ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: MULTICULTURAL PEDAGOGIES: THREE TEACHERS' UNDERSTANDING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Vanessa Sylvie Calvo Prell, Master of Arts, 2012

Thesis directed by: Professor Robert Croninger
Department of Teaching and Learning, Policy and Leadership

While multicultural curriculum is widely used, little is known about how teachers conceive of this curriculum. The purpose of this thesis is to explore teachers' understanding and implementation of multicultural curriculum, including the factors that affect, their beliefs about and practices of multicultural education. My study identifies two pedagogies of multicultural education: student centered and curriculum centered. These pedagogies are shaped by the teachers' view of student engagement, teacher authority, curriculum flexibility, and critical thinking. Teachers' motivations to include multicultural curriculum derived from personal experiences with race and culture. However, teachers struggled with organizational barriers such as limited time, incomplete multicultural knowledge, unachievable curriculum standards, and incompatible mandated texts. This research opens avenues for increased reflection upon and use of multicultural curriculum.

MULTICULTURAL PEDAGOGIES: THREE TEACHERS' UNDERSTANDING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

by

Vanessa Sylvie Calvo Prell

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of
Master of Arts
2012

Advisory Committee:

Professor Robert Croninger, Chair
Professor Victoria-María MacDonald
Professor Steven Selden

© Copyright by

Vanessa Sylvie Calvo Prell

2012

Dedication

Kris M. Bowman
May 1967 – August 2010

Acknowledgements

Judaism has made me an insatiable student. From this tradition I share one lesson of many:
“Make a teacher for yourself, acquire for yourself a friend, and judge every person favorably” (Pirke Avot 1:6). Over the years I have made many teachers and found many, many friends. I want to thank a selection of them here.

I send unending thanks to:
My parents for expecting this, and more, of me. Also, to my grandparents for making it possible.
Victoria-María MacDonald for always being there to pinch hit, provide a last minute save, and inspire me.
Bob Croninger for his diligence, patience, and for going above and beyond as chair.
Steve Selden for always encouraging me to think more deeply and in new ways.
Seighin for pushing me and supporting me every step of the way. And especially for answering all my "What's the word for?" texts with exactly the word I wanted.
Jacqui for enabling my book acquisition habit.
Alex Carter for endless pep talks and strategy sessions.
Max DeCurtins for an extremely thorough editing job.
Megan Springate for discipline and incentives when mine flagged.
All of my friends who cheered me on and called me Master Prell till I had to make it a reality.
And of course, my kitty Lillith: my study partner and my favorite non-consensual alarm clock.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication ii
Acknowledgements iii
Table of Contents iv
Chapter I Introduction 1
Purpose of Study 2
Personal Interest 4
Organization of Thesis 5
Chapter II Brief History of Multicultural Education 7
Contributions of Multicultural Education 14
Challenges of Multicultural Education 30
Chapter III Research Site 41
Research Question 43
Teacher Profile 44
Methodology and Limitations 47
Chapter IV. 54
Understanding and Implementing Multicultural Education . . . 55
Personal Experiences with Multicultural Education 73
Limitations on Practicing Multicultural Education 75
Summary 81
Chapter V 83
Personal and Professional Preparation 87
Organizational Factors 89
Study Limitations 92
Future Directions 94
Appendix A 98
Bibliography 99

Chapter 1

Introduction

For many students and parents, education means teachers. Teachers are the people they see every day, the people answering questions and assigning homework, making phone calls, and sending out report cards. From this day-to-day perspective, it is teachers who have the most say over what is taught, how it is taught, and what students are expected to learn from it. The structure of local, state, and federal funding, policy, and law sometimes appears invisible in the quotidian context of the school year. School policy is made through official channels and handed down for teachers to enforce. Though teachers are accountable to those structures, they have a lot of subjective power. This power is especially apparent in their sway over their classrooms and their curriculum.

Teachers make many decisions about their methods and curriculum framing based on their beliefs and understanding of good teaching. These daily acts of translating curriculum into lessons and lessons into knowledge shape how students understand both the content and the context of schools. Understanding how teachers render one into the other is key to understanding how and what students learn. What shapes a teacher's definition of good teaching? How does a teacher decide which parts of a curriculum to highlight and which to obscure? How do different teacher's ideas of these things interact? This paper wrestles with these questions in the context of multicultural education.

Purpose of Study

Due to the significant impact teachers have upon curriculum implementation, it is important to better understand their perspectives and experiences. The purpose of this research is to deepen academic knowledge of what factors affect teacher use and understandings of multicultural curriculum. This phenomenon of interest focuses specifically on the ways teachers negotiate the interpretive power they have over the curriculum. Though my primary interest lies in better imaging the lenses of personal experience and organizational barriers to multicultural education, this could not be done without first investigating how teachers view and practice multicultural curriculum. I especially sought to learn more about the personal and professional experiences teachers draw upon to prepare them for using a multicultural curriculum and the organizational factors that affect how they understand and implement multicultural education. Through interviews of high school history teachers using multicultural education, I have sought to identify their experiences with it, understand how they are using it, and identify the experiences that contribute to it, and the organizational barriers that detract from it.

I frame this discussion with the definition of two of my key terms: multicultural education and multicultural curriculum. This paper uses James Banks' definition of multicultural education as having five core values: content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowering school culture (1996). Any efforts to meet even one of these core values will be considered as multicultural education. In contrast, I distinguish multicultural curriculum from multicultural education. The curriculum is a

subset of Bank's definition of multicultural education, which focuses specifically upon efforts to expand or transform curriculum so that it becomes more racially and ethnically inclusive.

I explicitly include these definitions because multicultural education is contested terrain. Scholars, teachers, and stakeholders define these terms differently. Understandings about what constitutes multicultural education have changed over time. Meanings are fluid, and this is especially the case for any texts addressing multicultural curriculum. However, it is not just the definition of multicultural education that is a moving target. Changes in terminology over recent decades mean the term multicultural education to fall out of favor. Current discussions on curriculum which present a multiplicity of racial perspectives are often called diversity classes. I have chosen to use multicultural education and multicultural curriculum for this document because of its emphasis on equity. While both multicultural education and diversity efforts highlight the histories and experiences of people of color, this focus is only one aspect of multicultural education, as described by Banks (1996). This research sought further information about teacher practices in the larger context Banks establishes.

Curriculum formation is also subject to political and social forces. Curriculum is shaped by state and federal policies such as curriculum standards, school and department guidelines, as well as teacher interests and preferences. Special interest groups across the political spectrum work to create a curriculum which reflects their values. However, curriculum is more than just what facts are taught, it is also how they are presented. Thought scholars agree that in 1492

Christopher Columbus sailed the Atlantic, the historical and moral implications of that fact remain open to interpretation. Presenting multiple perspectives in the classroom implicitly or explicitly acknowledges curriculum as contested terrain. Understanding the subjective nature of curriculum is important for the context of this research and for understanding multicultural education as a whole.

Personal Interest

This topic piqued my interest because of the disparity between my own experiences of school and the experiences of some of my friends. School has long been a refuge for me. Books, teachers, classmates, and mentors have stoked my curiosity, fed my hunger for knowledge, and honed my thinking skills. My classes captured wonders from sub-atomic particles to supernovae, Chaucer to Toni Morrison, counting to calculus, the list goes on. As important as this book learning is, schools are also the places where I made my first friends, found my first mentors (outside my family), and began to understand the complexity and difference that exists among individuals. However difficult and frustrating school work might have been, school was always a place of safety and connection for me.

It was not until late in high school that I understood not everyone had the same experience of school that I did. Despite spending my formative years in the Los Angeles Public School System, it was six years in a private, college-prep school that helped me to understand the difference between the haves and the have-nots. The wealth of my peers helped me to understand my own advantage. Their insistence led me to look at societal patterns rather than at individual cases;

they taught me I live in a society which deliberately and systemically privileges some and disadvantages others. This knowledge, in its most ephemeral and theoretical form, mortifies, and saddens me. But as I came to see the day-to-day realities of oppression, it enraged me. Jonathan Kozol's recounting of the decrepit and toxic school conditions many students navigate in *Savage Inequalities* left me sick to my stomach (1991). I cannot describe the contrast between these schools and my high school's multi-million dollar endowment as anything other than unethical. My moral sense requires me to take action.

As I began to see oppression "out there" in the lives of others, I also began to see the ways oppression plays out in my life. In my education. I began to re-learn history – this country's and my own – and the stories of those who were left out. I began to understand that multicultural education playes an important role in creating inclusive classrooms. However, I also saw that multicultural education varied greatly from classroom to classroom. I took on this research project to learn more about how and why multicultural education appears so different in different classrooms.

Organization of Thesis

This thesis presents an investigation into the pedagogies and practices of teachers using multicultural education. The second chapter provides a review of literature related to the challenges and benefits of multicultural education. The third chapter describes the methodology used to explore teachers' beliefs about multicultural education. In the fourth chapter, the gathered data is laid out and

aggregated into themes and patterns. Lastly, chapter five presents conclusions drawn from the data, limitations of the study, and avenues for future research.

Chapter 2

A Brief History of Multicultural Education

From the 1883 publication of George William's *History of the Negro Race in America* to the stripping of Chicano Studies from Arizona's classrooms in 2011, multicultural curriculum has occupied a fraught and visible place in the United States school curriculum. This review of literature seeks to provide a brief overview of multicultural education in the United States of America. Within multicultural education, this review of literature focuses upon the challenges and contributions multicultural education makes to the education of students of color.[1]

As multicultural education is slippery and difficult to define, its historical roots are murky. The work of teaching curriculum that accurately presents the many peoples of color began independently in many different parts of the country, at many different times. A similar synchronicity accompanies the prejudice reduction work that plays an important role in multicultural education. This review of multicultural education will attempt to weave together the geographically and chronologically disparate strands of scholarship to form a coherent picture of its history.

I identify the earliest efforts toward multicultural education as having started in the territories of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado following the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. During this time White

[1] For the present study, I define "multicultural education" using the five core values established by James Banks: content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowering school culture. Any efforts to meet at least one of these core values will be considered as multicultural education. Unfortunately, due to limitations of space, this literature review will not be able to address all the strategies for multicultural education.

Americans moved west, conducting a hostile takeover of formerly Mexican land, and establishing themselves as land owners and farmers. Both Mexicans and the new Mexican-Americans found a variety of ways to resist this unwelcome development—striving, for example, to establish practices of cultural preservation. Tejanos—the Indigenous and Mexican residents of what is now Texas—secured the right for bilingual instruction in public school classrooms in the Republic of Texas (MacDonald, 2004) from the 1850's to the 1880s. Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico were not heavily populated territories, and so remained loosely organized through the late 1800s (MacDonald, 2004). Their schools were a blend of public and private institutions, run by churches with some public funding. As such their curricula remained localized and bilingual into the early 1900s (ibid). These bilingual schools were multicultural because they remained under the control of the local Mexican-American community. English schools, by contrast, were run by English speakers. Evidence suggests that the White Americans who used the language barrier to make land grabs would not present materials which fairly represented Mexican-Americans in these English classrooms. Thus, bilingual classrooms offered a way for natives of the Southwest to maintain a more representative curriculum.

Banks views multicultural education as having begun in 1882, with the publication of George Williams' *History of the Negro Race in America* (Banks, 1993). Williams' book represents the first survey work of African American history. It poetically and encyclopedically categorized the presence, actions, and social movements of African Americans from their arrival in the colonies to his present day. Williams' leads the first of a wave of African American scholars

building the discipline of African American history. In this golden age he is joined by W. E. B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson and Charles C. Wesley. These men established the first organizations to support the study of African American history – the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History – to fund their work (Banks, 1993, p. 10). Their early scholarship is mostly ignored by White schools and academics. However, African American schools and universities embrace their writing, integrating it into their classrooms (Banks, 1993). Teachers used Negro History Week, begun by Carter G. Woodson, as well as pageants and other art forms to supplement their curricula (Murray, 2012).

Efforts in support of intergroup education parallel the development of this movement. The intergroup education movement has its roots in the extensive intra-national migration which took place during World War II (Banks, 1993). As part of this migration many rural communities of color migrated to urban centers, working in factories to support the war effort. Tensions emerged as some groups of urban Whites responded to this influx of culturally and racially different individuals with hostility and violence. A small group of Whites rejected the hostility of their peers, and joined with scholars and religious leaders of other racial groups, responding to the racial animus by creating the intergroup education movement. As the name implies, the intergroup education movement worked to establish cross cultural understandings. They brought together small groups or individuals of different ethnicities, races, and faiths to help them learn about their similarities and differences. This group sought to provide immediately applicable solutions, printing resource guides for teachers in elementary and high school as well as providing content for teacher's colleges

(Banks, 1993). From the intergroup education movement came much early research on race relations, prejudice, and prejudice reduction. Banks explains that "[i]nvestigations designed to determine the effects of curricular interventions on students' racial attitudes were an important part of the intergroup education movement" (Banks, 1993, p. 15). The movement's "emphasi[s on] democratic living and interracial cooperation within mainstream American society" (Banks, 1993, p. 15) was folded into existing racial education to create multicultural education we know today. Before multicultural education as we know it emerged, there was another movement coming of age: the racial pride movement.

By the end of the 1960's it had become apparent that the Civil Rights Movement had suffered severe fractures. While a great many organizers – Black and White – continued to push for legal rights and full integration, frustration galvanized Black activists to form more radical groups, of which the Black Panthers are most well known. One of many many Black nationalist organizations, the Black Panthers focused on serving and caring for Black communities, rather than advocating within White power structures. Organizations quickly formed that echoed the militancy of the Black Panthers, including the Brown Berets, the American Indian Movement, and Asian American groups calling for "Yellow Pride". It was these groups' internal focus combined with their calls for pride which bring in the next thread of multicultural education: local control. Parents and families sought the political power to decide who the teachers were and what the curriculum was, in an effort

to provide their children with an affirming education and and to protect them from racism that they encountered elsewhere.

The conflict in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School District exemplifies the struggle for local control. This district, in New York City, became famous nationally for the standoff between the Black school board – seeking to enact local control – and the predominantly White, Jewish, teachers. The board dismissed the teachers on the grounds they were sabotaging the new curriculum, which brought African American experiences to the center of the classroom. The teachers argued that they had been dismissed without due process, a position which eventually led to a city-wide teacher strike. Though this dispute was resolved in favor of the teachers, this example illustrates both the persistent efforts of racial pride organizations and the resistance they faced. Paralleling this demand for local control, many in higher education began to push for "Black studies programs and courses, heritage rooms or houses, and Black professors and administrators" (Banks, 1993, p. 18). These groups envisioned [all-]Black spaces that community members could control. These community-run spaces harkened back to locally controlled schools of the pre-Civil Rights Movement, rather than the demands for integrated classrooms of the 1950s, and 1960s.

The activism and success of Black organizers set off a chain reaction amongst minority groups in the United States. Their demands for legal protections and inclusion in curriculum were soon taken up by Mexican Americans, American Indians, and Asian Americans. A boom in ethnic studies began, sparking a second golden age for the ethnic histories written in the late

19th century and early 20th century. Titles such as *The Souls of Black Folk* by W.E.B. DuBois, *From Slavery to Freedom* by John Hope Franklin, *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* by Carey McWilliams, and *Filipino Immigration to the Continental United States and Hawaii* by Bruno Lasker are just some of the books which came into print again during this period. These books served as the foundation for launching a generation of new ethnic studies scholarship.

Early scholars of multicultural education drew together the strands of early Black history, the intergroup education movement, and the ethnic studies movements of the 1960s and 1970s to create a new perspective on education. Banks identifies four phases in the development of multicultural education(Banks, 1993, p. 19). He describes "[t]he first phase of multicultural education [as] emerg[ing] when educators who had interests and specializations in the history and culture of ethnic minority groups initiated individual and institutional actions to incorporate the concepts, information, and theories from ethnic studies into the school and teacher education curricula" (Banks, 1993, p. 19). He calls this phase the "Ethnic Studies" phase.

