CHAPTER SEVEN

Teaching Diverse Learners

James Banks, Marilyn Cochran-Smith, Luis Moll, Anna Richert,
Kenneth Zeichner, Pamela LePage, Linda Darling-Hammond,
Helen Duffy, with Morva McDonald

In today's schools, teachers must be prepared to teach a diverse population of students. Of course, diversity is the nature of the human species, and students are and always have been different from each other in a variety of ways. However, schools have not always had the mission to support achievement for all students, and children's assignments to schools and classrooms have, during many periods in history, fostered segregation rather than encouraging inclusion and acceptance of heterogeneous groups.

In recent years, classrooms in the United States have changed rapidly. Just over thirty years ago, in 1972, students of color constituted 22 percent of the school population; by 2000 this proportion had increased to 39 percent (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002a). Thirty years from now (by 2035) demographers project that students of color will constitute a majority of the student population in the United States (Hodgkinson, 2001; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000). The number of children in schools who are English language learners has also increased dramatically in recent years, more than doubling from about 1.5 million in 1985 to about 3.2 million in 1995 and continuing to grow since then (Villegas and Lucas, 2002a). Diversity in the range of academic abilities within classrooms has also grown as schools have included more students with exceptional needs in mainstream classrooms. In 1998–1999, 13 percent of students participated in special education, and nearly half of them (47 percent) spent 80 percent or more of their time in general education settings, a sharp increase from only a decade earlier (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002b).

Thus all teachers must be prepared to take into account the different experiences and academic needs of a wide range of students as they plan and teach. The recommendations in this section are based on research that indicates that when teachers use knowledge about the social, cultural, and language backgrounds of their students when planning and implementing instruction, the academic achievement of students can increase (see, for example, Au, 1980; Philips, 1972; Lee, 1995; Gandara, 2002; Garcia, 1993). And, when teachers know how to address learning needs associated with cognitive differences and disabilities, children's academic achievement also increases (Palincsar and Brown, 1987; Reynolds, Walberg, and Weissberg, 1999). These kinds of knowledge can augment a teacher's knowledge of content in powerful ways. For example, a study of mathematics and science teaching found that student achievement was greater for those whose teachers had a degree in the field they were teaching *and* had had preparation regarding multicultural education, special education, and English language development (Wenglinsky, 2002). This chapter extends the recommendations offered in other chapters in the volume to consider the realities of diverse classrooms where knowledge of development, learning, language, and pedagogy must be integrated by the teacher.

This chapter's recommendations are based on the assumption that to support democracy, educators must seek to eliminate disparities in educational opportunities among all students, especially those students who have been poorly served by our current system. Furthermore, in order for all citizens to be prepared to participate in a democracy, children must experience democracy in schools. Therefore teachers need to have the knowledge, skills, and attitudes to create democratic classrooms and to implement a culturally responsive and inclusive curriculum (Gay, 2000).

In addition, teachers need to be aware of—and be prepared to influence—the structural conditions that determine the allocation of educational opportunity within a school: the kinds of courses, curriculum, and teaching that are offered to different students, the kinds of student groupings that are created, the ways in which students are assigned to teachers, and the kind of norms and expectations that govern their treatment and the treatment of their families. Teachers also need to be aware of family and community values, norms, and experiences, so that they can help to mediate the "boundary crossing" (Davidson and Phelan, 1999) that many students must manage between home and school. All of these things influence student achievement and access to educational opportunity as much as the efforts of the individual teacher in the classroom.

In this chapter we focus on what new teachers must understand and be able to do to enhance the academic achievement of all students. We consider aspects of diversity including culture and racial/ethnic origins, language, economic

status, and learning challenges associated with exceptionalities. As Banks (1993) notes, all of these factors—and their interactions—are important for teachers who want to construct an "equity pedagogy" (p. 5). We incorporate aspects of the knowledge base regarding development, learning, and learning differences (see Chapters Two and Three of this volume) as well as content pedagogy, assessment, and classroom management (see Chapters Six, Eight, and Nine) with knowledge about culture and its influences on learning (Cazden and Mehan, 1990; Heath, 1983). We also discuss what teachers need to know to construct culturally responsive and learner adaptive pedagogy, curriculum, and assessment (Gay, 2000; Villegas and Lucas, 2002a; Palincsar, Magnusson, Collins, and Cutter, 2002) and to work with communities and parents (Moll and Gonzáles, 2004). Finally, this chapter discusses the kinds of teacher preparation experiences that may enable prospective teachers to more effectively teach diverse students (Nieto, 1999; Villegas and Lucas, 2002a; Zeichner, 1993a; Wolfberg, 1999).

CHALLENGES OF TEACHING DIVERSE LEARNERS

The following three vignettes portray teachers and students in U.S. public schools. Although necessarily incomplete, they provide a sense of the complexity of teaching in today's diverse schools. In particular, these vignettes point to some of the decision making required of teachers and the multiple, sometimes competing, contexts that influence those decisions. They also reveal how the demands of today's schools require that we rethink traditional teacher education as well as K–12 curriculum and instruction.

Ms. Cowen and a Special Education Placement

Ella Cowen has been teaching kindergarten for five years in Boston, Massachusetts, where the majority of children in her class are African American and Asian. Today she is attending an IEP (Individualized Education Plan) meeting for Julie Lee, who is part of her class only three times a week for two hours. Julie spends most of her time in a special education class down the hall. She was diagnosed with developmental delays when she was three years old and was given early intervention opportunities. Today, a team of professionals is trying to decide a correct placement for Julie for next year. Should she repeat kindergarten? Should she continue in special education? Should she be promoted and placed in an inclusive first-grade classroom? Julie's adoptive parents believe that she has serious language delays and would like to keep her in special education. Ms. Cowen, however, suspects that Julie was diagnosed at a time when she simply needed to adjust to a new country, new parents, and a new language. In the last few months, Julie has made noticeable progress, and Ms. Cowen believes Julie has the potential for more challenging work. Ms. Cowen is not sure whether a special education placement is appropriate, and she knows about the research showing that grade retention rarely raises achievement and can have

other unfortunate side-effects. But what if Julie needs special education services that will not occur in a mainstream classroom? How can Ms. Cowen tell the difference between behaviors associated with cultural differences, language learning, and context and challenges associated with specific disabilities? What type of classwork should she take to the meeting as evidence for her recommendations? What kind of instructional plan will best serve Julie's needs next year? What are the parents' expectations, Ella wonders, and how can she be both respectful and professional?

Mr. Levy and a Student Paper on Immigration

Mr. Levy is a teacher who has been teaching social studies at Fairfax High School for fifteen years. Living close to Washington D.C., he loves teaching government and is considered a very good teacher. He recently asked his students to write a paper about the causes of unemployment in the United States. Roger Davenport's first draft concerned him. Mr. Levy was surprised to find that Roger blamed the unemployment rate on immigration and on what he described as more and more of "those people" coming into "our country." In the paper, Roger argued that too many people were being allowed into the country and were taking jobs away from Americans. He explained that not only was the government letting in too many unskilled laborers, but they were also letting in highly qualified computer people from other countries like Russia. He blamed employment problems on illegal immigration and talked about the difficulties of dealing with "boat people." He also explained that many immigrants were taking college scholarships away from Americans because people felt sorry for them.

Mr. Levy pondered about how to respond to the paper, especially given the fact that his own Jewish grandfather had emigrated from Europe in the 1940s to avoid religious persecution. Should he simply tell Roger he needed to develop a better argument based on historical evidence and more accurate knowledge of immigration policy and immigrant populations? Should he make a personal and moral plea? Should he confront the racism implicit in the paper head on? Was this a private issue to discuss with Roger only or did his ideas represent broad misconceptions that needed to be addressed in class? If yes, how should he approach the topic? Should he provide a well-researched lecture on the economics of immigration to ensure that students hear accurate information? Or should he develop an activity where the students inquire into the topic and come to their own conclusions?

Ms. Carrington: Teaching Shakespeare to English Language Learners

Ms. Carrington is a student teacher at John Burroughs Middle School in San Leandro, California. Her English class has twenty-eight students who speak five different languages other than English, including Spanish, Tagalog, Mandarin, and Cantonese. The children are African American, Samoan, European American, Chinese, Filipino, Cambodian, and Latino. Some students walk to school whereas others take public transit, and although many choose not to eat the free lunch, most qualify for free or reduced lunch.

Ms. Carrington's choices about what and how to teach are tightly constrained by districtwide curriculum frameworks and the state-mandated proficiency tests in every

major subject area now given every spring to all children in third through eighth grades. Ms. Carrington is required to teach a unit on Shakespearean sonnets, although her students have shown little interest in any kind of poetry, let alone Elizabethan sonnets.

In previous lessons, Ms. Carrington has used modern music to spark the children's interest in poetry, which worked well to capture their attention. At this point, she doesn't want the children to lose interest. She wonders whether she should stray from the required curriculum and teach modern poetry in order to maintain their interest or continue with the required curriculum and try to connect to their experiences to keep them engaged in the required texts. If yes, what strategies should she use to bridge the gap between her children and Shakespeare? Some of her colleagues have suggested using technology, which seems a good idea because many of her students excel at the computer and have already responded well to audio. But, what type of activity would be most effective, a Web quest, some educational software, a Shakespeare Web site with interactive sound and video? What strategies would effectively engage the children and support academic content?

