Multicultural Education

ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

Ninth Edition

JAMES A. BANKS | CHERRY A. MCGEE BANKS

WILEY

Multicultural Education

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*by Luanna H. Meyer, Hyun-Sook Park, Jill M. Bevan-Brown,
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Preface

Racial, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity—which has increased in the United States as well as in other nations since the eighth edition of this book was published—presents both opportunities and challenges to educators. The challenges of diversity within recent years were manifested by the persistent conflicts between police officers and communities of color in the United States and by the tragic events in France in January 2015. Seventeen people lost their lives in conflicts that resulted from many complex factors related to cultural and religious diversity as well as to social class—including the depiction of the Prophet Muhammad in a French satirical magazine but also from the alienation and structural exclusion of Muslim youth within French society (Erlanger, 2015). Diversity is also a source of population rejuvenation, innovation, and economic vitality within a nation. Educators in multicultural nation-states in the 21st century need to construct creative and novel ways to actualize the strengths of diversity while working to resolve its challenges.

Diversity continues to increase in the United States. The 2013 American Community Survey reveals that the United States is becoming increasingly non-White because the growth in the population of people of color is outpacing the growth of the non-Hispanic White population. Most of the increase in the population of the United States that occurred between 2009 and 2013 resulted from the increasing Latino population. There were approximately 54 million Latinos living in the United States in 2013, which was approximately 17 percent of U.S. residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). While the population of people of color increased substantially between 2000 and 2013, the non-Hispanic White population decreased from 69 to 63 percent of the nation's population. Ethnic minorities made up more than 92 percent of the growth of the U.S. population between 2009 and 2013. While the population of Latinos and Asians increased significantly between 2000 and 2013, the African American population increased only slightly, from 12.3 to 13.8 percent of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). The U.S. Census Bureau projects that ethnic minorities will increase from 37.6 percent of the nation's population in 2013 to 57 percent in 2060. Ethnic minorities made up 118 million of the total U.S. population of 316 million in 2013 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012, 2014).

Students who speak a language other than English at home are the fastest-growing segment of the U.S. student population, making up approximately 21 percent of the school-age population in 2013 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). A significant percentage of these students have undocumented parents or are themselves undocumented (Peréz, 2011; Yoshikawa, 2011). Yet most of the nation's teachers are White, female, middle-class (or aspiring to the middle class), and monolingual. There is a wide and growing ethnic, cultural, social-class, and linguistic gap between many of the nation's teachers and their students. Teachers are faced with both the challenges and opportunities of dealing with diversity creatively and constructively in their classrooms and schools.

The social-class divide within U.S. society is widening, and the percentage of students who are poor in the nation's schools is increasing (Murray, 2012; Stiglitz, 2012). A report by the Southern Education Foundation (2013) indicates that 51 percent of students in U.S. public schools were eligible for free or reduced-priced lunches in 2013, which means that they lived in low-income families. Consequently, in designing effective instructional programs and interventions, teachers and other educators must also respond effectively to the ways in which race, class, gender, and social class interact to influence student behavior and learning.

Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives, ninth edition, is designed to help current and future educators acquire the concepts, paradigms, and explanations needed to become effective practitioners in culturally, racially, linguistically, and social-class diverse classrooms and schools. An important goal of this book is to help teachers attain a sophisticated understanding of the concept of culture and to view race, class, gender, social class, and exceptionality as interacting concepts rather than as separate and distinct. Consequently, *intersectionality*—or how race, class, gender, and exceptionality are fluid variables that interact in complex ways—is an overarching concept in this book (Caruthers & Carter, 2012; Grant & Zwier, 2012).

Teacher education programs should help teachers attain the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to work effectively with students from diverse groups as well as help students from mainstream groups develop cross-cultural knowledge, values, and competencies. The ninth edition of this book—which can help teachers to attain these goals—has been revised to reflect current and emerging research, theories, and practices related to the education of students from different cultural, racial, ethnic, language, gender, religious, and social-class groups. Exceptionality is part of our concept of diversity because there are exceptional students in each group discussed in this book.

