Arlington
Public
Schools

Goal: Culturally Responsive
Instruction
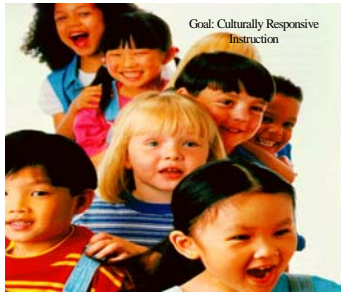
Cultural Competence Curriculum
Phase III
2009-2010

"Our words carry only so much weight. Our actions and our daily behaviors tell the true story."

Andrea Ayvazian

ARLINGTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

CULTURAL COMPETENCE INITIATIVE

Dr. Patrick K. Murphy, Superintendent

2009

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Dr. James Patton

and

Norma L. Day-Vines

Adapted for Arlington Public Schools

by

Dr. Alvin Crawley, Cheryl Robinson,

Dr. Suzanne Swendiman, Marty Swaim,

and Renee Harber

for the Council for Cultural Competence

Council for Cultural Competence

2009-10

Name	Department
1. Bourdouane, Gladis	School & Community Relations
2. Brickhouse, Andrea	Yorktown
3. Chodkiewicz, Joe	EAP
4. Cotman, Timothy	Office of Minority Achievement/Jefferson
5. Crawley, Dr. Alvin L.	Student Services
6. Devens, Miff	Extended Day
7. Gaston, Dr. Sharon	Drew
8. Holland, Susan	Jefferson
9. Jones-Byron, Marsha	Alternatives for Parenting Teens
10. Koch, Silvia	Intake Center
11. LaSalle, Madeline	Office of Minority Achievement/Gunston
12. Lucke-Jennings, Shelley	AEA Representative
13. Miranda, Edgar	Ashlawn
14. Myers, Dr. Aleta	Student Services
15. Reilly-McDonnell, Francesca	ESOL/HILT – Instruction
16. Robinson, Cheryl	Office of Minority Achievement
17. Rubio, Lourdes	Kenmore
18. Russo, Erin	Williamsburg
19. Sample, James	Office of Minority Achievement/Washington-Lee
20. Sarber, Dr. Sue	Office of Professional Development
21. Siegel, Dr. Jan	Student Services
22. Stash, David	Facilities
23. Stengle, Lisa	Planning and Evaluation
24. Swaim, Marty	Retired
25. Swendiman, Dr. Suzanne	Retired
26. Tien, Patrick	Personnel
27. Wagner, Heidi	Special Education
28. Word, Dr. John	Kenmore
29. Wright, Dr. Lynne	Taylor

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION III -KNOWLEDGE COMPETENCIES

SECTION IV SKILLS COMPETENCIES

SECTION V CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE TEACHING

SECTION VI JOURNALS

SECTION VII SELECTED READINGS

List of Illustrations

List of Tables

A FIELD GUIDE FOR FACILITATING CULTURAL COMPETENCE IN THE ARLINGTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

FORWARD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Arlington Public Schools is committed to developing a culturally competent workforce as a means to assuring that staff has the expertise, compassion, and skills to effectively educate all of its students. Cultural competence is defined as the attainment of attitudes, skills, knowledge and behaviors that enable staff and students to develop positive relationships and work effectively in cross cultural situations.

In 2002 a group of APS administrators and staff formed the Council for Cultural Competence to promote diversity in the workplace, examine the relationship between race and education, and develop culturally responsive teaching practices that prepare students to live and work in a diverse and changing world. The Council is comprised of representatives from the various employee groups to ensure that different points of view are represented.

The Council identified four goals in achieving its target: creating a school climate where tolerance and respect are encouraged and modeled so that everyone enjoys equitable opportunities for professional and personal fulfillment; providing and supporting programs that explore the experiences, perspectives and contributions of various cultures, groups and individuals; implementing policies and programs that address diversity-related topics and concerns; and providing sustained professional development on diversity-related topics. Most importantly, this work serves as a vehicle to eliminating gaps in achievement between student groups and supports the rising achievement of all students.

This manual supplements existing system-wide activities by serving as a guide for facilitators to engage staffs within schools and various departments in courageous conversations. It provides opportunities to develop practices based on data findings that lead to dramatic changes in the achievement of all students, particularly certain minority groups. Activities support each of the four Arlington Public Schools' Strategic Plan Goals.

Section I provides an overview and rationale for cultural competence. Definitions are provided to create a common language and mutual understanding for users. Section II displays models of cultural competence, awareness domain competencies and covers topics related to oppression, responding to racism and privilege. Section III explores racial identity models and culturally distinct groups. Section IV provides specific strategies for developing cultural competence, and Section V focuses on culturally responsive teaching practices. The guidebook contains training activities and readings that enhance participants' discussions on a variety of topics related to cultural competence.

For too long in American education, race has been a predictor of performance. For our society to achieve its highest aspirations, and for our country to succeed in a globally competitive environment, we must demonstrate culturally responsive behaviors that bring about fundamental changes in the way we teach and the way we treat one another. Our commitment to eliminating gaps in achievement requires us to develop and implement policies, practices and procedures that create a safe, supportive and equitable learning environment for each child. These curriculum materials, including related

activities, create pathways to helping us achieve academic excellence through the demonstration of culturally competent behaviors.

Arlington Public Schools would like to acknowledge the primary authors of this manual, Dr. James Patton and Norma L. Day-Vines, for their work in producing such a useful and timely document. We also appreciate the guidance of Vivian Stith, Program Coordinator, at the Virginia Department of Education for referring this body of work to us for use.

Arlington Public Schools
Cultural Competence Curriculum
2009-10

2005-2011 Strategic Plan Goals

GOAL 1
RISING ACHIEVEMENT
Ensure rising achievement for all students on standardized tests and other measures of performance that go beyond state and federal standards.

GOAL 2
ELIMINATE THE GAP
Eliminate gaps in Achievement among identified groups (Asian, Black, Hispanic, and low-income students, students with disabilities, and English language learners).

GOAL 3
RESPONSIVE EDUCATION
Prepare each student to succeed in a diverse, changing world through instruction and other school experiences responsive to each student's talents, interests, and challenges

GOAL 4
EFFECTIVE RELATIONSHIPS
Build effective relationships with parents and the community so that they know about and actively support the education of our students.

Adopted by the Arlington School Board 2005

Overarching Big Ideas/ Enduring Understandings

Participants will understand that…

- Courageous conversations about race and the impact of race on institutional structures are a first and necessary step in eliminating gaps in achievement

- Conversations about race should lead each of us to examine our work. We will discover what we do not know and what we need to know to assure that Black and Latino students succeed academically, socially and emotionally. As we use this new knowledge and practice, the quality of education for all students will increase.

- Our perceptions of others are expressed through communication, behaviors, and practices of relationship building. Each of these behaviors directly impacts student and adult ability to take risks, work hard, be resilient, and achieve.

Essential Questions:

- As a professional, what skills, knowledge, behaviors and attitudes do I need to be a culturally competent leader?

- How does race matter in the effective schooling of students?

- Is a high achieving school district truly high achieving if segments of the population consistently under perform?

- What educator behaviors support or undermine the academic, social, and emotional growth of students of color?

- What are the indicators that show we are experiencing success in eliminating racial gaps in achievement?

Participants will know that:

- Conversations about the impact of race on learning and achievement may not be comfortable but they are necessary to eliminate race as a predictor by 2011 in the Arlington Public Schools

- Culture and the lenses through which we see others impact our behaviors and our perceptions. Each of us must confront our own attitudes, values, and biases that influence student success

- Staff perception of race continues to be a factor in the achievement of students.

- In order to provide a responsive education, adults within the learning community must uncover and identify their personal attitudes related to the race, culture, and language experiences students bring to the classroom.

Participants will be able to:

- Practice courageous conversations about the impact of race on academic success

- Think about and plan how to use the knowledge gained for greater student success

- Identify culturally responsive behaviors that contribute to the success of all students and the elimination of the achievement gap

- Sustain conversations that will impact policies, practices, and procedures that eliminate race as a predictor of achievement in the Arlington Public Schools

Prior Knowledge and Skills Needed to Achieve Desired Outcomes

- Ability to work in teams

- Empathy/Caring

- Commitment—heart, spirit, and energy

- Desire for equity for all students

- Openness to change

- Willingness to follow steps for courageous and difficult conversations
  * To stay engaged
  * To speak your truth
  * To experience discomfort
  * To accept and expect non-closure

(Singleton & Linton 2002)

GUIDELINES for DIALOG

- Speak from your own experience. Use "I" language.

- Be present, listen, and respect others when they are talking.

- Practice timely attendance.

- Participate to your fullest ability--community growth depends on the inclusion of every individual voice.

- Always feel free to pass, to not speak or participate.

- Do not be afraid to respectfully challenge one another by asking questions, but refrain from personal attacks-- focus on ideas. Say I agree to disagree.

- Practice recognizing the difference between intent and impact. A person may not intend to hurt by what they say or do but, in fact, may have an impact that is real just the same. Deal with the impact.

- Speak from your own experience instead of generalizing ("I" instead of "you", "we" instead of "they"). Instead of invalidating somebody else's story with your own spin on their experience, share your own story and experience.

- Say "ouch" and explain the "ouch" when something doesn't sound or feel right. You may put it in the parking lot or talk it out now.

- Give "wait time" to all.

- The goal is not always to agree-- it is about hearing and exploring divergent perspectives.

- Take risks.

- Respecting confidentiality allow everyone to speak freely.

- Have fun.

➢ ➢ ➢ Overview and Rationale

The growing rate of school failure for minority children provides educators with a compelling reason for broadening the curriculum to address issues of multiculturalism and cultural competence. Many students mark time until dropping out because they feel that school has no personal relevance to them. Dropping out of school often leads to:

- Chronic unemployment and underemployment

- A greater tendency toward involvement in the legal and penal systems

Thus, a strong inverse relationship exists between the amount of education an individual has and incarceration.

As educators make valiant attempts to stem the growing tide of school failure, they not only increase the life chances of minority children but also increase the quality of life for all Americans. Educational attainment is fundamentally linked to future economic and social mobility. Therefore, unless marginalized learners are taught in some radically different ways, an inordinate number of minority children with disabilities will remain trapped in a social and economic caste system that severely limits their job prospects, curtails economic prosperity, and impedes quality of life.

Education cannot be divorced from its connection to emerging multicultural dynamics that shape the context of society in general and public education in particular. Contextual factors among persons, such as race, culture, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, and disability, give further rise to dilemmas that must be considered in all of education, especially teacher education and special education. All Americans now live and work in a multicultural and pluralistic society that is becoming increasingly so.

Significantly more people in the Southern hemisphere, who are relatively poor, and undereducated minorities, are moving to America. The fertility rates of these immigrants are seven to eight times greater than the White fertility rate of 1.7 children per female (Hodgkinson, 1994). According to Hopkins (1997), therefore, "by 2010, Whites will account for only about 9% of the world's population compared to 17% in 1997, making them the world's smallest ethnic minority."

Given the explosive demographic changes among students and their families and the increasing cultural and ethnic similarity of today's teaching force, the potential for the creation of significant cultural disconnections among students, their families, their teachers, and curriculum and instruction used in schools is increasing more than at any other time. In fact, African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans are not only overrepresented in certain special education classrooms; they are severely underrepresented in higher level classes and the teaching profession. As an example, data compiled by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) indicate that 68.5% of students in K-12 schools are Caucasian, while 15.5% are African American, and 11.5% Hispanic. At the same time, 12.8% of the teaching force were persons of color, while 87.3% of the K-12 teaching population were Caucasian (AACTE, 1999). These disproportionate numbers are not likely to change any time soon. Future predictions indicate that the teaching force will continue to be overwhelmingly White and female well into the future (Hodgkinson, 1994).

Because education and schooling cut across the cultural borders of all children and youth, cultural differences represent a critical component in the prek-16 school reform movement. As a consequence, teacher educators must assist teachers in learning

how to accommodate the emerging demands of an increasingly culturally diverse student population. One has to wonder, however, where the source of the training to deal with this avalanche of cultural diversity will come from, given the fact that only a handful of teacher education programs provide training in cultural diversity, much less cultural competence. In fact, a 1997 study noted that accreditation reviews of schools of education conducted by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) found that only 56% of the institutions surveyed addressed cultural diversity adequately in the professional education curriculum (Goodwin, 1997). When this issue is addressed, it usually includes a cultural diversity module stressing awareness and sensitivity. Further, although 41 states require some form of diversity training for teacher licensure and certification, specific requirements, definitions, and standards vary significantly and are routinely not enforced (Ewing, in press). Additionally, an ethical challenge has resulted from the changing teacher and student demographics and the disproportionate representation of African American, Latino/Hispanic, Native American, and English language learners (someone whose native language is other than English) in classrooms for students.

Staratt (1994) suggested that educators should address ethical issues. They should recognize, value, and honor the inherent right of all children to a good education. Staratt maintained that in order to develop ethical schools three very primary issues warrant consideration:

- Ethic of Critique
- Ethic of Justice
- Ethic of Care

Ethic of Critique

Accordingly, Staratt proposed an e*thic of critique* to address the identification and assessment of systemic problems in the educational structures that impede development of ethical schools. He argues that no arrangement in education is neutral. If arrangements exist, such as disproportionality, such arrangements serve as a disadvantage to the students so affected and an advantage to others. Educators must critique such arrangements and replace them with ethics of justice and care.

Often educational systems have endured the brunt of criticism about problems in the larger society. Consequently, educators often ignore and minimize problems that undermine a free and appropriate education for all children. By so doing, they allow problems to continue unabated. Staratt suggested that educators have an ethical obligation to confront and critique the problems inherent in education as a prerequisite for correcting them.

Ethic of Justice

Staratt (1994) also maintained that as educators we have a responsibility to administer educational systems with an e*thic of justice.* According to Staratt, educators must correct the structural inequalities that plague educational systems by ensuring that arrangements are just and equitable relative to individual and the collective needs. To that goal, institutional resources should be enlisted to improve educational conditions and outcomes for all children, especially those who have been marginalized as a result of their disproportionate representation in special education.

Ethic of Care

Even as we critique and rectify problems in education, we must do so with an e*thic of care*. By this Staratt meant that the administration of an ethic of justice should occur with a sense of compassion and an obligation toward ensuring the proper education of all children. Staratt here invokes the type of caring defined by Noddings (1984) as taking on, as fully as possible, the perspective and reality of another along with the commitment to act on behalf of the other.

> The extent to which America achieves the ethical, educational, and cultural conditions for effective education for all persons depends on the degree to which professional development prepares education practitioners to be culturally competent and effective in diverse school contexts.

Rationale

The extent to which America achieves the ethical, educational, and cultural conditions for effective education for all persons depends on the degree to which professional development programs prepare education practitioners to be culturally competent and effective in diverse school contexts. Much depends upon the willingness of educators to adjust the education process to meet the learners' styles and cultural orientation, as opposed to having learners attempt to adopt the cultural orientations of educators or schools.

Cultural competency awareness, values, attitudes, knowledge, and skills cannot be imposed. Rather, these realities must be experienced, developed, and owned. One of the

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greatest challenges for contemporary teachers is to become responsive to multiple forms of cultural diversity. Doing so allows teachers to build cultural bridges among their students' unique cultural stories and the stories of other

cultures as these move and change over time. Further, teachers should be able to transmit *and* discover the beliefs and values of the dominant culture in a way that does not devalue the varying cultural patterns of learners, but affirms respect for them. In this way, teachers will understand the distinctive plurality that gives rise to different cultural styles, orientations, values, and even prejudices. These variables must be considered in the education of all children and youth.

Fortunately, a knowledge base peculiar to cultural competency is being established and represents a significant paradigm shift toward concepts and language that embrace a level of competency beyond mere awareness. Various models and interpretations have been developed that represent important progress relative to culturally relevant and effective educational experiences for learners. According to Mason, Cross, Rider, and Friesen (1988), these cultural competency models have been variously described as "ethnic-sensitive practice" (Devore & Schlesinger, 1981), "cross-cultural awareness practice" (Green, 1982), "ethnic competence" (Green, 1982), and "cultural competence attainment model" (McPhatter, 1997). Two additional cultural competence models by Bennett (1998) and Cross, Bazron, Dennis, and Issacs (1989) have emerged as significant in the fields of social work, medicine, business, mental health services, and, more recently, education.

Mention of the terms *multicultural education*, *bilingual education*, or *cultural competency* arouses anger and volatile debate in some circles. Indeed, multicultural education is often interpreted as an attack on the very foundations of Western civilization.

The protectors of the canons of Western civilization often label multiculturalism as "the cult of ethnicity," which is focused only on ethnic redress for the alleged injustices of the past.

Multicultural education and the notion of cultural competency are also controversial because they insist that awareness of issues of cultural, linguistic, and class

> The culture children bring to their schools is a resource for them as individuals, their families, their teachers, and the entire society.

diversity, equity, social justice, privilege and power relations in our society, past and present, are crucially relevant to its future and the priorities and values of the next generation. These movements highlight the fact that the culture children bring to their schools is a resource for them as individuals, their families, their teachers, and the entire society. Teachers should build upon students' unique cultures to engage them in the learning process. Thus, students' funds of cultural and linguistic knowledge are to be valued and affirmed in contrast to the experience of previous generations, as well as current generations, whose identities and cultures are frequently suppressed in the schools.

Negative beliefs about cultural diversity and cultural competence leave their impact not only on students but also on teachers and schools. Some believe that differences get in the way of learning. Even many well-meaning teachers who care about their students hold this belief. Multicultural education and cultural competency do not exist in a vacuum but must be understood in their larger personal, social, historical and political contexts. If these concepts are broadly conceptualized and implemented, multicultural education and cultural competency can have a substantive and positive impact on the education of most students.

Given recent rapid and complex cultural changes on the part of students and the simultaneous lack of cultural diversity among teachers, American institutions, such as schools, are realizing the need to adapt their structures, policies, and routines in ways that account for different cultural and ethnic practices and values (Isaacs & Benjamin, 1991). The professional development, therefore, must include the development of awareness, knowledge, skills, and attitudes that value culture and cultural and linguistic diversity, and that embrace cultural competence. To be effective, cultural competency must move beyond the levels of awareness and diversity to take into account this country's history of immigration as well as histories of inequality and exclusion that have characterized our past and present educational record. These issues are too often ignored in superficial treatments of multicultural education and cultural competency.

This new form of education must begin with teachers – many of whom are frequently unaware of or uncomfortable with their own cultural ethnicity and competence. By reconnecting with their own cultural, race, and ethnic backgrounds, and with the sufferings as well as the triumphs of their families, teachers can lay the groundwork for students to reclaim their histories and voices, so that we all may be culturally competent.

Cultural and Cross-Cultural Competence: Some Definitions

Cultural competence refers to a set of congruent attitudes, practices, policies, and structures that come together in a system or agency to enable professionals to work more effectively with members of culturally distinct groups in a manner that values and respects the culture and worldview of those groups (Hanley, 1999) The attainment of cultural competence is an important prerequisite for effective teaching, given the:

- Rapid diversity in this state and country

- Historical experiences of oppression that many culturally distinct groups continue to endure

- Educational failure and outcomes for minority students

- Disproportionate placement of children of color in special education classes

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- Disproportionate placement of children of color in gifted, intensified, Advanced Placement (AP), International Baccalaureate (IB) classes

In order to reduce some of these educational trends, as Nieto (1996) suggested, several structural changes in education must occur. One approach to promoting cultural competence is through training and education.

> The extent to which educators, students, and the total educational environment reflect cultural competence significantly affects the nature and type of schooling, conditions for learning, as well as learning outcomes.

While cultural competency has been variously defined, Hanley (1999) defined it as "the ability to work effectively across cultures in a way that acknowledges and respects the culture of the person or organization being served." The extent to which educators, students, and the total educational environment reflect cultural competence significantly affects the nature and type of schooling, conditions for learning, as well as learning outcomes. For these and other reasons, schools should include cultural competency on the list of desirable outcomes for education.

The Arlington Public Schools Council for Cultural Competence has adopted the definition for cultural competence and other terms that should guide our work. The definitions follow:

Ally – A member of the "majority" group who rejects the dominant ideology and takes action against oppression or of a belief that eliminating oppression will benefit the target group and the minority group.

Anti-racism – Conscious and deliberate behavior that challenges the impact and perpetuation of racism and works to reverse the disparities that exist. Anti-racist practices in the school prepare students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically to live and work in a diverse and changing world.

Culture — Learned, dynamic behavior. The values, traditions, symbols, beliefs, and practices which are created and shared by a group of people bound together by such common factors as history, location, or social class. (Nieto)

Cultural Competence - The attainment of attitudes, skills, knowledge, and behaviors that enable staff and students to develop positive relationships and work effectively in cross cultural situations.

Culturally Responsive Teaching – A set of congruent behaviors that recognize the importance of including students' cultural references in all aspects of learning. Some of the characteristics are

- Seeing teaching as an art

- Believing that all of their students can succeed

- Seeing themselves as a part of a community, including students, families, the city, the world

- Helping students make connections with all parts of the community

- Having varied social interactions with students

- Encouraging student connectedness and collaborative learning

- Seeing knowledge as being continuously created and shared

- Being passionate about their subject

- Building bridges, scaffolding for learning that builds whatever knowledge and skills a child needs to succeed

Discrimination*– Unfair and often illegal, partiality, or bias in acts, policy, and/or patterns of behavior, that negatively impact the treatment of a person or group.

Equity- Providing each student with the individual support he/she needs to reach a common standard of performance. Equity is demonstrated explicitly by teachers through expectations, rigor, relevance to students' lives, and most of all, relationships with students.

Ethnicity— A shared identity which arises among those who are from a common culture. (Banks)

Literacy – Includes, but is not limited to, the acquisition of skills in the areas of language arts, mathematics, science, history, politics, economics, fine arts, and social and cultural skills. Literacy is not limited to language arts; it includes all aspects of reading, writing, thinking, speaking.

Micro aggressions – Brief and common-place daily verbal or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights or insults toward people of color.

Non-racist - Passive racism. (Singleton)

Oppression – A form of domination and control that grants benefits and rewards to some people and denies the same access to others.

Power – A socio-political process that refers to the capacity to effect change and wield influence or thought.

Prejudice*-Any preconceived opinion or feeling (favorable or unfavorable) formed without knowledge or thought.

Privilege – A right or immunity granted as a peculiar or personal benefit, advantage, or favor. Privilege grants a set of benefits and system rewards to one group while simultaneously excluding other groups from accessing these advantages.

Race– A socially constructed means of control that serves to perpetuate economic, social, political, psychological, religious, ideological, and legal systems of inequality. (Smeadley)

Racial Identity Development – The process of defining for oneself the personal significance and social meaning of belonging to a particular racial group. (Tatum)

Racism*– Beliefs and enactments of beliefs that one set of characteristics is superior to another set:

- The systematic mistreatment of certain groups on the basis of skin

- color or other physical characteristics carried out by societal institutions or by people who have been conditioned by society, consciously or unconsciously, in harmful ways towards people of color.

- The combination of individual prejudice and individual discrimination, and institutionalized policies and practices that result in the unjustified negative treatment and subordination of members of a racial or ethnic group.

Social Construct – A concept or practice which may appear to be natural and obvious to those who accept it, but, in reality is an invention or artifact of a particular culture or society.

Stereotype – A set of beliefs, generalized about a whole group of people.

White Privilege - Special advantages or benefits of white persons. A right, advantage, or immunity granted to or enjoyed by white persons beyond the common advantage of all others; an exemption in many particular cases from certain burdens or liabilities. (Clark)

Worldview - Refers to attitudes, values, opinions, concepts, thought and decision-making processes, as well as how one behaves and defines events.

*Prejudice, discrimination and racism do not require intention.

Summary
Introduction and Overview

In Arlington, certain students are disproportionately represented in special education programs and severely under represented in gifted, AP, and IB classes.

Demographic shifts have resulted in a growing minority population, yet the teaching force remains mostly Caucasian and rather homogeneous.

Educators have a responsibility toward ethical practice that can be achieved by engaging in an:

- *Ethic of Critique* – identifying systemic problems in educational structures
- *Ethic of Justice* – rectifying structural inequalities
- *Ethic of Care* – rectifying structural inequalities with compassion and an obligation toward the proper education of all children

Cultural competency is a set of attitudes, skills, knowledge, and behaviors for working effectively across cultures in a way that acknowledges and appreciates people from culturally distinct groups.

Framework for Cultural Competency: Awareness Competencies

➢ ➢ ➢ Models of Cultural Competence

Conceptualizations of cultural competence have often used stage-wise developmental models and theories that assume that individuals start with a base level of functioning. With appropriate training and education, individuals, progress from these lower levels of understanding to increasingly more complex and differentiated modes of functioning. People operating at higher developmental levels generally possess more proficiency at a particular skill, such as developing cultural competence.

The goal of cultural competence training programs is to develop in individuals and institutions levels of proficiency in:

- Understanding

- Accepting

- Working skillfully with culturally different students and their families

Although, as previously cited, several cultural competency models exist, the foundations for this work are primarily based upon the work of Pedersen (1994) and Mason, Benjamin, & Lewis (1996). While Pedersen's model focuses more on changing awareness, knowledge, and skills relative to cultural competency, Mason et al. focus more on creating culturally competent organizations and services through institutional and organizational responsiveness that emanate from changes in the individual. Both of these approaches are valid and important, and together provide the theoretical and

conceptual bases for this document. Accordingly, Mason's constructs of cultural competence will be outlined in the next section, followed by a discussion of Pedersen's concepts of cultural competence. Finally, strategies for operationalizing the works of those previously cited are presented.

Mason et al. (1996) outlined a cultural competence model in which individuals' transition from damaging and inappropriate practices to professional practices that endorse culturally relevant service delivery models. This model consists of five stages which include:

1. Cultural Destructiveness

2. Cultural Incapacity

3. Cultural Blindness

4. Cultural Pre-competence

5. Cultural Competence

From a macro-cultural perspective, organizations adopt policies and practices oriented toward or away from cultural competence. On an individual or micro-cultural level, representatives of an agency enact the values and viewpoints of that particular organization.

Cultural Destructiveness

According to Mason et al. (1996), *cultural destructiveness* is the stage at which individuals and groups refuse to acknowledge the presence or importance of cultural differences in the teaching/learning process. In addition, any perceived or real differences from dominant mainstream culture are punished and suppressed. Institutions and individuals in this stage tend to endorse the myth of universality, insisting that all

children conform to a mainstream middle-class imperative. Given this stage, diverse learners are usually expected to shed any remains of their culture of origin in favor of the values and viewpoints of the dominant culture. Ordinarily, departures from this imperative are interpreted as deviant, deficient, or inferior. This orientation refuses to consider that schools must respond to children within a particular cultural context. Assumptions endorsed during the cultural destructiveness stage contribute to:

- Disenfranchised and Disengaged Learners

- Diminished Levels of Motivation

- Oppositional Orientations towards Education

- Premature Departure from School

- Subsequent School Failure

Educators operating in this stage often hold values, viewpoints, and orientations towards education that are contrary to what is considered standard or normative in the educational system of this country. Frequently, in this stage, organizations institute polices that penalize individuals and groups for their seeming differences.

Cultural Incapacity

Cultural incapacity refers to the stage in which cultural differences are neither punished nor supported. This occurs when the individual or organization chooses to ignore differences. Here, no attention, time, teaching, or resources are devoted to understanding and supporting cultural differences. Often educators and institutions remain oblivious to the relative importance of cultural competence. More attention may be devoted to curricular issues or to other priorities in the school, without considerations of cultural issues embedded in the curriculum. Educators may remain preoccupied with

students' cognitive growth and maturity to the exclusion of their social, emotional, and cultural needs. During this stage, limited efforts are made to capitalize on the rich cultural resources children bring to school. Ironically, current understandings of cognitive development assume that learners integrate new information and materials with their existing constructions of the phenomena under consideration. (V. Collier 1995, Reiss 2005) It seems reasonable, therefore, that educators would maximize learning by incorporating cultural information into students' curricular experiences. Sprinthall (1980) captured this notion when he stated, "If we know what development is, then we know what education ought to be."

Cultural Blindness

Cultural blindness represents the stage when the individual or organization actively proffers the notion that cultural differences are inconsequential and, as such, of no importance. Cultural differences may be noted but being color-blind (and culture-blind) is the desired state. No resources, attention, time, or teaching are devoted to understanding cultural differences. Often educators and institutions functioning in the color-blind stage construct their understanding of students from culturally different backgrounds using a race or cultural neutral lens. Although some liberally minded individuals see this approach as a superior criterion for appearing bias-free, such a strategy often denies children an important aspect of their identity. Messages are communicated to students both overtly and covertly that their:

- Culture is of little consequence to their learning experience

- Members of their ethnic group have made few meaningful contributions to society

- Cultural experiences are not legitimate in academic settings

This severely inhibits students' levels of individual and collective effectiveness, often leads to an internalization of negative attitudes about the self and the cultural group, and contributes to the development of an oppositional orientation towards education described by Ogbu (1985). Whereas the first three stages demonstrate a certain indifference to the significance of cultural competence in maximizing learning outcomes for children from historically marginalized groups, the following two stages illustrate a conscious shift and openness towards addressing cultural differences.

Cultural Pre-competence

During the *cultural pre-competence* stage, teachers, learners, and organizations recognize and respond to cultural differences and attempt to correct non-liberating and unethical structures, teaching practices, and inequities. Openly acknowledging the need for cultural competency is an initial step toward destroying some of the debilitating practices that limit the educational progress of culturally diverse learners. Educators and school systems functioning at this stage may seek out new information about diversity by attending training sessions and/or interacting with individuals who have insider cultural information.

Cultural Competence

Finally, *cultural competence* is at the opposite extreme of the cultural destructiveness stage, wherein organizations and individuals learn to value cultural differences and attempt to find ways to celebrate, encourage, and respond to differences within and among themselves. Teachers and students explore issues of equity, cultural history and knowledge, social justice, and privilege and power relations in our society, and they do so in naturally occurring and often subconscious ways. Past and present

differences are considered crucially relevant to the future of our society and the priorities and values of the next generation. When schools, teachers, and learners are culturally competent, the culture that children bring to school serves as a resource for educators, the children themselves, their families, and the entire society. The students' funds of knowledge that are culturally filtered are valued and affirmed in contrast to the experiences of many previous generations whose identities and cultures were often distorted, marginalized, or even brutalized. As educators consider the sociopolitical issues that impact students' lives, as well as the cultural areas in this stage, there is a commitment to initiating structural changes that will positively impact the lives and educational experiences of learners from culturally distinct groups, as well as others.

Pedersen's Conceptual Framework for Developing Cultural and Cross-Cultural Competence

Pedersen (1994) developed a model to promote cultural and multicultural understanding among practitioners. These competencies include the domains of:

- Awareness

- Knowledge

- Skills

Each domain builds successively on the previous one, such that mastery of an earlier domain is necessary before proceeding to subsequent domains. The awareness domain competency involves recognition of one's own biases as well as awareness of the sociopolitical issues that confront culturally different youngsters. Competencies in the knowledge domain involve the acquisition of factual information about different cultural groups. Finally, competencies in the skills domain involve integrating competencies in

the previous awareness and knowledge domains in an effort to positively impact culturally distinct children.

Awareness Domain Competencies

Pedersen's (1994) conception of awareness competencies contains two overarching and significant issues. The first involves an individual's willingness to confront her or his own attitudes, values, and biases that may influence the pedagogical process. This notion is somewhat discussed in the section that deals with cultural self-assessment. Achieving awareness competencies requires individuals to examine critically and analytically the following:

- How they obtained their attitudes and biases

- How these biases impact the children they serve

- More importantly, how they can eliminate those biases

If one does not confront these issues, mastering the next domain along Pedersen's continuum, i.e., knowledge, is difficult because each domain is predicated on successful completion of the previous domain.

Several instruments have been designed to address awareness issues. For instance, Mason et al. (1996) developed an instrument to assess the extent to which organizational practices are culturally appropriate. Also, this instrument includes a number of discussion questions to help facilitate one's understanding of how people develop their cultural values and viewpoints and personal orientations and examine family history.

This curriculum incorporates the Diversity Awareness Profile (DAP) as a tool for engaging in cultural self-assessment (Stinson, 1991). The DAP is a 40-item instrument

that permits individuals to assess the extent to which they engage in biased behaviors. For instance, respondents are asked how often they:

- Challenge inappropriate references to people who are culturally different

- Refrain from participating in jokes that are derogatory to different groups

- Learn about other cultures

- Get to know individuals from diverse backgrounds

When used as intended, this instrument can serve as a catalyst for behavior change as questions help individuals think critically about the impact their behavior has on people from culturally different groups.

The DAP asks participants to indicate the frequency with which they engage in certain behaviors related to people from culturally distinct groups. Responses are scored using a 4-point Likert scale ranging from (1) almost never to (4) almost always. When participants complete the instrument, they sum the numbers that correspond to their responses. Scores can range from a low of 40 to a high of 160. Different scores are associated with different types of behaviors.

Stinson (1991) described the following five behavior types:

1. Naïve Offender

2. Perpetuator

3. Avoider

4. Change Agent

5. Fighter

Scores for *naïve offenders* vary greatly because these individuals have little concept of their impact on others. Scores for *perpetuators* range from 40 to 79. These

individuals recognize their biased attitudes and behaviors and subsequently reinforce the system of racism and prejudice because of their refusal to change. Scores for *avoiders* range from 80 to 119. These individuals recognize their biased behaviors but do not take a stand against unjust behaviors. *Change agents'* scores range from 120 to 139. These individuals feel compelled to eradicate the system of racism and oppression by challenging forms of discrimination when they occur. *Fighters* have scores that range between 140 and 160. Fighters confront various forms of racism and discrimination and are often perceived by others as annoying and antagonistic.

Individuals who constantly engage in cultural assessments often recognize the limits of their cultural competence and seek ongoing supervision and/or additional training and expertise from culturally competent experts. Other pertinent issues related to the development of cultural competence include recognition of one's own discomfort with issues of diversity. Many believe that it is safer to claim they treat all children similarly and that they do not see differences. Often, however, this orientation serves as a shield for hidden biases. In a facilitative environment, individuals would explore many of these questions in a way that provides added insight and clarity about diversity. They would also consider how their current attitudes may be shaped at least in part by family and cultural experiences and participation in different institutions, which have definite values and viewpoints.

A second issue identified in Pedersen's awareness model of cultural competence relates to an awareness of sociopolitical factors that confront culturally different groups. We will discuss several of these constructs as understanding them will facilitate our

continued discussion of cultural competence and serve as the foundation for understanding deep structural cultural understanding.

Before we move into a more detailed look at sociopolitical issues that impact culturally diverse learners, we provide operational definitions of concepts that will guide the discussion. First, concepts such as race, ethnicity, culture, and worldview will be defined as they are the primary concepts associated with notions of cultural competence.

The terms race, ethnicity, and culture are often used interchangeably. Although they are related, they are not synonymous. For the benefit of training and professional development and discussion, we will agree upon the definitions described below.

Race as a Construct Related to Cultural Competence

> Currently, race operates as a social construction that frequently refers more to social and political interactions and dynamics that subordinate nonwhite groups than to skin color, genetic, or biological features.

Originally the term *race* was used to sort races on the basis of phenotypic or physical characteristics. Carl Linnaeus was an 18th Century scientist who became famous for the classification system he developed to sort animals. Researchers believed that a similar premise could hierarchically order racial groups and help determine moral and racial superiority. However erroneous, these data were used under the guise of scientific fact to legitimize the oppression and subordination of various racial groups (Barkan, 1992). Using this classification arrangement, the Caucasian races were deemed superior and the colored races were regarded as inferior. Originally the term *race* had biological connotations referring to permanent characteristics of Homo sapiens. Many racial distinctions were determined on the basis of physical differences. Currently, race operates as a social construction (for definition, see page 25) that frequently refers

more to social and political interactions and dynamics that subordinate nonwhite groups than to skin color, genetic, or biological features.

Ethnicity as a Construct Related to Competence

Ethnicity is a shared identity which arises among those who are from a common culture (Banks 2000). Ethnicity describes groups in which members share a cultural heritage from one generation to another (Robinson & Howard-Hamilton, 2000). Attributes associated with ethnicity include a group image and a sense of identity derived from contemporary cultural patterns (e.g., values, beliefs, and language) and a sense of history. During a discussion of ethnicity, one often thinks of individuals who possess a shared sense of political and economic interests, as well as individuals for whom membership is involuntary, although identification with the group may be optional (Baruth & Manning, 1991).

Although there appear to be many similarities between *race* and *ethnicity*, one way to look at the two terms is to consider *race* as a broad encompassing term that reflects physical characteristics and social status, whereas *ethnicity* often refers to nationality and country of origin (Robinson & Howard-Hamilton, 2000). To differentiate between *race* and *ethnicity*, let us look at Asians. They represent a racial group on the basis of their skin color and physical features. However, among Asians there are varying ethnic groups, including Koreans, Hmongs, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Koreans (Arredondo et al., 1996). Similarly, people of the same ethnicity may have different racial origins. For instance, Latinos may share similarities in geographical origin but represent various racial backgrounds including Caucasian, African, or Native American.

37

Culture as a Construct Related to Competence

Culture is learned dynamic behavior. The values, traditions, symbols, beliefs and practices which are

> Culture refers to the sum total of ways of living developed by a group of human beings to meet biological and psychosocial needs.

created and shared by a group of people bound by such factors as history, location, or social class contribute to culture (Nieto, 2003) *Culture* is the sum total of ways of living developed by a group of human beings to meet biological and psychosocial needs. Ordinarily, culture includes patterns of thought, behavior, language, customs, institutions and material objects (Leighton, 1982). Culture has also been defined as the integrated pattern of human behavior, which includes thoughts, communication, action, customs, beliefs, values, and instructions of a racial, ethnic, religious, or social group. Different cultural groups have identified solutions to different cultural problems. Often these solutions are not identical. Cultural differences between groups frequently result in cultural conflict because the dominant cultural group often assumes that its way of thinking, behaving, and responding to the world is superior and even universally standard. Culture is also influenced by shared experiences and includes the ways people are both different and alike. Loden et al(2004) identify dimensions of diversity or five core areas that influence personal experiences thus contributing to an individual's unique diversity.

The areas include:

- Core

- Primary

- Secondary

- Organization

- Era

Dimensions of Diversity

The following is a diagram that can assist you in thinking of the many ways in which we are different and/or similar. Dimensions of diversity deeply impact our personal and professional lives.
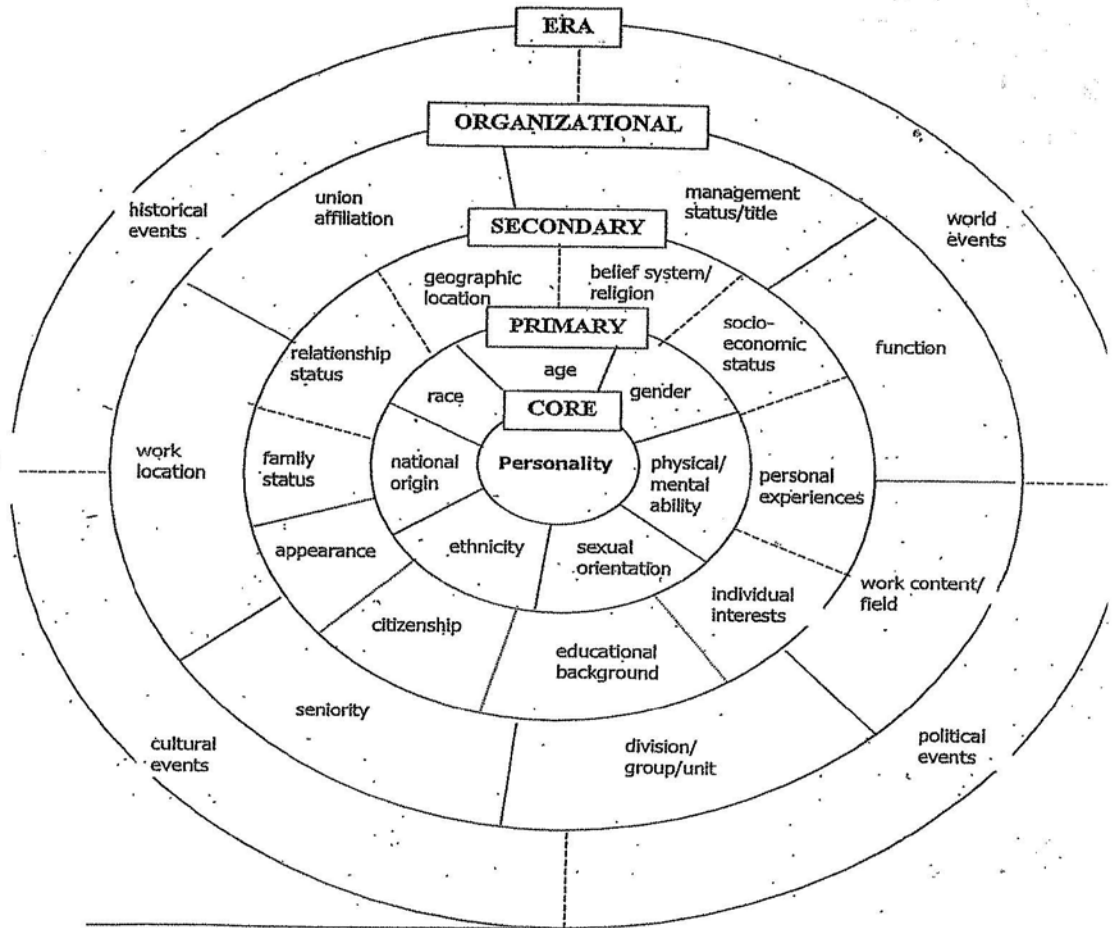
31

Figure 1

Frequently, discussions of race, ethnicity, and culture are reduced to tensions and animosities that have been brewing between African Americans and Caucasians in this country for centuries. In 1903, noted sociologist W.E.B. DuBois stated that the problem of the 20th Century would be the problem of the color line. We have ushered in the 21st Century and the color line is still a pervasive and harmful issue that threatens to unravel the fabric of this society.

Others have taken a broader and more encompassing view of culture, moving it beyond the limited confines of race or Black-White dyads. For example, the Iceberg Concept of Culture, devised by Weaver (1986), offers a framework that contains three broad areas of culture that may be referred to as:

- High or Surface Culture

- Folk Culture

- Deep Culture

If one considers an iceberg metaphor, the majority of an iceberg is out of view of the observer, not apparent to the viewer or readily accessible to the consciousness. The out-of-awareness portion of culture is often referred to as Deep Culture. Whereas Surface and Folk Culture are readily apparent and provide the foci and locus of most cultural exchanges, they represent limited manifestations of deeper forms of cultural existence. The union of cultural forms in Figure 2 illustrates that only a small portion of culture is visible, open to view, while its majority is "not seen" and is residing often in the unconscious or dysconscious. It is important to remember that the deep structural forms of culture contain the foundational elements of culture (i.e., its worldview, values,

knowledge, and logic). These elements provide the cornerstones of the deep structural foundations that under gird the more apparent and visible surface and folk forms of culture.

Frequently, what we know about culturally different groups is limited to those aspects of culture that are in the direct range of the observer — the Surface and Folk Culture. For instance, we can easily identify the traditional garb of Native Americans, or the classical music of Asian peoples, or the language of Latinos. These are more concrete aspects of culture that are patently exposed to the viewer. Using an iceberg metaphor, Weaver (1986) described these components of culture as the tip of the iceberg, or those aspects of culture that are exposed and readily visible.

Often someone who has not been initiated into a particular culture has little knowledge of the more deep-seated aspects of culture. These aspects of culture may include:

- Patterns of thought

- Perceptions about male-female relationships

- Notions of ability and disability

- Dictates governing children's role in the family

As we become more astute consumers of culture, however, we become privy to many of the cultural issues that contribute to a person's orientation toward education and influence one's ability to work effectively with people from culturally different groups.

Surely dimensions of personal identity contribute to this personal orientation. The next section offers an overview of these dimensions.

Figure 2

Iceberg Concept of Culture

SURFACE CULTURE
fine arts literature
drama classical music popular music

FOLK CULTURE
folk dancing games cooking dress

FOLK CULTURE

DEEP CULTURE

notions of modesty conception of beauty
ideals governing child raising rules of descent
cosmology relationship to animals
patterns of superior/subordinate relationships definition of sin
courtship practices conception of justice incentives to work
notions of leadership tempo of work patterns of group decision-making
conception of cleanliness attitudes toward the dependent theory of disease
approaches to problem solving conception of status mobility eye behavior
roles in relationship to status by age, sex, class, occupation, kinship, and so forth
conversational patterns in various social contexts conception of past and future
definition of insanity nature of friendship ordering of time conception of self
patterns of visual perception preference for competition or cooperation body language
social interaction rate notions of adolescence
notions about logic and validity patterns of handling emotions facial expressions
arrangement of physical space... AND MUCH. MUCH, MORE

Dimensions of Personal Identity

Arredondo, Toporek, Brown, Jones, Locke, Sanchez, & Stadler (1996) developed a paradigm for addressing the complexity of human differences by looking at individual differences and shared identity. (See Figure 3 for an illustration of this model) Referring to this model as "Dimensions of Personal Identity," Arredondo identified three primary areas of a person's identity, "A," "B," and "C" dimensions. Each dimension underscores the vast diversity and complexity of individuals.

According to Arredondo et al., "A" dimensions of personal identity include those characteristics over which we have little control. Characteristics such as age, race, ethnicity, and language function as permanent characteristics of our existence and are not amenable to change. Because they are more visible characteristics, another notable feature of "A" dimensions is that they frequently create stereotypes about people.

"B" dimensions of personal identity, on the other hand, refer to those characteristics over which we can usually exert some influence. For example, we can determine how much education we will acquire, alter our geographic location, and adopt certain recreational preferences.

Finally, "C" dimensions refer to those events that have occurred during a particular historical moment. "C" dimensions also situate people within a social, cultural, and political context. The combination of each affiliation makes every person unique.

Figure 3

Dimensions of Personal Identity

"A" Dimensions
Age
Culture
Ethnicity
Gender
Language
Physical Ability
Race
Sexual Orientation
Social Class

"B" Dimensions
Educational Background
Geographic Location and Worldview
Income
Marital Status
Religion
Work Experience
Citizenship Status
Military Experience
Hobbies/Recreational Interests

"C" Dimensions

Historical Moments/Eras
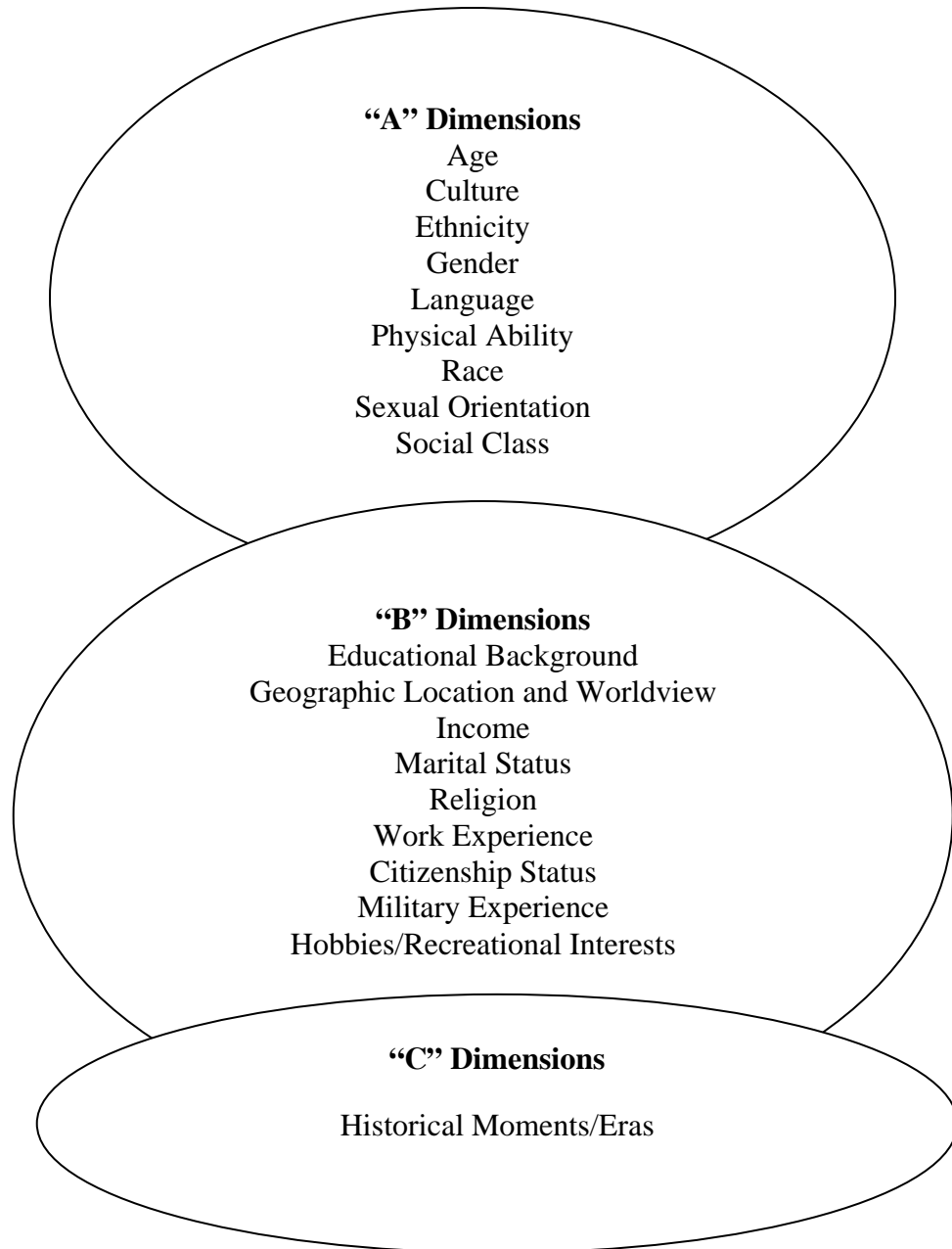
Worldview as a Construct Related to Cultural Competence

A discussion of worldview provides a helpful framework for understanding how different cultural groups make sense of and interpret their experiences and worlds, including schooling and the educational process. As culturally competent educators, we must recognize and accept the reality that various cultural groups have vastly different fundamental beliefs and philosophical orientations. Worldviews consist of one's attitudes, values, opinions, concepts, thought and decision-making processes, as well as how one behaves and defines events (Sue & Sue, 1999). As an example, in traditional, dominant mainstream American culture, a family who has twins would define the first-born child as the older twin. In some West African cultures, the second-born twin is regarded as the elder twin. The rationale for this African worldview lies in the belief that the second-born has a longer gestation period. Moreover, the second-born twin sends the first-born out into the world to assess the readiness of the environment so that the second-born twin may make her or his entry into the world. As we examine these two viewpoints, we must be mindful that neither perspective is wrong, but that the two interpretations differ from one another. To place a value judgment on one belief over the other would be to invalidate a particular cultural group's conception of the world or its worldview.

In most teacher-student interactions, teachers and students do not share the same worldview (Katz, 1985). As educators, we must be careful not to violate children's highly cherished and valued worldviews and beliefs that emanate from their home cultural environment. Invalidation of cultural worldviews and perspectives often

> Invalidation of cultural worldviews and perspectives often leads to cultural conflict and mistrust in education, in the classroom, and in policies, structures, and systems that support educational institutions.

46

leads to cultural conflict and mistrust in education, in the classroom, and in policies, structures, and systems that support educational institutions.

To understand various cultural worldviews we must make two distinctions. First, a Western cultural orientation refers more generally to people of various European ancestries and usually approximates a White, middle-class norm. A non-Western cultural orientation often refers to those culturally distinct groups that ordinarily refer to people of African, Asian, Latino, and Native American ancestry. Although there are many distinctions within and between non-Western groups, in the main, at deep cultural levels, they share some very broad characteristics. Table 1 provides a comparison of these two groups.