As these vignettes indicate, teachers in today's public schools, whether they are beginning teachers or highly experienced veterans, face new challenges. The classes of most teachers in the twenty-first century—unlike like those taught 50 years ago—are highly diverse in terms of the cultural, language, racial, and economic backgrounds of the students. Thus teachers must have the tools for inquiring into the cultures, groups, and individuals represented in their classrooms. In addition, because the span of ability and experience levels in today's classrooms has widened greatly, with many students who traditionally would have been segregated from other students into special education classes now included in general classrooms, teachers need to have more knowledge about the nature of learning differences and disabilities as well.

The Demographic Imperative

The phrase "the demographic imperative" has been used to make the case that teacher educators and others must take action to alter the disparities in opportunities and outcomes deeply embedded in the American educational system. The argument for the demographic imperative usually includes statistics about the increasingly diverse student population, the still relatively homogeneous teaching force, and "the demographic divide" (Gay and Howard, 2000, p. 1), especially the marked disparities in educational opportunities, resources, and achievement among student groups who differ from one another racially, culturally, and socioeconomically.

A Homogeneous Teaching Force. Although statistics point to the growing diversity of our nation's schools, the composition of the teaching force is much less diverse. The most recent federal data from the Schools and Staffing Surveys

(1999–2000) indicate that teachers of color make up about 16 percent of the nation's teaching force—an increase from only 10 percent in 1986 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2003)—but still much less than the 40 percent of public school students who are students of color. Although beginning teachers include a somewhat larger proportion of teachers of color (21 percent of those with fewer than three years of experience), it seems clear that it will be some time before the population of individuals entering and remaining in teaching closely resembles the population of students in most schools.

More important than simple differences in racial or language backgrounds, there are also marked differences in the biographies and experiences of most teachers and their students. Most U.S. teachers are European Americans from middle-class backgrounds who speak only English. Many of their students are racial and ethnic minorities, live in poverty, and speak a first language other than English. Thus most teachers do not have the same cultural frames of reference and points of view as their students (Au, 1980; Heath, 1983; Lee, 1993). The importance of connecting new learning to prior experiences and the intrinsically cultural nature of learning and knowing (see Chapters Two and Three of this volume) suggest that teachers will need knowledge to understand students' backgrounds and experiences in order to structure meaningful learning experiences for all of them. Even if a teacher has a similar racial or ethnic background as her students, this does not guarantee all students access to educational opportunities (Foster, 2001; Montecinos, 1994). Indeed, all teachers need to develop cultural competence in order to effectively teach students with backgrounds different from their own.

The Demographic Divide: Differences in Educational Outcomes and Resources. There are marked discrepancies in the educational outcomes and learning conditions for students who vary by race, culture, language, socioeconomic status, and learning differences. With one in four children living in poverty, the United States has the highest rate of childhood poverty among Western democratic nations, with the percentage of African American and Hispanic children living in poverty much higher than the average, at 42 percent and 40 percent, respectively. The achievement levels of African American and Hispanic students on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) mathematics and reading assessments are consistently and markedly lower than levels for white students, as are high school graduation rates. Villegas and Lucas (2002a) conclude that "the consistent gap between racial/ethnic minority and poor students and their White, middle-class peers . . . is indicative of the inability of the educational system to effectively teach students of color as schools have traditionally been structured" (p. 9).

While there is a long history of research demonstrating the many ways in which poverty contributes to low achievement by reducing access to prenatal

and childhood health care, safe housing, and a variety of out-of-school learning opportunities, unequal and inadequate education also contributes to these outcomes. Many studies have documented large disparities in the allocation of resources (for example, equipment, supplies, physical facilities, books, access to computer technology, access to qualified teachers, and class size) to schools serving white and affluent students in comparison with those serving low-income students and students of color. Recent analyses of data prepared for school finance cases in Alabama, California, New Jersey, New York, Louisiana, and Texas have found that on every tangible measure—from qualified teachers to access to technology and curriculum offerings—schools serving greater numbers of students of color tended to have significantly fewer resources than schools serving mostly whites (Darling-Hammond, 2004; see also, National Center for Education Statistics, 1998, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c). In 2001, for example, students in California's predominantly minority schools were five times more likely to have uncertified teachers than those in largely white schools (Shields and others, 2001) and had less access to every category of instructional resource, including textbooks, supplies, and computers, than did schools serving predominantly white and middle-class students (Oakes and Saunders, 2002).

These differences in outcomes have increasingly severe consequences for students and for society. Those who do not succeed in school are becoming part of a growing underclass, cut off from productive engagement in society. In addition to the increasingly strong correlations between educational attainment and income (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000a, p. 432), success in school is increasingly related to the ability to engage in any kind of productive employment. Whereas a high school dropout in 1970 had two chances out of three of getting a job, by 1998, only 44 percent of recent high school dropouts were in the labor force and employed (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000a, p. 430). These proportions are generally even lower for students of color. Furthermore, 30 percent of Hispanic sixteen- to twenty-four-year-olds and 14 percent of African American youth of the same age had dropped out of school (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000a, p. 127). For students diagnosed with learning disabilities, as many as 60 percent drop out of school before graduating from high school (Levin, Zigmond, and Birch, 1985; National Center for Education Statistics, 2000a, p. 129). At a time when the economy demands that more citizens attain higher levels of education, these trends, which have not improved for more than a decade, are deeply troubling.

Differential Treatment of Students in Schools. The differential allocation of skillful teachers appears to play a particularly important role in these disparate outcomes. For example, a number of studies have found teacher expertise (as measured by certification status and test scores, education, and experience

levels) to be a significant determinant of student outcomes (Betts, Rueben, and Danenberg, 2000; Ferguson, 1991a; Ferguson and Ladd, 1996; Fetler, 1999; Goldhaber and Brewer, 2000; Strauss and Sawyer, 1986). These and other studies have suggested that much of the difference in school achievement found between more and less advantaged students is due to the effects of substantially different school opportunities, in particular greatly disparate access to high-quality teachers and teaching (Barr and Dreeben, 1983; Dreeben and Gamoran, 1986; Dreeben and Barr, 1987; Oakes, 1990).

However, teachers alone do not account for all of the educational opportunities that make a difference to students' learning. The ways schools are organized for instruction, what curriculum they offer to whom, what teachers are assigned to which students, how families are involved, and whether and how teachers are encouraged to collaborate all matter for the quality of opportunity different students receive. There is substantial evidence, for example, that curriculum differentiation or tracking matters greatly for student achievement, and that at any given achievement level, students who are "tracked up" or who are exposed to a more rigorous curriculum learn more than same-ability students who are "tracked down" or offered a less challenging course of study (Gamoran, 1990; Hallinan, 2003: Hoffer, 1992; Slavin, 1990b). Differences in access to high-quality course content are associated with race and class and contribute to differences in achievement (Dreeben and Gamoran, 1986; Jones, 1984; Jones, Burton, and Davenport, 1984; Moore and Smith, 1985; Pelavin and Kane, 1990).

Researchers have found that students placed in lower tracks are typically exposed to a more limited, rote-oriented curriculum and ultimately achieve less than students of similar aptitude who are placed in academic programs or untracked classes (Gamoran, 1990; Gamoran and Mare, 1989; Oakes, 1992). Teacher interactions with students in lower-track classes have been found to be less motivating and less supportive, as well as less demanding of higher-order reasoning and responses (Good and Brophy, 1994). Presentations are often less clear and less focused on higher-order cognitive goals (Oakes, 1985). These interactions are also less academically oriented and more likely to focus on behavioral criticisms, especially for minority students (Eckstrom and Villegas, 1991).

Some evidence suggests that teachers themselves are tracked, with those judged to be the most competent and experienced, and those with the highest status, assigned to the top tracks (Oakes, 1986; Talbert, 1990). Students in the lowest tracks are most likely to be assigned teachers who are underprepared, unlicensed, inexperienced, and out-of-field (National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 1996). Disparate outcomes can also result from differences in class sizes, as well as texts, materials, and equipment, available to students in different courses and tracks.

Furthermore, some research suggests that race and socioeconomic status can determine assignments to tracks even after grades and test scores are controlled

(Gamoran, 1992; Oakes, 1992; Oakes, 1993). There is evidence that decisions about grouping influence not only achievement, but also how students relate to each other interpersonally: when students are grouped in racially or linguistically separated classes or programs, especially when these have different statuses within the school, they form fewer positive intergroup relationships (Khmelkov and Hallinan, 1999). And when student groupings are more segregated, racial climate is less positive within classrooms and schools (Braddock and Slavin, 1993). Conversely, when students of different backgrounds are placed together in classrooms and work together in well-managed cooperative groups, interracial relationships can improve (Slavin, 1995) as can achievement (Johnson and Johnson, 1989; Slavin, 1990a).

