

4

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND CRITICAL PEDAGOGY APPROACHES

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A large and dynamic body of literature addresses the characteristics of multicultural education, and much of this literature focuses on educating elementary, secondary, and undergraduate college students about issues of diversity. In addition, a growing body of literature critiques this literature and outlines alternative teacher education approaches for preparing future professionals to work toward ending oppression and achieving social justice in educational settings (Goodman, 2000; Jennings & Smith, 2002; B. G. Wallace, 2000). In this chapter, we describe and compare major approaches to multicultural education, discuss the role of critical pedagogy approaches to multicultural and feminist education, and examine efforts to integrate multicultural training within teacher training programs. We conclude by summarizing contributions to and limitations of the multicultural education literature as well as implications for pedagogy that is multicultural and feminist.

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APPROACHES TO MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Contemporary multicultural education has evolved and grown through an initial phase that was influenced by the civil rights movement and involved integrating content about African Americans in the curriculum to an emphasis on multiethnic content and to recent emphases on the interactions between ethnicity, gender, and class as foundations for theory, research, and practice (Banks, 1995). Christine Sleeter's and Carl Grant's (1987, 2003) widely cited model identifies five major approaches to multicultural education: (a) education for the exceptional and culturally different, (b) human relations approaches, (c) single-group studies, (d) multicultural education, and (e) multicultural and social reconstructionist education. The following overview and Table 4.1 summarize the major characteristics of these approaches.

Education for the Exceptional and Culturally Different

The exceptional and culturally different approach seeks to help individuals from disadvantaged groups develop skills that support achievement and assimilation within mainstream American schools and society. This approach, which focuses on the needs of students with disabilities as well as culturally diverse students, is based on the human capital theory and assumes that education is an investment that allows individuals to gain skills for successful employment and that certain groups have not achieved because their home and cultural environments are different from mainstream American environments (Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Emphasis is placed on "building bridges between cultures to facilitate individual achievement and social mobility, rather than combating unequal distribution of goods and power among racial groups" (Sleeter & Grant, 1987, p. 423). A major goal involves changing persons to fit mainstream America rather than changing mainstream America to accommodate the needs and preferences of diverse groups. Most teachers using this approach typically maintain high expectations for students and believe that the traditional curriculum is useful for all students but must be adapted to the needs of various students (Sleeter, 1999). This approach has progressed over time from viewing culturally diverse students as culturally deprived to culturally different to, more recently, "at risk" (Banks, 1995).

The phrase *equity pedagogy* refers to teaching methods that support the achievement of students from diverse backgrounds (Banks, 1995). Strategies include making the curriculum personally relevant for students by building on the strengths of students, teaching content in students' native languages, identifying and filling gaps in knowledge, matching teaching styles to students' cultural preferences (e.g., cooperative learning with high degrees of interpersonal interaction), and using immediate positive reinforcement of small, successive accomplishments.

TABLE 4.1
Multicultural Approaches and Pedagogies

Approach	Goals	Pedagogy
Exceptional and culturally different	Facilitate success of diverse students in mainstream society	Teach skills for achievement and success; adapt teaching to learning styles of students
Human relations	Promote tolerance; facilitate positive feelings and relationships among members of diverse groups	Implement activities to reduce stereotyping and prejudice; teach about similarities and differences among individuals; emphasize cooperative learning; create opportunities for interaction with diverse groups
Single studies	Establish social, economic, and political power for members of the identified group; encourage social change that benefits members of the identified group	Employ critical pedagogy; integrate content about the identified group; question knowledge assumptions; teach social change skills; teach about racial and ethnic identity development; use teaching strategies preferred by members of the identified group
Multicultural education	Create structural equality and a pluralistic society in which all have equal access to power and opportunity	Teach all content multiculturally; teach bilingual skills for all; extend teaching outside the classroom; model diversity through staff values and composition
Multicultural and social reconstruction	Promote structural and personal equality by restructuring education and society	Employ critical pedagogy; provide an integrated analysis of racism, classism, sexism, and other isms; use students' experiences as tools for analyzing oppression; teach social action and empowerment skills; use democratic decision making

Human Relations Approach

The intergroup education movement arose in response to the events of World War II and racial tensions in the United States and was influenced

primarily by White liberal educators who assumed that assimilation represented the best means of reducing racial tension (Banks, 1995). Emerging from the intergroup education movement, the human relations approach emphasized the importance of feeling good about oneself and diverse others and learning to relate to, respect, and communicate with those from different backgrounds (Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Teachers who adhere to this approach generally believe that American society is open and fair and that teaching people to love, respect, and communicate with others will lead to improved relationships among diverse groups of people.