Table 1

Comparison of Western and Non-Western Cultural Orientations

Worldview	
Western Cultural Orientation	**Non-Western Cultural Orientation**
Individualism	Collectivism, Unity
Nuclear Family Structure	Extended Family Structure
Relationship – Hierarchical	Relationships – Collateral
Competition	Interdependence
Mastery over Nature	Harmony with Nature
Future Time Orientation	Present Time Orientation
Religion – Fragmented	Spirituality
Scientific Model	Intuitive Sense of Knowing
Communication – Verbal	Communication – Nonverbal

As reflected in Table 1, Western society, as previously discussed, tends to value individuals and individualistic orientations and values. The goal for educating children, given this view, generally is to produce independent and autonomous citizens.

In contrast, many non-Western cultures endorse worldviews and behaviors that consider the primal importance of the group over individual interests. In many groups,

putting the individual or self before the collective is considered selfish and ill suited. We must weigh this cultural value in a relative context, particularly as it has an impact on children in educational settings.

Within mainstream American culture the "model" nuclear family generally consists of two heterosexual parents and their offspring. Among many non-Western cultures, however, non- relatives become part of the extended family network. African Americans, for example, may refer to nonrelatives who are closely involved with the family as aunts and uncles, often as fictive relatives. Similarly, many immigrant Latinos interact primarily with extended family members, siblings, cousins, and in-laws (Valdes, 1996).

The extended family is paramount among Latinos in that it provides social support and wields considerable influence over family members. Among recently arrived immigrants, children are expected to grow up, work hard, live near home, and retain close involvement with the family (Valdes, 1996). Family loyalty is an important cultural value exemplified in this culture. Often, this loyalty is demonstrated by the proximity in which family members live to one another. Close family networks, however, may not encourage individual achievement and geographic mobility. As an example, in a study of ten recent Mexican immigrants, one common theme expressed by all adult female respondents was that the children would not venture far away from home once they became adults (Valdes, 1996). Viewed from a Western cultural orientation the importance attributed to family is often construed as co-dependence or enmeshment. In this study mothers expressed pride in modest goals, rather than the status symbols often endorsed in many mainstream American families.

Competition is a value approved of in many Western cultures and is particularly apparent when considering the fact that capitalism is an integral part of American society. In schools, students generally compete for grades, status, academic and athletic performance. By contrast, many non-Western cultures emphasize the collective, which reduces the propensity for competition and individual performance. Consequently, a heavy regard is placed on the mutual interdependence of groups.

Western cultural orientation uses the scientific model, which emphasizes acquisition of knowledge, results from testing scientific principles, and replicating investigations to ensure consistency over time. In many non-Western cultures people value and have an intuitive sense of knowledge obtained from personal and collective experiences, observations over time, and a collective wisdom.

A thorough understanding of variations in worldviews helps to shed light on orientations that culturally different groups may have toward education. If competition is not espoused, for example, children may not clamor for attention and to outperform one another. In a culturally relevant context, we cannot arbitrarily assume that disinterest in competition is equivalent to some perceived deficit in minority children.

Nieto (1996) asserted that sociopolitical issues under gird our society and contended that any authentic attempt to promote an ethic of care and understanding using a cultural competency framework must address issues of oppression, racism, power, and privilege in schools. Others concur with her argument (Banks & Banks, 1997; Day-Vines, 2000; Irvine & Irvine, 1995; Tatum, 1997). A critical component of addressing awareness competencies involves recognizing sociopolitical forces that impinge on individuals' lives. More specifically, oppression, racism, and powerlessness have an

impact on children from diverse cultures. This section operationalizes these constructs so educators can recognize the impact of oppression, racism, power, and privilege in students' lives.

Recognizing and Responding to Oppression as a Form of Cultural Competency

Reynolds and Pope (1991) defined oppression as "a system that allows access to the services, rewards, benefits, and privileges of society based on membership in a

> … schools operate as a microcosm of the larger society, such that students of color and students with disabilities experience the pernicious effects of oppression that frequently contribute to their orientation toward education and school outcomes.
> Racism is a particular form of oppression that refers to the systematic process of enlisting institutional resources, not only to support and promote a belief in the inferiority of groups on the basis of skin color but to deny opportunities to one group and subsequently grant them to a preferred group (Nieto, 1996; Tatum, 1997).

particular group." In general, "oppression" operates as an umbrella term that captures all forms of domination and control, including racism, sexism, heterosexism, and classism. Frequently people can experience single or even multiple forms of oppression. For instance, an African American female receiving special education services may experience:

- Racism, as a representative of a culturally different group

- Sexism, as a result of her gender

- Linguicism, if she does not speak Standard English

- An internalized sense of shame and embarrassment because of the stigma associated with a diagnosed learning disability

Educators working in a multicultural context must recognize that structural forces in society impact children from marginalized groups. Pedersen's model referenced earlier provides an awareness that schools operate as a microcosm of the larger society, such that students of color and students with disabilities experience the pernicious effects of

oppression that frequently contribute to their orientation toward education and school outcomes.

Recognizing and Responding to Racism as a Form of Cultural Competency

Racism is a particular form of oppression that refers to the systematic process of enlisting institutional resources, not only to support and promote a belief in the inferiority of groups on the basis of skin color but to deny opportunities to one group and subsequently grant them to a preferred group (Nieto, 1996; Tatum, 1997). According to Pinderhughes (1989), the insidious nature of racism prevails because "policies and institutions interlock and reinforce one another in their capacity to deprive and cripple many people while offering preparation, support, and opportunity …" to members of a dominant group. Tatum noted that if racism victimizes one group of individuals, then, by default, another group profits from these preferential arrangements. Educators equipped with this information have a better framework and foundation for administering culturally competent and appropriate services to youngsters from minority groups.

Scheurich and Young (1997) noted that many contend that, within popular culture, racism is often relegated to individual acts of meanness. They maintain, however, that racism cannot be reduced to forms of prejudice and discrimination that are enacted by an individual who feels a sense of entitlement and superiority over people from disadvantaged groups. Instead they propose that racism under girds numerous aspects of institutions, societies, and the world. Their work identified four categories of racism:

1. Overt and Covert Racism

2. Institutional Racism

3. Societal Racism

4. Civilizational Racism

Overt (Intentional) racism is an intentional and deliberate form of racism that is purposely enacted to inflict pain solely on the basis of race.

Covert (Unintentional) racism lacks the planned calculation of overt racism, but results in similar consequences. For instance, a covert act of racism occurs when a child of color registers for class in a new school and it is assumed, on the basis of skin color and perhaps social class, that he or she requires a class for children with low abilities. In reality this child may have a stellar academic record and may even be eligible for gifted education services.

Institutional racism refers to the establishment of institutionally sanctioned policies and practices that penalize members of a particular group on the basis of race, irrespective of the intentionality of such practices.

Societal racism occurs when the social and cultural assumptions of one group are favored over the norms and dictates of another. For instance, the definition of a "model" nuclear family includes two heterosexual parents and their offspring(s). Deviations from this dominant cultural dictate are frequently regarded as an aberration and, consequently, devalued.

Civilizational (Dysconscious) racism functions as a broad construct that is deeply embedded in how people think. As our discussion of worldview demonstrated, different groups have vastly different orientations toward the world. Members within dominant groups or civilizations, however, often take the liberty of assigning a subordinate status to the values and viewpoints of groups regarded as lower in the societal hierarchy. The values and viewpoints of dominant groups often prevail as superior forms of functioning

and, subsequently, become deeply embedded in the fabric of our society such that these views are seldom questioned. Such beliefs are embedded in many forms of scientific thought and often assume prevalence in popular culture and behavior.

The most harmful aspect of racism is that it has an interlocking effect on minority groups and their experiences. Racism enacted at the civilizational level is supported and reinforced at lower levels. For instance, the mistaken belief that people of color are intellectually inferior has been promulgated at numerous levels. This has been most damaging in the scientific community, given the credence placed on such research in this society.

Furthermore, data generated in the scientific community contribute to subsequent policies, practices, and individual behaviors. As an example, if the scientific community advances a theory of racial inferiority at the civilizational level, these beliefs give way to popular thought about the intellectual capacity of individuals at the societal level. Subsequently, institutional practices may follow that support the notion of:

- Racial inferiority such as incorporating the medical model of pathology versus incorporating the inherent strengths of particular groups

- Tracking or assigning large numbers of minority children to special education

- Assuming students for whom English is a second language should be classified for special education services

- Not encouraging large numbers of minority students to attend college or enroll in college preparatory classes

- Maintaining low expectations for minority children

On an individual level, both covert and overt forms of racism may occur that have the sanction of more complex forms of racism. A covert form of racism may involve the example provided above, wherein educators inadvertently assign a student to a class that does not meet her or his academic needs and abilities. An overt form of racism may occur when a teacher makes a disparaging comment about a student or her or his racial group. An example described recently by a middle school child follows.

A Latina (female) child reported to a sixth-grade class in her new school toward the end of the school year, at which time the teacher gave her an assignment and explained that it was due in a week. Students in the class, however, had been given the assignment at the very beginning of the semester. When the time came for the child to submit the assignment, the student explained with some difficulty that she was not prepared. Enraged, the teacher stated in the direct purview of all the children, that she fully expected her to submit assignments on time and she did not care whether her dog ate the homework or whether it falls on a hot tamale, (Day-Vines & Modest, 1998). This experience must have left the child feeling humiliated and devalued. The fact that the teacher made this comment with virtual impunity attests to the interlocking nature of multiple forms of racism that permit this behavior to occur unabated.

Recognizing and Responding to Power and Privilege as a Form of Cultural Competency

Pinderhughes (1989) identified the function of power and powerlessness when individuals from different racial and cultural groups interact. Educators from dominant cultural groups wield power, both individually and institutionally, and influence both as members of an esteemed group and as authority figures in the classroom. In striking contrast, minority students may feel powerless and vulnerable as members of devalued groups. Ethical practice requires that teachers remain cognizant of power dynamics both in the classroom and in society and work to consciously eliminate the arrangements that jeopardize student learning.

> Ethical practice requires that teachers remain cognizant of power dynamics both in the classroom and in society and work to consciously eliminate the arrangements that jeopardize student learning.

Power

> Power is a sociopolitical process that refers to the capacity to effect change and wield influence over others, especially in a manner that diminishes one's sense of personhood (Pinderhughes, 1989).

Power is a sociopolitical process that refers to the capacity to effect change and wield influence over others, especially in a manner that diminishes one's sense of personhood (Pinderhughes, 1989). Powerlessness, on the other hand, functions as the corollary to power and refers to the inability of a person to effect change and influence the outcomes in her or his life (Sue & Sue, 1999) (2.8). This occurs particularly under circumstances in which status differentials exist between an individual with more power and one with less power.

An examination of some values associated with mainstream American culture reveals a number of power dynamics. Embedded in the values of individualism, personal

mastery, competition, and acquisition of material goods are notions that individuals must exercise control, dominion and authority over themselves and others.

Although power can be exercised in a manner that is just and equitable, too frequently power is abused so that individuals with less power are found to be manipulated, controlled, and coerced. As an example, the common practice of tracking has been described as an institutional practice that severely limits the educational opportunities for students whose cultures, language, and socioeconomic status differ from those in the dominant American culture (Robinson & Howard-Hamilton, 2000). Power can also be used for self-enhancement to reinforce another individual's sense of powerlessness and inadequacy. This form of power is often manifested through establishing a form of paternalistic responsibility to others. Further, responses to powerlessness by children and youth can include aggression, disruptive behavior, resentment, and also an internalized sense of shame (Pinderhughes, 1989). Students from marginalized groups may internalize a sense of powerlessness on more than one level. They may feel a sense of powerlessness with respect to issues of race, gender, social class, disability, and sexual orientation.

Privilege

McIntosh (1989) provided a candid discussion of "White privilege" as an obligatory dimension of racism, which provides dominant groups with decided social, cultural, political, economic, and educational advantages relative to marginalized learners. Privilege grants a set of benefits and system rewards to one group while simultaneously excluding other groups from accessing these advantages. Additionally, McIntosh defined

> Privilege grants a set of benefits and system rewards to one group while simultaneously excluding other groups from accessing these advantages.

white privilege as "an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, emergency gear and blank checks." More notably, she acknowledged that systems of dominance remain firmly entrenched in our society because beneficiaries of "white privilege" remain perpetually in a state of denial and repression about their advantages. She continues by cataloguing a series of unearned privileges to which whites have consistent and uninterrupted access. Some of these include the ability to:

- Reside in a community in which all the people look like them

- Be able to purchase flesh tone Band-Aids

- Not be followed around in a store without someone assuming you are there to steal

In the context of education, white privilege, or the protective mechanism of skin color, often predisposes middle-class Caucasian children to:

- Fewer discipline referrals

- The reduced likelihood of being falsely identified as having disabilities

- More recommendations for gifted and talented programs

- Advanced, and college-bound classes

- More preferential treatment by teachers

- Greater recognition for accomplishments

> In the context of education, White privilege, or the protective mechanism of skin color, often predisposes middle class Caucasian children to fewer discipline referrals, the reduced likelihood of being falsely identified as being disabled, more recommendations for gifted and talented programs, advanced, and college bound classes, more preferential treatment by teachers, and greater recognition for accomplishments.

In some instances, the beneficiaries of white privilege avoid penalties, and in other instances, privilege confers a questionable sense of meritocracy on its beneficiaries.

These privileges and systems of dominance are seldom acknowledged but continuously place students who meet a White, middle-class imperative at an advantage while penalizing students from marginalized groups. McIntosh would argue that maintenance of this system of privilege relies on an unwillingness to confront these social realities and the necessity of pretending in order to reinforce it. Educators must lay bare the system of privilege if authentic and meaningful structural elements of cultural competency are to be achieved.

As discussed elsewhere in this document, an educator who endorses cultural competency practice has an ethical responsibility to work diligently to preserve the dignity and human worth of all students and create a learning environment that empowers children and adolescents. Understanding one's

> …an educator who endorses cultural competency practice has an ethical responsibility to work diligently to preserve the dignity and human worth of all students and create a learning environment that empowers children and adolescents.

own attitudes, feelings, and behaviors is a prerequisite for extending an ethic of care to students from marginalized groups. Moreover, this understanding contributes to the development of cultural competence.

Authentic multicultural understanding also results from honestly recognizing and confronting the sociopolitical realities that impact the lived experiences of people of color in this country. Knowledge of Pedersen's awareness stage contributes significantly to the likelihood that educators will use their personal power to effect change and engage in social action and ethical practice on behalf of powerless groups or remain silent and complicit. Becoming aware of one's own biases as well as recognizing sociopolitical issues such as oppression, racism, power and privilege function as initial strategies that

facilitate the cultural competence sequence. The next step in developing cultural competence involves attaining knowledge competencies.

Section II Summary

Framework for Cultural Competency: Awareness Competencies

Mason et al. (1996) developed a model of cultural competence that contains five stages:
- ❖ Cultural destructiveness – acknowledgement of differences is refused
- ❖ Cultural incapacity – differences are widely ignored
- ❖ Cultural blindness – cultural differences are not viewed as important
- ❖ Cultural precompetence –the need for cultural competence is recognized
- ❖ Cultural competence – differences are acknowledged and organizations explore issues of equity, viewing children's backgrounds as resources

Pedersen's model of Cultural Competence (three stages)
- ❖ Awareness – Awareness of own attitudes and biases as well as the sociopolitical issues that confront culturally different youngsters
- ❖ Knowledge – Accumulation of factual information about different cultural groups
- ❖ Skills – Integration of awareness competencies to positively impact children from culturally distinct groups

Basic Definitions

1. Race – A socially constructed means of control that serves to perpetuate economic, social, political, psychological, ideological, religious, and legal systems of inequality (Smeadley).

2. Ethnicity – Shared identity which arises among those who are from a common culture (Banks).

3. Culture – Learned dynamic behavior. The values, traditions, symbols, beliefs, and practices which are created and shared by a common group of people by such common factors as, history, location, or social class (Nieto).

4. Iceberg Concept of Culture (Weaver, 1986) – This model provides a more detailed understanding of cultural elements by describing those aspects of culture that are apparent to outsiders (Surface and Folk Culture) as well as deep structural cultural elements that refer to values and beliefs that may be hidden from direct view to the casual observer.

5. Privilege – A right or immunity granted as a peculiar benefit, advantage or favor. Privilege grants a set of benefits and system rewards to one group while simultaneously excluding other groups from accessing these advantages.

6. Dimensions of Personal Identity (Arredondo et al., 1996). This model looks at the complexity of human beings by addressing both individual differences and shared identity using three separate but related dimensions of an individual's background.
   - ❖ "A" dimensions of personal identity include characteristics over which we have no control, such as age, race, or gender
   - ❖ "B" dimensions of personal identity involve characteristics over which we can exert some control, such as education
   - ❖ "C" dimensions of personal identity refer to events in a particular historical moment that shape an individual

7. Worldview – Refers to attitudes, values, opinions, concepts, thought and decision-making processes, as well as how one behaves and defines events.

8. Oppression – A form of domination and control that grants benefits and rewards to some people and denies the same access to others.

9. Racism – Beliefs and enactments of beliefs that one set of characteristics is superior to another set:
   - The systematic mistreatment of certain groups on the basis of skin color or other physical characteristics carried out by societal institutions or by people who have been conditioned by society consciously or unconsciously, in harmful ways towards people of color.
   - The combination of individual prejudice, individual discrimination, and institutionalized policies and practices that result in the unjustified negative treatment and subordination of members of a racial or ethnic group

10. Scheurich and Young (1997) define several categories of racism:

    - ❖ Overt racism – deliberate and intentional
    - ❖ Covert racism – unplanned and unintentional, yet yields consequences similar to overt forms of racism
    - ❖ Institutional racism – policies and practices within an organization that penalize members of a particular group
    - ❖ Societal racism – social and cultural assumptions of one group are favored over another group
    - ❖ Civilizational (Dysconscious) racism – dominant group assigns a subordinate status to the values and viewpoints of groups regarded as lower in the social hierarchy. These beliefs become embedded in society
    - ❖ The effects of each form of racism have overlapping and interlocking effects on minority groups and their experiences. Racism at higher levels has an interlocking and overlapping effect and contributes to acts of racism at lower levels

11. Power – A sociopolitical process that refers to the capacity to effect change and wield influence over others.

➢ ➢ ➢   Knowledge Competencies

Knowledge competencies permit us to understand more about the demographic, cultural, and educational experiences of culturally distinct children. This section of the manual provides detailed information about each of the following cultural groups and their experiences in the educational system – African Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans. Before we provide factual information about each group, we will review the concept of racial identity development.

Racial Identity Models

Several theories have been proposed to describe racial identity models for various racial and ethnic groups. In the following we will look at models for Black racial identity (Cross, 1991), White racial identity (Helms, 1984), as well as racial identities of culturally different and European groups (Sue & Sue, 1999). Racial identity theory

> Racial identity theory pertains to the degree and quality of identification individuals maintain towards those with whom they share a common racial designation (Helms, 1993).

pertains to the degree and quality of identification individuals maintain towards those with whom they share a common racial designation (Helms, 1993a). More specifically, this paradigm delineates one's sense of affiliation or disassociation with others who possess the same racial heritage. Racial identity theories help people consider the vast heterogeneity of individuals. That is, although people may share a common racial designation, they may have very distinct perceptions and attitudes about people of their own or others' racial designation. In short, these models help us avoid the tendency to view people as monolithic entities.

Cross's Racial Identity Development Model

Cross (1991) articulated four distinct stages of racial identity that explain the vast heterogeneity or within-group differences that characterize African Americans. They are as follows: (a) pre-encounter, (b) encounter, (c) immersion-emersion, and (d) internalization. In this paradigm, individuals transition from Eurocentric derivations of Blackness, which denigrate Black people, and gradually come to self-prescribed conceptualizations of Blackness, which esteem African American worldviews, and value orientations, as well as other cultural orientations.

Pre-Encounter Stage

During the *pre-encounter stage*, individuals assume an assimilationist posture, devalue Blackness and endorse Eurocentric notions of Blackness. Cross (1991) maintained that pre-encounter individuals can assume a variety of orientations, which account for attitudes towards their ascribed racial group. For instance, some pre-encounter individuals have low-salience attitudes whereby they assign little or limited relevance to being African American. Under such circumstances, these individuals grant higher priority to their religion, occupation, social class, or other distinctive status, and consequently, de-emphasize their racial identity. Other pre-encounter individuals may possess social-stigma attitudes, so that they perceive Blackness as an inconvenience or encumbrance. Still some pre-encounter individuals harbor anti-Black attitudes, such that they view other Blacks with disdain or contempt. This anti-black orientation usually results from miseducation and racial self-hatred (Vandiver, 2001).

Encounter Stage

The pre-encounter phase draws to a close once the individual experiences a catalytic or jolting event that causes her or him to reconstrue race more meaningfully. Cross argued consistently that the catalytic event is a necessary, yet not sufficient, condition for movement into the second stage, which is *encounter*. Not only must the individual experience a catalytic event or degrading experience during the encounter stage, she or he must also internalize such an event or experience by challenging pre-encounter viewpoints.

Catalytic events include, but are not limited to, racial slights and indignities. Positive experiences such as exposure to a new aspect of African or African American culture can also serve as the basis for reframing stereotypical derivations of race. During the encounter stage, individuals experience cognitive dissonance as a result of vacillating between two identity states, the previous identity and the emerging identity. Consequently, during the encounter stage, individuals pledge to begin an active search for their identity (White & Parham, 1990).

Immersion-Emersion Stage

During stage three, *immersion-emersion*, individuals bask in their newfound Black identity. Typically, stage-three individuals subscribe to externally driven dictates of what constitutes Blackness. "Ostentatious displays" of racial pride predominate this stage, such as adherence to Black norms of speech, garb, and social without internalizing this behavior. Immersion-emersion individuals direct overt hostility towards Whites in particular or they may exhibit intense Black involvement such that they idealize everything that is Black (Vandiver, 2001). These angry emotions may include:

- Rage at Whites for having promulgated stereotypic notions of Blackness

- A personal sense of shame and guilt for having previously denied Black racial identity

- Feelings of overwhelming pride which result from new levels of awareness and consciousness

During the latter phase of this stage, individuals emerge from this identity state with less idealistic and more objective views of Blackness.

Internalization Stage

Finally, during stage four, *internalization*, African Americans demonstrate a greater sense of personal comfort and do not feel the overwhelming anger and hostility characteristic of the immersion-emersion stage. Given their more inclusive worldview, adolescents at this stage prescribe for themselves acceptable notions of Blackness and have a healthy appreciation towards members of their own racial group as well as acceptance of those with other racial and cultural backgrounds.

Cross (1991) described three internalization identity types:

- Nationalist

- Biculturalist

- Multiculturalist

Distinguishing features of each involve the salience of one's Black identity in relationship to other dimensions of the identity structure.

For instance, Black identity is the primary area of interest for ***nationalists***, who devote their attention to the Black community.

Biculturalists integrate their Black identity with a mainstream American identity.

In addition to their racial identity, *multiculturalists* engage at least two other aspects of their identity, which may include gender, religion, sexual orientation, as well as interest in issues pertaining to other racial groups (Vandiver, 2001). Table 2 summarizes Cross' model.

Table 2

Cross' Racial Identity Development Model	
Pre-Encounter	Person devalues Blackness and endorses Eurocentric notions of Blackness.
Encounter	Person experiences a catalytic event that causes reconstruction of issues of race and ethnicity.
Immersion-Emersion	Person basks in newfound Black identity and idealizes everything that is Black.
Internalization	Person achieves a more balanced appreciation of both Blacks and Whites

Parham (2000) revised Cross' 1971 model pointing out that racial identity development does not always follow a linear progression through the stages. What more likely results, notes Parham, is that individuals confront encounters or catalytic events periodically throughout their lifespan, which prompt them to recycle through encounter, immersion-emersion, and internalization stages.

White Racial Identity Development Model

Helms (1984) devised the white racial identity development (WRID) model in an effort to describe the transformations that occur among Whites as they transition from having negative attitudes about people of color to the adoption of a nonracist identity.

Helms proposed six statuses, which include:

1. Contact

2. Disintegration

3. Reintegration

4. Pseudo-independence

5. Immersion/emersion

6. Autonomy

During the ***contact status***, Whites are generally oblivious to issues of racism and often adopt a color-blind perspective. In this stage people often vacillate between two extremes: they either have an uncritical acceptance of White racism, or they regard racial differences as unimportant. Endorsing the attitude that race is unimportant permits individuals to see themselves as members of the dominant group or as individuals with stereotypes.

During the ***disintegration status***, individuals experience some conflict, which results from contradictions in their beliefs. For instance, parents may regard themselves as nonracist, yet forbid their children from playing with children of color in the neighborhood. The irony in these viewpoints leads to feelings of shame and guilt. In an

effort to resolve this dilemma, individuals may avoid contact with people of color, avoid thinking about issues of race, or maintain that they are not culpable for their attitudes.

During the *reintegration status*, the individual regresses, such that he or she returns to initial attitudes and behaviors. In this sense the individual once again idealizes Whiteness and shows indifference and contempt towards people of color.

During the *pseudo-independence status*, individuals continue to work towards adopting a nonracist identity. The person has difficulty accepting racism and may even begin to identify with people of color. Often people in this status make a conscious effort to interact with people from different racial and cultural groups. Ironically, while attempting to help people of color, Whites in this stage may inadvertently impose dominant values and viewpoints on minority groups. Consequently, understanding during the pseudo-independence status occurs more at an intellectual level.

People in the *immersion/emersion status* begin to ask what it means to be White. They want to understand the meaning of racism and how they have profited from white privilege (McIntosh, 1989). In this status people move from trying to change people of color to the development of an affective understanding. Many Whites during this status experience this honest appraisal of whiteness as redeeming and recuperative.

During the final *autonomy status*, individuals reduce their feelings of guilt and begin to accept their role in the perpetuation of racism. They value diversity and are no longer fearful or intimidated by issues of race and representation. People in this status develop a nonracist identity. Table 3 summarizes Helms' white racial identity developmental model.

Table 3

	Helms' White Racial Identity Development Model	
Status	*Description*
Contact	Oblivious of own racial identity.
Disintegration	Conflict over contradictions between beliefs and behaviors.
Reintegration	Retreat to previous attitudes about superiority of Whites and the inferiority of people of color.
Pseudo-Independence	Intellectualized acceptance of own and others' race.
Immersion/Emersion	Honest appraisal of racism and significance of Whiteness.
Autonomy	Internalization of a multicultural identity with nonracist Whiteness as its core.

Sue and Sue's Racial/Cultural Identity Development Stage

Sue and Sue (1999) identified five stages of racial identity development, which provide a useful synthesis of the attitudes and behaviors of people of color:

1. Conformity

2. Dissonance

3. Resistance and immersion

4. Introspection

5. Integrative awareness

During the **conformity stage** of this model, people of color have a preference for the dominant culture and tend to have negative impressions of people within their own racial and cultural groups. They may harbor feelings of shame and embarrassment about their racial or cultural group.

During the **dissonance stage**, individuals accumulate information and experiences that counter some of their conformity attitudes and beliefs. This newly acquired information creates a sense of cognitive dissonance for people of color as they confront issues of racism and oppression. For many, the dissonance stage is the first time they actually consider positive aspects of their racial or cultural group. Concurrently, viewpoints that question the superiority of the dominant culture begin to surface.

Individuals functioning in the **resistance and immersion stage** tend to reject White social and cultural norms in favor of minority-held viewpoints. During this stage individuals experience competing emotions – guilt, shame and anger – at having previously endorsed dominant cultural viewpoints, as well as pride in their new appreciation of their own race. Individuals in this stage feel a strong sense of connection to their own racial group.

During the **introspection stage**, individuals recognize that maintaining a strong orientation towards their own culture and an oppositional orientation towards the dominant culture is psychologically taxing. In addition, they realize that, despite their affinity to their own cultural group, they may not endorse all minority-held viewpoints. Strict adherence to minority-held viewpoints often requires that the individual subordinate her/his own autonomy. During this stage the individual may experience some conflict as he/she begins to recognize that not all aspects of American culture are bad.

Individuals functioning in the **integrative awareness stage** develop a sense of inner security and have a healthy appreciation of their own culture as well as that of other people. Elements of this model are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4

Sue & Sue's Racial/Cultural Identity Development Stages	
Conformity	Preference for the dominant culture.
Dissonance	Person challenges previously held beliefs and attitudes.
Resistance and Immersion	Person endorses minority held views and rejects dominant values of society and culture.
Introspection	Person recognizes unhealthiness of resistance and immersion stage.
Integrative Awareness	Person has a balanced appreciation of own and others' culture.

Culturally Distinct Groups — Some Caveats

The next section addresses each racial and cultural group separately: Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos. Knowledge competencies for each group will be discussed including:

- Demographic Information

- Social and Historical Experiences

- Education Issues

- Cultural Values

Although we provide information about each group, this information should not be used in a stereotypical fashion. Often there is a high level of heterogeneity within a group and, as educators, we should avoid the temptation, no matter how alluring, to regard culturally different groups as monolithic entities. As noted in the discussion of racial identity, there is a great deal of variability within groups. This variability was also evident in Arredondo et al.'s (1996) dimensions of personal identity. As a result, the reader is cautioned against overgeneralizing about cultural groups.

As professionals acquire and apply new information about different cultural groups, it is especially important to consider the varying viewpoints and values of minority group members. As previously stated, often there are within-group differences, among people from the same racial, cultural, or ethnic group. For instance, some members may have a very traditional orientation in which they endorse almost exclusively the values, viewpoints, cultural practices, customs, and language preferences of their group of origin.

In marked contrast, other members of the same racial, ethnic, or cultural group may be highly acculturated into the dominant group and have a very limited sense of identity and affiliation with their culture of origin. Instead these individuals may prefer to submerge their culture of origin in favor of the predilections expressed by the dominant culture. An example of this may be a bilingual child who has internalized a sense of shame and embarrassment about primary language. This child may refuse to speak to family members in any language but English and may prefer to associate with friends almost exclusively from the dominant culture. These attitudes are consistent with Sue and Sue's conformity stage of racial/cultural identity development.

A third orientation may be one in which a person extracts elements from both the culture of origin and the new culture in which he or she finds herself or himself. This person may have a bicultural identity, meaning he or she can function equally well in both cultures. This orientation illustrates Sue and Sue's integrative awareness stage. As we examine the cultural values of each group below, it will be of critical importance to assess the degree of acculturation and assimilation before drawing any conclusions about individuals. Inappropriate application of cultural knowledge can mislead professionals into developing preconceived notions of how to work effectively with culturally distinct people.

There are a number of ways to gather information about different cultural groups. Reading extensively, gathering information through various media, public education, and personal experiences with cultural groups are but a few examples. Information, however, must be carefully filtered because it is not always accurate and can be filled with stereotypes, distortions, and overgeneralizations about different cultural groups (Cross,

1995/1996). Another important caveat is that often cultures are not static, but dynamic and ever-changing. Cross (1995/1996) recommended the following:

- Spending time in Culturally Diverse Settings

- Seeking the expertise of Cultural Guides or Brokers

- Reading Literature

- Attending Cultural events and meetings of leaders within that Culture

- Asking questions in sensitive ways

Other authors include that it is important to be aware of one's own biases and how they may influence one's perception (McIntosh, 2005; Wise, 2004).

Often culturally different groups are receptive to questions asked with sincerity. Because the dominant culture is often perceived as xenophobic and unreceptive to cultural differences, many minority group members are reluctant to share information about their cultural groups unless specifically asked.

The first cultural group we will examine is that of Native Americans. In each of the sections that follow we will:

- Review the unfolding aspects of nomenclature

- Address the sociopolitical issues each group has confronted

- Review broad cultural values that influence an orientation towards education

Native Americans

Nomenclature. Christopher Columbus imposed the term Indian on Native Americans in 1492 when he arrived in the Americas, mistakenly thinking he had landed in India. The term has had an enduring impact on the labeling of Native Americans in this country. The term Native American was later applied by the United States government in order to establish uniformity for census-keeping purposes. When applied by the government, the term also includes Alaskan natives, as well as people from U.S. territories and possessions, including locales such as American Samoa, Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Virgin Islands (Haukoos & Beauvais, 1996/1997). Because federal funding is allotted to Native Americans on the basis of their numbers in the general population, scant resources have been redistributed to larger segments of the population relative to those originally identified as Native American (Haukoos & Beauvais, 1996/1997).

In an effort to assert their self-determination, many Native Americans now refer to themselves collectively as "First Nations" people. The term "nation" implies having a systematic political structure. Native American and Alaskan native nations have very distinct democratic administrative and organizing principles. In fact, the original settlers in the Americas observed and later adapted many of the democratic governing principles that exist in the U.S. government today (Haukoos & Beauvais, 1996/1997).

When referring to their specific ethnic groups, many Native American groups refer to themselves by their original nations; for instance, Sioux Nation, Navaho Nation, etc. In the scholarly

> Native Americans are the only racial group in this country whose legal status has been established by the federal government.

literature, Native scholars employ the term "Native American" when referring to Native

peoples as a collective body. It is not uncommon for people to refer to Native Americans as tribal members. Members of the dominant culture even imposed onto Native peoples the designation "tribe." This term, however, is often considered pejorative. More appropriate terminology makes reference to Native peoples on the basis of their particular nation. Throughout this document we use the term Native American.

Demographics. In 1990, Native Americans comprised .8% of the U.S. population. By the time census data were collected for the year 2000, Native Americans' representation grew to .9%, or close to 2.5 million people. Population growth between 1990 and 2000 ranged from 26.4% to 110.3% among Native Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000b). This wide range is due in large part to the fact that census procedures shifted dramatically between the two collection periods. In 1990, individuals could only report a single race, but by the year 2000, people could report more than one race. The upper limits of this range reflect vast increases in the people who have claimed Native American heritage. Providing self-reported information about one's Native American heritage is very different from having a legal claim to one's "Indianness."

Native Americans are the only racial group in this country whose legal status has been established by the federal government. That is, in order to lay legal claim to one's Native American heritage, a person must have at least 25% blood quantum (Sue & Sue, 1999). No other racial group in this country conforms to these standards.

Recent sociodemographic findings for Native Americans have not yet been released and therefore, the figures reported about Native Americans in this document will rely on findings from the 1990 and 1995 census. The vast majority of Native Americans

live in the Southern and Western sections of the United States. More than 20% live on reservations and trust lands (Choney, Berryhill-Paapke, & Robbins, 1995).

In 1990, 2.1% of the Native American population had earned a bachelor's degree in comparison to 7.6% of the total U.S. population. During this same period, 65.6% of Native Americans age 25 and over had earned at least a high school diploma in comparison to 75.2% of the remainder of the U.S. population.

Between 1997 and 1999, the three-year average median household income for Native Americans was $30,784 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1999). Nationwide, the median household income in 1999 was $40,816. In 1999, the average poverty threshold for a family of three was $13,290, and $17,029 for a family of four. During the period between 1997 and 1999, the three-year average poverty rate for Native Americans was 25.9%, compared to 23.6% for African Americans, 22.8% for Latinos, and 12.5% for Asians.

According to Education Trust (1998), Native Americans comprise .2% of the school age population, .1% of students identified as gifted and talented, .1% of students who receive special education services, and .4% of all suspensions. In the state of Virginia, Native Americans comprise .1% of the school age population, .1% of students receiving gifted and talented services, .1% of those enrolled in special education, and 1.1% of all suspensions (Education Trust, 1998).

Social and educational issues. Native Americans were the original inhabitants of what is today regarded as the United States. The arrival of European settlers radically altered the relationship Native Americans had with their land and their culture. Attempts at conquest, slavery, and religious conversion were met with considerable resistance. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Native American

population was reduced to about 10% of its original number as a result, in large part, to disease and warfare (Choney et al., 1995). Between the 18th and 19th century, the U.S. government established more than 100 treaties with Native Americans. For the most part these treaties made provisions for Native Americans to vacate their homelands and relocate to reservations. Other clauses in the treaties guaranteed education for Native American children.

The Indian Removal Act of 1830 resulted in the displacement of Native Americans from the mid-Atlantic and Southeastern regions of the United States to the Oklahoma Territory, which settlers considered unsuitable for European habitation (Reyhner & Eder, 1992). This historical event is commonly referred to as the "Trail of Tears." During the 20th century many Native Americans were forced to move to urban areas in search of employment opportunities. Despite geographical shifts in residence, many Native Americans maintained close ties with their nations by visiting reservations regularly and preserving aspects of their culture.

Christianity was closely tied to the subjugation of Native Americans. Many Christian groups sought to eradicate Native American culture by converting Native Americans to Christianity primarily through the process of education. To this end, numerous schools were erected. Eventually, boarding schools were employed as a tool to separate Native American children from their families in an effort to influence the assimilation process without parental interference. Treaties were also used to make educational provisions with Native Americans. In many schools, Native American children were forbidden to speak their indigenous tongues and when students did so, they frequently encountered corporal punishment.

The most famous boarding school was established in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1879 under the leadership of Captain Richard Henry Pratt. Disavowal of Native American culture was the primary objective of the Carlisle School. Separating children from their families and cultures helped to erode family and tribal cohesion and prevented the transmission of cultural values from parents to children.

> It is important for educators to understand the distinct value systems and cultural experiences of Native American children and their families and how they may differ from mainstream American life.

During the 20th century, many Native American students were placed in public schools. Even today, for many children and adolescents, cultural conflict arises because of involvement in two very distinct, diametrically opposed cultures. Youngsters too often have difficulty maintaining the expectations of two very distinct cultural groups. On the one hand, they are expected to maintain traditional values, viewpoints, and practices; on the other hand, mainstream American culture often expects complete assimilation. As a result of these and several other stressors, many Native American youth find themselves involved in truancy, school drop-out, arrest, substance abuse, and suicide (Sue & Sue, 1999).

Cultural values. This section provides a discussion of the cultural values that establish a distinct identity and heritage for Native American children. At times these values are at odds and conflict directly with the values and viewpoints of the dominant culture. It is important for educators to understand the distinct value systems and cultural experiences of Native American children and their families and how they may differ from mainstream American life. An earnest acknowledgment and recognition of these competing worldviews can serve as a bridge for fostering cultural competence.

Within the Native American cultural system, sharing serves an important function because it permits group members to demonstrate honor and respect for one another. In fact, refusing to share is often considered selfish and may be regarded as an offensive act directed towards the donor.

Other values that have helped to sustain the Native American include cooperation and interdependence. Within this context, family needs and demands take precedence over individual needs. Group members work towards establishing and maintaining cohesion. For this reason, competition may be a very awkward construct for many Native American children, particularly those who endorse a traditional worldview.

Noninterference posits that individuals do not interfere with others. Alternative strategies for handling difficult situations involve observing, as opposed to reacting impulsively. This value often contributes to cultural conflict in the classroom given the value placed on participation in mainstream educational settings. Many Native Americans will not speak unless they have had time to reflect and organize their thoughts because once spoken, words cannot be easily retracted.

Kalyanpur and Harry (1999) pointed out that because many Native Americans value silence as opposed to the more garrulous styles of Americans, many Native Americans children are perceived as having delayed language skills. In fact their receptive language skills may mask their actual performance and abilities.

Within a Western cultural orientation, a future time orientation dominates social activity. For instance, business and government agencies often establish long-range goals that are projected for 10, 20, or even 50 years at a time. For traditionally oriented Native Americans, a present time orientation governs life. In this sense, what occurs in the here

and now is far more meaningful than a precise mathematical adherence to the clock or future time orientations.

In a Western cultural orientation, the nuclear family operates as the central unifying force. In marked contrast, the extended family provides an invaluable source of sustenance for Native American families. Extended family networks prize mutual interdependence, cohesion, and responsibility for one another throughout the lifespan (Red Horse, 1980). Family life is an important aspect of Native American heritage and culture, such that family obligations supercede responsibilities external to the family unit. For the most part, commitment, respect, mutual responsibility, and interdependence govern family relationships. Within the Native American family structure, elders are not isolated from children but function as an integral part of their upbringing. The extended family unit relies on elders to provide discipline, wisdom, and spiritual guidance.

Native Americans, as an historical collective, regard harmony with nature as another cultural value system. Many Native Americans prefer to coexist with nature, as opposed to dominating and controlling the forces of nature. They generally approach aspects of nature with reverence and value them as sacred. For example, Native American thought eschews the notion that nature exists for our convenience and disposal.

The above values represent only a few examples of Native American cultural thought, values, and behavior, yet they reflect very distinct contrasts to mainstream American culture. In this brief discussion it may be evident to the reader that many Native American values serve as a source of conflict and misunderstanding between Native American and non-Native American people. Most distressing are the implications these differences may have for the educational experiences of Native American children.

A commitment on the part of educators to bridge the educational divide may have a positive and lasting impact on these children as they enter mainstream educational institutions.

Racial identity development. Zitzow and Estes (1981) described individual differences among Native Americans by developing a continuum that examines the possible cultural orientations of Native Americans. *Heritage Consistent Native Americans* (HCNA) hold to a predominant orientation that involves traditional Native American values and practices. These individuals may spend a considerable amount of time on the reservation, have a large share of Native American friends, prefer to converse in their native tongue, and the like. On the other hand, *Heritage Inconsistent Native Americans* (HINA) are less likely to endorse traditional Native American values, and instead may favor more mainstream values and customs. These individuals may be uncomfortable around other Native Americans and have negative views about Native Americans.

Section III

African Americans

Nomenclature. "Negro" and "colored" were descriptors assigned early on to label people of African origin (Wells, 1992). Neither of these labels, however, made reference to an African heritage or a landmass. Several other racial groups have labels that connect them to a particular landmass. For instance, Asians are linked to the continent of Asia, and Latin Americans have their roots in Central and South America, as well as the Spanish-speaking Caribbean. For many African-origin people, names used over the years have been associated more with skin color than with their origins in a particular region of the world.

With the advent of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s and 70s, many Americans with African ancestry gained a greater sense of racial consciousness that resulted in the shedding of the term "negro" that connotes a subservient disposition and adopting the term "Black." During this historical period, many people of African descent equated the label "Black" with a sense of racial pride and a rejection of the status quo (Smith, 1992). Subsequently, the term Afro-American became vogue, but many scholars did not accept it due in large measure to its association with the Afro hairstyle. As group consciousness heightened, there was increasing recognition that the term African American functioned as a more precise descriptor that paid homage to one's African heritage.

Currently, professional and scholarly references to people of African origin generally use the term "African American." There is no consensus, however, among some African Americans about this label. While some people regard the term African American as more accurate, others prefer the term "Black" because it has social and

political connotations. Still others believe that the term "African American" does not adequately reflect their West Indian or South American roots. Immigrants throughout the African Diaspora, such as those from Jamaica, the Bahamas and continental Africa may assign more salience to their specific country of origin. Throughout this document we use the term "African American" because it provides a more accurate and encompassing label to describe African-origin people in the United States. When interacting with African Americans, we recommend that people ask individuals about their personal preferences in this regard.

Demographics. African Americans represent 12.3% of the U.S. population. Between 1990 and 2000, the African American population growth rate ranged from 15.6 to 21.5% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000b). This range stems from the fact that in 1990 individuals could only report one race but were able to report more than one race during the most recent census collection period. The difference in the growth rate for African Americans was among the lowest for all minority groups.

Economically, African Americans lag behind all other racial groups. In 1999, the median household income for African Americans was $27, 900 compared to $40,800 for all other racial groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 1999). According to federal government standards, a family of three whose income was less than $12,516 per year in 1996 met the poverty threshold. Poverty predisposes children to numerous risk factors, including poor nutrition, inadequate health care, substandard housing, and inferior child care (Children's Defense Fund, 1998). Alone each risk factor does not necessarily pose an insurmountable obstacle. Taken together, however, these risks have an interactive impact on children that could potentially impede cognitive functioning, school achievement, and physical health.

Nationwide, 39.8% of African American children live in poverty. In the state of Virginia, 30.9% of African American children live in poverty (Children's Defense Fund, 1998).

During the 1993-1994 school year, African American youngsters accounted for 15.5% of public school enrollment although only 6.8% of teachers were African American (National Center for Education Statistics, 1995). Arguably, the percentage of African American teachers should reflect the proportion of African American students in the population. Such ratios provide a host of benefits. As an example, minority teachers frequently understand and can respond effectively to the cultural experiences that children of color bring to school. Additionally, minority teachers often serve as role models, and their presence communicates in subtle and indirect ways that minority children are capable of achieving academically. Further, children who are members of the dominant culture begin to accept the fact that people of color can assume positions of leadership.

Nationwide, African American youngsters accounted for 16.9% of the student population, 8.5% of students receiving gifted education services, 20.6% of the special education population, and 33.4% of all suspensions (Education Trust, 1998). In the state of Virginia, African American youth represented 26.5% of the school-age population, 11.2% of gifted and talented placements, 30.7% of students receiving special education services, and 48.5% of all suspensions (Education Trust, 1998). Sadly, the underrepresentation of African Americans in gifted education, and their overrepresentation in special education and school suspensions point to the fact that an unacceptable number of students do not receive the intended benefits of a public school education.

Event dropouts refer to those students who have left school without earning a diploma in the last 12 months.

Status dropouts, on the other hand, refer to those individuals between the ages of 16 and 24 who have ever dropped out of school.

In 1995, 84.5% of African Americans completed high school. African Americans accounted for 14.7% of status dropouts; moreover, African Americans from low-income families have a greater probability of leaving school without a diploma (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1995).

Social and educational issues. African Americans were forcibly removed from the shores of West Africa, transported to the New World, and remained in bondage for more than two centuries. Black Codes, Jim Crow legislation, and segregation followed the period of enforced servitude. For years under these very oppressive and inhumane conditions, it was unlawful for African Americans to receive education. Despite these conditions, many persisted and earned an education. Later landmark legislation and court cases relegated African Americans to inferior educational experiences under separate but equal clauses. By 1954, however, the Brown v. Board of Education decision established the principle of desegregation of schools and ruled that separate school systems were inherently unequal. Despite this legal victory, many African American youngsters continue to receive a substandard education.

Economic despair, poverty, poor health, crime, violence, and inadequate education are among the challenges that impact the African American social experience in this country (Campbell-Whatley, Obiakor, & Algozzine, 1997). Often educational difficulties are construed as pathological. Historically, attempts to understand African

American children and their families were couched in pejorative terms that enlisted almost exclusively, deficit viewpoints of intellectual functioning and family life. Less attention, however, has been devoted to the strengths of African American children and their families.

Cultural values. Educators motivated towards ethical practice and cultural competence recognize the cultural context of student learners from diverse backgrounds (Day-Vines, 2000). They also recognize that these cultural contexts may differ markedly from their own. This section reviews several of the cultural values that have sustained African Americans since their arrival in this country.

Many of the cultural values prevalent in African American communities have their origins in West Africa (Holloway, 1990). As is the case with many non-Western peoples, some dominant American cultural values and African American values are often at odds. For instance, an American cultural orientation or worldview promotes individualism, competition, material accumulation, religion as distinct from other parts of culture, and mastery over nature. In marked contrast, many African Americans, particularly those with very traditional worldviews, embrace values such as the significance of the collective versus the individual, kinship and affiliation, spirituality, connectedness, harmony with nature, and holistic thinking (Akbar, 1985; Asante & Gudykunst, 1989; Myers, 1987; Nobles, 1991).

African Americans as a whole have distinct cultural orientations that guide and direct their behavior (Baldwin, Duncan, & Bell, 1992). Verbal communication and interaction patterns of African Americans have been traced to traditional West African society. This linguistic style includes the use of idiomatic phrases, call and response

patterns, vocal inflection, the oral tradition, and certain nonverbal indicators, such as gestures and rhythmic movement, to convey and intensify meaning (Asante, 1990; Blackshire-Belay & Eubank, 1995; Myers, 1987; Sinclair, 1983; Smitherman, 1991). Forms of self-expression among African American children have been described as projecting a certain verve and spontaneity (Boykin & Toms, 1985). These rhythmic manifestations appear in manners of work, movement, dance, dress, and gait.

Another personality trait attributed to many African Americans involves an affiliative-socializing orientation in which interpersonal relationships are highly prized. Social relationships are significant to African Americans in that they enable them to come together collectively and channel energy between

> Culturally competent educators capitalize on the cultural values of these students and incorporate them into the learning process, and in so doing enable students to become culturally competent.

individuals and others (Kambon & Baldwin, 1992). The above values and orientations represent some of the cultural attributes with which children enter school. Culturally competent educators capitalize on the cultural values of these students and incorporate them into the learning process and in so doing, enable students to become culturally competent.

Relative to cultural values, two institutions have weighed prominently in African American life - the extended family and the church. The extended family consists of nonfictive, biological relatives, such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins, as well as fictive family members composed of close friends and associates (Billingsley & Caldwell, 1991). Traditionally, extended family members have provided considerable social and emotional support for its members and participated actively in the growth and development of African American children.

The church has also served a significant role in the socialization of African American youngsters. In particular, the church has provided educational support, religious guidance, mentoring, financial assistance, and political activism as a mechanism for enhancing the life chances of members in the African American

> For many children, socialization within an American and an African American identity can pose dilemmas because the two identity structures often function as antithetical forces.

community. Spirituality provides a source of sustenance for members of the African American community. This concept does not necessarily refer to formal church membership, but more broadly encompasses the belief in a superior power that provides solace from life's struggles.

Racial identity development. Boykin and Toms (1985) proposed that African Americans in general, and children in particular, have the difficult task of integrating three distinct identities. Referred to as the "triple quandary," these identities are at once complex, competing, and contradictory. Boykin and Toms argued convincingly that this quandary reflects three interlocking arenas of experience or consciousness.

- First, African American children receive socialization experiences into mainstream American culture by virtue of their existence within the dominant culture.

- Second, for African American children, socialization occurs based on their minority status as members of a race of people who suffer victimization and oppression.

- Third, socialization experiences prompt African American children to become conscious of their status as African Americans with a rich heritage linked to the West African cultural experience.

The authors argued that a healthy identity rests upon successful, simultaneous negotiations of each of these three identity domains. For many children, socialization within an American and an African American identity can pose dilemmas because the two identity structures often function as antithetical forces.

In her study of high-achieving African American high school students, Fordham (1988) concluded that successful students were compelled to choose between social acceptance by peer group members or academic success. According to Fordham (1988), the peer group, which she termed "fictive kinship networks," discouraged students from pursuing scholastic achievement. In effect, she found that fictive kinship networks espoused a set of values that operated as the direct antithesis of mainstream American cultural values that concomitantly endorse individualism, achievement, and success. It was also discovered that the particular value orientation sanctioned by fictive kinship networks demonstrated racial solidarity among group members and operated as an oppositional response to mainstream American cultural values. This reality stems from a history of slavery and oppression.

Torn between two competing value systems, fictive kinship networks on the one hand and mainstream American cultural values on the other, academically successful African American students who elect mainstream American cultural values often endure ridicule and ostracism from members of the fictive kinship network. Moreover, such an orientation towards dominant cultural values exacts a hefty price at the expense of racial

identity and psychological well being (Fordham, 1988). Under these circumstances high-achieving students must make a mutually exclusive choice between fictive kinship networks and dominant cultural values. Fordham (1996) noted that, given limited alternatives, students who opt for academic achievement and success frequently adopt a "raceless" persona whereby they, in many respects, ignore and minimize any vestiges of an African American racial identity in order to obtain the accoutrements of success.

Latinos

Nomenclature. The term "Hispanic" refers to people whose ancestry stems from a Spanish-speaking country. Historically, this term has embodied the legacy of Spanish colonial rule and therefore includes European immigrants from Spain. As a result of the complex history of Latin America, Hispanics comprise several different racial groups that include people of European, African, and Native American ancestry. For this reason, Hispanic people more closely approximate criteria established for an ethnicity versus an actual racial group. The U.S. government originally imposed the term Hispanic as a means of classifying people and dispersing federal resources.

Many individuals regard the term "Hispanic" as woefully inadequate because it obscures the distinctive political, social, personal, historical, and language identities of people throughout Central and South America, as well as the Spanish-speaking Caribbean (Stavans, 1995). For example, the term may not be adequate, because people from Brazil have Portuguese heritage and speak Portuguese as opposed to Spanish.

For the first time in history, Latinos have now surpassed African Americans as the largest minority group in this country.

In a qualitative analysis of how the Hispanic label impacts people, Oboler (1995) found that many study participants felt the term Hispanic homogenized people and several respondents attributed more salience to their nationality than to a classification system based loosely on language and geographic origin. In fact, one informant disclosed that she did not realize she was Hispanic until she immigrated to the United States. For the purpose of this document, the term "Latino" will be used unless authors whose works are cited use other terminology.