School personnel make many organizational decisions that have broad consequences for student outcomes, and teachers should be aware of the consequences of these decisions, so that they can help shape productive school environments. School personnel also need to be aware of how the norms and values they may take for granted in school accord with those that students experience in their homes, and how school decisions may either bridge or exacerbate differences that may exist between home and school. Many researchers have identified how students' cultural or subgroup norms may differ from those of the school. These school norms are expected to govern students' academic and social behavior (as well as their social status), and the extent to which students' behavior abides by these norms has a great deal to do with their academic and social success, as well as their treatment by school personnel (Comer, Haynes, Joyner, and Ben-Avie, 1996; Cusick, 1973; Heath, 1982, 1983). If the norms and values that pertain in a student's home or community diverge significantly from those that pertain in the school, the student experiences conflict, and the way this conflict is resolved by both the student and the school has much to do with whether the student experiences success.

For example, as we described in Chapters Three and Four, different cultural norms may cause educators and families to communicate in ways that inadvertently cause misunderstandings. In addition to linguistic norms, there are norms of engagement with schools and staff that differ across communities, with some parents feeling that they should be active partners in their child's education (and having the time to do so) and others feeling that efforts to do so might convey mistrust to the school personnel, whom they see as in charge of the process. Still others who have had poor experiences themselves in schools may have deep fear or mistrust of schools as institutions and feel inadequate or unsure about how to advocate for their children (Epstein, 2001).

Furthermore, in some communities, where few, if any, families have completed high school or gone to college, there may be little information about the college preparatory process and little experiential reason to expect that students will pursue such goals. Schools may expect that students have reference books

and computers at home; quiet, secluded places and time to study; health care for themselves and their families; encouragement for time spent on academic pursuits; and other supports for school achievement that are not always present when families struggle economically. Teachers, both individually and collectively, need to be aware of the contexts within which students are learning at home as well as at school in order to ensure necessary supports. Individual teacher and schoolwide awareness of cultural contexts, family experiences, and norms can be built through home visits, community study, and family involvement initiatives, which can help shape school policies that bridge normative differences (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Villegas and Lucas, 2002a).

Students face different kinds of borders as they negotiate a variety of sociocultural, economic, linguistic, and structural differences between home and school, which can be bridged by school efforts or made into chasms into which students fall (Davidson and Phelan, 1999; Phelan, Davidson, and Yu, 1998). If efforts to include parents in the educational process are infrequent, not informative about substantive issues affecting the students' learning, linguistically inaccessible, or held at times when working parents cannot attend, opportunities to reduce key barriers to student achievement will be missed. In addition to school policies governing parental involvement, students' challenges in negotiating these boundaries are exacerbated or ameliorated by policies regarding discipline, curricular and extracurricular inclusiveness, and outreach regarding information about college and other opportunities (Davidson and Phelan, 1999).

Some of these are among the informal systems that operate in schools alongside the formal ones—systems that recognize and reward some kinds of students and activities rather than others; systems that provide students access to information about extracurricular or outside of school opportunities; systems that make it more or less possible or welcoming for parents to participate in the life of the school; and systems that directly and indirectly convey norms about how students are treated, the so-called "hidden curriculum" of the school (Anyon, 1980). These signals about what and who matters in the school have strong consequences for whether students feel they belong in the school, whether they become attached to school and academic work, whether they believe they can achieve, and whether they feel it is worth investing effort and energy in the school and its rewards.

Part of the informal system are practices and signals that determine the treatment students receive in school. In addition to differences in resources, some studies have found, for example, that teachers often hold more negative attitudes about black children's ability, language, behavior, and potential than they do about white children, and that most black students have fewer favorable interactions with their teachers than white students (Irvine, 1990). Other studies have found that children of color are more likely to be punished for offenses that white students commit without consequence, and that black students,

particularly males, are more likely to be suspended from school than whites (Fine, 1991; Nieto, 1992; Carter and Goodwin, 1994).

Research also suggests that males and females tend to have different experiences in school, and these experiences can affect their potential for academic achievement and success. Females are less likely to be called upon by name, are asked fewer complex and abstract questions, receive less praise or constructive feedback, and are given less direction on how to do things for themselves (Jones and Wheatley, 1990; Sadker and Sadker, 1995). Although girls are identified for gifted programs more often than boys in elementary school, by high school fewer girls remain in gifted programs; this is particularly true for African American and Hispanic females (U.S, Department of Education—Office of Civil Rights, 1999; American Association of University Women, 1998). On the other hand, boys receive more teacher attention than females, including more negative attention, and may be disciplined more harshly than girls for violating the same rules (Mid-Atlantic Equity Center, 1999; National Center for Education Statistics, 2000b), and males, especially African American males, are disproportionately placed in special education, often inappropriately (U.S. Department of Education—Office of Civil Rights, 1999). If we are to create schools where all students have opportunities to learn, teachers must know how to be alert for these kinds of disparities and aware of how to provide classroom environments that are both physically and psychologically safe for all students.

Responses to the Demographic Imperative. During the last fifteen years, professional organizations and institutions charged with the preparation of teachers have responded in a variety of ways to this demographic imperative. Currently, among the various professional organizations concerned with the preparation, licensing, and certification of teachers, there is general consensus both about the need for teacher preparation content that is related to sociocultural contexts and about important areas of teacher knowledge and skill. In 1972, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education formed the first of several commissions on multicultural education to help revise the preparation of teachers for a diverse society. In 1976, the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) added multicultural education and teaching for diversity to its standards, requiring that institutions seeking accreditation show evidence that they incorporate such content in their programs. By 1993, sixteen of the seventeen national subject area curriculum guidelines approved by NCATE had incorporated multicultural guidelines, and forty states required schools or teacher education programs to include the study of ethnic groups, cultural diversity, human relations, or multicultural/bilingual education in their programs.

Over the last decade, teacher preparation programs throughout the United States have revised courses, curriculum, fieldwork experiences, and policies to

include attention to social contexts, diversity, and multicultural education. In addition, the Multicultural Education Consensus Panel (Banks and others, 2001), sponsored by the Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington and the Common Destiny Alliance at the University of Maryland, identified twelve essential principles for teaching and learning in a multicultural society that are derived from research and practice. Consistent with previous syntheses and related bodies of research (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Villegas, 1991; Zeichner, 1993a), the first principle describes what teachers need to know and learn to teach effectively, including identifying their own attitudes toward different cultural groups, acquiring knowledge about the histories and cultures of diverse groups, becoming acquainted with diverse perspectives within different ethnic and cultural communities, understanding the ways that institutions and popular culture can perpetuate stereotypes, and translating that knowledge into classroom practices that provide all students access to academic rigor.

What Teachers Need to Know: Building a Culturally Responsive Practice

Clearly, teachers' technical competence in teaching and classroom management, as well as their knowledge of subject matter, are factors that strongly influence whether they will be successful in helping students learn. However, technical competence in teaching skills (such as leading discussions and managing groups), solid knowledge of subject matter, and knowledge of how to teach are essential but not sufficient for effective teaching. Teachers' attitudes and expectations, as well as their knowledge of how to incorporate the cultures, experiences, and needs of their students into their teaching, significantly influence what students learn and the quality of their learning opportunities. In this report, it is not possible to describe all the strategies that can help teachers work with diverse children. Instead, we provide examples of the approaches found over the last three decades to enhance instruction for children who have traditionally been poorly served by our system.

Research on Culturally Responsive Teaching. To build a culturally responsive practice, teachers need to have a broad set of teaching strategies for working with diverse children. Teachers need to know how to examine their own cultural assumptions to understand how these shape their starting points for practice. They also need to know how to inquire into the backgrounds of their students so that they can connect what they learn to their instructional decision making, in a sense becoming anthropologists who explicitly seek to understand their students' cultural practices (Gutiérrez and Rogoff, 2003). As Geneva Gay (1993) argues, a teacher needs to be prepared to be a "cultural broker" who "thoroughly understands different cultural systems, is able to interpret cultural symbols from one frame of reference to another, can mediate cultural

incompatibilities, and knows how to build bridges or establish linkages across cultures that facilitate the instructional process" (p. 293).

Efforts to reduce the gap between the cultures of students and the often unexamined norms of teachers are one major aspect of culturally responsive teaching. There are many ways in which different conceptions about the nature of meaningful communication exacerbate such gaps. (See also Chapters Three and Four.) For example, Philips (1972) found that the participation structures used on the Warm Springs Indian reservation differed in substantial ways from those used in the school. At home, parents rarely engaged in questioning of their children as a mode of teaching, and verbalization between adults and children was relatively infrequent. Consequently, Indian students were reluctant to participate in class discussions because they were required to speak in front of the class and because the teacher dictated the speech. Similarly, Heath (1982) found that the patterns of interactions between adults and children were quite different at home and at school for African American children in Trackton. These children's parents did not generally ask them stylized "known answer" questions of the sort common in school (for example, "What color is this leaf?" "Who sat on a tuffet?"). Consequently, the children often did not respond to such seemingly obvious questions asked by their teachers, or they responded to them in ways that the teachers found unsatisfactory. When teachers modified their interaction styles with the students to ask more authentic questions, they talked more and became more deeply involved in the lessons.