Research suggests that young children's racial attitudes mirror those found in American society (e.g., Phinney & Rotheram, 1987), and thus, reducing students' prejudice and instilling democratic racial attitudes are of great importance (Banks, 1995). Students learn about problems associated with stereotyping and receive accurate information that challenges societal biases. Teaching strategies include content integration about diverse groups, prejudice reduction activities, positive reinforcement of multicultural stimuli, vicarious interracial contact, and cooperative learning experiences. Information about contributions of people from diverse groups is presented so all students, especially those who are members of marginalized groups, feel positively about themselves and their reference groups. Finally, students are also given opportunities to work with diverse others through cooperative-learning exercises, role-playing, social skills, training, and participation in community projects.

Single-Group Studies

Providing in-depth educational experiences about specific oppressed groups is a priority for single-group-studies perspectives (Sleeter, 1999; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Catalysts for single studies approaches included (a) efforts during the first half of the 20th century to disseminate information about the African American experience in America and (b) the emergence of Black studies and ethnic studies programs (1960s and 1970s) that focused on teaching about the history, experiences, and perspectives of African Americans and members of other racial and ethnic groups (Banks, 1995).

Goals of single studies and ethnic studies programs have included (a) content integration, which involves providing information about diverse groups or illustrating ideas and concepts by using examples relevant to members of diverse groups, and (b) efforts to gain economic, social, and political power for group members. These strategies address the knowledge construction process, such as why the perspectives of a group have been excluded, why inequality exists, and how traditional education perpetuates inequality. Those who adopt this perspective assume that education is not neutral, that the unspoken assumptions underlying traditional Eurocentric educational approaches need to be revealed, and that knowledge of one's own history is a

source of power (Sleeter, 1996). In recent years, material related to racial and social identity development models (e.g., Cross, 1991; Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; Tatum, 1992, 2002) has been integrated with this model to support students' positive identity within a racist society. Knowledge of racial identity development allows students to recognize, articulate, and transcend their emotional responses to learning about racism or other oppressions (Tatum, 1992).

Strategies associated with single-studies approaches include (a) examining the significance of starting points or assumptions about knowledge, (b) critiquing socially constructed "natural" or binary categories associated with identity (e.g., Black vs. White), (c) restructuring the canon of knowledge, (d) exploring the strengths and resilience of specific oppressed groups, (e) fostering a positive collective identity among members of a group, and (f) empowering and liberating group members from injustice (Sleeter, 1996). The use of critical pedagogical approaches (see chap. 1, this volume) and teaching strategies consistent with learning styles valued by many members of specific groups is embedded in this approach. For example, Afrocentric teaching strategies may be used to maximize African American students' learning, and feminist pedagogy strategies may be used to support girls' and women's learning.

Multicultural Education Approach

Advocates of this approach use the phrase *multicultural education* to describe methods that promote human rights, social justice, equal opportunity, cultural diversity, and the equitable distribution of power for oppressed groups (Gollnick, 1980; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). The multicultural education perspective, which is among the most widely discussed approaches in the educational literature, calls for education that transforms mainstream America into a culturally pluralistic society in which all people have equal opportunity for success. Curriculum content is reorganized to incorporate knowledge of diverse American racial and ethnic groups, genders, and social classes. Those who endorse this model recommend the total reform of schooling for the benefit of all students. Teaching strategies associated with the single-studies, human relations, and teaching the culturally different approaches are relevant to this model.

Information about diverse groups is integrated throughout the curriculum to ensure that all subject matter is consistently taught from a multicultural perspective (Sleeter, 1999). Educators propose that all students should become bilingual and recommend changes in evaluation criteria and the decreased use of standardized testing. School personnel provide extracurricular activities that are equally accessible to all students regardless of gender, ethnicity, ability, or class, and parents and the community are encouraged to be involved in school life. Persons from diverse groups, rather than those

who reflect social hierarchies of power, are represented within the school staff and administration. This approach seeks to change school cultures and organizations so they represent and empower diverse groups of students.

Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist Education

Social reconstructionist educators not only endorse the multicultural education emphasis on changing the structure of American education but also seek to teach students about social justice and empower them as agents of change in society. The social reconstructionist approach supports a more radical restructuring of education and society than that proposed by the multicultural education perspective and deals more directly with issues of oppression, power structures, and social structural inequalities that reinforce oppression (Sleeter, 1996). Goals include (a) helping students become aware of issues and problems associated with injustice and inequality; (b) building students' commitment to expending the time and energy necessary to make a difference in the world; and (c) enhancing students' skills for enacting change through the use of communication and listening, information gathering, conflict resolution, and social action skills (Sapon-Shevin, 1999).

The ultimate goal of the social reconstructionist approach is increased democratic participation of students in a global society that is based on structural equality and cultural pluralism and is attentive to the intersections of race, gender, class, sexual orientation, and disability issues. Teaching about the knowledge construction process helps students (a) critically examine how knowledge generated by scientists is influenced by the cultural norms, biases, and worldviews of these experts and (b) challenge prevailing ideas (Banks, 1995).

Educators create learning environments in which students practice democratic principles by voicing opinions, working with others to solve problems or make decisions, and using power constructively. Also, students learn to analyze the circumstances of their lives, develop awareness about social justice and privilege, and generate adaptive responses to these circumstances. Students also develop social action skills and they learn to form coalitions among diverse groups to enact social change (Sleeter & Grant, 2003).

Comparisons Among Multicultural Education Approaches

Whereas the exceptional and culturally different approach involves helping students from underrepresented or nondominant groups to gain cognitive skills to enhance success in mainstream America, the human relations approach emphasizes the feelings and attitudes of individuals. The human relations approach helps individuals from diverse groups develop positive attitudes and skills for interacting with each other and can be referred to as an "I'm okay, you're okay" perspective (Grant & Sleeter, 2000). Both ap-

proaches focus on individual growth; neither approach focuses on exploring or challenging social power structures that support or reinforce cultural oppressions (Leistyna, 2002). Both approaches are mindful of the specific learning needs of those who have been marginalized (exceptional and culturally different) and highlight the necessity of prejudice reduction (human relations). These perspectives share many assumptions with the liberal feminist theories discussed in chapter 2. Cultural feminism, which seeks to revalue the specific learning styles of women, also resembles some aspects of these approaches.

The single-studies approach supports social change by challenging traditional knowledge bases, incorporating content that validates perspectives that are often excluded in traditional classrooms, raising the consciousness and increasing the sense of pride and empowerment of the identified group, and exposing students from dominant groups to perspectives of nondominant group members (Grant & Sleeter, 2000). The theoretical assumptions and pedagogical strategies associated with this approach resemble many of the assumptions and pedagogies of the women-of-color and lesbian and queer feminisms (see chap. 3, this volume).

The multicultural education and social reconstructionist approaches seek to transform education at all levels. Value is placed on ensuring equal opportunity as well as examining privilege and power structures that maintain the status quo and marginalize those from nondominant groups (Appelbaum, 2002; Nieto, 1999a). Both approaches are attentive to a wide range of social statuses such as race, gender, and sexual orientation. Whereas multicultural education advocates tend to consider diverse statuses as separate and overlapping social identities, social reconstructionist educators promote the examination of intersections among the multiple identities and view such exploration as crucial to understanding the complex dynamics of social identity and power. Exploring the hidden assumptions associated with the dominant statuses of Whiteness, middle-class status, and heterosexual privilege provides important information for developing positive social action alliances across groups (Leistyna, 2002).

Of the major multicultural approaches, the social reconstructionist approach is most closely aligned with the critical and liberation pedagogies discussed in chapter 1 and in the next section of this chapter. In addition, various strands within this approach are reflected in themes associated with the socialist, postmodern, and global feminisms (see chaps. 2 and 3, this volume).

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY, FEMINIST PEDAGOGY, AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

We turn to a discussion of the relationships between critical and feminist pedagogies and multicultural education. As mentioned in chapter 1, criti-

cal, multicultural, and liberation pedagogies are closely related to many of the multicultural education approaches, especially the single-group studies and multicultural and social reconstructionist approaches. These pedagogies emerged out of movements that focused on liberation from oppression or inequality and have been applied at various stages of education. In the following sections, we provide recent examples of critical pedagogy approaches and research that are relevant to adult literacy education, critical antiracist feminist pedagogy, and multicultural feminist pedagogies.