Demographics. In 1990, 9% of the U.S. population consisted of Latinos. Within a 10-year period, the Latino population increased by 57.9% to account for 12.5% of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000c). For the first time in history, Latinos have now surpassed African Americans as the largest minority group in this country. Increases in the Latino population have been attributed in large measure to changes in U.S. immigration patterns and to birth rates (Driscoll, Biggs, Brindis, & Yankah, 2001). Currently, immigrants from Latin America and Asia tend to have the highest birth rates.

Latinos in this country represent a very heterogeneous group whose origins stem from at least 20 countries. Although most Latinos are united by Spanish language, this factor can be misleading. For example, as mentioned, Brazilians speak Portuguese. Further, among Latinos there are definite language differences in the amount of Spanish spoken, the tendency among some Latinos to combine both languages and speak "Spanglish," as well as varying dialects that exist throughout Spanish-speaking countries (Robinson & Howard-Hamilton, 2000). There is a great deal of geographic diversity in this population as well. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2000c), 66% of Latinos residing in this country are Mexican, 14.5% hail from Central and South America, 9% are Puerto Rican, 4% have Cuban origins, and 6.4% are of other Latino backgrounds.

Although we live in the most developed country in the world, poverty remains a pervasive social issue that severely jeopardizes the health, educational outcomes, and economic well-being of children and families. In 1989, 32.2% of Latino children lived in

> If education is the great equalizer, then it is imperative that educational opportunities improve for children from minority groups.

poverty. Currently, the fact that 40.3% of Latino children live in poverty serves as a source of growing concern (Children's Defense Fund, 1998). Children who experience

poverty are 2.8 times more likely to have had inadequate prenatal care, two times more likely to repeat a grade, 3.4 times more likely to get expelled, and only half as likely to earn a bachelor's degree. If education is the great equalizer, then it is imperative that educational opportunities improve for children from minority groups.

In a national profile comparing the percentage of public school teachers to student enrollment, the National Center for Education Statistics (1995) reported that in the 1993-94 school year 4.1% of teachers and 11.5% of students were Latino. Although it is not

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necessary for students and teachers to share the same heritage in order for successful learning outcomes to occur, students do benefit when teachers understand and incorporate cultural elements into their teaching repertoire (Delpit, 1995).

According to Education Watch (1998), Latinos accounted for 13.5% of public school enrollment nationwide, yet only 6.3% of the gifted population. School-age Latino children represented 11.6% of students receiving special education services and 13.1% of all school suspensions. A somewhat different picture emerges at the state level. Latinos accounted for 3.2% of school-age children in Virginia, 1.6% of students identified as gifted and talented, 3.3% of students receiving special education, and 3.0% of all suspensions (Education Trust, 1998).

Latinos accounted for 34.7% of high school dropout rates (National Center for Education Statistics, 1995). The large majority of Hispanic students who drop out of school do so before the tenth-grade (Nicolau & Ramos, 1990). Dropout rates for this population often provide misleading information, however. For instance, when examining

dropout rates for U.S.-born Latinos, as opposed to all Latinos in the United States, the dropout rate hovers around 20% (Government Accounting Office, 1994). The fact that many immigrant Latinos have lower rates of educational attainment can be accounted for by examining their purpose in coming to the United States. That is, a vast number of immigrants seek employment as a priority over education and consequently do not enroll in or complete school (Driscoll et al., 2001). Many of these immigrants work as migrants in low-paying service occupations, and their income often supports families residing both in the United States and in their countries of origin.

Social and educational issues. Because Latinos have their origins in several different countries throughout Latin America, they do not necessarily share universal social, historical, or cultural backgrounds. Each group has had a varied and unique experience in this country, which includes their reasons for migration, relationship to this country, and their social and educational experiences.

For instance, Mexicans have a longstanding history with the United States. In fact, portions of the Southwestern United States originally belonged to Mexico prior to the Mexican-American War. In the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo following the war, Mexico ceded California, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and parts of New Mexico and Colorado to the United States (Samora & Simon, 1993). This treaty guaranteed U.S. citizenship to Mexican inhabitants. More recently, many Mexicans have fled their homeland to seek employment opportunities in this country.

Among other Latino groups, Cubans arrived on the shores of the United State largely due to Fidel Castro's overthrow of the Cuban government and installation of a communist regime in 1959. Puerto Rico is a commonwealth of the United States, so its

citizens automatically have U.S. citizenship. Civil war, political strife, and poverty are among the reasons why many people from Central and South America chose to emigrate from their homelands. Despite their varied histories and compelling reasons for entering this country, many, if not most, immigrant Latinos have, at some point, had to cope with the burden of language acquisition in a country that shuns individuals who do not speak English fluently. The Supreme Court and a host of researchers have addressed the issues surrounding bi-linguialism.

In 1974 the Supreme Court ruled in Lau v. Nichols that all non-English speaking students were entitled to a meaningful education. This mandate resulted in the proliferation of bilingual education programs throughout the country. Oddly enough, the concept of bilingual education has been shrouded in controversy since its inception, particularly because there is a tendency to equate English proficiency with patriotism. To complicate matters, many people have mistaken notions of even the definition of bilingual education.

Bilingual programs involve children receiving instruction in their native tongue for at least a portion of the day with the intent that they transition into English-speaking classes within two to three years (Nieto, 1996). As an advantage, bilingual programs permit students to remain abreast of the curriculum through instruction in their native language while simultaneously learning English. The success of bilingual education programs can be attributed to the fact that students' native tongue is used as a bridge for learning English.

Other approaches to second-language acquisition include English-as-a-second-language (ESL). Typically, ESL programs provide non-native English-speaking students

with language skills so they can function adequately in an English language class. ESL teachers are not necessarily proficient in the students' native language because ESL programs are predicated on the fact that students will learn the rudiments of English. ESL approaches to learning are particularly useful for students from low-incidence groups in which there are not enough speakers of a particular language to warrant a bilingual program. Many Asian languages fall into the low-incidence category. Unfortunately, students have the potential to flounder in ESL programs because they do not receive instruction in the content areas while learning English.

Proposition 227 resulted in the elimination of bilingual education programs in the state of California. As it stands now, students for whom English is a second language receive one year of transition services followed by placement into an English immersion program (Sue & Sue, 1999). In 2000, Arizona voters enacted a similar initiative banning bilingual education. Washington state provides transition services that permit students to receive bilingual services for three years before shifting them to all-English classes. The controversy surrounding English acquisition has placed stumbling blocks in the path of language-minority students who routinely confront:

- Discrimination

- Negative perceptions about their ability

- Low expectations from educators for achievement

- Inadequate funding for instructional programs

- Resentment and opposition from those who wield power in educational and political arenas

In an ethnographic study of 97 classrooms spanning a period of six years, Ortiz (1988) compared the educational experiences of Hispanic and non-Hispanic children. Some very disturbing findings emerged regarding the instructional quality provided for these two cultural groups. For example, teacher informants in the study openly acknowledged individual acts of both covert and overt racism. Individual teacher behaviors that could be described as discriminatory included a pattern of low expectations, deprecating remarks about Hispanic students' background and language proficiency, and instances in which exemplary student performances were questioned or attributed to some anomaly. Other examples included the fact that when supply shortages occurred, Latino students did not receive materials or were asked to share supplies with other Latino students. When questioned about these practices, teachers responded that Latino students tend to be more cooperative than other students and do not mind. Ortiz also noted that teachers frequently avoided eye contact and close interactions with these students, praised mediocre performances, and expressed exasperation when students did not respond directly to questions. Surprisingly, teachers, who volunteered for interviews and whose classes were observed, obtained high profiles on three separate attitudinal measures that assessed sensitivity towards cultural difference.

In Ortiz's study, teacher attitudes and behaviors seemed to be reinforced by institutional practices. Within several schools regular education teachers regarded bilingual teachers with contempt and hostility. Ortiz even documented a disturbing incident in which regular education teachers requested not to eat lunch with bilingual teachers for fear that they would converse in Spanish among themselves. Worse yet, building-level administrators honored these requests. This example suggests that

building-level administrators who are expected to remain impartial out of a sense of ethical responsibility opted instead to reinforce and condone intolerance and bigotry.

Ortiz also documented policies and decisions that reinforced a system of bias on the basis of culture and race. In this study, bilingual classes were often situated in remote areas of the building and instructional supplies tended to be scant. Frequently, teachers in bilingual classrooms were younger and more inexperienced. It was not uncommon for teachers without any formal training in bilingual education to serve bilingual students. Moreover, bilingual education curriculum was not aligned with the regular education curriculum, although students were expected to perform according to national performance standards.

These factors emanate from and persist within larger social structures that point to the complicity and interaction of individuals, institutions, and societies in maintaining systems of inequality for students from devalued cultural groups. Uncontested, such practices contribute to the continued subordination of minority groups through the perpetuation of social and economic stratification, and injustice (Patton, 1998). This study does not reflect a single perspective. In fact, similar findings have been documented elsewhere (Darder, 1995; Hilliard, 1992).

Nicolau and Ramos (1990) noted that many Latino parents are not aware of strategies for promoting academic achievement and success. To complicate matters, Latino parents and school personnel are often estranged from one another and do not know each other's expectations. Many immigrant Latino parents are frequently more attuned to the importance of developing social skills in their children than academics. Further, the U.S. educational system differs markedly from school systems in their

homelands. In their native country, the school and families performed very different and distinct roles. For instance, the school assumes responsibility for providing learning resources, and parents prepare students to behave appropriately by instilling social competencies in their children. Social competence may include behaviors such as deference to teachers, silence, and cooperation. In an educational system where verbal fluency is highly regarded, this strategy is not very appropriate.

In a study of extreme and acquiescent response styles among Latinos, Marin, Gamba, and Marin (1992) found that less acculturated and less well-educated Latinos tended to provide responses that agreed with the examiner. As acculturation levels increased, the tendency to acquiesce decreased. The researchers suggested that an acquiescent response set may be related in part to cultural values such as *simpatia*, or an emphasis on the collective. In addition, extreme and acquiescent response styles may be consistent with power differentials that exist between individuals in a dominant and subordinate role and shape the level and depth of social interactions.

Altarriba and Bauer (1998) noted that, because of the proximity between the United States and Latin America, many Latinos retain their language and values. Low-income Latino children frequently suffer delayed language development (Nicolau and Ramos, 1990). Curiously, immigrant children are often discouraged from speaking Spanish in school, which has complex consequences on their ability to develop a healthy bicultural identity (Darder, 1995; Espin, 1987; Ortiz, 1988). More specifically, the devaluation of Spanish language contributes to cultural subordination and has negative consequences on the ability to develop a healthy ethnic identity. Frequently, immigrant groups, who are expected to conform to dominant cultural values, are regarded as

outsiders and viewed as intruders in mainstream American society. As Ortiz (1988) demonstrated, the general climate of mainstream institutions towards Latinos has been inhospitable at best. These students do not have a history of having their contributions and strengths responded to by teachers and educational systems.

Watt, Guajardo, and Markman (1987) examined the scholastic achievement of 222 Latino high school students in Colorado. They classified participants into three categories:

- Dropouts

- Strugglers or those students who maintained poor grades and attendance

- Achievers or those students who experienced academic success

According to their findings, correlates of academic success included:

- Socioeconomic Status

- Involvement in Extracurricular Activities

- School Satisfaction

- Postsecondary Aspirations

- Good Grades

Cultural values. Latinos have a culturally distinct set of values that guide and direct their thought and behavior. Cultural values among Latinos include:

- *Familismo*, or the importance of the family

- *Simpatia*, which refers to positive social behaviors and avoidance of conflict

- *Respeto* or respect for interpersonal relationships

Other cultural values include fatalism, which refers to the tendency to take life as it comes, patriarchal family structures, and religiosity (Altarriba & Bauer, 1998; Casas &

Pytluk, 1995; Triandis, Marin, Lisansky & Betancourt, 1984). Sue and Sue (1999) noted that Hispanics have strong family ties. Allocentrism is another characteristic attributed to Hispanics, which involves high levels of conformity, empathy, and sacrifice for the welfare of the group, trust, and personal interdependence.

Many Latino families have a strong belief in the existence of a higher being and the need to follow prescribed formal practices to worship this being. In addition, folk healing is a common practice that is often enlisted during periods of crisis. The involvement of folk healing symbolizes the tendency not to separate physical and emotional well-being. Many of these families have the added task of contending with acculturative stress, which results from attempting to adapt to a new cultural milieu (Altarriba & Bauer, 1998; Williams & Berry, 1991). For instance, high unemployment and poverty rates, health factors, as well as difficulty securing assistance from schools and agencies complicate the ability of immigrant families to enter a new culture.

Espin (1987) identified several factors that contribute to the acculturative stress of Latina women and adolescent females. Issues of race, gender, class, language, culture shock, a sense of grief and loss of the homeland, shifting gender roles, cultural

> Issues of race, gender, class, language, culture shock, a sense of grief and loss of the homeland, shifting gender roles, cultural conflict, loneliness and isolation, and, depending upon the circumstances of migration, post-traumatic stress syndrome, can all have adverse effects on the experiences of immigrants in this country.

conflict, loneliness and isolation, and, depending upon the circumstances of migration, post-traumatic stress syndrome, can all have adverse effects on the experiences of immigrants in this country. Acculturative stress exerts a psychological toll on immigrants and affects physical health, decision-making, and occupational functioning (Smart & Smart, 1995). Refugees, in particular, experience an extraordinary amount of stress due to

the economic and political climate in their homelands, tendency to flee under situations of duress, and trauma that often results from the migration experience (Williams & Berry, 1991). Ability to cope in new surroundings, the degree of congruence between expectations and actuality, as well as certain determinants within the new society, all contribute to the degree and outcomes of acculturation. One's ability to access coping mechanisms often functions as a mediating variable that reduces acculturative stress. For instance, feeling a sense of control, familiarity with western customs and practices, social and family ties, and connections with a church community may mitigate against the fear and uncertainty associated with acculturative stress.

For many immigrant families, survival is the major emphasis and preparation for school consequently assumes a lower priority (Nicolau & Ramos, 1990). These issues can easily impact the degree of involvement that Latino families maintain in their children's education. For example, Avila and Avila (1995) found that many Mexican American parents have difficulty negotiating American educational institutions and, consequently, avoid contact with school officials for fear they will embarrass themselves or their children. Others have noted that frequently Hispanic parents regard education as the school's domain and feel their responsibility involves addressing issues of behavior (Casas & Furlong, 1994; Nieto, 1996; Valdes, 1996). Serious efforts to enhance the educational prospects of Latino children will need to integrate cultural values, group orientations towards education, as well as the social experiences of Latinos in this country.

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders

Nomenclature. Asians in the United States represent 29 ethnic and national groups, and Pacific Islanders represent 19 ethnic and national groups. Together, Asians and Pacific Islanders speak more than 100 different languages (Sue & Sue, 1999). These numbers alone suggest the vast heterogeneity that characterizes this population group. Asians and Pacific Islanders hail from such places as Japan, China, the Philippines, Thailand, Cambodia, Tahiti, the Fiji Islands, Guam, and Samoa, to name a few. Each country has its own cultural, historical, ethnic, and linguistic diversity. The varying nationalities represent vastly different histories, cultures, and social experiences. For this reason, we cannot accurately lump all Asians together as if they were identical. Each Asian and Pacific Island group reflects a diversity that includes reasons for migration, the number of generations in this country, as well as levels of acculturation.

Although individuals from Asia are commonly referred to in this country as Asians as a mechanism of convenience that reflects geographical and ethnic origin, this descriptor often mutes racial and cultural variability. More appropriate and accurate terminology may reference people of Asian descent by their geographical origin. For instance, a more precise reference to an Asian or Asian American of Korean descent may be Korean American. As always, when unsure about specific references, it is appropriate to inquire. For the purpose of this document, we will apply the term "Asian" to individuals of Asian descent.

Demographics. Currently, Asians comprise 3.7% of the United States population (U.S. Census Bureau (2000b). Between 1990 and 2000, the entire U.S. population increased by 13.2%. When disaggregating the data by racial group, a different picture emerges. In the decade between

1990 and 2000, the Asian population grew between 48.3% and 72.2%. This range is due to the fact that data-collection procedures changed between census periods, permitting individuals to report more than one race. Changes in immigration policies and the influx of Southeast Asian refugees since 1975 have contributed to the surge in the Asian population. As it stands now, the majority of Asians in this country are foreign born (Sue & Sue, 1999).

Among Asians and Pacific Islanders, 43.9% of those 25 and over have earned at least a bachelor's degree compared to 28.1% of Whites in the same category (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000a).

Asians have relatively low rates of poverty. Nearly 11% of Asians live below the poverty level in comparison to 7.7% of Whites and 23.4% of all other racial groups (U.S. Census, 1999). Asians in this country maintain relatively high levels of educational attainment. Among Asians and Pacific Islanders, 43.9% of those 25 and over have earned at least a bachelor's degree compared to 28.1% of Whites in the same category (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000a). High school graduation rates hover around 86% for Asians and 88% for Whites. In 1999, the median income for Asians and Pacific Islanders was $51,200 while the median income for all races was $40,800.

Nationally, Asians comprise 3.7% of public school enrollment, 5.9% of the gifted and talented population, 1.3% of special education placements and 1.9% of all suspensions (Education Trust, 1998). Similar figures have been reported at the state level for Virginia: Asians comprise 3.5% of public school enrollment, 5.7% of gifted and talented placements, 1.4% of students identified for special education, and 1.4% of all suspensions.

Historical Experiences with Oppression. In this next section we provide a brief overview of the historical experiences of Chinese and Japanese immigrants, two of

the earliest Asian groups to arrive in the United States. The reader will receive insights into the antipathy directed towards them by members of the dominant culture.

The Chinese. Chinese immigration to the United States occurred during the mid-19th century with the discovery of gold in California and the potential for employment. When Asians first arrived in this country, African Americans were still enslaved and Native Americans were living on reservations. The influx of Chinese immigrants occurred because of the need for a labor force, especially in the railroad, construction, mining, and factory industries. As the Chinese entered this country, they were met by a wave of anti-immigrant sentiment that included racism, oppression, hostility, and violence.

Additionally, legislation was enacted to support opposition to new groups. For instance in the 1854 California Supreme Court Decision People v. Hall, a Caucasian citizen named Hall was convicted of murder based on the testimony of a Chinese witness (Kim, 1973). The court ruled that the testimony of the Chinese man was inadmissible because minorities were not permitted to testify for or against Whites. This legislation fueled growing anti-Chinese sentiment leading to murders, lynching, property damage, and robbery of many Chinese nationals. Between 1850 and 1870, California levied a Foreign Miner's Tax that was collected from Chinese miners. Taxes in the amount of 50% of their total revenue were enacted the first year of the legislation and then 98% thereafter. Finally, by 1882, Congress authorized the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prevented the immigration of Chinese men and their wives from establishing citizenship. This resulted in the inability of many Chinese from establishing viable family lives in this country.

The Japanese. The Japanese arrived in Hawaii in 1885, three years after the Chinese were excluded. Previously, the Japanese government had enacted a ban on emigration. After this policy was relaxed, the Japanese were heavily recruited to work within the sugar production industry. Japanese were often regarded as threats to national security particularly as it related to the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. By 1907 the United States and the Japanese government signed a "gentleman's agreement" in which Japan would no longer permit the immigration of Japanese nationals (Kim, 1973). Additionally, Californian legislators enacted the Alien Land Law, which prohibited aliens from owning land. The Immigration Act of 1924 (National Origins Quota System) severely limited the amount of immigration of Asians. Ironically, no quotas were established for Northern European immigrants. Following the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor during World War II, many Japanese people were interred in camps. This campaign was orchestrated in an effort to curtail economic competition by the Japanese, prey on public fear, and promote racism.

Other immigrant groups. Following the "gentlemen's agreement" in 1907, which eliminated immigration of Japanese nationals, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association invited large numbers of Filipinos to Hawaii. As a result of the Spanish War of 1909, the United States held a trusteeship over the Philippines. The Filipinos who arrived in this country experienced a great degree of racism and oppression that severely impacted their experience.

Kim (1973) described three primary groups of Asian immigrants:

- Those who immigrated prior to the Immigration Act of 1924

- The war brides and adopted children of U.S. citizens and immigrants who arrived after World War II

- American-born second-, third-, and fourth-generation Asian Americans

The most recent immigrants included Southeast Asian refugees, who have had to contend with a very different set of social and acculturation experiences in this country (Sue & Sue, 1999). Many of these immigrants are refugees who are fleeing political persecution in their homelands and arrived on the shores of the United States for asylum. They have come from such places as Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Unlike their Asian counterparts, who may have come to the United States in order to obtain education, employment, or economic mobility, many of these refugees endured undue hardships that complicate their transition into this culture. For instance, many refugees may have experienced the loss of family members due to death and permanent separation, torture, hunger, and violence, as well as other issues that make their concern for safety paramount (Bemak & Greenberg, 1994). Refugees are also likely to experience a sense of isolation, estrangement, feelings of being devalued, as well as a loss of power.

The Hmong, a group of refugees primarily from North Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand, had a rather difficult passage to the United States. Their hardships have often been attributed to cultural differences, their agrarian background, as well as their limited exposure to formal education prior to their relocation experience (Sue & Sue, 1999). In 1961, the U.S. government attempted to install a non-communist Laotian government; consequently, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) hired Hmong soldiers to fight the communist guerillas (Cerhan, 1990; Fadiman, 1997). Eventually, the Laotian government fell to the communist regime, endangering the lives of those Hmong who had supported

the noncommunist political system. At this point many Hmong fled to Thailand for security and later to the United States for asylum. Once arriving in the United States many Hmong experienced difficulties associated with the trauma of war, dislocation, and separation. As a result, they experienced high rates of social distress, cultural conflict, unemployment, and difficulty negotiating an American cultural system, which too often included school failure (Fadiman, 1997).

By viewing the specific and unique circumstances of varying Asian groups, dispelling the myth of the "model minority" is possible. Generalizing or presuming expectations of success upon all Asian subgroups severely distorts the actual experiences of each group.

Social and educational issues. As educators work with Asian American children, they should exercise caution against applying the universal myth of the "model minority." Because this stigma has been applied widely for so long, many find it difficult to recognize the challenges that some Asian groups experience.

For many Asians, the expectation of academic success is an important variable in their family pride (Hartman & Askounis, 1989). Many Asian parents instill in their children an achievement-oriented work ethic, recognizing that academic accomplishments contribute to social status and mobility. At the same time, academic failure is often regarded as a form of shame and loss of face brought on the family. Many of these parents make great sacrifices to ensure their children's success. Relatedly, many young people feel obligated not to disappoint family members or disgrace the family honor.

Academic success may vary for many Asian groups depending upon the amount of time they have been in the United States, their reason for immigration, social status in the previous country, and educational background. Again, the myth of the "model minority" cannot be applied universally to all Asian subgroups. Certainly, there are groups that experience grave difficulty in obtaining educational parity in this country and they tend to lag behind their more successful Asian counterparts.

Asian cultural values. Although we must recognize the vast heterogeneity of each particular cultural group, this section highlights some of the broad and overarching cultural values that many Asian groups may share. The reader is cautioned, however, not to apply these values unilaterally to all groups, but to consider the individual characteristics and their social and historical experiences in a particular cultural context. This strategy precludes seeing all Asian groups, as well as previously discussed groups, as a monolithic entity.

An important cultural value for many Asians involves the prominence of family honor. Many Asian families prize interdependence over independence (Marsella, 1993). In addition, the collectivist nature of the family requires that family members subordinate their own interests while elevating the preferences of the family. An individual's behavior not only impacts that person, but reflects upon the entire family. As a result, negative behavior such as school failure and juvenile delinquency brings shame and embarrassment to the entire family, not just the individual involved.

Many Asian families maintain a hierarchical structure in which authority is accorded on the basis of age, gender, and social status. Within the family constellation, deferential behavior is a particularly important facet of interpersonal relationships. Group

members are socialized to respect authority, maintain harmonious relationships, and remain humble. As a result, confrontation is usually discouraged and children are often raised to limit their verbal expressiveness. For Asian students who endorse a more traditional cultural orientation, therefore, the expectation that they would participate actively and assertively in a Western-oriented class may run counter to their socialization experiences. One Asian expression notes, "The nail that sticks out will be hammered down" (Leong, 1992, p. 222). It is important to remember that the extent to which an Asian individual adheres to certain Asian cultural values depends in large part on the level and degree of acculturation or the extent to which that individual has been socialized into mainstream American culture.

Given Pedersen's model (1994), we have focused on the knowledge competencies needed to establish the knowledge basis for cultural competency. The next section will focus on the necessary skills needed to become culturally competent.

As we integrate our awareness and knowledge competencies, we must do so in a spirit that recognizes and values all children as worthy of respect and dignity, not just the smart children, or the affluent children, or the charming children. The children whose personhood we, as educators, least want to acknowledge, such as those with impediments to learning or those who lead chaotic lives, are probably the most needy academically, socially, and emotionally. The children whose egos and psyches are most wounded and broken are the ones who need the warmth and nurturing embodied in multicultural practice the most. Patton (2001) reminded us that we have an ethical responsibility and a moral obligation to educate all children, irrespective of their race, ethnicity, gender, social class, or disabling condition. He continued by suggesting that often when students

fail to learn it is because they have not been taught. In fact, he has suggested a new category of disabling condition known as "ABT," or "ain't been taught."

The skills section focuses on specific strategies that educators can employ to enhance their efficacy levels as they pertain to cross-cultural competence and, thus, their ability to reach and teach these learners. The section begins with a broad overview of skills appropriate for many minority children. By extension, several of the skills are appropriate for all children. We will begin with a discussion of classroom climate or the social environment that educators create in their schools and classrooms that can make students feel either comfortable or uncomfortable.

White Americans
Why Do We Look at Whiteness in Our Society?

As one works to eliminate the achievement gap, it is necessary to consider the issue of White privilege as one of the factors that contributes to it. This paper considers numerous attitudes towards White privilege. It shares a variety of perspectives about the values of White culture and the influence of Whiteness on society, including its influence on education. Readers should note that these descriptions of whiteness are generalizations about a group of people and are not meant to describe every White individual. In no case does one size fit all. The descriptions are not meant to inflict guilt or shame on individuals but are meant to help depict the dynamics of white culture, its privilege, and its impact on society. Decisions have been made over the years that result in White privilege as it exists today. It is a privilege that the White population has inherited and from which it has benefited, either consciously or unconsciously.

> Dyer (2008) shares his view of the importance of witnessing whiteness,
> "This…is why it is important to come to see whiteness. For those in power in the West, as long as whiteness is felt to be the human condition, then it alone both defines normality and fully inhabits it….the equation of being white with being human secures a position of power. White people have power and believe that they think, feel and act like and for all people; white people, unable to see their particularity, cannot take account of other people's; white people create the dominant images of the world and don't quite see that they thus construct the world in their own image; white people set standards of humanity by which they are bound to succeed and

others bound to fail. Most of this is not done deliberately and maliciously; there are enormous variations of power amongst white people, to do with class, gender and other factors; goodwill is not unheard of in white people's engagement with others. White power nonetheless reproduces itself regardless of intention, power differences and goodwill, and overwhelmingly because it is not seen as whiteness, but as normal. White people need to learn to see themselves as white, to see their particularity."

Nomenclature.   According to the 2000 United Stated census, "The term 'White' refers to people having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. It includes people who reported 'White' or write in entries such as Irish, Italian, Lebanese, Near Easterner, Arab, or Polish."

Shelly Tochluk (2008) calls whiteness, "…a racial construct (that) was deliberately invented for political and economic purposes." According to Tochluk, the idea of racial whiteness was first developed in the late 1600's and early 1700's in order for the colonists to distinguish between European indentured servants and African slaves. This was done to create a division between the two groups in an effort to stem rebellion from their combined force and to protect the economic interests of the colonists. In 1791, the Virginia legislature, "…made the term 'white' a legal distinction." (Martinas et al., 1994).   Tochluk (2008) states that this separation of white workers from African slaves protected, "…the interests of the still-growing capitalist system through the introduction of both (1) white-skin privilege laws and (2) more severe laws further limiting rights and freedoms for African Americans and Native Americans."

Paul Kivel (2002) claims that, "Whiteness is a constantly shifting boundary separating those who are entitled to have certain privileges from those whose exploitation and vulnerability to violence is justified by their not being white." Kivel states, "The word 'white,' which has been used to describe European Americans, does not reflect anyone's skin color so much as a concept of racial purity that has never existed."

In a DVD-Video lecture, Dr. Derald Wing Sue chronicles laws in the United States that supported the idea of "White:"

- 1789 – Whites received extra votes and congressional seats based on the number of slaves they held.

- 1790 – Any free white alien could become a citizen after two years of residence in the United States.

- 1856 – The Dred Scott decision upheld the Fugitive Slave Law stating that any, "free negro of the African race," is not a citizen of the United States if their ancestors were sold as slaves in this country.

- 1882 – "The coming of Chinese laborers to the U.S. is outlawed."

- 1891 – Railroads in Tennessee needed to provide, "secure separate accommodations" for the "white and colored races."

- 1896 – The Plessy v. Ferguson decision legalized Jim Crow "separate but equal" laws that supported white supremacy.

- 1911 – In Nebraska, marriages between white people and people who had 1/8 or more, "negro, Japanese, or Chinese blood," were void.

- 1915 – In Oklahoma, the Corporate Commission required separate phone booths for, "white and colored patrons."

- 1924 – In Maryland, a white woman, "who shall suffer or permit herself to be got with child by a negro or mulatto," was sentenced to the penitentiary for a minimum of 18 months.

- 1926 – In Atlanta, Georgia, "No colored barber shall serve as a barber to white women or girls."

- 1929 – In Missouri, it was unlawful for any "colored child" to attend a white school or for any white child to attend a "colored school."

- 1930 – In Birmingham, Alabama, "It shall be unlawful for a negro and white person to play together or in the company with each other in any game of cards or dice, dominoes or checkers."

According to Tochluk, (2008), whiteness means, "…just being normal, achieving middle class status, living a segregated life, American, Christian, Western, modern, innocent, free, individualistic, ambitious and rigid." She also says that we can never define whiteness in a way that describes every white person.

Demographics.   According to the United States 2000 census, the White population increased slower than the total population between 1990 and 2000. It also reported that the White population numbers shown on the 1990 census included those persons who reported themselves as White only. The 2000 census, on the other hand, reported the White population numbers in two ways, those who reported themselves as White only and those who reported themselves as mixed racially, with one of the races being White.

The comparison of the numbers and percentages of the White population of the United States follows:

Table Five

1990 U.S. White Population		2000 U.S. White Alone Population		2000 U.S. White Alone or in Combination Population	
Number	% of Total*	Number	% of Total*	Number	% of Total
199,686,370	80.3	211,460,626	75.1	216,930,975	77.1

* Total U.S. population in 1990   248,709,873
  Total U.S. population in 2000   281,421,906

The comparison of the numbers and percentages of the White population for

the commonwealth of Virginia follows:

Table Six

1990 VA White Population		2000 VA White Alone Population		2000 VA White Alone or in Combination Population	
Number	% of Total*	Number	% of Total*	Number	% of Total
4,791,739	77.4	5,120,110	72.3	5,233,601	73.9

* Total VA population in 1990   6,187,358
  Total VA population in 2000   7,078,515

These percentages differ dramatically depending on the state and/or the region of the country. For example, in Maine the White population was 98.4 percent of the total population in 1990 and 96.9 percent of the total population in 2000. In comparison, the White population in Maryland was 71 percent of the total population in 1990 and 64 percent of the total population in 2000. In the District of Columbia, the percentages of the White population in relation to the total population were 29.6 in 1990 and 30.8 in 2000. According to Census 2000, of all respondents who reported White:

- 34 percent lived in the South

- 25 percent lived in the Midwest

- 21 percent lived in the West

- 20 percent lived in the Northeast

An analysis of student enrollment trends in the state of Virginia revealed that the number of White students enrolled in public schools has steadily declined while the number of Hispanic students has increased significantly in the past five years (National Education Statistics, 2008). Further, the percentage of teachers of color is expected to remain around 12.3 percent nationally. Given that 87.7 percent of our nation's public schools' students will be educated by White teachers, it is critical that these teachers develop the cultural understanding to develop effective relationships with students. The first step for the teachers in this work is developing a sense of their identity and how their experiences impact the teaching and learning process.

Virginia Student Demographic Trends 2002-2007

Table Seven

Ethnicity	2002	2005	2007
Native American	3,382	3,812	3,770
Asian/Island Pacific	52,925	61,526	66,276
Hispanic	71,784	91,557	105,627
Black	317,264	322,791	320,467
White	721,366	713,692	703,937
Total	1,166,721	1,193,378	1,200,077

Social and Educational Issues

Looking at the influence of whiteness in the United States is not always easy, especially for the White population. On the other hand, White norms dominate the political,

economic, social and educational structure of the U.S. Reflecting on the reactions of "women of color" at a conference, Dale Weiss (2002), a White educator, experienced an epiphany when she saw clearly that, "…for the most part, white people were in positions of power, which often included making decisions on behalf of people of color," and that the world in which she lived, "…was made for white people." She stated, "The more I learned, the more I became overwhelmed with guilt at being white. What had always seemed so 'normal' was now something that I wanted to reject."

Elizabeth Denevi (2001) talks about the importance of looking at White identity and the influence it has on society. She says, "It is important to take a close look at white identity in the hopes of uncovering and naming what usually passes for 'normal.'" Sharon Martinas (1994), working in conjunction with the Challenging White Supremacy Workshop, comments on White culture being the, "dominant culture." From their perspective, the following are characteristics of whiteness relative to the social, political and economic structure of the United States:

1. "It defines who you are, and who 'others' are in relation to you.

2. It shapes your attitudes, thinking, behavior and values.

3. It consciously and unconsciously suppresses and oppresses other cultures.

4. It consciously and unconsciously appropriates aspects of oppressed cultures.

5. It is normative; the standard for judging values and behavior.

6. It is assumed, unquestioned, not on the agenda: the way things are.

7. It is hidden – not at all obvious to the dominating or oppressing practitioners, but often painfully obvious to peoples whose cultures have been suppressed, oppressed or appropriated."

Additionally Martinas, et al., explore the issue of White supremacy and the resultant oppression (either conscious or unconscious) of the non-White population. Their interpretation is that, "…the culture of white privilege is the mirror image of the culture of racial oppression." According to them, White privilege is manifest in that it:

1. "…perpetuates the ideology that white people are morally and intellectually superior to people of color."

2. "…stereotypes figures and behavior of white people," by taking a cultural attribute and, "…attributing this attribute as solely the result of the person's individual, heroic efforts."

3. "…is portrayed as universal, applying to all humankind.…by defining reality as white, and convincing white people that it is their reality…."

4. "…provides a normative standard of behavior for one living in a system of white privilege…(and is often) manifested in the arrogance of white entitlement – an assumption of how a white person expects to be treated in the world."

5. "…creates white bonding, that is, the cross class allegiance and sense of commonality that non-ruling class oppressed white men and women have with the white ruling class, on the basis of 'white skin' and European ancestry."

Although, as can be seen, whiteness affects almost every aspect of society, this writing will go into further detail on its effect on the educational system in the United States. According to Denevi (2001), "If we are to help…schools become truly multicultural communities, we have to begin to talk about what it means to be white in our schools." We also need to talk about what it may mean to be non-White. Often being non-White in school means:

- Not being as "school ready" as the white students

- Being in a segregated class based on perceived lower abilities

- Being overrepresented in special education classes

- Being overrepresented relative to school suspensions and expulsions

- Being underrepresented in honors classes

- Being tested on culturally biased materials

- Not seeing oneself/one's people positively/equitably represented in the curriculum

- Achieving lower scores than the White students on standardized tests

Robert Jensen (2005), an associate professor of journalism at the University of Texas, writes that, "Public education is not racist because each day a bunch of overtly racist white people come to work and deliberately try to maintain a racist school system. It is the product of many decisions over many years, some of them no doubt made by people of conscience who thought of themselves as anti-racist, but who maintain an institutional structure that creates conditions that support white supremacy." Dr. Raymond W. Lee, Jr., a professor in the school of education at Harding University, shares examples of conditions that he sees in education through a series of quotations:

- L. Delpit, in *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom,* asserts, "As our schools are becoming increasingly culturally diverse, our teachers are becoming increasingly white and middle class." (qtd. in Lee)

- In *"Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?"* Beverly Daniel Tatum (1997) expresses concern when she writes, "…educators all across the country most of whom are White, are teaching in racially mixed classrooms, daily observing

identity development in process, and are without an important interpretive framework to help them understand what is happening in their interactions with students, or even in their cross-racial interactions with colleagues." (qtd. in Lee)

- L. Highwater (1981) comments in *The Primal Mind: Vision and Reality in Indian America,* "When members of the dominant culture have little opportunity to experience other ways of seeing and knowing, other world views are dismissed as illusions or as deficient, in need of remediation." (qtd. in Lee)

- "We all bring our own 'private collection of biases and limitations to the classroom,'" according to V.G. Paley (1999) in *The Kindness of Children.* (qtd. in Lee)

- N. Balabon (1995), in W. Ayers (ed.) *To Become a Teacher: Making a Difference in Children's Lives,* says that, "Critical to truly seeing and understanding the children we teach is the courage to reflect about ourselves. Facing our biases openly, recognizing the limits imposed by our embeddedness in our own culture and experience, acknowledging the values and beliefs we cherish, and accepting the influence of emotions on our actions are extraordinary challenges." (qtd. in Lee)

Studies have shown that student-teacher relationships have a more profound effect on student learning, either positive or negative, than other factors such as class size, curriculum, or materials. From their research, Obidah and Teel (2002) determined, "Because of their (White teachers) powerful potential to influence students' lives, teachers need to make conscious efforts to recognize the subtle and unintentional biases in their own behavior." (qtd. in Lee)

Although the effects of White privilege are found throughout the structure and institutions of the United States, it has not necessarily been obvious to much of the White

population. Denevi (2001) comments that, "…whiteness is positioned as the norm, so it has not been necessary to look explicitly at whiteness, leaving it as undiscovered territory." Mills (2008) says that although, "white domination is now conceptually invisible," its history is very real.

Cultural Values

The literature contains a variety of approaches to chronicle the aspects of White culture. As mentioned previously, much of the White population is not necessarily aware that it has a distinct culture and that this culture differs substantially from the cultures of others. Many assume that they are simply, "normal," with little or no idea as to what "normal" means. Tatum (1997) says that White culture is the, "Dominant view (that) has saturated the culture for all to learn."

Janet Helms (1992) defined what she calls the "societal dimensions" of white culture. They include:

- "Rugged individualism – The individual is the most important societal unit.

- Nuclear Family – An 'ideal family' is defined as two parents and children.

- Rationalism – Mind, body and emotions should be treated as separate entities.

- Time – Time is perceived as a quantity.

- European Aesthetics – Beauty is defined by European standards.

- Action Orientation – Everyone is responsible for what happens to her/him and controls one's own fate.

- Universalism – The normative and best characteristics are defined by European culture.

- Competition – The Society's resources belong to the best.

- History – The most important American history is White."

J. Katz (1985) compiled a slightly longer list of what she calls, "The Components of White Culture: Values and Beliefs," several of which duplicate the dimensions from Helms. They include:

- Rugged Individualism - the individual as primary and able to control the environment; independence and autonomy valued and rewarded

- Competition – win/lose dichotomy where winning is everything

- Action Orientation – must do something about a situation; must master and control nature; pragmatism

- Communication – standard English; written tradition; direct eye contact; limited physical contact; control of emotions

- Time – adherence to rigid time which is viewed as a commodity

- Holidays – based on Christian religion, White history, and male leaders

- History – based on European immigrants' experience in the U.S.; romanticizing war

- Progress and Future Orientation – value continual improvement and progress with delayed gratification

- Emphasis on Scientific Method – objective, rational, linear thinking; cause and effect relationships; quantitative emphasis

- Status and Power – measured by economic possessions, credentials, titles and positions; belief in "own" system which is seen as better than other systems

- Family Structure – nuclear family as the ideal social unit with a patriarchal structure

- Aesthetics – music and art based on European cultures; women's beauty based on blonde, blue-eyed, thin; young; men's attractiveness based on athletic ability, power and economic status

- Religion – belief in Christianity (qtd. in Sue & Sue)

To consider the "meaning of whiteness," Sue interviewed White and non-White pedestrians on the streets of San Francisco, asking the question, "What does it mean to be White?"   Based on the reaction that he received from the White people whom he interviewed, Sue found that White people:

- "Often find the question perplexing

- Would rather not think about their whiteness

- Are uncomfortable or react negatively to being labeled 'White'

- Deny its importance in affecting their lives, and

- Seem to believe that they are unjustifiably accused of being bigoted by virtue of being White."

Sue gives specific answers that he received from four of those questioned. A 42-year old White business man answered, "Frankly, I don't know what you're talking about." A 26-year old White female college student asked, "Is this a trick question?"   A 65 year-old White male retired construction worker commented, "That is a stupid question." A 34-year old White female stockbroker responded, "I don't know (laughing), I've never thought about it."

According to Sue's interpretation of the answers that he received from the people whom he interviewed, White and non-White, "For people perceived as 'white,' whiteness means:"

- "To be socialized into a world of White supremacy.

- To inherit and benefit from a world of White privilege.

- To knowingly or unknowingly have a stake in the perpetuation of White racism.

- To deny the reality of people of color and to define their experience from a White perspective.

- To be oblivious to your own biases and prejudices.

- To be right.

- To possess the luxury of not exploring yourself as a racial/cultural being.

- To be able to equate a 'human being' with being White.

- To be in the position to be an oppressor with the power to force your will upon persons of color.

- More importantly, being a White American means living in a world of self-deception, 'color blind' in the sense that you do not see that in this world your skin color is an asset while all other colors are a liability."

Glen Singleton and Curtin Linton (2006) shared their perception of, "White consciousness," which includes four aspects:

- "Universal Perspective" – the idea that everyone experiences life as White people do

- "Individualism" – the idea that, "I earned this," and that, "effort equals reward."

- "Avoidance" – the idea that, "This isn't my problem."

- "Decontextualization" – the invisibility of racial cause and effect with the question, "How does this have anything to do with race?"

In order to better understand the nature of whiteness, Tochluk (2008) interviewed sixteen professionals, both male and female, eight of whom were White, and eight of whom were "people of color." Her questions were:

- When did you first become aware of your racial identity?

- When was the first time you learned about racism?

- Has anyone been important in your learning regarding race issues?

- What does it mean for your life to be a member of your race?

Based on her interviews, she relates themes which for her, at least partially, answer the question, "Being white means what exactly?" From her perspective, being white means?

- "Unearned Privileges"

- "More Opportunities"

- "Feeling Entitled"

- "Being Normal"

- "Being Unaware"

- "Dominant, Valued Images"

- "Being Knowledgeable"

- "Isolation and Emotional Superficiality"

- "Disconnection and Isolation"

Reflecting on the above themes, Tochluk shares her feelings about them when she says, "These aspects of whiteness, both the isolation and the superficiality, figure prominently in the minds of many of those interviewed. Clearly, this is a tremendous critique, a painful one at that. These deeper more personal meanings are important."

Racial Development. The Helms Theory of White Identity Development is referenced in several sources, but for the purpose of this paper, the discussion will come from the Singleton and Linton work. According to Singleton and Linton (2006), "Although several race scholars have attempted to explain the process of White racial identity development, no one has yet had significant impact on shifting the way White Americans think about their own raciality. This is partly due to White privilege and the ability of those who have it to simply avoid, ignore, or minimize the impact of race on their lives." They go on to say, "…no theoretical framework can precisely define the many complex and unique aspects of individual identity. What this (the Helms) model can do is affix language to some of the common racial experiences that many White people share. Like any developmental scale, White people might see aspects of their current experience in more than one stage on the continuum. This is an indication that people are probably never stationary or fixed in their racial identity development."

The Helms Model of White Identity Development, as published in Singleton and Linton (2006), follows:

"*Contact*: Whites pay little attention to the significance of their racial identity; 'I'm just normal'; perceive themselves as color-blind and completely free of prejudice.

Disintegration: Growing awareness of racism and White privilege as a result of personal encounters. This new awareness is characterized by discomfort.

Reintegration: Feelings of guilt or denial may be transformed into fear and anger directed toward people of color. Whites may be frustrated if seen as a group rather than individuals.

Pseudo-independent: The individual gains an intellectual understanding of racism as a system of advantage but doesn't quite know what to do about it.

Immersion/Emersion: Marked by a recognized need to find more positive self-definition. Whites need to seek new ways of thinking about Whiteness, ways that take them beyond the role of victimizer.

Autonomy: Represents the culmination of the White racial development process. A person incorporates the newly defined view of Whiteness as part of a personal identity. The process is marked by an increased effectiveness in multiracial settings."

Elaine Pinderhughes (1989) says that, "The anxiety that exists for Whites concerning the subject of race should not be underestimated….Management of this anxiety in the interest of confronting bias and achieving greater comfort and confidence in cross-racial interactions should be seen as an act of courage." (qtd. in Quotes About White Identity)

Summary
Knowledge Competencies

Knowledge competencies refer to the acquisition of factual information about the groups under review: Native Americans, African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, White Americans.

Racial identity refers to one's sense of group identity or affiliation and disassociation with others who possess the same racial heritage.

Cross (1991) developed a model of racial identity for African Americans; it contains four stages:
- ❖ Pre-encounter – Person does not see race as a salient part of her or his identity
- ❖ Encounter – Person experiences a catalytic event which causes reconstruction of issues of race and ethnicity
- ❖ Immersion-Emersion – Person basks in newfound black identity and usually idealizes everything Black
- ❖ Internalization – Person achieves a more balanced appreciation of both Blacks and Whites

Helms (1984) developed the white racial identity development model:
- ❖ Contact – Oblivious to own racial identity
- ❖ Disintegration – Conflict over the contradictions between beliefs and behaviors
- ❖ Reintegration – Retreat to previous attitudes about superiority of Whites and the inferiority of people of color
- ❖ Pseudo-Independence – Intellectualized acceptance of own and others' race
- ❖ Immersion-emersion – Honest appraisal of racism and significance of Whiteness
- ❖ Autonomy – Internalized multicultural identity with nonracist Whiteness at its core

Sue and Sue (1999) developed the racial/cultural identity development model (RCID):
- ❖ Conformity – Person prefers aspects of the dominant culture to her or his own culture
- ❖ Dissonance – Person challenges previously held beliefs and attitudes
- ❖ Resistance and Immersion – Person endorses minority-held views and rejects dominant values of society and culture
- ❖ Introspection – Person recognizes the unhealthiness of resistance and immersion stage
- ❖ Integrative Awareness – Person has a balanced appreciation of own and others' culture

As one reviews factual information about each group, it is important not to over-generalize about culturally distinct groups. A great deal of within-group variability

distinguishes people from the same racial group. Inappropriate application of cultural knowledge can prevent educators from working effectively with minority children.

Individuals interested in increasing their knowledge about culturally different groups can gather information by reading, engaging in public education, soliciting cultural informants, and personal experiences.

Native Americans

The most appropriate designation for this population is Native Americans.

Native Americans comprise .8% of the U.S. population.

The federal government determines the legal status of Native American. A person must have at least 25% blood quantum in order to lay legal claim to her or his Native American heritage.

Native American cultural values include sharing, cooperation, interdependence, cohesion, noninterference, present-time orientation, nuclear family, and harmony with nature.

Heritage Consistent Native Americans (HCNA) maintain traditional Native American values and practices, while Heritage Inconsistent Native Americans (HINA) favor more mainstream American values and customs.

African Americans

The most appropriate designation for this population is African American.

African Americans represent 12.3% of the U.S. population.

African Americans are overrepresented in special programs, student suspensions, yet are underrepresented in gifted programs.

African Americans have gone to great lengths to attain educational opportunities in this country and to battle segregation, oppressive policies, and slavery, when it was unlawful to receive an education.

Cultural values of African Americans include group centeredness, kinship, spirituality, harmony with nature, and holistic thinking. The extended family and the church have played very prominent roles in the African American community.

African Americans are socialized in three distinct ways based on their (a) American, (b) African American, and (c) minority identity (Boykin & Toms, 1985).

Peers or fictive kinship networks discouraged some achievement-oriented African American children from attaining academic success (Fordham, 1988).

Latinos

The most appropriate designation for this population is Latinos.

Latinos represent 12.5% of the U.S. population.

Latinos comprise several different racial groups, which include people of European, African, and Native American ancestry and more closely reflect an ethnicity than a racial group.

Latinos are overrepresented in special education programs, school suspension rates, and dropout rates, but underrepresented in gifted education programs.

Each Latino group has had a varied historical experience in the United States. For instance, many Mexicans originally inhabited areas in Mexico that were later ceded to the United States through war and conquest. Cubans arrived in this country as a result of the communist regime in Cuba, and Puerto Rico is a commonwealth of the United States.

Bilingual education programs provide students with instruction in their native tongue until they eventually transition into English speaking programs, while English-as-a-second language (ESL) programs provide nonnative speakers of English with English language skills so they can function adequately in English-language classes.

Many immigrant parents lack familiarity with the American educational system and do not understand the expectations, practices, and policies found in American school settings. These parents may devote more attention to developing social competence in their children as opposed to stimulating children's cognitive functioning.

Latino cultural values include *familismo, simpatia, respeto*, fatalism, patriarchal family structures, and religiosity.

Asian Americans

The most appropriate terminology for this population is Asian American.

Asian Americans comprise 3.7% of the U.S. population.

Asian Americans represent various nationalities that have vastly different histories, cultures, and social experiences. During the 19th century, the Chinese immigrated to this country due to labor force needs in the railroad, construction, mining, and factory industries. Later, U.S. officials halted Chinese immigration. The Japanese arrived next to work in the sugar industry, but by 1907 were no longer permitted to enter the country. Filipinos later replaced the Japanese in the sugar industry. During the 1960s and 70s immigrants arrived from Southeast Asia as a result of political strife and war in their homelands.

The myth of the "model minority" has been widely applied to many Asians; however, overgeneralization obscures the experiences of those Asians groups who encounter difficulties becoming integrated into U.S. society.

Asian cultural values include family honor, the importance of the group versus the individual, hierarchical family structures, respect for authority, and harmonious relationships.

White Americans

White Americans belong to a culture that is portrayed as normative. White identity influences how our society defines who others are. As a result, whiteness is assumed unquestioned, and leads to conscious and unconscious oppression of other groups. All White Americans benefit from unearned privilege. White values include rugged individualism (meritocracy), nuclear family structure, respect for competition, universalism, and time being perceived as finite.

Cultural Competence

Strategies for developing cultural competence include the ability to value diversity, engage in cultural self-assessments, evaluate the dynamics of difference, develop cultural knowledge, and adapt to cultural difference.

SKILLS COMPETENCIES
➤ ➤Strategies for Developing Cultural Competence

Mason et al. (1996), Pedersen (1994), and Kalyanpur and Harry (1999) would concur that six basic foundational principles support any set of strategies designed to enhance teacher and student cultural competence. These principles consist of the following:

1. Valuing diversity

2. Engaging in cultural self-assessments

3. Understanding the dynamics of difference

4. Developing cultural knowledge

5. Adapting to culture, especially to its deep structural aspects

6. Establishing cultural reciprocity

These six constructs, which represent an amalgam of the thinking of the above researchers, serve as the basis for the development of strategies that should be designed to enhance teacher and student cultural competence.

Valuing Diversity

Valuing diversity means acknowledging and celebrating diverse values and viewpoints. Education is not culturally neutral. Hence assuming that all children will respond to a system based entirely on White, middle-class norms eliminates many students from the educational process (Kalyanpur & Harry, 1999). Schools need to take into account the situations of the children and families they serve and make adjustments accordingly. For example, Day-Vines and Modest (1998) described a school community that valued its Mexican immigrant families by working collaboratively with members of

the Latino community to address needs identified by the Latino population. This collaborative partnership resulted in:

- Establishing English language classes for parents

- Corresponding with the families in Spanish

- Eliciting input from the families about their views and desires

- Hiring a Spanish-speaking school receptionist

- Hiring a bilingual teacher

These activities resulted in a high parent participation rate in school activities. The Mexican immigrant families were made to feel welcome in the school setting because of the actions of the school personnel. By recognizing the deep structural cultural orientations and perspectives of culturally different children and accepting and appreciating their experiences within the educational system, educators are in a better position to enhance the educational outcomes of ethnic minority learners.