Chapter 16, "Classroom Assessment and Diversity", is new to this ninth edition. All of the chapters from the previous edition have been revised to reflect new research, theories, census data, statistics, interpretations, and developments. Learning Objectives have been added to the beginning of each chapter in this edition. The Multicultural Resources in the Appendix have been substantially revised and updated. The Glossary has been revised to incorporate 2014 statistical data from the United States Census American Community Survey as well as new developments in the field. Two chapters from the eighth edition of this book do not appear in this paper edition but can be found on the online Web site for this book at Wiley.com. They are "Race, Class, Gender, and Disability in the Classroom", by Carl A. Grant and Christine E. Sleeter; and "Recruiting and Retaining Gifted Students from Different Ethnic, Cultural, and Language Groups", by Donna Y. Ford.

This book consists of six parts. The chapters in Part 1 discuss how race, gender, class, and exceptionality interact to influence student behavior. Social class and religion and their effects on education are discussed in Part 2. Part 3 describes how educational opportunity differs for female and male students and how schools can foster gender equity as well as create safe educational environments for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) students. Chapter 7 describes how race and gender are interacting rather than separate and discrete variables. The issues, problems, and opportunities for educating students of color and students with language differences are discussed in Part 4. Chapter 10, which focuses on racism in the "backstage" and "frontstage," describes ways in which racism is manifested in the "backstage" in what some commentators are describing as a postracial period in the United States. Part 5 focuses on exceptionality, describing the issues involved in creating equal educational opportunity for students who have disabilities and for those who are gifted. The final part—Part 6—discusses multicultural education as a process of school reform, ways to increase student academic achievement by working effectively with parents, and classroom assessment and diversity. The Appendix consists of a list of books for further reading and a Glossary that defines many of the key concepts and terms used throughout this book.

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We hope the contributors to this ninth edition as well as the scholars who helped us bring it to fruition in other ways will take pride in it. Reading and editing the chapters for this ninth edition have enriched us.

James A. Banks
Cherry A. McGee Banks

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Issues and Concepts

The two chapters in Part 1 define the major concepts and issues in multicultural education, describe the diverse meanings of culture, and describe the ways in which such variables as race, class, gender, and exceptionality influence student behavior. Various aspects and definitions of culture are discussed. Culture is conceptualized as a dynamic and complex process of construction; its invisible and implicit characteristics are emphasized. The problems that result when culture is essentialized are described.

Multicultural education is an idea, an educational reform movement, and a process whose major goal is to change the structure of educational institutions so that male and female students, exceptional students, and students who are members of diverse racial, ethnic, language, cultural, and religious groups will have an equal opportunity to achieve academically in school. It is necessary to conceptualize the school as a social system in order to implement multicultural education successfully. Each major variable in the school—such as its culture, its power relationships, the curriculum and materials, and the attitudes and beliefs of the staff—must be changed in ways that will allow the school to promote educational equality for students from diverse groups.

To transform the schools, educators must be knowledgeable about the influence of particular groups on student behavior. The chapters in this part of the book describe the nature of culture and groups in the United States as well as the ways in which they interact to influence student behavior.

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Multicultural Education: Characteristics and Goals

James A. Banks

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Name the three major components of multicultural education.

2. List the characteristics of the macroculture and microcultures in the United States.

3. Explain how race, class, and gender interact to influence student behavior.

4. Name and describe the five dimensions of multicultural education.

1.1 The Nature of Multicultural Education

Multicultural education is at least three things: an idea or concept, an educational reform movement, and a process. Multicultural education incorporates the idea that all students—regardless of their gender; sexual orientation; social class; and ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics—should have an equal opportunity to learn in school. Another important idea in multicultural education is that some students, because of these characteristics, have a better chance to learn in schools as they are currently structured than do students who belong to other groups or who have different cultural characteristics.

Some institutional characteristics of schools systematically deny some groups of students equal educational opportunities. For example, in the early grades, girls and boys achieve equally in mathematics and science. However, at advanced levels of mathematics, boys score higher on tests such as the SAT college entrance examination (Boaler & Sengupta-Irving, 2012). Girls are less likely than boys to participate in class discussions and to be encouraged by teachers to participate. Girls are more likely than boys to be silent in the classroom. However, not all school

practices favor males. As Sadker and Zittleman point out in Chapter 5, boys are more likely to be disciplined than girls, even when their behavior does not differ from that of girls. They are also more likely than girls to be classified as learning disabled (Cortiella & Horowitz, 2014). Males of color, especially African American males, experience a highly disproportionate rate of disciplinary actions and suspensions in school. Some scholars, such as Howard (2014), have described the serious problems that African American males experience in school and in the wider society. Women outpace men in graduation rates both from high school and from colleges and universities. The percentage of bachelor's degrees earned by women increased from 24 percent in 1950 to 57 percent in 2013 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2014).