The second phase in the development of multicultural education began when these same scholars saw that creating ethnic studies did not transform school and university culture; they came to realize that changing schools to build more inclusive cultures was central to their work for equal access for minority students. Banks calls the second phase the development of Multiethnic education. The third phase transformed multiethnic education into multicultural education with the inclusion of educational materials about other oppressed

groups: women; people with disabilities; and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people. Multicultural education then entered the fourth phase, where "development of theory, research, and practice that interrelate variables connected to race, class, and gender are central to its scholarly efforts" (Banks, 1993, p. 20). Though Banks describes these phases as layered and concurrent, they appear to occur at staggered rates for different populations. For example, African American Studies played a founding role in the construction of multicultural studies, but only recently have gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender studies become part of the multicultural cannon. Though scholars long ago identified the connections between African Americans and other ethnic and minority groups, Queer Studies scholars have begun formally drawing these parallels only within the last decade.

As multicultural education grew in structure and content it began to move into mainstream and predominantly White classrooms. Parents all over the country discovered their children were learning a different kind of history. Jules Feiffer described social tension multicultural education with a ceditorial cartoon in which a man wearing a hard hat reflected:

> When I went to school I learned that George Washington never told a lie, slaves were happy on the plantation, the men who opened the West were giants, and we won every war because God was on our side. But where my kid goes to school he learns that Washington was a slave-owner, slaves hated slavery, the men who opened the West committed genocide, and the wars we won were victories for U.S. imperialism. No wonder my kid's not an American. They're teaching him some other country's history. (Feiffer in Tyack, 2003, p. 58)

This comic exemplifies the conservative worries over multicultural education which emerged as multicultural education became commonplace. First and foremost, multicultural education challenged the American notion that its

founders were paragons of virtue – like the mythical George Washington, who never told a lie. Second, multicultural education complicated the narrative of United States history as a march from the monarchy of Europe toward a perfect democracy (Nash et al.,1997, p. 99). The national backlash against the liberalism of the 1960's and 1970's seized upon multicultural education, calling it "left-wing, nihilistic, divisive, and 'politically correct'" (Nash et al.,1997, p. 102).

Conservatives accused multicultural curriculum, and teachers, of over-representing the roles of minorities and women in history, fragmenting the nation by destroying the sense of commonality created by traditional curricula. This attack, mounted by famous figures such as Lynne Cheney and Rush Limbaugh, laid the groundwork for a push for new kind of curriculum, arguing for state standards in education. The movement for standards has been transformed from a Conservative ideal to national policy through No Child Left Behind. Multicultural education is currently working to define itself as a solution to the achievement gap and high dropout rates for students of color in a school system otherwise dedicated to the attainment of "Adequate Yearly Progress." Recent research on multicultural education has sought therefore to assess its impact upon, and possible contributions to, the academic success of students of color.

Contributions of Multicultural Education

Existing scholarship assessing multicultural education offers students six categories of contributions derived from multicultural education. The primary advantage, academically speaking, is increased student performance. Within the scope of this review, "increased performance" is defined as broadly as possible,

including improvements in grades, standardized test scores, and any assessments in the classroom. A close second in academic importance is increased interest or engagement in the classroom. Engagement includes, but is not limited to, increases in attendance, participation, and focus in the classroom or in out of class assignments. Multicultural education may also contribute to the lives of students of color beyond the classroom. It may facilitate the development of positive self-esteem, leading to students who feel better about themselves and their work. This positive view extends to the home cultures of the students as well, demonstrably increasing pride in and comfort with their home cultures. Multicultural education may also enhance the skills of students of color with other racial and ethnic groups, increasing positive cross cultural interactions. Lastly, multicultural education may provide these students with the tools to better navigate dominant paradigms of the mainstream White world.

Though I have established these categories, they are in many respects, vague and arbitrary. After all, practically speaking, academic performance and engagement are deeply entwined; interested students focus upon the material and are thus more likely to score better on assessments. Similarly, self-esteem and view of one's home culture are interdependent, as well as cross cultural interactions and navigating dominant paradigms. Though the distinctions established here may seem arbitrary, I have established them in an effort to separate out the benefits provided by multicultural curricula. The followings sections will provide a limited review of quantitative and qualitative research addressing the potential benefits of multicultural education.

Academic Achievement

No Child Left Behind inadvertently articulated a national desire for all of our students to succeed. Indeed, academic achievement is the central focus of schooling – learning to be a thinker, a citizen, and gaining the skills necessary to enter the workforce or get into college. Thus, it is only natural to begin this review by summarizing some of the research performed on the relationship between multicultural education and academic success. Mara Sapon-Shevin and Nancy Schniedewind identified cooperative, multicultural learning as a significant way to increase academic achievement in *Cooperative Learning as Empowering Pedagogy*. They argue that competitive learning creates false scarcity, isolates students who succeed as well as students who fail, and discourages students who do not feel they have a fair chance (Sapon-Shevin et. al., 1991, p. 162). The negative impact of competitive learning falls heavily on students of color because they are more likely to come to school feeling behind and thus more likely to feel disempowered in a competitive environment. Perhaps more importantly, many indigenous cultures

> "[reject] group contingencies and reward structures which would place one student above another or would embarrass any of the participants . . . thus children of color may *not* be motivated by competition, further increasing their alienation from the majority culture" (Sapon-Shevin et. al., 1991, p. 163).

Sapon-Schevin and Schniedewind argue further that cooperative multicultural learning requires a change in pedagogy, and not merely a change of curriculum. For successful use of cooperative learning, students require group work that can, at the same time, draw on the strengths of each student. This leads to heterogeneous clusters of students in which "positive interdependence and

individual accountability" (Sapon-Shevin et. al., 1991, p. 166) are central to achievement. Sapon-Schevin and Schniedewind present ample evidence that regardless of race, students learn more in cooperative classrooms (Sapon-Shevin et. al., 1991). They draw upon qualitative research in integrated schools using cooperative learning as well as overviews of nearly one hundred studies done over forty years. Their work supports the assertion that multicultural education has made a positive impact across several categories of benefits. Additionally, it offers a glimpse of cooperative multicultural education's potential to improve schooling for students of all races.

"A walk through Gracie's garden: Literacy and cultural explorations in a Mexican American junior high school" builds on the themes of cooperative learning in the writing of Sapon-Shevin and Schniedewind while also profiling the integration of multicultural content into the curriculum. This article describes how Minerva Salazar, a reading teacher at a predominantly Mexican American junior high school, collaborated with Paul Valerio, a PhD student, and William Brozo, a university professor, to integrate different teaching pedagogies into her classroom. The authors began by establishing the students as 'experts' and 'teachers' on their texts. Students then led class discussions, with each group bringing a different focus to the assignment and the session (e.g. vocabulary, plot, facilitator). In an end of the semester assessment the authors agreed that the curricular changes were a significant part of the unit's success. Students agreed, with one reporting that "[i]n groups I read more and we help each other understand better" (Brozo, et al., 1996, p. 168).

Geneva Gay aggregates a host of research on the academic improvements of students of color through multicultural education in her book *Culturally Responsive Teaching.* She describes the efforts of three literacy programs from around the United States designed explicitly for students of color. The first, Multicultural Literacy Program (MLP), took place in several Michigan counties and lasted four years. The program made the writings of Asian Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, African Americans, and Native Hawaiians the focus of K-8 reading and writing classes. Staff members reported the program's success across nine criteria, including increased skill with written English, larger vocabularies, and better reading speed and fluency (Gay, 2000).

The second program, the Webster Groves Writing Project (WGWP), was offered to African American students performing below grade level in English in several middle and high schools in Missouri. This project used both curriculum and pedagogy tailored to African American students. Five years of measurement revealed uneven gains in performance, but the results proved consistent enough that the program was expanded to include all low-performing English students in the district (Gay, 2000). Students' writing samples "demonstrated improvements in the development and organization of ideas, specific word choices, introductions and endings, and focused thinking and clarity of expression" (Gay, 2000, p. 134).

The third program, the Rough Rock English-Navajo Language Arts Program (RRENLAP), began in 1987 on the Navajo reservation in Arizona. This program worked with students in grades K-6, using both curricula and pedagogy to focus upon bilingualism and biculturalism. Curricula, designed to

incorporate Navajo ways of knowing, reconciling them with mandatory subjects such as math and science, while courses were taught in the “cultural contexts of the students at the Rough Rock Community School" (Gay, 2000, p. 135). Though these students remained below the national average, over several years their scores doubled in some areas of measurement (Gay, 2000). Teachers also observed increased vocabulary, enhanced grammar skills, and more thorough knowledge of the content.

I have chosen to include two additional texts because of their evidence of academic achievement as well as their vibrant perspective on the relationship between multicultural curriculum and the academic achievement of students of color. The first of these addressed in this paper is
“The influence of ethnic discrimination and ethnic identity on African American adolescents' school and scoioemotional adjustment.” Though this text seems only peripherally relevant to the topic at hand as it does not explicitly address multicultural education, the research demonstrates two powerful connections for the subject. First, there is a direct relationship between perception of racial discrimination and school performance (Eccles et al., 2006), and second there is also a direction relationship between connection to one's ethnic group and grade point average. Though this data represents a two year study of African American middle school students in Washington, DC, it provides a helpful frame for thinking about mainstream education. Eccles et al. demonstrate the negative impact of mainstream education upon students of color. If students do not see people of their race and culture represented in their classrooms they may identify this exclusion as racial discrimination, which correlates to poor school

performance. In contrast, if students learn in a multicultural classroom which includes their culture, or fosters a greater connection to their home culture, the correlation demonstrates that they will perform better.

K. M. Powers' "An Exploratory Study Of Cultural Identity And Culture-Based Educational Programs For Urban American Indian Students" provides a nuanced perspective on the benefits of multicultural curriculum for American Indian students. Her study evaluated 240 participants from a variety of tribes, ranging in age from 9-18. She proposes several ways to improve outcomes for American Indian students. The data reveal that the educational methods which improve circumstances for American Indian students also benefit students of all backgrounds (Powers, 2006). While culturally responsive curricula do benefit this group of students, Powers points out a complicating factor:

> American Indian–based educational programs may be most effective in increasing the school performance of American Indian students who are strongly affiliated with their Native culture, and students who have little in common with an American Indian–based educational program may benefit less. (Powers, 2006, p. 23)

Despite a wide range of evidence demonstrating the value of multicultural education for students of color, this article serves as a reminder that culture is not monolithic. A reservation-raised Lakota student and an urban Lakota student may have different cultural practices and needs. One can say the same of a fifth-generation African American and a recent arrival from Nigeria. We must integrate discussions of intraracial and intraethnic diversity into discussions of education and teaching as much as we include discussions of interracial and interethnic diversity.

Academic Engagement

Good grades rarely offer a comprehensive picture of a student's success in school. Student's interest in their subjects, lessons, readings, and other coursework often prove critical to their achievements. An engaging lesson can sustain a student through particularly challenging material and, ideally, a concerned teacher provides the interpersonal connection needed to encourage the student's perseverance. This section will explore how multicultural education can increase student engagement.

"A walk through Gracie's garden: Literacy and cultural explorations in a Mexican American junior high school" offers insight into student engagement. Three authors worked together to design a unit on Hispanic American culture (Brozo et al., 1996, integrating community participation and readings by well known Hispanic American authors. In post-assignment reflections students reported initial disinterest in the readings (or perhaps in doing homework with their parents); after their assignments, however they found the texts engaging and thought provoking (Brozo et al., 1996).

Gay presents the Circle of Learning plan used by the Kickapoo Nation in Kansas in *Culturally Responsive Teaching*. The Circle appears to have been directed at all ages , integrating Kickapoo culture into the curriculum. The curriculum emphasized "respect for the wisdom and dignity of elders, fortitude, community allegiance, bravery, caring and mutual assistance, generosity, and self-determination" (Gay, 2000, p. 136). The impact of this program was measured through a survey after two years of curriculum. Students surveyed reported "increased interest and participation in school" (Gay, 2000, p. 136).

In “The Influence of Multicultural Education Practices on Student Outcomes and Intergroup Relations,” Sabrina Zirkel provides a thorough review of “empirical research examining the effects that multicultural educational practices have on students” (Zirkel, 2008, p. 1148). The sources in this review served as a significant portion of the research for this paper. She finds that increasing representation of people of color increases teacher reports of engagement of students of color; however these reports remain anecdotal (Zirkel, 2008). I hope that my own research will begin to fill this gap in the literature.

Self-esteem

“Self-esteem” here refers to a student's conception of themselves, including their capacity for success, their worthiness for attention, and their understanding of their needs in relation to others in their peer group.

Gay's *Culturally Responsive Teaching* presents a study of reflections on representations of African Americans. In this experiment, researchers measured the responses of a mixed group of third graders reading books focused African American experiences along the criteria of comprehension, authenticity, identity and involvement, and evaluation. Students reported that “[r]egardless of ethnicity . . . [they] preferred books about family, community and friends" (Gay, 200, p. 134), while African American students “levels of acceptance and identification was higher . . . than European Americans” (Gay, 200, p. 134). This result demonstrates that is likely multicultural curricula can affirm the experiences of African American students without impacting the experiences of other races in their classrooms.

Positive View of Home Culture

A significant body of research demonstrates that students who feel their cultures excluded or erased from the classroom will disengage or sabotage their educational experience (Altschul et al, 2006; Eccles et al, 2003; Tyack, 2003; Zirkel 2008). Other scholars have sought to demonstrate the inverse: that the inclusion of values, histories, and famous figures from students' own cultures increases their self-esteem and engages them in their education.

Hani Morgan presents a conventional curricular practice as a tool to increase the academic performance of children of color in "Using Read-Alouds With Culturally Sensitive Children's Books." "Read-alouds," typically short story or picture books, are read to the class by the teacher, who often asks questions about the events and information in the stories to increase student engagement, check for understanding, and deepen comprehension on presented topics. Morgan fuses existing research on the importance of read-alouds with research on how to successfully address issues of racial difference in the classroom. Read-alouds engage students and assist in their development of critical thinking skills. Morgan draws upon their dual power to bring their attention to the cultures and narratives of people of color. With the guidance of a teacher, students "can choose to discuss concepts like race, culture, and discrimination" (Morgan, 2009, p. 5). These discussions provide opportunities for cross-cultural sharing for all members of the classroom, but they provide an additional benefit to students whose cultures the texts represent: "The sense of pride minority children develop from exposure to culturally authentic books may motivate them to read more" (Morgan, 2009, p. 7).

In *Culturally Responsive Teaching*, Geneva Gay presents a case study involving the role of positive view of home culture in multicultural education. As previously discussed, this study focuses upon the Circle of Learning plan used by the Kickapoo Nation in Kansas. The Circle used the curriculum to emphasize cultural values. The impact of this program was measured through a survey after the curriculum had been used for two years. Students reported an increase in the positive view of their culture, and it seemed to be entwined with "increased interest and participation in school, self confidence, feeling of efficacy in dealing with the non-Indian world" (Gay, 2000, p. 136), a list which encompasses all six of the categories this paper outlines as benefits resulting from multicultural education.

Zirkel's "The Influence of Multicultural Education Practices on Student Outcomes and Intergroup Relations" contains a listing of more than twenty studies, conducted over the last twenty years, all of which point to: "a strong, positive racial or ethnic identity is associated with higher levels of academic performance" (Zirkel, 2008, p. 1151). Additionally, she connects this positive identity with everything from college aspirations to deeper commitment to schoolwork. Most tellingly, the studies she cites represent a broad range of methodologies, sample sizes, and durations (Zirkel, 2008).

The work of Powers and Eccles again provide useful data. Powers asserts that "Native cultural identification was positively correlated with students' intention to complete school and their presence and participation at school" (Powers, 2006, p. 43). This quote demonstrates both that a positive view of home culture is a benefit of multicultural education and that a positive view of

home culture leads to other academic benefits. The research of Eccles et al. builds on the conclusions of Powers, showing, that at least for their subject pool, there is a correlation between positive view of home culture and GPA (Eccles et al., 2006).