Cultural Self-Assessments

Cultural self-assessments of one's own identities, attitudes, values, and beliefs, if done critically, allow individuals and school systems to determine what areas to address and change. This process serves as a form of "cultural therapy." Schools and individuals must examine and inventory their cultural attitudes, assumptions, worldviews, values, prejudices, and biases. There is generally reluctance to engage in this self assessment process. Teachers who are normally trained to examine and find "deficits" in others are now called upon to examine themselves, given this perspective. Even when this is accomplished, there is a tendency to look for splinters in others' eyes, when one has a plank in one's own eye.

By looking critically and analytically at the cultural self as well as the institution, educators can determine the structural and individual areas that warrant attention. Too frequently, educators wish to overemphasize the similarities that exist between different groups. Although this is a helpful process, it is important to remember that the most divisive and often retractable aspects of cross-cultural interactions are the differences that do in fact exist between groups, not the similarities. As dissonance-producing as it may be to confront some of the cultural shortcomings within the self and the institution, cultural self-assessment is necessary in order to promote cultural competence and appropriate educational experiences for students.

All of those involved in the teaching/learning process should reflect on their cultural and ethnic selves and identities and determine how these identities have either advantaged or disadvantaged them within our society. This form of cultural therapy that requires us to examine, explore, and reconsider our cultural, ethnic, and racial selves and identities represents a precondition to relating to and increasing the life chances of learners with disabilities, especially culturally and linguistically distinct learners.

> "…by reconnecting with their own backgrounds, teachers can provide the model and lay the groundwork for students to reclaim their histories and voices, so that we all may become culturally competent and schools will truly represent the highest principles of democracy.

Education needs to begin with the teachers, who themselves are frequently unaware of, or uncomfortable with, their cultural ethnicity and competence. As stated previously, by reconnecting with their own backgrounds, teachers can provide the model and lay the groundwork for students to reclaim their

histories and voices, so that we all may become culturally competent, and schools will truly represent the highest principles of democracy.

The Dynamics of Difference

The dynamics of difference include the stereotypes we all bring to any interaction. These stereotypes affect the way teachers and students interact with each other and should be discussed in an effort to bridge the cultural schisms that currently impede mutual acceptance and understanding between culturally different groups.

When two individuals from different cultures interface, both bring aspects of this dyad and their assumptions and stereotypes about someone from the other group. This often results in cultural conflicts and misunderstandings that can impede educational progress. For instance, Nieto (1996) discussed the fact that many teachers often have negative expectations for children of color. These negative assumptions may, in fact, counter reality. Additionally, she noted that many Latino children for whom English is a second language are herded into classes for the language impaired.

Developing Deep Cultural Knowledge

Developing deep cultural knowledge, especially the culture of self and that of the children in our classrooms, enhances interaction. Being willing to ask for and seek out information from others, especially the children and their parents, often results in acquiring such information. If we truly are interested in learning about the "other," opened-hearted questioning of others usually reveals much useful information. As mentioned, there are a number of ways to gather information about different cultural groups:

- Listening appreciatively to others

- Reading extensively

- Using media materials

- Experiencing other groups

Obtaining this increased knowledge base of culturally distinct groups requires efforts on behalf of individual teachers as well as the collective effort of educational institutions and structures.

Adapting to Cultural Differences

Adapting to cultural differences refers to the process in which individuals and systems (teachers and students) include, analyze, and infuse funds of cultural knowledge into the organization, structure, and processes used in schools and the teaching/learning process. Valuing cultural and other forms of difference and including these forms of difference in the routines of teaching and learning exemplify this principle. At times adapting to diversity is awkward; however, educators can benefit from this practice by using children's differences as an enriching experience from which to grow and increase knowledge.

Cultural Reciprocity

In this regard, Kalyanpur and Harry (1999) have discussed the importance of *cultural reciprocity* as an important dynamic involved in adapting to cultural differences. Cultural reciprocity represents the shared and mutual process of collaboration involving individuals, families, or other institutions. Cultural reciprocity involves a willingness to consider the assumptions that culturally diverse individuals and families have that could

impact the educational process for children. In other words, educators who demonstrate cultural reciprocity engage in "perspective taking" as they attempt to adapt to cultural differences. Kalyanpur and Harry (1999) identified four critical steps in developing a posture of reciprocity:

1. Identification of cultural values inherent in the educational practice

2. Consideration of family perspectives regarding educational issues that may differ from educators' conceptions

3. Demonstration of respect towards varying values and viewpoints

4. Development of effective strategies that integrate professional interpretations and the family's value system

This model promotes educators' recognition and incorporation of cultural adaptations and family values and viewpoints into the educational process without reinforcing the stereotype of the educator as "expert".

Skills Competencies

In this section of the cultural competency training model we synthesize each of the previous sections, awareness and knowledge, in an effort to highlight culturally relevant skills that enhance effective teaching. To reiterate, this training model operates under the premise that individuals attain levels of competence through a series of carefully sequenced stages that build upon one another (Pedersen, 1994). Specifically, this training model was developed assuming that individuals transition through three distinct stages:

1. Awareness

2. Knowledge

3. Skills

Awareness

In the awareness section we addressed recognition of one's own biases and attitudes that impact cross-cultural relationships, noting that an inability or unwillingness to consider one's own position can severely hamper intercultural interactions. We also discussed sociopolitical issues such as racism, oppression, power, and powerlessness as factors that contribute to educational outcomes for students from marginalized groups. Recognition of one's own biases, as well as the sociopolitical issues that impact the educational experiences of minority group members, is an important correlate of cultural competence.

Knowledge

The second section of this document focused on knowledge competencies, which involve the acquisition of factual information about culturally distinct groups. The minority groups under consideration included Native Americans, African Americans, Latinos, White Americans, Asian Pacific and Islander Americans. In that discussion, a review was made of issues related to nomenclature, demographic information, cultural values, as well as social and educational experiences in the United States. Deep cultural knowledge of specific information about culturally distinct learners has important implications for implementing culturally appropriate interventions in the classroom.

Skills

The skills section focuses on specific strategies that educators can employ to enhance their efficacy levels with regard to cultural competence. This section begins with a broad overview of skills appropriate for many minority children and second language learners. By extension, several of the skills are appropriate for all children, irrespective of race, ethnicity, social class, and language acquisition.

An important caveat is that, as we work with children in educational settings that embrace cultural competence, we must recognize that we will not solely isolate and hone in on a child's minority status, while subsequently attributing our observations to the fact that this child is from a marginalized group. To the contrary, this approach tends to stigmatize children and attribute differences to deficit explanations, thus reinforcing negative stereotypes about these learners.

Instead, it is important that we recognize children as individuals, and examine their specific issues and concerns within a cultural context. To illustrate, let us examine the following case. A Latina child is having academic difficulty in school. In the first building support team meeting to discuss the student's lack of learning, a teacher insinuated that "after all, she doesn't speak English and she is 'Hispanic'."

In reality the fact that a Latina child experiences academic difficulty cannot be attributed solely to her race, ethnicity, culture or language. Perhaps some of the difficulties can be attributed to factors that may impact all children with academic difficulties. Even as we examine variables that impact all children, we must consider how

cultural factors impact this particular child. If we use the multicultural training model recommended by Pedersen (1994), we would consider issues of awareness, knowledge, and skills in an effort to conceptualize the child's needs and subsequently develop appropriate classroom interventions.

Using Pedersen's model, we would consider awareness and knowledge issues as we work towards increasing this child's prospects for educational success. As we explore awareness issues we would consider:

- How the teacher feels about working with a Latino child – what are some of the assumptions the teacher makes about this child?

- How did the teacher arrive at some of these assumptions?

- What structural mechanisms in the school contribute to the difficulty the child may be experiencing?

- What cultural variables impact the child such as acculturative stress, economic conditions, etc.?

These are some of the considerations that a culturally competent individual would address before arbitrarily making assumptions about a child in a manner that is either race-neutral or race-laden. In working towards cultural competence, we understand that to ignore race can have equally as damaging consequences as to consider only issues of race and representation. In addition to awareness issues, a culturally competent educator would also consider culturally relevant information about the child.

> For working towards cultural competence, we understand that to ignore race can have equally as damaging consequences as to consider only issues of race and representation.

- What generation in the United States does this child represent?

- If the child is from an immigrant family, what were the reasons for immigration, and are there any issues such as acculturative stress with which the family may have to compete?

A culturally competent educator would also discern:

- Is English a second language for the child?

- Which language is spoken predominantly in the home?

- What is the general economic status of the family?

- What is the child's orientation towards schooling?

- What cultural values and family strengths can contribute to her academic success?

All of these knowledge issues are likely to impinge on the child's academic performance and educators' abilities to devise culturally relevant interventions. Without some or all of this information it is easy to make assumptions about the child that may in fact be erroneous. Additionally, this information helps us view the child in a cultural context.

As is illustrated, the skills section helps us to integrate and synthesize the awareness and knowledge competencies in an effort to develop an appropriate set of culturally competent skills that may be applied to a child's particular needs. At this point we will focus on how educators can integrate their awareness and knowledge competencies to increase positive outcomes for learners who come from culturally and linguistically different backgrounds.

Integrating Awareness and Knowledge as a Form of Cultural Competence

The awareness section focused initially on the importance of examining one's own attitudes and biases. For many this is a threatening proposition. Often those who are uncomfortable with exposing their personal positions are the very ones who maintain that this component of training is unnecessary or those who only want cross-cultural competence training to provide them with a set of strategies they can apply directly. It is important to recognize that achieving cultural and cross-cultural competence is developmental in nature. As such, it is a process in which one cannot simply employ a set of skills in the absence of a theoretical/conceptual framework, knowledge, and a set of procedural protocols and algorithms. The model we recommend, a combination of Pedersen's and Mason's cultural competence models in the domains of awareness, knowledge, and skills, has merit and meets these requirements. We suggest that users of this document not just borrow from the components they believe suit their immediate needs. For instance, developing cultural competence cannot be attained by simply following a recipe in which we combine a specific set of ingredients under certain conditions that will provide, when applied correctly, a certain product. Human beings are far too complex for such an approach to work consistently. We also believe that developing cross-cultural competence is a process, a way of being that one cannot turn on and off like an appliance. Rather, being culturally competent reflects a lifestyle that is interwoven in all aspects of life, not just when we are at work, at houses of

> Being culturally competent reflects a lifestyle that is interwoven in all aspects of life, not just when we are at work, at houses of worship, or only in settings where cultural competence is endorsed.

145

worship, or only in settings where cultural competence is endorsed. If we are to be authentic actors and proponents of cultural competence, we must recognize that it is not an artifact we pull out of a closet or cupboard at random; but rather, these forms of competence represent a quality that, when applied with a sense of integrity and concern for ethical critique, justice, and caring, permeates all aspects of our being.

As previously mentioned, and consistent with Pedersen's model, Kalyanpur and Harry (1999) recommended four steps for addressing an issue they refer to as "cultural reciprocity."

1. First, they note that educators should identify the cultural values that are embedded in their interpretation of a student's difficulties or in the recommendations for service. This involves acknowledging both the positive and the negative attitudes teachers maintain about the child's background that may impede the educational process. For instance, if the Latina child we cited as an example earlier in this section is experiencing difficulty, do we attribute this to her supposed laziness, a pernicious stereotype that makes an unfair generalization about an entire group of people? What other damaging and derisive thoughts might educators harbor that focus on student deficits as opposed to their strengths? We must recognize that some teachers may hold negative attitudes about culturally different learners, which may, in turn, interfere with their ability to help construct positive outcomes for these learners. An astute educator would need to consider what other negative attributions may be assigned to a child. We know, in general, that our attitudes often govern how we behave towards individuals. If we think negatively about a person, our behaviors may coincide with some of our attitudes and stereotypic thinking, despite elaborate efforts

to camouflage these attitudes and epistemologies. Openly acknowledging these biases is the first step in eliminating these sentiments so that we can work more effectively with children. Other considerations involve whether the child is believed to be capable or incapable of performing adequately.

Nieto (1996) reminded us that negative teacher attitudes towards many Latino children have often compromised student achievement and efficacy levels. The efforts of teacher Jaime Escalante whose enduring

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confidence in his minority students' abilities contributed to their outstanding performance on a standardized math exam led to questions about the veracity of test results. A subsequent re-examination of the students confirmed the original results. As educators, our beliefs, in one direction or another, about students' capacities to perform often translate into the quality of effort invested in the educational process.

2. According to Kalyanpur and Harry (1999), a second correlate of cultural reciprocity involves identification of cultural values endorsed by culturally distinct families. This means that educators must not use their culturally laden interpretations of children as conclusive guides for understanding student performance and attitudes towards school. Instead, educators must consider the cultural values and viewpoints these children and their families maintain about education. Often the viewpoints of teachers and members from culturally diverse groups are competing and contradictory. In order to build cultural bridges, educators must engage in a certain level of perspective taking that facilitates understanding the viewpoints of the culturally different.

Perspective taking is parallel to Pedersen's concept of acquiring factual information about culturally different groups, which includes:

- Understanding their immigration experiences

- Encounters with racism in this country

- Cultural values

- Levels of acculturation

- Educational experiences

One very damaging criticism frequently lodged against culturally distinct families is the assumption that parents do not care. Harry (1995) has conducted considerable research refuting this notion. She concluded that often parents are very interested in maintaining involvement in their children's education but encounter obstacles that make this prospect difficult. For instance, Harry noted that frequently when parents make efforts to participate, collaborative interactions, such as parent conferences, often become little more than an effort to secure parents' compliance with school demands, yet another bit of ritual. In other words, parents are frequently not invited into parity and reciprocal relationships with school representatives. Additionally, school personnel often employ tactics that reduce parent participation such as using technical jargon or scheduling meetings at times when parents are not available. Often, too many of these parents feel intimidated by the educational process. For instance, if a parent did not complete school or barely completed high school, her/his experiences at school were likely not favorable. As a result of encountering academic difficulties, parents may harbor

> … When engaging in cultural reciprocity it is important to seriously consider the points of departure between our own conception of issues and the conception maintained by our constituents who include both children and their families.

feelings of isolation, embarrassment, intimidation, and reluctance to encounter representatives within the school setting.

Harry's findings contradict the assumptions that many educators make about the involvement level of parents from marginalized groups. This clearly illustrates; therefore, that when engaging in cultural reciprocity, it is important to seriously consider the points of departure between our own conception of issues and the conception maintained by our constituents who include both children and their families.

As previously stated, as we attempt to integrate what we know about many Latino families, we must recognize that a traditional cultural orientation may contribute to parents' beliefs that their responsibility for the child's education often involves making sure children are neat, clean, and obedient. Many Latinos feel that teachers are vested with the authority to provide instructional leadership in the classroom (Avila & Avila, 1995). Within a Western cultural orientation, while these are certainly among the expectations, it is often commonly understood that parents maintain active involvement in their children's education by participating in homework, remaining abreast of school developments, and even supplementing their children's education with enrichment activities.

Parents may feel daunted by the educational process and may not fully understand the expectations endorsed by the American, dominant mainstream if they:

- Were not educated in this country

> Parents who may not have been educated in this country, who had difficult experiences while they were in school, or who lack familiarity with middle class educational norms may feel daunted by the educational process, and may not fully understand the expectations endorsed by the American, dominant mainstream.

- Had difficult experiences while they were in school

- Lacked familiarity with middle-class educational norms

A culturally competent and savvy educator recognizes these possibilities and, therefore, would be loathed to assume that parents don't care and would instead identify "deficits" within the family or some structural issues that possibly contribute to parents' limited involvement in school. These teachers may consider other explanations as well. For instance, a salaried employee, or a person with a professional job, can usually take time off from work with fewer consequences. Indeed, this may not be the case for hourly wage earners. If a parent is an hourly employee, he or she would unlikely be available for regular school visits. Missing time from work may mean that a portion of a person's salary is withheld, which, in turn, may impact the ability to satisfy basic survival needs. Other factors such as transportation and childcare can impact a parents' ability to participate in their children's education. These issues are offered so that factors that contributes to the educational prospects of children, especially those with disabilities or who come from culturally or linguistically diverse populations, may be identified. In no way are these explanations offered as excuses for lack of educational attainment.

3. The third component of Kalyanpur and Harry's model of cultural reciprocity involves the demonstration of respect towards varying values and viewpoints. Using the examples provided above, an educator devoted to cultural competence would consider the obstacles parents encounter in trying to provide food, shelter, and other necessities, such that education may be less of a priority. Culturally competent educators might recognize that a parent's inability to attend a scheduled parent

conference may have less to do with disinterest and more to do with potential loss of income from missing time from work — a basic survival reality. Often salaried employees have more scheduling flexibility than parents who maintain hourly positions. The decisions an hourly wage earner has to make may differ markedly from those calculated by a salaried employee. For instance, an hourly wage earner may recognize that the rent may go unpaid or groceries may go lacking if time is spent away from work. In contrast, many parents with salaried positions may only have to reschedule appointments in order to attend a conference. Compassionate understanding is an integral component of cultural reciprocity and cultural competence.

Other ways that educators would accommodate varying values include re-examining assumptions about student inability. In fact, poor academic performance may be more a function of nurturing, exposure, and opportunity to learn, than intellectual inferiority. As a final example, parent reluctance to remain involved in the educational process may result from negative experiences encountered during their own school tenure. Many individuals who pursue careers as teachers can look back on educational experiences that were rewarding and affirming. These positive experiences often complicate their ability to recognize that others may not have had the identical experiences. Considering alternate worldviews challenges educators to reframe many of the assumptions they make about children and families from marginalized groups.

4. The final component of Kalyanpur and Harry's cultural reciprocity paradigm requires educators to develop strategies that integrate both professional interpretations and the

family's value system. This component parallels the skills component of Pedersen's cultural competence model. Strategies for addressing these issues might include scheduling conferences in children's communities at times that are mutually convenient for parents and teachers and providing family/professional education workshops to help parents better understand the educational process. Both of these strategies should subsequently foster conditions at home that contribute to educational success. Such workshops would also allow professionals to learn more about parents and families. Schools need to take into account the situations of the children and families they serve and make adjustments accordingly. For example, as previously noted, Day-Vines and Modest (1998) described a school community that valued their Mexican immigrant families by communicating with the families in Spanish, eliciting input from the families about their views and desires, and hiring a Spanish-speaking receptionist and a bilingual teacher. These activities resulted in a higher rate of parent participation in school activities. The Mexican immigrant families were made to feel welcome in the school setting because of the actions of the school personnel.

Addressing Classroom Climate as a Form of Cultural Competence

Much has been written about the classroom climates to which many culturally and linguistically diverse children are exposed (Day-Hairston, 2000; Harry, Rueda, & Kalyanpur, 1999; Ortiz, 1988; Wang, Haertel, & Walberg, 1993). In some instances, classrooms are very sterile, impersonal environments that distance certain students from the educational process. In the quest to cultivate high academic standards and maximize test performances, concern about the whole child may be disregarded or minimized. An

important correlate of successful teaching recognizes that emphasis cannot be placed solely on the cognitive growth of the child, but concern must also be devoted to social and emotional growth (Foster & Peele, 1999).

Ladson-Billings (1994) addressed the importance of creating classrooms that foster a sense of psychological safety for young learners. By this she meant that students should feel a sense of belonging and that teachers should create warm, nurturing environments that students experience as welcoming. In a study of effective strategies for working with African American children, Ladson-Billings noted that successful teachers of these students exuded warmth and respected the personhood of students by demonstrating simple kindness through praise, listening, smiling, and showing respect for other students. Student informants in this study generated this list of "niceties" that separated extraordinary teachers from their mediocre counterparts. The ironic and disturbing fact about these student reports is that one would expect all teachers to routinely engage in these types of behaviors.

Drawing on the extended family values inherent in many African American communities, Ladson-Billings noted that exceptional teachers cultivate a family atmosphere in their classrooms. When at home, students were accustomed to assuming responsibility for family members. These skills were transferred to the classroom as a means of creating linkages between the cultural familiarity of home and the school experience. She reminded students that, like families, their success depended on their mutual interdependence. Additionally, this strategy places more emphasis on collective functioning than on individual achievements and accomplishments. Again, when we consider mainstream cultural values, we recognize that Western culture often endorses a

competitive, individually oriented approach to education. In the classrooms of teachers who achieved success with African American youngsters, group support contributed to student success. This notion of family was often achieved by the teachers in her study through implementation of cooperative classroom learning environments.

Pang and Barba (1995) remind us that we must build cultural bridges in classrooms in such a way that we take experiences that are familiar to children and

> Pang and Barba (1995) remind us that we must build cultural bridges in classrooms in such a way that we take experiences that are familiar to children and build on them.

build on them. As educators, we cannot minimize the importance of fostering classroom climates and communities in which students feel a sense of belonging and respect. Much has been written about the educational success of students and the classroom environment (Foster & Peele, 1999; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Pang & Barba; 1995). When teachers communicate to students that they are capable and have the potential for excellence in learning, they often produce positive outcomes for these learners (Ladson-Billings, 1994). *Teachers cannot convey the message that they are frightened of students.* When this occurs, students feel that they can manipulate their teachers' fears and wreak havoc on classroom discipline. Students who describe their most successful teachers note that teachers placed demands on them and balanced firmness with unconditional positive regard for youngsters.

Many children of color have difficulty performing when viable relationships and mutuality do not exist. Far too many educational researchers have documented the

> As instructional leaders in the classroom, teachers set the pace for establishing caring communities that convey warmth, positive regard, and appreciation of students' backgrounds (Starratt, 1994; Zimpher & Ashburn, 1992).

contempt and indifference with which marginalized students and their families have been treated (Ortiz, 1988). Day-Hairston (2000) underscored the centrality

154

of establishing hospitable classroom climates and personal relationships that communicate to learners their worth and value. As instructional leaders in the classroom, teachers set the pace for establishing caring communities that convey warmth, positive regard, and appreciation of students' backgrounds (Starratt, 1994; Zimpher & Ashburn, 1992). These students have keen perceptive abilities and readily recognize and are responsive to authentic and genuine school personnel. When warmth, positivity, and praise are withheld, students frequently resort to disruptive and uncooperative behavior (Franklin, 1992).

In the knowledge section of this document we addressed the cultural values of many culturally diverse learners.

- Among Native Americans we discussed cultural values related to group cohesion and respect.

- Many African Americans have an affiliation orientation in which spiritual/religious and social relationships are highly prized.

- Many Latinos endorse the notion of *simpatia*, or positive social relationships and *respeto*, or respect for interpersonal relationships.

- Many Asians are culturally responsive to the notion of harmonious relationships.

With each of the cultural groups discussed, particular emphasis is placed on the value of social relationships. Given the importance of these values to members of each of the cultural groups, they must be integrated into teachers' personal and pedagogical styles and ways of relating with children.

The importance of cultivating favorable individual and collective school and classroom climates as a prerequisite for facilitating the educational process cannot be

> The importance of cultivating favorable individual and collective school and classroom climates as a prerequisite for facilitating the educational process cannot be overstated (Harry, 1995; Ortiz, 1988; Wang et al., 1993).

overstated (Harry, 1995; Ortiz, 1988; Wang, et al., 1993). Failure to do so can have adverse consequences for our culturally different learners. Armed with this information, teachers can devote special attention to cultivating a learning environment that parallels the familiar cultural experiences of learners from diverse backgrounds. Teachers must accommodate the backgrounds of students, their curricula and pedagogy as much as possible. Cultural competence indicates that we incorporate the familiar aspects of students' cultural backgrounds into teaching practices. Classroom teachers can capitalize on the significance of human relationships and the importance of human connectedness in classrooms.

Cultural Continuity as a Multicultural Competence

Pang and Barba (1995) addressed the importance of incorporating patterns of interaction with which children are familiar. Children's first learning occurs in the home where they are exposed to certain cultural elements. When students from culturally different backgrounds enter school, it is important to note that their culture of origin may not be synchronized with mainstream American culture. Consequently, many students experience school as an alien environment. The people, expectations, organizational structures and rules, and cultural cues, all may lack a certain familiarity that fosters a sense of belonging and comfort for children. Knowledge of some of the cultural patterns and styles of interaction often provides important clues for reaching children in culturally appropriate ways.

Delpit (1995) reported the findings of researchers who have identified differences in communication styles between working and middle-class families. These differences have important implications in schools where communication frequently conforms to a White, middle-class norm. As it pertains to discipline, many working-class families issue directives in order for their children to comply with their demands. On the other hand, middle-class parents are often more prone to ask questions in an indirect manner. For instance, a working-class parent might issue a command using the following language, "Clean up your room right now." In contrast, a middle-class parent may make the same request using language that is less directive. For instance, this parent may observe, "You didn't clean your room today." In both instances, the intended messages are similar. Each parent recognized and wanted the child to clean up her/his room. The child from a working-class family may view the request made by the middle-class parent as implying an option. If this same incident were to occur in a school context and the teacher placed a demand on a child using a middle-class orientation, the teacher might interpret the child's failure to comply as disruptive behavior. A more culturally appropriate strategy would require the teacher to use familiar patterns of interaction with which the child can readily relate.

Much has been written about the communication styles of Native American children. Consideration of cultural values suggests that many traditionally oriented Native Americans prefer to engage in unhurried reflection before they participate in dialogue, based on the belief that once words are uttered in Native American societies, they cannot be retracted. For that reason, it is imperative that people carefully consider their words. Mainstream American society encourages students to maintain active

involvement in class discussions. Indeed, students are often prompted to speak. This instructional strategy may be uncomfortable and unfamiliar to many Native American students and may contribute to an emotional and psychological disengagement in the learning process. If we use what we know about Native American culture to better structure learning environments, we would draw on strategies that are used in the home. For instance, we might extend waiting periods. Teachers can reframe their constructions of reticence in children as their attempt to organize their thoughts and structure appropriate responses, as opposed to assuming students are disinterested and disengaged.

Storytelling is an integral part of oral communication in many Native American societies. Using stories as an instructional strategy has academic merit. In addition, smaller groups where students can communicate more informally may enhance the level of participation and further develop language proficiency, particularly among students who speak their native languages. Also, learning in many traditional Native American settings takes place through observation. For instance, instead of listening while a teacher catalogues a plethora of detailed instructions, many Native American children learn by carefully observing their elders and reproducing what they noticed.

Educators cannot assume that lack of active dialogue is equivalent to language deficiency. Although participation functions as a normative feature in many mainstream American settings, more reticent approaches to communication cannot be automatically

When teachers are unaware of students' cultural attributes, the possibility of cultural schisms in the classroom expands exponentially.

equated with an inability to learn or lack of motivation. What may be occurring is a different pattern of interaction, which can be recognized and accommodated in many classroom settings. Teachers can capitalize on the cultural skills that children

bring to the classroom rather than assuming pathology, student disinterest, or even student incapacity to learn and apathy. Other strategies that may work with more reticent students build on cultural patterns used in the community. For instance, in many Hawaiian homes it is unusual for an individual to command the attention of the entire group, as social relationships tend to be more collaborative in nature. In keeping with this cultural tradition, many Hawaiians engage in talk story (Au & Kawakami, 1985). *Talk story* involves several people telling a story together. Similarly, teachers can use parallel strategies in their classrooms to facilitate dialogue and student participation. When teachers are unaware of students' cultural attributes, the possibility of cultural schisms in the classroom expands exponentially.

Many African American students communicate using styles referred to as Black English, or Ebonics. Ebonics has been dismissed as a language form in mainstream educational settings (Foster, 1992). Instead of viewing students who enlist nonstandard forms of English as incapable, educators must recognize and capitalize on their specific strengths. Language is one area where this can occur. When learners are chided for the way they speak, or for other cultural patterns they maintain, the child internalizes many negative self-perceptions regarding his/her worth. Language is an artifact of culture. Students must get the message that they are capable. Teachers have the resources in time and often expertise to bolster confidence and efficacy levels. When students speak in the vernacular, culturally competent teachers accept their language patterns but let students know in a sensitive way that certain language patterns are appropriate for home, while others are appropriate for school (Foster, 1992). Teachers can convey messages about appropriateness of language for certain settings without effacing the students' culture of

origin. It is not caring or ethical to solely attribute students' difficulties to race, ethnicity, culture, or class. Pang and Barba (1995) reminded us that we "need to allow children to work in classrooms that enable and encourage them to use their language, personalities, metaphors, and preferred learning styles as tools for learning new information."

Enlisting Cultural Informants as a Cultural Competence

One strategy for increasing levels of cultural competence involves seeking out new information. Given the dramatic demographic shifts in this society, teachers will be unlikely to learn the nuances of every culturally different child that enters her or his classroom. Teachers can more reasonably expect to learn a considerable amount of information about the racial and cultural groups with which they have the most contact. Immersion into a particular culture facilitates understanding, as does involvement in particular communities.

Other strategies for obtaining information about students from diverse backgrounds include seeking out cultural informants. *Cultural informants* are members of an indigenous culture who can provide considerable insight into aspects of the culture that may be unfamiliar to outsiders. Usually, cultural informants are bicultural, meaning they can maneuver fluently both in mainstream American culture and

> Cultural informants are members of an indigenous culture who can provide considerable insight into aspects of the culture that may be unfamiliar to outsiders.

in their own indigenous culture, while respecting the central properties of both. Often their ability to commute between two very disparate cultures permits them to understand the expectations of both their own and the culture of the "other." These individuals serve as guides and have an abundance of resources upon which classroom teachers can capitalize.

As an example, if we were traveling to a new destination about which we had little information, many of us would consult travel agents, seasoned travelers, or residents of that particular locale to obtain information. For the sake of discussion, if we were planning a trip to New York we might enlist the services of insiders to provide critical pieces of information that would facilitate our travel experience. For instance, we might inquire of the consultant whether we should:

- Arrive at Kennedy or LaGuardia airport

- Catch an airport shuttle, limousine, taxi, or public transportation into the city

- Stay in mid-town or downtown Manhattan

- Stay in an exclusive hotel or a moderately priced hotel

- Dine at an ethnic restaurant, a deli, or a restaurant that serves American cuisine

- Visit a museum, the Statue of Liberty, Ellis Island, or take in a Broadway play

All of these questions and many more would be addressed before we left the familiar surroundings of home.

Similarly, when we are interacting with people from different cultures and we possess limited information about these cultures, it behooves us to gain guidance from someone more experienced than ourselves. Consulting those who are more informed does not diminish our worth as individuals or lessen our potential as educators. To the contrary, acknowledging areas in which we have limited information strengthens our competence levels as educators and better positions us to have positive impacts on learners from culturally distinct groups. As long as educational institutions lack adequate representation from diverse members of society, educators must find alternate means of acquiring information about diverse learners (Delpit, 1995).

Seeing Students Holistically as a Cultural Competence

Often teachers construct their understanding of students of culturally different backgrounds from a race-neutral lens. Although many liberally minded individuals see this as a superior criterion for appearing bias-free, such a strategy often denies children a salient aspect of their identity. Minority groups have often learned, in an effort to survive in mainstream American settings, to be accommodating (Sue & Sue, 1999). This accommodating, interpersonal style often requires that aspects of the self remain hidden from view. When one of the major authors of this document is teaching a college class, she often asks students to generate a list of those aspects of their identity that are important. Such a list would include anything about the self or the extended self or family that is a routine part of one's discussion with others. Once students have generated the list, the instructor asks them to introduce themselves to their neighbors. There is, however, one stipulation in their introductions: They cannot mention any topic generated on their list. This means that students must talk about themselves without mentioning significant and meaningful aspects of their identity such as spouses, partners, children, goals, and accomplishments.

> Instead, we must view students as individuals first and then as members of culturally distinct groups whose backgrounds can be used as resources versus liabilities in the classroom.

This exercise serves to help students recognize that not talking about important aspects of the self serves as a silencing tool. To constantly be guarded about those aspects that are not permissible for discussion:

- Inhibits free expression

- Invalidates salient aspects of the self

- Contributes to disengagement from those who wield power and influence over us

Similarly, when we look at students and neglect to see them as individuals with rich cultural backgrounds, we run the risk of stagnating their growth, motivation, and orientation towards education. Additionally, disregarding important aspects of the cultural self can lead to internalization of the pernicious and abundant stereotypes about people from minority groups. In the same vein, it is equally damaging to focus only on a student's racial or cultural background. Instead, we must view students as individuals first and then as members of culturally distinct groups whose backgrounds can be used as resources versus liabilities in the classroom. This balance permits us to consider the complexity of student learners and positions us to better meet their educational needs.

Summary
Skills Competencies

The skills section focuses on specific strategies that educators can apply in order to work more effectively with students from culturally distinct groups.

This section also synthesizes the previous sections, awareness and knowledge, in an effort to highlight culturally relevant skills that enhance effective teaching.

Cultural reciprocity is a four-step model that establishes mutually collaborative partnerships between schools and families. The steps require educators to:

1. Identify the cultural values that are embedded in your interpretation of a student's difficulties or in the recommendation for service
2. Find out whether the family being served recognizes and values these assumptions and, if not, how their view differs from yours
3. Acknowledge and give explicit respect to any cultural differences identified, and fully explain the cultural basis of your assumptions
4. Develop effective strategies that integrate professional interpretations and the family's value system

Classroom climate often contributes to successful learning outcomes for children and has been documented as an important variable in the performance of Native Americans, African Americans, Latinos, and Asians. Warm, nurturing, hospitable environments facilitate learning.

Cultural continuity is the process of incorporating patterns of interaction that are familiar to students and that draw on their cultural cues, social experiences, upbringing, and rules. Teachers who accommodate students' backgrounds by capitalizing on the cultural skills children bring to school can positively impact the educational process.

Cultural informants are members of an indigenous culture who can provide considerable insight into aspects of the culture that may be unfamiliar to outsiders. Consulting cultural informants strengthens competence levels and better positions educators to have positive impacts on learners from culturally distinct groups.

Seeing students holistically is a cultural competence that recognizes the rich cultural backgrounds that students possess. It is important to see students as individuals first and then as members of culturally distinct groups whose backgrounds are used as resources in the classroom.

Culturally Responsive Teaching
➤ ➤ ➤ Introduction

Culturally proficient instructors have a good command of their subject matter and use a variety of teaching techniques. They see each learner as an individual and express to the learner, in myriad ways, their interest in the learner's success and ability to learn.
Robins, Lindsey, Lindsey, & Terrell, 2002

A glaring and insidious achievement gap exists between white students and students of color. (Williams and DeSander, 1999). Although achievement scores of all groups in Arlington Public Schools have risen since 2000 on a number of indicators, the gap between the scores of black and Latino students and white students remains about the same. In order to address this gap, the focus of the cultural competence initiative continues to be the training of administrators and school staff to develop increased cultural competence and responsiveness to students.

According to Ferguson, student survey data shows that students of color work harder and are more willing to ask questions when they have a positive relationship with their teacher and feel that the teacher cares about them. Additionally, African American and Latino students were more likely than white students to say that they worked hard because their teacher encouraged them rather than demanded from them. This highlights the need for teachers to be responsive to the cultures of their students.

After receiving training in the area of cultural responsiveness and competence, however, educators commonly ask how best to apply their new ideas, knowledge, and skills to their schools and classrooms. This section will make the connection between

cultural competence training and culturally responsive behavior in educational systems.

It will:

- Provide belief statements based on research and conviction

- Briefly discuss the research of Ronald F. Ferguson as it deals with student achievement

- Provide a culturally responsive checklist for personnel who work with children

- Provide connections between Teacher Expectations, Student Achievement (TESA), Understanding by Design (UbD), and differentiated instruction (foci of APS) to cultural responsiveness

- Connect the writings of the following authors to culturally responsive behavior in the classroom:
  - Gloria Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers, Successful Teachers of African American Children*
  - Virginia P. Collier, *Promoting Academic Success for ESL Students, Understanding Second Language Acquisition for School*
  - Jodi Reiss, *Teaching Content to English Language Learners, Strategies for Secondary School Success*
  - Gail L. Thompson, *Through Ebony Eyes, What Teachers Need to Know But Are Afraid to Ask About African American Students*

Belief Statements Based on Research and Conviction

What is culturally responsive teaching? What do researchers believe about culturally responsive teaching? What effect does culturally responsive teaching have on the classroom and student achievement? Why is it important for all teachers to be culturally responsive? How does culturally responsive teaching relate to Arlington Public Schools? These questions can be answered in the following belief statements that are based on research and conviction:

- The goal of removing race, ethnicity, second language and class as predictors of student success can be met in the Arlington Public Schools.

- All students can succeed when teachers teach for success and provide their students with sufficient support.

- Teachers and school staff are the most important element in designing success for racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse learners.

- Patterns of interaction between adults and children have a more powerful effect on children's literacy learning than the types and quantity of material resources available.

- Teacher and staff behavior needs to be intentionally designed to produce student success.

- The intentional development of complex, knowledgeable, caring relationships with students is the foundation of student success. "We care, therefore, they learn." Ferguson

- All people have a racial identity.

- Every behavior has an intended and an unintended message. Teacher and staff understanding of self and of others leads to behavior that carries a consistent message that students can succeed.

- Knowledge of ourselves is fundamental to a productive relationship with students and other staff members.

- The core tasks of culturally competent teaching are interrelated. No task is sufficient by itself; they are all necessary for student success.

- Diversity is an asset that contributes to personal development and to the academic success of all students in a diverse environment.

- Successful culturally competent and responsive teachers:
  - Know their subject matter at a high level and are passionate about it;
  - Know that knowledge in their subject matter is continuously developed and not a given;
  - Teach literacy in all subjects;
  - Build trust, student autonomy, ambitiousness, industriousness, and consolidation of student learning for the future (See next page for information on Ferguson's model.);
  - Vary their teaching styles, materials, classroom strategies to use the cultural learning styles of their students.

- The benefits of culturally responsive teaching include:
  - Increased levels of comfort;
  - Increased knowledge of one's own culture;
  - Increased freedom to explore other ways of being, knowing and doing;
  - Discovery of passions and interests that complement other interests;
  - Increased capacity to work with and learn from others;
  - Increased knowledge and resources (Zion, 2005).

Culturally Responsive Teaching

Culturally Responsive Teaching is a set of congruent behaviors that recognizes the importance of including students' cultural references in all aspects of learning).

Some of the characteristics of culturally responsive teaching are:

1. Seeing teaching as an art

2. Believing that all of their students can succeed

3. Seeing themselves as a part of a community, including students, families, the city, the world.

4. Helping students make connections with all parts of the community

5. Having varied social interactions with students

6. Encouraging student connectedness and collaborative learning

7. Seeing knowledge as being continuously created and shared

8. Being passionate about their subject

Schools have traditionally taught and tested linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligences only. Teaching was talking, learning was writing, and knowing was reproducing. But intelligence and genius are much broader than the written essay and the mathematical computation allow (Gardner, 1991). The more suitable and sophisticated components of multiculturalism require a critical review of the way we have presented content and how we have assessed learning. Huber-Bowen (1993, p. xviii) offers a few illustrations which make this point clearer:

♦ Non-western populations often:

• Use imagery as a dominant way of thinking, writing, conceptualizing, and speaking

• Think in descriptive abstractions

- Emphasize extensive expression of concrete emotional words and metaphors

♦ Some Native American students evidence a higher frequency and relative strength in processing visual/spatial information.

♦ Some children learn through trial and error. Others are taught to learn and then expect trial and success. The former may become more impulsive learners; the latter more reflective. Sending students to the board to solve problems may interfere with the reflective students' processing style. They may prosper with activities which encourage development of intrapersonal intelligence with independent study options.

♦ A field dependent person is less able to separate a part from a whole, but is more conscious of other people and therefore often socially intuitive. These students may develop strong interactive intelligences and benefit from opportunities to use interactive strategies and work collaboratively.

♦ Important aspects of the learning styles of some ethnic groups and the ways in which they demonstrate what they know are:

  - Emotionality

  - Variability

  - Novelty

  - Active participation

For them teaching and learning are more than cognitive and technical tasks; they are also active and emotional processes. Consequently, all of these are critical features of culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2000). [See Allen & Boykin, 1992; Boykin, 1994,

for a discussion of studies that demonstrate the effect that teaching strategies that include these features have on African American students.]

These examples of multiple intelligences, ways of knowing, and modalities do not mean that we assess, evaluate, and label each student and then teach to his or her strength. It does mean that a planned quality learning experience should include multiple approaches to the important information being taught. It further signifies that as America continues to diversify, education must restructure to prosper from the riches of our diversity.

Dr. Ronald F. Ferguson

Since 1999 Arlington Public Schools has included two goals in its strategic plan: 1) rising achievement for all students; and 2) eliminating the gaps in achievement among identified groups. To this end, Arlington joined a national consortium of schools and school districts with the same goals. Dr. Roland F. Ferguson, a researcher and economist, collaborated with some of the schools in the national consortium, including Arlington, in the area of effective classroom practices and student success. Discussing his Tripod Project, he writes:

> The fundamental idea guiding the Tripod conceptual model is that <u>content, pedagogy and relationships</u> comprise the three legs of the instructional tripod. If one leg of a tripod is too weak, it collapses. We should expect that attending well to all three will affect teachers' capacities and commitments to engage students effectively in learning and, therefore, students' preparation to reach prescribed academic performance standards.

Ferguson talks about five core tasks that a teacher needs to understand and execute in order to be a culturally responsive teacher who builds student success. The tasks include:

Task One: Building Trust and Interest vs. Mistrust and Disinterest
> *The teacher fosters in students a sense of <u>trust and interest</u> and a feeling of positive anticipation.*

Task Two: Balancing Teacher Control vs. Student Autonomy
> *The teacher and students seek and find an appropriate balance of <u>teacher control and student autonomy</u> through mutual testing and responses.*

Task Three: Creating Ambitiousness vs. Ambivalence
> *The teacher helps each student and collaborates with him or her to <u>commit to ambitious learning goals</u> and to <u>overcome ambivalence</u> by either party.*

Task Four: Building Industriousness vs. Discouragement
> *The teacher and students <u>work industriously</u> to achieve goals for learning and to <u>overcome</u> any <u>discouragement</u> due to setbacks.*

Task Five: Fostering Consolidation vs. Irresolution and Disconnection.
> *The teacher helps students to <u>consolidate</u> their <u>learnings</u> and to connect goals and learnings forward in anticipation of future classes and life experiences.*

The Tripod Projects
Five Tasks and Stages of Classroom Social and Intellectual Engagement
Progress is neither smooth nor irreversible. Early stages are often revisited.
(Columns are tasks. Rows are stages).

Tasks ———————————————————————————————➤

STAGES	I. *Trust & Interest* *vs.* *Mistrust & Disinterest*	II. *Balanced* *vs.* *Imbalanced Teacher Control & Student Autonomy*	III. *Ambitiousness* *vs.* *Ambivalence i.e. High vs. Low Goals)*	IV. *Industriousness* *vs.* *Disengagement & Discouragement*	V. *Consolidation* *vs.* *Irresolution & Disconnection*
I.	Introductory class sessions foster in students a sense of trust and interest and a feeling of positive anticipation.	Teacher expresses an expectation that the classroom will be well controlled while also welcoming student input.	Teacher expresses commitment to high goals for students and the desire that students should have high goals too.	Teacher expresses anticipation that there may be setbacks, but promises to be supportive to help students succeed.	Teacher expressed anticipation that by the time the classis over students will see its coherence and relevance to life.
II.	Students' trust of the teacher develops based on their perceptions of the teacher's caring, competence, consistency, and respect for students.	Often through mutual testing & responses, teacher and students (sometimes with parents' help) seek an appropriate balance of teacher control and student autonomy.	Teacher elaborates his or her goals for the class and encourages students to join in formulating and articulating goals of their own.	Teacher is vigilant that students are actively engaged with class work and not off-task or discouraged. Teacher provides supports, payoffs and penalties, as appropriate.	Teacher encourages students to think about how they might apply class ideas and materials to better understand and manage their own lives.
III.	Trusted teacher is relied upon to collaborate with each student insetting goals and overcoming ambivalence.	Student autonomy and teacher control are expressed mostly with an appropriately balanced range.	Each student collaborates with the teacher commit to ambitious learning goals and to come ambivalence by either party.	Assignments and supports help students to experience early successes that inspire routines of industriousness and persistence.	Teacher helps students to understand the interdependence of various goals.
IV.	Trusted teacher is relied upon for instruction, assistances and encouragement as students endeavor industriously to achieve goals.	Students can be trusted to manage additional autonomy seldom needs to be preoccupied with control issues.	Specific learning goals guide decisions about allocations of effort and attention.	Teacher and students work industriously to achieve goals for learning and to recover from any disengagement to discouragement	Teacher reminds students how and why class goals are important in relationship to longer-term goals and aspirations.
V.	Trusted teacher positively affirms each students' progress and continues to be caring, competent, consistent, and respectful.	Students continue to manage their autonomy well and the teacher is mostly unconcerned about control issues.	Students remain on task for achievement of goals and begin to contemplate more advanced future goals in the same domain.	Industriousness pays off in terms of new understandings and growing confidence in capacity for mastery.	Teacher helps students to consolidate their learning and to connect goals and lessons toward an anticipation of future classes and life experiences.

Authors on group process, innovation diffusion, social work, human development, and business marketing have discovered the basic patterns in this diagram multiple times, independently.

Because of the importance of this research, the culturally responsive teaching strategies in this manual are organized under the above categories with only one additional section, that of literacy. According to Ferguson's research, all of these characteristics are necessary; none are sufficient by themselves.

The Culturally Responsive Checklist for Personnel Who Work Directly with Children

Culturally responsive teaching is an art, a science, and a professional responsibility. The culturally responsive teacher must intentionally use teaching strategies that are responsive to **all** students, regardless of race, ethnicity or language. In order to work effectively with all students, especially students of color and second language learners, teachers need to reflect on their attitudes and be intentional about their behaviors in the classroom. They need to be aware of research relative to best teaching practices and deliberately work toward utilizing such strategies. According to Ferguson, the teacher, as a patient sage, exhibits qualities such as always answering questions, providing help to the students, explaining difficult material in multiple ways, encouraging students, and not accepting failure.

Listed below are specific researched behaviors that have been shown to be culturally responsive and to have a positive effect on student achievement. These behaviors represent a culturally responsive teacher's commitment to student success. Considering that cultural responsiveness is a journey, not a destination, teachers should use this list for personal reflection, as an affirmation for present behavior, as a roadmap for modifying behavior, and as an ultimate goal for responsive teaching. These behaviors

align with the Arlington Public School focus on TESA, UbD, differentiation of instruction, and holding high expectations for students. (Further information on these foci follows the checklist.)

Teaching Strategies That Are Culturally Responsive: A Self Assessment

Instructions: Rate on a Scale "Not Evident," "Emerging," "Operational," and "Highly Functional" and provide evidence in your teaching practice.

	Scale "Not Evident," "Emerging," "Operational," "Highly Functional"	Evidence
Literacy		
1. I intentionally teach reading and writing in the content areas.		
2. I use personal stories.		
3. I use journal writing.		
4. I explain the language and meaning before introducing concepts.		
5. I recognize that fluency in academic English requires five to seven years of work by routinely providing vocabulary in context.		
6. I explain concepts in language that students can understand.		
7. I introduce vocabulary using words in the context of students' experiences and knowledge.		
8. I move from students' conversational contexts of vocabulary to academic contexts.		
9. I allow the use of nonstandard English for learning purposes.		
	Scale "Not Evident," "Emerging," "Operational," "Highly Functional"	Evidence
10. I use visual prompts.		
11. I use visual organizers.		

12. I teach grammar and mechanics in context.		
13. I make certain that the linguistic objective is visible in the room.		
14. I make certain that the content objective is visible in the room.		
Trust v. Mistrust **Interest v. Disinterest**		
1. I always answer student questions.		
2. I answer the questions that students have about the organization and structure of my classroom.		
3. I talk about how the goals and objectives for my subject matter relate to students' lives, present and future.		
4. I recognize that my classroom has a culture and that my students come to my class with cultural expectations about school.		
5. I overtly teach the culture of my classroom and that of the school.		
6. I share appropriate personal information in order to build trust in my classroom.		
7. I invite my students to share information about themselves.		
8. I ask for students' opinions.		
9. I accept the feelings of students.		
10. I have a program in place to make new students feel welcome.		
11. I pre-assess students' knowledge to determine appropriate strategies.		

	Scale "Not Evident," "Emerging," "Operational," "Highly Functional"	Evidence
12. I plan for multiple learning styles.		
13. I communicate to students that they will do well in my class.		
14. I ask students to reflect on their thinking.		
15. I ask students to explain their answers.		
16. I explain difficult material in more than one way.		
17. I give directions in many different ways.		
18. I provide help during class.		
19. I provide help outside of class.		
20. I call on all students equally.		
21. I correct students' errors in a respectful manner.		
22. I provide wait time.		
23. I model courtesy through my words and actions.		
24. I praise students for learning behaviors.		
25. I give reasons for praise.		
26. I provide personal compliments.		
27. I use appreciative listening.		
28. I am excited about the subject matter that I teach.		
29. I value and encourage a positive working relationship with students' families.		

Balancing Teacher Control v. Student Autonomy	Scale "Not Evident," "Emerging," "Operational," "Highly Functional"	Evidence
1. I invite student input.		
2. I provide students with choices about methods that they are able to use to learn material and complete assignments.		
3. I allow students to make decisions about assessments.		
4. I encourage students to design class rules.		
5. I give students choices about consequences.		
6. I ask students to design rubrics.		
7. I vary student leadership opportunities.		
8. I encourage students to think independently.		
9. I am consistent with all students.		
10. I am fair with all students.		
11. I vary assignments to demonstrate student mastery.		
12. I come within arm's length of each student regularly.		
13. I give students an opportunity to assess my performance.		

Ambitiousness V. Ambivalence	Scale "Not Evident," "Emerging," "Operational," "Highly Functional"	Evidence
1. I communicate high goals for my students.		
2. I encourage students to formulate and articulate high goals for themselves.		
3. I overtly teach organizing and planning.		
4. I intentionally get students to see their successes and to use their success to scaffold new successes.		
5. I encourage students to think about their thinking.		
6. I encourage students to apply materials in new and different ways.		
7. I specifically ask students to set and reevaluate goals.		
8. I use portfolios and other forms of authentic assessment.		
9. I engage in student teacher conferencing.		
10. I plan for and facilitate peer conferencing.		
11.I assess teaching materials to ensure that they provide windows into other worlds.		
12. I assess teaching materials to ensure that they provide a mirror that reflects students' personal experiences.		
13. I actively challenge stereotypes and biases in the classroom.		
14. I design experiences that ensure that students from diverse backgrounds work cooperatively in my classroom.		

Industriousness v. Discouragement	Scale "Not Evident," "Emerging," "Operational," "Highly Functional"	Evidence
1. I use students' knowledge in the classroom.		
2. I create an environment where students are excited about learning and want to work.		
3. I encourage students to strive for higher levels of success.		
4. I teach concepts and skills for mastery.		
5. I require rewriting.		
6. I encourage students to retake tests.		
7. I accept incomplete work and provide opportunities for completion at a high standard.		
8. I construct learning experiences of increasing complexity so that students experience success in more and more complex tasks.		
9. I provide opportunities for students to construct and use interactive materials.		
10. I teach thematic interdisciplinary content.		
11. I help students recover from failure.		
12. I take the initiative to address challenges that can impact a student's success in my classroom.		
13. I use assessments to inform students about their success.		
14. I advocate for the needs of my students.		
15. I collaborate with others to ensure the success of students, for example, Intervention Assistance Teams (IAT), supervisors, specialists, team meetings,etc.		

	Scale "Not Evident," "Emerging," "Operational," "Highly Functional"	Evidence
16. I create relationships that foster collaboration, mutual trust, and respect with students' families.		
Consolidation v. Irresolution		
1. I actively use students' experiences to create connections between the students' life and the curriculum.		
2. I create experiences in which students see their place in the world.		
3.I provide practical applications for learning.		
4. I provide flexible grouping.		
5. I create an environment where the diversity of my students is visually represented.		
6. I use supplemental materials to provide a variety of perspectives		

Annotated Bibliography

Ronald Ferguson's research and the four books that form the basis for the descriptors of culturally responsive teaching outlined in this section are briefly reviewed below. Ferguson's core tasks are the framework. Each of the other authors describes these core tasks as fundamental, although they do not always use Ferguson's exact wording. Each author also provides concrete teaching behaviors that exemplify the core tasks.

