income minority families are paying state taxes that very heavily subsidize the universities which few of their children may attend" (p. 157), especially since the state funding of community colleges is declining. Orfield's more recent research indicates that nationwide school desegregation is declining, and more Latino, African-American, and Native-American youth are attending poorly funded schools in segregated urban areas than in the past decade (Orfield, 1999).

A second example of this genre is Guadalupe Valdés's (1996) ethnographic study of Mexican origin families in South Texas, *Con Respeto: Bridging the Distance Between Culturally Diverse Families and Schools* (1996). Her research spanned three years (1983–1986), during which time she developed portraits of 10 families that provide insights and human faces behind the raw statistics that highlight

important immigration trends along the U.S.-Mexican border. The original design of the study was “to follow ten children as they started school in a community close to the Mexican border (Las Fuentes) over a 3-year period” (p. 6). The goal was to “understand how schools could best build on the experiences children had in communities in which two languages were used by most adult individuals” (p. 6). However, the initial focus on children’s acquisition of language and literacy in a bilingual environment soon shifted toward understanding and explanation of “how multiple factors, including culture and class, contribute to the academic ‘failure’ of Mexican-origin children”(p. 7). No answers or solutions were presented in the conclusions. However, important questions are raised that educational policy makers need to consider. The 10 family portraits and mother’s perspectives shed new light on immigrant experiences of entering the United States and deciding to stay; surviving and mediating a new environment through “the family’s collective wisdom” (p. 94); raising children; and parental involvement and interactions within the school context. They cause one to question many of the interventions intended to foster school success for immigrant children because they ignore or disrespect the immigrant parents’ familistic values, as well as the social and linguistic competence—the cultural capital that immigrant families bring with them from Mexico.

#### *Genre 11: Culture and Race in Popular Culture*

This research genre is similar to the detecting bias genre in cluster 1 that emphasizes content analysis studies to detect stereotypes, omissions, and inaccuracies in textbooks and other educational materials developed for classroom use. The difference lies in its societal focus, with studies of popular culture and “societal curriculum.” In a scholarly review of multicultural education inquiry related to mass media, Carlos Cortés (1995) wrote,

The mass media—through such avenues as newspapers, magazines, motion pictures, television, and radio—disseminate information, images, and ideas concerning race, ethnicity, culture, and foreignness. Media educate both for better *and* for worse. This media multicultural curriculum functions whether or not individual media makers actually view themselves as educators, whether or not they are aware that they are spreading ideas about diversity, and whether they operate in the realm of fact or fiction. (p. 169)

Most of the research focuses on motion pictures, and to a much lesser degree television (see Cortés, 1995, for examples). Content analysis typifies this genre, such as “The Distorted Image: Stereotype and Caricature in Popular American Graphics, 1850–1922” (filmstrip [ND] produced and sold by the Anti-Defamation League); *The Kaleidoscopic Lens: How Hollywood Views Ethnic Groups* (Miller, 1978); media research and “ideological manipulation” (Spring, 1992); and studies of children’s literature published by *Multicultural Review*. Writing about portrayals of Native Americans in popular culture, Pewewardy (1998) discussed the problem of stereotypical images that

homogenize hundreds of indigenous cultures, robbing them of their distinctive identities and distorting their roles in U.S. history. . . . Today I see silent genocide in the way indigenous people are integrated and reinvented by non-Indians. Appropriation of indigenous ceremonies, religions, and identities has been the most threatening practice. [Examples include] using Indians as mascots and logos in sports culture; new age shamanism; and eugenics research. (p. 73)