Critical Pedagogy and Literacy Education

In 1987, Henry Giroux characterized the research on literacy education in the United States as almost entirely connected to preparing workers for jobs that demand functional reading and writing skills or to efforts to indoctrinate the poor, underprivileged, or minorities into a dominant Western worldview. Both of these views, he argued, were disempowering and oppressive:

Critical theorists proposed a radical view of literacy that revolved around the need to identify and transform any existing or social conditions that served to undermine possibilities for the existence of community and public life organized around the imperatives of critical democracy. (Ball, 2000, p. 1007)

However, critics of critical pedagogy as applied to literacy argue that this approach lacks clarity in language and usefulness to educators (i.e., making links between the approach and actual teaching methods; Ellsworth, 1989; Johnston, 1999; Knight & Pearl, 2000).

More recently, attempts to increase linkages between critical theory and practice have been implemented. For example, using analysis of discourse and pedagogies, Arnetha Ball (2000) studied critical pedagogy within three literacy focused community-based classrooms taught by three African American women. The community-based classes consisted of two job-training programs that served predominantly African American students and an ethnocentric rites-of-passage program for African American females. Discourse analysis revealed that a sense of community, which is essential to implement critical pedagogy, was established via collaboration, negotiation, interactive discourse patterns, and the creation of opportunities for students to view themselves as knowledge sources and an important part of the community. Students were also exposed to multiple and diverse forms of oral and written literacy. These components are similar to aspects of social reconstructionist multicultural education approaches. Two central ideas emerged as keys to success. The first concept focused on self-perceptions of students. Teachers emphasized consciousness-raising and preparing students for the multiple roles they would play in society. Second, they assisted students in developing per-

sonal and group agency that facilitated their response to societal challenges with action. For example, one teacher encouraged students to become more conscious of the type of language used in the machinist industry and to take more control of the language they use in their everyday work situations.

Arnetha Ball (2000) contended that these teachers were able to create true multiculturally sensitive environments where dynamic constructions of knowledge occurred and students were able to consider alternative life opportunities. She also challenged teachers who seek to implement critical pedagogy in their classrooms to help students think of themselves as problem solvers and critical thinkers instead of passive recipients of knowledge. Ball's research reveals that critical pedagogy from a social reconstructionist perspective holds promise for making connections between theory and practice.

Feminist Critical and Antiracist Pedagogy

In her work, bell hooks (1994) discussed the integration of feminist pedagogy and critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970, 1994b) and emphasized the need for pedagogical practices that promote mutual participation and critical thinking among both teachers and students. Critical feminist pedagogy cannot focus only on gender but must also incorporate the experiences of racism faced by women of color. A true feminist classroom seeks to provide safety for women of color who desire to express their concerns about feminism and evaluate it critically but also helps them "deal with sexism and racism," develop "important strategies for survival and resistance" (hooks, 1994, p. 118), and share these strategies within classrooms and communities of color.

More recently, Susan Sánchez-Casal and Amie Macdonald (2002) proposed that feminist teachers have tended to use information about intersecting social identities (e.g., race, class, and sexual orientation) to explain the dynamics of oppression but not to transform feminist teaching. Their feminist antiracist model is informed by realist identity theory, which is based on the idea that students' identities are shaped by various social constructs (e.g., race, class, and sexual orientation) and that the dynamics of how these operate in the real world also manifest in the classroom.

Therefore, the feminist antiracist model assumes that through classroom sharing, students can learn that oppression is associated with real consequences and is also mediated by a variety of potentially contradictory experiences and social locations that are sometimes associated with privilege and sometimes associated with oppression. Class discussion of personal experience yields crucial information. However, it is also "misguided to maintain that an individual making a personal testimony has private, privileged, and conclusive . . . knowledge that is derived from and conferred from that experience" (Macdonald, 2002, p. 125). Thus, dialogue about difference becomes a central focus of pedagogy and leads to discussions about how realities and

identities shift across situations within and outside the classroom. Strategies similar to those advocated in critical pedagogical approaches are used to meet the goals of “decentering the authority of the professor, developing and foregrounding subjugated knowledges, legitimizing personal identity and experience (especially marginalized identities and experiences), discussion-based classes, and an emphasis on student voice” (Sánchez-Casal & Macdonald, p. 4).