Gloria Ladson-Billings, Virginia Collier, Jodi Reiss and Gail Thompson all add the task of teaching literacy. Each author states unequivocally that all culturally responsive teachers teach reading, writing, and speaking in the content area, no matter what the subject matter. These authors along with Ferguson's research provide rich guidance in the theory and practice of culturally responsive teaching for any content area and for any grade, kindergarten through high school.

Dr. Ronald F. Ferguson - Professor of Economics, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Mass.; Developer of the Tripod Project Intervention, www.tripodproject.org.

Ron Ferguson developed the Tripod Project in 2000-2003 as an outgrowth of his collaboration with teachers and administrators in Shaker Heights, Ohio, a member of the Minority Student Achievement Network(MSAN), an association of school systems to which Arlington Public Schools also belongs. Ferguson collected student survey data in APS, and worked with 3 APS schools on the Tripod Project. The Tripod Project looks at

the interdependence of three factors that impact the success of students. The factors are: the teacher's knowledge of the curriculum; the use of pedagogy; and the ability to create and sustain relationships that foster student achievement. The material on the five core tasks comes from presentations to Arlington Public Schools.

Dr. Ferguson writes, "Scholars in fields as diverse as social work, youth development, business marketing, innovation diffusion and group process report that people's initial impressions of one another can influence how effectively they resolve future differences, commit to joint goals and remain on task in the face of setbacks." He continues, "Students' first impressions of teachers affect their sense of trust in the teacher, their inclinations to engage in "testing behaviors"(or not),to set ambitious goals for achievement and to be industrious."

The 5 goals outlined in the introduction to the Self Assessment in this section reflect Ferguson's extensive research on the teacher behaviors that contribute to the success of students of color and second language students. These behaviors must be demonstrated consistently throughout the school year.

Dr. Gloria Ladson-Billings – Author of *The Dreamkeepers, Successful Teachers of African American Children*; Assistant Professor in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Wisconsin

Dr. Ladson-Billings spent three years in the classrooms of eight successful elementary teachers (six Black and two White) of students of color,. The teachers' supervisors and their students' test scores showed the teachers to be successful with students of color. The parents of their students declared them to be teachers who taught their children to, "hold their own in the classroom without forgetting their own in the community." These

teachers have different teaching styles. For example: one uses basal readers; another uses reading and writing journals, book groups and other whole language methods. However, all are culturally competent. The book includes very detailed descriptions of the successful strategies of each of these teachers.

Virginia Collier - Author of *Promoting Academic Success for ESL Students*; Professor at George Mason University

Virginia Collier has done a study of second language students in APS, and this book is one of the basic texts used for teachers at all grade levels in ESOL-HILT training in APS. According to Collier, content teachers must not be fooled by student fluency in social language. Academic language, the skill needed for success in text reading and composition, takes five to seven years beyond social language, and requires intentional teaching of vocabulary and skills. The process is not linear, includes many mistakes, and is hard work. The book outlines necessary teacher behaviors to support second language learners, including the conscious building of affective behavior in the classroom and the explicit teaching of learning strategies.

Jodi Reiss – Author of *Teaching Content to English Language Learners: Strategies for Secondary School Success;* Florida International University

Jodi Reiss writes a practical handbook for teachers of second language. She includes Cummins' framework for deciding what context for the content material to be taught is available to a second language student. When a student has "no context," the teacher needs to teach more vocabulary and idioms, and to provide more hands on

instruction to help students build a context for the academic material. Teachers need to teach the cultural norms of American schooling and the cultural norms of their class. The book is full of practical strategies for building on common classroom techniques and activities in order to increase teaching effectiveness for second language students. It includes models, graphics and authentic examples, each useful for teachers of grades K through12.

Gail L. Thompson – Author of *Through Ebony Eyes, What Teachers Need to Know But Are Afraid to Ask About African American Students*; Associate Professor of Education, Claremont Graduate University

Gail Thompson uses her research and middle school teaching experience to provide a personal and quite detailed examination of what works for African American students' success, both the theory and the practice. Necessary attitudes and beliefs that teachers must have if they are to work effectively with African American students are:

* All children can learn;
* African American children are not blank slates - they arrive at school with cultural capital and talents that should be built upon;
* Most African American parents care deeply about their children and assist them in many ways invisible to teachers;
* It is the teacher's job to do his or her best with all students, and not to judge culture;
* It is not wrong to recognize racial and cultural differences among individuals;
* Most African American children want to learn;
* African American students who speak their home language are not deficient. They are, in some ways, like second language learners.

The book includes a candid and practical discussion on classroom management; on Ebonics or language and identity; on how to deal with the "N" word, how to teach materials that use it, and whether to permit it in class; and what to do when a student calls you racist?

The Role of Teaching for Meaning
in Culturally Responsive Teaching

Teaching for Meaning is at the heart and the foundation of culturally responsive teaching.

Culturally Responsive Instruction

(Zion,2005)

Culturally responsive teaching recognizes the importance of including students' cultural references in all aspects of learning. The goal of culturally responsive teaching is to improve the academic achievement of students while cultivating their cultural identity (GAY, 1999). Every student has a rich and unique culture which includes, but is not limited to, race and ethnicity. The culturally responsive teacher provides instruction that is:
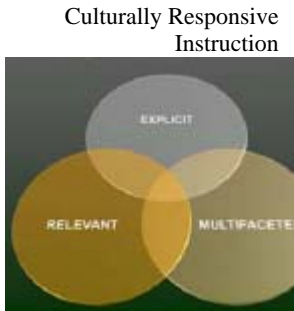
- Explicit - overtly and intentionally providing the knowledge and skills students need for mastery and to participate fully in a culture (Delpit, 1998).

- Relevant - using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and performance styles of diverse students to make learning more appropriate and effective; teaching to and through the strengths of the students.

- Multifaceted - developing literacy in many areas so that students can critically examine the society in which they live and can work for social change. (Ladsen–Billings, 1992).

Culturally responsive instruction is the kind of teaching that uses the students' culture as the basis for helping them to understand themselves and others, to structure social interactions, and to acquire conceptual knowledge (Ladsen-Billings, 1992).

Instructional design facilitates culturally responsive instruction and impacts the academic outcome for students. State, local, and national standards govern what must be taught and when concepts and skills should be taught. The culturally responsive teacher must critically evaluate what to teach, why it should be taught, when it should be taught, and the impact of what is taught on students. Teaching for meaning is a way of designing units of study in which teachers can intentionally create learning opportunities that yield academic success for students.

When using the Understanding by Design (UbD) format, teachers use a backwards design principle that guides the development of units of study. In the following order, teachers must intentionally ask:

1. What are the desired results? What are the particular learning needs of my students? As a result of what I teach, what should students to be able to know and do?

2. What formal and informal assessments will I use (before, during and after the unit) to assess students' mastery of the desired learning goals?

3. What learning experiences and activities will I provide the students in order to achieve the desired results? Are the learning activities purposeful and congruent with my desired results? Will the learning activities provide the skills students need to achieve the desired results?

An important consideration when using backwards design is that of assessment. It is essential to determining the appropriate evidence that will gauge students' mastery of the concepts and skills that will be taught during the unit. The assessment is to be crafted in the early stages of unit design, prior to the determination of lessons and activities. It is not an afterthought. This ensures alignment and that the assessment truly measures what is taught.

Not all units of study or lessons are appropriate for the teaching for meaning format. The UbD framework empowers teachers to be intentional and explicit about what they teach, why it is being taught, and how it applies to the lives of students. UbD provides a framework for teaching and learning that creates a climate of respect and student value. It focuses on challenging and cooperative instruction that creates equitable learning environments for all students by:

- Creating an environment where students and teachers work together;
- Teaching language and literacy skills in every curricular area;
- Connecting lessons to students' lives;
- Providing students with challenging activities and assignments;
- Providing students with assignments that emphasize dialog over lectures.

Stages in Backwards Design

Identify desired results

Determine acceptable evidence

Plan learning experiences and instruction

Grant & Wiggins (1998)
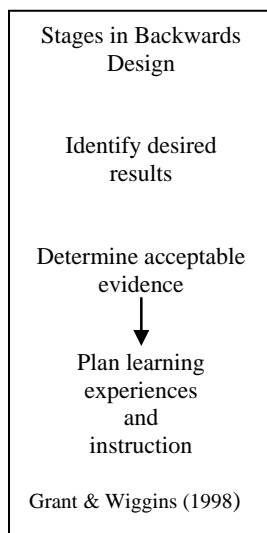
When teachers design units using the teaching for meaning framework, students' mastery of content and skills is demonstrated through assessments, performance tasks, and projects that are open-ended, complex, and relevant to the students' lives. Because of this, there can be many right answers to the questions posed.

The power of understanding is the ability to use knowledge and skills in different contexts and to know how and why the information applies to a given situation. Blooms Taxonomy provides one explanation of the higher order thinking skills that teachers must explicitly teach. Teachers who use UbD begin planning with a clear understanding of the end goal, and the

http://classweb.gmu.edu/ndabbagh/
Resources/Resources2/bloomstax.htm

189

specific and discrete skills each students needs to achieve the desired goal.   The foundation of the diagram is knowledge and comprehension. Teaching for meaning provides opportunities for students to move beyond the foundation levels of understanding. The goal of culturally responsive teaching and teaching for meaning is to provide a gateway for students to access the full spectrum of educational objectives. The payoff for students is that they are taught how to think critically and to use concepts, information, and knowledge in new and different ways in order to address the challenges that are relevant in their lives, academically, as well as in their communities, their nation, and their world.

Differentiated Instruction
(Adapted from the work of James Patton and Norma Day Vines)

> A differentiated classroom is one in which a teacher responds to those needs (Tomlinson, 1999)

Differentiated instruction is not a set of tools but is a philosophy of instruction that enables teachers to plan strategically to meet the unique needs of all learners (Gregory and Chapman, 2002). This type of instruction gives a variety of options for students. The teacher who uses differentiation appropriately meets students where they are and offers them challenging and suitable options in order for them to achieve success. The principles that guide differentiated instruction are closely aligned with those for teaching for meaning and culturally responsive teaching. The materials and activities that teachers select must be driven by each student's academic readiness, must be respectful, offer flexible grouping, and begin with and include ongoing assessment and adjustment throughout.   Like teaching for meaning, differentiated instruction is effective when the teacher is proficient

in the content area, has clear learning goals, and focuses activities to ensure that they are

in sync with and support those learning goals.

Teachers can differentiate the content, the process (i.e., instructional strategies)

performance tasks, as well as methods to assess prior knowledge and leaning before,

during, and after each lesson and unit. Tomlinson (1999) created a graphic organizer (see

below) which displays some of the ways that process can be differentiated.
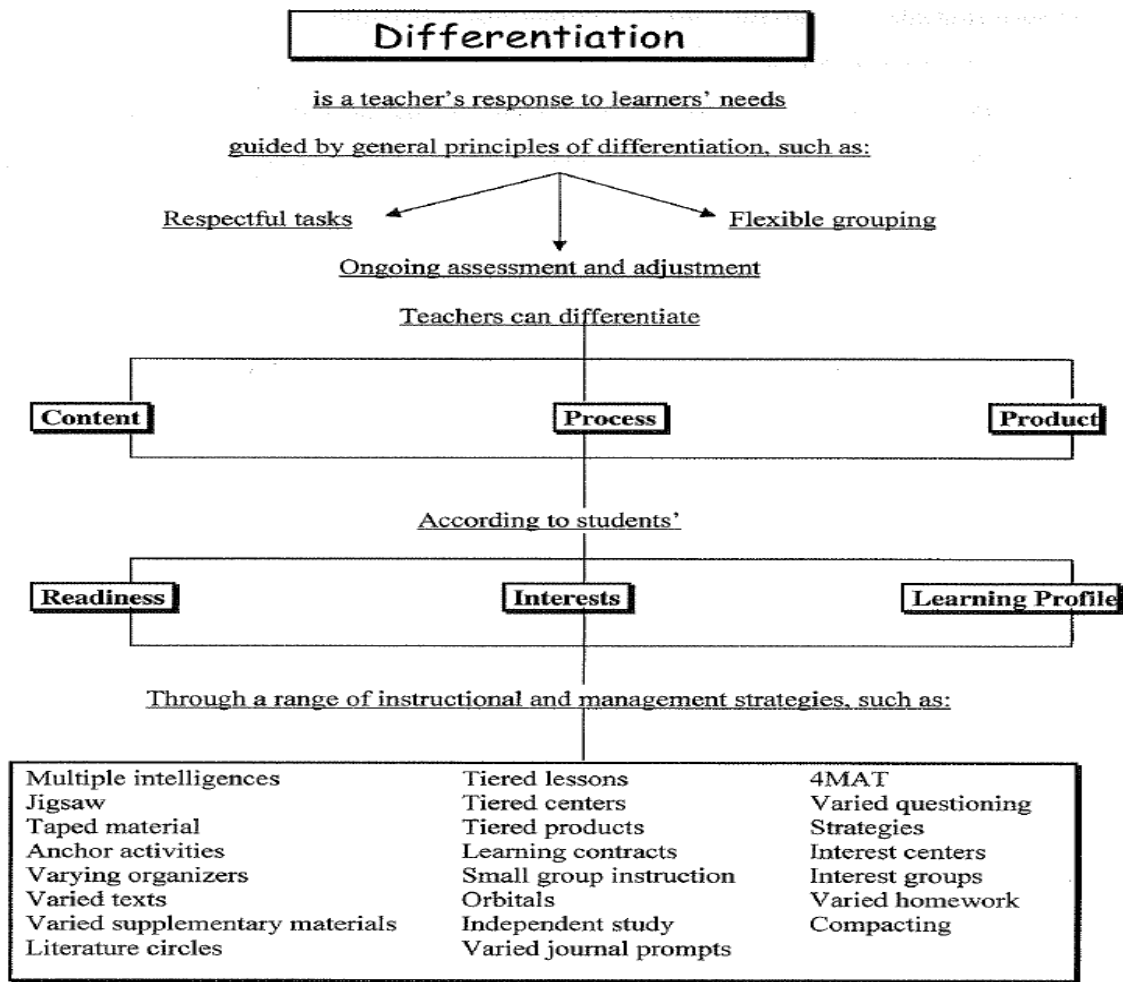
SOURCE: See for example, Tomlinson, C. A. (1999). *The differentiated classroom: Responding to the needs of all learners.* Alexandria, VA: ASCD.

Figure 4

Effective differentiated instruction rests upon an active, student-centered learning environment where teaching for meaning is at the core. Such approaches are called "constructivist." Many researchers have contributed to this philosophy, including John Dewey, Jean Piaget, and Jerome Bruner. More recent contributions include Brooks and Brooks, 1993, Erickson, 1998, and Wiggins and McTighe, 1998. Tomlinson and Allen suggest that teachers know each child's readiness, interest and learning profile in order for effective differentiation to occur.

Planning for differentiated instruction to increase student success includes the major elements listed below:

Providing a Positive and Supportive Climate

Knowing the learner

Assessing the learner

Providing Adjustable Assignments

Using Varied Instructional Strategies

Using Varied Curriculum Approaches

Patton and Vines (2003) provide concrete examples of ways assignments can be modified; they include teacher adjustments in the:

* Size
* Time
* Complexity
* Participation
* Environment
* Input
* Output
* Support
* Goals

The book entitled *Differentiated Strategies: One Size Doesn't Fit All*, by Gregory and Chapman (2002) provides more in-depth information about how teachers and schools can use differentiation to improve the success of learners. Curriculum approaches for differentiated learning appeal to individual learners and their need for novelty, engaging activities and quests for meaning. Differentiation supports culturally responsive teaching by providing a framework for comprehensive, multidimensional, empowering instruction that is relevant and engaging for each student.

Teacher Expectations, Student Achievement (TESA)

TESA is one of the many steps in creating an equitable learning environment for all students and should be combined with other culturally competent strategies to create opportunity where all students can succeed. One should note that this program is designed to help teachers who already possess content knowledge and pedagogy to begin to closely examine ways on improving delivery of instruction to all students.

The foundation of TESA is built upon expectation theory as defined by Thomas Good and Jere Brophy. Their research concludes that teachers develop expectations about the future academic achievement of students based on previous or current knowledge of those students. "According to Good and Brophy, teachers quickly form expectations for individual students' learning based primarily on their own perceptions (e.g. race, class, physical appearance, gender, and physical and emotional challenges)."[1]

TESA is designed to make teachers more aware of their perceptions and how those perceptions may impact their expectations of the students they teach.

Research has shown that when instructional delivery is incorporated with the TESA interaction model, there is a noted difference in teacher perceptions of student ability and student perceptions regarding academic achievement. The TESA Program, in conjunction with the Los Angeles County Office of Education, interviewed teachers and administrators across the country to determine how "TESA training has influenced attitudes and affected educational practices of training participants".[2] This two-year study examined trainings presented in 26 states and 75 cities, delivered to 2,681 educators, of which 467 were administrators. Based on responses received, educators stated that in the areas of self-awareness of attitudes, educational practices and classroom environment and equity, the improvements seen were attributed to the TESA model. Educators also shared major challenges faced that TESA may aid in addressing: closing the achievement gap, student discipline issues, parent engagement-either too little or too much, NCLB standards, and challenges to meet set goals with current resources and community issues, primarily students from broken homes.[3]

The TESA model is organized into three major strands: response opportunities, feedback and personal regard. Those strands are then divided into five interaction methods.

UNITS	STRAND A RESPONSE OPPORTUNITIES	STRAND B FEEDBACK	STRAND C PERSONAL REGARD
1	Equitable Distribution	Affirm/Correct	Proximity
2	Individual Help	Praise	Courtesy
3	Latency	Reasons for Praise	Personal Interest & Compliments
4	Delving	Listening	Touching
5	Higher-Level Questioning	Accepting Feelings	Desist

Equitable Distribution

The teacher learns how to provide an opportunity for all students to respond or perform in classroom learning situations.

Affirm/Correct

The teacher learns how to give feedback to students about their classroom performance.

Proximity

The teacher learns the significance of being physically close to students as they work.

Individual Help

The teacher learns how to provide individual help to each student.

Praise

The teacher learns how to praise the students' learning performance.

Courtesy

The teacher learns how to use expressions of courtesy in interactions with students.

Latency

The teacher learns how to allow the student enough time to think over a question before assisting the student or ending the opportunity to respond.

Reasons for Praise

The teacher learns how to give useful feedback for the students' learning performance.

Personal Interest & compliments

The teacher learns how to ask questions, give compliments or make statements related to a student's personal interests or experiences.

Delving

The teacher learns how to provide additional information to help the student respond to a question.

Listening

The teacher learns how to apply active listening techniques with students.

Touching

The teacher learns how to touch students in a respectful, appropriate and friendly manner.

Higher-Level Questioning

The teacher learns how to ask challenging questions that require students to do more than simply recall information.

Accepting Feelings

The teacher learns how to recognize and accept students' feelings in a non-evaluative manner.

Desisting

The teacher learns how to stop a student's misbehavior in a calm and courteous manner.

The philosophy of TESA is crucial for all educators to possess if we are, indeed, going to positively impact the educational achievement of all students. Teachers, administrators, supervisors and other staff involved in the development and delivery of instruction must realize how their perceptions can, and do, impact student achievement and work to deliver inclusive instruction for all.

Where does one begin to fully implement the TESA model into daily instructional practice? The first task is to communicate high expectations school wide, within every classroom, for every student. High expectations can, and do, affect student achievement and attitudes. Students must see, hear and know that despite labels, placements or other academic identifiers, each one is expected to achieve to their greatest potential. Failure cannot and will not be an option. High expectations are a critical component of effective schools, and communicating low expectations has more power to limit student achievement than communicating high expectations has to raise student performance.

Summary
Culturally Responsive Teaching

Belief statements based on research and conviction
- ❖ Why it is important for all teachers to be culturally responsive
- ❖ How culturally responsive teaching related to Arlington Public Schools

Huber-Bowen's illustrations of the need for culturally responsive teaching in a time of multiculturalism show differences between western and non-western populations:
- ❖ Thinking processes
- ❖ Processing of visual/spatial information
- ❖ Learning styles
- ❖ Social intuition
- ❖ Desire to interact with others
- ❖ Demonstration of knowledge

Dr. Ronald F. Ferguson's Tripod Model
- ❖ Content
- ❖ Pedagogy
- ❖ Relationships

Dr. Ronald F. Ferguson's five core tasks
- ❖ Task One: Building Trust and Interest vs. Mistrust and Disinterest
- ❖ Task Two: Balancing Teacher Control vs. Student Autonomy
- ❖ Task Three: Creating Ambitiousness vs. Ambivalence
- ❖ Task Four: Building Industriousness vs. Discouragement
- ❖ Task Five: Fostering Consolidation vs. Disconnection

The Culturally Responsive Checklist for Personnel Who Work Directly with Children: A Self-Assessment – in six sections that include:
- ❖ Literacy
- ❖ Ferguson's five core tasks (see above)

Annotated Bibliography
- ❖ Dr. Ronald F. Ferguson
- ❖ Dr. Gloria Ladson-Billings
- ❖ Virginia Collier
- ❖ Jodi Reiss
- ❖ Gail L. Thompson

Instructional Approaches Used in Arlington Public Schools
- ❖ Understanding by Design (UbD) – Teaching for Meaning
- ❖ Differentiated Instruction
- ❖ Teacher Expectations, Student Achievement (TESA)

➢ ➢ ➢ Journal

SESSION TWO
Please write to the following prompts:

1. To what degree do you and your colleagues believe race impacts student achievement?

2. To what degree has race been a factor that has been investigated in your school's efforts to address achievement disparity?

➢ ➢ ➢ **Journal**

3. Has the concept of race as a factor been embraced by all educators?

4. Can you think of a time in a personal or professional circumstance when race became a topic of conversation and you either actively changed the subject or avoided the conversation altogether? What do you believe caused you to react in this manner?

➢ ➢ ➢ **Journal**

SESSION FOUR
Please write to the following prompts:

1. How has white privilege impacted your life? How does white privilege impact the education of White students? Students of color?

2. What can we do to provide equitable opportunities to all students?

➤ ➤ ➤ **Journal**

SESSION FIVE
Please write to the following prompts:

1. In what situations do you observe microaggressions in the work that you do?

2. How do microaggressions impact the education of minority students? Relationships with parents? Interactions with staff?

3. What are some (systematic and personal) strategies that can be implemented to address microaggressions at the student, parent, and staff levels?

➢ ➢ ➢ **Journal**

SESSION SIX

Initiating Effective Teacher-Student Relationships

Scholars in fields as diverse as social work, youth development, business marketing, innovation diffusion and group process report that people's initial impressions of one another can influence how effectively they resolve future differences, commit to joint goals and remain on task in the face of setbacks. There is no reason to expect that teacher-student relationships in K-12 education should be any exception. There are strong reasons to expect that students' first impressions of teachers affect their sense of trust in the teacher, their inclinations to engage in "testing" behaviors (or not), to set ambitious goals for achievement and to be industrious.

What follows are prompts related to the questions that students say they have on their minds on the first few days of class.

Please take the next fifteen minutes to respond to them. Your responses will be collected and used in a summary for the whole school that will be the basis for future discussions.

Please relax. There are no right or wrong answers and no one is going to judge you. Your answers are contributions to a community-level exchange of ideas that will evolve in coming months and years.

Thanks for your cooperation.

1. STUDENTS' QUERY: WHO ARE YOU AS A PERSON?
Question/Prompt: What student questions about you as a person would you consider answering? What (creative) format(s) might you use to disclose things about yourself (and to solicit related information from students about themselves)?

2. STUDENTS' QUERY: ARE YOU GOING TO BE MEAN?
Question/Prompt: "Mr(s)./Ms._____definitely respects me and my classmates." What several "strategies" or practices would you use that would have your students make the above statement about you?

3. STUDENTS' QUERY: IS THERE GOING TO BE A LOT OF HOMEWORK?
Question/Prompt: "Mr(s)./Ms._____very clearly explained to us her/his policy on homework. I must admit that it made sense and the amount seems like it will be reasonable." What did you say/communicate to your students to prompt this reaction?

4. STUDENTS' QUERY: WILL THIS CLASS BE HARD TO UNDERSTAND?
Question/Prompt: What words will you use to convey to students both the exciting challenges that lay ahead in the course and the fact that you will be there to support them in any struggles they have?

5. STUDENTS' QUERY: WHAT ARE WE GOING TO LEARN IN THIS CLASS?
WILL IT BE INTERESTING AND USEFUL?
Question/Prompt: What would you say to a student who asks this question: "How does
what I learn in this course relate to me TODAY."

6. STUDENTS' QUERY: HOW EFFECTIVE WILL YOU BE AT MANAGING THE
OTHER STUDENTS SO THAT WE ALL TAKE THIS CLASS SERIOUSLY?
Question/Prompt: "Mr(s)./Ms._____clearly means business in this class and doesn't
let us get away with things. But s/he definitely is fair and friendly in how s/he treats us."
Briefly but vividly, describe the powerful "evidence" this student could cite to support
this statement about you.

7. What additional questions do you think might be on the minds of your students as they enter their first class with you?

➢ ➢ ➢ Selected Readings

More Than a Statistic: Reflections on the black side of school discipline; Dorothy Franklin.

Courageous Conversations about Race by Glenn Singleton & Curtis Linton, Summary of Chapter 3; Why Race? Dr. Suzanne Swendiman.

Courageous Conversations about Race by Glenn Singleton & Curtis Linton, Summary of Chapter 4; Agreeing to Talk about Race; Dr. Suzanne Swendiman.

Racial Micoagressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice: Derald Sue, et al.

White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack; Peggy McIntosh.

The Color Line; Glenn Singleton.

White Privilege in Schools; Ruth Anne Olson.

Why Are all the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? Chapter 2; Dr. Beverly Daniel Tatum.

Helping Whites Develop Anti-racist Identities: Overcoming their Resistance to Fighting Racism; Dr. Elizabeth Denevi & Nicholas Pastan.

We Have to Talk; A Step by Step Checklist for Difficult Conversations; Judy Ringer.

Understanding Unconscious Bias and Unintentional Racism; Jean Moule.

Courageous Conversations about Race by Glenn Singleton & Curtis Linton, Summary of Chapter 13; Using Courageous Conversations to Achieve Equity in Schools; Dr. Suzanne Swendiman.

But That's Just Good Teaching! The Case for Culturally Relevant Pedagogy; Dr. Gloria Ladson- Billings.

Addressing Diversity in Schools: Culturally Responsive Pedagogy; Heraldo V. Richards, Ayanna F. Brown, Timothy B. Forde.

More Than a Statistic

Fall 2008

Illustration: Richard Downs

Reflections on the black side of school discipline

By Dorothy Franklin

In your silence, you have become an accessory to murder!"

In his role as Dr. Vernon Johns, a Civil Rights leader, actor James Earl Jones vehemently indicts a complacent congregation that is too busy assimilating in white society to protest police brutality in the Southern 1950s. In my silence, I, too, have become an accessory — not to murder, though the long-term effects can be just as devastating to a community.

Xavier (a pseudonym) is not the first black boy whom I silently watched being treated unjustly while trying to survive in school under the weight of being black and poor and improperly raised within a dysfunctional family. A 23-year veteran educator of the public school system, I have observed innumerable incidents with countless Xaviers that contribute to the disproportionate rate at which black children are suspended.

These black children are more real to me than the alarming statistics that declare African American children are two times more likely to be expelled than white children. Xavier is the face behind these statistics. One unseasonably warm October morning, instead of lining up with his class to prepare for entry into the school building, Xavier lingers in the wrong line while chatting and laughing with friends. When approached by an administrator, Xavier responds, "My mistake," and begins to walk to his appropriate line. The administrator directs Xavier (along with two other boys) to go to the main office where he must sign a statement that he intentionally — not mistakenly — stood in the wrong line.

For reasons that may only be clear to other black boys, Xavier refuses to write a confession while the other two boys (who are not African American) comply immediately. Xavier's obstinacy results in him spending almost a day and a half out of the classroom and in the office. Here's a kid who, against insurmountable odds, has made dramatic improvements. Unlike the disheveled, disorganized, disinterested boy I met in 4th grade, 6th-grade Xavier comes to school regularly; he is relatively clean; and he is usually prepared to work and learn. He is rewarded for that effort, for that remarkable transformation, with an in-school suspension for what is not aberrant behavior for children — talking to friends for a few seconds longer than they should when it is time to line up. In fact, on this particular day, most of the 6th-grade population is out of compliance.

Let's imagine the same scenario with a blond, blue-eyed white girl. The child is caught talking in the wrong line and mutters, "My mistake," before dashing off to catch up with her class. More than

statistics can ever reveal, my personal and professional experiences tell me she would have been allowed to join her class with or without a quick admonishment to not let it happen again. A few seconds later — case closed — education is not disrupted. When a black boy is involved, however, it frequently turns into an event. Unfortunately for Xavier and thousands like him, his events are often limited to the emotional posturing and battle of wills that take place in public schools all over this country until he graduates (if statistics bear out) to his *big event*, admission to the penal system.

Months earlier, I am silent when I witness a black boy being singled out unfairly. It is at the tip of spring. The warm air is slowly casting off the harshness of winter. It is also a Friday with a number of substitute teachers in the building, so the children are more spirited than usual. Bursting out the door during a fire drill, one upper-grade ethnically diverse class, with Latino, Indian, Pakistani, Caucasian, and African American students, teeters on the verge of being out of control. There is loud talking, infectious laughter, and friendly taps as they explode past me in a blur of youthful exuberance with their teacher seemingly oblivious to it all.

Abruptly, this joyous — albeit inappropriate — mayhem is interrupted when a quiet black boy makes the fatal error of pulling his hood onto his head. A teacher begins yelling at that child as if *he* is the one who is playing during a fire drill. I cannot make out the teacher's words, but the venom that drips from every syllable is perceptible even at a distance. I catch up with the group in time to hear the teenager spew, "I'm sick of your ass! It doesn't matter what everybody else is doing because *all* you see is me!"

Even knowing that this child has just given voice to the private thoughts that ricochet through my mind, I say nothing as his teacher herds him to the office amidst a torrent of shared animosity. I utter no protestations as another black boy racks up more suspension days. To be sure, the child is wrong for using profanity, and he has a history of losing control. I am not asking for a free pass every time a black student disrespects an authority figure, but how much self-control would you possess if every move you made were scrutinized contemptuously?

As a 45-year-old black woman whose mere presence on the street still compels white and Hispanic women to clutch their purses tightly to their breasts, I understand the frustration and anxiety that tied that adolescent in knots, rendering him incapable of socially correct discourse. It is difficult to be constantly regarded with suspicion and disapproval and bear the burden of knowing that the people in power are just waiting for you to screw up. Under such scrutiny, it is impossible for that boy and many like him to knit together the appropriately respectful words needed to defend their missteps.

That *event* is preceded by one with a black girl, the only dark complexioned female in the room. She is kicked out of class for talking. This child's *event* escalates to such heights that by day's end she is the recipient of a three-day suspension. Like Xavier, she has put forth considerable effort to turn her life around and become a productive member of the school community after two years of troublesome behavior. Never quite recovering from her event, she remains somewhat disconnected and disenchanted for the rest of her 8th-grade year. Since his *event*, Xavier, too, has lost his footing and has experienced a notable increase in the number of infractions he amasses before his mother eventually transfers him to another school.

Situations like these abound because honest and productive conversations with teachers and administrators who are not black are rare due to an unspoken perception that we (African Americans) are labeling them racists. Yet what permeates the American psyche runs much deeper than that. Police brutality, for example, can be dispensed just as easily and just as viciously with black hands. In fact, a black administrator assigns the three-day suspension to the black girl who at first only wants to know, "Why am I being kicked out and nothing is happening to Mary (the white girl with whom she was conversing)?"

In response to the alarming suspension rates, I have heard many educators opine that more black children are suspended because they misbehave more frequently than white children. In my mind, such simplistic analysis ignores the many variables that contribute to both the real and imagined offenses perpetrated by black children.

The problem is that some of our black children are not allowed to just stop — to err and move on. We

adults (of all races) have developed a habit of escalating the conflict when the child is black — especially if he is a boy. Black boys tend not to get warnings and quiet admonishments. They are simply removed — out of line, out of class, and eventually out of school. It is no wonder the dropout rate is soaring in the black community.

Shortly before 11:00 a.m. on the second day of his punishment, Xavier signs the confession after his mother informs him via the telephone that she is not returning to the school. I do not know what important life lesson he is supposed to have learned during his exile from class, but I suspect Xavier *is* learning what it means to be a black man in America. And I am learning that I can no longer be an accessory.

Dorothy Franklin is a reading specialist/curriculum coordinator for Chicago Public Schools.

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Courageous Conversations About Race: A Field Guide for Achieving
Equity in Schools **by Glenn E. Singleton and Curtis Linton**
Summary by Dr. Suzanne Swendiman

<u>Chapter 3 – Why Race?</u>

Chapter 3 is broken into the following six areas:
- *The Problem of the Color Line*
- *The Racial Gap*
- *Race as a Factor in Education*
- *Dealing With Race*
- *Establishing Common Language Around Race*
- *Do We Have the Will?*

Chapter 3 begins with a 2001 quote by Cornel West, part of which is included here:

> *Our truncated public discussions of race fail to confront the complexity of the issue in a candid and critical manner. The predictable pitting of liberals against conservatives, Great Society Democrats against self-help Republicans, reinforces intellectual parochialism and political paralysis.…*
>
> *We confine discussions of race in America to the "problems" Black people pose for Whites rather than consider what this way of viewing Black people reveals about us as a nation.*
>
> *Hence, for liberals, black people are to be "included" and "integrated" into our society and culture, while for conservatives they are to be "well behaved" and "worthy of acceptance" by "our" way of life. Both fail to see that the presence and predicaments of Black people are neither additions to nor defections from American life, but rather constitutive elements of that life.*

The Problem of the Color Line

In 1903 W.E.B. DuBois stated, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line, the relations of the darker to the lighter races in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea." Although improvements have been made to bring equality to the races, the problem of the color line remains in the twenty-first century, and it impacts the White population as well as people of color.

According to Singleton and Linton, the aim of their book (*Courageous Conversations About Race*), "…is to help educators improve the achievement of *all* students while

narrowing the gaps between the lowest- and highest-performing groups and eliminating the predictability and disproportionality of which racial groups occupy the highest and lowest achievement categories."

Both people of color and White people have parts to play in achieving, "liberty and justice for all." People of color must continue to, "demand racial equality." White people need to accept and act on their responsibility to insure equal access to *all* peoples and to challenge the privilege awarded to the White population. Singleton and Linton state, "Despite extraordinary and groundbreaking efforts of civil rights leaders to bring about racial equality, sustainable reform will occur only when White people individually and collectively embrace and encourage change. At the very least, White educators must allow change to happen."

An Asian parent, talking to a White elementary school principal, said, "The most productive and progressive society is one in which every member has full and unencumbered access to academic success and emotional security. When one group feels marginalized, everybody is affected—including those who are in positions of power and privilege, who often perceive themselves to be unaffected by the experiences of the underserved." In the schools, as in the rest of society, race matters greatly.

The Racial Gap

According to Singleton and Linton, "The most troublesome achievement gap is the racial gap…." Although socioeconomic status has a definite impact on student achievement, a racial achievement gap continues to exist within the same economic echelon. Therefore, Singleton and Linton state strongly that, "…wealth or poverty alone fails to explain the racial achievement gap, which persists irrespective of income level."

A person's socioeconomic background does not just include his/her financial situation; it also includes the societal background. According to Singleton and Linton, "The *socio* or racial/cultural status will always outweigh or trump the *economic* status in our race-conscious society; nevertheless, members of the dominant racial culture tend to search for and acknowledge primarily economic differences when explaining social stratification and academic achievement disparities." They state clearly that "academic data" support the idea that a student's racial background has a far greater impact on academic success than does economic status.

The authors state that, "Courageous Conversation serves as a strategy to eventually eliminate these racial achievement gaps." They have found that as educators work to eradicate the achievement gap, they are successful in eliminating other gaps, such as linguistic and economic, as well.

Race as a Factor in Education

"As expectations, opportunities, resources, and access become equitable across all racial groups, the gaps close because all students are supported in the differentiated ways necessary to achieve success. It is our belief that the most devastating factor contributing to the lowered achievement of students of color is institutionalized racism, which we recognize as the unexamined and unchallenged system of racial biases and residual White advantage that persist in our institutions of learning." (Singleton and Linton, 2006) They say, "When schools address the issue of race head-on, dramatic results occur." The authors used Del Roble Elementary School in San Jose, California, as an example of an effective way of eliminating the racial achievement gap.

Dealing With Race

Singleton and Linton make several points regarding the impact of race in the schools:
- "Many educators…tend to focus on factors external to the schools for explaining students' low achievement rather than examining their own instructional practices."
- "…as educators persist in Courageous Conversation and learn to address race more effectively, they will discover the limitations of their own views and recognize the validity of others'—even if some perspectives are radically different than their own." Lisa Delpit (1995a) says that teachers need to recognize, "…the haze of [our] own cultural lenses."
- "Addressing the impact of race in education is not a 'feel good' experience. Nor is it an attempt to make White educators feel guilty, promote pity for people of color, or extract revenge on their behalf."
- "Educators participate in this difficult work for the sake of their students."

Establishing common Language Around Race

While working to eliminate the achievement gap, it is important to have a common language and a common terminology. Singleton and Linton provide the following definitions and belief statements:

- ***Race*** – a "socially constructed meaning attached to a variety of physical attributes including but not limited to skin and eye color, hair texture, and bone structures of people in the United States and elsewhere"
- ***Racism*** – "beliefs and an enactment of beliefs that one set of characteristics is superior to another set"
    - It is, "the conscious or unconscious, intentional or unintentional enactment of racial power, grounded in racial prejudice, by an individual or group against another individual or group perceived to have lower racial status."

- o It "describes the combination of individual prejudice and individual discrimination, on the one hand, and institutional policies and practices, on the other, that result in the unjustified negative treatment and subordination of members of a racial or ethnic group."
- *Institutional Racism* – happens "when organizations – such as a school or a school district – remain unconscious of issues related to race or more actively perpetuate and enforce a dominant racial perspective or belief…"
  - o "…it persists in American culture and its educational systems due to educators' inaction as well as actions considered harmful to students of color."
  - o "Rarely is intentional discrimination the central problem in the teacher-student relationship; rather the discrimination includes unquestioned assumptions on the part of the institution within which these interactions take place."
  - o "…institutionalized racism means to allow these negative assumptions to persist unchallenged by those having positional power. Unquestioned assumptions about the attitudes and abilities of students of color and their families are the basis for detrimental instructional practices that foster and preserve racial inequities in schools."
  - o "The starting point in deinstitutionalizing racism is to believe first and foremost that racism exists."
- *Racist* – "any person who subscribes to these beliefs and perpetuates them intentionally or unconsciously"
- *Anti-Racism* – "conscious and deliberate efforts to challenge the impact and perpetuation of institutional White racial power, presence, and privilege"
  - o This, "is not viewed as being against White people; rather it is a way in which people of all races can gain the same level of access and privileges that White people tend to demand, to feel entitled to, and to take for granted."
  - o "To be anti-racist is to be active."
- *Equity* – a system that "works to address the needs of each individual child"
  - o It "recognizes that the playing field is *unequal* and attempts to address the inequality."
  - o "…means that the students of greatest need receive the greatest level of support to guarantee academic success."

Do We Have the Will?

Singleton and Linton tell us, "As educators, we need to ask ourselves, Do we have the *will* to educate all children? Ana Hilliard (1995) says, "Providing quality education for all children is not a question of educator's experience or academic degrees conferred; rather it is a question of their personal willingness to fulfill their professional responsibilities. Singleton and Linton agree that, "By understanding race and its impact

on schooling, as well as by having a vision of equity and the courage to be anti-racists, educators will fortify their will."

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Chapter 4 – Agreeing to Talk About Race

Chapter 4 is divided into the following two areas:
- *Racial Consciousness*
- *Four Agreements of Courageous Conversations*

Chapter 4 begins with a 1990 quotation by Gerald Pine and Asa Hilliard. It reads:

> *Discussions and debates about racism create anxiety and conflict which are handled differently by different cultural groups. For example, Whites tend to fear open discussion of racial problems because they believe that such discussion will stir up hard feelings and old hatreds. Whites tend to believe that heated arguments about racism lead to divisiveness, loss of control, bitter conflict, and even violence. Blacks, on the other hand, believe that discussion and debate about racism help to push racial problems to the surface—and, perhaps force society to deal with them.*

Racial Consciousness

According to Singleton and Linton, "One of the most difficult aspects for those who engage in Courageous Conversations about race is admitting that they may not know all that they have claimed to know or honestly believe they knew. With limited racial consciousness, many educators—Whites especially—feel inhibited when conversing about race and racial issues and/or find themselves lacking in knowledge and understanding about the experience of those who have different racial backgrounds." Pam, a white teacher, married to and a Latino and teaching in the San Francisco area, thought that she knew about the racial issues in her students' lives because she was married to and cared about a Latino. She was surprised when someone said to her, "You know, Pam, you're the most dangerous person in this conversation, you White liberals…White liberals are the most dangerous people in the conversation about race because you think you know because you care, but *you don't know what you don't know.*" Although it proved to be a difficult realization, Pam was able to separate her caring from her knowing and acknowledge that she didn't know what she didn't know.

Singleton and Linton state that, "The first step in developing racial consciousness is acknowledging that 'I don't know what I don't know'—a simple phrase with profound implications." When people don't know that they don't know or when they don't know but assume that they do, they often make incorrect assumptions about others and act on those assumptions. In Singleton and Linton's words, "When we function based on a set

of assumptions without accurate funds of knowledge about what is real, we have a myopic and distorted view of others."

Often White people do not recognize their own racial identity, nor do they acknowledge the privilege that their racial identity carries. On the other hand, people of color may distrust White people as a whole without considering White people as individuals. In both cases, misinformation and assumptions drive attitudes and behavior. Singleton and Linton address this situation saying, "To develop racial consciousness is to address our assumptions and build our funds of knowledge. This will allow us to live more authentically within our own racial experience and deal more honestly with the existence of others."

The authors describe the stages that one might move through approaching racial consciousness:
- I don't know I don't know – Our actions are based on ignorance.
- I don't know but I think I know – "…our assumptions guide us but they have not been verified."
- I know I don't know – "…we can exercise our will by actively engaging in the expansion of our knowledge and understanding."
- I know I know – "…we begin to exist in full consciousness and become secure in our awareness that our fund of knowledge is sufficient."

They say that, "It is important to reach this deepest level of racial consciousness to connect effectively with students, parents, and colleagues of different races."

If one does not reach the deepest level of racial consciousness, Singleton and Linton warn that, "Large gaps in racial consciousness between teachers and students can create dissonance, especially when students feel that a teacher does not understand them. Consequently, what typically occurs in these situations of disconnect is that the student will disengage from learning before the adult attempts to raise his or her own racial consciousness and foster meaningful engagement."

Four Agreements of Courageous Conversation

Singleton and Linton outline four agreements that are necessary ingredients of courageous conversations. They are:
- Stay engaged
  - "Staying engaged means remaining morally, emotionally, intellectually, and socially involved in the dialogue."
  - "To stay engaged is to not let your heart and mind 'check out' of the conversation while leaving the body in place."
  - Many involved in the conversation may have had little or no experience talking about racial issues across racial lines and have found it easier to disengage when the subject came up.
- Experience discomfort

- "Because of the problematic state of racial conditions in our society, Courageous Conversations necessarily create discomfort for participants.
  - "The Courageous Conversation strategy…asks participants to agree to experience discomfort so that they can deal with the reality of race in an honest and forthright way."
  - When participants push themselves beyond their comfort zone, they often experience growth.
  - "To develop authentic interracial relationships, we must break our collective silence."
- Speak your truth
  - "Speaking your truth in Courageous Conversations about race requires a willingness to take risks."
  - "Too often we don't speak our truth out of fear of offending, appearing angry, or sounding ignorant."
  - "When it comes to racial matters in our society, we have learned to not say what's on our minds—to not speak our truth. This…often leads to deeper confusion, mistrust, and misunderstanding."
  - Lisa Delpit (1995) talks about the "silent dialogue," a situation where people of color are silent, and White people mistake silence for agreement.
- Expect and accept non-closure
  - "The magnitude, complexity, and longevity of our racial struggle and strife in the United States rule out any possibility of discovering a 'quick fix.'"
  - "…no neat and tidy tasks, processes, or timelines with guaranteed solutions exist."
  - "If people expect and accept non-closure in racial discourse, then the more they talk, the more they learn; and the more they learn, the more appropriate and promising will be their actions and interventions."

Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life
Implications for Clinical Practice

Derald Wing Sue, Christina M. Capodilupo, Gina C. Torino, Jennifer M. Bucceri,
Aisha M. B. Holder, Kevin L. Nadal, and Marta Esquilin
Teachers College, Columbia University

*Racial microaggressions are brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or
environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate
hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color.
Perpetrators of microaggressions are often unaware that they engage in such
communications when they interact with racial/ethnic minorities. A taxonomy of racial
microaggressions in everyday life was created through a review of the social
psychological literature on aversive racism, from formulations regarding the
manifestation and impact of everyday racism, and from reading numerous personal
narratives of counselors (both White and those of color) on their racial/cultural
awakening. Microaggressions seem to appear in three forms: microassault, microinsult,
and microinvalidation. Almost all interracial encounters are prone to microaggressions;
this article uses the White counselor – client of color counseling dyad to illustrate how
they impair the development of a therapeutic alliance. Suggestions regarding education
and training and research in the helping professions are discussed.*

Although the civil rights movement had a significant effect on changing racial
interactions in this society, racism continues to plague the United States (Thompson &
Neville, 1999). President Clinton's Race Advisory Board concluded that (a) racism is one
of the most divisive forces in our society, (b) racial legacies of the past continue to haunt
current policies and practices that create unfair disparities between minority and majority
groups, (c) racial inequities are so deeply ingrained in American society that they are
nearly invisible, and (d) most White Americans are unaware of the advantages they enjoy
in this society and of how their attitudes and actions unintentionally discriminate against
persons of color (Advisory Board to the President's Initiative on Race, 1998). This last
conclusion is especially problematic in the mental health professions because most
graduates continue to be White and trained primarily in Western European models of
service delivery (D. W. Sue & Sue, 2003). For that reason, this article focuses primarily
on White therapist – client of color interactions.

Because White therapists are members of the larger society and not immune from
inheriting the racial biases of their forebears (Burkard & Knox, 2004; D. W. Sue, 2005),
they may become victims of a cultural conditioning process that imbues within them
biases and prejudices (Abelson, Dasgupta, Park, & Banaji, 1998; Banaji, Hardin, &
Rothman, 1993) that discriminate against clients of color. Over the past 20 years, calls for
cultural competence in the helping professions (American Psychological Association,
2003; D. W. Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992) have stressed the importance of two
therapist characteristics associated with effective service delivery to racial/ethnic

minority clients: (a) awareness of oneself as a racial/cultural being and of the biases, stereotypes, and assumptions that influence worldviews and (b) awareness of the worldviews of culturally diverse clients. Achieving these two goals is blocked, however, when White clinicians fail to understand how issues of race influence the therapy process and how racism potentially infects the delivery of services to clients of color (Richardson & Molinaro, 1996). Therapists who are unaware of their biases and prejudices may unintentionally create impasses for clients of color, which may partially explain well-documented patterns of therapy underutilization and premature termination of therapy among such clients (Burkard & Knox, 2004; Kearney, Draper, & Baron, 2005). In this article, we describe and analyze how racism in the form of racial microaggressions is particularly problematic for therapists to identify; propose a taxonomy of racial microaggressions with potential implications for practice, education and training, and research; and use the counseling/therapy process to illustrate how racial microaggressions can impair the therapeutic alliance. To date, no conceptual or theoretical model of racial microaggressions has been proposed to explain their impact on the therapeutic process.

The Changing Face of Racism

In recent history, racism in North America has undergone a transformation, especially after the post– civil rights era when the conscious democratic belief in equality for groups of color directly clashed with the long history of racism in the society (Jones, 1997; Thompson & Neville, 1999). The more subtle forms of racism have been labeled *modern racism* (McConahay, 1986), *symbolic racism* (Sears, 1988), and *aversive racism* (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). All three explanations of contemporary racism share commonalities. They emphasize that racism (a) is more likely than ever to be disguised and covert and (b) has evolved from the "old fashioned" form, in which overt racial hatred and bigotry is consciously and publicly displayed, to a more ambiguous and nebulous form that is more difficult to identify and acknowledge. It appears that modern and symbolic racism are most closely associated with political conservatives, who disclaim personal bigotry by strong and rigid adherence to traditional American values (individualism, self-reliance, hard work, etc.), whereas aversive racism is more characteristic of White liberals (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996, 2000). Aversive racists, according to these researchers, are strongly motivated by egalitarian values as well as anti-minority feelings. Their egalitarian values operate on a conscious level, while their anti-minority feelings are less conscious and generally covert (DeVos & Banaji, 2005). In some respects, these three forms of racism can be ordered along a continuum; aversive racists are the least consciously negative, followed by modern and symbolic racists, who are somewhat more prejudiced, and finally by old-fashioned biological racists (Nelson, 2006). Although much has been written about contemporary forms of racism, many studies in health care (Smedley & Smedley, 2005), education (Gordon & Johnson, 2003), employment (Hinton, 2004), mental health (Burkard & Knox, 2004), and other social settings (Sellers & Shelton, 2003) indicate the difficulty of describing and defining racial discrimination that occurs via "aversive racism" or "implicit bias"; these types of racism are difficult to identify, quantify, and rectify because of their subtle, nebulous, and unnamed nature. Without an adequate classification or understanding of the dynamics of subtle racism, it will remain invisible and potentially harmful to the well-

being, self-esteem, and standard of living of people of color (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). Ironically, it has been proposed that the daily common experiences of racial aggression that characterize aversive racism may have significantly more influence on racial anger, frustration, and self-esteem than traditional overt forms of racism (Solo´rzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Furthermore, the invisible nature of acts of aversive racism prevents perpetrators from realizing and confronting (a) their own complicity in creating psychological dilemmas for minorities and (b) their role in creating disparities in employment, health care, and education.

The Manifestation of Racial Microaggressions

In reviewing the literature on subtle and contemporary forms of racism, we have found the term "*racial microaggressions*" to best describe the phenomenon in its everyday occurrence. First coined by Pierce in 1970, the term refers to "subtle, stunning, often automatic, and non-verbal exchanges which are 'put downs'" (Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Willis, 1978, p. 66). Racial microaggressions have also been described as "subtle insults (verbal, nonverbal, and/or visual) directed toward people of color, often automatically or unconsciously" (Solo´rzano et al., 2000). Simply stated, microaggressions are brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of color because they belong to a racial minority group. In the world of business, the term "*microinequities*" is used to describe the pattern of being overlooked, underrespected, and devalued because of one's race or gender. Microaggressions are often unconsciously delivered in the form of subtle snubs or dismissive looks, gestures, and tones. These exchanges are so pervasive and automatic in daily conversations and interactions that they are often dismissed and glossed over as being innocent and innocuous. Yet, as indicated previously, microaggressions are detrimental to persons of color because they impair performance in a multitude of settings by sapping the psychic and spiritual energy of recipients and by creating inequities (Franklin, 2004; D. W. Sue, 2004). There is an urgent need to bring greater awareness and understanding of how microaggressions operate, their numerous manifestations in society, the type of impact they have on people of color, the dynamic interaction between perpetrator and target, and the educational strategies needed to eliminate them. Our attempt to define and propose a taxonomy of microaggressions is grounded in several lines of empirical and experiential evidence in the professional literature and in personal narratives. First, the work by psychologists on aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996; Dovidio et al., 2002), studies suggesting the widespread existence of dissociation between implicit and explicit social stereotyping (Abelson et al., 1998; Banaji et al., 1993; DeVos & Banaji, 2005), the attributional ambiguity of everyday racial discrimination (Crocker & Major, 1989), the daily manifestations of racism in many arenas of life (Plant & Peruche, 2005; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Vanman, Saltz, Nathan, & Warren, 2004), and multiple similarities between microaggressive incidents and items that comprise measures of race-related stress/perceived discrimination toward Black Americans (Brondolo et al., 2005; Klonoff & Landrine, 1999; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996) and Asian Americans (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004) all seem to lend empirical support to the concept of racial microaggressions. Second, numerous personal narratives and brief life stories on race written by White psychologists and psychologists of color provide experiential evidence for the existence

of racial microaggressions in everyday life (American Counseling Association, 1999; Conyne & Bemak, 2005; Ponterotto, Casas, Suzuki, & Alexander, 2001). Our analysis of the life experiences of these individuals and the research literature in social and counseling psychology led us to several conclusions: (a) The personal narratives were rich with examples and incidents of racial microaggressions, (b) the formulation of microaggressions was consistent with the research literature, and (c) racial microaggressions seemed to manifest themselves in three distinct forms.

