

## A framework to improve teaching in multicultural contexts

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### **Abstract**

Teachers in multicultural contexts often have difficulty teaching their diverse students. Multicultural education theorists have advanced frameworks for reforming classroom teaching; one of the most widely used is Banks's (2013) five dimensions of multicultural education. Research supports the connection between these five dimensions and student learning, particularly integrating knowledge from students' cultural backgrounds into academic content, using pedagogy that is culturally responsive to students, and addressing stereotypes about diverse groups. Research confirms that a culturally inclusive curriculum, taught to high expectations and through trusting teacher-student relationships, improves students' academic achievement. This paper addresses how teachers can learn to use these dimensions, using a planning framework that has been shown to improve curriculum planning and teaching (Sleeter & Flores Carmona, 2017). After expanding on this framework and its research foundations, this paper will illustrate a teacher learning to use it through a case study of Angela, a second-year elementary teacher.

**Keywords:** multicultural contexts; cultural inclusion; curriculum planning.

## Концепция улучшения процессов обучения в мультикультурных контекстах

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### **Аннотация**

Учителя часто испытывают сложности при работе в мультикультурных условиях. Ученые, работающие в области мультикультурного образования, исследуют возможности его усовершенствования. Одним из наиболее распространенных теоретических положений в данной области является концепция Бэнкса (Banks, 2013) о пяти измерениях мультикультурного образования. Эмпирические исследования подтверждают наличие связи между выделенными пятью измерениями и обучением школьников, особенно подчёркивается важность интеграции в учебный процесс культурного опыта школьников и использования таких приемов преподавания, которые могут быть адаптированы к нуждам обучающихся. Исследования подтверждают, что академические успехи обучающихся улучшаются в ходе реализации культурно-инклюзивного учебного плана, который сочетает высокие ожидания и прочные доверительные отношения обучающихся и учителя. Данная статья посвящена тому, как учителя могут использовать концепцию пяти измерений путем применения рамки планирования, которая уже доказала свою образовательную эффективность, и учебного плана (Sleeter & Flores Carmona, 2017). Кроме того, в статье обоснованно дорабатывается существующая рамка, рассматривается процесс повышения квалификации учителей на примере кейса учителя начальных классов Ангелы.

**Ключевые слова:** мультикультурный контекст; культурная инклюзия; планирование учебного процесса.

Teachers in multicultural contexts often experience difficulty teaching their diverse students. To grapple with an approach to addressing this problem, this paper works with four of James Banks's (2013) five dimensions of multicultural education: 1) *Content integration* – “the infusion of ethnic and cultural content into the subject area” (p. 10); 2) *Knowledge construction process* – teaching students examine how knowledge is constructed; 3) *Equity pedagogy* – teaching strategies that build on how a one's students learn best; 4) *Prejudice reduction* – helping students develop positive attitudes toward diverse groups. (Banks' fifth dimension, *empowering school culture*, is not used in this paper because it does not relate directly to what teachers do in the classroom.)

After briefly explaining why it is important to attend to culture in classroom teaching, this paper synthesizes research support for Banks' dimensions, then connects them to a planning framework developed and used by the author (Sleeter & Flores Carmona, 2017). This paper illustrates its use with a case study of a new teacher, and concludes with implications for teacher education.

### **Why attend to culture in classroom teaching?**

In the U.S., educators' interest in culture, curriculum and pedagogy was prompted when schools were desegregated during the late 1960s and 1970s, and it became apparent that most White teachers had little knowledge of students from African American, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and American Indian families. Commonly teachers tried to teach as though the students were like themselves, but with the belief that the students' academic ability and support from home was limited. Teachers had little awareness of themselves as cultural beings, and regarded homes in minority communities as “culturally deprived.” When students did not respond well, teachers regarded their poor academic performance as evidence of their lack of culture and inability to learn.