Cross Cultural Interactions

In order to provide all students with affirming views of their home cultures, schools must provide information, stories, projects, and other learning opportunities focused on a wide variety of cultures. In order to succeed, both inside and outside the classroom, students will need the skills to work across cultural lines and the tools to understand and resolve cultural conflicts. Multicultural education works proactively to address these needs, so that classroom materials reflect the reality of an increasingly diverse society.

In “Modification of Children's Racial Attitudes,” Katz and Zalk offer an assessment of four strategies to increase positive cross cultural interactions: increased positive racial contact, vicarious interracial contact, positive reinforcement of the color black, and perceptual differentiations of minority group faces. Of these four strategies, increased positive racial contact proves simplest, as it involves little more than bringing together children of different races and monitoring their engagement. This method is especially difficult to study scientifically because integration does not typically occur in a controlled environment; there is little opportunity to arrange for control groups or pre and post test measurements (Katz et al., 1978. Vicarious interracial contact consisted of exposing a monoracial group of students to the experiences of people of

different racial groups through various texts. The monoracial group would cover mainstream content, but the stories, videos, or curriculum included pictures and mentions of people of color. Katz and Zalk discovered that increased vicarious interracial contact does have an impact on a child's racial attitudes; they have "more positive attitudes towards other-race persons" (Katz et al., 1978, p. 449). Techniques of perceptual differentiation proved especially intriguing: children who were taught to distinguish between the features of people of color demonstrated a clear decrease in prejudice. Katz and Zalk observe "the perceptual differentiation and vicarious contact approaches as the most promising for reducing prejudicial attitudes and behavior of White grade school children" (Katz et al., 1978, p. 460). Unfortunately, we cannot know if this apparent benefit will survive beyond the two-week period in which Katz and Zalk performed their intervention and tested its outcome. That I have found no research supporting Katz and Zalk's conclusions sustained over a longer period suggests that their techniques require further evaluation.

Mara Sapon-Shevin and Nancy Schniedewind's *Cooperative Learning as Empowering Pedagogy* also presents successful cross cultural interactions based on cooperative learning. They report especially on increases in cross cultural friendships (Sapon-Shevin et. al., 1991, p. 167) and "greater interpersonal attraction" (Sapon-Shevin et. al., 1991, p. 168). The authors argue that because cooperative learning requires mediated interpersonal interactions it provides opportunities for students to move out of their comfort zones and beyond possible stereotypes and to build meaningful cross cultural connections (Sapon-Shevin et. al., 1991, p. 168).

Ogo Okoye-Johnson presents a meta-study of research on multicultural education in "Does Multicultural Education Improve Students' Racial Attitudes? Implications for Closing the Achievement Gap." This text gathers results and data from thirty other studies on the impact of multicultural education. Using statistical analysis with each of the studies as a data point, Okoye-Johnson was able to draw conclusions about effective and ineffective applications of multicultural education. According to his calculations "[e]xposure to the curricular intervention dimension of [multicultural education] brought about more positive changes in students' racial attitudes than did exposure to traditional instruction" (Okoye-Johnson, 2011, 1263). Here Okoye-Johnson references one strategy for multicultural education: curricular intervention, which can encompass anything from adding more inclusive content to an existing curriculum– as Morgan, Katz and Zalk do – to transforming the curriculum itself, in order to focus on the multitude of cultural perspectives involved in constructing knowledge. The meta-analysis shows that curricular intervention does impact cross cultural interactions, and does so in a positive way. However, the data show only a minimal effect, not one that transforms cultural relations. Okoye-Johnson also provides an excellent breakdown of the impact of multicultural education along variables of age and geography, as well as method. Breakdowns by age show that "[e]xposure to [multicultural education], therefore, brought about more positive changes in racial attitudes among students ages 9 to 16 than did exposure to traditional instruction among same-age students" (Okoye-Johnson, 2011, p. 1265). Interestingly, the study also showed that multicultural education in urban areas made more of a positive

impact than in a suburban areas (Okoye-Johnson, 2011). Though his study is based upon a meta-analysis rather than original research, Okoye-Johnson provides a useful picture of the current body of work related to multicultural education.

Navigating Dominant Paradigms

The ability to navigate dominant paradigms is essential for students of color. Advocates of multicultural education argue that White students need to learn about the cultures and values of other racial and ethnic groups to foster successful interactions and communication with these individuals. Similarly, multicultural education is needed to provide students of color with explicit and implicit instruction in the cultures and values of the majority. Lessons for minority students may be as simple as straightforward discussion about cultural differences, or as complex as practical sessions on job skills. These activities seek to familiarize students of color with White culture, if they haven't already encountered it elsewhere. In addition to teaching about White culture and its uses in professional life, instruction on navigating the dominant paradigms also reflects on the students' home cultures. Effective lessons about navigating dominant paradigms provide students with information on how to balance the codes and expectations of the majority culture with their own cultural values and practices. This balancing may occur in the form of code switching, work personas, or a host of other methods.

Despite the anecdotal nature of her accounts, Julie Landsman's *A White Teacher Talks About Race* merits inclusion in the corpus of literature on

multicultural education because of her comprehensive review of code switching and its impact on her students. Landsman frames discussions with her students about code switching as access to "signals" (Landsman, 2001, p. 93) used by White elites to enact their culture and establish an in-group. With her knowledge – as a White person – she provides what she calls "lesson[s] in the ways of the power structure" (Landsman, 2001, p. 94) to her students. In *A White Teacher Talks About Race* she devotes ten pages of a one hundred and fifty page book – a significant portion – to recounting a lesson of job interview skills she imparted to her students, skills such as the use of appropriate clothing and language, punctuality, child care (for students who are parents), racialized hair styles, dialects, and how to present one's work history. The students attend to her every point with follow-up questions, clarifications, and examples. Though their attention is characteristic of her classroom culture, she believes the students are *more* focused when they discuss employment. She explains: "I almost always get this kind of undivided attention when I am explaining how to interview for a job. I feel their concentration when I talk about answering questions, how to sit, what to say in a letter of introduction. I will not need to tell them this many times" (Landsman, 2001, p. 97). Landsman not only points to the value her students place on skills for navigating the dominant paradigm, but she demonstrates that this benefit feeds back into the other benefits of a multicultural education.

This important benefit for students of color remains, unfortunately, little studied and rarely applied. Many of the other categories listed improved navigation of dominant paradigms as a secondary benefit, but efforts directed

primarily toward this benefit eluded my searches. Since my own anecdotal experience reveals these programs are common this remains an area of multicultural education open to further research.

Challenges of Multicultural Education

While the contributions of multicultural education are many, putting it into practice is no simple proposition. The knowledge and skills required for successful use of multicultural education cannot be acquired overnight and are not typically included in teacher education programs. In addition to lacking the knowledge and training for proper use of multicultural materials, teachers also may not feel empowered or authorized to change the curriculum typically used in their school or their classroom. Teachers with proper training and curriculum may still struggle with communicating the complexity of culture and race in the confines of a classroom. Even teachers who do take action to change their curriculum may face resistance from school administration or parents, who do not see multicultural education as important or 'real' education. The four challenges of acquiring knowledge, changing curriculum, communicating complexity, and valuing multicultural education are expanded upon in the literature that addresses the challenges of multicultural education.

Acquiring Knowledge

Banks proposes four areas of knowledge teachers need to effectively implement multicultural education: major paradigms in multicultural education; major concepts in multicultural education; historical and cultural knowledge of

major ethnic groups; and pedagogical knowledge to tailor curriculum and teaching style (Banks, 1994). First, Banks presents the paradigm of cultural difference as central to multicultural education (Banks, 1994). In contrast to the cultural deprivation paradigm, which places educational problems upon the student through the assumption of a deficit, the cultural difference model assumes that schools are lacking the best ways to educate students. This subtle change in paradigm re-frames students as capable learners who need assistance to achieve. Second, Banks centralizes the role of culture in understanding major concepts in multicultural education. His definition of culture as "a way of life for a social group" (Banks, 1994, p. 50), emphasizes multicultural education as instruction on cultures as a whole, as well as micro and macro cultures, and regional and ethnic cultures (Banks, 1994,). Third, Banks explains the depth encompassed in cultural and historical knowledge. This category includes information from cultural values and symbols to demographic information to assimilation and acculturation in the United States to intra-ethnic diversity (Banks, 1994, p. 53). Lastly, he presents pedagogical knowledge to tailor curriculum. This technique is based in the idea that teaching is centered around a "powerful story" (Banks, 1994, ch 5). This tactic arranges the facts and themes of a given subject around a compelling story.

Antonino Castro discusses the challenges of educating teachers in the many content areas discussed above in "Challenges in Teaching for Critical Multicultural Citizenship: Student Teaching in an Accountability Driven Context." Castro follows three student teachers of color through one semester in the classroom. Through interviews, journal entries, and observations he

identified barriers to the student teachers implementation of multicultural curriculum. One of these barriers was an internal one, the student teacher's "personal concerns, ranging from feelings of a lack of time to doubts about one's ability to teach in ways that promote multicultural citizenship" (Castro, 2010, p. 103). Despite decades of push for multicultural education in teacher training programs, it is not clear student teachers are learning about its theory and application. In "Multicultural teacher education: Research, practice, and policy" Cochran-Smith et al., explain that "[w]hereas most research of teacher education programs concludes that they have changed little, most programs report that they have employed multicultural perspectives and content" (Cochran-Smith, 2004, p. 750). Ensuring teachers and student teachers receive training in the theory and practice of multicultural education, as outlined by Banks or scholars not addressed here, remains a significant challenge in implementing multicultural education.

Changing Curriculum

Few teachers, regardless of their training, start their teaching careers at an institution where multiculturalism has already won full integration into the curriculum or where they are given free reign over the curriculum. This means that teachers who want to use multicultural curriculum must find ways to integrate it into their existing lesson plans or integrate special multicultural lessons into the existing curricula. Even teacher-researchers devoted to developing and using multicultural curriculum reported anxieties about creating

new lessons and changing existing curriculum (Castro, 2010; Husband, 2010; Landsman, 2001; Paley, 1989).

Kleyn and Reyes discuss the challenges of negotiating the cultural needs of students while designing curricula. In "Nobody Said It Would be Easy: Ethnolinguistic Group Challenges to Bilingual and Multicultural Education in New York City," the authors address the ways that bilingual education instructors teach about the United States and the students' birth cultures. These teachers argue that "resources matter in terms of the inclusion and affirmation of students' languages and cultures" (Kleyn, 2011, p. 215). While teachers in Spanish/English programs tailor their curriculum to the many Spanish-speaking cultures from which their students originate, teachers in Chinese/English programs "teach more American aspects to the kids because [they] want the kids to fit in the society [since] most of them will grow up to be working in the mainstream society" (Kleyn, 2011, p. 216).

Communicating Complexity

As teachers labor to build multicultural knowledge and include multicultural curriculum in their classrooms, they also wrestle with exactly what to include in a multicultural curriculum. Teachers, already facing brief periods for lessons and few supplied multicultural materials, have still another challenge to face: the complexity of the material. Husbands explains that he "struggled with whether or not to develop an essential or a complex version of African American history, as nine lessons [in his study] seemed to be a quite confining amount of space to adequately and richly discuss the complexities of African

American history" (Husbands, 2010, p. 67). The bilingual instructors who worked with Kleyn reported similar challenges. They explain that:

> "[t]he onus is on the teachers to create a counter-narrative around the myths of a monolithic 'Latino culture'. Instead teachers must bring in the range of cultures that people from the many countries of Latin America bring to the US, including those born and raised in this country, as well as the hybridity that develops over time while living in the US." (Kleyn, 2011, p.215)

Kristin Luther communicates the specific importance of representing the cultures in their full complexity in her article "Celebration and Separation: A Troublesome Approach to Multicultural Education." Her school makes many efforts to include multicultural curriculum, especially in honor of history months (e.g. Black History Month or Women's History Month) or important holidays (e.g. Cinco De Mayo). Administrators disseminate websites with resources on the occasions, exhorting teachers to include the information in their classrooms (Luther, 2009, 212). This information is communicated to the students, however, in isolation from a larger picture of the complexities within each culture. As a result, Luther argues, "[t]he history, achievements, and experiences of White people form the general experience and curriculum at school, and other cultures are just "exceptions" to be occasionally studied or celebrated in isolation" (Luther, 2009, p. 212). She calls this "stuck on Level 1" (Luther, 2009, p. 212), in reference to Banks' first level of changing curriculum to make it more multicultural: the Contributions Approach. Not only does this method hobble White students' ability to learn about other cultures, it reiterates to students of color that they are not a part of daily history and culture. They are given "a message of inferiority [and] . . . . [t]hey learn that their culture is on the 'outside' of the norm" (Luther, 2009, p. 212).

Teachers struggle to learn about multicultural issues, to include multiculturalism in their classrooms and to know what multicultural content to include. Luther, Kleyn, and Husband all demonstrate as well that teachers struggle to avoid an overly simplistic representation of the cultures they do choose to include in an effort to satisfy the practical demands of applying multicultural education in the classroom.

Valuing Multiculturalism

Teachers also face challenges to putting multicultural education into practice, and push back from administration, school systems, and parents for teaching multicultural education. Part of the challenge to teaching multicultural education is structural. Teachers, and even principals, do not generally have complete authority over their classrooms. They are subject to the maze of national, state, and district-wide policies which establish the budget, teacher education requirements, curriculum standards, testing frequency, classroom size, student preparedness, and even class duration. All of these factors circumscribe the space between what teachers are required to teach and what they are free to teach. These factors are front-loaded onto a teacher's curriculum and lesson planning, impacting what they can teach before a student even arrives in the classroom. Once the students arrived there are more circumstances to weigh: complaints from parents about offensive, unimportant, or inappropriate content are a legitimate concern for many teachers who use multicultural education. Both the limitations on multicultural curriculum from school structures and

parental responses are challenges based on valuing multicultural education, as existing literature shows.

Teachers describe standardized testing as a serious barrier to the implementation of a multicultural curriculum. These tests establish the base curriculum, and it is not multicultural. One teacher joked that she should instruct her students to “always answer in the White man's perspective [on the standardized test]” (Castro, 2010, p. 101). The pressure to ensure students can succeed on a standardized tests – which are not from multicultural perspectives – reveal a structural devaluing of multicultural education. Surely, if it were as important as literacy and numeracy we would include it in our measurement standards? The backwash of prioritizing performance on standardized tests also limits teachers ability to include multicultural curriculum, by pushing for greater and greater standardization across classrooms (Castro, 2010, p. 101). Several teachers interviewed by Castro described their teaching of multicultural content as “tippy-to[ing] around the system” (Castro, 2010, p. 104), including deemphasizing the importance of the test, encouraging students to critique perspectives of their texts, and making teaching relevant to their students daily lives (Castro, 2010).

Husbands discusses two instances of resistance from parents. In the first instance a group of parents met with him in the principal's office for a meeting to air their concerns about his multicultural curriculum. Parents first apologized for calling a meeting on the curriculum, but said they felt their first graders were too young to deal with the material – a discussion on Martin Luther King Jr. and the KKK – presented. Though addressing the concerns of parents is a vitally

important part of education, the parents subtly devalued the curriculum while simultaneously challenging it. This dismissal was clear enough that Husbands himself noticed it, wondering if his student's parents "[saw] no value in the study of African American history" (Husbands, 2010, p. 71). Ironically, experiment protocols had required Husbands to obtain written consent from parents before beginning these lessons, and all those now objecting had indeed given their consent (Husbands, 2010). Though the meeting concluded with the parents deciding the material was not a problem, Husbands "wondered if this was due to: a) developmental misunderstandings or b) racism by [the student's] father" (Husbands, 2010, p. 71).