A book by Carlos Cortés, *The Children Are Watching: How the Media Teach About Diversity* (2000) provides an illustration of scholarship within this genre. Drawing on decades of personal interest and scholarly inquiry about popular film, most recently films for children as well as television, Cortés provides a framework for continual research on mass media. Cortés finds that the mass media provide a “powerful, pervasive multicultural curriculum.” He argues that, “over time, the mass media have provided five distinct but interrelated *types* of multicultural content” by (a) presenting information, (b) organizing information and ideas, (c) disseminating values, (d) addressing audience expectations; and (e) providing models for behavior (p. 55). Research, as well as the media itself, tends to focus on one ethnic group or issue rather than including multiple perspectives or cross-group comparisons. He describes popular media as “ongoing, recurring, transitory, and [focused on] one-shot themes, whose presentation is influenced by media structural patterns.” When multiple perspectives on diversity are presented in the media, they are muted by “severe imbalances in the power to disseminate ideas [according to] ideological battlegrounds” presented as multiculturalist, desegregationist, and Americanist (p. 130). Although popular media have the potential to be highly influential in shaping views about race, culture, and other aspects of diversity, there are mediating factors. They include coincidence, or the extent to which a new message is in agreement with one’s beliefs; conflict, when a message challenges or disagrees with one’s beliefs; marginalism, a message that neither conflicts nor agrees with one’s beliefs; and novelty, a message about which one knows little or nothing. In the final chapters of his book, Cortés (2000) develops implications of his research for the school curriculum, including how teachers can help students become critical viewers of the mass media by looking for patterns as well as stereotypes, and becoming aware of the difference.

Scholarly writings by critical theorists such as Henry Giroux in *Channel Surfing: Racetalk and the Destruction of Today’s Youth* (1997a) also contribute to scholarship within this genre. In “Rewriting the Discourse of Racial Identity: Towards a Pedagogy and Politics of Whiteness” (1997b), Giroux’s analysis of two films with “contrasting narratives of race,” “*Dangerous Minds*” and “*Suture*,” illustrates how a critical analysis of “the representation of race and ethnicity in the media” can illuminate racial politics. Multicultural educators can use such films as a tool to deconstruct Whiteness and to critically examine White privilege in popular culture and the media more broadly. The study of racial and cultural images in popular film become a liberating experience for people of color as well as for Whites, and it can become a step toward anti-racism and social action in the next genre.

### *Genre 12: Social Action*

Social action refers to individual and group efforts to bring about changes to redress inequities and injustices in home, school, community, state, national, or global contexts. Anti-racist teaching, fair-minded critical thinking, and an ethic of caring are aspects of these efforts (Ayres et al., 1998; J. A. Banks, 1995; Bennett, 1986/1999; M. Katz, Noddings, & Strike, 1999; Sleeter, 1996). The genre is rooted in political socialization research focused on the political attitudes, values, and beliefs of minority and nonminority children and adolescents, such as cynicism and political efficacy, and the implications for political action (e.g., Abramson, 1972; Easton & Dennis, 1967; Greenberg, 1972; Greenstein, 1960; Hess, 1968). Other examples include

research guided by a Freirean conceptual framework (e.g., Diaz-Greenberg, 1998; Freire, 1997), and curriculum interventions (e.g., Button, 1974; Ramos-Zayas, 1998).

A study of the impact of a social action high school government curriculum on Anglo, African-American, and Latino 12th graders in Texas illustrates this genre (Button, 1974). The study population consisted of 262 students in two newly desegregated high schools, with even distributions of African-American, Anglo, and Latino students. Two experimental and two contrast classrooms were selected in each school; these were comparable classrooms in terms of student characteristics, including an equivalent tri-ethnic student group. Identical data were collected in the four experimental and four contrast classrooms throughout two months of the intervention. Data included pretests and posttests of students' political attitudes and knowledge, and coding of student initiated interaction two hours a week in all eight classrooms. In addition, follow-up interviews were conducted with a random sample of students, half from the experimental and half from the contrast classrooms, three to four months after the curriculum intervention had ended.

The overriding goal of the experimental curriculum was to "teach for political efficacy" (Button, 1974). It concentrated on getting students to think about the development and use of political strategy to bring about social and political change and to become involved in community action related to their studies. Curriculum units focused on the following: (a) critical self analysis of one's political socialization, particularly key agents and influences; (b) elitist theories of the American political system, power structures, and institutionalized racism; (c) historical and current case studies of political action by dissatisfied minority groups to bring about change through nonviolent and violent means; and (d) student action research in the community. The action research focused on concerns selected by the students who then worked individually or in small groups for about four months to study and attempt to bring a resolution to the problem.