Efforts to create cultural connections between the school and children's communities have often led to increased achievement. For example, Au (1980) found that when teachers incorporated participation structures into their lessons that were similar to "talk story" in Hawaiian culture, the reading achievement of Hawaiian second-grade children significantly increased. Tharp (1982) studied reading comprehension in the Kamehameha Early Childhood Program in Hawaii. He found that a culturally relevant, comprehension-oriented reading program using active instructional methods can be more effective than a program focused more on discrete subskills using instructional methods that do not incorporate the students' cultures.

Lee (1995) investigated the effects of using the African American tradition of signifying as a scaffold for teaching skills in literacy interpretation to African American students. She found that when teachers incorporated this cultural knowledge into instruction, the students provided longer and more sophisticated comments on the texts. In a four-year evaluation of the High School Puente Project in California, Gandara (2002) found that Mexican American and Latino students who participated in a rigorous academic preparation program that incorporated community-based research and writing, academic counseling, and opportunities to interact with community leaders applied to and attended universities at nearly twice the rate of those who did not participate in the program. In a longitudinal study on the use of students' "funds of knowledge"

in classroom instruction, Luis Moll and colleagues (2004) found that Latino students' academic performance is strengthened when students' community knowledge is tapped.

Other research has examined the practices of successful teachers of students of color and English language learners to discover what such teachers do. This research suggests that effective teachers of students of color form and maintain connections with their students within their social contexts. They are familiar with community speech patterns and often incorporate elements of such communication patterns, such as "call and response," even while they instruct in standard English. For students of varying language backgrounds, they allow the use of multiple languages while teaching the target language; and they celebrate their students as individuals and as members of specific cultures, asking students to share who they are and what they know with the class in a variety of ways (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Garcia, 1993; Irvine, 2003; Murrell, 2002; Nieto and Rolon, 1997; Strickland, 1995).

Jacqueline Irvine (1992), Gloria Ladson-Billings (1994), and Eugene Garcia (1993) have all summarized research finding that effective teachers of students of color—who include white teachers as well as members of minority groups—link classroom content to students' experiences, focus on the whole child, and believe that all of their students can succeed. They use an active, direct approach to teaching: demonstrating, modeling, explaining, writing, giving feedback, reviewing, and emphasizing higher-order skills while avoiding excessive reliance on rote learning or punishment. They see the teacher-student relationship as humane and equitable, and characterized by a sense of community and team. Their classrooms typically emphasize cooperation rather than competition, and feature cooperative learning strategies and student-initiated discourse and participation.

Knowledge for Building a Culturally Responsive Practice. Teachers who "think pedagogically" about diversity are able to build a practice that is both academically challenging and responsive to students. Building a culturally responsive practice requires teachers to build a broad base of knowledge that grows and changes as students, contexts, and subject matters shift. Knowledge of self and of others (students, parents, community) is an essential foundation for constructing, evaluating, and altering curriculum and pedagogy so that it is responsive to students. In the classrooms of culturally responsive teachers, the methods of instruction and assessment, the curriculum, and the classroom climate work together to support the academic achievement of all students.

The teachers in our opening vignettes demonstrate the challenges of developing a practice that meets the needs of diverse populations of students, especially when that diversity is constantly in flux and the consequences of the differences between and among students are crucial to determining student outcomes. In addition to drawing upon her knowledge of child development,

Ms. Cowen's (see Ms. Cowen and a Special Education Placement) awareness that she is working within multiple contexts in evaluating Julie's needs and placement is critical. Expectations of the school and home, state legal mandates, as well as a moral sense of what might serve this particular student all inform her recommendation about Julie's placement, as does her careful observation of Julie's classroom performance. Teachers are often the first professionals to become aware of learning challenges experienced by children in their classrooms. These insights can be as straightforward as noticing that a child cannot see the blackboard to recognizing that a child is having significant problems with auditory processing and retrieval of information.

This type of "problem spotting" must be accompanied by care and sensitivity. A teacher must have some knowledge of children and typical patterns of development, as well as normal differences. She must know her students well because even young children can find ways to hide what they see as weaknesses. At the same time, children develop differently, and a delay in one area may gradually disappear over time. If a teacher suggests to a child that the child may have a learning disability, it can discourage or embarrass a child who believes that disability or special education carries with it a stigma and it can initially upset parents if they are not aware of ongoing learning challenges.

In addition, as Ms. Cowen's vignette illustrates, teachers should be aware of the research that shows children of color and those who are new English language learners are often overidentified with certain disabilities. At the same time, because of inappropriate attributions of some difficulties to language barriers or "cultural deprivation," such students may fail to be identified for special education services in other cases. A range of in-classroom and standardized evaluations are necessary to gain a more complete picture of student strengths and needs that should inform instructional decisions. Knowledge about Julie's individual history, her knowledge of child and language development, her knowledge regarding the overrepresentation of English language learners in special education, and her ability to assess student work all combine to inform this important professional recommendation. Also important is how Ms. Cowen worked with Julie to find and build upon her strengths and to keep work samples to guide assessment, which informs both her teaching and this placement recommendation.

Mr. Levy (see Mr. Levy and a Student Paper on Immigration) found himself confronting a student's attitudes toward and misinformation about new immigrants when he read Roger's paper, which connected unemployment to immigration and "those people" who were taking jobs away from people who "belonged" in the United States. In thinking about how to respond to Roger, Mr. Levy had to consider many factors, including Roger's lack of knowledge about immigration (a subject matter issue), and his attitudes and beliefs about "others." Mr. Levy also had to decide the pedagogy he would use to approach Roger given

the many other students in the class who were themselves immigrants and who had varying kinds of knowledge and experiences with unemployment.

Ms. Carrington (see Ms. Carrington: Teaching Shakespeare to English Language Learners) had to know a great deal about her students as she embarked on the challenging path of teaching them Shakespearean sonnets—a requirement of the state curriculum. Her challenge concerned how to provide access to the Shakespeare text given both the language and cultural differences among her twenty-eight students. For both Mr. Levy and Ms. Carrington, the work has to begin by learning about their students: who they are, what they know, and what meanings and strengths they bring with them to school. As previous chapters in this volume make clear, all students need scaffolds to connect what they know from their lives outside school to their life and work in school. Ms. Carrington needed not only a deep understanding of her students, but also an understanding of the content in relation to the students; for example, language or themes that could make Shakespeare difficult for that particular group of students and themes that could make it engaging and increasingly well understood.

Teachers need to be able to understand students' cultural differences without falling victim to the cultural stereotypes that might result from a superficial understanding of students and their experiences. It is this kind of superficial knowledge, and the potentially damaging stereotypes that can result from it, that Cazden and Mehan (1989) warn against when they observe that it can be dangerous to attempt to transmit shorthand knowledge about a list of different cultures to prospective teachers. Instead, prospective teachers must learn how to learn from their students and members of the communities where they teach, borrowing strategies from anthropology and sociology. Although some knowledge of the histories of cultures is certainly necessary, teachers need access to the particular experiences of the students they work with to inform their decisions.

The importance of connecting with students and their communities for the purposes of mutual information and support suggests a "reciprocal and interactive" orientation toward practice. In such a practice, students and teachers work together to construct meaning out of content, rather than teaching a decontextualized set of skills that are passed from teacher to student. The collaborative interactive model suggests instead that curriculum and pedagogy be connected in direct and intentional ways with the lives of children (Cummins, 1986; Delpit, 1995; Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Nieto, 2000; Olsen and Mullen, 1990; Moll, 1988). To accomplish this, teachers need to know how to generate and sustain a genuine dialogue with students so that they will be able to draw on what the students know and care about and monitor their engagement and success. The following vignette featuring a successful sixth-grade teacher illustrates the sort of interactions that enable students' experiences to become an official part of the classroom curriculum. The vignette demonstrates not only

a range of pedagogical strategies, but also how her knowledge of assessment, learning, and development informs her choices.

A Case of Culturally Responsive Teaching

In Ann Lewis's 6th grade class, the students were listening as one of them read aloud. The class was studying *Charlie Pippin* by Candi Dawson Boyd. The novel is about an eleven-year-old African American girl who attempts to win the approval of her father, a decorated Vietnam War veteran who has buried all of his feelings about the war within him. The girl feels alienated from her father and wants to find a way to reach him. There were 29 students in the class (20 African Americans). When the student who was reading finished, an African American boy, Jerry, asked, "Is she [the story's protagonist] going to stay eleven years old in this book?"

Lewis responded with a question, "What about in *Driving Miss Daisy*? Did the main character stay the same age?"

Students (in unison): "No."

Ann: "How do you know?"

Jerry: "Because she was using one of those walkin' things when she got old."

Ann: "A walker?"

Jerry: "Yeah, and then she was in the old folks home."

Ann: "Can you see without a video?"

Calvin (another African American boy): "Yes, you can see when you're reading. So we'll see how old Charlie is in the book! . . . [Referring to the protagonist], she got feelings her dad doesn't understand and he got feelings she don't understand."

Ann: "Do you know anybody who ever feels like this?"

Calvin: "Me!"

Ann drew a Venn diagram to represent similarities and differences between Calvin and the character in the story. "You have your own video of your entire life in your head. Every time you read, you can get an image of how the story connects with your life. Do you want to get back to the story?"

"Yeah!" the class says in unison.