Forms of Racial Microaggressions

Racial microaggressions are brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group. They are not limited to human encounters alone but may also be environmental in nature, as when a person of color is exposed to an office setting that unintentionally assails his or her racial identity (Gordon & Johnson, 2003; D. W. Sue, 2003). For example, one's racial identity can be minimized or made insignificant through the sheer exclusion of decorations or literature that represents various racial groups. Three forms of microaggressions can be identified: microassault, microinsult, and microinvalidation.

Microassault

A microassault is an explicit racial derogation characterized primarily by a verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions. Referring to someone as "colored" or "Oriental," using racial epithets, discouraging interracial interactions, deliberately serving a White patron before someone of color, and displaying a swastika are examples. Microassaults are most similar to what has been called "old fashioned" racism conducted on an individual level. They are most likely to be conscious and deliberate, although they are generally expressed in limited "private" situations (micro) that allow the perpetrator some degree of anonymity. In other words, people are likely to hold notions of minority inferiority privately and will only display them publicly when they (a) lose control or (b) feel relatively safe to engage in a microassault. Because we have chosen to analyze the unintentional and unconscious manifestations of microaggressions, microassaults are not the focus of our article. It is important to note, however, that individuals can also vary in the degree of conscious awareness they show in the use of the following two forms of microaggressions.

Microinsult

A microinsult is characterized by communications that convey rudeness and insensitivity and demean a person's racial heritage or identity. Microinsults represent subtle snubs, frequently unknown to the perpetrator, but clearly convey a hidden insulting message to the recipient of color. When a White employer tells a prospective candidate of color "I believe the most qualified person should get the job, regardless of race" or when an employee of color is asked "How did you get your job?", the underlying message from the perspective of the recipient may be twofold: (a) People of color are not qualified, and (b) as a minority group member, you must have obtained the position through some

affirmative action or quota program and not because of ability. Such statements are not necessarily aggressions, but context is important. Hearing these statements frequently when used against affirmative action makes the recipient likely to experience them as aggressions. Microinsults can also occur nonverbally, as when a White teacher fails to acknowledge students of color in the classroom or when a White supervisor seems distracted during a conversation with a Black employee by avoiding eye contact or turning away (Hinton, 2004). In this case, the message conveyed to persons of color is that their contributions are unimportant.

Microinvalidation

Microinvalidations are characterized by communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color. When Asian Americans (born and raised in the United States) are complimented for speaking good English or are repeatedly asked where they were born, the effect is to negate their U.S. American heritage and to convey that they are perpetual foreigners. When Blacks are told that "I don't see color" or "We are all human beings," the effect is to negate their experiences as racial/cultural beings (Helms, 1992). When a Latino couple is given poor service at a restaurant and shares their experience with White friends, only to be told "Don't be so oversensitive" or "Don't be so petty," the racial experience of the couple is being nullified and its importance is being diminished. We have been able to identify nine categories of microaggressions with distinct themes: alien in one's own land, ascription of intelligence, color blindness, criminality/assumption of criminal status, denial of individual racism, myth of meritocracy, pathologizing cultural values/ communication styles, second-class status, and environmental invalidation. Table 1 provides samples of comments or situations that may potentially be classified as racial microaggressions and their accompanying hidden assumptions and messages.

Figure 1 visually presents the three large classes of microaggressions, the classification of the themes under each category, and their relationship to one another. The experience of a racial microaggression has major implications for both the perpetrator and the target person. It creates psychological dilemmas that unless adequately resolved lead to increased levels of racial anger, mistrust, and loss of self-esteem for persons of color; prevent White people from perceiving a different racial reality; and create impediments to harmonious race-relations (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Thompson & Neville, 1999).

The Invisibility and Dynamics of Racial Microaggressions

The following real-life incident illustrates the issues of invisibility and the disguised problematic dynamics of racial microaggressions.

I [Derald Wing Sue, the senior author, an Asian American] recently traveled with an African American colleague on a plane flying from New York to Boston. The plane was a small "hopper" with a single row of seats on one side and double seats on the other. As the plane was only sparsely populated, we were told by the flight attendant (White) that we could sit anywhere, so we sat at the front, across the aisle from one another. This made it easy for us to converse and provided a larger comfortable space on a small plane for both of us. As the attendant was about to close the hatch, three White men in suits entered the plane, were informed they could sit anywhere, and promptly seated themselves in front of us. Just before take-off, the attendant proceeded to close all overhead compartments and seemed to scan the plane with her eyes. At that

point she approached us, leaned over, interrupted our conversation, and asked if we would mind moving to the back of the plane. She indicated that she needed to distribute weight on the plane evenly.

Both of us (passengers of color) had similar negative reactions. First, balancing the weight on the plane seemed reasonable, but why were we being singled out? After all, we had boarded first and the three White men were the last passengers to arrive. Why were they not being asked to move? Were we being singled out because of our race? Was this just a random event with no racial overtones? Were we being oversensitive and petty?

Although we complied by moving to the back of the plane, both of us felt resentment, irritation, and anger. In light of our everyday racial experiences, we both came to the same conclusion: The flight attendant had treated us like second-class citizens because of our race. But this incident did not end there. While I kept telling myself to drop the matter, I could feel my blood pressure rising, heart beating faster, and face flush with anger. When the attendant walked back to make sure our seat belts were fastened, I could not contain my anger any longer. Struggling to control myself, I said to her in a forced calm voice: "Did you know that you asked two passengers of color to step to the rear of the 'bus'"? For a few seconds she said nothing but looked at me with a horrified expression. Then she said in a righteously indignant tone, "Well, I have never been accused of that! How dare you? I don't see color! I only asked you to move to balance the plane. Anyway, I was only trying to give you more space and greater privacy."

Attempts to explain my perceptions and feelings only generated greater defensiveness from her. For every allegation I made, she seemed to have a rational reason for her actions. Finally, she broke off the conversation and refused to talk about the incident any longer. Were it not for my colleague who validated my experiential reality, I would have left that encounter wondering whether I was correct or incorrect in my perceptions. Nevertheless, for the rest of the flight, I stewed over the incident and it left a sour taste in my mouth.

The power of racial microaggressions lies in their invisibility to the perpetrator and, oftentimes, the recipient (D. W. Sue, 2005). Most White Americans experience themselves as good, moral, and decent human beings who believe in equality and democracy. Thus, they find it difficult to believe that they possess biased racial attitudes and may engage in behaviors that are discriminatory (D. W. Sue, 2004). Microaggressive acts can usually be explained away by seemingly nonbiased and valid reasons. For the recipient of a microaggression, however, there is always the nagging question of whether it really happened (Crocker & Major, 1989). It is difficult to identify a microaggression, especially when other explanations seem plausible. Many people of color describe a vague feeling that they have been attacked, that they have been disrespected, or that something is not right (Franklin, 2004; Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003). In some respects, people of color may find an overt and obvious racist act easier to handle than microaggressions that seem vague or disguised (Solórzano et al., 2000). The above incident reveals how microaggressions operate to create psychological dilemmas for both the White perpetrator and the person of color. Four such dilemmas are particularly noteworthy for everyone to understand.

Dilemma 1: Clash of Racial Realities

The question we pose is this: Did the flight attendant engage in a microaggression or did the senior author and his colleague simply misinterpret the action? Studies indicate that the racial perceptions of people of color differ markedly from those of Whites (Jones, 1997; Harris Poll commissioned by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1992). In most cases, White Americans tend to believe that minorities are doing better in life, that discrimination is on the decline, that racism is no longer a significant factor in the lives of people of color, and that equality has been achieved. More important, the majority of Whites do not view themselves as racist or capable of racist behavior.

Minorities, on the other hand, perceive Whites as (a) racially insensitive, (b) unwilling to share their position and wealth, (c) believing they are superior, (d) needing to control everything, and (e) treating them poorly because of their race. People of color believe these attributes are reenacted everyday in their interpersonal interactions with Whites, oftentimes in the form of microaggressions (Solórzano et al., 2000). For example, it was found that 96% of African Americans reported experiencing racial discrimination in a one-year period (Klonoff & Landrine, 1999), and many incidents involved being mistaken for a service worker, being ignored, given poor service, treated rudely, or experiencing strangers acting fearful or intimidated when around them (Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Dilemma 2: The Invisibility of Unintentional Expressions of Bias

The interaction between the senior author and the flight attendant convinced him that she was sincere in her belief that she had acted in good faith without racial bias. Her actions and their meaning were invisible to her. It was clear that she was stunned that anyone would accuse her of such despicable actions. After all, in her mind, she acted with only the best of intentions: to distribute the weight evenly on the plane for safety reasons and to give two passengers greater privacy and space. She felt betrayed that her good intentions were being questioned. Yet considerable empirical evidence exists showing that racial microaggressions become automatic because of cultural conditioning and that they may become connected neurologically with the processing of emotions that surround prejudice (Abelson et al., 1998). Several investigators have found, for example, that law enforcement officers in laboratory experiments will fire their guns more often at Black criminal suspects than White ones (Plant & Peruche, 2005), and Afrocentric features tend to result in longer prison terms (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004). In all cases, these law enforcement officials had no conscious awareness that they responded differently on the basis of race.

Herein lies a major dilemma. How does one prove that a microaggression has occurred? What makes our belief that the flight attendant acted in a biased manner any more plausible than her conscious belief that it was generated for another reason? If she did act out of hidden and unconscious bias, how do we make her aware of it? Social psychological research tends to confirm the existence of unconscious racial biases in well-intentioned Whites, that nearly everyone born and raised in the United States inherits the racial biases of the society, and that the most accurate assessment about whether racist acts have occurred in a particular situation is most likely to be made by those most disempowered rather than by those who enjoy the privileges of power (Jones,

1997; Keltner & Robinson, 1996). According to these findings, microaggressions (a) tend to be subtle, indirect, and unintentional, (b) are most likely to emerge not when a behavior would look prejudicial, but when other rationales can be offered for prejudicial behavior, and (c) occur when Whites pretend not to notice differences, thereby justifying that "color" was not involved in the actions taken. Color blindness is a major form of microinvalidation because it denies the racial and experiential reality of people of color and provides an excuse to White people to claim that they are not prejudiced (Helms, 1992; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000). The flight attendant, for example, did not realize that her "not seeing color" invalidated both passengers' racial identity and experiential reality.

Dilemma 3: Perceived Minimal Harm of Racial Microaggressions

In most cases, when individuals are confronted with their microaggressive acts (as in the case of the flight attendant), the perpetrator usually believes that the victim has overreacted and is being overly sensitive and/or petty. After all, even if it was an innocent racial blunder, microaggressions are believed to have minimal negative impact. People of color are told not to overreact and to simply "let it go." Usually, Whites consider microaggressive incidents to be minor, and people of color are encouraged (oftentimes by people of color as well) to not waste time or effort on them.

It is clear that old-fashioned racism unfairly disadvantages people of color and that it contributes to stress, depression, shame, and anger in its victims (Jones, 1997). But evidence also supports the detrimental impact of more subtle forms of racism (Chakraborty & McKenzie, 2002; Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999). For example, in a survey of studies examining racism and mental health, researchers found a positive association between happiness and life satisfaction, self-esteem, mastery of control, hypertension, and discrimination (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). Many of the types of everyday racism identified by Williams and colleagues (Williams & Collins, 1995; Williams, Lavizzo-Mourey, & Warren, 1994) provide strong support for the idea that racial microaggressions are not minimally harmful. One study specifically examined microaggressions in the experiences of African Americans and found that the cumulative effects can be quite devastating (Solórzano et al., 2000). The researchers reported that experience with microaggressions resulted in a negative racial climate and emotions of self-doubt, frustration, and isolation on the part of victims. As indicated in the incident above, the senior author experienced considerable emotional turmoil that lasted for the entire flight. When one considers that people of color are exposed continually to microaggressions and that their effects are cumulative, it becomes easier to understand the psychological toll they may take on recipients' well-being.

We submit that covert racism in the form of microaggressions also has a dramatic and detrimental impact on people of color. Although microaggressions may be seemingly innocuous and insignificant, their effects can be quite dramatic (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). D. W. Sue believes that "this contemporary form of racism is many

times over more problematic, damaging, and injurious to persons of color than overt racist acts" (D. W. Sue, 2003, p. 48). It has been noted that the cumulative effects of racial microaggressions may theoretically result in "diminished mortality, augmented morbidity and flattened confidence" (Pierce, 1995, p. 281). It is important to study and acknowledge this form of racism in society because without documentation and analysis to better understand microaggressions, the threats that they pose and the assaults that they justify can be easily ignored or downplayed (Solórzano et al., 2000). D. W. Sue (2005) has referred to this phenomenon as "a conspiracy of silence."

Dilemma 4: The Catch-22 of Responding to Microaggressions

When a microaggression occurs, the victim is usually placed in a catch-22. The immediate reaction might be a series of questions: Did what I think happened, really happen? Was this a deliberate act or an unintentional slight? How should I respond? Sit and stew on it or confront the person? If I bring the topic up, how do I prove it? Is it really worth the effort? Should I just drop the matter? These questions in one form or another have been a common, if not a universal, reaction of persons of color who experience an attributional ambiguity (Crocker & Major, 1989).

First, the person must determine whether a microaggression has occurred. In that respect, people of color rely heavily on experiential reality that is contextual in nature and involves life experiences from a variety of situations. When the flight attendant asked the senior author and his colleague to move, it was not the first time that similar requests and situations had occurred for both. In their experience, these incidents were nonrandom events (Ridley, 2005), and their perception was that the only similarity "connecting the dots" to each and every one of these incidents was the color of their skin. In other words, the situation on the plane was only one of many similar incidents with identical outcomes. Yet the flight attendant and most White Americans do not share these multiple experiences, and they evaluate their own behaviors in the moment through a singular event (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Thus, they fail to see a pattern of bias, are defended by a belief in their own morality, and can in good conscience deny that they discriminated (D. W. Sue, 2005).

Second, how one reacts to a microaggression may have differential effects, not only on the perpetrator but on the person of color as well. Deciding to do nothing by sitting on one's anger is one response that occurs frequently in people of color. This response occurs because persons of color may be (a) unable to determine whether a microaggression has occurred, (b) at a loss for how to respond, (c) fearful of the consequences, (d) rationalizing that "it won't do any good anyway," or (e) engaging in self-deception through denial ("It didn't happen."). Although these explanations for nonresponse may hold some validity for the person of color, we submit that not doing anything has the potential to result in psychological harm. It may mean a denial of one's experiential reality, dealing with a loss of integrity, or experiencing pent-up anger and frustration likely to take psychological and physical tolls.

Third, responding with anger and striking back (perhaps a normal and healthy reaction) is likely to engender negative consequences for persons of color as well. They are likely to be accused of being racially oversensitive or paranoid or told that their emotional outbursts confirm stereotypes about minorities. In the case of Black males, for

example, protesting may lend credence to the belief that they are hostile, angry, impulsive, and prone to violence (Jones, 1997). In this case, the person of color might feel better after venting, but the outcome results in greater hostility by Whites toward minorities. Further, while the person of color may feel better in the immediate moment by relieving pent-up emotions, the reality is that the general situation has not been changed. In essence, the catch-22 means you are "damned if you do, and damned if you don't." What is lacking is research that points to adaptive ways of handling microaggressions by people of color and suggestions of how to increase the awareness and sensitivity of Whites to microaggressions so that they accept responsibility for their behaviors and for changing them (Solórzano et al., 2000).

Racial Microaggressions as a Barrier to Clinical Practice

In a broad sense, counseling and psychotherapy can be characterized as the formation of a deeply personal relationship between a helping professional and a client that involves appropriate and accurate interpersonal interactions and communications. For effective therapy to occur, some form of positive coalition must develop between the parties involved (D. W. Sue & Sue, 2003). Many have referred to this as the "working relationship," the "therapeutic alliance," or the "establishment of rapport" (D. W. Sue & Sue, 2003). A strong therapeutic relationship is often enhanced when clients perceive therapists as credible (trustworthy and expert) and themselves as understood and positively regarded by their therapists (Strong & Schmidt, 1970). Helping professionals are trained to listen, to show empathic concern, to be objective, to value the client's integrity, to communicate understanding, and to use their professional knowledge and skills to aid clients to solve problems (Grencavage & Norcross, 1990).

As a therapeutic team, therapist and client are better prepared to venture into problematic areas that the client might hesitate to face alone. Research suggests that the therapeutic alliance is one of the major common factors of any helping relationship and is correlated with successful outcome (Lui & Pope-Davis, 2005; Martin, Garske, & Davis, 2000). More important, however, are findings that a client's perception of an accepting and positive relationship is a better predictor of successful outcome than is a similar perception by the counselor (Horvath & Symonds, 1991). Thus, when clients do not perceive their therapists as trustworthy and when they feel misunderstood and undervalued, therapeutic success is less likely to occur. Oftentimes, the telltale signs of a failed therapeutic relationship may result in clients being less likely to self-disclose, terminating prematurely, or failing to return for scheduled visits (Burkard & Knox, 2004; Kearney, Draper, & Baron, 2005).

Although the task of establishing an effective therapeutic relationship applies to the entire helping spectrum, working with clients who differ from the therapist in race, ethnicity, culture, and sexual orientation poses special challenges. White therapists who are products of their cultural conditioning may be prone to engage in racial microaggressions (Locke & Kiselica, 1999). Thus, the therapeutic alliance is likely to be weakened or terminated when clients of color perceive White therapists as biased, prejudiced, or unlikely to understand them as racial/cultural beings. That racism can potentially infect the therapeutic process when working with clients of color has been a common concern voiced by the President's Commission on Mental Health (1978) and the

Surgeon General's Report on *Mental Health: Culture, Race and Ethnicity* (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). It has been postulated that therapist bias might partially account for the low utilization of mental health services and premature termination of therapy sessions by African American, Native American, Asian American, and Latino/Hispanic American clients (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001).

Yet research also reveals that most people in our nation believe in democracy, fairness, and strong humanistic values that condemn racism and the inequities that it engenders (Dovidio et al., 2002). Such a statement is arguably truer for mental health professionals, whose goals are to help rather than hinder or hurt clients of color. Both the American Psychological Association and the American Counseling Association have attempted to confront the biases of the profession by passing multicultural guidelines or standards that denounce prejudice and discrimination in the delivery of mental health services to clients of color (American Psychological Association, 2003; D. W. Sue et al., 1992). Like most people in society, counselors and therapists experience themselves as fair and decent individuals who would never consciously and deliberately engage in racist acts toward clients of color. Sadly, it is often pointed out that when clinician and client differ from one another along racial lines, however, the relationship may serve as a microcosm for the troubled race relations in the United States. While many would like to believe that racism is no longer a major problem and that the good intentions of the helping profession have built safeguards against prejudice and discrimination, the reality is that they continue to be manifested through the therapeutic process (Utsey, Gernat, & Hammar, 2005). This is not to suggest, however, that positive changes in race relations have not occurred. Yet, as in many other interactions, microaggressions are equally likely to occur in therapeutic transactions (Ridley, 2005).

The Manifestation of Racial Microaggressions in Counseling/Therapy

Microaggressions become meaningful in the context of clinical practice, as relational dynamics and the human condition are central aspects of this field. The often unintentional and unconscious nature of microaggressions (Dilemma 2: Invisibility) poses the biggest challenge to the majority of White mental health professionals, who believe that they are just, unbiased, and nonracist. Further, mental health professionals are in a position of power, which renders them less likely to accurately assess (Dilemma 1: Conflict of Racial Realities) whether racist acts have occurred in their sessions. Thus, the harm they perpetrate against their clients of color is either unknown or minimized (Dilemma 3: Minimal Harm). Microaggressions not only oppress and harm, but they place clients of color in the unenviable position of a catch-22 (Dilemma 4).

In clinical practice, microaggressions are likely to go unrecognized by White clinicians who are unintentionally and unconsciously expressing bias. As a result, therapists must make a concerted effort to identify and monitor microaggressions within the therapeutic context. This process is reminiscent of the importance of becoming aware of potential transference and countertransference issues between therapist and client and how they may unintentionally interfere with effective therapy (Woodhouse, Schlosser, Crook, Ligiero, & Gelso, 2003). The inherent power dynamic in the therapeutic relationship further complicates this issue, as therapists are in a position of power to

make diagnoses and influence the course of treatment. The power dynamic between therapist and client also effects the catch-22 of responding to microaggressions because clients may be less likely to confront their therapists and more likely to question their own perceptions in the event of a microaggression.

Table 2 provides a few examples of microaggressions in counseling practice under each of the nine categories identified earlier. Under Color Blindness, for example, a client of color stresses the importance of racial experiences only to have the therapist reply, "We are all unique. We are all individuals." or "We are all human beings or the same under the skin." These colorblind statements, which were intended to be supportive, to be sympathetic, and to convey an ability to understand, may leave the client feeling misunderstood, negated, invalidated, and unimportant (especially if racial identity is important to the client). Moreover these statements presume that the therapist is *capable* of not seeing race and impose a definition of racial reality on the client (Neville et al., 2000).

Under Denial of Individual Racism, a common response by Whites to people of color is that they can understand and relate to experiences of racism. In Table 2, under this category, we provide the following anecdote: A client of color expresses hesitancy in discussing racial issues with his White female therapist. She replies, "I understand. As a woman, I face discrimination too." The message is that the therapist believes her gender oppression is no different from the client's experiences of racial/ethnic oppression. This response is problematic because such attempts by the therapist to explain how he or she can understand a person of color's experience with racism may be perceived by the client as an attempt to minimize the importance of his or her racial identity, to avoid acknowledging the therapist's racial biases, or to communicate a discomfort with discussing racial issues. Furthermore, the therapist excuses himself or herself from any blame or fault in perpetuating racism and the power of racism. This failure to acknowledge the significance of racism within and outside of the therapy session contributes to the breakdown of the alliance between therapist and client. A therapist's willingness to discuss racial matters is of central importance in creating a therapeutic alliance with clients of color (Cardemil & Battle, 2003).

Under the category "Alien in Own Land," many Asian Americans and Latino/Hispanic Americans report that they are commonly seen as perpetual foreigners. For example, a female Asian American client arrives for her first therapy session. Her therapist asks her where she is from, and when told "Philadelphia," the therapist further probes by asking where she was born. In this case, the therapist has assumed that the Asian American client is not from the United States and has imposed through the use of the second question the idea that she must be a foreigner. Immediately, a barrier is created in the helping relationship because the client feels invalidated by the therapist (she is perceived as a foreigner, not a U.S. citizen). Unfortunately, the Asian American client is unlikely to question her therapist or point out the bias because of the power dynamic, which causes her to harbor resentment and ill feelings toward the therapist.

We contend that clients of color are at increased risk of not continuing in the counseling/therapy session when such microaggressions occur. Worse yet, they will not receive the help they need and may leave the session feeling worse than when they first sought counseling. Because it is unlikely that clinicians intentionally create hostile and

unwelcoming environments for their ethnic minority clients, it can be assumed that these biases are being expressed through microaggressions. Therapists can convey their bias to their ethnic minority clients in myriad ways, such as by minimizing symptoms for Asian Americans on the basis of a false belief in the "model" minority (D. W. Sue & Sue, 2003) or by placing greater emphasis on symptoms such as paranoid delusions and substance abuse in Native Americans and Africans Americans, who are believed to suffer from these afflictions (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001).

Last, White counselors and therapists can impose and value their own cultural worldview while devaluing and pathologizing the cultural values of their ethnic minority clients. Previous research has shown that pathologizing clients' cultural values has been a major determinant of clients of color discontinuing psychotherapy (S. Sue, Fujino, Hu, & Takeuchi, 1991). Many clients of color may feel misunderstood by their therapists because of a lack of cultural understanding. Asian American or Latino American clients who enter therapy to discuss family issues such as feeling obligated, stressed, or overwhelmed with excess family responsibilities may be encouraged by therapists to speak out against their families or to make decisions regardless of family support or expectations. Therapists may be unaware that they may be directly invalidating cultural respect for authority and imposing an individualistic view over a collectivist one.

Future Directions in the Understanding of Racial Microaggressions

With respect to racism, D. W. Sue (2004, p. 762) has stated that the greatest challenge society and the mental health professions face is "making the 'invisible' visible." That can only be accomplished when people are willing to openly and honestly engage in a dialogue about race and racism. In that respect, the education and training of mental health professionals must incorporate issues of race and culture. One would ordinarily expect that mental health professionals would be more willing than most to dialogue on this topic, but studies suggest that White clinicians receive minimal or no practicum or supervision experiences that address race and are uncomfortable broaching the topic (Knox, Burkard, Johnson, Suzuki, & Ponterotto, 2003). Many White trainees in therapy dyads experience anxiety in the form of poor articulation, faltering and/or trembling voices, and mispronunciation of words when directly engaged in discussions about race (Utsey et al., 2005). It is interesting that such nonverbal behaviors also serve as a form of racial microaggression. When helping professionals have difficulty addressing race issues, they cut off an avenue for clients of color to explore matters of bias, discrimination, and prejudice.

Education and Training and Racial Microaggressions

It is clear that mental health training programs must support trainees in overcoming their fears and their resistance to talking about race by fostering safe and productive learning environments (Sanchez-Hucles & Jones, 2005). It is important that training programs be structured and facilitated in a manner that promotes inquiry and allows trainees to experience discomfort and vulnerability (Young & Davis-Russell, 2002). Trainees need to be challenged to explore their own racial identities and their feelings about other racial groups. The prerequisite for cultural competence has always been racial self-awareness. This is equally true for understanding how microaggressions, especially those of the therapist, influence the therapeutic process. This level of self-

awareness brings to the surface possible prejudices and biases that inform racial microaggressions. A first step for therapists who want to integrate an understanding of racism's mental health effects into the conceptualization of psychological functioning is to undergo a process of learning and critical self-examination of racism and its impact on one's life and the lives of others (Thompson & Neville, 1999). For White clinicians, it means addressing the question "What does it mean to be White?" and being fully cognizant of their own White racial identity development and how it may intrude on people of color (Helms, 1992, 1995). In addition, it has been suggested that articulating a personal theory of reality and of therapeutic change in the context of an environment of racism is one way to begin integrating knowledge of racism with the practice of psychotherapy (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Education and training must aid White clinicians to achieve the following: (a) increase their ability to identify racial microaggressions in general and in themselves in particular; (b) understand how racial microaggressions, including their own, detrimentally impact clients of color; and (c) accept responsibility for taking corrective actions to overcome racial biases.

Research on Racial Microaggressions

A major obstacle to understanding racial microaggressions is that research is in a nascent state. Researchers continue to omit subtle racism and microaggressions from their research agendas, and this absence conveys the notion that covert forms of racism are not as valid or as important as racist events that can be quantified and "proven." In fact, omitting microaggressions from studies on racism on the basis of a belief that they are less harmful encourages the profession to "look the other way." Moreover, the fact that psychological research has continued to inadequately address race and ethnicity (Delgado-Romero, Rowland, & Galvin, 2005) is in itself a microaggression. Pursuing a line of research examining how cross-racial dyadic compositions impact the process and outcome of counselor/client interactions would be a tremendous contribution to the field of counseling and clinical psychology. Helms and Cook (1999) noted that racial consciousness is a critical consideration in determining White therapists' ability to operate effectively in cross-racial dyads.

For mental health purposes, it would be useful to explore the coping mechanisms used by people of color to stave off the negative effects of microaggressions. The fact that people of color have had to face daily microaggressions and have continued to maintain their dignity in the face of such hostility is a testament to their resiliency (D. W. Sue, 2003). What coping strategies have been found to serve them well? A greater understanding of responses to microaggressions, both in the long term and the short term, and of the coping strategies employed would be beneficial in arming children of color for the life they will face. Such research is necessary because without documentation and analysis to help better understand microaggressions, the threats that they pose and the assaults that they justify can be easily ignored or downplayed (Solo´rzano et al., 2000). Studying the long-term impact that microaggressions have on mental health functioning, self-esteem, self-concept, and racial identity development appears crucial to documenting the harm microaggressions inflict on people of color. The taxonomy of microaggressions proposed here may make it easier to explore other social psychological questions as well.

First, it is highly probable that microaggressions vary in their severity and impact. As indicated, a microassault does not evoke a guessing game because the intent of the perpetrator is clear. However, the racist intent of microinsults and microinvalidations is less clear and presents different dilemmas for people of color. Some questions to ponder include the following: (a) Are the three forms of racial microaggressions equal in impact? Are some themes and their hidden messages more problematic than others? Although all expressions may take a psychological toll, some are obviously experienced as more harmful and severe than others. (b) Is there a relationship between forms of racial microaggressions and racial identity development? Recent research and formulations on White racial identity development and the psychosocial costs of racism to Whites (Helms, 1995; Spanierman, Armstrong, Poteat, & Beer, 2006) imply that forms of racial microaggressions may be associated with certain statuses or trait clusters. (c) Finally, is it possible that different racial/ethnic groups are more likely to encounter certain forms of racial microaggressions than others? A preliminary study suggests that Asian Americans are prone to be victims of microinvalidations with themes that revolve around "alien in one's own land" (D. W. Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007) rather than microinsults with themes of "criminality." Is it possible that Blacks are more likely to be subjected to the latter than to the former? What about Latinos and American Indians?

Second, the challenge in conducting research aimed at understanding microaggressions involves measurement. Adequate assessment tools need to be created to effectively explore the new and burgeoning field of microaggression research. Although there are several promising race-related stress and discrimination measures, such as the Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire (PEDQ; Brondolo et al., 2005), the Color-Blind Racial Attitude Scale (COBRAS; Neville et al., 2000), the Index of Race Related Stress (IRRS; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996), and the Schedule of Racist Events (SRE; Klonoff & Landrine, 1999), none of them is directly aimed at distinguishing between categories of racial microaggressions or their intentional or unintentional nature. The PEDQ uses four subscales that broadly measure stigmatization, harassment, workplace discrimination, and social exclusion; the COBRAS is specific to a person's minimization of race and racism; the IRRS uses Jones's (1997) framework to measure individual, institutional, and societal racism; and the SRE is aimed at measuring frequency of racist incidents. All contain examples of racial microaggressions that support our taxonomy, but none makes conceptual distinctions that allow for categorical measurements of this phenomenon. It seems imperative that specific instruments be developed to aid in understanding the causes, consequences, manifestations, and elimination of racial microaggressions.

Conclusion

Nearly all interracial encounters are prone to the manifestation of racial microaggressions. We have chosen mainly to address the therapeutic relationship, but racial microaggressions are potentially present whenever human interactions involve participants who differ in race and culture (teaching, supervising, training, administering, evaluating, etc.). We have purposely chosen to concentrate on racial

microaggressions, but it is important to acknowledge other types of microaggressions as well. Gender, sexual orientation, and disability microaggressions may have equally powerful and potentially detrimental effects on women, gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender individuals, and disability groups. Further, racial microaggressions are not limited to White–Black, White–Latino, or White–Person of Color interactions. Interethnic racial microaggressions occur between people of color as well. In the area of counseling and therapy, for example, research may also prove beneficial in understanding cross-racial dyads in which the therapist is a person of color and the client is White or in which both therapist and client are persons of color. Investigating these combinations of cross-racial dyads would be useful, because it is clear that no racial/ethnic group is immune from inheriting the racial biases of the society (D. W. Sue, 2003). We encourage future research in these two areas because all forms of microaggressions have detrimental consequences.
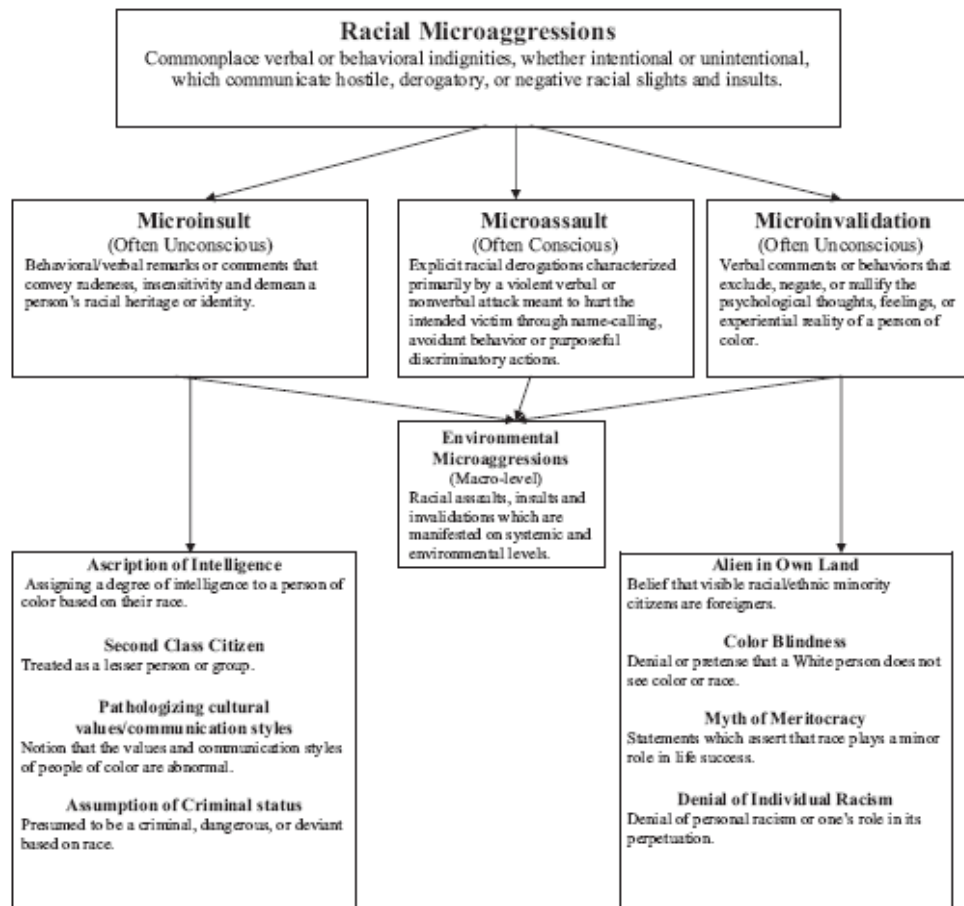
Table 1
Examples of Racial Microaggressions

Theme	Microaggression	Message

Alien in own land
  When Asian Americans and Latino
    Americans are assumed to be
    foreign-born
	"Where are you from?"
	"Where were you born?"
	"You speak good English."
	A person asking an Asian American to
	  teach them words in their native
	  language
		You are not American.
		
		You are a foreigner.

Ascription of intelligence
  Assigning intelligence to a person
    of color on the basis of their race
	"You are a credit to your race."
	
	"You are so articulate."
	
	Asking an Asian person to help with a
	  math or science problem
		People of color are generally not as
		  intelligent as Whites.
		It is unusual for someone of your race
		  to be intelligent.
		All Asians are intelligent and good in
		  math/sciences.

Color blindness
  Statements that indicate that a
    White person does not want to
    acknowledge race
	"When I look at you, I don't see color."
	
	"America is a melting pot."
	
	"There is only one race, the human race."
		Denying a person of color's racial/
		  ethnic experiences.
		Assimilate/acculturate to the
		  dominant culture.
		Denying the individual as a racial/
		  cultural being.

Criminality/assumption of criminal
  status
  A person of color is presumed to be
    dangerous, criminal, or deviant
    on the basis of their race
	A White man or woman clutching their
	  purse or checking their wallet as a
	  Black or Latino approaches or passes
	A store owner following a customer of
	  color around the store
	A White person waits to ride the next
	  elevator when a person of color is on it
		You are a criminal.
		
		You are going to steal/ You are
		  poor/ You do not belong.
		You are dangerous.

Denial of individual racism
  A statement made when Whites
    deny their racial biases
	"I'm not racist. I have several Black
	  friends."
	"As a woman, I know what you go
	  through as a racial minority."
		I am immune to racism because I
		  have friends of color.
		Your racial oppression is no different
		  than my gender oppression. I can't
		  be a racist. I'm like you.

Myth of meritocracy
  Statements which assert that race
    does not play a role in life
    successes
	"I believe the most qualified person should
	  get the job."
	"Everyone can succeed in this society, if
	  they work hard enough."
		People of color are given extra unfair
		  benefits because of their race.
		People of color are lazy and/or
		  incompetent and need to work
		  harder.

Pathologizing cultural values/
  communication styles
  The notion that the values and
    communication styles of the
    dominant/White culture are ideal
	Asking a Black person: "Why do you
	  have to be so loud/animated? Just calm
	  down."
	To an Asian or Latino person: "Why are
	  you so quiet? We want to know what
	  you think. Be more verbal." "Speak up
	  more."
	Dismissing an individual who brings up
	  race/culture in work/school setting
		Assimilate to dominant culture.
		
		Leave your cultural baggage outside.

Second-class citizen
  Occurs when a White person is
    given preferential treatment as a
    consumer over a person of color
	Person of color mistaken for a service
	  worker
	
	Having a taxi cab pass a person of color
	  and pick up a White passenger
		People of color are servants to
		  Whites. They couldn't possibly
		  occupy high-status positions.
		You are likely to cause trouble and/
		  or travel to a dangerous
		  neighborhood.

Table 1 *(continued)*

Theme	Microaggression	Message
Second-class citizen *(continued)* Occurs when a White person is given preferential treatment as a consumer over a person of color *(continued)*	Being ignored at a store counter as attention is given to the White customer behind you "You people . . ."	Whites are more valued customers than people of color. You don't belong. You are a lesser being.
Environmental microaggressions Macro-level microaggressions, which are more apparent on systemic and environmental levels	A college or university with buildings that are all named after White heterosexual upper class males Television shows and movies that feature predominantly White people, without representation of people of color Overcrowding of public schools in communities of color Overabundance of liquor stores in communities of color	You don't belong/You won't succeed here. There is only so far you can go. You are an outsider/You don't exist. People of color don't/shouldn't value education. People of color are deviant.

Figure 1
Categories of and Relationships Among Racial Microaggressions

Racial Microaggressions
Commonplace verbal or behavioral indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, which communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults.

Microinsult
(Often Unconscious)
Behavioral/verbal remarks or comments that convey rudeness, insensitivity and demean a person's racial heritage or identity.

Microassault
(Often Conscious)
Explicit racial derogations characterized primarily by a violent verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior or purposeful discriminatory actions.

Microinvalidation
(Often Unconscious)
Verbal comments or behaviors that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color.

Environmental Microaggressions
(Macro-level)
Racial assaults, insults and invalidations which are manifested on systemic and environmental levels.

Ascription of Intelligence
Assigning a degree of intelligence to a person of color based on their race.

Second Class Citizen
Treated as a lesser person or group.

Pathologizing cultural values/communication styles
Notion that the values and communication styles of people of color are abnormal.

Assumption of Criminal status
Presumed to be a criminal, dangerous, or deviant based on race.

Alien in Own Land
Belief that visible racial/ethnic minority citizens are foreigners.

Color Blindness
Denial or pretense that a White person does not see color or race.

Myth of Meritocracy
Statements which assert that race plays a minor role in life success.

Denial of Individual Racism
Denial of personal racism or one's role in its perpetuation.

Table 2

Examples of Racial Microaggressions in Therapeutic Practice

Theme	Microaggression	Message
Alien in own land When Asian Americans and Latino Americans are assumed to be foreign-born	A White client does not want to work with an Asian American therapist because "she will not understand my problem." A White therapist tells an American-born Latino client that he/she should seek a Spanish-speaking therapist.	You are not American.
Ascription of intelligence Assigning a degree of intelligence to a person of color on the basis of their race	A school counselor reacts with surprise when an Asian American student had trouble on the math portion of a standardized test. A career counselor asking a Black or Latino student, "Do you think you're ready for college?"	All Asians are smart and good at math. It is unusual for people of color to succeed.
Color blindness Statements which indicate that a White person does not want to acknowledge race	A therapist says "I think you are being too paranoid. We should emphasize similarities, not people's differences" when a client of color attempts to discuss her feelings about being the only person of color at her job and feeling alienated and dismissed by her co-workers. A client of color expresses concern in discussing racial issues with her therapist. Her therapist replies with, "When I see you, I don't see color."	Race and culture are not important variables that affect people's lives. Your racial experiences are not valid.
Criminality/assumption of criminal status A person of color is presumed to be dangerous, criminal, or deviant on the basis of their race	When a Black client shares that she was accused of stealing from work, the therapist encourages the client to explore how she might have contributed to her employer's mistrust of her. A therapist takes great care to ask all substance abuse questions in an intake with a Native American client, and is suspicious of the client's nonexistent history with substances.	You are a criminal. You are deviant.
Denial of individual racism A statement made when Whites renounce their racial biases	A client of color asks his or her therapist about how race affects their working relationship. The therapist replies, "Race does not affect the way I treat you." A client of color expresses hesitancy in discussing racial issues with his White female therapist. She replies "I understand. As a woman, I face discrimination also."	Your racial/ethnic experience is not important. Your racial oppression is no different than my gender oppression.
Myth of meritocracy Statements which assert that race does not play a role in succeeding in career advancement or education.	A school counselor tells a Black student that "if you work hard, you can succeed like everyone else." A career counselor is working with a client of color who is concerned about not being promoted at work despite being qualified. The counselor suggests, "Maybe if you work harder you can succeed like your peers."	People of color are lazy and/or incompetent and need to work harder. If you don't succeed, you have only yourself to blame (blaming the victim).
Pathologizing cultural values/communication styles The notion that the values and communication styles of the dominant/White culture are ideal	A Black client is loud, emotional, and confrontational in a counseling session. The therapist diagnoses her with borderline personality disorder. A client of Asian or Native American descent has trouble maintaining eye contact with his therapist. The therapist diagnoses him with a social anxiety disorder. Advising a client, "Do you really think your problem stems from racism?"	Assimilate to dominant culture. Leave your cultural baggage outside.

Table 2 (continued)

Theme	Microaggression	Message
Second-class citizen Occurs when a White person is given preferential treatment as a consumer over a person of color	A counselor limits the amount of long-term therapy to provide at a college counseling center; she chooses all White clients over clients of color.	Whites are more valued than people of color.
	Clients of color are not welcomed or acknowledged by receptionists.	White clients are more valued than clients of color.
Environmental microaggressions Macro-level microaggressions, which are more apparent on a systemic level	A waiting room office has pictures of American presidents.	You don't belong/Only white people can succeed.
	Every counselor at a mental health clinic is White.	You are an outsider/You don't exist.

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White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack
Peggy McIntosh

"I was taught to see racism only in individual acts of meanness, not in invisible systems conferring dominance on my group"

Through work to bring materials from women's studies into the rest of the curriculum, I have often noticed men's unwillingness to grant that they are overprivileged, even though they may grant that women are disadvantaged. They may say they will work to women's statues, in the society, the university, or the curriculum, but they can't or won't support the idea of lessening men's. Denials that amount to taboos surround the subject of advantages that men gain from women's disadvantages. These denials protect male privilege from being fully acknowledged, lessened, or ended.

Thinking through unacknowledged male privilege as a phenomenon, I realized that, since hierarchies in our society are interlocking, there are most likely a phenomenon, I realized that, since hierarchies in our society are interlocking, there was most likely a phenomenon of while privilege that was similarly denied and protected. As a white person, I realized I had been taught about racism as something that puts others at a disadvantage, but had been taught not to see one of its corollary aspects, white privilege, which puts me at an advantage.

I think whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege. So I have begun in an untutored way to ask what it is like to have white privilege. I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was "meant" to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools , and blank checks.

Describing white privilege makes one newly accountable. As we in women's studies work to reveal male privilege and ask men to give up some of their power, so one who writes about having white privilege must ask, "having described it, what will I do to lessen or end it?"

After I realized the extent to which men work from a base of unacknowledged privilege, I understood that much of their oppressiveness was unconscious. Then I remembered the frequent charges from women of color that white women whom they encounter are oppressive. I began to understand why we are just seen as oppressive, even when we don't see ourselves that way. I began to count the ways in which I enjoy unearned skin privilege and have been conditioned into oblivion about its existence.

My schooling gave me no training in seeing myself as an oppressor, as an unfairly advantaged person, or as a participant in a damaged culture. I was taught to see myself as an individual whose moral state depended on her individual moral will. My schooling followed the pattern my colleague Elizabeth Minnich has pointed out: whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work that will allow "them" to be more like "us."

Daily effects of white privilege

I decided to try to work on myself at least by identifying some of the daily effects of white privilege in my life. I have chosen those conditions that I think in my case attach somewhat more to skin-color privilege than to class, religion, ethnic status, or geographic location, though of course all these other factors are intricately intertwined. As far as I can tell, my African American coworkers, friends, and acquaintances with whom I come into daily or frequent contact in this particular time, place and time of work cannot count on most of these conditions.

1. I can if I wish arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.

2. I can avoid spending time with people whom I was trained to mistrust and who have learned to mistrust my kind or me.

3. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area which I can afford and in which I would want to live.

4. I can be pretty sure that my neighbors in such a location will be neutral or pleasant to me.

5. I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.

6. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.

7. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.

8. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.

9. If I want to, I can be pretty sure of finding a publisher for this piece on white privilege.

10. I can be pretty sure of having my voice heard in a group in which I am the only member of my race.

11. I can be casual about whether or not to listen to another person's voice in a group in which s/he is the only member of his/her race.

12. I can go into a music shop and count on finding the music of my race represented, into a supermarket and find the staple foods which fit with my cultural traditions, into a hairdresser's shop and find someone who can cut my hair.

13. Whether I use checks, credit cards or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.

14. I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might not like them.

15. I do not have to educate my children to be aware of systemic racism for their own daily physical protection.

16. I can be pretty sure that my children's teachers and employers will tolerate them if they fit school and workplace norms; my chief worries about them do not concern others' attitudes toward their race.

17. I can talk with my mouth full and not have people put this down to my color.

18. I can swear, or dress in second hand clothes, or not answer letters, without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals, the poverty or the illiteracy of my race.

19. I can speak in public to a powerful male group without putting my race on trial.

20. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race.

21. I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.

22. I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of color who constitute the world's majority without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion.

23. I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a cultural outsider.

24. I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to the "person in charge", I will be facing a person of my race.

25. If a traffic cop pulls me over or if the IRS audits my tax return, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.

26. I can easily buy posters, post-cards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys and children's magazines featuring people of my race.

27. I can go home from most meetings of organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in, rather than isolated, out-of-place, outnumbered, unheard, held at a distance or feared.

28. I can be pretty sure that an argument with a colleague of another race is more likely to jeopardize her/his chances for advancement than to jeopardize mine.

29. I can be pretty sure that if I argue for the promotion of a person of another race, or a program centering on race, this is not likely to cost me heavily within my present setting, even if my colleagues disagree with me.

30. If I declare there is a racial issue at hand, or there isn't a racial issue at hand, my race will lend me more credibility for either position than a person of color will have.

31. I can choose to ignore developments in minority writing and minority activist programs, or disparage them, or learn from them, but in any case, I can find ways to be more or less protected from negative consequences of any of these choices.

32. My culture gives me little fear about ignoring the perspectives and powers of people of other races.

33. I am not made acutely aware that my shape, bearing or body odor will be taken as a reflection on my race.

34. I can worry about racism without being seen as self-interested or self-seeking.

35. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having my co-workers on the job suspect that I got it because of my race.

36. If my day, week or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it had racial overtones.

37. I can be pretty sure of finding people who would be willing to talk with me and advise me about my next steps, professionally.

38. I can think over many options, social, political, imaginative or professional, without asking whether a person of my race would be accepted or allowed to do what I want to do.

39. I can be late to a meeting without having the lateness reflect on my race.

40. I can choose public accommodation without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated in the places I have chosen.

41. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.

42. I can arrange my activities so that I will never have to experience feelings of rejection owing to my race.

43. If I have low credibility as a leader I can be sure that my race is not the problem.

44. I can easily find academic courses and institutions which give attention only to people of my race.

45. I can expect figurative language and imagery in all of the arts to testify to experiences of my race.

46. I can chose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more or less match my skin.

47. I can travel alone or with my spouse without expecting embarrassment or hostility in those who deal with us.

48. I have no difficulty finding neighborhoods where people approve of our household.

49. My children are given texts and classes which implicitly support our kind of family unit and do not turn them against my choice of domestic partnership.

50. I will feel welcomed and "normal" in the usual walks of public life, institutional and social.

Elusive and fugitive

I repeatedly forgot each of the realizations on this list until I wrote it down. For me white privilege has turned out to be an elusive and fugitive subject. The pressure to avoid it is great, for in facing it I must give up the myth of meritocracy. If these things are true, this is not such a free country; one's life is not what one makes it; many doors open for certain people through no virtues of their own.

In unpacking this invisible knapsack of white privilege, I have listed conditions of daily experience that I once took for granted. Nor did I think of any of these perquisites as bad for the holder. I now think that we need a more finely differentiated taxonomy of privilege, for some of these varieties are only what one would want for everyone in a just society, and others give license to be ignorant, oblivious, arrogant, and destructive.

I see a pattern running through the matrix of white privilege, a patter of assumptions that were passed on to me as a white person. There was one main piece of cultural turf; it was my own turn, and I was among those who could control the turf. My skin color was an asset for any move I was educated to want to make. I could think of myself as belonging in major ways and of making social systems work for me. I could freely disparage, fear, neglect, or be oblivious to anything outside of the dominant cultural forms. Being of the main culture, I could also criticize it fairly freely.

In proportion as my racial group was being made confident, comfortable, and oblivious, other groups were likely being made unconfident, uncomfortable, and alienated. Whiteness protected me from many kinds of hostility, distress, and violence, which I was being subtly trained to visit, in turn, upon people of color.

For this reason, the word "privilege" now seems to me misleading. We usually think of privilege as being a favored state, whether earned or conferred by birth or luck. Yet some of the conditions I have described here work systematically to over empower certain groups. Such privilege simply confers dominance because of one's race or sex.

Earned strength, unearned power

I want, then, to distinguish between earned strength and unearned power conferred privilege can look like strength when it is in fact permission to escape or to dominate. But not all of the privileges on my list are inevitably damaging. Some, like the expectation that neighbors will be decent to you, or that your race will not count against you in court, should be the norm in a just society. Others, like the privilege to ignore less powerful people, distort the humanity of the holders as well as the ignored groups.

We might at least start by distinguishing between positive advantages, which we can work to spread, and negative types of advantage, which unless rejected will always reinforce our present hierarchies. For example, the feeling that one belongs within the human circle, as Native Americans say, should not be seen as privilege for a few. Ideally it is an unearned entitlement. At present, since only a few have it, it is an unearned advantage for them. This paper results from a process of coming to see that some of the power that I originally say as attendant on being a human being in the United States consisted in unearned advantage and conferred dominance.

I have met very few men who truly distressed about systemic, unearned male advantage and conferred dominance. And so one question for me and others like me is whether we will be like them, or whether we will get truly distressed, even outraged, about unearned race advantage and conferred dominance, and, if so, what we will do to lessen them. In any case, we need to do more work in identifying how they actually affect our daily lives. Many, perhaps most, of our white students in the United States think that racism doesn't affect them because they are not people of color; they do not see "whiteness" as a racial identity. In addition, since race and sex are not the only advantaging systems at work, we need similarly to examine the daily experience of having age advantage, or ethnic advantage, or physical ability, or advantage related to nationality, religion, or sexual orientation.

Difficulties and angers surrounding the task of finding parallels are many. Since racism, sexism, and heterosexism are not the same, the advantages associated with them should not be seen as the same. In addition, it is hard to disentangle aspects of unearned advantage that rest more on social class, economic class, race, religion, sex, and ethnic identity that on other factors. Still, all of the oppressions are interlocking, as the members of the Combahee River Collective pointed out in their "Black Feminist Statement" of 1977.