In the early grades, the academic achievement of students of color, such as African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians, is close to parity with the achievement of White mainstream students (Steele, 2003). However, the longer these students of color remain in school, the more their achievement lags behind that of White mainstream students. Social-class status is also strongly related to academic achievement. Weis, in Chapter 3—as well as Knapp and Yoon (2012)—describe the powerful ways in which social class influences students' opportunities to learn.

Exceptional students, whether they are physically or mentally disabled or gifted and talented, often find that they do not experience equal educational opportunities in the schools. The chapters in Part 5 describe the problems that exceptional students experience in schools and suggest ways that teachers and other educators can increase their chances for educational success.

Multicultural education is also a reform movement that is trying to change the schools and other educational institutions so that students from all social-class, gender, racial, language, and cultural groups will have equal opportunities to learn. Multicultural education involves changes in the total school or educational environment; it is not limited to curricular changes (Banks, 2015; Banks & Banks, 2004). The variables in the school environment that multicultural education tries to transform are discussed later in this chapter and illustrated in Figure 1.5. Multicultural education is also a process whose goals will never be fully realized.

Educational equality, such as liberty and justice, is an ideal toward which human beings work but which they never fully attain. Racism, sexism, heterosexism, and ableism (disability discrimination) will exist to some extent no matter how hard we work to eliminate these problems. When prejudice and discrimination are reduced toward one group, they are usually directed toward another group or take new forms. Whenever groups are identified and labeled, *categorization* occurs. When categorization occurs, members of in-groups favor in-group members and discriminate against out-groups (Bigler & Hughes, 2009). This process can occur without groups having a history of conflict, animosity, or competition, and without having physical differences or any other kind of important difference. Social psychologists call this process *social identity theory* or the *minimal group paradigm* (Rothbart & John, 1993). Because the goals of multicultural education can never be fully attained, we should work continuously to increase educational equality for all students. Multicultural education must be viewed as an ongoing process, not as something that we "do" and thereby solve the problems that are the targets of multicultural educational reform.

1.2 The Historical Development of Multicultural Education

Multicultural education grew out of the ferment of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. During this decade, African Americans embarked on a quest for their rights that was unprecedented in the United States. A major goal of this movement was to eliminate discrimination in public accommodations, housing, employment, and education. Its consequences had a significant influence on educational institutions as ethnic groups—first African Americans and then other

groups—demanded that the schools and other educational institutions reform curricula to reflect their experiences, histories, cultures, and perspectives. Ethnic groups also demanded that the schools hire more Black and Brown teachers and administrators so that their children would have more successful role models. Ethnic groups pushed for community control of schools in their neighborhoods and for the revision of textbooks to make them reflect the diversity of peoples in the United States.

The first responses of schools and educators to the ethnic movements of the 1960s were hurried (Banks, 2006, 2015). Courses and programs were developed without the thought and careful planning needed to make them educationally sound or to institutionalize them within the educational system. Holidays and other special days, ethnic celebrations, and courses that focused on one ethnic group were the dominant characteristics of school reforms related to ethnic and cultural diversity during the 1960s and early 1970s. Grant and Sleeter (2013) call this approach "single-group studies." The ethnic studies courses developed and implemented during this period were usually electives and were taken primarily by students who were members of the group that was the subject of the course.

The visible success of the civil rights movement, plus growing rage and a liberal national atmosphere, stimulated other marginalized groups to take actions to eliminate discrimination against them and to demand that the educational system respond to their needs, aspirations, cultures, and histories. The women's rights movement emerged as one of the most significant social reform movements of the 20th century (Brewer, 2012). During the 1960s and 1970s, discrimination against women in employment, income, and education was widespread and often blatant. The women's rights movement articulated and publicized how discrimination and institutionalized sexism limited the opportunities of women and adversely affected the nation. The leaders of this movement, such as Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, demanded that political, social, economic, and educational institutions act to eliminate sex discrimination and provide opportunities for women to actualize their talents and realize their ambitions. Major goals of the women's rights movement included offering equal pay for equal work, eliminating laws that discriminated against women and made them second-class citizens, hiring more women in leadership positions, and increasing the participation of men in household work and child rearing.