Even though this study was clearly exploratory, findings showed that African-American, Anglo, and Latino students in the experimental classrooms (and not in the contrast classrooms) developed increased feelings of political efficacy, interest, and knowledge. The impact was strongest among African-American males and females, and Anglo females. African-American and Latino and Latina adolescents were strongly influenced by the case studies of political change and viewed them as models of political action; the actual fieldwork, along with the studies of racism, seemed to be most salient for Anglo students.

Another example of this genre is O'Connor's (1997) case analysis of six high-achieving African-American high school students who held high aspirations for their future, even though they were well aware of the barriers they faced based on race, class, and (for two) gender. O'Connor described these students as resilient because they were optimistic and high achieving, even though they were aware of societal inequities and expressed "dominant theories of making it which have been shown to make others give up and lose hope" (p. 597). The students were selected from a larger study that examined how 46 low-income, African-American adolescents in two Chicago high schools conceived of the American opportunity structure and their chances of reaching their aspirations for the future. Participants in the larger study were sophomores who attended two nonselective public schools that drew its students primarily from public housing developments and low-income tenement housing.

Both schools were situated in areas of concentrated poverty where unemployment, low-wage work, and reliance on public assistance were the day-to-day realities of the residents. The communities were racially segregated, high school attrition was common, gang violence was prevalent, and drug dealing was evident. . . . The achievement levels for most of the student body were low, and attendance and high school completion rates were dismal. The student body was overwhelmingly poor and wholly African American. (p. 603)

The primary method of data collection was the structured open-ended interview; forty-six students were interviewed in private comfortable settings and lasted 1 hour to 1.9 hours. Interview questions focused on students' conceptions of the opportunity structure, as well as their aspiration and expectations for the future. There were 12 high-achieving females, 12 low-achieving females, 11 high-achieving males, and 11 low-achieving males in the broader study.

The six case study students were similar to other high-achieving students in terms of strong academic achievement and optimism for the future. However, they differed in terms of their recognition of institutionalized discrimination experienced by African Americans, their references to collective struggle as a means of bringing about social change, and the existence of sponsors or role models of social mobility and change. Their knowledge of racism and struggle did not hinder their academic success, as some scholars have argued, and may have contributed to their academic motivation and sense of personal efficacy. Thus, the researcher's findings question research spanning over two decades that has shown that marginalized youths' awareness of limited opportunities for job and school success leads to disengagement from school. O'Connor (1997) argues that

[T]he resilient youths seemed to have received distinct messages (via the actions and ideologies of their significant others) which conveyed that oppression and injustice can be actively resisted and need not be interpreted as a given. . . . [T]hese messages, especially those which emphasized the potential for collective action, conveyed the agency that resides (even when dormant) within marginalized communities. In short, resilient youths, unlike other optimistic respondents, appeared to have not only insight into human agency at the personal and individual level but also a basis for interpreting Black individuals and collectives as agents of change. (p. 621)

#### *State of Research in Societal Equity*

Research in the demographics genre consists primarily of statistical surveys, although case studies are becoming more important (e.g., Morris & Morris, 2000; Price, 2000; Valenzuela, 1999). Demographic analyses provide helpful benchmarks within trends of success or failure of policies and programs aimed at equitable societal access, especially school attainment. For example, we find significant attainment gains among African-American students, yet their college enrollments (participation percentage rates) are declining; moreover, college enrollments are declining for all students of color except Asians (Bennett, 1995). The poor academic preparation provided to many Alaskan Natives, other Native Americans, African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans in our nation's schools is well documented by extensive research within this genre (College Board, 1985; Kozol, 1991; Oakes, 1985; Orfield, 1999). These groups are overrepresented in general and vocational tracks, in classes for the mentally retarded, and in schools that have outdated books

and inadequate facilities. In many schools across the nation, racial and language minority students constitute a majority of minorities. Children of color usually attend schools with large concentrations of students who are economically disadvantaged or lower achieving, or both. These are schools where teachers often deemphasize higher-order thinking skills and higher levels of teacher questions because of misconceptions that low-achieving students must master basic skills before they can develop higher-level skills (Foster, 1989). Studies suggest that there is differential treatment and lower teacher expectations of racial and language minority students, compared with teacher behavior toward their nonminority peers.