One factor seems clear about all of the interlocking oppressions. They take both active forms, which we can see, and embedded forms, which as a member of the dominant groups one is taught not to see. In my class and place, I did not see myself as a racist because I was taught to recognize racism only in individual acts of meanness by members of my group, never in invisible systems conferring unsought racial dominance on my group from birth.

Disapproving of the system won't be enough to change them. I was taught to think that racism could end if white individuals changed their attitude. But a "white" skin in the United States opens many doors for whites whether or not we approve of the way dominance has been conferred on us. Individual acts can palliate but cannot end, these problems.

To redesign social systems we need first to acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions. The silences and denials surrounding privilege are the key political surrounding privilege are the key political tool here. They keep the thinking about equality or equity incomplete, protecting unearned advantage and conferred dominance by making these subject taboo. Most talk by whites about equal opportunity seems to me now to be about equal opportunity to try to get into a position of dominance while denying that systems of dominance exist.

It seems to me that obliviousness about white advantage, like obliviousness about male advantage, is kept strongly inculturated in the United States so as to maintain the myth of meritocracy, the myth that

democratic choice is equally available to all. Keeping most people unaware that freedom of confident action is there for just a small number of people props up those in power and serves to keep power in the hands of the same groups that have most of it already.

Although systemic change takes many decades, there are pressing questions for me and, I imagine, for some others like me if we raise our daily consciousness on the perquisites of being light-skinned. What will we do with such knowledge? As we know from watching men, it is an open question whether we will choose to use unearned advantage, and whether we will use any of our arbitrarily awarded power to try to reconstruct power systems on a broader base.

To help participants appreciate the impact of race on everyday experience, have them do the following:

1. Respond to each question with the following score:
   - 5 if the statement is always true for you.
   - 3 if the statement is sometimes true for you.
   - 0 if the statement is seldom true for you.

2. After totaling their scores, have participants form into a color line, with the lowest numbers on the right and the highest numbers on the left.

Because of my race or color...	Score
1. I can be in the company of people of my race most of the time.	
2. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting/purchasing housing in an area I can afford and in which I would want to live.	
3. I can be pretty sure that my neighbors in such a location will be neutral or pleasant to me.	
4. I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.	
5. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely and positively represented.	
6. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my race made it what it is.	
7. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.	
8. I can go into most supermarkets and find the staple foods that fit with my racial/ethnic traditions; I can go into any hairdresser's shop and find someone who can cut my hair.	
9. Whether I use checks, credit cards, or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.	
10. I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might mistreat them because of their race.	
11. I can swear, or dress in secondhand clothes, or not answer letters, without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals, the poverty, or the illiteracy of my race.	
12. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race.	
13. I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.	
14. I can remain oblivious to the language and customs of persons of color without feeling, from people of my race, any penalty for such oblivion.	
15. I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a racial outsider.	

Closing the Achievement Gap

Because of my race or color...	Score
16. I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to "the person in charge," I will be facing a person of my race.	
17. If a police officer pulls me over, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.	
18. I can conveniently buy posters, postcards, picture books, greeting cards, and children's magazines featuring people of my race.	
19. I can go home from most meetings of the organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied-in, rather than isolated, out-of-place, outnumbered, unheard, feared, or hated.	
20. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having co-workers on the job suspect that I got it because of race.	
21. I can choose public accommodation without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated in the places I have chosen.	
22. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.	
23. If my day, week, or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it has racial overtones.	
24. I can comfortably avoid, ignore, or minimize the impact of racism on my life.	
25. I can speak in public to a powerful group without putting my race on trial.	
26. I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more or less match my skin.	
Total Score	

The Color Line courtesy of Singleton & Linton, 2002

White Privilege in Schools

by Ruth Anne Olson

It is important to distinguish between prejudice and privilege. Where as racial prejudice is negative action *directed against* an individual, privilege is passive advantage that *accrues to* an individual or group. Good teachers recognize and actively address prejudice. But as Peggy McIntosh (1988) points out, most White people are blind to the privileges accorded to White children and parents in schools.

I tried to identify my own family's experience of White privilege in schools and without much effort, it became clear that we have, indeed, benefited from privileges to which we have given little thought. Using McIntosh's format I could elaborate on her work and add observations from my own experience.

▸ Whatever topics my children choose to study, they are confident that they will find materials that link people of their race to the accomplishments in those areas.

▸ My children know that they will always see faces like their own liberally represented in the textbooks, posters, films and other materials in the hallways, classrooms and media centers of their schools.

▸ When my children talk about celebrations, holidays or family observances in show-and-tell or in other informal exchanges at school, they know that their teachers will have experienced similar events and will be able to reinforce their stories.

▸ My children are confident that the musical instruments, rhythms, harmonies, visual design forms and dramatic traditions of their culture will be generously recognized in the formal and informal uses of music, theater and visual arts in their schools.

▸ The color of my children's skin causes most adults in school offices, classrooms and hallways to have neutral or positive assumptions about them.

▸ My children know that the vast majority of adults in their schools will be of their same racial background, even in classrooms where many or most of their fellow students are of races different from theirs.

▸ My children are confident that they will never be embarrassed by being called on to tell the class about their race, culture or special ways of celebrating events.

▸ When I visit their schools, my children know that school staff members will reserve judgement about my economic class, my level of education and my reason for being in the school until I make them known.

▸ My children take for granted that the color of any crayons, bandages, or other supplies in their classrooms labeled "flesh" will be similar to their own.

▸ I take for granted that the tests used to judge my children's achievement and to determine placement in special classes have been developed with groups that included significant numbers of students who share our racial history and culture.

▸ My children are confident that they will never be embarrassed by hearing others suggest that the problems of the school (low levels of achievement, the need for special support services, etc.) are caused by the high numbers of children of their race.

▸ I am confident that policy decisions that affect my children's school experience will be made by state and local bodies dominated by people who understand our racial history and culture.

This list can go on. My family never asked for these privileges; principals and teachers didn't purposely create them for us; and, frankly neither they nor we have been consciously aware these privileges exist.

But stating that no one is to blame does not erase the fact that privilege has allowed my family to take for granted things that others must spend time, energy and resources trying to earn. And while I have been blind to the existence of our privileges, people who don't share them cannot help but see them and feel resentment, puzzlement, disappointment and rage at the fact that their children are excluded from the privileged class.

Ruth Anne Olson is a Co-Director of Supporting Diversity in Schools (SDS) at the Saint Paul Foundation in Saint Paul, Minnesota.

References

McIntosh, P. (1988). *White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences Through Work in Women's Studies*. Wellesley, MA: Working Paper Series, Wellesley College.

Reprinted with permission from: Olson, R.A. (1992). *Eliminating White Privilege in Schools: An Awesome Challenge for White Parents and Educators. Available from: SDS (Supporting Diversity in Schools Through Family and Community Involvement) 1120 Northwest Center, St. Paul, MN 55101.*

Discussion Questions

✦ Can you think of other privileges that could be added to this list?

✦ What are the implications for children of color if whites have these privileges?

✦ How can the system be changed so that these 'privileges' become rights for everyone?

✦ What actions can you take to help the system change?

A Closer Look at White Privilege

Helping parents, students and educators examine white privilege is a crucial step towards supporting equity in education. In addition to reviewing the lists of school privileges by Ruth Anne Olson, one can also examine statistical data about current economic realities of race, gender, wealth and ownership, labor and government spending, education, welfare, health and the environment. *The New Field Guide to the U.S. Economy* by Nancy Folbre and the Center for Popular Economics is full of graphs, charts and statistics such as the sample below. These charts can be duplicated and distributed for review in small groups. Ask each group to share some of the facts they learned from their chart, what surprised them and what they can conclude about the ways in which whites still have privilege in this country.

The New Field Guide is available from the Teaching for Change catalog. Ordering information is provided in the Resource section.

4.7 Last Hired

High unemployment rates afflict African-Americans and Latinos more than whites. In 1994, 11.8% of black workers and 10.2% of Latinos could not find jobs, while only 5.4% of whites were in the same predicament.
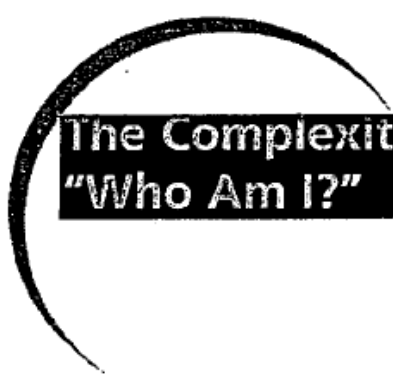
Teenagers had an even harder time. The unemployment rate among black youths was 36%; for whites, it was 16%.

Persistently high unemployment rates discourage people from looking for work. Black male labor force participation rates have dropped considerably in recent years.

When people of color bear a large share of the burden of unemployment, they buffer whites against the ups and downs of the business cycle.
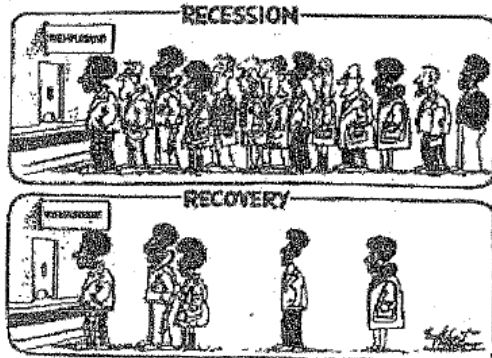
Unemployment rate, by race and Latino origin
(civilian workers age 16 and above)
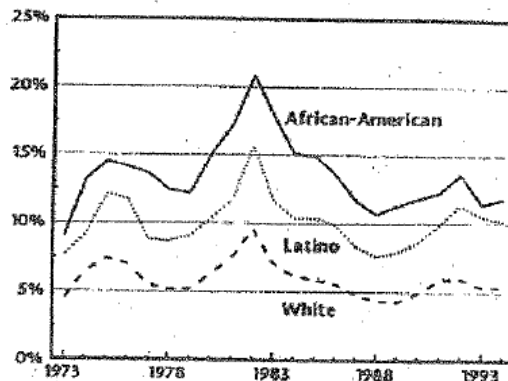
The Complexity of Identity: "Who Am I?"

Beverly Daniel Tatum

The concept of identity is a complex one, shaped by individual characteristics, family dynamics, historical factors, and social and political contexts. Who am I? The answer depends in large part on who the world around me says I am. Who do my parents say I am? Who do my peers say I am? What message is reflected back to me in the faces and voices of my teachers, my neighbors, store clerks? What do I learn from the media about myself? How am I represented in the cultural images around me? Or am I missing from the picture altogether? As social scientist Charles Cooley pointed out long ago, other people are the mirror in which we see ourselves.[1]

This "looking glass self" is not a flat one-dimensional reflection, but multidimensional. How one's racial identity is experienced will be mediated by other dimensions of oneself: male or female; young or old; wealthy, middle-class, or poor; gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, or heterosexual; able-bodied or with disabilities; Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu, or atheist. . . .

What has my social context been? Was I surrounded by people like myself, or was I part of a minority in my community? Did I grow up speaking standard English at home

or another language or dialect? Did I live in a rural county, an urban neighborhood, a sprawling suburb, or on a reservation?

Who I am (or say I am) is a product of these and many other factors. Erik Erikson, the psychoanalytic theorist who coined the term *identity crisis*, introduced the notion that the social, cultural, and historical context is the ground in which individual identity is embedded. Acknowledging the complexity of identity as a concept, Erikson writes,

> We deal with a process "located" *in the core of the individual* and yet also *in the core of his communal culture*. . . . In psychological terms, identity formation employs a process of simultaneous reflection and observation, a process taking place on all levels of mental functioning, by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to a typology significant to them.[2]

Triggered by the biological changes associated with puberty, the maturation of cognitive abilities, and changing societal expectations, this process of simultaneous reflection and observation, the self-creation of one's identity, is commonly experienced in the United States and other Western societies during the period of adolescence.[3] Though the foundation of identity is laid in the experiences of childhood, younger children lack the physical and cognitive development needed to reflect on the self in this abstract way. The adolescent capacity for self-reflection (and resulting self-consciousness) allows one to ask,"Who am I now?" "Who was I before?" "Who will I become?" The answers to these questions will influence choices about who one's romantic partners will be, what type of work one will do, where one will live, and what belief system one will embrace. Choices made in adolescence ripple throughout the lifespan.

Who Am I? Multiple Identities

Integrating one's past, present, and future into a cohesive, unified sense of self is a complex task that begins in adolescence and continues for a lifetime. . . . The salience of particular aspects of our identity varies at different moments in our lives. The process of integrating the component parts of our self-definition is indeed a lifelong journey.

Which parts of our identity capture our attention first? While there are surely idiosyncratic responses to this question, a classroom exercise I regularly use with my psychology students reveals a telling pattern. I ask my students to complete the sentence, "I am _____," using as many descriptors as they can think of in sixty seconds. All kinds of trait descriptions are used—friendly, shy, assertive, intelligent, honest, and so on—but over the years I have noticed something else. Students of color usually mention their racial or ethnic group: for instance, I am Black, Puerto Rican, Korean American. White students who have grown up in strong ethnic enclaves occasionally mention being Irish or Italian. But in general, White students rarely mention being White. When I use this exercise in coeducational settings, I notice a similar pattern in terms of gender, religion, and sexuality. Women usually mention being female, while men don't usually mention their maleness. Jewish students often say they are Jews, while mainline Protestants rarely mention their religious identification. A student who is comfortable revealing it publicly may mention being gay, lesbian, or bisexual. Though I know most of my students are heterosexual, it is very unusual for anyone to include their heterosexuality on their list.

Common across these examples is that in the areas where a person is a member of the dominant or advantaged social group, the category is usually not mentioned. That element of their identity is so taken for granted by them that it goes without comment. It is taken for granted by them because it is taken for granted by the dominant culture. In Eriksonian terms, their inner experience and outer circumstance are in harmony with

one another, and the image reflected by others is similar to the image within. In the absence of dissonance, this dimension of identity escapes conscious attention.

The parts of our identity that *do* capture our attention are those that other people notice, and that reflect back to us. The aspect of identity that is the target of others' attention, and subsequently of our own, often is that which sets us apart as exceptional or "other" in their eyes. In my life I have been perceived as both. A precocious child who began to read at age three, I stood out among my peers because of my reading ability. This "gifted" dimension of my identity was regularly commented upon by teachers and classmates alike, and quickly became part of my self-definition. But I was also distinguished by being the only Black student in the class, an "other," a fact I grew increasingly aware of as I got older.

While there may be countless ways one might be defined as exceptional, there are at least seven categories of "otherness" commonly experienced in U.S. society. People are commonly defined as other on the basis of race or ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, age, and physical or mental ability. Each of these categories has a form of oppression associated with it: racism, sexism, religious oppression/anti-Semitism,[4] heterosexism, classism, ageism, and ableism, respectively. In each case, there is a group considered dominant (systematically advantaged by the society because of group membership) and a group considered subordinate or targeted (systematically disadvantaged). When we think about our multiple identities, most of us will find that we are both dominant and targeted at the same time. But it is the targeted identities that hold our attention and the dominant identities that often go unexamined.

In her essay, "Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference," Audre Lorde captured the tensions between dominant and targeted identities co-existing in one individual. This self-described "forty-nine-year-old Black lesbian feminist socialist mother of two" wrote,

> Somewhere, on the edge of consciousness, there is what I call a *mythical norm*, which each one of us within our hearts knows "that is not me." In america, this norm is usually defined as white, thin, male, young, heterosexual, christian, and financially secure. It is with this mythical norm that the trappings of power reside within society. Those of us who stand outside that power often identify one way in which we are different, and we assume that to be the primary cause of all oppression, forgetting other distortions around difference, some of which we ourselves may be practicing.[5]

Even as I focus on race and racism in my own writing and teaching, it is helpful to remind myself and my students of the other distortions around difference that I (and they) may be practicing. It is an especially useful way of generating empathy for our mutual learning process. If I am impatient with a White woman for not recognizing her White privilege, it may be useful for me to remember how much of my life I spent oblivious to the fact of the daily advantages I receive simply because I am heterosexual, or the ways in which I may take my class privilege for granted.

Domination and Subordination

It is also helpful to consider the commonality found in the experience of being dominant or subordinate even when the sources of dominance or subordination are different. Jean Baker Miller, author of *Toward a New Psychology of Women*, has identified some of these areas of commonality.[6]

Dominant groups, by definition, set the parameters within which the subordinates operate. The dominant group holds the power and authority in society relative to the subordinates and determines how that power and authority may be acceptably used.

Whether it is reflected in determining who gets the best jobs, whose history will be taught in school, or whose relationships will be validated by society, the dominant group has the greatest influence in determining the structure of the society.

The relationship of the dominants to the subordinates is often one in which the targeted group is labeled as defective or substandard in significant ways. For example, Blacks have historically been characterized as less intelligent than Whites, and women have been viewed as less emotionally stable than men. The dominant group assigns roles to the subordinate that reflect the latter's devalued status, reserving the most highly valued roles in the society for themselves. Subordinates are usually said to be innately incapable of performing the preferred roles. To the extent that those in the target group internalize the images that the dominant group reflects back to them, they may find it difficult to believe in their own ability.

When a subordinate demonstrates positive qualities believed to be more characteristic of dominants, the individual is defined by dominants as an anomaly. Consider the following illustrative example. Following a presentation I gave to some educators, a White man approached me and told me how much he liked my ideas and how articulate I was. "You know," he concluded, "if I had had my eyes closed, I wouldn't have known it was a Black woman speaking." (I replied, "This is what a Black woman sounds like.")

The dominant group is seen as the norm for humanity. Jean Baker Miller also asserts that inequitable social relations are seen as the model for "normal human relationships." Consequently, it remains perfectly acceptable in many circles to tell jokes that denigrate a particular group, to exclude subordinates from one's neighborhood or work setting, or to oppose initiatives that might change the power balance.

Miller points out that dominant groups generally do not like to be reminded of the existence of inequality. Because rationalizations have been created to justify the social arrangements, it is easy to believe everything is as it should be. Dominants "can avoid awareness because their explanation of the relationship becomes so well integrated in *other terms*; they can even believe that both they and the subordinate group share the same interests and, to some extent, a common experience."[7]

The truth is that the dominants do not really know what the experiences of the subordinates is. In contrast, the subordinates are very well informed about the dominants. Even when firsthand experience is limited by social segregation, the number and variety of images of the dominant group available through television, magazines, books, and newspapers provide subordinates with plenty of information about the dominants. The dominant worldview has saturated the culture for all to learn. Even the Black or Latino child living in a segregated community can enter White homes of many kinds daily via the media. However, dominant access to information about the subordinates is often limited to stereotypical depictions of the "other." For example, there are many images of heterosexual relations on television, but very few images of gay or lesbian domestic partnerships beyond the caricatures of comedy shows. There are many images of White men and women in all forms of media, but relatively few portrayals of people of color.

Not only is there greater opportunity for the subordinates to learn about the dominants, there is also greater need. Social psychologist Susan Fiske writes, "It is a simple principle: People pay attention to those who control their outcomes. In an effort to predict and possibly influence what is going to happen to them, people gather information about those with power."[8]

In a situation of unequal power, a subordinate group has to focus on survival. It becomes very important for subordinates to become highly attuned to the dominants as a way of protecting themselves. For example, women who have been battered by men often talk about the heightened sensitivity they develop to their partners' moods. Being able to anticipate and avoid the men's rage is important to survival.

Survival sometimes means not responding to oppressive behavior directly. To do so could result in physical harm to oneself, even death. In his essay "The Ethics of Living Jim Crow" Richard Wright describes eloquently the various strategies he learned to use to avoid the violence of Whites who would brutalize a Black person who did not "stay in his place."[9] Though it is tempting to think that the need for such strategies disappeared with Jim Crow laws, their legacy lives on in the frequent and sometimes fatal harassment Black men experience at the hands of White police officers.[10]

Because of the risks inherent in unequal relationships, subordinates often develop covert ways of resisting or undermining the power of the dominant group. As Miller points out, popular culture is full of folktales, jokes, and stories about how the subordinate—whether the woman, the peasant, or the sharecropper—outwitted the "boss."[11] In his essay "I Won't Learn from You," Herbert Kohl identifies one form of resistance, "not-learning," demonstrated by targeted students who are too often seen by their dominant teachers as "others":

> Not-learning tends to take place when someone has to deal with unavoidable challenges to her or his personal and family loyalties, integrity, and identity. In such situations, there are forced choices and no apparent middle ground. To agree to learn from a stranger who does not respect your integrity causes a major loss of self. The only alternative is to not-learn and reject their world.[12]

The use of either strategy, attending very closely to the dominants or not attending at all, is costly to members of the targeted group. "Not-learning" may mean there are needed skills that are not acquired. Attending closely to the dominant group may leave little time or energy to attend to one's self. Worse yet, the negative messages of the dominant group about the subordinates may be internalized, leading to self-doubt or, in its extreme form, self-hate. There are many examples of subordinates attempting to make themselves over in the image of the dominant group—Jewish people who want to change the Semitic look of their noses, Asians who have cosmetic surgery to alter the shapes of their eyes, Blacks who seek to lighten their skin with bleaching creams, women who want to smoke and drink "like a man." Whether one succumbs to the devaluing pressures of the dominant culture or successfully resists them, the fact is that dealing with oppressive systems from the underside, regardless of the strategy, is physically and psychologically taxing.

Breaking beyond the structural and psychological limitations imposed on one's group is possible, but not easy. To the extent that members of targeted groups do push societal limits—achieving unexpected success, protesting injustice, being "uppity"—by their actions they call the whole system into question. Miller writes that they "expose the inequality, and throw into question the basis for its existence. And they will make the inherent conflict an open conflict. They will then have to bear the burden and take the risks that go with being defined as 'troublemakers.'"[13]

The history of subordinate groups is filled with so-called troublemakers, yet their names are often unknown. Preserving the record of those subordinates and their dominant allies who have challenged the status quo is usually of little interest to the dominant culture, but it is of great interest to subordinates who search for an empowering reflection in the societal mirror.

Many of us are both dominant and subordinate. As Audre Lorde said, from her vantage point as a Black lesbian, "There is no hierarchy of oppressions." The thread and threat of violence runs through all of the isms. There is a need to acknowledge each other's pain, even as we attend to our own.

For those readers who are in the dominant racial category, it may sometimes be difficult to take in what is being said by and about those who are targeted by racism. When the perspective of the subordinate is shared directly, an image is reflected to members of

the dominant group that is disconcerting. To the extent that one can draw on one's own experience of subordination—as a young person, as a person with a disability, as someone who grew up poor, as a woman—it may be easier to make meaning of another targeted group's experience. For those readers who are targeted by racism and are angered by the obliviousness of Whites, it may be useful to attend to your experience of dominance where you may find it—as a heterosexual, as an able-bodied person, as a Christian, as a man—and consider what systems of privilege you may be overlooking. The task of resisting our own oppression does not relieve us of the responsibility of acknowledging our complicity in the oppression of others.

Our ongoing examination of who we are in our full humanity, embracing all of our identities, creates the possibility of building alliances that may ultimately free us all.

Notes

1. See C. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: Scribner, 1922). George H. Mead expanded on this idea in his book *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).
2. E. H. Erikson, *Identity, Youth, and Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), 22; emphasis in the original.
3. For a discussion of the Western biases in the concept of the self and individual identity, see A. Roland, "Identity, Self, and Individualism in a Multicultural Perspective," in E. P. Salett and D. R. Koslow, eds., *Race, Ethnicity, and Self: Identity in Multicultural Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: National MultiCultural Institute, 1994).
4. *Anti-Semitism* is a term commonly used to describe the oppression of Jewish people. However, other Semitic peoples (Arab Muslims, for example) are also subject to oppressive treatment on the basis of ethnicity as well as religion. For that reason, the terms *Jewish oppression* and *Arab oppression* are sometimes used to specify the particular form of oppression under discussion.
5. A. Lorde, "Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference," in P. S. Rothenberg, ed., *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study*, 3d ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 446; emphasis in the original.
6. J. B. Miller, "Domination and Subordination," in *Toward a New Psychology of Women* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976).
7. Ibid., 8; emphasis in the original.
8. S. T. Fiske, "Controlling Other People: The Impact of Power on Stereotyping," *American Psychologist* 48, no. 6 (1993), 621–28.
9. R. Wright, "The Ethics of Living Jim Crow" (1937), reprinted in P. S. Rothenberg, ed., *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study*, 3d ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).
10. An article in the popular weekly magazine *People* chronicled the close encounters of famous black men with white police officers. Despite their fame, these men were treated as potential criminals. Highlighted in the article is the story of Johnny Gammage, who was beaten to death by white police officers following a routine traffic stop in Pittsburgh. T. Fields-Meyer, "Under Suspicion," *People* (January 15, 1996), 40–47.
11. Miller, "Domination and Subordination," p. 10.
12. H. Kohl, "I Won't Learn from You: Confronting Student Resistance," in *Rethinking Our Classrooms: Teaching for Equity and Justice* (Milwaukee: Rethinking Our Schools, 1994), 134.
13. Miller, "Domination and Subordination," 12.

Helping Whites Develop Anti-Racist Identities:

Overcoming Their Resistance to Fighting Racism

Elizabeth Denevi & Nicholas Pastan

A Teacher's Perspective

Current Manifestations of Resistance: Same Old Privilege, Different Form

In our current work to confront privilege and dismantle racism, White students and teachers who are exposed to information about how oppression works seem to recognize that there is a problem and want to do something to ameliorate the situation. They show up for meetings of diversity clubs, attend conferences and workshops, and will speak to others about their growing understanding of how privilege/racism works.

Yet, for all of this commitment, the system is not really changing. It feels as if we continue to tinker around the edges of the problem, but we still haven't reached the core. These students have intellectualized the problem, but failed to really *connect* with racism as something that impacts them: the work is still about other people. This attitude is manifested in comments such as: "I really want to do something, but I have no idea what to do," or, "What can I really do as an individual? Changing my behavior won't affect the whole, so why should I do anything?"

Some of these comments are simply more manifestations of White privilege, a means of insulation that allows a White person to express awareness, but that also keeps the White person from really having to do anything with that awareness. This is similar to what we often hear from White people who first start the work of unlearning racism: "I feel so bad. This is so ter-

Elizabeth Denevi is co-dirctror of diversity at Georgetown Day School in Washington, D.C., and Nicholas Pastan was a senior at that school at the time of the writing of this article and is now a sophomore at Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts.

rible. I feel so bad for people of color." This expression of guilt becomes a substitute for real action: "As long as I say I feel bad, that's enough."

Similarly, many White students are "on board" as long as they don't really have to change their lives in any substantial way.

Those of us who consider ourselves "long term" players in the work feel frustrated by this behavior. It is difficult to respond to because these resisters are present; they show up and say they want to do the work. Their critique that there is no roadmap for them now that they are on-board paralyzes those who have been doing the work because it feels like we are deficient.

We have failed to lay it out clearly, and so no wonder these White folks don't stay committed. If only we, as the self-appointed leaders, had done a better job of explaining what folks could do, then they wouldn't fade away. Yet again, a system of oppression has carefully disguised itself. What we need to get smart about is how systems of oppression reinvent and preserve themselves.

The Work of Lillian Roybal Rose

If you can't see the pain in the eyes of White children,
you will always condescend to Brown children. (1996, p. 40)

Rose notes that the change comes for Whites once they understand oppression both cognitively and emotionally. She encourages her workshop participants to locate their own experiences of injustice or mistreatment, recalling childhood memories and familial relationships. Whites have "to locate their own sites of oppression, to see that both target and non-target are dehumanized by oppression, to under-

stand that oppression is universal, and to see that, on the receiving end, pain is not black or white or brown, or any other color. It's pain" (p. 41). This emotional connection helps them to understand what they have lost due to racism: "The state of being an ally becomes a matter of reclaiming one's own humanity" (p. 42).

Another key point for Whites is the importance of pride, not as a form of supremacy, but as something that says, "To the extent that I can love and appreciate my group's difference, I can love and appreciate yours" (p. 43).

Instead of feeling this sense of collective pride, Whites often identify with a "collective sense of shame"(p. 43). While Whites are good at identifying themselves as individuals, they struggle to see themselves as members of a group, and this point is key to understanding the persistence of racism: "Those who seek to understand another group's collective experience, but cannot make the shift into an understanding of collective pride in their own group, operate form an irresolute position in any cross-cultural exchange" (p. 43).

To help instill a sense of collective identity, Rose asks participants to remember their ancestors—their hard work, experience, wisdom, and survival. This effort to create a sense of group pride can bring on intense feelings of discomfort and loss:

It appears that for Whites there is loss of collective pride—not as a posture, but in its purer sense, as a connecting form of love. For Whites who are oblivious to their own essence, the appreciation of others will be postured and lacking substance…Collective pride is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end—authentic human connections and intimacy across differences. (p. 44)

This pride can help Whites who often see the pride of people of color as a threat:

If you don't know pride, in your gut, then our pride will always threaten you. If will always feel as though people of color are something because you are nothing, that we are colorful because you are bland, and that anything we gain is at your expense. (p. 45)

I see this manifested when students or teachers of color want to have their own affinity groups. White educators often question the need for such groups without really exploring why it might be great for those who share a common experience to be able to support one another. Underneath the challenge lies a sense of failure and ineptitude masked by defensiveness and a sense that the Whites know what is best.

Yet, White educators tend to embrace gender affinity groups, and following Rose's analysis, this makes sense because there seems to be a greater establishment of pride around gender identity as opposed to racial identity. Men have been embraced for their willingness to come together to fight sexism, but we have yet to really embrace Whites who come together to support one another in the struggle against racism.

Developing a Group Identity: Becoming a Community of White Anti-Racists

While completing my Ph.D. research on adolescent racial identity development, I began a process of looking at my own White racial identity and the relationship between teaching and identity construction. Years of reading and studying gave way to dialogue sessions with other Whites and people of color committed to addressing White privilege. Most recently, my focus has been on what I call "White-on-White" dialogue, White racial affinity groups meeting to talk about what it means to be White in schools, how privilege manifests itself, and what we can do to combat racism.

While attending a session Tim Wise offered at the National White Privilege Conference, he offered a simple yet critical model for dialogue. After a brief preface, he said, "I want the White people to talk about the effects of White privilege on White people, and I want the people of color to talk about whatever they want." The room was packed, and as White participants began to speak, it was as if the entire room was standing in solidarity with these first speakers, eager to expose the hidden wound of racism, Wendell Berry's (1989) term for the cost of racism to White people.

The speakers were eloquent and to the point, and as Wise scribed our list of the costs, I was struck by the focus and

commitment of the participants. At this moment, I felt the systemic nature of racism, its institutional force that could only be combated in a systematic way. In recognition of this fact, here was a group of Whites and people of color who were moving beyond individual notions of race and individual acts of racism because we recognized that the problem was bigger than all of us.

What was needed was an institutional response, and the group was up to the task. There was no defensiveness, no outpourings of guilt that, for me, only serve as evidence of privilege (only White people could have the privilege of feeling bad about racism). White people offered explicit examples of how White privilege had negatively impacted their lives while people of color responded with critical insights and asked more questions.

As the list of costs grew, our discussion became more nuanced and complicated. I have never heard White people speak so openly about race in a mixed group. It was refreshing and inspiring because although I had certainly thought about the costs of White privilege and created my own list, I had never had that kind of specific conversation with a group of White people. I had struggled with friends and colleagues to address what Wise calls "the holy grail" of White privilege work, but I had never taken on the topic with a large group.

So often, I work with White folks who have never even thought about their racial privilege. For them, Peggy McIntosh's work is revolutionary (White privilege? Who knew!). So the idea of talking about the costs of racism with Whites at this stage of their development seemed like too big a jump. But I realized that this was the jump we had to make for those who have trouble recognizing privilege and put up walls to keep out any feelings of accountability.

White folks often say to me, "Now I feel really bad. This is too hard. I can't deal." And they leave the work to promote equity because they can't get their arms around the pain. They are so busy trying *not* to feel bad that they side step the entire issue. Wise offered a way of just looking at it head-on, not as a way of personal condemnation or self-flagellation, but rather as recognition of the way social oppression works. Racism/White privilege is a no-win situation for everyone; we just don't talk about it in those terms.

Fortunately for me, I had the perfect opportunity to extend Wise's questions to a group of White educators I was working with who had just read Julie Landsman's *A*

White Teacher Talks about Race. Fifty K-12 teachers and administrators had committed to two afternoon dialogue sessions on White identity, privilege, and antiracism. For homework after the first session, I posed a journal question to the group that Wise had given to us at the conference: if you knew this work to end racism would never benefit anyone but you, would you still do it? If so, why? For me, this line of inquiry was a perfect conduit to the costs of White privilege to White people. Participants in the White-on-White group had a range of responses, and many commented on the fact that they had never thought about anti-racist work in these terms before.

Until racism/White privilege is a felt experience, meaning that Whites connect in their bodies with the pain and feel the sting of discrimination as a cost of racism *to them*, there is no real way to successfully bring Whites on board to fight racism. They will just continue to say the right things, still struggling to avoid their own hidden, deeply buried wound. Along with this felt exploration of the cost of racism, there has to be a parallel development of what Rose calls a collective pride in White antiracist identity. Echoing her point about the need for self-identification before one can identify with others, Whites need to establish principled groups that explore, challenge, and, ultimately, affirm White identity. Once we have been able to locate ourselves in the struggle, then we can come together with people of color to end racism.

A Student's Perspective

What is White?

It is probably not surprising to anybody that as a White student entering the world of high school, the first club I joined had nothing to do with diversity or social justice. As progressive as Georgetown Day School (GDS) is, the school wasn't facilitating discussions about White racial identity development or White privilege; indeed, they weren't even trying to relate to White students that they have a large role to play in diversity work. Actually, I had to participate in a club called Diversity Connections for two years before I heard the words White privilege.

For many years, I was one of four White students in Diversity Connections because the view, according to other White students, was that "we don't belong in diversity work." This has begun to change in the last year; however, to many this still remains true. I typically hear the excuse that the diversity groups aren't effectively

inviting *all* people to be involved or that people don't have enough time twice a month to attend meetings or participate in dialogues; yet, I have come to believe that this isn't really the case.

Instead, White students who feel that the diversity programs are exclusive or too time consuming are simply ignorant to the fact that racism affects them, albeit in different ways, just as it affects people of color. A common misconception of White students is that diversity clubs are simply a forum for students of color to sit and complain about the wrongs that have recently been committed against them. This is utterly untrue.

As my junior year began, I was exposed to Peggy McIntosh's (1988) work, and like many I was shaken. I was as shaken about the notion of White privilege as I was about the fact that I had been involved in diversity work for two years and I hadn't ever discussed this. I felt as though I had been wasting my time by ignoring such an important issue. From this point, I was aided in my racial identity development by my literature teacher and diversity director (and my co-author for this article) Dr. Elizabeth Denevi.

I spent my entire Junior year reading Beverly Daniel Tatum, Paul Kivel, Tim Wise, Donna Jackson Nakazawa, and others to help me understand racial identity development and the social construction of privilege. As the first semester of junior year came to a close, I attended the National Association of Independent Schools' Student Diversity Leadership Conference, and I experienced a large White affinity group. I was shocked that almost every student present was oblivious to the idea of White privilege and White identity development.

I had only been involved in discussions around these topics for slightly over two months, and already I felt as though I was in a different universe from these students. Upon my return from the conference, Elizabeth and I decided that we needed to make White identity development and the topics of White privilege and the cost of racism to Whites a point of discussion. After all, we were working in a mostly White school community. We did this by creating a White affinity group modeled after Tim Wise's group called AWARE (Association for White Anti-Racist Education) for White students interested in becoming actively anti-racist.

The Backlash: Addressing Resistance

Needless to say, this group wasn't received without a few snide comments. GDS is by no means a normal high school. GDS is very small, very progressive, and very proud for having been the first racially integrated school in Washington D.C. However, like any other high school, it is hard to do work around the topic of race and appease everyone. While the administration and principal were very supportive in our attempts to get White students involved in pro-actively anti-racist work, not all of the students were so enthusiastic. Many White students, afraid of the types of discussions we would be having, asked me why I was starting a White supremacy group or why I was trying to have dialogues about being a White ally to people of color and other White people exploring their racial identities. In the midst of a dialogue about privilege and empowering others who aren't always in a position to take a powerful role, a student remarked that he already had all of his required hours of community service.

Although these types of comments can be demoralizing, they are only comments made out of insecurities about the issues we are discussing. These types of comments are not nearly as difficult to deal with as the comments that we are experiencing from students who have shown a short-term level of dedication to understanding how privilege/racism works. Comments such as, "I am sick of having the same discussion. I want to do something, but I don't know what to do. What tangible things I can do in my day-to-day life to affect change? I can't go into a store and ask a clerk to follow me around instead of a person of color," and "Well, I can't just say I'm going to give up my privilege and have it disappear," are infinitely more frustrating because they show relatively little growth as a result of any of our discussions.

These excuses are manifestations of White privilege coming straight from the mouths of those who think that they are committed to dismantling the social construct of privilege. Again, these students solely see the work they are doing as work for *other* people and only want to be involved in the work as long as they can see that *other* people are benefiting from their efforts. They have turned work about themselves into something disturbingly paternalistic. The labors are being made for all the wrong reasons and because of this, we are unable to progress.

It is easy to secure the dedication of the type of student who participates up to a point; however, at times it seems impossible to get White students to take an introspective look at themselves. Until we can view the work of developing our own anti-racist racial identities and the work we do to help other Whites develop their own anti-racist racial identities as a success, we will continue to fall into a cycle of privilege and oppression that continues to plague the history of White Americans.

The Role of White Affinity Groups: Combating Roadblocks

So, what exactly is AWARE and how does it help us deal with these remarks? AWARE is both a student and staff White affinity group that is dedicated to developing positive anti-racist racial identities. The group also explores such questions as, what is White privilege in America and what is the cost of racism to Whites in America? This experience is designed to help more White students challenge the social construction of privilege and become proactively anti-racist members of society.

We do this through reading, journal writings, and dinners that provide the time for extended dialogues. The other important aspect of the group is that while AWARE is focused on White privilege and White identity development, AWARE doesn't solely work with White students. We engage in cross-cultural dialogues with other affinity groups, such as the Young Men of Color and the Young Woman of Color.

Now that we have a forum to engage students in emotionally intricate dialogue, how do we combat the "roadblocks" discussed above? Although hearing the very people who are "committed" to doing anti-racist work say, "What can I do?" is infinitely frustrating, it is important not to let other people's setbacks impede one's own progress. These hindrances need to be dealt with in two ways.

First, it is necessary to be an ally to people who are feeling lost and show them that they have simply scratched the surface of a truly complex subject. The process will at times seem arduous; however, no matter how much one thinks one knows, there is always more to learn, and there are always ways to participate in activities that will keep allies from feeling as though there is "nothing to do."

In order to facilitate this in a school setting, students who are lacking the ability to push forward on their own can be given a leadership position or responsibility for the group. Make them facilitate a discussion or pick the next group reading. This forces them to take a critical look at

the material and concepts laid before them so that they will be compelled toward self-reflection.

Second, while individual work is key, another concept that AWARE has begun to develop is the idea of building a positive anti-racist group identity. What does this mean exactly? This simply means that we aren't just focusing on defining our own anti-racist racial identities, but we are also focused on presenting the group as an entity committed to fighting racism. This not only allows us to look to the group for support on an individual level, but it also allows us to avoid having to deal with "roadblocks" in the form of unnecessary and untrue comments speculating that White people talking to each other about being White is a racist action.

A large component to being able to accomplish this is gaining support from both students and faculty of color. If one can garner this support, and it shouldn't be too difficult because most people of color are thrilled to see White people committed to anti-racist work, it mitigates the barriers. In addition, White students who want to get involved in anti-racist work,

yet are unsure of themselves, will become strikingly more comfortable if they see that there is widespread support. One way our AWARE group is creating a larger identity is by sponsoring our own White privilege conference for area students.

Finally, once a moderate-sized group is developed, it is important to meet regularly if for no other reason then to make sure that everybody is still committed. The school year can get hectic, and people can fade in and out of activities. However, it is imperative that students are not allowed to ever feel too comfortable in a passive role. Because White people don't always see the need to do this work on a daily basis (another manifestation of White privilege), it is important to keep students leaning into discomfort and challenging their own thoughts and actions.

Ultimately, putting together a group of White students to explore their racial identity development and anti-racism is an arduous task. There are so many missed opportunities and places to stall that often it can seem like a waste of time. This is by no means a simple task; it takes time, dedication, and patience, but this shouldn't be

surprising. After all, dismantling a system of racism/White privilege isn't exactly an easy endeavor.

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Judy Ringer

We Have to Talk:
A Step-By-Step Checklist for Difficult Conversations

Think of a conversation you've been putting off. Got it? Great. Then let's go.

There are dozens of books on the topic of difficult, crucial, challenging, important (you get the idea) conversations (I list several at the end of this article). Those times when you know you should talk to someone, but you don't. Maybe you've tried and it went badly. Or maybe you fear that talking will only make the situation worse. Still, there's a feeling of being stuck, and you'd like to free up that stuck energy for more useful purposes.

What you have here is a brief synopsis of best practice strategies: a checklist of action items to think about before going into the conversation; some useful concepts to practice during the conversation; and some tips and suggestions to help your energy stay focused and flowing, including possible conversation openings.

You'll notice one key theme throughout: you have more power than you think.

Working on Yourself: How To Prepare for the Conversation

Before going into the conversation, ask yourself some questions:

1. What is your purpose for having the conversation? What do you hope to accomplish? What would be an ideal outcome?

76 Park Street
Portsmouth, NH 03801-5031
phone & fax: 603-431-8560
judy@judyringer.com
http://www.JudyRinger.com

Watch for hidden purposes. You may think you have honorable goals, like educating an employee or increasing connection with your teen, only to notice that your language is excessively critical or condescending. You think you want to support, but you end up punishing. Some purposes are more useful than others. Work on yourself so that you enter the conversation with a supportive purpose.

2. **What assumptions are you making about this person's intentions?** You may feel intimidated, belittled, ignored, disrespected, or marginalized, but be cautious about assuming that this was the speaker's intention. Impact does not necessarily equal intent.

3. **What "buttons" of yours are being pushed? Are you more emotional than the situation warrants?** Take a look at your "backstory," as they say in the movies. What personal history is being triggered? You may still have the conversation, but you'll go into it knowing that some of the heightened emotional state has to do with you.

4. **How is your attitude toward the conversation influencing your perception of it?** If you think this is going to be horribly difficult, it probably will be. If you truly believe that whatever happens, some good will come of it, that will likely be the case. Try to adjust your attitude for maximum effectiveness.

5. **Who is the opponent? What might he be thinking about this situation? Is he aware of the problem?** If so, how do you think he perceives it? What are his needs and fears? What solution do you think he would suggest? Begin to reframe the opponent as partner.

6. **What are your needs and fears?** Are there any common concerns? Could there be?

7. **How have you contributed to the problem?** How has the other person?

4 Steps to a Successful Outcome

The majority of the work in any conflict conversation is work you do on yourself. No matter how well the conversation begins, you'll need to stay in charge of yourself, your purpose and your emotional energy. Breathe, center, and continue to notice when you become off center—and choose to return again. This is where your power lies. By choosing the calm, centered state, you'll help your opponent/partner to be more centered, too. Centering is not a step; centering is how you are as you take the steps. (For more on Centering, see the Resource section at the end of the article.)

Step #1: Inquiry
Cultivate an attitude of discovery and curiosity. Pretend you don't know anything (you really don't), and try to learn as much as possible about your opponent/partner and his point of view. Pretend you're entertaining a visitor from another planet, and find out

how things look on that planet, how certain events affect the other person, and what the values and priorities are there.

If your partner really was from another planet, you'd be watching his body language and listening for unspoken energy as well. Do that here. What does he really want? What is he *not* saying?

Let your partner talk until he is finished. Don't interrupt except to acknowledge. Whatever you hear, don't take it personally. It's not really about you. Try to learn as much as you can in this phase of the conversation. You'll get your turn, but don't rush things.

Step #2: Acknowledgment
Acknowledgment means showing that you've heard and understood. Try to understand the other person so well you can make his argument for him. Then do it. Explain back to him what you think he's really going for. Guess at his hopes and honor his position. He will not change unless he sees that you see where he stands. Then he might. No guarantees.

Acknowledge whatever you can, including your own defensiveness if it comes up. It's fine; it just is. You can decide later how to address it. For example, in an argument with a friend, I said: "I notice I'm becoming defensive, and I think it's because your voice just got louder and sounded angry. I just want to talk about this topic. I'm not trying to persuade you in either direction." The acknowledgment helped him (and me) to re-center.

Acknowledgment can be difficult if we associate it with agreement. Keep them separate. My saying, "this sounds really important to you," doesn't mean I'm going to go along with your decision.

Step #3: Advocacy
When you sense your opponent/partner has expressed all his energy on the topic, it's your turn. What can you see from your perspective that he's missed? Help clarify your position without minimizing his. For example: "From what you've told me, I can see how you came to the conclusion that I'm not a team player. And I think I am. When I introduce problems with a project, I'm thinking about its long-term success. I don't mean to be a critic, though perhaps I sound like one. Maybe we can talk about how to address these issues so that my intention is clear."

Step #4: Problem-Solving
Now you're ready to begin building solutions. Brainstorming and continued inquiry are useful here. Ask your opponent/partner what he thinks might work. Whatever he says, find something you like and build on it. If the conversation becomes adversarial, go back to inquiry. Asking for the other's point of view usually creates safety and encourages him to engage. If you've been successful in centering, adjusting your

attitude, and engaging with inquiry and useful purpose, building sustainable solutions will be easy.

Practice, Practice, Practice

The art of conversation is like any art—with continued practice you acquire skill and ease. Here are some additional hints:

Tips and Suggestions:

- A successful outcome will depend on two things: *how* you are and *what* you say. How you are (centered, supportive, curious, problem-solving) will greatly influence what you say.

- Acknowledge emotional energy—yours and your partner's—and direct it toward a useful purpose.

- Know and return to your purpose at difficult moments.

- Don't take verbal attacks personally. Help your opponent/partner come back to center.

- Don't assume your opponent/partner can see things from your point of view.

- Practice the conversation with a friend before holding the real one.

- Mentally practice the conversation. See various possibilities and visualize yourself handling them with ease. Envision the outcome you are hoping for.

How Do I Begin?

In my workshops, a common question is *How do I begin the conversation?* Here are a few conversation openers I've picked up over the years—and used many times!

- I have something I'd like to discuss with you that I think will help us work together more effectively.

- I'd like to talk about _____ with you, but first I'd like to get your point of view.

- I need your help with what just happened. Do you have a few minutes to talk?

- I need your help with something. Can we talk about it (soon)? If the person says, "Sure, let me get back to you," follow up with him.

- I think we have different perceptions about _____. I'd like to hear your thinking on this.

- I'd like to talk about _____. I think we may have different ideas about how to _____.

- I'd like to see if we might reach a better understanding about _____. I really want to hear your feelings about this and share my perspective as well.

Write a possible opening for your conversation here:

_____

_____

Good luck! Let me know if this article has been useful by contacting me at
http://www.judyringer.com

Resources

The Magic of Conflict, by Thomas F. Crum (www.aikiworks.com)
Difficult Conversations, by Douglas Stone, Bruce Patton, and Sheila Heen
(www.triadcgi.com)
Crucial Conversations, by Kerry Patterson, Joseph Grenny, Ron McMillan, Al Switzler
(www.crucialconversations.com)
FAQ about Conflict, by Judy Ringer http://www.JudyRinger.com

About the Author: Judy Ringer is the author of *Unlikely Teachers: Finding the Hidden Gifts in Daily Conflict*, stories and practices on the connection between aikido, conflict, and living a purposeful life. As the founder of Power & Presence Training, Judy specializes in unique workshops on conflict, communication, and creating a more positive work environment. Judy is a black belt in aikido and chief instructor of Portsmouth Aikido, Portsmouth, NH, USA. Subscribe to Judy's free award-winning e-newsletter, *Ki Moments*, at http://www.JudyRinger.com

Courageous Conversations About Race: A Field Guide for Achieving Equity in Schools by Glenn E. Singleton and Curtis Linton

Chapter 13 – Using Courageous Conversation to Achieve Equity in Schools

Chapter 13 is broken into the following six areas:
- *Personal Anti-Racist/Equity Leadership*
- *Individual Teacher Anti-Racist Equity Leadership*
- *Whole School Anti-Racist/Equity Leadership*
- *Systemic Anti-Racist/Equity Leadership*
- *Lemon Grove Unified School District: A Case Study (not included in this summary)*
- *Anti-Racist Leadership*

Chapter 13 begins with a 2001 quotation by Cornel West. It reads:

> *The major challenge is to meet the need to generate new leadership. The paucity of courageous leaders…requires that we look beyond the same elites and voices that recycle the older frameworks. We need leaders— neither saints nor sparkling television personalities—who can situate themselves within a larger historical narrative of this country and our world, who can grasp the complex dynamics of our peoplehood and imagine a future grounded in the best of our past, yet who are attuned to the frightening obstacles that now perplex us. Our ideals of freedom, democracy, and equality must be invoked to invigorate all of us, especially the landless, propertyless, and luckless. Only a visionary leadership that can motivate "the better angels of our nature," as Lincoln said, and activate possibilities for a freer, more efficient, and stable America—only that leadership deserves cultivation and support.*

Personal Anti-Racist/Equity Leadership

Being or becoming an anti-racist educator who works toward equity for all students requires a great deal of self-analysis. According to Singleton and Linton, we need to, examine "within ourselves our current level of appreciation and need for people of races different from our own."

Graig Meyer, a White district equity coach in the Chapel Hill-Carrboro School District, shares some of his personal reflections while working toward anti-racist/equity leadership. His reflections include, but are not limited to the following:
- "The truly difficult work is looking deep within myself to recognize where my own reservoirs of Whiteness reside and what value or burdens they present to me."

- "Every time I review Peggy McIntosh's inventory of White privilege I learn something more about myself…."
- "My White guilt tends to creep up most when I'm forced to reflect on the power I wield."
- "Although I often try to seek counsel of colleagues of color, it is inevitable that times arise where it's only after the fact that one of them points out some flaw in my reasoning. The flaws are often the result of my ingrained Whiteness and my own blindness to its perpetual presence."
- The process is the task, the journey has no end, and I will always be White."

Commenting on Graig Myer's personal reflections, Singleton and Linton write, "Persistent in developing consciousness related to his own Whiteness, Graig tirelessly works to overcome the inherent and known challenges he faces in this work as an anti-racist leader. He is clear about the difficulty he experiences when it comes to listening to people of color. Thus, he can remain aware of his dominant viewpoint and actions in a way that challenges his White racial tendencies to define, take charge of, and master anti-racist equity leadership. This self-examination is at the heart of Graig's effectiveness in his school district."

Individual Teacher Anti-Racist/Equity Leadership

Relative to teachers, Singleton and Linton write, "Just as individuals like Graig can dismantle racism through developing a respect and personal need for people of all races whom they meet, every teacher needs to discover and communicate a personal need for and understanding of students and families of color. Until teachers develop classrooms that embrace racial diversity and place the needs of students of color on a level equal to that of White students, they will perpetuate and more deeply institutionalize racism on a daily basis." They go on to say, "To vocalize belief in the student's abilities but not act on or support those beliefs is not only hypocritical but also destructive to students."

Talking about teachers who demonstrate the ability to work successfully with students of color, the authors say, "Teachers who succeed with children of color do not describe their work as more difficult….They expertly focus on creating innovative ways to engage students in learning rather than seeking ways to punish them for not learning….Ultimately, these anti-racist teachers take responsibility not only for what is taught but also for what is learned by every child, every day."

Whole School Anti-Racist/Equity Leadership

The education community has a moral obligation to educate every student to his or her full capacity. According to Singleton and Linton, "Every student who graduates not fully educated is another student whom educators have willingly allowed to escape unprepared to face the exciting, yet demanding challenges of our rapidly changing world. Students'

lack of preparation and readiness comes at a great cost to society and to the reputation of the American education system."