A third boy began to read. When he finished, Lewis said, "Close your eyes. Let's put on your video." She then re-read a section of the book describing the mother in the story. "How can you relate this to your life?" One of the African American girls commented, "That's just like when I kiss my mom."

Students then took turns reading passages from the book. For some, this was the first "chapter book" they'd read in school. Some of these slower readers had trouble with some of the words. Lewis encouraged them and urged other class members to help. "Remember, we're all a team here. We've got to help each other." When Charlene (an African American girl) asked a question about a dispute the main character had with her father, Lewis suggested the students role play to understand better. Two students struggled a bit with the role play. Two others gave it a try and got a round of applause from the rest of the class.

After the role-play, Ann asked, "What do we know about Charlie's dad?" The class erupted with excitement—many wanted to contribute. Lewis began to develop a "character attribute web" on the board . . . Ann filled the board with the student responses and shouted, "That was perfect! You're a perfect class! If you're perfect raise your hand!" Twenty-nine hands were in the air.

Over the course of the next several months, *Charlie Pippin* became the centerpiece for a wide range of activities. One group of students began a Vietnam War research

group. One group member who assumed a leadership position was a very quiet Vietnamese girl whose relatives had fought in the war. She brought in pictures, maps, letters, even a family member to talk to the class about Vietnam. In the book, the main character made origami to sell to her classmates. Lewis taught her students how to make origami. She introduced them to Elanor Coerr's *Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes*. A second group of students researched nuclear proliferation. . . .

Although [many of Lewis's students] had had previous problems, including poor academic performance, truancy, suspension, recommendation for special-education placement, and at least one threatened expulsion, Lewis's class represented an opportunity for a new academic beginning.

One of Lewis's star students, a boy named Larry, had had a particularly troubling history. Although he was short and slightly built, he was the oldest child in the class. He had been left back several times and was 13 in a class made up of 11 year olds. He had been traumatized by the drive-by shooting of a favorite aunt. Other teachers in the school referred to him as "an accident just waiting to happen." None wanted him in their classrooms. Lewis referred to Larry as a "piece of crystal."

"He's strong and beautiful but fragile. I have to build a safe and secure place for him and let him know that we—the class and I—will be here for him. The school has been placing him in the kitchen junk drawer. I want him to be up there in the china closet where everyone can see him."

By the end of the school year, Larry had been elected president of the school's sixth grade. He was involved in peer conflict mediation and was earning A's and B's in every subject. . . . While Larry represented a special example of accomplishment, the classroom was a special place for all of the children, including the nine non-African Americans. (They were Latino, Pacific Islander, and Vietnamese.) The work was challenging and exciting. The students were presumed to have some level of literacy, which formed the foundation for increased competency. Reading, writing, and speaking were community activities that Lewis believed all students could participate in—and they did.

Source: Excerpted from Gloria Ladson-Billings. © 1994. *The DreamKeepers*, pp. 107–112. This material is used by permission of John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Ann Lewis's classroom demonstrates a variety of pedagogical strategies that culturally responsive teachers use to engage students' interests and support their learning and development. It also illustrates important aspects of curriculum and assessment that support these strategies.

Pedagogy. A first glance at Ann Lewis's classroom shows how interaction and collaboration, which are central to a reciprocal approach, produce a great deal of talk—but talk about ideas and concepts related to a subject, both within and beyond the current text. Lewis clearly knows how to create multiple opportunities for students to engage in collaborative dialogue that supports the relationships within which teaching and learning occur while also supporting students' cognitive growth. There are many ways to create opportunities for students to engage in meaningful oral and written exchanges in the classroom through such practices as journal and essay writing, reciprocal teaching, cooperative groupwork, and peer tutoring, among other strategies (For examples, see Garcia, 1993; Irvine and Armento, 2001; Nieto, 2000; Weiner, 1999; Villegas and Lucas, 2002b).

However, as the vignettes in this chapter indicate, knowing a set of practices is not sufficient. Teachers also need to know when and how to use specific approaches to achieve their goals under a range of different circumstances (Moll, 1988; Nieto, 2000; Neito and Rolon, 1997; Reyes, 1992; Valdes, 1996; Weiner, 1999). For example, in Mr. Levy's vignette, we saw him weighing his next instructional move: an individual lesson? A whole class lecture on the economics of immigration? An activity to encourage student inquiry and discovery? Deciding between these instructional options requires not only knowledge of his students' interests, but a careful assessment of their abilities and knowledge of which instructional strategy can most effectively lead them to the next level of understanding.

In this short segment from Ann Lewis's classroom we see her use several different strategies to engage her students in the material. At first glance, the classroom looks like one that would be recognizable to many: students listened while one student read the text aloud. When the reading finished, another student raised a question about the reading that created an opportunity for Lewis to activate and build upon students' prior knowledge. Rather than answering Jerry's question directly, Lewis responded with a question of her own, asking students to make connections to their prior knowledge by thinking about another character they knew, this one from a film. With the contribution from another student, she is able to demonstrate that students can use clues that help them visualize what they read and connect themselves and their experiences with the text.

She extends and makes explicit this reading strategy using one of the characters in the book and a Venn diagram as a visual tool for students to see similarities and differences between one of the characters and a student in the class. Doing this demonstrates to students one way experienced readers connect with literature and gives them a visual means of representing that knowledge. When a student asks another question about a dispute the main character has with her father, Ms. Lewis once again does not simply answer the question. Instead, students do a role-play to understand the conflict more clearly. After the role-play, the students build their knowledge of the main character rather than having the answer handed to them. This shifts the responsibility for generating knowledge from teacher to students and teacher collectively. Ms. Lewis has not disappeared from the process, but she has skillfully supported the students in taking increased control over their learning and has modeled strategies they can use to help answer their own questions in the future.

Ms. Lewis' pedagogical moves in this brief selection illustrate the use of a wide range of strategies, which provide multiple opportunities for students to engage with the material and expand the probabilities that students who learn in different ways can gain an understanding: students read aloud, they listened, they talked, they produced visual representations, and they acted things out. Ms. Lewis needed to know not only the range of pedagogical choices she had

and how to use them successfully, she also needed to know which approaches were likely to achieve particular goals with this group of students.

Ms. Lewis also displays knowledge of literacy development. We are told in the vignette that this is the first chapter book that some of the students have read. Ms. Lewis understands that for some inexperienced readers it is difficult to visualize what they read in the text. When Jerry asks a question about the protagonist in the book, Ms. Lewis suspects that he needs to remember to use clues from the text to help visualize and connect what he knows to his reading. The instructional moves she makes pick up on this cue from Jerry's question and explicitly provide some strategies that students can draw upon to read complex texts: visualizing text, making comparisons, and making predictions. Ms. Lewis also knows that if students use those strategies with the support of their peers, they are more likely to use the strategies independently in the future, so she practices the strategies together as a large group.

Curriculum. Culturally responsive teachers need to know how to develop a curriculum that takes into account the understandings and perspectives of different groups while also attending to the development of higher level cognitive skills (Banks, 1991, 2003). This involves selecting material that is inclusive of the contributions and perspectives of different groups (Delpit, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 2002) and that is responsive to the particular cultural context within which one teaches (Irvine and Armento, 2001; Knapp and Shields, 1991; Sleeter and Grant, 1999; Villegas, 1991). To create a curriculum that creates connections for their students, teachers need to have wide-ranging knowledge of subject matter content, so that they can construct a curriculum that includes multiple representations addressing the prior experiences of different groups of students (Lee, 1993; McDiarmid, 1994).

Ann Lewis's knowledge of curricular material also allows her to build upon student interests while pushing students to more sophisticated academic work. She needed an awareness of a range of multicultural resources in order to select the novel they read together. In selecting the novel, Ms. Lewis needed to consider not only its potential for student interest, but the difficulty of the book—where some students would be challenged and where some would find the reading easy—and needed to consider her goals for them as readers as well as the district's grade level standards. The book she selected is not one that many of the students could read on their own, but with her help and the help of their peers, they can read the book together. Anne selected the book in light of her knowledge of students' zones of proximal development in this area. With her careful scaffolding, the book stretches the students to read at a higher level than they might have been able to on their own. Another aspect of her pedagogy is represented in her explicit attention to reading. She knows what experienced readers do when they encounter texts that are challenging and she shares those strategies explicitly with students.

In addition, the vignette shows that she uses students' excitement and engagement in the novel and moves them into research projects, allowing the students to shape their own inquiries. In the process, she not only teaches students about doing research, but creates a place for students to share and learn from traditional resources and each other's histories (and, in fact, creates opportunities for students to learn their own histories more deeply). In encouraging one student whose parents had fought in the Vietnam war to share some artifacts of the period—maps, pictures, and the like—and inviting a family member to talk with the class, Ms. Lewis connected her school work with the home environment while enriching the cultural and historical knowledge of all her students.

Assessment. Developing and modifying assessment strategies so that they are sensitive to children's differences can also enhance student learning (Darling-Hammond, 1996; Goodwin, 1997a). This requires knowledge of a range of assessments and what each reveals about student learning. (See Chapter Eight in this volume.) Ms. Cowen's vignette, for example, demonstrates her awareness of a variety of tools that provide her with a fuller view of Julie's strengths and areas that need development. In addition, Ms. Cowen's knowledge of development helps her articulate precisely where she sees Julie's progress. Ms. Cowen also reveals that she has a complex view of student achievement that goes beyond a single measure.