In response, African American, Puerto Rican, and Mexican American researchers began to offer a counter perspective: that the students were perfectly capable of learning and came from culturally-rich contexts, but the teachers' expectations, pedagogy, and curriculum hindered their learning. Ladson-Billings (1995), for example, identified eight highly successful teachers of African American students, spent time in the teachers' classrooms gathering data about what they were doing, then collaborated with the teachers to identify core features of their pedagogy. She found that the teachers (whether African American or not) saw themselves as members of students' communities and linked teaching with students' community-based knowledge. Their pedagogy shared three dimensions: the teachers persistently supported students to reach high academic expectations; they acted on cultural competence by reshaping curriculum, building on knowledge students brought from home, and establishing relationships with students and their families; and they cultivated students' critical consciousness about power relations, particularly racism.

Similarly, Irizarry and Raible (2011) studied ten teachers who were identified as exemplary with Latino (Mexican American and Puerto Rican) students. Like Ladson-Billings' teachers, their primary source of learning was extended engagement with the local Latino community, particularly by building relationships with the students and their families. The teachers became familiar with local cultural knowledge and resources, which they regularly brought into the classroom. They took seriously the impact of racism on students' lives, and viewed school as a useful place to learn more about it and what they could do about it.

The standard curriculum marginalizes knowledge of racial and ethnic minority groups. While experienced teachers generally use a wide variety of materials, new teachers rely on textbooks (Grossman & Thompson, 2008). In the U.S., textbooks have

been analyzed since schools were desegregated, using various methods to determine how and how much diverse groups appear. An easy method of analysis is to count people in pictures, people named for study, or main characters in stories, by race and sex (Grant & Sleeter, 2009, pp. 128-134). A more complex method is to compare treatment of ideas, events, or people in textbooks with those in ethnic studies literature.

Compared with other racial/ethnic groups White people continue to receive the most attention in textbooks, appearing in the widest variety of roles and dominating story lines and lists of accomplishments in textbooks. Whites are also by far the main authors and illustrators of children's reading series (Buescher, Lightner, & Kelly, 2016). While treatment of racial minority groups has improved over time, White perspectives still predominate. African Americans appear in a limited range of roles, and appear episodically rather than within a larger narrative of African American experiences (Alridge, 2006; Brown & Brown, 2010; Pelligrino, Mann & Russell, 2013). Only a very small proportion of social studies texts' sentences deal with Latinos (Noboa, 2005), even though Latino students are now about one-fourth of the U.S. student population. Literature texts include a limited range of Latino authors and still draw on stereotypes (Rojas, 2010). American Indians continue to be greatly underrepresented, oversimplified and located in the past (Sanchez, 2007; Stanton, 2014). Asian Americans and Arab Americans make only limited and often stereotyped appearances (Romanowski, 2000).

The problem with conventional pedagogy is that it places teachers in a position of delivering information to students didactically rather than interactively, and it places students in a passive role of consuming information teachers deliver. In this kind of pedagogical relationship, teachers do not become very familiar with what their students know and how they approach learning. This approach to pedagogy is particularly limiting when teachers believe their students do not know much and have limited academic learning capability. In the U.S., teachers commonly see students who are White and Asian as more teachable than students who are Black and Latino, and students of middle- or upper-class backgrounds as more teachable than those from lower-class backgrounds. Teachers justify their expectations on the basis of student behavior (Minor, 2014), family background, and community context, particularly teachers' beliefs about the extent to which parents value education (Gay, 2010; Hauser-Cram, Sirin, & Stipek, 2003; Lynn, Bacon, Totton, Bridges, & Jennings, 2010; Ready & Wright, 2011; Warren, 2002).

These kinds of curriculum and pedagogical patterns impact on culturally diverse students negatively. Several studies have found that many African American and Latino students, particularly as they get older, disengage from a curriculum in which people like themselves are marginalized or invisible. Students learn to distrust school when what it teaches clashes with what they learn at home and in their communities (Epstein, 2009). Many simply experience school as boring or alienating (Harris & Reynolds, 2014; Ochoa, 2007; Wiggan, 2007), or tire of mainly studying White people (Ford & Harris, 2000). But teachers commonly attribute students' engagement and achievement in the classroom to their home backgrounds and lives outside school rather than what happens in the classroom.