Singleton and Linton state, "By engaging in anti-racist/equity leadership, educators learn how to embrace differences and prepare all of our children to face a future of limitless opportunities. The goal of whole school anti-racist/equity leadership is not to gain accolades, recognition, or awards but rather to correct the current system of institutional White racial advantage, which should never have existed in the first place. Establishing anti-racist leadership for equity throughout the school calls for a courageous principal and participation of all teachers, families, and students in the learning community."

The authors also say that, "Achieving equity requires that White educators engage as anti-racist leaders to the same degree as educators of color—or perhaps even more….White anti-racist educators throughout a school and system of schools must embrace their leadership role as a way of *being* rather than a way of *doing*."

Systemic Anti-Racist/Equity Leadership

Singleton and Linton discuss the need for anti-racist/equity leadership to take place at a systemic level when they say, "It is clear why anti-racist/equity leadership must be present at the individual and school levels, but we must not mistake personal anti-racist leadership for Systemic Equity Anti-Racism Transformation. Individuals and schools must be part of an entire community of courageous, passionate and mutually supportive leaders in the district."

"Successful equity work systemwide demands anti-racist leaders at the highest levels who are willing to speak up, be honest, and challenge the privileges afforded to White people at the expense of people of color. In doing so, such leaders will recognize and examine the system of unaddressed educational inequities and vestiges of institutional racism."

Anti-Racist Leadership

In an interview with author, Curtis Linton, Superintendent McLean King of the Lemon Grove Unified School District explains his anti-racist leadership in the following way, "[Equity is] the core of the work we do in schools. Our society counts on education to teach the whole child. It counts on us to perpetuate our culture within our society. If our culture is truly to be inclusive, this work is critical and essential in everything we do. I believe strongly in academics, and standards, and student achievement, but it can't be done by excluding the issue of access, equity, and compassion for the human condition. Compassion means empowering people to be successful by doing things differently to make that happen."

Singleton and Linton contend that educators who are not engaged in equity work are actually perpetuating racism. In order to do this work, educators need to look deeply and honestly within themselves to understand how racism affects them personally and how their individual racism affects their assumptions and their behavior. The authors say, "To be equity centered is to internally convert personal racism to anti-racist leadership. In the absence of this conversion, the individual will be left with a persisting dilemma of a transformed conceptual framework with little practical application and tangible results. Anti-racist leadership is not just playing a role; it is a deeply transforming personal experience. This work impacts everything an educator is and all she or he does."

Chapter 13 ends with encouragement to educators to, "Remain true to yourself in this work, fight for the sake of your students, and use an equity lens to determine appropriateness in all that you do and become….Stay courageous and remain hopeful that systemic transformation offers us a journey to the possibility. Our children deserve nothing less!"

Understanding Unconscious Bias and Unintentional Racism

Acknowledging our possible biases and working together openly
is essential for developing community in our schools.

By Jean Moule

In the blink of an eye, unconscious bias was visible to me, an African American. A man saw my face as I walked into the store and unconsciously checked his wallet. On the street, a woman catches my eye a half block away and moves her purse from the handle of her baby's stroller to her side as she arranges the baby's blanket. In the airport, a man signals to his wife to move her purse so it is not over the back of her chair, which is adjacent to the one I am moving toward. What is happening in these instances? Were these actions general safety precautions? If so, why did the sight only of my brown face, not the others who moved among these individuals, elicit these actions?

I believe these are examples of "blink of the eye" racism. Such unconscious biases lead to unintentional racism: racism that is usually invisible even and especially to those who perpetrate it. Yet, most people do not want to be considered racist or capable of racist acts because the spoken and unspoken norm is that "good people do not discriminate or in any way participate in racism" (Dovidio and Gaertner 2005, p. 2).

Such unconscious biases affect all of our relationships, whether they are fleeting relationships in airports or longer term relationships between teachers and students, teachers and parents, teachers and other educators. Understanding our own biases is a first step toward improving the interactions that we have with all people and is essential if we hope to build deep community within our schools.

Biases are rooted in stereotypes and prejudices. A stereotype is a simplistic image or distorted truth about a person or group based on a prejudgment of habits, traits, abilities, or expectations (Weinstein and Mellen 1997). Ethnic and racial stereotypes are learned as part of normal socialization and are consistent among many populations and across time. An excellent illustration of this phenomenon is a recent exchange that repeated Clark's classic 1954 doll study. In a video, completed by a 17-year-old film student and disseminated through the media, a young black child clearly reflects society's prejudice: The child describes the black doll as looking "bad" and the white doll as "nice" (Edney 2006). Children internalize our society's biases and prejudices, as have all of us; they are just a little less able to hide it. I am reminded of the story of a 4-year-old in an affluent suburb who remarked to her mother upon seeing a young Latina while in line at the grocery store, "Look, mommy, a baby maid."

And when we receive evidence that confronts our deeply held and usually unrecognized biases, the human brain usually finds ways to return to stereotypes. The human brain uses a mechanism called "re-fencing" when confronted with evidence contrary to the stereotype. Allport coined the term: "When a fact cannot fit into a mental field, the exception is acknowledged, but the field is hastily fenced in again and not allowed to remain dangerously open" (Allport 1954, p. 23). This is illustrated by such statements as "some of my best friends are black." That statement, while used to deny bias, has within it the seeds of a defense of negative feelings toward blacks. The context of the statement usually means that "my best friend" is an exception to stereotypes and, therefore, that other blacks would not be my friends. Thompson (2003) refers to this as absolution through a

connected relationship (i.e., I am absolved from racism because my best friend is black). Dovidio and Gaertner describe this inability to connect stated beliefs and unconscious bias as aversive racism, "the inherent contradiction that exists when the denial of personal prejudice co-exists with underlying unconscious negative feelings and beliefs" (2005, p. 2).

In many situations, from either the dominant or the oppressed, simple unconscious associations may drastically change outcomes. An example is Steele and Aaronson's (1995) work on stereotype threat, in which the performance of African-American students in a testing situation was cut in half by asking them to identify their race at the start of the test. This simple act unconsciously reminded students of the stereotypes connected with their race. Moreover, when asked at the end of the test, the students who were primed to remember their race were unable to identify the reminder as a factor in their poorer test score (Steele 1997).

In ambiguous situations, people's minds may also reconstruct a situation in order to conform to their stereotypes. An example is a study of people who harbor negative attitudes about African Americans: In a quickly seen image in which a white man with a weapon chases a black man, some people reverse the race of the perpetrator of the violence in order to make it conform with their preconceived notions (Diller and Moule 2005). Such unconscious biases have a role in determining the length of jail sentences (Vedantam 2005) and the fact that, regardless of explicit racial prejudices, police officers are more likely to shoot an unarmed black target than an unarmed white target (Correll et al. 2002).

Regarding violence, it is important to remember that we are programmed to quickly discern who is enemy and who is friend, for in the past -- and certainly in many places in the world today -- the ability to quickly identify friend or foe may be a matter of life or death (Begley 2004).

While I started this piece with evidence of people who responded to their gut reactions to my brown skin in surprising nonverbal ways, many of the same people would be quite gracious if given another second or two. Recent research shows that while most people have an instant activity in the "fight or flight" amygdala part of their brains upon encountering an unexpected person or situation, that first reaction is often consciously overridden in a nanosecond by many people in order to overcome built-in biases and respond as their better, undiscriminating selves. This ability to overcome embedded biases is particularly important when we consider that, "although many white Americans consider themselves unbiased, when unconscious stereotypes are measured, some 90% implicitly link blacks with negative traits (evil, failure)" (Begley 2004, p. 1).

Changing Attitudes

Do we have the ability to change our attitudes and behaviors? Gladwell explains the two levels of consciousness in a manner that gives us hope. He says that in many situations, we are able to direct our behavior using our conscious attitudes -- what we choose to believe or our stated values -- rather than our "racial attitude on an unconscious level -- the immediate, automatic

associations that tumble out before we've even had time to think" (2005, p. 84). He continues, "We don't deliberately choose our unconscious attitudes. . . we may not even be aware of them" (p. 85). Because our unconscious attitudes may be completely incompatible with our stated values, we must know just what those unconscious attitudes are, for they are, as Gladwell states, a powerful predictor of how we may act in some spontaneous situations.

Gladwell describes the type of circumstances where blacks and whites will both engage and disengage around climate and personal relation issues:

If you have a strongly pro-white pattern of associations. . . there is evidence that that will affect the way you behave in the presence of a black person. . . . In all likelihood, you won't be aware that you are behaving any differently than you would around a white person. But chances are you'll lean forward a little less, turn away slightly from him or her, close your body a bit, be a bit less expressive, maintain less eye contact, stand a little farther away, smile a lot less, hesitate and stumble over your words a bit more, laugh at jokes a bit less. Does that matter? Of course it does. (pp. 85-86)

Gladwell goes on to describe the possible repercussions of these unconscious biases at a job interview. The same factors may affect behaviors in parent-teacher conferences or affect student outcomes in classrooms.

Another study describes matching whites with blacks for the completion of a task (Dovidio and Gaertner 2005). Whites were first divided into two groups: those who expressed egalitarian views and those who expressed their biases openly. These individuals were then observed to see if their actions, such as those described by Gladwell, showed unconscious biases. Each white person then engaged in a problem-solving task with a black person. The time it took to complete the joint task was recorded (see Table 1).

Two important points bear emphasis here. First, the African-American individuals, either consciously or unconsciously, were aware of the behavior that showed bias. In this study, "blacks' impressions of whites were related mainly to whites' unconscious attitudes. . . the uncomfortable and discriminatory behavior associated with aversive racism is very obvious to blacks, even while whites either don't recognize it or consider it hidden" (Dovidio and Gaertner 2005, pp. 3-4). I know that as an African American, when I enter a room of white people, I pick up subtle clues, either consciously or unconsciously, as to who is a good, open contact for me versus someone who may have difficulty engaging with me easily based on my race.

Second, white individuals who said they were unbiased, yet showed nonverbal biased behavior, reported their impressions of their behavior related to their publicly expressed attitudes and were likely to maintain their stated level of biases when questioned. Therefore, they are likely to blame the victim, the black individual, for their slowness in completing the task (and incidentally, possibly reinforce their stereotypes). Sleeter contends, "We cling to filters that screen out what people of color try to tell us because we fear losing material and psychological advantages that we enjoy" (1994, p. 6).

It is important to note that the well-intentioned are still racist:

Because aversive racists may not be aware of their unconscious negative attitudes and only discriminate against blacks when they can justify their behavior on the basis of some factor other than race, they will commonly deny any intentional wrongdoing when confronted with evidence of their biases. Indeed, they do not discriminate intentionally. (Dovidio and Gaertner 2005, p. 5)

For example, if white individuals who are self-deceived about their own biases were sitting in a position to influence a promotion decision, they might not support the advancement of a "difficult" black individual and would select another factor as a reason for their action, rather than see or acknowledge their own conflicted perceptions.

This study on task completion strongly suggests that we are far better off to acknowledge our possible biases and to try to work together openly with that knowledge. If we mask our true attitudes, sometimes invisible to our own selves, we will continue to work slowly or unproductively. Consider the white individuals whose conflict over their true or hidden selves and their outward statements made a simple task both time-consuming and psychologically difficult for both the black individuals and themselves (Dovidio and Gaertner 2005).

Unintentional racism is not always determined by whether an individual possesses prejudiced beliefs or attitudes, and it can take many different forms. These forms include the unconscious gestures mentioned before or "the dominant norms and standards."

Because many people believe these norms and standards are culturally neutral and universally right, true, and good, they do not understand how these norms and standards oppress others. They are not even aware of this possibility -- and, in this sense, such racism is unintentional. (Applebaum 1997, p. 409)

Hard Work of Honesty

Unpacking our levels of consciousness and intent requires hard work. First, there needs to be unswerving, unnerving, scrupulous honesty. Individuals need to become less focused on feeling very tolerant and good about themselves and more focused on examining their own biases. One must realize and accept that the foundation and continuation of a bias may have, at its root, personal and group gain.

I recall sharing with my graduate and undergraduate students that true equity will be reached when 40% of all service people. . . meaning hotel housekeepers, groundskeepers, etc., are white men. The loss from 80% of the managerial jobs in this country to 40%, their proportion of the population, would be an actual loss in the number of jobs currently allotted to them based on race and gender. That is, they would not have the jobs they may perceive as expected and modeled as their right in the workplace. Can we all embrace such a future? Delpit maintains, "Liberal educators believe themselves to be operating with good intentions, but these good intentions are only conscious delusions about their unconscious true motives" (Delpit 1988, p. 285). I am not quite that cynical. I believe in change, slow as it may be.

Finally, Teaching Tolerance, a group dedicated to reducing prejudice, improving intergroup relations, and supporting equitable school experiences for our nation's children, says, "We would like to believe that when a person has a conscious commitment to change, the very act of discovering one's hidden biases can propel one to act to correct for it. It may not be possible to

avoid the automatic stereotype or prejudice, but it is certainly possible to consciously rectify it" (2001, p. 4). Otherwise, we are all at the mercy of a blink of the eye.

Uncovering Biases

Because people are more likely to act out of unconscious or hidden bias, knowing that you have a bias for or against a group may cause you to compensate and more carefully consider your possible responses or actions. Acknowledging biases often opens doors for learning and allows people to consciously work for harmony in classrooms and communities (Polite and Saenger 2003). How do we find a key to unlock this door to the mind? The Implicit Association Test (IAT) has helped millions of people -- those who accept the often startling results -- reveal their unconscious biases to themselves (https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/).

Anthony Greenwald and Mahzarin Banaji developed the test in the mid-1990s because "it is well known that people don't always 'speak their minds,' and it is suspected that people don't always 'know their minds' " (Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz 1998). The IAT "presents a method that convincingly demonstrates the divergences of our conscious thoughts and our unconscious biases," according to the Harvard web site on Project Implicit.

Strangely enough, the first evidence of this unconscious bias came from insects and flowers. Greenwald made a list of 25 insect names and 25 flower names and found that it was far easier to place the flowers in groups with pleasant words and insects in groups with unpleasant words than the reverse. It was just difficult to "hold a mental association of insects with words such as 'dream,' 'candy,' and 'heaven,' and flowers with words such as 'evil,' 'poison' and 'devil'" (Vedantam 2005, p. 3).

Greenwald then took the next step and used stereotypically white-sounding names, such as Adam and Emily, and black-sounding names, such as Jamal and Lakisha, and grouped them with pleasant and unpleasant words. According to Vedantam, Greenwald himself was surprised: "I had as much trouble pairing African-American names with pleasant words as I did insect names with pleasant words" (Vedantam 2005, p. 3). His collaborator, Banaji, was even more self-reflective, " 'I was deeply embarrassed,' she recalls. 'I was humbled in a way that few experiences in my life have humbled me' " (p. 3).

This unconscious pairing has direct real-world consequences. Unconscious bias allows people who consciously said they wanted qualified minority employees to then unconsciously rate résumés with black-sounding names as less qualified. With other factors held constant, white-sounding names at the top of résumés triggered 50% more callbacks than African-American names. Human resources managers were stunned by the results. Explicit bias can occur not only without the intent to discriminate, but despite explicit desires to recruit minorities (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004).

In *See No Bias*, Vedantam (2005) shares the disappointment and surprise that two recent test takers experienced when they found that their results on the Implicit Association Test did not mesh with their perceived views of themselves. To the dismay of these individuals, the test results were also in conflict with their life and career goals. Vedantam describes in detail a woman, an activist, taking a recent version of the test:

The woman brought up a test on her computer from a Harvard University web site. It was really very simple: All it asked her to do was distinguish between a series of black and white faces. When she saw a black face, she was to hit a key on the left; when she saw a white face, she was to hit a key on the right. Next, she was asked to distinguish between a series of positive and negative words. Words such as "glorious" and "wonderful" required a left key, words such as "nasty" and "awful" required a right key. The test remained simple when two categories were combined: The activist hit the left key if she saw either a white face or a positive word, and hit the right key if she saw either a black face or a negative word.

Then the groupings were reversed. The woman's index fingers hovered over her keyboard. The test now required her to group black faces with positive words, and white faces with negative words. She leaned forward intently. She made no mistakes, but it took her longer to correctly sort the words and images.

Her result appeared on the screen, and the activist became very silent. The test found she had a bias for whites over blacks.

"It surprises me I have any preferences at all," she said. "By the work I do, by my education, my background. I'm progressive, and I think I have no bias. Being a minority myself, I don't feel I should or would have biases."

"I'm surprised," the woman said. She bit her lip. "And disappointed." (p. 2)

Such reactions should not really be a surprise according to the writings of many white anti-racist activists, including Tim Wise, who acknowledge residual racism still inside them. Wise notes how unconscious bias relegates the role of whiteness or race "to a nonfactor in the minds of whites" (2005, p. 18). When the role of whiteness or race becomes clear to a person, such as the activist described above, surprise and disappointment are likely results.

The IAT may be taken on this site -- www.tolerance.org/hidden_bias/tutorials/04.html

WHEN RACE BECOMES AN ISSUE

Dovidio and Gaertner offer some suggestions for action:
• When a person of color brings up race as an issue -- listen deeply!
• If the person indicates that he or she is offended, don't be defensive.
• Do not begin talking quickly.
• Do not explain why they are misinterpreting the situation.
• Do not begin crying. (These are some of the most infuriating responses people of color encounter when they challenge a situation that feels wrong.)
• If you hear about something third-hand, don't get angry. Remember that it is almost never completely safe for a person of color to challenge a dominant perception.

Source: Dovidio, Jack F., and Sam L. Gaertner. "Color Blind or Just Plain Blind." *Nonprofit Quarterly* (Winter 2005): 5.

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Jean Moule is an associate professor at Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon, and president of the Oregon Chapter of the National Association for Multicultural Education. She is co-author of the book, *Cultural Competence: A Primer for Educators* (Wadsworth, 2004), and writes the "Ask Nana" column for *Skipping Stones*, a multicultural magazine for children.

But That's Just Good Teaching! The Case for Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

OR THE PAST 6 YEARS I have been engaged in research with excellent teachers of African American students (see, for example, Ladson-Billings, 1990, 1992b, 1992c, 1994). Given the dismal academic performance of many African American students (The College Board, 1985), I am not surprised that various administrators, teachers, and teacher educators have asked me to share and discuss my findings so that they might incorporate them in their work. One usual response to what I share is the comment around which I have based this article, "But, that's just good teaching!" Instead of some "magic bullet" or intricate formula and steps for instruction, some members of my audience are shocked to hear what seems to them like some rather routine teaching strategies that are a part of good teaching. My response is to affirm that, indeed, I am describing good teaching, and to question why so little of it seems to be occurring in the classrooms populated by African American students.

The pedagogical excellence I have studied is good teaching, but it is much more than that. This article is an attempt to describe a pedagogy I have come to identify as "culturally relevant" (Ladson-Billings, 1992a) and to argue for its centrality in the academic success of African American and other children who have not been well served by our nation's public schools. First, I provide some background in-

Gloria Ladson-Billings is associate professor of education at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

formation about other attempts to look at linkages between school and culture. Next, I discuss the theoretical grounding of culturally relevant teaching in the context of a 3-year study of successful teachers of African American students. I conclude this discussion with further examples of this pedagogy in action.

Linking Schooling and Culture

Native American educator Cornel Pewewardy (1993) asserts that one of the reasons Indian children experience difficulty in schools is that educators traditionally have attempted to insert culture into the education, instead of inserting education into the culture. This notion is, in all probability, true for many students who are not a part of the White, middle-class mainstream. For almost 15 years, anthropologists have looked at ways to develop a closer fit between students' home culture and the school. This work has had a variety of labels including "culturally appropriate" (Au & Jordan, 1981), "culturally congruent" (Mohatt & Erickson, 1981), "culturally responsive" (Cazden & Leggett, 1981; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982), and "culturally compatible" (Jordan, 1985; Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1987). It has attempted to locate the problem of discontinuity between what students experience at home and what they experience at school in the speech and language interactions of teachers and students. These sociolinguists have suggested that if students' home language is incorporated into the classroom, students are more likely to experience academic success.

Villegas (1988), however, has argued that these micro-ethnographic studies fail to deal adequately with the macro social context in which student failure takes place. A concern I have voiced about studies situated in speech and language interactions is that, in general, few have considered the needs of African American students.[1]

Irvine (1990) dealt with the lack of what she termed "cultural synchronization" between teachers and African American students. Her analysis included the micro-level classroom interactions, the "mid-level" institutional context (i.e., school practices and policies such as tracking and disciplinary practices), and the macro-level societal context. More recently Perry's (1993) analysis has included the historical context of the African American's educational struggle. All of this work—micro through macro level—has contributed to my conception of culturally relevant pedagogy.

What is Culturally Relevant Pedagogy?

In the current attempts to improve pedagogy, several scholars have advanced well-conceived conceptions of pedagogy. Notable among these scholars are Shulman (1987), whose work conceptualizes pedagogy as consisting of subject matter knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and pedagogical content knowledge, and Berliner (1988), who doubts the ability of expert pedagogues to relate their expertise to novice practitioners. More recently, Bartolome (1994) has decried the search for the "right" teaching strategies and argued for a "humanizing pedagogy that respects and uses the reality, history, and perspectives of students as an integral part of educational practice" (p. 173).

I have defined culturally relevant teaching as a pedagogy of opposition (1992c) not unlike critical pedagogy but specifically committed to collective, not merely individual, empowerment. Culturally relevant pedagogy rests on three criteria or propositions: (a) Students must experience academic success; (b) students must develop and/or maintain cultural competence; and (c) students must develop a critical consciousness through which they challenge the status quo of the current social order.

Academic success

Despite the current social inequities and hostile classroom environments, students must develop their academic skills. The way those skills are developed may vary, but all students need literacy, numeracy, technological, social, and political skills in order to be active participants in a democracy. During the 1960s when African Americans were fighting for civil rights, one of the primary battlefronts was the classroom (Morris, 1984). Despite the federal government's failed attempts at adult literacy in the South, civil rights workers such as Septima Clark and Esau Jenkins (Brown, 1990) were able to teach successfully those same adults by ensuring that the students learned that which was most meaningful to them. This approach is similar to that advocated by noted critical pedagogue Paulo Freire (1970).

While much has been written about the need to improve the self-esteem of African American students (see for example, Banks & Grambs, 1972; Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Crooks, 1970), at base students must demonstrate academic competence. This was a clear message given by the eight teachers who participated in my study.[2] All of the teachers demanded, reinforced, and produced academic excellence in their students. Thus, culturally relevant teaching requires that teachers attend to students' academic needs, not merely make them "feel good." The trick of culturally relevant teaching is to get students to "choose" academic excellence.

In one of the classrooms I studied, the teacher, Ann Lewis,[3] focused a great deal of positive attention on the African American boys (who were the numerical majority in her class). Lewis, a White woman, recognized that the African American boys possessed social power. Rather than allow that power to influence their peers in negative ways, Lewis challenged the boys to demonstrate academic power by drawing on issues and ideas they found meaningful. As the boys began to take on academic leadership, other students saw this as a positive trait and developed similar behaviors. Instead of entering into an antagonistic relationship with the boys, Lewis found ways to value their skills and abilities and channel them in academically important ways.

Cultural competence

Culturally relevant teaching requires that students maintain some cultural integrity as well as academic excellence. In their widely cited article, Fordham and Ogbu (1986) point to a phenomenon called "acting White," where African American

students fear being ostracized by their peers for demonstrating interest in and succeeding in academic and other school related tasks. Other scholars (Hollins, 1994; King, 1994) have provided alternate explanations of this behavior.[4] They suggest that for too many African American students, the school remains an alien and hostile place. This hostility is manifest in the "styling" and "posturing" (Majors & Billson, 1992) that the school rejects. Thus, the African American student wearing a hat in class or baggy pants may be sanctioned for clothing choices rather than specific behaviors. School is perceived as a place where African American students cannot "be themselves."

Culturally relevant teachers utilize students' culture as a vehicle for learning. Patricia Hilliard's love of poetry was shared with her students through their own love of rap music. Hilliard is an African American woman who had taught in a variety of schools, both public and private for about 12 years. She came into teaching after having stayed at home for many years to care for her family. The mother of a teenaged son, Hilliard was familiar with the music that permeates African American youth culture. Instead of railing against the supposed evils of rap music, Hilliard allowed her second grade students to bring in samples of lyrics from what both she and the students determined to be non-offensive rap songs.[5] Students were encouraged to perform the songs and the teacher reproduced them on an overhead so that they could discuss literal and figurative meanings as well as technical aspects of poetry such as rhyme scheme, alliteration, and onomatopoeia.

Thus, while the students were comfortable using their music, the teacher used it as a bridge to school learning. Their understanding of poetry far exceeded what either the state department of education or the local school district required. Hilliard's work is an example of how academic achievement and cultural competence can be merged.

Another way teachers can support cultural competence was demonstrated by Gertrude Winston, a White woman who has taught school for 40 years.[6] Winston worked hard to involve parents in her classroom. She created an "artist or craftsperson-in-residence" program so that the students could both learn from each other's parents and affirm cultural knowledge. Winston developed a rapport with parents and invited them to come into the classroom for 1 or 2 hours at a time for a period of 2-4 days. The parents, in consultation with Winston, demonstrated skills upon which Winston later built.

For example, a parent who was known in the community for her delicious sweet potato pies did a 2-day residency in Winston's fifth grade classroom. On the first day, she taught a group of students' how to make the pie crust. Winston provided supplies for the pie baking and the students tried their hands at making the crusts. They placed them in the refrigerator overnight and made the filling the following day. The finished pies were served to the entire class.

The students who participated in the "seminar" were required to conduct additional research on various aspects of what they learned. Students from the pie baking seminar did reports on George Washington Carver and his sweet potato research, conducted taste tests, devised a marketing plan for selling pies, and researched the culinary arts to find out what kind of preparation they needed to become cooks and chefs. Everyone in Winston's class was required to write a detailed thank you note to the artist/craftsperson.

Other residencies were done by a carpenter, a former professional basketball player, a licensed practical nurse, and a church musician. All of Winston's guests were parents or relatives of her students. She did not "import" role models with whom the students did not have firsthand experience. She was deliberate in reinforcing that the parents were a knowledgeable and capable resource. Her students came to understand the constructed nature of things such as "art," "excellence," and "knowledge." They also learned that what they had and where they came from was of value.

A third example of maintaining cultural competence was demonstrated by Ann Lewis, a White woman whom I have described as "culturally Black" (Ladson-Billings, 1992b; 1992c). In her sixth grade classroom, Lewis encouraged the students to use their home language while they acquired the secondary discourse (Gee, 1989) of "standard" English. Thus, her students were permitted to express themselves in language (in speaking and writing) with which they were knowledgeable and comfortable. They were then required to "translate" to the standard form. By the end of the year, the students were not only facile at this "code-switching" (Smitherman, 1981) but could better use both languages.

Critical consciousness

Culturally relevant teaching does not imply that it is enough for students to chose academic excellence and remain culturally grounded if those skills and abilities represent only an individual achievement. Beyond those individual characteristics of academic achievement and cultural competence, students must develop a broader sociopolitical consciousness that allows them to critique the cultural norms, values, mores, and institutions that produce and maintain social inequities. If school is about preparing students for active citizenship, what better citizenship tool than the ability to critically analyze the society?

Freire brought forth the notion of "conscientization," which is "a process that invites learners to engage the world and others critically" (McLaren, 1989, p. 195). However, Freire's work in Brazil was not radically different from work that was being done in the southern United States (Chilcoat & Ligon, 1994) to educate and empower African Americans who were disenfranchised.

In the classrooms of culturally relevant teachers, students are expected to "engage the world and others critically." Rather than merely bemoan the fact that their textbooks were out of date, several of the teachers in the study, in conjunction with their students, critiqued the knowledge represented in the textbooks, and the system of inequitable funding that allowed middle-class students to have newer texts. They wrote letters to the editor of the local newspaper to inform the community of the situation. The teachers also brought in articles and papers that represented counter knowledge to help the students develop multiple perspectives on a variety of social and historical phenomena.

Another example of this kind of teaching was reported in a Dallas newspaper (Robinson, 1993). A group of African American middle school students were involved in what they termed "community problem solving" (see Tate, this issue). The kind of social action curriculum in which the students participated is similar to that advocated by scholars who argue that students need to be "centered" (Asante, 1991; Tate, 1994) or the *subjects* rather than the objects of study.

Culturally Relevant Teaching in Action

As previously mentioned, this article and its theoretical undergirding come from a 3-year study of successful teachers of African American students.

The teachers who participated in the study were initially selected by African American parents who believed them to be exceptional. Some of the parents' reasons for selecting the teachers were the enthusiasm their children showed in school and learning while in their classrooms, the consistent level of respect they received from the teachers, and their perception that the teachers understood the need for the students to operate in the dual worlds of their home community and the White community.

In addition to the parents' recommendations, I solicited principals' recommendations. Principals' reasons for recommending teachers were the low number of discipline referrals, the high attendance rates, and standardized test scores.[8] Teachers whose names appeared as both parents' and principals' recommendations were asked to participate in the study. Of the nine teachers' names who appeared on both lists, eight were willing to participate. Their participation required an in-depth ethnographic interview (Spradley, 1979), unannounced classroom visitations, videotaping of their teaching, and participation in a research collective with the other teachers in the study. This study was funded for 2 years. In a third year I did a follow-up study of two of the teachers to investigate their literacy teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1992b; 1992c).

Initially, as I observed the teachers I could not see patterns or similarities in their teaching. Some seemed very structured and regimented, using daily routines and activities. Others seemed more open or unstructured. Learning seemed to emerge from student initiation and suggestions. Still others seemed eclectic—very structured for certain activities and unstructured for others. It seemed to be a researcher's nightmare—no common threads to pull their practice together in order to relate it to others. The thought of their pedagogy as merely idiosyncratic, a product of their personalities and individual perspectives, left me both frustrated and dismayed. However, when I was able to go back over their interviews and later when we met together as a group to discuss their practice, I could see that in order to understand their practice it was necessary to go beyond the surface features of teaching "strategies" (Bartolome, 1994). The philosophical and ideological underpinnings of their practice, i.e. how they thought about themselves as teachers and how they thought about others (their students, the students' parents, and other

community members), how they structured social relations within and outside of the classroom, and how they conceived of knowledge, revealed their similarities and points of congruence.[9]

All of the teachers identified strongly with teaching. They were not ashamed or embarrassed about their professions. Each had chosen to teach and, more importantly, had chosen to teach in this low-income, largely African American school district. The teachers saw themselves as a part of the community and teaching as a way to give back to the community. They encouraged their students to do the same. They believed their work was artistry, not a technical task that could be accomplished in a recipe-like fashion. Fundamental to their beliefs about teaching was that all of the students could and must succeed. Consequently, they saw their responsibility as working to guarantee the success of each student. The students who seemed furthest behind received plenty of individual attention and encouragement.

The teachers kept the relations between themselves and their students fluid and equitable. They encouraged the students to act as teachers, and they, themselves, often functioned as learners in the classroom. These fluid relationships extended beyond the classroom and into the community. Thus, it was common for the teachers to be seen attending community functions (e.g., churches, students' sports events) and using community services (e.g., beauty parlors, stores). The teachers attempted to create a bond with all of the students, rather than an idiosyncratic, individualistic connection that might foster an unhealthy competitiveness. This bond was nurtured by the teachers' insistence on creating a community of learners as a priority. They encouraged the students to learn collaboratively, teach each other, and be responsible for each other's learning.

As teachers in the same district, the teachers in this study were responsible for meeting the same state and local curriculum guidelines.[10] However, the way they met and challenged those guidelines helped to define them as culturally relevant teachers. For these teachers, knowledge is continuously recreated, recycled, and shared by the teachers and the students. Thus, they were not dependent on state curriculum frameworks or textbooks to decide what and how to teach.

For example, if the state curriculum framework called for teaching about the "age of exploration,"

they used this as an opportunity to examine conventional interpretations and introduce alternate ones. The content of the curriculum was always open to critical analysis.

The teachers exhibited a passion about what they were teaching—showing enthusiasm and vitality about what was being taught and learned. When students came to them with skill deficiencies, the teachers worked to help the students build bridges or scaffolding so that they could be proficient in the more challenging work they experienced in these classrooms.

For example, in Margaret Rossi's sixth grade class, all of the students were expected to learn algebra. For those who did not know basic number facts, Rossi provided calculators. She believed that by using particular skills in context (e.g., multiplication and division in the context of solving equations), the students would become more proficient at those skills while acquiring new learning.

Implications for Further Study

I believe this work has implications for both the research and practice communities. For researchers, I suggest that this kind of study must be replicated again and again. We need to know much more about the practice of successful teachers for African American and other students who have been poorly served by our schools. We need to have an opportunity to explore alternate research paradigms that include the voices of parents and communities in non-exploitative ways.[11]

For practitioners, this research reinforces the fact that the place to find out about classroom practices is the naturalistic setting of the classroom and from the lived experiences of teachers. Teachers need not shy away from conducting their own research about their practice (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1991). Their unique perspectives and personal investment in good practice must not be overlooked. For both groups—researchers and practitioners alike—this work is designed to challenge us to reconsider what we mean by "good" teaching, to look for it in some unlikely places, and to challenge those who suggest it cannot be made available to all children.

Notes

1. Some notable exceptions to this failure to consider achievement strategies for African American students are

Ways With Words (Heath, 1983); "Fostering Early Literacy Through Parent Coaching" (Edwards, 1991); and "Achieving Equal Educational Outcomes for Black Children" (Hale-Benson, 1990).

2. I have written extensively about this study, its methodology, findings, and results elsewhere. For a full discussion of the study, see Ladson-Billings (1994).

3. All study participants' names are pseudonyms.

4. At the 1994 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, King and Hollins presented a symposium entitled, "The Burden of Acting White Revisited."

5. The teacher acknowledged the racism, misogyny, and explicit sexuality that is a part of the lyrics of some rap songs. Thus, the students were directed to use only those songs they felt they could "sing to their parents."

6. Winston retired after the first year of the study but continued to participate in the research collaborative throughout the study.

7. Because the residency is more than a demonstration and requires students to work intensely with the artist or craftsperson, students must sign up for a particular artist. The typical group size was 5-6 students.

8. Standardized test scores throughout this district were very low. However, the teachers in the study distinguished themselves because students in their classrooms consistently produced higher test scores than their grade level colleagues.

9. As I describe the teachers I do not mean to suggest that they had no individual personalities or practices. However, what I was looking for in this study were ways to describe the commonalties of their practice. Thus, while this discussion of culturally relevant teaching may appear to infer an essentialized notion of teaching practice, none is intended. Speaking in this categorical manner is a heuristic for research purposes.

10. The eight teachers were spread across four schools in the district and were subjected to the specific administrative styles of four different principals.

11. Two sessions at the 1994 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association in New Orleans entitled, "Private Lives in Public Conversations: Ethics of Research Across Communities of Color," dealt with concerns for the ethical standards of research in non-White communities.

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WHY DO WE NEED TO ADDRESS DIVERSITY?

As more and more students from diverse backgrounds populate 21st century classrooms, and efforts mount to identify effective methods to teach these students, the need for pedagogical approaches that are culturally responsive intensifies. Today's classrooms require teachers to educate students varying in culture, language, abilities, and many other characteristics (Gollnick & Chinn, 2002). To meet this challenge, teachers must employ not only theoretically sound but also culturally responsive pedagogy. Teachers must create a classroom culture where all students regardless of their cultural and linguistic background are welcomed and supported, and provided with the best opportunity to learn.

For many students, the kinds of behaviors required in school (e.g., sitting in one's seat and only speaking when called on) and types of discourse (e.g., "Class, what is the title of this book?") contrast with home cultural and linguistic practices. To increase student success, it is imperative that teachers help students bridge this discontinuity between home and school (Allen & Boykin, 1992). Moreover, a culturally responsive instructional environment minimizes the students' alienation as they attempt to adjust to the different "world" of school (Heath, 1983; Ladson-Billings,1994). This brief defines culturally responsive pedagogy and explains how it might be used effectively to address the instructional needs of a diverse student population.

WHAT IS CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE PEDAGOGY?

Culturally responsive pedagogy facilitates and supports the achievement of all students. In a culturally responsive classroom, effective teaching and learning occur in a culturally supported, learner-centered context, whereby the strengths students bring to school are identified, nurtured, and utilized to promote student achievement. Culturally responsive pedagogy comprises three dimensions: (a) institutional, (b) personal, and (c) instructional. The institutional dimension reflects the administration and its policies and values. The personal dimension refers to the cognitive and emotional processes teachers must engage in to become culturally responsive. The instructional dimension includes materials, strategies, and activities that form the basis of instruction. All three dimensions significantly interact in the teaching and learning process and are critical to understanding the effectiveness of culturally responsive pedagogy. While all three dimensions are important, because of space limitations only a few points will be made about the institutional dimension. This brief focuses on

the two most relevant for teachers' work: the personal and instructional dimensions.

THE INSTITUTIONAL DIMENSION: WHAT MUST THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM DO?

The educational system is the institution that provides the physical and political structure for schools. To make the institution more culturally responsive, reforms must occur in at least three specific areas (Little, 1999):

1 Organization of the school—This includes the administrative structure and the way it relates to diversity, and the use of physical space in planning schools and arranging classrooms.

2 School policies and procedures—This refers to those policies and practices that impact on the delivery of services to students from diverse backgrounds.

3 Community involvement—This is concerned with the institutional approach to community involvement in which families and communities are expected to find ways to become involved in the school, rather than the school seeking connections with families and communities.

Although all three areas in the institution must become more culturally responsive, a particular concern is the impact of school policies and procedures on the allocation of resources. As Sonia Nieto (1999, 2002/2003) noted, we must ask the difficult questions: Where are the best teachers

assigned? Which students get to take advanced courses? Where and for what purposes are resources allocated? We must critically examine the educational system's relationship to its diverse constituents. Not only must changes occur institutionally, but personally and instructionally as well. The remainder of this brief addresses necessary transformations in the personal and instructional dimensions.

THE PERSONAL DIMENSION: HOW DO TEACHERS BECOME CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE?

Teacher self-reflection is an important part of the personal dimension. By honestly examining their attitudes and beliefs about themselves and others, teachers begin to discover why they are who they are, and can confront biases that have influenced their value system (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Because teachers' values impact relationships with students and their families, teachers must reconcile negative feelings towards any cultural, language, or ethnic group. Often teachers are resistant to the notion that their values might reflect prejudices or even racism towards certain groups. When teachers are able to rid themselves of such biases, they help to create an atmosphere of trust and acceptance for students and their families, resulting in greater opportunity for student success.

Another important aspect of the personal dimension is exploration. It is crucial that teachers explore their personal histories and experiences, as well as the history and current experiences of their

students and families. With knowledge comes understanding of self and others, and greater appreciation of differences. When teachers are unbiased in their instruction and knowledgeable about themselves and their students, they can better respond to the needs of all their students.

SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES FOR BECOMING A CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE TEACHER
(GAY, 2002; VILLEGAS & LUCAS, 2002)

1 *ENGAGE IN REFLECTIVE THINKING AND WRITING* Teachers must reflect on their actions and interactions as they try to discern the personal motivations that govern their behaviors. Understanding the factors that contribute to certain behaviors (e.g., racism, ethnocentrism) is the first step toward changing these behaviors. This process is facilitated by autobiographical and reflective writing, usually in a journal.

2 *EXPLORE PERSONAL AND FAMILY HISTORIES* Teachers need to explore their early experiences and familial events that have contributed to their understanding of themselves as racial or nonracial beings. As part of this process, teachers can conduct informal interviews of family members (e.g., parents, grandparents) about their beliefs and experiences regarding different groups in society. The information shared can enlighten teachers about the roots of their own views. When teachers come to terms with the

historical shaping of their values, teachers can better relate to other individuals.

3 *ACKNOWLEDGE MEMBERSHIP IN DIFFERENT GROUPS* Teachers must recognize and acknowledge their affiliation with various groups in society, and the advantages and disadvantages of belonging to each group. For example, for white female teachers, membership in the white middle-class group affords certain privileges in society; at the same time being a female presents many challenges in a male-dominated world. Moreover, teachers need to assess how belonging to one group influences how one relates to and views other groups.

4 *LEARN ABOUT THE HISTORY AND EXPERIENCES OF DIVERSE GROUPS* It is important that teachers learn about the lives and experiences of other groups in order to understand how different historical experiences have shaped attitudes and perspectives of various groups. Further, by learning about other groups, teachers begin to see differences between their own values and those of other groups. To learn about the histories of diverse groups, particularly from their perspectives, teachers can read literature written by those particular groups as well as personally interact with members of those groups.

5 *VISIT STUDENTS' FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES* It is important that teachers get to know their students' families and communities by actually going into the students' home environments. This allows teachers to relate to their students as more than just "bodies"

in the classroom but also as social and cultural beings connected to a complex social and cultural network. Moreover, by becoming familiar with students' home lives, teachers gain insight into the influences on the students' attitudes and behaviors. Additionally, teachers can use the families and communities as resources (e.g., classroom helpers or speakers) that will contribute to the educational growth of the students.

6 *VISIT OR READ ABOUT SUCCESSFUL TEACHERS IN DIVERSE SETTINGS*
Teachers need to learn about successful approaches to educating children from diverse backgrounds. By actually visiting classrooms of successful teachers of children from diverse backgrounds and/or reading authentic accounts of such success, teachers can gain exemplary models for developing their own skills.

7 *DEVELOP AN APPRECIATION OF DIVERSITY* To be effective in a diverse classroom, teachers must have an appreciation of diversity. They must view difference as the "norm" in society and reject notions that any one group is more competent than another. This entails developing respect for differences, and the willingness to teach from this perspective. Moreover, there must be an acknowledgment that the teachers' views of the world are not the only views.

8 *PARTICIPATE IN REFORMING THE INSTITUTION* The educational system has historically fostered the achievement of one segment of the school population by establishing culturally biased standards and values. The monocultural values of schools have promoted biases in curriculum development and instructional practices that have been detrimental to the achievement of students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Teachers need to participate in reforming the educational system so that it becomes inclusive. As the direct link between the institution and the students, teachers are in a pivotal position to facilitate change. By continuing a traditional "conform-or-fail" approach to instruction, teachers perpetuate a monocultural institution. By questioning traditional policies and practices, and by becoming culturally responsive in instruction, teachers work toward changing the institution.

THE INSTRUCTIONAL DIMENSION: HOW DOES INSTRUCTION BECOME CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE?

When the tools of instruction (i.e., books, teaching methods, and activities) are incompatible with, or worse marginalize, the students' cultural experiences, a disconnect with school is likely (Irvine, 1992). For some students this rejection of school may take the form of simply underachieving; for others, rejection could range from not performing at all to dropping out of school completely. Culturally responsive pedagogy recognizes and utilizes the students' culture and language in instruction, and ultimately respects the students' personal and community identities.

SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES FOR CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE INSTRUCTION

(BANKS & BANKS, 2004; GAY, 2000; LADSON-BILLINGS, 1994; NIETO, 1999)

1   *ACKNOWLEDGE STUDENTS' DIFFERENCES AS WELL AS THEIR COMMONALITIES*   While it is important for teachers to note the shared values and practices of their students, it is equally incumbent that teachers recognize the individual differences of students. Certainly, culture and language may contribute to behaviors and attitudes exhibited by students. For example, some cultures forbid children to engage in direct eye contact with adults; thus, when these children refuse to look at the teacher, they are not being defiant but practicing their culture. However, for teachers to ascribe particular characteristics to a student solely because of his/her ethnic or racial group demonstrates just as much prejudice as expecting all students to conform to mainstream cultural practices. Moreover, because each student is unique, learning needs will be different. Recognizing these distinctions enhances the ability of the teacher to address the individual needs of the students. The key is to respond to each student based on his/her identified strengths and weaknesses, and not on preconceived notions about the student's group affiliation.

2   *VALIDATE STUDENTS' CULTURAL IDENTITY IN CLASSROOM PRACTICES AND INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS*   Teachers should, to the extent possible, use textbooks, design bulletin boards, and implement classroom activities culturally supportive of their students. When the school-assigned textbooks and other instructional materials perpetuate stereotypes (e.g., African Americans portrayed as athletes) or fail to adequately represent diverse groups (e.g., books containing no images or perspectives of Native Americans, Latinos(as), and other non-Anglo Saxons), teachers must supplement instruction with resources rich in diversity and sensitive in portrayal of individuals from different backgrounds. By utilizing images and practices familiar to students, teachers can capitalize on the strengths students bring to school. The more students experience familiar practices in instruction and are allowed to think differently, the greater the feeling of inclusion and the higher the probability of success. For example, in some communities, members work together in a supportive manner to accomplish many tasks in their daily lives. Reflecting these home practices in instructional approach, such as the use of cooperative learning (Putnam, 1998), increases the likelihood of success for these students.

3   *EDUCATE STUDENTS ABOUT THE DIVERSITY OF THE WORLD AROUND THEM*   As the "village" in which students live becomes more global, they are challenged to interact with people from various backgrounds. When students are ignorant about the differences of other groups, there is a greater probability of conflicts. Particularly in the classroom where student diversity is increasing, students need the skills to relate to each other positively, regardless of cultural and linguistic

differences. Teachers need to provide students with learning opportunities (e.g., have students interview individuals from other cultures; link students to email pals from other communities and cultures) so that they might become more culturally knowledgeable and competent when encountering others who are different. Furthermore, students will develop an appreciation for other groups when they learn of the contributions of different peoples to the advancement of the human race. A word of caution, this requires active research and planning by teachers so that cultural stereotypes are not inadvertently reinforced.

4 *PROMOTE EQUITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT AMONG STUDENTS* In a classroom of diverse cultures, languages, and abilities, it is imperative that all students feel fairly treated and respected. When students are subjected to unfair discrimination because of their differences, the results can be feelings of unworthiness, frustration, or anger, often resulting in low achievement. Teachers need to establish and maintain standards of behavior that require respectful treatment of all in the classroom. Teachers can be role models, demonstrating fairness and reminding students that difference is normal. Further, teachers need to monitor what types of behaviors and communication styles are rewarded and praised. Oftentimes these behaviors and ways of communicating are aligned with cultural practices. Care must be taken so as not to penalize a student's behavior just because of a cultural difference.

5 *ASSESS STUDENTS' ABILITY AND ACHIEVEMENT VALIDLY* The assessment of students' abilities and achievement must be as accurate and complete as possible if effective instructional programming is to occur. This can only be accomplished when the assessment instruments and procedures are valid for the population being assessed. In today's schools students possess differences in culture and language that might predispose them to different communication practices and even different test-taking skills. Hence, assessment instruments should be varied and suited to the population being tested. When this does not occur, invalid judgments about students' abilities or achievement are likely to result. Further, tests that are not sensitive to students' cultural and linguistic background will often merely indicate what the students don't know (about the mainstream culture and language) and very little about what they do. Thus, the opportunity to build on what students do know is lost.

6 *FOSTER A POSITIVE INTERRELATIONSHIP AMONG STUDENTS, THEIR FAMILIES, THE COMMUNITY, AND SCHOOL* When students come to school they bring knowledge shaped by their families and community; they return home with new knowledge fostered by the school and its practitioners. Students' performance in school will likely be affected by the ability of the teacher to negotiate this home-community-school relationship effectively. When teachers tap into the resources of the community by inviting parents and other community members

into the classroom as respected partners in the teaching-learning process, this interrelationship is positively reinforced. To further strengthen their bond with the students and their community, teachers might even participate in community events where possible. Moreover, everyone benefits when there is evidence of mutual respect and value for the contributions all can make to educating the whole student.

7 **MOTIVATE STUDENTS TO BECOME ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS IN THEIR LEARNING**   Teachers must encourage students to become active learners who regulate their own learning through reflection and evaluation. Students who are actively engaged in their learning ask questions rather than accept information uncritically. They self-regulate the development of their knowledge by setting goals, evaluating their performance, utilizing feedback, and tailoring their strategies. For example, by examining his or her learning patterns, a student may come to realize that reviewing materials with visual aids enhances retention, or that studying with a partner helps to process the information better. It is important, therefore, that teachers structure a classroom environment conducive to inquiry-based learning, one that allows students to pose questions to themselves, to each other, and to the teacher.

8 **ENCOURAGE STUDENTS TO THINK CRITICALLY**   A major goal of teaching is to help students become independent thinkers so that they might learn to make responsible decisions. Critical thinking requires students to analyze (i.e., examine constituent parts or elements) and synthesize (i.e., collect and summarize) information, and to view situations from multiple perspectives. When teachers provide opportunities for students to engage in this kind of reasoning, students learn how to think "outside the box." More important, these students learn to think for themselves. These students are less likely to accept stereotypes and to formulate opinions based on ignorance. To foster these skills, teachers might devise "what if" scenarios, requiring students to think about specific situations from different viewpoints.

9 **CHALLENGE STUDENTS TO STRIVE FOR EXCELLENCE AS DEFINED BY THEIR POTENTIAL**   All students have the potential to learn, regardless of their cultural or linguistic background, ability or disability. Many students often stop trying because of a history of failure. Others, disenchanted with a low-level or irrelevant curriculum, work just enough to get by. Teachers have a responsibility to continually motivate all students by reminding them that they are capable and by providing them with a challenging and meaningful curriculum. Low teacher expectations will yield low student performance. It is important to engage students in activities that demonstrate how much they can learn when provided with appropriate assistance. As students progress, teachers need to continually "raise the bar," giving students just the right amount of assistance to take them one step higher, thereby helping students to strive for their potential.

10 *ASSIST STUDENTS IN BECOMING SOCIALLY AND POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS* Teachers must prepare students to participate meaningfully and responsibly not only in the classroom but also in society. Meaningful and responsible participation requires everyone to critically examine societal policies and practices, and to work to correct injustices that exist. Students must be taught that if the world is to be a better place where everyone is treated fairly, then they have to work to make it so. This is their responsibility as citizens of their country and inhabitants of the earth. To foster this consciousness, teachers might have students write group or individual letters to politicians and newspaper editors voicing their concerns about specific social issues; or students might participate in food or clothing drives to help people less fortunate.

WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS OF CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE PEDAGOGY?

Teachers have a responsibility to all their students to ensure that all have an equal opportunity to achieve to the best of their ability. If instruction reflects the cultural and linguistic practices and values of only one group of students, then the other students are denied an equal opportunity to learn. Instruction that is culturally responsive addresses the needs of all learners. The educational system plans the curriculum for schools, and teachers as their "institutional agents" transfer the prescribed content to their students. This daily contact with

students provides teachers with a unique opportunity to either further the status quo or make a difference that will impact not only the achievement but also the lives of their students. Indeed, teachers must recognize their "power" and use it wisely in teaching other people's children (Delpit, 1988). Although the curriculum may be dictated by the school system, teachers teach it. Where the curriculum falls short in addressing the needs of all students, teachers must provide a bridge; where the system reflects cultural and linguistic insensitivity, teachers must demonstrate understanding and support. In short, teachers must be culturally responsive, utilizing materials and examples, engaging in practices, and demonstrating values that include rather than exclude students from different backgrounds. By so doing, teachers fulfill their responsibility to all their students.

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ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- New Horizons for Learning, A Culturally Responsive Lesson for African American Students www.newhorizons.org/strategies/multicultural/hanley2.htm
- Teaching Diverse Learners, Culturally Responsive Teaching www.lab.brown.edu/tdl/tl-strategies/crt-research.shtml
- Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, Ways of Knowing: Native Knowledge and Western Science www.nwrel.org/msec/nwteacher/winter2003/resources.html
- McGraw Hill Higher Education, Culturally Responsive Teaching: Lesson Planning for Elementary and Middle Grades www.mhhe.com/catalogs/0072408871.mhtml
- Center for Research on Education, Diversity, and Excellence. www.crede.ucsc.edu/
- Rethinking Schools, www.rethinkingschools.org
- Teaching Tolerance, www.teachingtolerance.org
- Teaching Diverse Learners, www.alliance.brown.edu/tdl/

- Alaska Standards for Culturally Responsive Schools, www.ankn.uaf.edu/standards/standards.html This Web site is an illustration of standards developed by Alaska Native educators to provide a way for schools and communities to examine the extent to which they are attending to the educational and cultural well-being of the students. These "cultural standards" provide guidelines or touchstones against which schools and communities can examine what they are doing to attend to the cultural well-being of the young people they are responsible for nurturing to adulthood.

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303

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