Husband's frustrations find parallels in the experiences of bilingual educators as well. These educators often felt that they had to convince parents of English language learners of the worth of bilingual programs. Kleyn explains that "[s]tudents from poor, immigrant, and Spanish-speaking homes are often viewed as needing bilingual education as a remedial program" (Kleyn, 2011, p. 215). This fear of having their children seem poor learners is often combined with a strong emphasis on learning English. Kleyn reiterates this, saying that "[p]arents' primary concerns are for their children to be successful in this country, which for them translates into high proficiency in English: the language of power in this country" (Kleyn, 2011, p. 214). Given the complex and fluid perspectives of school policy, the many levels of education leadership, and motivations of parents and students, there is not a universal desire for multicultural education. Nor is a multicultural curriculum universally valued.

The patchwork desire for its inclusion presents a significant challenge in implementing multicultural curricula.

Summary and Conclusions

Multicultural education has spread across the country and through all levels of education, from Head Start to graduate school. With its spread and adoption have come competing understandings of multicultural education. In one sense, multicultural education exists to advance the particular educational needs of students of color. The needs of these students, and how to serve them, are contentious topics. It is nevertheless, important to be able to assess both the content and outcome of multicultural education programs. This literature review seeks to document and contextualize existing scholarship addressing the day-to-day experiences of teachers and students with multicultural education.

The vast majority of literature discussing multicultural education is not assessment, but rather theory, history, or guides for instructors. It was a surprise to discover the paucity of research on this subject, given its academic and controversial history. Also surprising was how much of the literature focuses upon the benefits of multicultural education in general, rather than systematically investigating its challenges and contributions. I can only conjecture that this is partially because of the need to defend multicultural education from the backlash on the Right combined with inadequate funding for racial and ethnic studies research.

Existing research on the benefits of multicultural education draws upon a wide array of fields and methodologies. Sources for this review alone are drawn

from ethnic studies journals, psychology journals, history and political science books, and education texts. They are qualitative, quantitative, and anecdotal. They present research with durations lasting a few weeks to a few years. The diversity of these documents demonstrates the broad appeal of multicultural education and its multi-disciplinary approach. The vast majority of this research is organized around Banks' five core dimensions of a multicultural curriculum: content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowering school culture (Banks, 1993). Yet, the research is not distributed evenly; disproportionate attention is paid to content integration, and a secondary amount to prejudice reduction. Few of the articles cited in this text address knowledge construction or empowering school culture. Zirkel observes that "[o]ne reason for the greater implementation of multicultural content integration is that content integration requires only a superficial reworking of the curriculum" (Zirkel, 2008, p. 1169). Unfortunately, it seems that the ability for one person to enact change plays a significant role in the application of Banks' core dimensions.

Yet, a systematic organization of the contributions of multicultural education was missing from the literature. Given multicultural education's contention of improving the lives and education of students of color, this is surprising. This review seeks to remedy this absence with six categories of contributions associated with multicultural education: academic achievement, academic engagement, self-esteem, positive view of home culture, cross cultural communication, and navigating dominant paradigms. These six categories attempt to capture the scope of contributions offered by multicultural education.

Some of these contributions are seen in the classroom and move students toward graduation and economic advancement. However, some of these contributions are primarily personal, impacting the student's self concept.

The research presented reflects not on the specific advantages attached to each category, but also the relationship between them. While a multicultural education may focus upon increasing high school graduation rates or literacy, these programs also have repercussions for student's confidence and self-regard. Zirkel makes a similar claim, asserting that "although improved intergroup relations and improved educational outcomes for students of color are theoretically distinct, interventions or practices that have a positive influence on one also have a positive influence on the other" (Zirkel, 2008 p. 1168). Further research is necessary to deepen academic understanding of these contributions, their relationships with each other, and how to best achieve them with a diverse array of students.

However, existing and nascent research must take into account the challenges and barriers to developing and implementing multicultural curriculum. Teachers face limited knowledge and challenges communicating the complexity of unknown cultures in a limited time period. They also negotiate the barriers to changing curriculum and advocating for multiculturalism when there is not universal valuing of it. The capacity of teachers to negotiate these challenges plays a significant role in which students receive multicultural education, and which do not.

Chapter 3

Multicultural education is broadly defined and thus open to a wide variety of applications. Multicultural curriculum can be integrated into existing curriculum or used to transform a curriculum. Few studies exist that focus on teacher's understanding of the ways in which multicultural education is currently implemented by teachers. This research attempts to deepen this area of study by investigating high school social science teachers using a multicultural curriculum in classrooms. Specifically, this paper focuses upon the day-to-day experiences of these three teachers as they put into practice a multicultural curriculum.

Research Site

All three teachers work at a public school I am calling "Presidential High," one of the largest high schools in the Mid-Atlantic region. Presidential High, located in an overwhelmingly White neighborhood, has many students whose parents earn average incomes of approximately $150,000 per year. Easily accessible via public transportation, one can find an upscale shopping area, small private universities, parks, and a famous private school within walking-distance of the campus. Its newly-renovated campus features a football field, an auditorium, and specialized spaces for computers, media, art, music, and science. Student activities make full use of these elaborate facilities, and include more than a dozen team sports, a marching band, TV station, school paper, and academic programs geared toward honors students as well as programs with an international focus.

Presidential High serves about 1,500 students from a wide variety of backgrounds. These students feed from three local middle schools, all of which are majority minority, and one which contains a bilingual education program. Presidential High is also majority minority, with Black students making up nearly 50 percent of the school population. There are nearly identical percentages of Hispanic/Latino and White students, and a small percentage of Asian and multiracial students. Nearly a quarter of the school population are English language learners, and just over 40 percent qualify for free and reduced price lunch, making it at Title I school. Just under half of these students come from outside the school's residential zone.

Presidential High is in a place of transition to maintain compliance with No Child Left Behind. It is only a few years into a mandatory restructuring process resulting from six consecutive failures to achieve “Adequate Yearly Progress." Nonetheless, in recent years between one half and two thirds of students have met or exceeded standards in reading and math, at rates higher than the rest of the city. Clear academic divisions exist within the school: White students exceed standards in reading and math at rates two to five times greater than students of color. One-third of the school's population enroll in Advanced Placement classes, yet these students are mostly White. Despite these racialized differences, about 80 percent of the students graduate on time, and nearly two thirds go on to college.

Research Questions

I chose the qualitative method to delve deeply into the day-to-day experiences of teachers using multicultural curriculum. I employed a case study methodology based on interviews, a brief survey, and information gathered from websites of the district and the school. I interviewed three teachers from one high school in the Mid-Atlantic region about their experiences with multicultural curriculum. The following questions directed this research:

1. In what ways do teachers understand and implement multicultural curriculum in their classrooms?
2. What life experiences and professional training do teachers identify as preparation to use a multicultural curriculum?
3. What organizational factors impact how they understand and implement multicultural curriculum?

Interviewees responded individually to the preceding inquiries for their perspectives on multicultural curriculum and their implementation of it. All participants were encouraged to ask the researcher questions at any points during study and were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. All participants were given an Institutional Review Board approved consent form, signed and returned it, before the study began. All participants were encouraged to ask the researcher questions throughout the duration of the study and were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. All interviews were conducted in a private location of the interviewees choosing.

Data were audio recorded and then transcribed by the researcher. The audio recordings and transcripts were available only to the interviewer and advisors. The interviewer took private notes by hand during the interviews. Once the transcription took place, the interview recording was held on the interviewer's personal, password-protected, computer. Interviewees were given a pseudonym to protect their anonymity.

I used a snowball sampling technique by first identifying experts within the department of Teaching and Learning, Policy and Leadership. In addition to the experts my chain sampling technique included veteran K-12 teachers within my professional network who also have expertise in this area. I asked the experts to recommend high school social science teachers who use multicultural curriculum. The desired outcome was that the participants were diverse across the schools in which they are employed, and across other social identity factors such as sex, race, and ethnic origin.

Teacher Profiles

The individuals interviewed for the present study were all social science teachers at Presidential High. This department consists of eight teachers, and is evenly split between men and women. As far as I can tell, the department is majority White, if not all White. Containing both new and veteran teachers, the department has teachers ranging in age from late twenties to late fifties. They teach a variety of courses, including local history, United States History, Global History, and Human Geography. Several of these courses are also offered for

Advanced Placement credit. Three teachers from the department participated in the interviews. They are profiled below.

The first teacher, who I'm calling Ruben, is one of the more senior members of the department. He has been teaching for over a decade, all of it in the metro area. He is White, though tanned, and wears a mustache and close cut hair. Though he is nearing sixty he is energetic and effusive as well as self-assured about his knowledge on the topics discussed. He identified himself as Jewish, gay, and a second generation immigrant. However, his sexual identity is the one which came up most in our interview; he is out to both students and teachers on campus and uses his sexual identity as a teaching tool. His identity as an adoptive parent also seems very important to him; it came up repeatedly in the interview. He has a Master's degree from a local university and came to the city from the Midwest. He identifies as having grown up in the middle class. Ruben is the school expert in local history, and also teaches classes in psychology, sociology, and US government. He recently taught his first Advanced Placement class.

The second teacher, who I'm calling Tessa, is a newer teacher, though she is in her early thirties. She is also White, with light skin and shoulder length brown hair. Tessa is soft spoken, but not shy; she made eye contact comfortably as we spoke. She is single, heterosexual and female, in addition to having been raised in a working and middle class family. She has several graduate degrees, including one in theology and another in conflict resolution. Tessa describes herself as having taken a round about route to becoming a teacher. Though she majored in education as an undergraduate, she received a certificate from an

alternative program. She has been teaching for less than five years. She teaches World History and Human Geography. She regularly teaches Advanced Placement classes in both those subjects.

The third teacher, who I'm calling Sidney, is the youngest of the group. She is in her early 20s, and it is apparent from her speech – sprinkled with 'likes' and 'you knows' – and her face – she looks like a college student. She is also White, with dark brown hair. Her energy and intensity were obvious, even a few moments into the interview. She spokequickly, improvising and drawing connections to help make her points. Sidney has several years of experience at the school, even though she has just completed her first year of teaching. She student taught at Presidential High, and also worked full time as a staff member there following her graduation. She identifies as a White woman, raised Jewish and in the middle class. Her identity as a first generation college student is important to her. Though she has an undergraduate degree in education, she has recently left Presidential High to begin work on a master's degree in education. Since she moved out of the area, she agreed to be interviewed via video chat. Last year she taught United States History, at the regular and Advanced Placement levels.

I connected with Ruben through a personal network, and we scheduled an interview within days of the initial contact. He then recruited Tessa and Sidney to participate, with an email appeal to the full social studies department. Both women responded directly to me and quickly made time for an interview. These interviews took place in July and August of 2012.

The interviews were one on one and, with the exception of the third interview, took place face-to-face in nearby coffee shops and restaurants. The first interview took place in a local diner at midday on a weekday. There was not much of a lunch rush, but a series of older couples and local business people ate a few tables away from where we sat. Aside from the waitress's infrequent visits, these people were not in earshot. The second interview was conducted outside a local coffee shop on a busy street. The interview was sometimes interrupted by local auto and public transit traffic. A steady stream of pedestrians, coffee-drinkers, and panhandlers came through the area as the interview was conducted. The third interview took place via Skype; both the interviewee and I were in our homes. The interviewee's fiancee made a few interjections over the course of the interview as she looked to him to jog her memory on a specific topic. Each interview lasted no more than one and a half hours. I received permission to record each one, but also took notes. They were conversational in tone, with very few personal disclosures. Multicultural education has frequently been a controversial and sensitive issue, for this reason, I took extra care to compose and ask questions in an unbiased manner and be open to whatever the teacher had to share.

Methodology and Limitations

This research uses the case study methodology through oral interviews and surveys. Yin advises the case study method “when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context” (Yin,

1994, p.1). This investigation meets all of the above criteria: it is an investigation into the how and why of teacher practices around multicultural curriculum, which is a contemporary phenomenon that cannot be controlled easily because of state and district control over curriculum. Merriam similarly describes the methodology as "concentrat[ing] on many, if not all, variables in a single unit" (Merriam, 1988, p. 7), thus looking at the case in situ.

Case study methodology is best suited to this research, though it is not without its drawbacks. Yin and Merriam note the problems of interviewer bias, which may arise from a conflict of interest, especially if the study draws upon inappropriate sources of funding (Merriam, 1988) as well as the potential for poor quality of work (Yin, 1994). Successful case studies depend heavily upon the acuity and interview skills of the researcher and ethical reporting of the data gathered (Merriam, 1998, p. 34). Additionally, Guba and Lincoln note that case studies "tend to masquerade as a whole when in fact they are but a part – a slice of life" (In Merriam, 1988, p. 33).

Critiques of the case study method cite its lack of generalizability (Yin, 1994), and impenetrable length (Yin, 1994). Merriam reiterates the problem of a case study's length, which "may be deemed too lengthy, too detailed, or too involved for busy policymakers and educators to read and use"(Merriam, 1988, p. 33). As for generalizability, Merriam explains that "rather than applying statistical notions of generalizability to case studies, one should develop an understanding of the generalization that is congruent with the basic philosophy of qualitative inquiry"(Merriam, 1988, p. 34). In essence, she agrees that case

studies are not generalizable in the quantitative one-to-one way, however they can provide useful and applicable comprehensive information.

This case study drew from interviews, a survey, and data from school and district websites. Interviews and surveys – as a form of interview – also have specific weaknesses as a method. Yin notes that because interviews are drawn from human sources, they are prone to problems of remembering and bias (Yin, 1994). Interviewees can mis-recall events or describe them poorly. Even if events are recalled accurately, interviewees may present circumstances in a way that reflects well upon themselves. Interviews must also negotiate the challenge of reflexivity, where the interviewee says what he or she thinks the interviewer wants to hear (Yin, 1994). Interviews are strongest when contextualized through triangulation with other documentation.

In preparation for this research I conducted a pilot study with a local teacher. The interview took place in early July 2012. In that study I discussed the purpose of my research and asked her my preliminary research questions. Over the course of this interview I discovered that my questions were too specific; they lacked an open-ended structure key to the success of an interview. Her responses enabled me to broaden my questions and focus more on the themes and experiences of teachers using multicultural curriculum rather than specific events or items in their curriculum. Following this pilot I created a new set of questions which I used for all interviews.

Data was collected through one hour to one and a half hour individual interviews with three teachers. These interviews explore the teachers' experience with multicultural education, how and why it is being used in the classroom.

These interviews were supplemented with a survey, which was administered immediately following the interview. The survey collected background and demographic information on the teacher, their school, and their multicultural curriculum. Interviews were conducted with teachers in a metropolitan area in the Summer of 2012. Teachers self-identified as using multicultural curriculum.

Face-to-face interviews have significant assets for qualitative research. They provide an unparalleled opportunity to gain insight into the rationales behind people's actions. Merriam notes that "[i]nterviewing is necessary when we cannot observe behavior, feelings, or how people interpret the world around them"(Merriam, 1988, p. 72). However, as I have noted, interviews have drawbacks. One of the primary drawbacks of the interviews I conducted was their subjectivity. Each of the teachers interviewed approached multicultural education in a somewhat different way; as a result interviews necessarily differed in their focus. It is clear to me that interviewees also experienced some inconsistencies of memory – all three interviewees provided demographic information about Presidential High, yet the information they provided was not identical to each other or the school's posted demographic data. To address reflexivity I took special care to ask interview questions addressing the complexity of the teachers' experiences. I also was very careful to even handedly and neutrally probe their comments, regardless of my own views. However, as a researcher, certain power dynamics were a part of the interview process. Each of these teachers likely viewed me as an expert in multicultural curriculum and thus wanted to sound knowledgable, avoid comments which may seem prejudicial, and reflect well on my area of study. In particular, my

appearance as a young White-skinned, butch woman may have caused the interviewees to make assumptions about what I hoped to hear from them. All three interviewees assumed I was liberal and talked to me about race as though we were both White and had similar experiences of race. I did not correct their assumptions as it seemed to increase their comfort discussing the topic. Interviews were only part of the methodology used in this research.