When feminist antiracist pedagogy is anchored in realist identity theory, educators engage students’ perceptions and evaluations of power relations and construct a learning community that not only challenges reactionary thinking of students from the dominant culture but also allows students of color to discuss their experiences without “falsely imbuing them with uncontested epistemic authority” (Sánchez-Casal & Macdonald, 2002, p. 5) or expecting them to act as experts who speak for “their people.” Reframing feminist teaching through realist identity theory provides “a coherent context for developing pedagogies that account for the complex networks of privilege and oppression that structure all our identities” (Sánchez-Casal & Macdonald, 2002, p. 5). Bonnie Moradi (2002) described how she encourages students to understand these complex networks of privilege and oppression by role-playing or shadowing a woman who is different from the student in terms of age, ability status, religion, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or pregnancy. Class members write a paper about the experience, addressing differences in privilege, status, and how women are treated because of differences. This exercise brings “the intellectual discussion of diversity home to a personal experience of power, privilege, and life experience” (Moradi, p. 8).

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND TEACHER TRAINING

We now turn to the multicultural education literature on teacher training, which is an especially important topic in light of the gaps between theory and practice that have been observed. Christine Bennett’s (2001) review of research on multicultural education concluded that there is little evidence that demonstrates the influence of kindergarten through Grade 12 (K–12) multicultural curriculum reform. In addition, a gap exists between the multicultural curriculum theories described earlier in this chapter and pedagogical practice. For example, studies demonstrate that K–12 teachers use bias and stereotype reduction and discuss multiple perspectives in history but do not focus on social action and curriculum transformation (C. Bennett, 2001). These findings point to the importance of preparing educators for effective multicultural teaching; thus, proponents of multicultural education have recently turned their attention from a sole focus on the multicultural education of students to the preparation of teachers who implement multicultural curricula. Specifically, numerous authors call for changes in

multicultural training within colleges of education (Goodman, 2000; Grant & Wieczorek, 2000; Obidah, 2000; B. G. Wallace, 2000).

Multicultural teacher education has evolved through three distinct phases of exclusion, inclusion, and infusion (Goodwin, 1997). Colleges of education have recently implemented infusion perspectives, which focus on preparing teachers to be multicultural in both practice and perspective. Although current models of multicultural training hold promise for meeting the goal of ending oppression of all members of society (B. G. Wallace, 2000), additional improvements need to place greater emphasis on (a) linguistic diversity, (b) gay and lesbian parenting and sexual orientation issues, (c) disability issues, and (d) spirituality. Graduate programs are also advised to pursue the goal of organizational multicultural competence, a call that echoes Sue et al.'s (1998) recommendations that graduate schools of education "engage in an institutional audit of programs, policies, and practices, as part of determining whether the organization is appropriately pursuing multicultural development" (B. G. Wallace, 2000, p. 1105–1106).

Discussions about increasing teacher competency often emphasize improving the quality of teachers by attracting the "best and the brightest," or infusing subject matter knowledge into teacher training and then testing acquisition of this knowledge (Grant & Wieczorek, 2000). Training also needs to promote teachers' ability to question "the effects of social, cultural, and historical movements as well as power relationships" (Grant & Wieczorek, p. 913) that influence the nature and scope of knowledge that is considered important. Carl Grant and Kim Wieczorek advocated the practice of social mooring to facilitate critical reflection about how one's knowledge is influenced by social, cultural, institutional, and political contextual aspects and to use personal reflections to inform pedagogical practice. Social mooring calls on teachers to "enlarge the frames' [of relevance] within which we view and discuss problems and issues" (p. 914) by moving beyond the content driven system of multicultural education to a systematic critical analysis of the construction of knowledge. The goal is to "help teacher educators and their students to see where ideas come from in terms of race, class, gender, and power relations" (Grant & Wieczorek, 2000, p. 925).

Louise Jennings and Cynthia Smith (2002) used two case studies to demonstrate how critical inquiry and problem posing can be used to "burrow into the foundations, ideologies, and deeper meanings of things otherwise taken for granted" (p. 458). Similar to social mooring, elements of critical inquiry include (a) examining existing assumptions and knowledge, (b) gaining and creating new information, (c) acquiring new perspectives, (d) engaging in critical analysis, (e) sharing one's learning with classmates, and (f) implementing multicultural and diversity plans in classrooms.