Ms. Lewis clearly had specific goals for reading the novel her class was working on together, and she challenged all students to reach those goals. Before she selected the novel, she needed to assess her students' strengths, abilities, and interests as readers and the areas where they needed to work. Thus, she used the knowledge gained from her assessments of them as readers to inform not only her text selection, but also her goals for teaching the text.

Another important feature in Ms. Lewis's practice was her explicit articulation of strategies available to readers. Explicitly teaching those strategies makes it more likely that students will use them in their future reading. Had she not been able to articulate them, she might have just waited for students to discover those strategies accidentally. Some students might have done so, whereas others would never have figured them out. Delpit (1995) makes this point quite powerfully, noting that, especially for students whose home culture is different from that of the school, demystifying school expectations and learning strategies is critical.

Teachers' Attitudes and Expectations: The Importance of Dispositions

Another aspect of culturally responsive teaching is the ability to build upon the strengths that students bring to school. To capitalize on students' strengths, teach-

ers need to be able to assess what knowledge and beliefs students bring to the classroom, evaluate how they learn in different domains, and structure conditions that will facilitate their academic achievement (Au, 1980; Mehan, Villanueva, Hubbard, and Lintz, 1996; Tharp, 1982). We saw how, in preparation for an IEP meeting regarding her student, Ms. Cowan reflects on the abilities she has seen Julie demonstrate in her classroom. Her careful observation has allowed her to see beyond the initial special education diagnosis to a nuanced understanding of several aspects of Julie's learning. Similarly, Ms. Lewis is able to see the leadership potential in her student Larry, and she creates experiences for him that generate increased effort, motivation, and success. Students' learning is facilitated when teachers view them as learners who have experiences, ideas, and home and community resources that can be built upon to help them master new knowledge and skills (Moll and others, 1992; Moll and Gonzalez, 2004).

Developing a Sociocultural Consciousness. The vignettes featured in this chapter point to research indicating that there are some beliefs and attitudes that are critical for teachers to be effective with all students, including respect for all learners and their experiences, confidence in their abilities to learn, a willingness to question and change one's own practices if they are not successful in a given case, and a commitment to continue seeking new solutions to learning problems (see, for example, Delpit, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995; Gay, 2000; Irvine and Armento, 2001; Morrell, 2002; Tharp, Estrada, Dalton, and Yamaguchi, 1999; Villegas, 1991; Villegas and Lucas, 2002b). In addition to building on students' strengths, developing a "sociocultural consciousness" enables teachers to realize that the worldview they may have grown up with is not universal but is greatly influenced by their life experiences and aspects of their cultural, gender, race, ethnicity, and social class background (Banks, 1998; Harding, 1991; Villegas and Lucas, 2002a). Mr. Levy's awareness that his own family's immigration history is one factor shaping his response to Roger's paper demonstrates an aspect of this sociocultural consciousness (Willis and Lewis, 1998; Tatum, 1997). Teachers are more aware of how they interact with their students, and what their choices are, when they develop self-knowledge, in particular, an awareness of themselves as cultural beings as well as an awareness of the ways their culture shapes their views. Those teachers who develop this consciousness are not only aware that multiple perspectives exist, but they can also create opportunities for students to articulate their views and discover ways in which their experiences and popular culture shape these views.

When prospective teachers develop greater sociocultural consciousness, it becomes a vehicle for the development of a more affirming and positive attitude toward students. Teachers begin to better understand how their interactions with their students and the world in general are influenced by their social

and cultural location and that of the students. Bernstein (1972) summed it up nicely when he said, "If the culture of the teacher is to become part of the consciousness of the child, then the culture of the child must first be in the consciousness of the teacher" (p. 149).

By building on the experiences and knowledge of their students, teachers can create more personalized and motivating social contexts for teaching. Veteran teachers such as Ms. Cowen and Mr. Levy realize the importance of continuing to learn about their students throughout their careers. Ms. Lewis masterfully channels the excitement generated by a novel they read together, allows students to pursue a variety of interests generated by the novel, and draws from a variety of resources to do so. In the process, she creates opportunities for students to share their knowledge across cultures, developing a cross-cultural appreciation between immigrant and nonimmigrant students as well. When prospective teachers develop greater sociocultural consciousness, it can become a vehicle for developing a more affirming and positive attitude toward students and a foundation for building curriculum.

It is most important that teachers not make quick assumptions about children. It is easy to label a child unmotivated when he is lost and unable to connect to instruction or is underchallenged and bored. It is tempting to label a child slow who is simply confused by directions on how to complete an assignment. Teachers must believe that it is possible to develop and adapt instruction to engage all children, to help them learn, and to help them become responsible members of a classroom community. They must also know how to provide clear, organized directions, using multiple modes of communication so that students who process information differently will be able to understand them—and well-scaffolded tasks that provide many entry points into the material so that students can master it. To teach all children well, teachers must tailor their curriculum and instruction so that their students will be engaged in meaningful work.

These concerns for affirming environments and meaningful learning opportunities operate at the school level as well. There is evidence that when schools have adopted a philosophy and set of pervasive practices that are based on an understanding of children's development and experiences—that affirm students, offer a strong curriculum to all, and promote individual development as well as positive intergroup relationships—attachments to school, positive interactions among adults and children, and achievement can be strengthened (Comer, Haynes, and Joyner, 1996; Khmelkov and Hallinan, 1999; Newmann and Wehlange, 1995; Nieto, 2003; Slavin, 1995).

Without an explicit agenda to develop such norms and to look for ways to recognize and support all students, to offer all individuals and groups a rich and meaningful curriculum, and to build positive relationships across students, many schools inadvertently (and sometimes knowingly) distribute opportunities for learning and success inequitably. Individual teachers who seek to

change these norms within their classrooms will be much less effective than if they work within a context that reinforces their efforts. Consequently, teachers need to be aware of how the formal and informal systems of the school operate to construct opportunity and how to participate in school-level change processes that call attention to organizational needs and help develop a supportive culture schoolwide.

Teaching Children with Exceptional Needs: Building an Inclusive practice

The ideas of *culturally responsive classrooms* and *inclusive classrooms* are not entirely the same, but they are similar. Specifically, both terms suggest that schools and teachers need to develop classrooms that are supportive of children and accepting of difference. Within both of these conceptions, children's strengths are emphasized and differences are considered a positive part of a learning environment because they allow children to share and experience diverse perspectives. In the past, children with exceptional needs were largely taught in isolated special education classrooms, and special education was associated primarily with a deficit orientation. Today, although special education is still connected closely to a medical model because children are "diagnosed" with certain disabilities, most educators understand that learning differences exist along a vast continuum, that human beings typically develop compensatory strengths—often formidable ones—to allow them to expand their learning even though they may have some areas of difficulty, and that strategic instruction can make a large difference in what students achieve. Moreover, many believe that viewing disability as a type of insurmountable deficit is a socially constructed notion that is detrimental to children and should be challenged (McDermott, 1996).

Other lingering misconceptions include the equating of special education with behavioral models of teaching featuring a focus only on rote acquisition of skills or with a legalistic model that focuses on labels and procedures that must be followed. In this chapter, we present an inclusive model that reflects a broad view of diversity, one which recognizes that students have multiple and complex experiences, strengths, and identities that include interests and talents as well as ethnicity, gender, social status, family experiences, and learning differences, among others. These complex sets of experiences require that students be taught as individuals by teachers who are observant and diagnostic in their approach and who are also aware of the more general patterns in learning to be considered as they assess and plan instruction. Quite often, teachers who are prepared to teach students with exceptional needs become more skillful teachers of all students because they develop deeper diagnostic skills and a wider repertoire of strategies that are useful for many students who learn in different ways.

To instruct special needs students effectively, teachers need to understand the nature of various disabilities, ranging from mild to moderate learning disabilities—for example, dyslexia, dyscalculia, developmental aphasia, or perceptual problems—to other concerns such as developmental delays, mental retardation, hearing impairments, visual impairments, autism, emotional and behavioral disorders, speech and language impairments, physical impairments (mobility), emotional disturbance, and attention deficit, hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). Teachers should be aware that certain conditions such as cerebral palsy and autism are associated with a spectrum and can be very mild (hardly recognizable) to very severe. For common disabilities (for example, auditory or visual processing problems), teachers should at minimum have a basic repertoire of strategies and adaptations that can help students gain access to the material they are teaching in an appropriate way.

In addition, a teacher should have some understanding of the eligibility and placement process and how to work with other professionals and parents within these processes. Although it is not necessary for novice teachers to know the details of all the various highly specialized tests used for assessment purposes for all the different types of disabilities, they should be able to talk with parents about how their child will be assessed, given the learning difficulties the teacher has reported. They should be able to communicate with professional colleagues about the findings of assessments and the services to be offered. They need to know where to find additional information—from research or from professional colleagues—about specific diagnoses, disabilities, and services when it is necessary to work with an individual child and his family. They should be prepared to work with parents who have varied reactions to news concerning their children. For example, one parent might be upset and argue that her child has no learning challenges, whereas another parent will use legal means to obtain resources for his child that are not readily available.