When *feminists* (people who work for the political, social, and economic equalities of the sexes) looked at educational institutions, they noted problems similar to those identified by ethnic groups of color. Textbooks and curricula were dominated by men; women were largely invisible. Feminists pointed out that history textbooks were dominated by political and military history—areas in which men had been the main participants (Trecker, 1973). Social and family history and the history of labor and ordinary people were largely ignored. Feminists pushed for the revision of textbooks to include more history about the important roles of women in the development of the United States and the world. They also demanded that more women be hired for administrative positions in the schools. Although most teachers in the elementary schools were women, most administrators were men.

Other marginalized groups, stimulated by the social ferment and the quest for human rights during the 1970s, articulated their grievances and demanded that institutions be reformed so they would face less discrimination and acquire more human rights. People with disabilities, senior citizens, and gays and lesbians formed groups that organized politically during this period and made significant inroads in changing institutions and laws. Advocates for citizens with disabilities attained significant legal victories during the 1970s. The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 (PL. 94-142)—which required that students with disabilities be educated in the least restricted environment and institutionalized the word *mainstreaming* in education— was perhaps the most significant legal victory of the movement for the rights of students with disabilities in education (see Chapters 12 and 13).

1.2.1 How Multicultural Education Developed

Multicultural education emerged from the diverse courses, programs, and practices that educational institutions devised to respond to the demands, needs, and aspirations of the various groups. Consequently, multicultural education in actual practice is not one identifiable course or educational program. Rather, practicing educators use the term *multicultural education* to describe a wide variety of programs and practices related to educational equity, women, ethnic groups, language minorities, low-income groups, LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) people, and people with disabilities. In one school district, multicultural education may mean a curriculum that incorporates the experiences of ethnic groups of color; in another, a program may include the experiences of both ethnic groups and women. In a third school district, this term may be used the way it is by me and by other authors, such as Nieto and Bode (2012) and Grant and Sleeter (2013)—that is, to mean a total school reform effort designed to increase educational equity for a range of cultural, ethnic, and income groups. This broader and more comprehensive notion of multicultural education is discussed in the last part of this chapter. It differs from the limited concept of multicultural education in which it is viewed as curriculum reform.

1.3 The Nature of Culture in the United States

The United States, like other Western nation-states such as the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada, is a multicultural society. The United States consists of a shared core culture as well as many subcultures. In this book, we call the larger shared core culture the *macroculture*; the smaller cultures, which are a part of the core culture, are called *microcultures*. It is important to distinguish the macroculture from the various microcultures because the values, norms, and characteristics of the mainstream (macroculture) are frequently mediated by, as well as interpreted and expressed differently within, various microcultures. These differences often lead to cultural misunderstandings, conflicts, and institutionalized discrimination.

Students who are members of certain cultural, religious, and ethnic groups are sometimes socialized to act and think in certain ways at home but differently at school (Au, 2011). In her studies of African American students and families in Trackton, a working-class community in the Piedmont Carolinas, Heath (1983, 2012) found that the pattern of language use in school was very different from the pattern used at home. At home, most of the children's interaction with adults consisted of imperatives or commands. At school, questions were the dominant form of interaction between teachers and students. A challenge that multicultural education faces is how to help students from diverse groups mediate between their home and community cultures and the school culture. Students should acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function effectively in each cultural setting. They should also be competent to function within and across other microcultures in their society, within the national macroculture, and within the world community (Banks, 2015).