The first case study described how critical pedagogy helped 14 teachers transform their practices from "tourist" approaches to more comprehensive understandings of multicultural education. Analysis of students' writing re-

vealed movement from viewing multicultural education as a passive information giving process to one in which students develop responsibility for their own learning. The second case study described the long-term impact of training on a teacher's multicultural practice. This teacher used critical inquiry practice to design a history unit that included antibias curriculum materials and helped students understand history in a sociopolitical context. She also critically investigated her teaching practices in a social, political, and historical context. For two years, this teacher corresponded with the former multicultural education instructor and consistently engaged in dialogue about implementing critical inquiry and multicultural practices. Jennings and Smith (2002) concluded that "multicultural teacher education needs to include but extend beyond particular courses to more expanded venues that provide opportunities for collaboration and critical reflection in action over time" (p. 456).

CONTRIBUTIONS, CHALLENGES, AND LIMITATIONS OF THE MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION LITERATURE

Multicultural Approaches and Critical Pedagogy

Our discussion of the multicultural education literature reveals a variety of important contributions. The exceptional and culturally different approach is designed to help individuals acquire skills for survival in mainstream society; the human relations approach promotes prejudice reduction by focusing on respect, communication, and improving relationships; and the single-studies group approach emphasizes education about and from the perspective of specific oppressed groups (e.g., African American). The multicultural education approach promotes cultural diversity and the equitable distribution of power within and beyond the classroom, and the social reconstructionist approach advocates social justice, the overhauling of American schools, and the empowerment of students as social change agents.

Educators who seek social transformation rather than individual empowerment alone are likely to find the single-group studies, multicultural education, and social reconstructionist approaches to be the most informative and useful. In general, the multicultural education literature offers insights about (a) changing educational systems, (b) creating more effective instructional methods, (c) improving the evaluation process, (d) ensuring that the experiences and cultures of all students are included in educational content, (e) paying attention to the process as well as content of teaching, (f) promoting an appreciation of difference through diversity training, and (g) developing methods and models that empower students.

As noted earlier in this chapter, multicultural education approaches are sometimes interpreted or applied in superficial ways and can resemble a



tourist or “voyeuristic” approach to multicultural knowledge. When multicultural education is reduced to information about the “holidays and heroes” of persons from diverse cultural backgrounds, stereotypes may be reinforced or students may gain limited knowledge about contributions of these groups or the consequences of oppression in their lives. Multicultural educators also face the challenge of deciding whether to teach about aspects of multicultural experience in specific modules that focus on specific oppressions such as racism, sexism, or heterosexism or to address these “isms” in an integrative manner (Adams et al., 1997). Whereas some educators believe that speaking to these issues simultaneously may dilute attention needed to understand a specific issue or group, others believe that when efforts to integrate these issues are not present, multicultural education is interpreted narrowly as education about race and ethnicity, and concerns related to disability, sexual orientation, and class may be minimized.

Critical theory and related multicultural approaches have sometimes been criticized as providing a utopian, idealistic, and impractical perspective about the possibility that students can transcend their oppression and enact social change. In addition, theoretical perspectives are sometimes inadequately linked to the practice of teaching (Ball, 2000; C. Bennett, 2001; Grant & Wieczorek, 2000); training for implementing critical pedagogies is sometimes limited (Jennings & Smith, 2002); and assessment of the effectiveness of multicultural methods may be inadequate. Finally, multicultural content is sometimes confined to a specific course or module rather than integrated into a sequence of activities or venues over time (Jennings & Smith, 2002).

Teacher Preparation

Despite the limitations addressed previously, the multicultural education literature is increasingly attentive to the ways in which teachers and school personnel are trained. The teacher-training literature advocates reforms regarding how issues of diversity are addressed within graduate programs in education. First, this literature proposes that understanding multiple diversities is critical and supports the infusion of multiculturalism across the curriculum rather than requiring a “catch all” course on diversity. Second, colleges of education are encouraged to evaluate their organizations’ programs, policies, and practices to ensure that they are promoting the multicultural competence of faculty and students as well as supporting and graduating diverse groups of students from their programs. Third, colleges of education need to help students examine the dynamic construction of knowledge and critically evaluate knowledge within a historical, political, cultural, and social context. Finally, it is important to train teachers and school personnel to carry a commitment to social advocacy throughout their careers. Therefore, it is necessary to examine whether current teaching practices support an atmosphere in which students can think critically about social justice

issues and learn how to be change agents in a culturally pluralistic democratic society.