### **Impact of culturally responsive curriculum and pedagogy**

Research finds a positive impact on students when teachers work with Banks' dimensions of multicultural education. Content that integrates knowledge from students' cultural backgrounds engages them academically, enables them to bring into the classroom and use what they know, and fosters students' sense of personal empowerment (e.g., Copenhaver, 2001; Halagao, 2010). A curriculum that builds on students' cultural and community-based knowledge and frames of reference, and that situates academic

concepts at least partially within the intellectual knowledge produced by racial and ethnic communities of which students are members, makes a positive impact on students, particularly when teachers' academic expectations are high (Sleeter, 2011). In addition, research finds curriculum that speaks to students' questions and stereotypes about diverse groups, including groups that may be scapegoated (such as Muslims or refugees), or that analyzes how discrimination works and how people can address it, can reduce prejudice toward people who are different from oneself (Klepper, 2014; Turner & Brown, 2008).

For example, the San Francisco Unified School District Board of Education authorized a ninth grade social studies course that was created from perspectives of racial minority scholarship. The course was piloted in five high schools that have very diverse student populations. Using regression discontinuity design, Dee and Penner (2017) evaluated the impact of the course on 5 cohorts of ninth grade students in 3 of the pilot high schools, using data on student Grade Point Average (GPA), attendance, and credits earned toward graduation. After controlling for several variables (such as students' entering grade point average and measures of teacher effectiveness), their "results indicate that assignment to this course increased ninth-grade student attendance by 21 percentage points, GPA by 1.4 grade points, and credits earned by 23" (p. 18). In other words, the students responded very well; participation in the course increased their overall academic achievement and school attendance.

Equity pedagogy refers to the use of teaching processes that capitalize on how one's own students learn and enable them to achieve at high levels. Gutierrez and Rogoff (2003) explain that everyone learns repertoires of strategies for participating in learning activities, but since people grow up and live in different cultural contexts, children do not come into school having learned to use identical strategies. Teachers can learn to observe and talk with their students about their learning, but should not simply assume that they learn a certain way because of who they are. Hattie (2009), based on a meta-analysis of studies of teaching and learning, found that students generally achieve best in "person-centered" classrooms in which there is considerable ongoing engagement and interaction.

An example of research linking this sociocultural approach to equity pedagogy with student achievement is research on the Five Standards for Effective Pedagogy. The Five Standards include: 1) facilitating learning through conversations with students about their work, 2) developing language and literacy across the curriculum, 3) connecting new information with what students already know from home and community contexts, 4) promoting complex thinking, and 5) teaching through dialog. Studies have found improved student achievement when teachers of culturally diverse students use these standards (Hilberg, Tharp & DeGeest, 2000; Doherty, et al., 2003).

### **Challenges of moving beyond superficial add-ons**

Numerous examples and resources illustrate curriculum and pedagogy that respond to students culturally in various subject areas, even science (e.g., Atwater, 2010; Smith & Cardenas, 2012) and math (e.g., Gutstein & Peterson, 2013; Leonard, et al., 2010). But teachers do not automatically figure out how to create and teach in a culturally responsive way. Commonly, teachers' attempts to do so are what James Banks (1999) refers to as add-ons: *contributions* of ethnic content largely limited to holidays and heroes, and *additions* of concepts and themes to otherwise traditional lessons, units, and courses of study. Many do not link this work with holding high academic expectations for students.

Chan (2007) offers an example in her analysis of a diverse middle school's attempts to incorporate ethnic diversity. The teacher of a "family studies lesson" asked a diverse group of students what they eat at home in order to link familiar foods with cooking terms. Several students readily shared that they eat pizza, French fries, and spaghetti.

But others refused to participate, probably fearing subjecting their home foods to peer ridicule. In this example, the teacher assumed students would share their home menus, which some students were reluctant to do because they feared being teased. In addition, while many teachers begin working with culture by connecting it with foods, doing this does not improve the teaching of core academic knowledge.