However, these demographic studies are limited by several factors (Bennett, "Research on racial issues in American higher education," 1995). Researchers lack a national database that is representative of Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanics. Reports ignore diversity such as various socioeconomic backgrounds and regions within the various ethnic groups. Also, findings lead to contradictory conclusions when trends are reported in terms of college enrollments, the actual head counts provided by colleges and universities each fall, rather than college participation rates, the percentage of a given age group that is currently enrolled in college or has attended for one year or more (Carter & Wilson, 1991). A major problem in research on Hispanics is the failure to distinguish among groups of differing national origin within the Hispanic population; and research on Native Americans is inadequate because for most national educational data Indians have been ignored or categorized as "other."

Scholarly writing is abundant in the remaining genres, culture and race in popular culture and social action. That is reflected in multicultural theoretical writings (e.g., J. A. Banks, 1993, 1994/1999, 1995; Sleeter, 1996). However, the connections with multicultural education research and practice are less extensive than in the other genres. Despite decades of research in the popular culture genre, it is a relatively recent focus of interest for multicultural education researchers and teachers. The work in this genre by Cortés (1995, 2000) provides a rich foundation for new inquiry. In contrast, social action has been an important focus in multicultural education since the early 1970s. Nevertheless, the classroom intervention research remains thin. One reason may be difficulty in mounting "change agent" studies, such as the Button study (1974), in schools as the political climate has changed. Another may pertain to human subjects approval, owing to possible invasions of student privacy. Moreover, social action research has developed a new thrust with studies of student qualities of resilience and empowerment, and the importance of role models such as found in the O'Connor (1997) study.

### **Implications for Practice**

The very idea of mapping the field of multicultural education may raise questions or be disturbing to some readers. Perhaps it conjures up images of reification of structures and knowledge bases in multicultural education. My intent is very different. I view the framework as one conceptual map out of many possibilities, a tool that expands and explores multiple areas of knowledge, perspectives, and understandings of research and practice in multicultural education. It can help identify areas of omission and commission in one's multicultural research, writing, and teaching, and it is immutable and restrictive only if the user so chooses. What then is the use of such a map, if it has no definite shape and definition?

The genres were piloted in the summer of 1999 with two groups of teacher educators from South Africa and the United States. From this experience come several benefits. First, the genres provide a tool for comprehension. Last summer's pilot tests indicate that the 12 genres helped relative newcomers to understand, in a relatively quick way, the complex, comprehensive, and potentially powerful nature of multicultural education in a diverse society. Scholars from a wide variety of fields, and who included administrators, teacher educators, and classroom teachers, participated in three half-day seminars focused on the genres. They believed that the genres moved them beyond awareness of multicultural issues. Many participants used the framework to design proposals for research or practice, or both, that focused on their personal and professional interests and concerns in multicultural education.

Second, the genres provide a tool for thinking critically about multicultural education research and practice. The interactive nature of the genre clusters, and the overlap among the genres within and across clusters, provides a springboard to identify primary and secondary genres reflected in a selected study or line of research. For example, studies of cooperative team learning (e.g., Slavin, 1990; Cohen, 1994; Cohen & Lotan, 1997) might fit into genre 4, school and classroom climate, or genre 8, prejudice and prejudice reduction. But when cooperative team learning is defined as an instructional strategy, genre 4 is primary because it is part of cluster two, equity pedagogy. Likewise, funds of knowledge research could fit into genre 6, cultural styles in teaching and learning, because it does have implications for pedagogy. However, because that research focuses on strengthening teachers' intercultural competence, one can argue that the primary genre is genre 9, ethnic group culture. Such an analysis of the genres can stimulate careful thought about the goals, perspectives, and implications of any specific research project in multicultural education.