As mentioned above, one of the interviews was conducted via video chat. Video chats are a challenging research medium for interviews. Video chats can provide access to participants who would be otherwise unreachable due to limitations of geography and finances (Hanna, 2012). Video chatting can also create opportunities for individuals with busy schedules to participate in interviews in comfortable locations, which may increase their willingness to participate and share honestly. However, video chats also have limitations. The use of technology comes with the possibility of equipment failure or human error. Equipment failures may include problems with computers, audio systems, and internet connections. Human error includes difficulties such as trouble operating programs needed for video chat, interference by other technology or computer programs, and inability to sustain a connection.

I transcribed each interview within a few days of the session, so the content remained fresh. The transcription process was crude: I sought to capture every word spoken by the interviewees, but did not note short verbal hesitations or filler words such as 'um' and 'ah'. In my transcription, the comments of the interviewees often turned into paragraphs or long run on sentences. I attempted to break these run-ons down into grammatical chunks without impacting the

meaning or speaking stye of the teacher. In the transcripts I also used italics to connote emphasis when it seemed called for by the speaker's tone or forcefulness. I also filtered out my interjections, such as 'wow', 'great', or 'oh', when the interviewee continued talking over me. I felt this better showed the flow of the speaker's thoughts. As these interviews were conducted in public venues there were some words that became indistinguishable in the background noise. I have noted these locations in the transcripts in parenthesis.

To contextualize these interviews, I provided information about the school, its surroundings, the student population, and the department as a whole. Facts about the neighborhood were garnered through several years of personal experience with the area and confirmed by socioeconomic and racial information from the 2010 Census. Descriptions of the school, department, and student body were drawn from the city's department of education website and the school's website.

Data analysis was conducted through identifying similarities and differences within the set. After the interviews were transcribed I went through each one and identified the passages which I felt were most interesting and recorded them, with a brief summary of the quote, in a spreadsheet. Each interviewee had their own spreadsheet so I could draw out the themes which developed within interviews. I also kept a separate spreadsheet of quotes on topics or ideas which occurred across all three interviewees. This spreadsheet also contained thick descriptive information about the teacher's demographics, such as their training or their textbooks. I then amalgamated these two documents into a list of overarching themes. Each theme and teacher was

assigned a color. The theme colors aligned with colored index cards; I wrote the thematically related quotes by each teacher – in the color ink assigned to them – on these cards. I used these cards to identify patterns in the data. I used the patterns to create a mind maps (See Appendix A). I arranged and rearranged the data until a coherent picture emerged.

I especially focused on the differing ways teachers approached multicultural education; their descriptions of similar activities with different meanings attached to the events or outcomes; and experiences or concepts highlighted by one teacher but not brought up by the others. In particular I focused upon what they identified as influencing their approaches to multicultural curriculum; their approaches to working with students; their perceptions of student perspectives; and their perception of the capacity of their curriculum to include multicultural content. These themes and the responses of the interviewers are explored in depth in the next section.

Chapter 4

The previous chapters have laid the groundwork to examine deeply how teachers use multicultural curriculum, and how they conceptualize this curriculum. Chapter One provided an overview of multicultural education as a phenomenon of interest, and my personal connection to the subject. Chapter Two consisted of a literature review: identifying relevant literature and research investigating the challenges of putting into practice multicultural curriculum, and some of the outcomes experienced by students of color studying a multicultural curriculum. Chapter Three laid out my interview subjects and research methods. This chapter provides a synopsis of the data garnered from these interviews.

Transcription resulted in more than thirty pages of interview content. The transcription covered both extremely topical material as well as tangential information about interviewees' family, technological problems, and responses to background noise. I have arranged the data thematically. The data aggregate into three somewhat overlapping categories addressing the research questions. The first theme addresses the way the interviewees understand and implement multicultural curriculum in their classroom. This encompasses the teacher's pedagogy of multicultural education, including centering the classroom on students versus centering the classroom on coursework; engagement pedagogy; perceptions of teacher authority; and the content added to the curriculum by the teacher. The second theme revolves around the personal experiences that the teachers identify as preparation for multicultural education. The third and last theme addresses the limitations on the implementation of multicultural

education. These three themes are cohesive, yet strongly overlapping in some areas. These differences and commonalities will be discussed in depth below.

Understanding and Implementing Multicultural Curriculum

A core goal for this project is deepening research on how teachers understand and implement multicultural curriculum. The data reveal two distinct sub-groupings: curricular strategies unrelated to multicultural education and pedagogies of multicultural education. While not the central focus of this investigation, I include the data gathered about curricular strategies unrelated to multicultural education because it becomes important to understanding the data.

Teacher pedagogies of multicultural education are the focus of this analysis. As I compiled the data two distinct pedagogies emerged: student centered and curriculum centered. Both student and curriculum centered pedagogies are framed by the teachers' perspectives on student engagement, on critical thinking, on teacher authority, and on curriculum flexibility. The differing perspectives on each of these ideas are investigated in depth below. The concept map in Appendix A provides a visual depiction of the relationships between these concepts and other themes identified by this study

Curricular Strategies Unrelated to Multicultural Education

Curricular strategies are activities or methods employed by the teachers interviewed to engage students in their classrooms. I would argue these strategies are independent of the subject matter they use. They are not related to the content of the classroom, but rather to the way the interviewees attempted to

relate to or connect with their students. Teachers identified two major practices: class format and use of multimedia content. Ruben seems to center his class structure around lecture and group work. Tessa also uses a lecture format, but highlights student participation. She shared that

> One thing I've also done, I structure my class . . . in a way where they have this little class tracker. [T]here's a part of it, where, for participation. So they have to . . . participate at least three times and they get a stamp every time they do. And I find that students respond. They want the stamp!

However, she also acknowledges that the structure isn't exactly what she hopes for. She aims to

> have [her] classes be structured in a way that is more discussion based. More critical thinking, like how does this apply? Why does this matter? And especially for the 9th grade classes, classroom management gets in the way of that. And so I have to have a very structured class where everything is spelled out very clearly. There are routines. And it is possible to have discussions, but it requires so much in terms of the classroom environment.

Both Tessa and Sidney identify one further part of their classroom structure, a daily hook. Both use "some warm up [that is] sometimes flashy and sometimes not. But it's a quick way to . . . draw them in" (Tessa). Sidney identifies the need for such an activity by explaining that "they have to be hooked into it somehow. And it can be something really stupid [but] . . . the harder the work is the deeper the hook has to go." Hooks are about engaging the students and tied deeply to class participation. Tessa wants to "hook them into participate and not just wanting to zone out and pull out their cell phone" with these activities.

Tessa and Sidney both use media to engage their students. Sidney routinely uses movies and video clips to connect with her students. She uses a show "called *Ancients Behaving Badly*, and they rate all these leaders on, like, if they're psychos. The video . . . helps [the students] see [historical figures] as a

real person." Tessa has embraced multimedia in her classroom, occasionally tweeting students their homework! However the method she discussed most was playing music video parodies of famous songs that have had the lyrics changed so they discuss historical events. In particular she mentioned Blondie's *Call Me*, which another teacher re-made to discuss the events of Charlemagne's life. She saw the song engage her students.

> In one class in particular there was one very kind of low level students, a lot of them special ed students. Several of them were African American students who probably prior couldn't have cared less about Charlemagne and his rule as emperor of Rome, whatever. This song made them remember who he was. I would see them in the hall and they would sing at me.

Though she acknowledges that the lasting impact of this particular song isn't clear, it is clear that her students enjoyed the song and connected with her through it.

Both teachers framed their use of media as part of a serious teaching strategy. Tessa "hope[s] there's some overarching understanding about the fall of Rome and how that can translate into political understandings that then they can connect to their own lives today" through the media. Sidney provided a much more lengthy reflection.

> I think that you can teach kids all the skills of literacy with visual and auditory examples and then have them apply it to reading. Analyzing movies and videos is really hard and if kids don't pay good attention and use the skills, the decoding skills and all that stuff . . .But the kids are like: Oooh, it's a real movie! It's not some documentary movie. But it shows all these things, and getting them to analyze it and show examples in that movie, then they could write about that later. Or it works them up to analyzing an article from the New York Times. I don't think we have to make teaching those skills boring. And a lot of the strategies they tell you to use are pretty boring.

In this section she entwines the excitement of her students with the teaching of important and portable skills. By choosing media, which attract her students'

attention, she is better able to instruct them in analyzing information and how to translate that knowledge into other kinds of analysis.

These strategies were devised by the teachers from a series of thoughts I am calling their goals for student engagement. These goals are part of their engagement pedagogy, a category that is partially unrelated to curriculum. As Tessa explains, “it's both content as well as how you deliver it." The teachers used class format and multimedia to mold the delivery of their materials. The strategies they chose are based upon implicitly engagement pedagogy. The teachers had different ideas about how students needed to be engaged, and how many could be engaged in a given class. Sidney believes:

> that their effort and engagement, like if they're engaged and doing [work] and it's not like a giant fight for everyone -- there's always kids who fight. Who like fight not to do any work. But, it doesn't have to be every single kid engaged, but when at least 75 of the class is into it then I'm like 'This reached them. That's good.' Can I can't hope for 100. There's always something going on outside of class that's going to be more important sometimes.

Not only does Sidney articulate a pedagogy which acknowledges the outside lives of her students, but she identifies engagement as a fluid experience, based partially in what *she* does. In contrast, Ruben shared that he “felt like for most of my students [the assignments] were engaging . . . the kids who put at least a little bit of effort into it, they do get engaged. They do find it interesting.” He places the onus of engagement upon his students. He, as the teacher, presents materials, and when the students put in energy it becomes engaging. These goals for student engagement appear unrelated to the content of the classes, but the teachers articulated engagement pedagogy partially grounded in cultural engagement. These ideas will be discussed in a later section.

Teacher Pedagogy of Multicultural Education

For Ruben, Tessa, and Sidney, the teacher's understanding of multicultural education sets the tone for its use in the classroom and in interactions with students. Each teacher offered a different understanding of multicultural education. For Ruben, he told me: “I guess I have always viewed the history of this city, and a lot of history in the USA through racial constructs." Those constructs are a core theme in his classroom, integrated into all discussions of history. He tells his students early on that “when I'm teaching the class I primarily focus and say that we're going to be learning about most [local] history is between Whites and Blacks. Native Americans are pretty much gone relatively quickly, and the influx of all other ethnicities and races and people really doesn't (sic) start here in very minor ways until the 1960's." From these quotes I would describe his perspective on multicultural eduction as based upon expanding the curriculum. However, he pushes the content beyond ethnic inclusion by “bring[ing] in the gay rights movement, and the women's movement . . . especially into [his] sociology and psychology courses." This curriculum based definition of multicultural education diverges significantly from the pedagogies of Tessa and Sidney.

Sidney presents her understanding of multicultural education in contrast to Ruben's, almost as though they were discussing it face to face. She relates that she “think[s] people were very positive on . . . . 'we want to diversify the curriculum and not just teach western civ'. But it's more about 'let's teach them more facts about other cultures' rather than 'let's facilitate something they're really going to be learning from and creating something." This quote indicates

her perception of multicultural education as more than about content. She implicitly articulates Banks' philosophy of multicultural education. This implication is expanded in a later discussion of what she hoped to improve for future teaching. She told me:

> I don't think I did as good a job as I wanted getting kids to create something and feel like they could change, that they could create change from the history or English that we learned about. But I don't know how many other teachers really cared about that or thought that was their job. I think history teachers still think of it as: we have to teach, this chronological history, so kids know history.

She builds on this understanding of a transformative curriculum with a tiny snippet. In an offhand way she mentioned that "the last thing [she does is try] to empower students to see their culture has been a winner and has a lot of history behind it." This brief sentence encapsulates her push to teach more than skills. She seems to want her students to feel proud of themselves as well.

Sidney centers connections with her students in the classroom. For her, quality connections increase what students can and do learn. She explains that "[i]t's a building of trust that whatever you're doing is positive for them and that like they're going to get something out of it. And I think, like, building that rapport that you are, like, a teacher to be trusted that other kids will say that. Will -- the kids that you have will be more invested in giving it a try." Just as she uses a curricular hook to engage students in her lessons, she also uses a relationship with her students as a hook to engage them. Perhaps the most interesting thing about this quote is her investment in her reputation with students; she clearly articulates that she can build a reputation within her school, where students are references for her. With the recommendations of their peers,

she believes students are more likely to trust her and thus more willing to pay attention to her lessons.

Tessa's notion of multicultural education has concepts in common with both Sidney and Ruben. Like the two teachers, she establishes a multicultural perspective as a baseline for her curriculum. She explained this pedagogy in two different ways. First, she told me that she is “first and foremost, most interested in things global, so multicultural just sort of is default." This quote describes her personal beliefs, but she also showed how this belief became a part of her curriculum:

> I feel like if you're going to approach any of these history classes well it has to consider multiple perspectives. It has to take into account multiple cultures, the way those cultures interact with one another, the way they have influenced one another over time. And so the only right way to do it is that way.

Though Tessa emphasizes multiple perspectives in her classroom, she did not discuss the transformative aspect of multicultural education which Sidney favors. However, the two women do both prioritize building relationships with their students.

Tessa also sees a personal connection with her students as a way to hook students into learning. She elucidates in the text below:

> I also feel like part of getting students to buy in and to be open to learning what we're learning is to develop a relationship with them, and that also requires them to trust me and want to have a relationship with me. And for them to feel like I'm interested in them. And part of that is them feeling like I know something about their life, their culture, and what it's like to be them.

Yet, getting to know her students is a complicated process. While Sidney explicitly engages with her students on issues of race, Tessa explained that she “d[oesn't] know exactly that is going to speak to some students, but I try to make [her curriculum] as open as I can so it will speak to some students, to all

students." Here Tessa's expectations of multiple perspectives emerge again; she seeks to get to know her students as individuals, insinuating that stereotypes about culture, gender, and the like, do not accurately reflect the complexities of who they are.

Unlike Ruben and Sidney, Tessa emphasizes the role of self awareness in her multicultural pedagogy. She draws attention to the importance of knowing the gaps in her education, learning how to present that knowledge in new and more holistic ways. In her own words:

> a lot of [teaching] comes down to first understanding your own biases, your own perspective, and knowing what questions to ask and what resources to seek. So that if I know that a certain event in history has been portrayed a certain way and that's the only way I've known it, it takes a very conscious awareness to say, ok what might be another perspective and where can I get material that presents that version of history, or that version of an event. And how might I use that in my classroom.

She spoke frankly about the challenge of knowing what she does not know, in order to identify areas where she needs to grow in knowledge and experience.

These three perspectives on multicultural education seem to diverge into two pedagogies: student centered and curriculum centered. Student centered multicultural education focuses upon the interests, knowledge, and contributions of the students in the classroom. While this pedagogy is still bound by curriculum standards, grades, and all the limitations of a school, it focuses on connecting the students to the curriculum. In contrast, a curriculum centered multicultural education pedagogy pays most attention course content, while the students are secondary.

Student Centered and Curriculum Centered Pedagogies

Student centered curriculum draws the curriculum from the interests, participation, and experiences of the students. They are used to organize what is studied, and frame how it is studied. Tessa and Sidney both use a student centered curriculum, and from this curriculum come a variety of ideas and practices. Centering on the students seems to shape their ideas of how to engage students, perception of what an engaged class looks like, as well as their ideas of how a teacher should behave, and the purposes of education. Tessa and Sidney's actions, including what curriculum they add to existing materials and how they deepen their education, are also shaped by a student centered multicultural education pedagogy.