The problem with add-ons such as these is that they maintain dominant (White) ways of seeing, teaching, and understanding, while giving the illusion of inclusivity. Such a lesson has no connection with academics, and even if the teacher talks with students about something that relates to them culturally, doing so does not necessarily improve their pedagogy or raise their academic expectations.

For a long time, as the author worked with teacher candidates and teachers, she saw many create lessons like the one above, and too few moving beyond superficial approaches to working with diversity in their teaching. Then, while helping university faculty members learn to incorporate ethnic and women's studies content into their course syllabi, She realized She had been using too broad of a brushstroke with teacher candidates and novice teachers. Unlike the process that was being used with university faculty members, she had not been asking teachers to begin with a manageable core concept, and a focused research and planning process connected with that concept.

### Framework for planning curriculum and pedagogy

While teaching a graduate course for certified teachers, a framework was developed that resulted in much improved curriculum planning and teaching (Sleeter & Flores Carmona, 2017). The framework is illustrated in Figure 1. Although this is described in linear fashion, working with it is interactive in that realizations in one element of the framework often have implications for other elements.

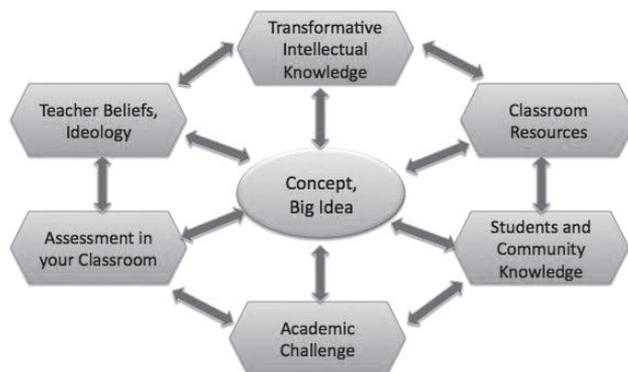


Fig 1. Framework for Multicultural Curriculum Design

Teachers begin by identifying central “enduring understandings” they plan to teach, using the concept of “backward design” (Wiggins & McTighe 2005). Wiggins and McTighe (2005) defined *enduring understandings* as “the big ideas that have lasting value beyond the classroom;” they are “central to a discipline and are transferable to new situations” (p. 342). Backward design refers to a planning process that begins with identification of enduring understandings and what it looks like when students demonstrate their understanding. After doing this, the teacher sets out to figure out what kinds of curriculum and experiences will enable student to acquire each enduring understanding and demonstrate their new knowledge.

This is a very useful beginning because it forces teachers to analyze their curriculum – their standards, their textbooks, their scope and sequence – to figure out exactly what they intend students to gain from instruction. Backward design moves teachers from thinking about what content to cover, to considering student learning. (For many teachers, especially beginners, making this shift in thinking takes time and work). In the process of curriculum analysis, teachers usually discover flexibility they did not know they had.

With an eye on student learning rather than content coverage, we can now ask what content and experiences will best engage their students in learning. To do this, teachers are worked through each of the elements depicted in Figure 1.

Classroom-based, democratized assessment – which does not necessarily mean testing, although tests might be part of the process – gives both teachers and students feedback on learning, and allows students to show what they know and can do. Wiggins and McTighe ask teachers to visualize what it “looks like” when students have learned a concept. Creating a rubric is a useful way of clarifying what a teacher is looking for, what differentiates degrees of quality learning, how to communicate expectations to students, and how to guide performances that “need more work.” Assessment is culturally responsive when it uses tasks, test items and/or evaluation criteria that relate to the experiences, point of view, and language of the students whose learning is being assessed (Hood 1998).