1.3.1 The Meaning of Culture

Bullivant (1993) defines *culture* as a group's program for survival in and adaptation to its environment. The cultural program consists of knowledge, concepts, and values shared by group members through systems of communication. Culture also consists of the shared beliefs, symbols, and interpretations within a human group. Most social scientists today view culture as consisting primarily of the symbolic, ideational, and intangible aspects of human societies. The essence of a culture is not its artifacts, tools, or other tangible cultural elements but how the

members of the group interpret, use, and perceive them. It is the values, symbols, interpretations, and perspectives that distinguish one person from another in modernized societies; it is not material objects and other tangible aspects of human societies (Erickson, 2012). People in a culture usually interpret the meanings of symbols, artifacts, and behaviors in the same or in similar ways.

1.3.2 Identification and Description of the U.S. Core Culture

The United States, like other nation-states, has a shared set of values, ideations, and symbols that constitute the core or overarching culture. This culture is shared to some extent by all of the diverse cultural and ethnic groups that make up the nation-state. It is difficult to identify and describe the overarching culture in the United States because it is such a diverse and complex nation. It is easier to identify the core culture within an isolated premodern society, such as the Maoris before the Europeans came to New Zealand, than within highly pluralistic, modernized societies, such as the United States, Canada, and Australia (Penetito, 2010).

When trying to identify the distinguishing characteristics of U.S. culture, one should realize that the political institutions in the United States, which reflect some of the nation's core values, were heavily influenced by the British. U.S. political ideals and institutions were also influenced by Native American political institutions and practices, especially those related to making group decisions, such as in the League of the Iroquois (Weatherford, 1988).

1.3.3 Equality

A key component in the U.S. core culture is the idea, expressed in the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." When this idea was expressed by the nation's founding fathers in 1776, it was considered radical. A common belief in the 18th century was that human beings were not born with equal rights—that some people had few rights and others, such as kings, had divine rights given by God. When considering the idea that "all men are created equal" is a key component of U.S. culture, one should remember to distinguish between a nation's ideals and its actual practices, as well as between the meaning of the idea when it was expressed in 1776 and its meaning today. When the nation's founding fathers expressed this idea, their conception of men was limited to White males who owned property (Foner, 1998). White men without property, White women, and all African Americans and Indians were not included in their notion of people who were equal or who had "certain unalienable rights."

Although the idea of equality expressed by the founding fathers in 1776 had a very limited meaning at that time, it has proved to be a powerful and important idea in the quest for human rights in the United States. Throughout the nation's history since 1776, marginalized and excluded groups such as women, African Americans, Native Americans, and other cultural and ethnic groups have used this idea to justify and defend the extension of human rights to them and to end institutional discrimination, such as sexism, racism, and discrimination against people with disabilities (Branch, 2006). As a result, human rights have gradually been extended to various groups throughout U.S. history. The extension of these rights has been neither constant nor linear. Rather, periods of the extension of rights have often been followed by periods of retrenchment and conservatism. Schlesinger (1986) calls these patterns "cycles of American history." The United States is still a long way from realizing the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence. However, these ideals remain an important part of U.S. culture and are still used by marginalized groups to justify their struggles for human rights and equality.

1.3.4 Individualism and Individual Opportunity

Two other important ideas in the common overarching U.S. culture are individualism and individual social mobility (Gorski, 2013; Stiglitz, 2012). Individualism as an ideal is extreme in the U.S. core culture. Individual success is more important than commitment to family, community, and nation-state. An individual is expected to achieve success solely by his/her own efforts. Many people in the United States believe that a person can go from rags to riches within a generation and that every American-born boy can, but not necessarily will, become president. Individuals are expected to achieve success by hard work and pull themselves up by their bootstraps. This idea was epitomized by fictional characters such as Ragged Dick, one of the heroes created by the popular writer Horatio Alger. Ragged Dick attained success by valiantly overcoming poverty and adversity. A related belief is that if a person does not succeed, it is because of his or her own shortcomings, such as being lazy or unambitious; failure is consequently the person's own fault. These beliefs are taught in the schools with success stories and myths about such U.S. heroes as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln.

The beliefs about individualism in U.S. culture are related to the Protestant work ethic. This is the belief that hard work by the individual is morally good and that laziness is sinful. This belief is a legacy of the British Puritan settlers in colonial New England. It has had a powerful and significant influence on U.S. culture.