Teachers will need to know how to contribute to and implement Individualized Education Plans (IEPs) for students in their classrooms, and they should be aware that the IEP process was developed as way to ensure that children have access to best possible educational opportunities within the least restrictive environments, and that parents are assured due process. Teachers should understand students' rights and have a working knowledge of the laws and policies associated with access to education, such as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), so that they can meet the spirit of these policies.

What Teachers Need to Know About Teaching Children with Exceptional Needs

To teach children with learning differences, it is important for teachers to have a deep understanding of child development, learning, language development,

and sophisticated strategies for teaching content, managing the classroom, and assessing both *how* children learn and *what* they are learning—aspects of teaching we have treated elsewhere in this volume. In this section, we address how teachers can use that knowledge and specific knowledge about distinctive learning needs to move children forward in their progress. For example, children identified with learning disabilities often need adaptive instruction and supports in various areas of development (see Chapter Three), including speech and language, gross and fine motor, cognition, and social and emotional development. In this chapter, it would be impossible to talk about all the instructional adaptations to assist children with special learning challenges, so we provide a few examples of particularly powerful strategies that illustrate key principles of instruction used with students of different ages who have learning disabilities. General education teachers will not generally know all the adaptive techniques available to children with disabilities, but they should have some understanding about important principles of instruction as well as information about where to find these special adaptations and strategies when they need them.

Example #1: Young Children with Speech, Language, and Social Delays. Young children with speech and language delays have difficulty connecting with peers and developing meaningful relationships. This can interfere with social and emotional development. Many children with social problems, particularly children with autistic spectrum disorders, face serious challenges learning how to play and socialize with peers. They experience problems conveying and interpreting social communication cues that make it difficult to coordinate social activities with other children or to join peers in play. Attempts to socialize are often subtle, obscure, or poorly timed and mistaken as signs of deviance or limited social interest. Many children spend inordinate amounts of time alone pursuing repetitive and unimaginative activities. Without appropriate intervention, they are at high risk for being excluded from their peer culture and failing to learn the communication skills they will need throughout life (Wolfberg, 1999). Knowledge of these learning and development issues—and of strategies that can counteract these problems—is critical for teachers to appropriately support students' social learning, interpersonal skills, and their symbolic capacities. One such strategy includes engaging children in an Integrated Play Group. This strategy creates play groups with special needs children and nondisabled children and uses principles of cognitive apprenticeship to engage children in guided play with scaffolding that enables "expert" assistance from more skilled peers to teach communication and play strategies (Wolfberg, 2003) (see The Integrated Play Groups Model).

Many knowledgeable preschool teachers use augmentative communication symbols (picture symbols that enable children who cannot read or talk to

communicate by pointing to a sequence of pictures) to develop materials to help all children with and without disabilities learn language skills. These teachers use the playgroup models to help all children learn to interact, to develop social and communication abilities, and to become caring citizens in their learning communities.

The Integrated Play Groups Model

Integrated Play Groups are designed to support children of diverse ages and abilities with autism spectrum disorders (novice players) in mutually enjoyed play experiences with typical peers and siblings (expert players) within school, home, and community settings. The intervention seeks to maximize each child's developmental potential as well as intrinsic desire to play, socialize, and form meaningful relationships with peers through a carefully tailored system of support described as "guided participation" (Rogoff, 1999). This system monitors play initiations by children;

Outcomes for Novice Players	Outcomes for Expert Players
• More frequent and sustained social interaction and play with peers—decreased isolate play • Advances in representational play, developmentally/age-appropriate play—decreased stereotyped play • Advances in related symbolic activity (writing and drawing) • Improved social-communication skills • Improved language skills in verbal children • More diverse range of play interests • Higher degree of spontaneous social engagement (initiation and responsiveness) with peers • Increased affect—emotional expression • Sheer enjoyment—"fun factor" • Formation of reciprocal relationships—friendships with peers	• Greater awareness, tolerance, acceptance of individual differences • Greater empathy, compassion and patience for others • Increased self-esteem, confidence, sense of pride in accomplishments • Increased sense of responsibility to cooperate and include others • Ability to adapt to children's different play interests and ways of relating and communicating • Sheer enjoyment—"fun factor" • Formation of reciprocal relationships—friendships with atypical peers

Source: Based on the findings of Gonsier-Gerdin, 1993; O'Connor, 1999; Wolfberg, 1988, 1994; Wolfberg and others, 1999; Wolfberg and Schuler, 1992, 1993; Zercher and others, 2001.

builds on these by providing assistance through directed and modeled play as well as verbal and visual cueing; and immerses novice players at their level of development in more advanced play experiences with expert players through partial participation. An equally important focus is on teaching the peer group to be more accepting, responsive, and inclusive of children who relate and play in different ways (Wolfberg, 2003). Research shows that children learn and develop in a multitude of ways through shared experiences in play (Vygotsky, 1966, 1978). Moreover, peers perform a distinct role in fostering children's socialization and development that cannot be duplicated by adults (Hartup, 1979, 1983; Wolfberg and others, 1999). To test the effectiveness of the playgroups model, scholars have conducted a number of empirical studies on children with and without disabilities (see the following summary). In many of these studies, there was evidence that children made gains in both social and symbolic play while participating in playgroups, and acquired improved communication and symbolic skills in the areas of spoken language, writing, and drawing.

Example #2: Older Children with Learning Disabilities. In contrast to earlier beliefs that students with learning disabilities need highly repetitive, rote activities in order to learn, researchers have discovered that strategic instruction — helping students learn approaches to solving problems or producing work — is highly beneficial to students with special needs. This includes helping students develop some of their own strategies for learning and retention, including memory aids (for example, mnemonic devices) and organization strategies (such as analysis, webbing, and outlining). It also includes highly effective strategies for enhancing metacognition. Like the strategy instruction used in the Integrated Play Groups, discussed earlier, researchers have found that learning disabled and nondisabled students benefit from strategy instruction in many academic subjects, including writing. (See "Teaching Metacognitive Strategies for Writing to Students with Learning Disabilities.")

Teaching Metacognitive Strategies for Writing to Students with Learning Disabilities

Studies of learning have found that students are more able to learn complex skills when they are able to think "metacognitively," that is, to think about their own thinking and performance so as to monitor and change it. Vygotsky (1978) suggested that talking things through, internally or aloud, actually helps people learn by helping them organize and manage their thought process. In fact, studies of writers have found that they engage in an internal dialogue in which they talk to themselves—sometimes even muttering aloud—about audience, purpose, form, and content. They ask and answer for themselves questions about who they are writing for, why, what they know, and how ideas are organized as they plan, draft, edit, and revise. They guide their thinking with metacognitive strategies that help them write purposefully.

This basic research has led to strategies for teaching writing that help novice writers learn how to engage in this kind of self-talk and self-monitoring as they go

through similar processes. In one study, teachers of fourth- and fifth-grade learning disabled and non-learning disabled students were taught how to implement these strategies in their classrooms by analyzing texts, modeling the writing process, guiding students as they wrote, and providing students with opportunities for independent writing over the course of a year. Analyses were conducted for an intervention group of 32 students and a matched comparison group of 31 similar students selected from a pool of 500 students in seven urban schools participating in a broader research study. In each group, half of the students were learning disabled and half were non-learning disabled. The study found that the groups whose teachers had received the special training engaged in more self-regulating metacognitive strategies and were more able to explain their writing process. This ability was positively and significantly related to measures of their academic performance in reading and writing. Although there were significant differences in the writing knowledge of learning disabled and non-learning disabled students within the comparison group, the learning disabled students whose teachers had had the special training were just as able to describe and use the writing strategies—such as the ability to organize, evaluate, and revise their papers in appropriate ways—as were the regular education students in the comparison group. Sometimes, the learning disabled students who had received this strategy instruction even outscored the regular education students.

Source: Englert, Raphael, and Anderson (1992).

Example #3: Elementary-aged Children with Reading Disabilities. There are also specific kinds of instruction that can help students with particular learning disabilities, such as dyslexia. In a review of research on teaching reading to students with reading disabilities, the National Research Council's report *Preventing Reading Difficulties in Young Children* (1998) found that a useful instructional strategy for working with many elementary-aged children with reading difficulties is phonemic awareness training (see, for example, Williams, 1980). Word recognition skills of severely disabled readers can often be substantially improved through intensive supplementary training including either explicit instruction in phoneme awareness and letter-sound patterns or training in using common orthographic patterns and analogies to identify unfamiliar words (Lovett and others, 1994). Recent analyses on an expanded sample indicate that the two training conditions are about equally effective for older (grades 5 and 6) and younger (grades 2 and 3) children with reading disabilities (Lovett and Steinbach, 1997).

These studies indicate, first, that intensive training, even over relatively short periods, can substantially improve the word-reading skills of children with serious reading disabilities and that these positive outcomes are maintained over months or years after the cessation of training. Second, it is clear that phonologically oriented training programs are not the only type of intervention that can facilitate word recognition, although this approach produces the strongest

gain in phonemic awareness and phonological decoding when combined with training in other reading skills. Teachers who work with students who have difficulty with reading need to be able to assess students' reading difficulty and be aware of the range of possible interventions and what research says about which interventions would profit students the most.