Transformative intellectual knowledge refers to the “concepts, paradigms and themes” that emerged through burgeoning critical traditions of scholarship in ethnic studies, women’s studies (Banks 1993, p. 9), disability studies, and Queer studies. Teachers investigate transformative intellectual knowledge that relates directly to the central concept of the lesson(s) they are planning. They are asked to read intellectual knowledge produced by one historically marginalized group in relationship to that concept; they usually need guidance identifying what to read. They complete a short paper that not only outlines content they can include in the lesson(s), but also examines the perspective in the literature about the core concept itself. For example, a kindergarten teacher who began designing a series of reading lessons around the concept of grandparents reframed the concept as “elders” after reading Mexican American literature about the family. In class, she explained that Mexican American and African American perspectives about the family had prompted her to wonder why racial minority communities seem to value the wisdom of older people while white communities tend to devalue what older people know, a differential valuation reflected in the terms “elder” versus “elderly.”

Teachers investigate knowledge their students bring to school from home and community, then organize their lessons in such a way that students will be able to activate and use that knowledge. Teachers can learn more about what their students know through a variety of processes. When teaching preservice teachers, the author asks them to work in community organizations over the semester and complete various guided activities for learning more about the context of students’ lives. Full-time teachers who may lack the time for community-based learning can interview a small number of their students, asking what they already know, or believe they know, about the main idea the teacher plans to teach, and how they might learn about this idea best. Usually such interviews reveal a combination of inaccurate assumptions, questions students would like to explore, and prior knowledge the teacher can build on.

Academic challenge refers to the extent to which the lesson or unit challenges students intellectually. Given the pervasive under-teaching of African American, Latino, and American Indian students as well as students from low-income communities, Teachers are engaged in interrogating their own expectations of their students. Bloom’s Taxonomy is used as a tool to analyze curriculum in schools where they work. Lessons they develop

are expected to build in enabling strategies such as modeling and scaffolding, aiming as though preparing their students for university.

Throughout, teachers are challenged to examine their beliefs about several related dimensions of teaching: their curriculum, their students, their favorite or most familiar teaching strategies, and so forth. Since teachers bring into the classroom beliefs they have developed throughout their lives, particularly during the time they have spent as students in classrooms, it is important to engage them in articulating and reflecting on their beliefs in relationship to students they are teaching. For example, many teachers are accustomed to working by themselves in class, and assume that working alone is the best way to learn. Their students, however, may not share that assumption. To find out how students see things, teachers can ask students about their preferences, beliefs, or experiences. The point is not for teachers to simply discard their beliefs, but rather to make them visible and to consider beliefs that might need to be broadened or made more flexible.

### **Case study of a novice teacher**

Elsewhere, I report in some detail a case study of Ann, a second-year teacher in my Multicultural Curriculum Design course (Sleeter, 2009). Here, I share a shortened version to illustrate a teacher learning to improve her teaching. Ann taught fifth grade in a school that served a low-income community; the student population was highly racially and ethnically diverse.

On the first day of my course, I asked teachers to write their definition of curriculum. Ann wrote, "Curriculum is what the teacher is required to teach to the students." About 3 weeks later, I had them write about the extent to which their curriculum is determined by authorities such as the state and about any concerns that they might have about what they are expected to teach. Ann wrote,

I have concerns with teaching the history textbook content. As a public school teacher, though, you really can't go outside of your prescribed literature and academic standards. So, I believe at this moment that it is my job as a teacher to try and guide the students to question and look at the text differently than what they read in the chapter. . . . So, the dilemma is how to tactfully incorporate other multicultural views in a school-adopted textbook and be able to cover all the standards the state and government expects of you at the same time.

Ann's response is common to how teacher candidates and novice teachers view curriculum, particularly in a high-stakes testing environment. As Ann's written response demonstrated, she viewed the textbook *as* the curriculum.

Early in the semester, I guided teachers in analyzing epistemological assumptions in various curriculum documents, such as curriculum standards and school reform proposals; I also had them analyze one of the textbooks from their classrooms, using the Grant and Sleeter (2009) textbook analysis instrument. Ann elected to analyze her social studies textbook. As she explained later, this analysis caused her to realize that,

History is told overwhelmingly in the white European male perspective. . . . The history text teaches the story of American history as "We the People" as a succession. All the chapters . . . are never rethought after colonization. . . . The broader ideology that is being supported in the text is that it is natural for Europeans to succeed prior races without accepting or studying their culture.