Third, the genres could be used as tools for more comprehensive decision making and thinking about multicultural educational policies and practices. For example, plans for tracking and instructional grouping might be viewed from the perspective of the three genres in cluster two—equity pedagogy (school and classroom climate, student achievement, and cultural styles in teaching and learning)—as well as from the perspective of genre 10, demographics. Textbook adoption committees could benefit from a review of research in genre 1: historical and subject matter inquiry; genre 2, detecting bias in textbooks and educational materials; and genre 7, ethnic identity development. The framework itself could provide an impetus for considering diverse research perspectives on practices of concern.

Fourth, the genres could be used for new inquiry as well as meta-analyses of existing research in the field of multicultural education. Mapping the field in a comprehensive manner provides an immediate means to discern areas of research activity that invite further inquiry as well as inform practice. Use of the genres could provide new researchers with reference points to get started and, it is hoped, would stimulate experienced researchers to think about possibilities for making new connections for theory and practice. For example, studies of popular culture (genre 11) might influence or connect with studies of ethnic identity development (genre 7). Also, researchers interested in school and classroom climate (genre 4) might find inspiration in cultural styles in teaching and learning (genre 6) such as the Spindlers' (1993, 1994) theory of cultural therapy.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the genres could be used by teacher educators as a means toward rethinking programs and research for multicultural teacher

preparation, or for designing new ones. Each of the genres offers a way to focus on thinking about teaching and learning in a multicultural society. The genre clusters of curriculum reform, equity pedagogy, and multicultural competence are compatible with major content areas in most professional teacher preparation programs. Those programs typically include studies in general academic knowledge and knowledge in the major and supporting content areas; general and content specific pedagogy and curriculum development; and theories of child and adolescent development and learning within social and cultural contexts. The individual genres of research and practice within each cluster could provide a content focus to strengthen teachers' multicultural knowledge and dispositions, which could be developed into thematic teacher education programs to restructure and rethink these programs at the transformative level (J. A. Banks, 1994/1999). For example, a thematic program could center on reflective teaching guided by practices of inquiry and principles of social justice. The fourth cluster of societal equity provides a multicultural perspective that could be incorporated into foundational studies in teacher education (e.g., historical, philosophical, social, economic, legal, and ethical dimensions of teacher preparation programs). An inclusion of genres 10 to 12—demographics, popular culture, and social action—could move a program from Banks's (1994/1999) third level of curriculum transformation to the higher level of social action. Overall, these genres of research and the implications for practice could be used to evaluate and strengthen school policies and practices, as well as teachers' knowledge and dispositions, in terms of principles of multicultural education. They provide a framework for creating agendas in teacher education research and practice based on principles of multicultural education, such as the ideals of freedom, equality, and social justice in a culturally and racially diverse society.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup>The conceptual framework presented in this article is influenced by my own knowledge of the multicultural education field and related scholarship. It reflects my understanding of what multicultural education means, its evolution over the past three decades, and its visions for the future. My knowledge of the field is influenced by early studies in sociology, intercultural and ethnic studies, and social studies; by teaching experiences in multicultural classrooms; and by years of teacher education work aimed at preparing teachers (primarily White and from middle-income backgrounds) for work with diverse student populations. I am also deeply engaged in work with preservice teachers of color at a predominantly White institution in pursuit of teaching for social justice. This conceptual framework is influenced by my research as well, an agenda that has emphasized action research in a variety of multicultural contexts. For example, I have studied the impact of a social studies curriculum on tri-ethnic

classrooms; classroom climates in desegregated middle schools; causes of racial inequities in school suspensions and expulsions in desegregated high schools; explanations of minority student attrition in predominantly White universities; the impact of multicultural education on teacher knowledge, attitudes, and sense of ethnic identity; and teacher perspectives as a tool for reflection and professional development.

<sup>2</sup> Originally I described the four dimensions as the movement toward equity; curriculum reform; the process of becoming multicultural; and the commitment to combat racism, sexism, and all forms of prejudice and discrimination. See pages 11–13 in the second edition published in 1990. These dimensions are also discussed in chapter 1 in later editions published in 1994 and 1999.

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