Ruben presents a more curriculum centered pedagogy in his interview. This centering of curriculum draws the focus onto multicultural content in the course materials, lectures, and assignments of his classes. His curriculum sounds more static, a more conventional interpretation of the academic standards. This section will review the same core topics of student engagement, teacher authority, curriculum flexibility, and professional development as it relates to these pedagogies

Student Engagement

Sidney and Tessa seem to share similar ideas about student engagement. As discussed in the section above, both prioritize building relationships with their students. However, they use these relationships to fashion a more engaging curriculum. Sidney describes this effort as having two parts: her skill as a

teacher connecting students to the curriculum and the ability to frame the curriculum in engrossing ways. In the former she explains that she "[doesn't] think anything is interesting unless you can see yourself in it. And [she] tried to incorporate cultures and history that touched on things that kids could see themselves in. Whether that's money, race, immigrant status. I tried not to teach them anything that I couldn't get them to care about." I believe that the end of this quote is most important, it emphasizes her perception that *she* has to make it interesting for her students, rather than expecting them to be interested in whatever she may teach. Thus she works to find curriculum that will attract the attention of her students.

But her efforts do more than highlight specific events or topics. Sidney also structures the class in ways she thinks will make it relatable. She explains that her "biggest thing is that kids don't care about famous people. They care about stories. So, I try to look at things as stories or put them in the position of a historical figure." Another example of this is Sidney's decision to open the school year by teaching about Islam. She chose to begin with the subject because "it's the most blatantly interesting to them. Like most of the kids in DC know someone or is friends with someone who has been to jail and converted to Islam. Or they have a lot of friends who are Muslim." While the examples so far have drawn attention to how Sidney draws connections between her students and their curriculum, she seems to do so with an eye toward academic achievement. In another example, she describes the link between curriculum relatability and student learning. She found the course textbook very limiting, as it

> doesn't show kids the true values and depth of . . . the leaders they can learn from and feel connected to. So, [she] ends up pulling a lot more and also trying to make them pull a lot more to do the research, to teach them those research and analysis skills.

In this way, she shows the relevance of building a curriculum around her students.

Tessa also puts her efforts into making the curriculum engaging and tailoring relatable topics. When curriculum planning she told me she "definitely think[s] about the demographics of the school and who [her] students are." More specifically, she explains:

> whether it's ancient history or very modern issues in the human geography class, how will every student be able to find some connection that speaks to them, in their current life, in their heritage, and I don't know exactly that is going to speak to some students but I try to make it as open as I can so it will speak to some students, to all students.

She demonstrates the success of this method by discussing her students' responses to a unit on the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Though none of her students were Japanese American, she saw them connect to the history "because they, many of them, have experienced racism and that's just such a big issue for them in their lives." As much as she adjusts her curriculum to her students, Tessa also very clearly communicates that her students need more than a racial connection. She asks herself "how can I make these events or periods or theses characteristics of these cultures connect [for] them? And so you have to look at pop culture." Tessa looks at the youth and peer culture of her students as much as she does their racial backgrounds.

Both teachers also bring students lives' into their classrooms. They ask students to share their experiences with race and racism, culture, and more.

Sidney seems to see her role as opening the door for deeper discussion. She explains with an example:

> I always joke about the fact that like, why is it that the red line goes to all the important -- in the metro system -- why does it go to all the important buildings and the green line doesn't. Oh, because that's where the White people live? Like as a, like this is how DC was created. It was built like that. So, I try to give that as an example and when I come out with those kind of crazy statements then, they trust me. I think they trust me to make their own commentary and think like that.

She did not provide many examples of whether or not this worked, but she did feel it encouraged students to openly discuss race.

Tessa similarly invites open discussion about students lives. She works to bring them in "as often as [she] can. As often as makes sense. It may not be every class period, but there's always that overarching question of why does this matter? Sort of tries to force them to think, why does this matter in their lives?" She uses their responses to this question and other class topics to measure their engagement.

Student centered multicultural education results in certain ideas and goals for student engagement. Sidney and Tessa talked about how these ideas of an engaged student – one who brought their life into the classroom, looked at material from multiple perspectives, and connected with the teacher – created indicators for measuring a student's interest. Tessa saw it in "[p]articipation in class, willingness to do the assignments: homework and classwork . . . giving the students a chance to connect [classwork] to their prior experience, their identity, and ways for them to actually share that." For her, a student who is engaged in the material is also a student who is more likely to succeed academically.

Sidney, in particular, talked about the many ways she could tell if students were interested, and what interested them. On the one hand, she felt that "[b]ecause of [her class's racial makeup] there was always conversations about [race] and because [she] was open to it that [she] thinks there were more conversations about that." Thus, students met her expectation for engagement by talking about race, and their experiences with race in discussions. But she did not think that race was their primary interest. Instead she told me that "mostly kids are 14 and, like, if it's interesting it's interesting [to everyone]." They were most interested in "anything modern . . and any time [they] could talk about someone who was crazy or inappropriate. They loved that because it's very real to them." So, though multicultural education frames her strategy for engagement, in the end it seems the content is also key to engaging students.

Ruben articulated an idea of student engagement that depends partially on the curriculum and partially on student interest. On the one hand he asserted that "the kids who put at least a little bit of effort into [the class], they do get engaged. They do find it interesting." This quote places the obligation for engagement on the students, and makes it their responsibility to put effort into the class to make it interesting. Yet, later in the interview he returns to the topic and expands upon it:

> The kids who are doing ok, I don't really have to do much with them. You really don't. You have information, you make it somewhat interesting, you give them something to do with it and they'll do what they're supposed to do. And they'll get an A or a B. It's the kids who don't do anything, you know constantly trying to reach them, constantly trying to grab their attention, get them to do *something*. Oh, you did something. That's good, let's try to do the second thing.

In this section it is clear that he sees a role for teachers in making subjects interesting. Unlike Tessa and Sidney, who weave the curriculum around the

students, Ruben seems to act as a coach or cheerleader, encouraging his students to delve deeper into the curriculum, to find something appealing in the materials.

His curriculum contains many opportunities for students to contribute their thoughts and perspectives: he assigns a monument project where students describe several city monuments and their importance. In previous years, Ruben also included a neighborhood project in the class. Students were supposed to interview someone who had lived in their neighborhood for more than ten years and learn about the local community and how it changed. This paper and interview provide students with the opportunity to share their thoughts on where they live. Though these opportunities exist, Ruben did not explicitly discuss his thoughts on students bringing their lives into the classroom discussion (or curriculum).

However, Ruben did obliquely share his thoughts on the role of student culture in student engagement. He focuses specifically on the experiences of young black men during some of his psychology classes. "We talk a lot about and try to get into—it's very delicate . . . – part of this is this culture of, among a lot of black kids, especially a lot of black males, a culture of not working very hard. Not putting very much effort and that kind of stuff. So, it's very hard to discuss that, you know?" This particular discussion is less about the culture – ethnic, racial, or otherwise – of his students in general and more the issue of a specific group. Thus it is not about using or changing the curriculum to meet these students' needs.

Ruben works to use the curriculum to create a multicultural classroom. He provides an engaging course and then encourages students to find moving

parts of the materials. Though class assignments solicit student experiences, he does not directly explain his pedagogy of student participation or engaging students based upon their culture. Interestingly, he does note that there is active student participation on topics of race. He shared that “because [his] classes are all mixed race, stuff comes up." Though Ruben works to engage his students, he clearly draws them to the curriculum instead of the curriculum to the students.

Teacher Authority

Sidney's ideas of transformative multicultural curriculum play out in her ideas about teacher authority. Put succinctly, she says “I don't like being the font of knowledge." She pushes her students to use critical thinking and figure out answers on their own. Her class “had a joke that was: Don't ask [Sidney] she's not going to tell you anyway." Sidney's understanding of multicultural education is tied up in creating connections with students and empowering them to use the curriculum to change their worlds. Tessa does not explicitly share her ideas about teacher authority, so it is likely she does not have a similarly transformative stance on the issue.

Ruben presents his opinion of teacher authority to his classroom early on in the semester. He tells the students directly: “If you think I'm BS-ing you, knock yourself out." In other words, he directly invites the students to challenge his status as the person with all the answers, or have him explain his reasoning if the students don't think he is making sense. In spite of this encouragement, Ruben says “I don't get very many, very much disagreement on anything [I] say. I think kids still, for the most part, see me as god on high when you're talking

about stuff. Like I know everything." Though Ruben has an unconventional understanding of teacher authority, his student's conventional behavior limits the impact – multicultural or not – of this teaching strategy.

Curriculum Flexibility

Sidney and Tessa both indicated they add extensively to their mandated curriculum. Their similar process for identifying gaps in the curriculum, developing new materials, and bringing them to the class reveal much about their student centered pedagogy of multicultural education. Sidney's commitment to a multicultural curriculum includes "a lot of extra work"; she affirmed that she "barely used my world history textbook at all" because it did not reflect the complexity of the people they studied. Indeed, it's "pretty much [her] daily goal to incorporate [multiculturalism] in some way." As an example she spoke about how her class "always did some research on what it was like to be this group, this culture, this ethnicity, in America, at this time period – for every single time period." This daily (or nearly daily) focus is rooted in bringing multiple perspectives into the classroom. This multiplicity of vision is mentioned by all three teachers as they spoke about what they brought to the curriculum.

Tessa spoke extensively about bringing many points of view into her curriculum. She says very pointedly:

> I feel like if you're going to approach any of these history classes well it has to consider multiple perspectives, it has to take into account multiple cultures, the way those cultures interact with one another, the way they have influenced one another over time. And so, the only right way to do it is to do it that way.

In her opinion, it is impossible to teach history without the outlook of many groups of people and many cultures. Part of this varied perspective on

multicultural education includes being aware of where *she* comes from. This includes "try[ing] to be aware of what is the story that [she's] presenting or what is the angle that [she's] coming at the subject matter from." She emphasizes the role of connecting students to a topic and then using that connection to relate it to their lives. This means "find[ing] a way for all students to connect to [the topic]. So, to buy into it, also relate to it, to find how does this impact? . . I think I approach my courses in general that's as: how can I get my students to think critically about the subject matter." Thus her push for multicultural education is connected to her push for critical thinking.

Ruben is in the unique position of teaching local history before the curriculum was established. For several years he used a local history curriculum he designed himself, until the a standard curriculum was put into place.

> A couple of years [after he began teaching the school district] put out a curriculum for all the social studies classes, so for the first time I was teaching what they wanted to be taught rather than just what I found interesting. Fortunately, most of the stuff I could fit into the new curriculum. There were some things I really liked that I just said well I can't do that anymore just because that's not part of the curriculum.

This quote reveals Ruben's love of history as well as his commitment to the curriculum as a document. He discarded tried-and-true material in order to align with the standards provided by his school district. Yet, this does not mean he discarded the multicultural content in his classroom.

Ruben describes many scenarios from the text which use multiple perspectives to tease out the facts and importance of events. One such example is drawn directly from his textbook; it calls for students to analyze four events from the 1920s from the perspective of an anti-segregation activist and a pro-segregationist activist. The goal of the assignment is to discuss "from that

perspective, was there progress or not?" This activity highlights the subjectivity and multiple views which were at play in the period. But Ruben also explained "that [multiple perspectives] always come in. I'm just trying to get different points of view out there. You know there's not just one way to look at things." In this quote it seems that the most important lesson is the ability to see from different perspectives rather than analyzing events for historical importance.

Professional Development

Tessa and Sidney made a point of bringing up their professional development activities as a means to improve their multicultural education skills. As previously mentioned, Sidney participates extensively in professional development activities, including weekly virtual discussion groups for social studies teachers and hip hop educators. She also sought out learning opportunities with local museums and educational organizations. As a World History teacher, Tessa executed the same principles in a different manner. This summer she

> actively sought out opportunities to do . . . an AP training for this course, and to attend an institute on the history of central Asia, because I was interested in them. And that those two PD opportunities, will necessarily, will absolutely help me to expand the cultural context that I teach my courses through.

This quote is rich with the commitment Tessa reveals in her interview. As she says, learning more about the history of central Asia and how to teach her AP Human Geography class are excellent for her professional skills, but contribute directly to the multiculturalism of her classroom. This knowledge enables her to bring new perspectives to her courses.

The multicultural education pedagogy of centering the curriculum around students is core to the ideas and practice of Sidney and Tessa. Both teachers

seek to engage their students with a relatable curriculum that connects to students through their cultures and values their contributions. Both also add extensively to the curriculum by including multiple perspectives, and pursue professional development opportunities which enable them to deepen their multicultural knowledge.

Unfortunately, Ruben did not discuss his professional development experience in our interview, so it is not possible to determine his views on professional development as a means of acquiring multicultural knowledge.

Personal Experiences with Multicultural Education

I opened each interview with a purposely vague question about the teacher's experience with multicultural education. I hoped this question would solicit both their academic experience with multicultural education – in their childhood or University level work – as well as any experience teaching the subject. The question successfully drew out this variety of information from the interviewees.

Ruben answered the question literally, talking about the course in local history he took as a graduate student. This course focused on the experiences of different racial groups in the area and provided him with a multicultural perspective. He also mentioned his lack of multicultural curriculum growing up. He joked with me that “I tell my students the reason history books are so much thicker now is not because I'm so old but because there's a lot more different voices in the history books than when I was a kid." His tone was approving, and

shortly after he dismissed the “great man” theory of history, which has historically excluded the narratives of people of color and women.

But, later in the interview, Ruben made a personal disclosure about a childhood experience with racism. Since Ruben is White, he did not experience discrimination directly, but I was intrigued by the impact of racism on him as a witness. He described his town as all White, so White that “[p]eople didn't even make jokes about blacks because Polacks were the bottom of the barrel." A Black family moved to his town when he was in High School, and within a year they had moved away again. Though he didn't live near the family and wasn't friends with their children, their sudden absence made him question his community.

> I didn't know what was going on, really. I didn't know what was happening here. And. . And I started thinking, oh, there's a whole lot of stuff I never thought before. Which was also, I made a decision then, I was never going to live in all White place again. Which I never have.

He immediately followed this quote by talking about his multiracial perspective on history, so I believe this experience of racism strongly shaped his understanding of history.

Sidney talked little about her childhood experiences of race or her experiences of multicultural education in school. She responded to this question by listing her extensive undergraduate work in multicultural education and the many professional development courses she has completed. She did not list her undergraduate coursework class by class, but indicated that she anticipated teaching in the city, and thus wanted to be prepared to work with many cultures. However, she provided an extensive list of professional development coursework, including hip-hop education programs, multicultural history

workshops through local museums, and weekly meetings with teacher groups working on issues of multicultural education.

Tessa provided information about both her personal experiences with race and her personal and professional experiences with multicultural education. She described "grow[ing] up in a very rural part of Pennsylvania. A very homogenous, White, sort of homogenous ethnicity, homogenous class, kind of across the board area." She is young enough that her school had multicultural education in their history curriculum, but she does not have a clear memory of the content. She admits this may be because high school was many years ago, rather than because it was not well taught or memorable. She also took one multicultural education class as an undergraduate. She remembers it was an elective, but wished all students were required to take it.

Limitations on Practicing Multicultural Education

All three teachers identified limitations to practicing multicultural education. Overall, the teachers established four categories of limitations: unachievable curriculum standards, challenges from incompatible mandated texts, a shortage of time, and a lack of personal knowledge.

Unachievable Curriculum Standards

Tessa and Ruben shared nearly identical comments about their challenges with curriculum standards. They agreed the established standards for each of their courses are too many to complete in the time allotted. Ruben noted this casually, saying:

And by the way you cannot get through the whole curriculum in a semester, so you still have to pick and choose. And that's every one of our history classes. There's no way you can get through it even though they want you to. There's no way. It just can't be done. It's a perennial problem for social studies teachers.

Tessa reiterated with a bit more detail, explaining that "World History has maybe 10-12 standards and within each of these standards are 10-12 sub-standards. And how you cover all of that is beyond me. In a year's time even. It's a matter of picking and choosing." Both teachers shared their thoughts in a very matter-of-fact, yet frustrated tone. It seemed to me that the overwhelming number of standards were something they had grown to expect, though they were troubled by them.