Class Issues

Although multicultural education approaches provide a solid foundation for understanding ethnic and cultural diversity, dialogue about the intersection between race and class issues has been noticeably absent from this literature. Class is often referred to as an important consideration in the dynamics of privilege and oppression, but little in-depth discussion is devoted to the subject. Furthermore, this literature rarely addresses specific ways in which teachers may introduce the subject of economic and class oppression into the curriculum.

One notable exception is Sonia Nieto's (1999a) application of Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theories to culture and learning. Pierre Bourdieu (1990) introduced the importance of social and cultural capital, noting that money or economic capital alone does not determine a person's social standing. Social structure is also influenced by acquired tastes, values, language (cultural capital), and social networks and obligations (social capital). Nieto noted the following:

Most schools are organized to reflect the cultural capital of privileged social and cultural groups; in the United States that group is middle-class or upper class, English speaking Whites. As a result of their identity, some children arrive at the schoolhouse door with a built-in-privilege because they have learned this cultural capital primarily in the same way as they have learned to walk, that is, unconsciously and effortlessly. (p. 55)

Nieto (1999a) highlighted the importance of understanding the impact of class issues on students and their learning styles as well as the inherent classism that exists in current pedagogical approaches. When schools are organized to reflect the cultural capital of upper- and middle-class individuals, educational structures automatically set up classroom environments that may limit the achievement of persons from lower-social-class backgrounds.

Contemporary socialist feminist writings have made significant contributions to the understanding of gender politics and social class, and these writings may enhance a multicultural feminist pedagogy that is attentive to class issues. As Carolyn Enns (1997) pointed out in the following:

Contemporary socialist feminists believe that Marxist analyses are useful for articulating the material or economic ways in which women are oppressed under capitalism. The role of work and economic exploitation and its relationship to alienation and estrangement is a central emphasis. (p. 67)

Furthermore, social feminists known as dual-systems theorists have argued that capitalism, patriarchy, and other forms of oppression are "impos-

sible to separate and must be analyzed simultaneously to understand the various ways in which the oppression of women operates in various contexts and cultures” (Enns, 1997, p. 69). The emphasis on understanding gender politics and classism is a unique contribution of the feminist literature that can be used to enhance multicultural education and critical pedagogical approaches.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR A PEDAGOGY THAT IS FEMINIST AND MULTICULTURAL

One of the major overarching messages of the field of multicultural education and critical pedagogical approaches is the importance of paying special attention to how we teach about diversity as well as what we teach about diversity. These perspectives also remind all educators of the importance of total reform of the curriculum and the institutional structures, policies, and practices. Specifically, multicultural education advocates raise questions about how students are evaluated and propose that bilingual competence should be encouraged for all students.

Feminist theories have long acknowledged that “the personal is political,” which reinforces their affinity to multicultural approaches that call for social change and the critique of institutional policies and practices. One of the major contributions of a social reconstructionist perspective is its reminder to attend to the complex intersections of race, gender, class, sexual orientation, and disability issues. Both critical pedagogy and social reconstructionist approaches highlight the importance of understanding the dynamics of privilege and oppression and empowering students to see themselves as agents of change. Similarly, the feminist pedagogy literature increasingly emphasizes the centrality of understanding privilege and power differences among women and using approaches that empower students to understand diversity issues in the context of their own experiences (Sánchez-Casal & Macdonald, 2002).

Both the multicultural education and the social reconstructionist literatures remind educators to attend to how power relationships operate in society as well as in the classroom and encourage educators to embrace a system of bidirectional learning. Similarly, one of the underlying principles of feminist scholarship and practice involves changing ways in which power is used in institutional, political, and social relationships and embracing collaborative systems of power. These approaches remind educators that collaborative relationships between teachers and students are integral aspects of multicultural and feminist pedagogy.

The multicultural education and critical pedagogy literature is vast and impressive. As stated in chapter 1, significant integration of feminist and critical perspectives on pedagogy has already occurred, and examples of this

can be seen by the influence Freire's writings have had on the theories and pedagogical ideas of many feminist educators (e.g., hooks, 1994). Future multicultural feminist pedagogies will only be viable and effective if educators focus consistently on the multiple intersections of identity and sources of oppression. As stated in chapter 1, the goals of a feminist multicultural pedagogy are to explore the intersections, fluidity, borders, and boundaries among identities. Multicultural and critical pedagogical approaches can play an important role in advancing the exploration and understanding of identities within a feminist multicultural pedagogy and in moving us toward meeting this goal.