The belief in individual opportunity has proven tenacious in U.S. society. It remains strong in American culture despite the fact that individuals' chances for upward social, economic, and educational mobility in the United States are highly related to the social-class, ethnic, gender, and other ascribed groups to which they belong (Knapp & Yoon, 2012; Stiglitz, 2012). The findings of social science research, as well as the chapters in this book, document the extent of social-class stratification in the United States and the ways in which people's opportunities in life are strongly influenced by the groups to which they belong (Weis, 2008 Chapter 3, this book), yet the belief in individual opportunity remains strong in the United States.

1.3.5 Individualism and Groupism

Although the groups to which people belong have a major influence on their life chances in the United States, Americans—particularly those in the mainstream—are highly *individualistic* in their value orientations and behaviors. The nuclear family reinforces individualism in U.S. culture. One result of this strong individualism is that married children usually expect their older parents to live independently or in homes for senior citizens rather than with them. The strong individualism in U.S. culture contrasts sharply with the groupism and group commitment found in Asian nations, such as China and Japan (Butterfield, 1982; Reischauer, 1981). Individualism is viewed rather negatively in these societies. One is expected to be committed first to the family and group and then to oneself. Some U.S. social scientists, such as Lasch (1978) and Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton (1985), lament the extent of individualism in U.S. society. They believe it is harmful to the common national culture. Some observers believe that groupism is too strong in China and Japan and that individualism should be more valued in those nations. Perhaps modernized, pluralistic nation-states can best benefit from a balance between individualism and groupism, with neither characteristic dominating.

1.3.6 Expansionism and Manifest Destiny

Other overarching U.S. values that social scientists have identified include the desire to conquer or exploit the natural environment, the focus on materialism and consumption, and the belief in the nation's inherent superiority, which is often referred to as "American exceptionalism."

These beliefs justified Manifest Destiny and U.S. expansion to the West and into other nations and the annexation of one-third of Mexico's territory in 1848. These observations, which reveal the less positive side of U.S. national values, have been developed by social scientists interested in understanding the complex nature of U.S. society (Appleby, Hunt, & Jacob, 1994).

In his discussion of the nature of values in U.S. society, Myrdal contends that a major ethical inconsistency exists in U.S. society (Myrdal, Sterner, & Rose, 1944/1962). He calls this inconsistency "the American dilemma." He states that American creed values, such as equality and human dignity, exist in U.S. society as ideals. However, they exist alongside the institutionalized discriminatory treatment of African Americans and other ethnic and cultural groups in U.S. society. This variance creates a dilemma in the American mind because Americans try to reconcile their democratic ideals with their treatment of marginalized groups. Myrdal states that this dilemma has been an important factor that has enabled ethnic groups to fight discrimination effectively. In their efforts to resolve their dilemma when the inconsistencies between their ideals and actions are pointed out to them by human rights advocates, Americans, according to Myrdal, often support the elimination of practices that are inconsistent with their democratic ideals or the American creed. Some writers have refuted Myrdal's hypothesis and contend that most individuals in the United States do not experience such a dilemma related to the gap between American ideals and racial discrimination (Ellison, 1995).

1.3.7 Microcultures in the United States

A nation as culturally diverse as the United States consists of a common overarching culture as well as a series of microcultures (see Figure 1.1). These microcultures share most of the core values of the nation-state, but these values are often mediated by the various microcultures and are interpreted differently within them. Microcultures sometimes have values that are somewhat alien to the national core culture. Also, some of the core national values and behaviors may seem somewhat alien in certain microcultures or may take different forms.

FIGURE 1.1

Microcultures and the National Macroculture

The shaded area represents the national macroculture. A, B, C, and D represent microcultures that consist of unique institutions, values, and cultural elements that are nonuniversalized and are shared primarily by members of specific cultural groups. A major goal of the school should be to help students acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to function effectively within the national macroculture, within their own microcultures, and within and across other microcultures.