Incompatible Mandated Texts

Ruben and Sidney discussed the challenges associated with their textbooks. Both felt that their texts were not a good match to the student's skill level. Ruben described his textbook as "unfortunately, I'd say [it] is written at about a 12th grade level or higher." While shared that a somewhat challenging textbook is good for teaching local history to 12th graders, his class was taught to 9th graders for many years. During that time, "it was very difficult for [the 9th graders] to read so a lot of the reading we had to do out loud." He found that the mismatch between the skill level of the textbook and the skill level of his students slowed down his teaching as they struggled to make sense of the book.

Oddly, Sidney reported the same problem in reverse. She describes the textbook as "terrible", and did her best to avoid using the text by bringing in outside materials. She felt that:

a lot of community college text books I think would be really valuable for high school students. I think that rather than pulling students up to a better reading level or giving them the tools to analyze a higher level, we give them an easier book and that it simplifies things so much that it's actually stupid. So I just wish that they would tell them the whole story instead of trying to dumb it down for them. Our textbook is used in some seventh grade classes in the suburbs. And, like, it could be used in a 5th grade classroom. And it's so simplistic sometimes that it's more confusing. Like, they complained about the length or something like that when we analyzed from a college textbook, but they always said it made more sense. And, then they, I feel like they felt ownership of it. With our text book they could read it but then they counted on me to tell them all the extra stuff.

In this packed quote, she pulls out a variety of challenges with the book. She sees the text as simplifying events to the point of making them incomprehensible. Thus, though the text is trying to match the students skill level it ends up matching their reading skills but not their intelligence. She would much prefer to use a more difficult text that enables them to see the complexity of historical events. She found that they could apply their critical thinking skills to the college level texts and make sense of the reading, but those critical thinking skills were not helpful with their assigned text.

Shortage of Time

Ruben and Tessa both talked of the limitations the clock imposed on their classes. Ruben spoke more generally about how little time there seems to be in the classroom. He shared that “you don't end up teaching that much. It takes, you know, a week or more [to cover a lesson]. And do an assessment on that. And that's a week or more." Tessa spoke directly to the challenges of integrating multiculturalism into the classroom:

[I]n reality, there are so many obstacles, to education, to public education in this case, that there are so many things that teachers are asked to do with their time that if they had the luxury of time to only focus upon developing their

curriculum in a multicultural way, in making sure they've used a variety of sources in a variety of media, then that would be a lot more possible, but because there are so many demands placed on teachers there isn't just – there's not enough time in the day. The, level to which you can present a multicultural curriculum is limited, simply based on those sorts of practical constraints.

She highlights the multiplicity of demands placed upon teachers, and the challenge of just finding the time to plan out multicultural lessons. For Tessa, not having set aside time to work on multicultural curriculum is a barrier to putting it into practice.

Changing teacher practices can also create a time crunch when dealing with multicultural curriculum. Changing practices are the ongoing evolution in teaching methods, curriculum structure, and other classroom activities required by the school or department. While these changing practices ideally improve the education of students, they are often predicated upon teachers modifying – from small tweaks to drastic revisions – their curriculum. Though curriculum improvements should, in theory, be an unqualified good thing—given teacher's time limitations—changes may put further limitations on the multicultural curriculum teachers use. This could especially be the case if changes in teaching practices occur with out sufficient lead time for teachers to revise the new practices to include their preferred multicultural content.

Ruben communicates clearly the challenges of changing teacher practices. The first of these changes occurred several years into his time teaching local history. The school district created a curriculum for the subject, and standards which he now needed to meet. Though he was able to continue using most of his curriculum, he did have to discard some sections he had been teaching for a while. He accepted the change without complaint, acknowledging

that “[t]here were some things I really liked that I just said well I can't do that anymore just because that's not part of the curriculum." Though he did not discuss the impact of this change on the multicultural part of the curriculum, he did so in response to another teaching practice change. Last year the social studies department decided to increase the student's experience with research papers, and changed the curriculum in every grade to include a research paper. This meant that Ruben had to take something out of his curriculum to accommodate the new assignment. He explained that “because now we require that the kids write a paper, whereas before I had two projects that were neighborhood based. So, I can't do those neighborhood projects. This past year because there was too much focus on writing a paper." The neighborhood project was deeply multicultural, looking at race, class, and community where students lived, and removing the project changed Ruben's curriculum. However, changes in teaching practices can positively impact multicultural education as well. Several years ago Ruben's class became required in 12th grade rather than 9th grade. He described the change as beneficial because “local history is a little bit difficult to teach because they don't have – 9th graders – have broader, what's going on in the broader world and the United States.”, while the 12th graders do. Changing teaching practices are important to increase the effectiveness of teachers and schools, but can negatively impact multicultural curriculum if the teacher is under a time constraint.

Lack of Personal Knowledge

Tessa was the only teacher who spoke about feeling like she didn't know enough about multicultural curriculum. Though she and Sidney both actively pursued professional development opportunities, Tessa contextualized them as trying to push back a limit on her multicultural education skills. While addressing the challenge of time limitations on her multicultural curriculum, she included this caveat: “And sometimes you pick and choose [from the required curriculum]. . . Part of that [is] based on my prior knowledge, my familiarity, my access to resources." She implies that her comfort with and knowledge of a specific area makes her more likely to teach it. She is aware of this limit and works to remedy it by educating herself.

Yet, Tessa also describes the limits of personal knowledge in her professional development work. She explains that

> [n]ot every teacher is going to do [use their professional development that way], not every teacher will have access to those opportunities. Not all schools or administrators support teachers in those endeavors, and so I really feel that the more teachers have content knowledge or exposures to the content, to multiple cultural perspectives, the more they will be able to infuse them. But again, if you don't know that information yourself it's hard to do it for, to infuse that into the curriculum for your students.

Though Ruben and Sidney did not speak about gaps in their knowledge impacting the multicultural content of their curriculum, Tessa clearly explains how this is the case. She also demonstrates the importance of school support for multicultural professional development.

Summary

Interviews with Ruben, Tessa, and Sidney, all high school social science teachers, provided information on how they understand, practice, and see students navigate multicultural education. The data coalesced around three themes: the teacher's curricular strategies, the teacher's pedagogy of multicultural education, and limitations in implementing multicultural education. Teacher's curricular strategies included the structure of the class, whether it was based in lecture, discussion, or group work. Tessa and Sidney also talked about using a 'hook' to catch student attention at the beginning of each class. The two also discussed the role of multimedia in maintaining student attention and providing them with learning opportunities. Lastly, all three teachers talked about the strategies they used to keep students engaged in the classroom.

Teachers understanding of and implementation of a pedagogymulticultural education is at the heart of this section. Teachers used student centered and curriculum centered pedagogies to organize their expectations for student participation, sense of teacher authority, the multiple perspectives they brought to the classroom, and the content they added or created for their classes. Tessa and Sidney aligned with a student centered curriculum, and developed lessons, coursework, and engagement materials based on the perceived needs and interests of their students. In contrast, Ruben drew upon a curriculum centered pedagogy and sought to engage students with his curriculum.

Despite their different pedagogies on multicultural education, all three teachers identified limitations to their success with putting it into practice. They

discussed the challenges of unachievable curriculum standards, incompatible mandated texts, a shortage of time, and a lack of personal knowledge. These themes and limitations will be used in Chapter 5 to draw conclusions about these teachers experiences with multicultural education.

Chapter 5

This paper seeks to investigate the way teachers conceptualize and use multicultural curriculum through interviewing high school social science teachers who use multicultural curriculum. Though multicultural education is a common practice, there is sparse research on teachers' understanding of a pedagogy of multicultural education and how that pedagogy impacts their implementation of multicultural curriculum. The goal of these interviews was to gather information about the teacher's experience with multicultural education, their current practices and rationales. The collected data seeks to address my three research questions:

1. In what ways do teachers understand and implement multicultural curriculum in their classrooms?
2. What life experiences and professional training do teachers identify as preparation to use a multicultural curriculum?
3. What organizational factors impact how they understand and implement multicultural curriculum?

Understanding and Implementing Multicultural Curriculum

My central research question seeks to better assess how teachers understand and implement multicultural education. This particularly includes understanding how teachers define multicultural education and multicultural curriculum; what teaching techniques they identify as important to multicultural education; and how teachers apply these ideas to the curriculum and classroom culture. The teachers interviewed represent two distinct pedagogies of

multicultural curriculum: student centered and curriculum centered. Each of these pedagogies was influenced by the teacher's perceptions of student engagement, curriculum flexibility, and teacher authority. These outlooks were enacted in the way they added content and created curriculum in their classes, as well as they way they sought curriculum development.

Tessa and Sidney practiced student centered multicultural curriculum. This pedagogy of curriculum emphasized building relationships with their students. These connections are personal, based on the individual interests, needs, and experiences of their students. Though Tessa and Sidney identify and acknowledge the racial, gender, and socioeconomic identities of their students, they understand that these identities may not be central for their students or identical across students. Both teachers use the connections they have built with their students to mold a curriculum that engages their particular interests. For instance, Sidney centers her class around histories and stories rather than centering on particular dates and topics, because her students are most interested in stories. Tessa highlights the Jazz age in her teaching of United States History, because the music, African American culture, and race relations of the period have fascinated her students. Data gathered from their discussion of these efforts bring attention to two areas of interest. The first area of interest discussed below is the joint use of multicultural and general curricular strategies for engagement. The second area of interest discussed below is the additional work taken on by teachers using student centered multicultural curricula.

These strategies of curricular adjustment are notable because they contextualize the layered relationship between classroom demographics and

multicultural curriculum. Both teachers work in classrooms that are primarily populated by students of color. They tailor those curricula to the needs and interests of their students; some of those needs and interests are based upon the race of those students. However, both teachers acknowledge that engagement of students through their race is not enough. They also seek to engage students through curricular strategies such as multimedia and class format, which are not racially or culturally affiliated. For example, Sidney seeks to engage her students by opening the academic year teaching about Islam, because many of her students know or are friends with Muslims. She chose this adaptation specifically because of her classroom's demographics. However, she also teaches using multimedia such as the History Channel to show *Ancients Behaving Badly* which has nothing to do with the racial demographics of her classroom. Similarly, Tessa cites a discussion of racism faced by Japanese Americans during World War II as a demographic specific way that she connects with her students, but also describes using twitter to send class reminders and catalyze discussion. Though these teachers use a student centered multicultural curriculum, this pedagogy seems to stem from a larger pedagogy of student engagement through multiple avenues, rather than a pedagogy specific to multicultural curriculum.

The question of whether a student centered multicultural curriculum results from a larger philosophy of engagement is important because it speaks to the implementation of multicultural education. If teachers use multicultural curriculum as one of many engagement strategies it would seem that the natural way to expand the use of multicultural curriculum is to describe it as an

engagement strategy. This re-framing would likely catch the attention of teachers already seeking engagement strategies. Further investigation would be helpful to determine if the connection between student centered multicultural curriculum and larger strategies of student engagement is merely a coincidence in these two teachers, or part of a larger pattern.

Both teachers spoke about the extensive additional work they performed in an effort to increase the multicultural content in their curriculum. Additional work includes supplementary planning time as well as investigating and attending multicultural curriculum focused professional development opportunities. This piques my interest for two reasons. First, I wonder if all teachers who are student centered put as much work into their curriculum. Is it possible for a student centered teacher to instruct in this manner without significant changes to the curriculum? Second, I believe this is important because as we consider the lives and experiences of teachers, the number of hours they put into the job absolutely shapes their experience as a teacher. An instructor who takes the material handed to her or him, teaches it exactly as devised by the standards, and continues in this manner will likely have a vastly different experience of teaching than an instructor who upends the assigned curriculum to meet the needs of the students. These divergent experiences could relate to teacher satisfaction, burn out, quality of instruction and more, and thus merit deeper consideration.

Ruben uses a curriculum centered pedagogy. This pedagogy focuses on drawing student's attention to the material and helping them identify portions that interest them. Though Ruben identifies and acknowledges the racial,

gender, and socioeconomic identities of his students, these factors do not seem to shape how he teaches. He seems to focus his classroom efforts on encouraging students to complete the assigned work. He does not discuss putting in additional effort to revise curriculum or engage students.

The divergent ways Tessa, Sidney, and Ruben understand multicultural curriculum are a key learning of this research. As I established in chapter four, the interviewees ascribed to two different pedagogies of multicultural education: a student centered pedagogy and a curriculum centered pedagogy. These two pedagogies demonstrate the multiple meanings teachers and scholars assign to the term multicultural education. These two pedagogies differ in the conceptualization and practice of multicultural education. This contrast presents a new dilemma to adopting multicultural education. If educators are describing two different pedagogies with identical terminology, multicultural education becomes more challenging to put it into practice. If educators use multicultural education to mean many different things and do not acknowledge this difference then professional development opportunities, curricular revisions, even changes in standards could become decontextualized and diluted. This leads to a patchwork and uneven implementation of multicultural education.

Personal and Professional Preparation

I sought to learn more from each of the teachers about the personal and professional experiences that they felt prepared them to teach a multicultural curriculum. All three teachers identified their undergraduate coursework as an important influence on their current practices of multicultural curriculum.

However, teachers also identified early experiences with racism, expectations of urban life, and professional development work as shaping their conceptualization of multicultural education. The different resources they identified as preparation provide insight into their expectations and hopes for multicultural curriculum.

Ruben identifies multicultural curriculum as a normal part of teaching history; he expects his content to include complex representations of people of color, women, and other minorities. While he cited a local history course during his undergraduate education as important to teaching the facts and dates of his multicultural curriculum, it was an early experience with racism that helped him see the need for multicultural curriculum. As a teenager Ruben saw a Black family move into his all White town. In less than a year they moved from the area. He believes the family moved to escape the racism in his town. This sudden appearance and disappearance of the family opened his eyes to a broader version of history, one told from many perspectives.

While Tessa agrees that history must contain multiple perspectives and the narratives of multiple racial groups, she identifies her preparation very differently from Ruben. She also took a single multicultural education class as an undergraduate, but it does not seem to have been focused on history. Instead this course instructed teachers to use self-reflection as their primary multicultural tool. She explains that self-reflection is vital because it enables her to understand her biases and perspective and then seek content which will present other perspectives or critique her own.

Sidney provided an extensive list of courses, taken as an undergraduate and through professional development, as her preparation for multicultural

education. She also notes that she has done “self-reading” to further prepare for a multicultural curriculum. However, she identifies these efforts as a natural part of her preparation to teach in an urban and heterogeneous area.

All three teachers took different tactics to prepare to use a multicultural curriculum. Yet these preparations are rooted in the same impulse: a desire to accurately reflect the complex cultures and races that make up history. This finding is important to conceptions of multicultural education because it reveals that teachers' whose internal conception of coursework or classrooms as multicultural are likely to pursue multicultural educational opportunities during their continuing professional development. They also seek these options from a variety of personal and academic sources.

Organizational Factors

This research sought to better understand what organizational factors impact how teachers understand and implement multicultural curriculum. Existing research provided a context for understanding some barriers associated with organizational factors. The literature review identified four major barriers to teacher's success with multicultural education: acquiring knowledge, changing curriculum, communicating complexity, and valuing multiculturalism. The teachers interviewed identified four barriers to their success with multicultural curriculum: unachievable curriculum standards, incompatible mandated texts, shortage of time (influenced by changing teacher practices), and lack of personal knowledge. The literature review and the interviewees thoughts contain significant overlap and important divergence.

The literature review and the interviewees identify acquiring multicultural knowledge as a key barrier to success with multicultural education. Authors described the teacher education programs researched in *Challenges in Teaching for Critical Multicultural Citizenship: Student Teaching in an Accountability Driven Context* and *Multicultural Teacher Education: Research, Practice, and Policy* as lacking instruction about multicultural education, or techniques to adapt curriculum to include multicultural content. This research was reflected in the real-life experiences of the teachers interviewed. Each reported having little more than a single class specifically devoted to multicultural education in their preparation programs.

The teachers sought to remedy the shortcomings of their preparation programs with directed multicultural professional development. Sidney participates extensively in these activities, including weekly virtual discussion groups for social studies teachers and hip hop educators. She also found learning opportunities with local museums and educational organizations. Tessa cultivated summer professional development courses to help her bring the perspectives and knowledge of more cultures into her World History classroom. Lastly, Ruben noted that he has read extensively on the topic of local history, to bring this information into his classroom.