At about the same time, drawing on Wiggins & McTighe's work, I had the teachers identify a concept they could teach. Ann identified the Thirteen Colonies as a unit in U.S. history that she would be teaching in a couple of months, although that is too broad

to be an enduring understanding. Having become aware that her textbook virtually ignored American Indians and the impact of colonization on them, she decided to pursue colonization from American Indian perspectives. As she tried to narrow down an enduring understanding, initially she asked: What are American Indian perspectives on colonization? I advised that she continue to narrow her question down to a specific period, place, and tribe or nation.

When it came time to select transformative intellectual knowledge to read, Ann knew she needed to learn more about American Indian perspectives about U.S. history in general and colonization in particular, but she had no idea what to read and sought my advice. I suggested that she start with *Rethinking Columbus* (Bigelow & Peterson, 1998). She did, then elected to read *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (Loewen, 1995), *All our Relations* (LaDuke, 1999) and *Struggle for the Land* (Churchill, 2002). As she read, she gradually narrowed her focus to the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois), Wampanoag, and Pequot in Massachusetts during the late 17th century. She came to see that books by American Indian scholars present an opposing perspective from that in the school's history text, which for a time left her feeling a bit panicked about how to tackle her enduring understanding, given that she was planning a sequence of just three lessons.

To obtain student perspectives, she interviewed a few of her students, asking what they knew about American Indians and the history of colonization. She was surprised to discover that her students thought there are no American Indians left, and that they “knew very little about the colonization period of the United States. Looking at my student perspectives paper, the pieces of information that they did know were mostly filled [with] myth and false facts.» Along with her textbook analysis, the student interviews helped Ann to see that history, told from a perspective that excludes American Indians, implicitly taught that American Indians no longer exist. With this realization, Ann began to question her earlier assumption that a teacher's job is simply to teach what the state demands.

A pedagogical problem Ann was grappling with was how to involve her students in active learning without losing control of the class. In a written reflection, she wrote about her experiences using small-group activities:

The students did not respond to my group activities as well as when practiced in my student teaching. When given manipulatives in math, they were thrown sometimes. In language arts we worked in writing workshop groups, and more times than not there were disagreements and fights. The science experiments resulted in many referrals and suspensions.

Her mentor teacher told her she was trying to give the students too much freedom, “that this kind of population needs seatwork and a definite routine every day. . . . As a result, I backed off on these activities and have a whole class teaching method instead of learning centers.” But she realized that she gave up too easily, and was bothered by a pedagogy that silences culturally diverse students:

My theory on this is that students tend to talk out and voice expressions when interested in a certain subject matter. . . . I feel that some cultures need to be heard, literally, more than others. . . .Is this the type of teaching that I've adopted from my mentor, just silencing students that probably need to speak out? My dilemma here is how to have a classroom where students speak out, learn in different ways and in group settings, without having troublesome discipline problems.

Ann resolved her dilemma about how to frame an enduring understanding by using a teacher's suggestion to organize the lessons around a trial that juxtaposed how the

Wampanoag nation and the colonists used natural resources. The trial not only made use of opposing perspectives, it also offered a structure for active learning.

Once she figured out these things, Ann realized that she needed to learn a good deal more. She decided to base the trial on the Haudenosaunee Great Law of Peace and Good Mind (the Haudenosaunee were the League of the Iroquois Indian tribes). But it was not enough to know that the Handenosaunee had a well-developed democratic governmental and legal system; she also had to know something about its context and use. When the course was over, she commented on the amount of time it took her to research background material:

Just when I was planning this lesson, I went and spent another few hours finding those words and finding all the Native American names. . . . I spent time on Native American websites. And researching this is something I'm kind of interested in. I mean, I've looked up some different Native American beliefs and traditions just for my own personal knowledge.