Source: James A. Banks. (2015). *Cultural Diversity and Education: Foundations, Curriculum and Teaching*, 6th ed. (Boston: Pearson), p. 75. Used with the permission of the author.
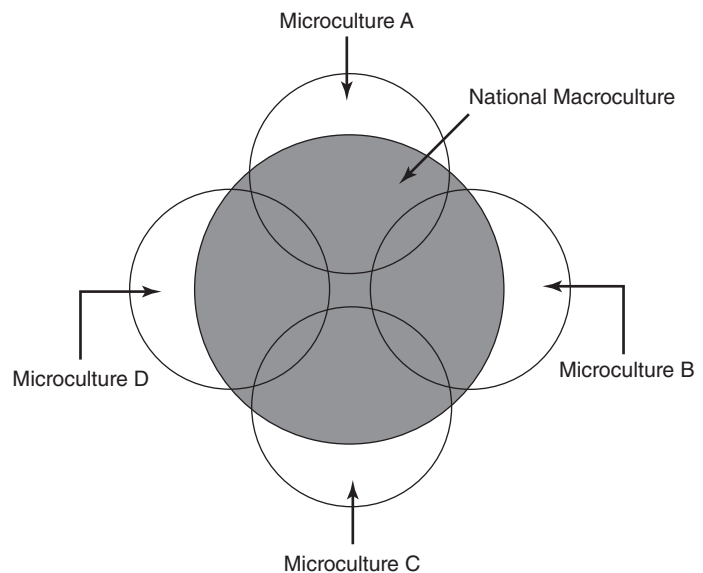
The strong belief in individuality and individualism that exists within the national macro-culture is often much less endorsed by some ethnic communities and is somewhat alien within them. Most African Americans and Latinos who have not experienced high levels of cultural assimilation into the mainstream culture are much more group oriented than are mainstream Americans. Schools in the United States are highly individualistic in their learning and teaching styles, evaluation procedures, and norms. Many students, particularly African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and Hawaiian Americans are group oriented (Au, 2011; Lee, 2006). These students experience problems in the school's highly individualistic learning environment. Teachers can enhance the learning opportunities of these students, who are also called field dependent or field sensitive, by using cooperative teaching strategies that have been developed and field-tested by researchers such as Slavin (2012) and Cohen and Lotan (2014).

Some theories and research indicate that female students may have preferred ways of knowing, thinking, and learning that differ to some extent from those most often preferred by males (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Halpern, 1986; Taylor, Gilligan, & Sullivan, 1995). Maher (1987) describes the dominant inquiry model used in social science as male constructed and dominated. She contends that the model strives for objectivity: "Personal feelings, biases, and prejudices are considered inevitable limitations" (p. 186). Feminist pedagogy is based on different assumptions about the nature of knowledge and results in a different teaching method. According to Maher and Tetreault (1994), feminist pedagogy enhances the learning of females and deepens the insight of males. In Chapter 6, Tetreault describes feminist pedagogy techniques she uses to motivate students and enhance their understandings.

After completing a major research study on women's ways of knowing, Belenky and colleagues (1986) concluded that conceptions of knowledge and truth in the core culture and in educational institutions "have been shaped throughout history by the male-dominated majority culture. Drawing on their own perspectives and visions, men have constructed the prevailing theories, written history, and set values that have become the guiding principles for men and women alike" (p. 5).

These researchers also found an inconsistency between the kind of knowledge most appealing to women and the kind that was emphasized in most educational institutions. Most of the women interviewed in the study by Belenky and her colleagues (1986) considered personalized knowledge and knowledge that resulted from firsthand observation most appealing. However, most educational institutions emphasize abstract, "out-of-context" knowledge. Ramírez and Castañeda (1974) found that Mexican American students who were socialized within traditional cultures also considered personalized and humanized knowledge more appealing than abstract knowledge. They also responded positively to knowledge that was presented in a humanized or story format.

Research by Gilligan (1982) provides some clues that help us better understand the findings by Belenky and her colleagues (1986) about the kind of knowledge women find most appealing. Gilligan describes caring, interconnection, and sensitivity to the needs of other people as dominant values among women and the female microculture in the United States. By contrast, she found that the values of men were more characterized by separation and individualism.

A major goal of multicultural education is to change teaching and learning approaches so that students of both genders and from diverse cultural, ethnic, and language groups will have equal opportunities to learn in educational institutions. This goal suggests that major changes should be made in the ways that educational programs are conceptualized, organized, and taught. Educational approaches need to be transformed in order to create effective multicultural classrooms and schools.

In her research on identifying and labeling students with mental retardation, Mercer (1973) found that a disproportionate number of African American and Mexican American students were labeled mentally retarded because the testing procedures used in intelligence tests "reflect the