The literature review revealed that many teachers expressed anxieties about creating new lessons and changing existing curriculum to include more multicultural content. These reservations were not shared by the teachers interviewed in this sample. This difference may be because of their professional development, department culture, school culture, or sense of personal agency.

Further research could bring light to these variances and illuminate under what circumstances teachers feel empowered to make their curriculum more inclusive of multicultural content.

In "Celebration and Separation: A Troublesome Approach to Multicultural Education," "Nobody Said It Would be Easy: Ethnolinguistic Group Challenges to Bilingual and Multicultural Education in New York City," and "He's Too Young to Learn About That Stuff: Anti-Racist Pedagogy and Early Childhood Social Studies" the authors describe the challenge of conveying the complexities of cultures in the time allotted to multicultural education. It is notable that none of the teachers interviewed explicitly discussed this concern. Tessa and Ruben both reported more curriculum than time, or not enough time to prepare the curriculum they desired. However, neither framed it as simplifying cultural representations to include them in their courses or eliminating complex representations. This leads me to believe that time limitations and communicating complexity are two separate issues.

This divergence may be because the teachers interviewed took the initiative to deepen their knowledge of the cultures they included in their curriculum. However, it may also be because the teachers did not have a strong sense of the complexities of the cultures they discussed. Without triangulation there is little opportunity to confirm or reject either of these possibilities.

I established a fourth category in the literature review called valuing multiculturalism. In this category I grouped together the push back from various sources—administration, school systems, and parents—for teaching multicultural education, as well as the challenges of navigating local and state

standards for education. The literature described negotiating standardized testing, resistance from parents, and having to educate parents about the benefits of multiculturalism as significant challenges. The bulk of the barriers identified by interviewees did not fall into this category.

The obstacles identified by the interviewees included unachievable curriculum standards, incompatible mandated texts, shortage of time. Unachievable curriculum standards are school, district, and state required curriculum standards which are too numerous to be taught in the allocated time. Incompatible mandated texts are the assigned books, which are often a poor match for the students' literacy and intellectual skills. Sometimes the texts are at a higher level of reading and thinking than the students, but other times the texts are at a lower level of reading and far too simple in content for the students' intellectual capacity. Interviewees reported a shortage of classroom and planning time, which curtailed the quality of material they hoped to present.

Study Limitations

This study faces several threats to internal validity. First, I was not able to triangulate the data gathered from the teachers. That is, I cannot independently verify their words with lesson plans, teaching assessments, personal observation, or the like. The data gathered for this study depends upon the accuracy of these teachers in conveying their beliefs and practices. Scholars (Merriam, 1988; Yin, 1994) have demonstrated that no interviewee has perfect recall. Additional research shows that all interviewees are likely to tailor their responses to what they think reflects well upon them, and what they think the

interviewer wants to hear. Interviewee fallibility and lack of triangulation are the primary threats to internal validity, though these are not threats unique to this study.

Reliable instrumentation is necessary to minimize threats to internal validity, and this study faced some challenges with reliable instrumentation. My skills as an interviewer improved drastically over the course of the three interviews. This meant that by the time I interviewed Sidney, I was able to more effectively target my questions and follow ups to her. I feel that this enabled me to get better data from Tessa and Sidney about their pedagogical position on multicultural curriculum. I conducted my first interview with Ruben and I believe that I missed out on opportunities to explore many deeper themes because my interviewing skills were not well honed.

Time constraints also played a large role in the outcome of this thesis. As a Master's Thesis this research was performed over a relatively short period of time. This small window resulted in compromises in the research terms. First and foremost, the small number of interviews I was able to perform is a reflection upon the short time allotted for this research and the limited resources available for soliciting study participants. Had there been more time and more resources I would have liked to have interviewed more teachers. Teachers' understandings and implementation of multicultural curriculum are ripe for further exploration. Each topic would benefit from deeper explorations than this thesis was able to provide. Nonetheless, I believe that the insights that I have gleaned from these teachers warrant further study and can add to the literature.

Questions of external validity are significant for a small case study such as this. It would be foolish to claim that interviewing three teachers can explain teacher motivations across the board, or identify broad demographic patterns. However, the strength of the case study methodology is that it can identify areas ripe for further study. A few areas ripe for study are intersections between pedagogical practices of multicultural education and identities such as race and age; overlapping understandings of multicultural pedagogy and student engagement; student perspectives on teacher engagement strategies; limits on teacher implementation of multicultural curriculum; and teacher motivations for using a multicultural curriculum.

Future Directions

This study only scratches the surface of information about teachers perception and practice of multicultural education. Though it has revealed two different pedagogical perspectives teachers use to understand and apply multicultural curriculum, it is by no means comprehensive. The two pedagogies of multicultural education outlined in this paper also need to be broadened and deepened. Further research could include replicating my findings, exploring the nuances of the pedagogies, and better understanding why teachers come to them. This paper provides only preliminary investigation and reflection on these two pedagogies. There are many avenues for future research on the subject, both in breadth and depth.

This study bears replication with a larger pool of interviewees. A wider variety of interviewees, across identities of race, ethnicity, age, subject, and

gender would be especially useful. In the data gathered for this study there are nascent patterns between curriculum pedagogy, gender, and race. A larger and more diverse sample size may be necessary to determine if these possible connections reoccur or are simply a coincidence in the sample. The data gathered in this sample is shaped by the subjective experiences of its interviewees. Their race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and other pertinent identities inform their perceptions and life experiences. Interviewees of different backgrounds may or may not share these perspectives. Inclusion of a broader sample will provide more reliable data on the relationship between interviewees identities and their pedagogies and understandings.

A racially diverse sample is also vital to determine if these pedagogies generalize across races or are somehow specific to White teachers. A sample that draws from teachers of many subjects and age groups would also provide interesting data on the generalizability of these teacher's experiences and ideas across the school curriculum. These perspectives would be valuable because they could provide greater information about how teachers conceptualize their pedagogies, and what parts of their identities shape those pedagogies.

Further research on engagement of students of color would also provide much needed context for this study. This research could include investigation into common methods of engagement used by teachers, or the variety of methods teachers use to engage their students, and student perspectives on what engages them. A larger scale study seeking information on if and how other teachers use multicultural curriculum to engage their students, especially students of color, would provide much nuance to the general conclusions drawn here. These

studies would be valuable because they could deepen understandings about how teachers try to engage students, a practice which affects both students' performance and interest in a subject. It would also provide information about whether multicultural curriculum is a commonly practiced method of engagement, and if students and teachers see it as an effective method.

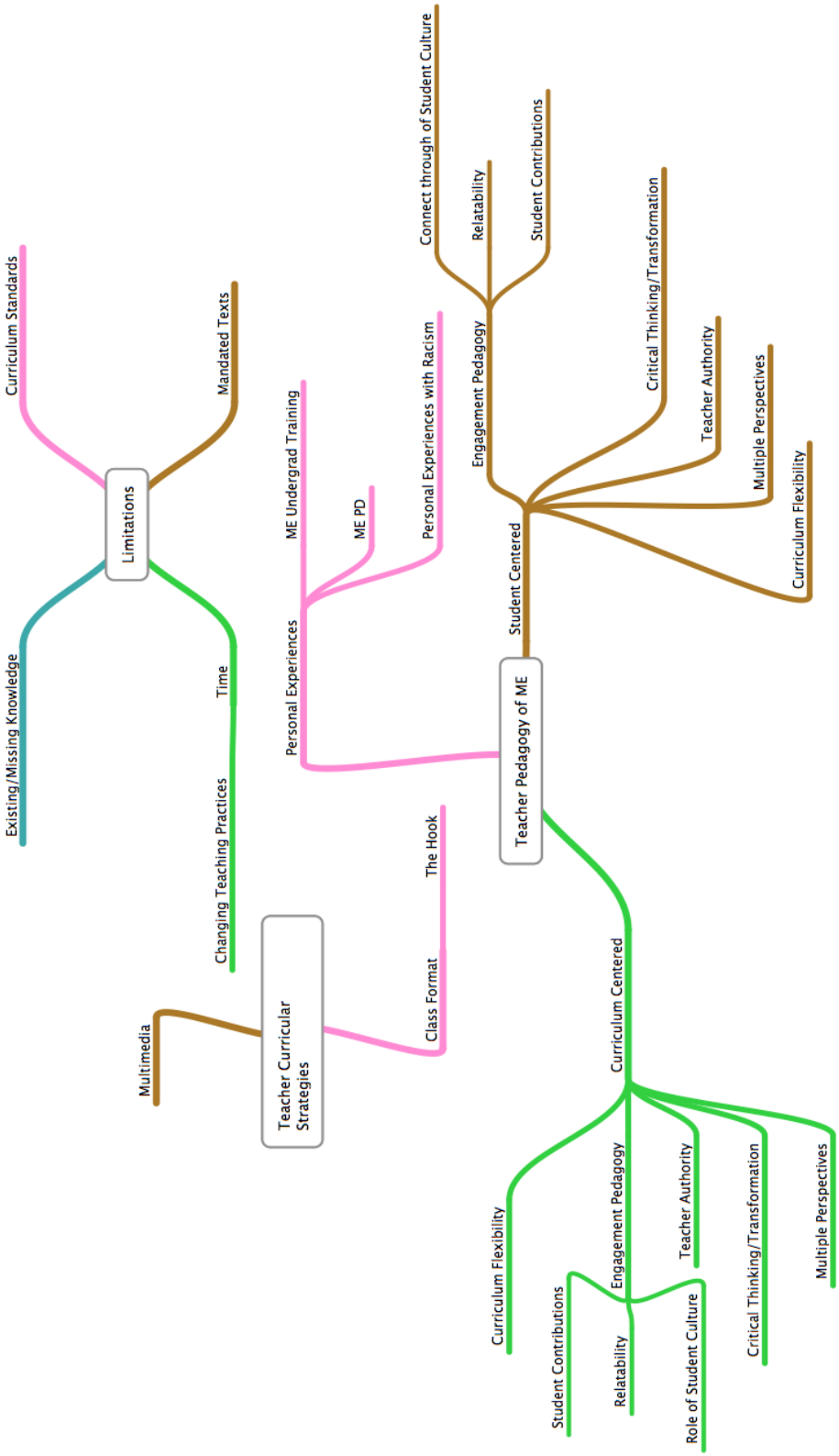
There are many opportunities for further study on the limitations negotiated by teachers who use multicultural education. Deeper study could reveal much about how teachers seek to compensate for multicultural knowledge they feel they are missing. Especially of interest would be strategies teachers use to convey complexity within multicultural content, emphasize the value of multicultural curriculum, and establish new content. These limitations, as outlined by the literature review, differ from the day-to-day challenges of teachers. I believe further study would provide information needed to create a more coherent grouping of the organizational challenges faced by teachers implementing multicultural curriculum. Additionally, a structure that integrates the pattern found within the literature and my data could integrate an additional challenge I identified: unacknowledged different definitions of multicultural education.

An additional areas of special interest includes the ideas shared by all three teachers: emphasis on multiple perspectives, non-traditional ideas of teacher authority, and inviting students to share their lives in the classroom. The commonalities identified by all three teachers could illuminate multicultural education ideas shared by the two pedagogies. These shared ideas could open

avenues for further teacher education and broader work on the way teachers use and understand multicultural education.

This research project sought to investigate the understanding and implementation of multicultural education. In particular I hoped to learn more about the experiences teachers identified as preparation for using multicultural curriculum, and organizational barriers to multicultural curriculum identified by these same teachers. To do so I interviewed three high school social science teachers who use multicultural curriculum. These interviews, conducted over the course of one to one and a half hours, focused on the teacher's experiences with multicultural education and their implementation of it. The data spotlighted teachers' pedagogies of multicultural education and the classroom practices that they drew from those pedagogies. Differing pedagogies of multicultural curriculum led these teachers to have somewhat different ideas about student engagement, inclusive curriculum, and the need for additional content. This perspective on multicultural education opens up new avenues to better understand how teachers conceptualize and use multicultural education, what barriers there are to its utilization, and how it impacts students.

Appendix A: Conceptual Map



Bibliography

Altschul, I., Oyserman, D., & Bybee, D. (2006). Racial-ethnic identity in mid-adolescence: content and change as predictors of academic achievement. *Child Development*, *77*(5), 1155-1169.

Banks, J. A. (1993). Multicultural education: historical development, dimensions and practice. *Review of Research in Education, 19(1993)*, 3-49.

Banks, J. (Ed.). (1996). *Multicultural education, transformative knowledge, and action: historical and contemporary perspectives*. New York, NY: Teacher's College Press.

Brozo, W. G., & Valerio, P. (1996). A walk through Gracie's garden: Literacy and cultural explorations in a Mexican American junior. *Journal Of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, *40*(3), 164.

Castro, A. (2010). Challenges in teaching for critical multicultural citizenship: student teaching in an accountability-driven context. *Action in Teacher Education, 32(*2). 97-109.

Cochran-Smith, M. (2004). Multicultural teacher education: research, practice, and policy. In J. Banks (Ed.), *Handbook of Multicultural Education*. (747-759). San Franscisco, CA: Jason Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Eccles, J., Wong, C. A., & Sameroof, A. (2003). The influence of ethnic discrimination and ethnic identity on African American adolescents' school and socioemotional adjustment. *Journal of Personality, 71,* 1197-1232.

Eunhyun, K. (2001). Conceptions, critiques, and challenges in multicultural education: informing teacher education reforms in the U.S. *Korean Educational Development Institute 8*(2), 201-218.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). *Five misunderstandings about case-study research*. *Qualitative Inquiry, 12*(2), 219-245.

Gay, G. (2000). Culturally responsive teaching. New York, NY: Teacher's College Press.

Hanna, P. (2012). Using internet technologies (such as Skype) as a research medium: a research note. *Qualitative Research, 12(*239), 239-242.

Husband, T. (2010). He's too young to learn about that stuff: Anti-racist pedagogy and early childhood social studies. *Social Studies Research and Practice, 5(*2), 61-75.

Katz, P., & Zalk, S. (1978). Modification of children's racial attitudes. *Developmental Psychology, 14*(5), 447-461.

Kleyn, T., Reyes, S. A. (2011). Nobody said it would be easy: Ethnolinguistic group challenges to bilingual and multicultural education in New York City. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 14*(2), 207-224.

Okoye-Johnson, O. (2001) Does multicultural education improve students' racial attitudes? Implications for closing the achievement gap. *Journal of Black Studies, 42*(8), 1252-1274.

Landsman, J. (2001). *A White teacher talks about race*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Merriam, S. B. (1988). *Case study research in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Morgan, H. (January 01, 2009). Using read-alouds with culturally sensitive children's books: A strategy that can lead to tolerance and improved reading skills. *Reading Improvement, 46,* 1, 3.

Murray, A, (2012). *Countering the master narrative: The development of the alternative Black curriculum in social studies, 1890-1940*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Maryland, College Park.

Nash, G. B., Crabtree, C., & Dunn, R. E. (1997). *History on trial*. New York, NY:Knopf

Paley, V. G. (1989). *White teacher*. Harvard University Press

Powers, K. M. (2006). An exploratory study of cultural identity and culture-based educational programs for urban American Indian students. *Urban Education*, *41*(1), 20-49. doi:10.1177/0042085905282249.

Sapon-Shevin, M., & Schniedewind, N. (1991). Cooperative learning as empowering pedagogy. In C. Sleeter (Ed.) *Empowerment through multicultural education* (159-178). Albany, NY: SUNY Press Albany.

Tyack, D. (2003) *Seeking common ground: public schools in diverse society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Yin, R. (1994) Case study research design and methods, (2nd Edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Zirkel, S. (2008). The influence of multicultural educational practices on student outcomes and intergroup relations. *Teachers College Record, 110,* 6, 1147-1181.