I visited Ann's classroom while she was teaching the second and third lessons, and there saw her struggle with classroom control. The second lesson began with a highly unstructured activity in which Ann lost control of the class. She followed that activity with a highly controlled recitation session (her default teaching strategy, I realized – the one she brought with her based on years of having experienced it when she was a student). When she used that strategy, however, her concentration was clearly on managing behavior rather than on learning. The students seemed bored; the more bored they became, the more their behavior deteriorated, and the more “dumbed down” Ann's questions to them became.

But next day, the third lesson involved students role-playing the trial, and writing about what they believed would be the most fair resolution and why. Ann had planned a highly engaging, active, and interactive lesson. Gone was the poor behavior. When Ann and I debriefed, she did not immediately connect students' behavior with the extent to which she was challenging them academically as well as involving them in a carefully planned activity; through discussion, she gradually made that connection.

### **Implications for teacher education**

This essay suggests four implications for teacher preparation. First, it is very important to guide teachers in learning about themselves as cultural beings, and considering how their beliefs and prior experiences might shape their interactions with students who are culturally different from themselves. There are many ways this kind of learning can be approached.

A starting point I have used often is to ask teachers whether the numeral “8” has any cultural connotations. Usually they say it does not. Then I ask them to write down: 1) What time they would arrive for a job interview scheduled for 8:00 in the morning, 2) What time they would arrive for a party that starts at 8:00 in the evening, 3) What they think about people who arrive to events early, and 4) What they think about people who arrive late. Teachers' responses always prompt an interesting discussion because, contrary to their initial perception that numerals have no cultural connotations, all of them made decisions about how to respond to the number “8” based on what they believed was appropriate. Further, within every group of teachers I have worked with, interpretations of the appropriate arrival times varies, and their judgments about people who they saw as coming late or early were negative. This activity leads into a deeper analysis of self as a cultural being, and teacher as a cultural being in the classroom.

A second implication is helping teachers develop strategies to learn about and learn from the cultural context their students come from. Forming caring pedagogical relationships with students who are culturally different from oneself is one such strategy. Within the context of such relationships, teachers can learn to talk with and co-construct some of what happens in the classroom with their students. In the following example, a high school Maori student in New Zealand explains the value of teachers learning to do this:

And they can learn off us too, they need to find out what we know so they don't waste time teaching us things that we already have learned. I don't like that. They should try asking their students what they know and what they want to know and how do they like their learning to be. (Bishop, Ladwig, & Berryman, 2014, p. 195)

Teachers can learn additional strategies for exploring the backgrounds, experiences, and cultural context students bring into the classroom (strategies such as visiting neighborhoods students live in to identify cultural referents or interaction patterns people use). However, developing pedagogical relationships with students who differ from themselves is probably the most direct place to start.

Third, in order to select and integrate ethnic content into their curriculum, teachers need to learn that content themselves. With only a little bit of familiarity with the intellectual knowledge of cultural groups different from their own, teachers rarely get past superficial add-ons. With focused guidance on reading for depth related to a concept they can teach, as illustrated in the case study of Ann, teachers can learn to plan and teach a culturally responsive curriculum well. But I strongly recommend that teacher preparation programs require teacher candidates to complete at least one course in which they focus on the history or literature of a subordinate racial or ethnic group.

Last, teacher education should help teachers to see the relationship between offering students a curriculum and pedagogy that capitalizes on their life experiences and interests, and students' ability to excel intellectually. Deficit perspectives about minoritized students and students from low-income communities are so embedded that often teachers do not see this relationship. Ann, for example, did not make the connection between students' behavior and academic engagement, and how she was teaching, until I pushed her to consider that connection after observing her in the classroom.

In conclusion, while teachers in multicultural contexts often struggle to teach their diverse students, and usually bring unhelpful stereotypes and assumptions about pedagogy and about their students, teachers can learn to teach students well. Working teachers through the framework presented in this article is one way that has been found useful.

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