Example #4: General Accommodations. There are a number of different types of adaptations that teachers have at their disposal. Teachers need to know how to teach specific strategies to children, how to use adaptive materials to help children with speech and language difficulties socialize with other children, and how they can focus on particular instructional strategies (such as phonemic awareness training) to help children with reading disabilities. More generally, teachers also need to know how to create adaptations of the work they plan for learners with particular needs. These can include adaptations of:

Size: The length or portion of an assignment, demonstration, or performance learners are expected to complete. For example reduce the length of report to be written or spoken, the references needed, or the number of problems.

Time: The flexible time needed for student learning. For example individualize a timeline for project completion, allow more time for test taking.

Level of Support: The amount of assistance to the learner. For example students work in groups, with peer buddies, or mentors.

Input: The instructional strategies used to facilitate learning. For example use of videos, computer programs, field trips, and visual aids to support active learning.

Difficulty: The skill levels, conceptual levels, and processes involved in learning. For example provide calculators, tier the assignment so the outcome is the same but with varying degrees of concreteness and complexity.

Output: The ways learners can demonstrate understanding and knowledge. For example to demonstrate understanding, students write a song, tell a story, design a poster, or perform an experiment.

Degree of Participation: The extent to which the learner is actively involved in the tasks. For example in a student play, a student may play a part that has more physical action rather than memorizing a long script.

Modified Goals: The adapted outcome expectations within the context of general education curriculum. For example in a written language activity, a student may focus more on writing some letters and copying words rather than composing whole sentences or paragraphs.

Substitute Curriculum: The significantly differentiated instruction and materials to meet a learner's identified goals: For example in a foreign language class, a student may develop a script that uses both authentic language and cultural knowledge of a designated time period, rather than reading paragraphs or directions (reprinted with permission: Cole, S., Horvath, B., Chapman, C., Deschenes, C., Ebeling, D., and Sprague, J., 2000).

Some of the strategies for working with special needs learners can and should be used with all children. For example, all teachers should use visual aids, plan concrete examples, and provide hands-on activities for students who have had little prior experience in a domain. Teachers need to know the range of common adaptations that exist, know how to implement them, and know under what circumstances they are most effective.

What Teachers Need to Know About Developing an Inclusive Practice

Developing an inclusive practice goes beyond understanding special education policy and identifying specific instructional strategies that will help students with disabilities. Teachers must also know how to develop a supportive classroom community in which all students feel safe with the teacher and with each other. This involves sophisticated skills in classroom management. For example, it is important for teachers to be able to design groupwork in which children with varying abilities can work together productively. This requires identifying the strengths of special needs learners in ways that allow them to contribute and helping other students learn how to work within a heterogeneous group that supports contributions from all members (Johnson, 1985; Johnson and Johnson, 1989; Cohen and Lotan, 1995).

To develop inclusive classrooms teachers need to be able to observe, monitor, and assess children to gain accurate feedback about their students' learning and development. Thus they need to have skills in systematic inquiry, including the ability to observe not only an individual child in interaction with different tasks, but also the interactions among students. (See for example, the story of Akeem in Chapter Eight on Assessment.) Given the context of the classroom, the interactions between children, the individual nature of the learning challenges, and the child's life outside school, they need to determine why children may be responding or behaving in particular ways. Then they need to be able to develop interventions, track changes, and revise their strategies as necessary.

As mentioned earlier, teachers also need to attend to cultural and language differences as well as differences in how students learn and interact with one another. Most often this requires that teachers actively work to develop class-

room communities where students are not only accepted, but are valued for their diverse experiences inside and outside the classroom. Teachers need to find ways to bring these experiences into the classroom. To develop an inclusive community students need to feel safe, not only with the teacher, but also around their peers. Developing this type of community can be difficult and takes some skill. For example, the teacher should be able to develop activities that are not overly competitive. If a teacher encourages children to talk about their disabilities and their backgrounds, the teacher needs to know how to direct conversations and to support people who are disclosing information. Teachers may also need to provide direct instruction on how children should interact with their peers. In fact, some children need to be taught how to be empathetic.

Developing an inclusive practice also requires that teachers work closely with other professionals. The necessary collaboration skills are complex, sometimes requiring that a teacher move beyond "being polite" with other teachers and professionals in order for them to communicate about serious educational issues that require debate and may create conflict. These may range from issues concerning individual students and whether they are being appropriately placed or treated in school to issues concerning broader school practices, such as tracking or curriculum differentiation, student placement policies, curriculum or teaching policies, or issues related to the quality of services provided in special education or in other parts of the school program. Teachers need to know how to raise questions and issues in a professional manner, seek appropriate information about student performance and school practices and bring that information to the table for discussion, and suggest strategies for clarifying goals and taking action. They need to know how to listen carefully so as to understand different positions and points of view, look for consensus and identify differences in ways that move the conversation forward, and take steps to resolve conflict. In the next section, we talk more about how teacher education programs can help teachers develop both the skills and the dispositions they need if they are to work successfully with diverse children and help create school environments that support equity and progress for all students.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

Acquiring the kinds of knowledge we have described in this chapter—self-knowledge, cultural and linguistic knowledge, culturally informed pedagogical knowledge, knowledge about the nature of learning differences, knowledge of teaching methods and materials suitable for different kinds of learning needs, and knowledge of home-school relationships—is a complex undertaking. The teacher education community has responded to the challenge

of helping prospective teachers acquire this knowledge base in a number of different ways that include instructional and curricular offerings that put teacher candidates in closer contact with the students and communities they serve. New program structures and recruitment processes for students and faculty also strengthen opportunities for teachers to expand their cultural knowledge and experiences.

The challenge of teaching diverse learners starts the moment teachers begin planning ways to connect their students with the subject matters they intend to teach. For this connection to occur, teachers must know their students—who they are, what they care about, what languages they speak, what customs and traditions are valued in their homes. This suggests that teacher education ought to include a variety of opportunities for teachers to learn about their students and the communities from which they come. At the same time they must learn how to continue to learn about their students because their students will continue to change for every class and every year. Not unrelated is what teachers need to know about themselves—who they are, how their past school experiences frame their ways of knowing and being in school, and how that, in turn, tends to influence what they believe and what goals they set for doing the work. Teacher education pedagogies that stress all three of these knowledge domains—knowledge of learners, knowledge of self, and knowledge of how to continue to learn in teaching—suggest how we might begin to consider the implications of considering the "diverse learners" when thinking about learning to teach.

Learning About Students and Communities

We have suggested in this chapter that knowing one's students is important for teaching them well, as is believing that all students can learn and achieve high levels of academic success. The challenge of knowing one's students well and continuing to believe in their potential is fortified as teachers develop the knowledge and skills that enable them to succeed in teaching children from diverse backgrounds. There are several promising teacher education pedagogies that have emerged to prepare teachers to accomplish this goal. What kinds of activities might teacher educators design to prepare teachers for meeting the coupled challenge and opportunity of teaching our nation's diverse student population?

In *Educating Culturally Responsive Teachers*, Villegas and Lucas (2002a, p. 139) describe four types of field experiences that can help prospective teachers understand the school and community contexts in which they practice, and gain skills for becoming agents of change. These include guided school and community visits; service learning opportunities in both schools and other community organizations; studies of students, classrooms, schools, and communi-

ties and practice in diverse contexts with teachers who are engaged in an equity pedagogy. All of these require care in structuring and guiding the learning experience, and each offers the possibilities for personal insights, professional learning, and deeper understanding of the social and structural features of schools and communities that shape opportunity.

One way to get to know one's students is to spend time with them and time in their communities paying careful attention to who they are, what they know, and what is the context for their experiences. In some teacher education programs, teacher candidates engage in various assignments and activities that take them into the communities where their students live and where their students' parents work. The "funds of knowledge approach" developed by Moll and González (2004) provides an example. This approach, which builds on ethnographic methods, centers on visiting students' households for the purpose of developing social relations with family members to document their knowledge and social capital so that it can be integrated into the work of the school (Moll and González, 2004). Through their inquiries teachers can document the funds of knowledge found in their students' households, including knowledge about vocations and avocations as well as community resources. In becoming theoretically and methodologically adept with this form of inquiry, they can rediscover those cultural resources in their students and incorporate them into the curriculum (González and others, 1995; Moll, Amanti, Neff, and González, 1992). Through their engagement with the inquiry process the teachers learn to employ this methodology as they continue to learn about their students in future years.

Rather than isolated in one experience or even one course, opportunities for novice teachers to spend time in the communities where their students live need to occur in a variety of ways and throughout the teacher's professional preparation (Bennett, Okinaka, and Xio-Yang, 1988; Grant and Koskella, 1986; McDiarmid and Price, 1990; Sleeter and Grant, 1988). These kinds of learning opportunities can also be offered through Child or Adolescent Case Study assignments that require teachers to come to know the life circumstances of a particular child very well (Roeser, 2002), for example, or extended fieldwork assignments that have teachers working in neighborhood or community settings (Ladson-Billings, 2001).

Community experiences in and of themselves are not necessarily educative, however. What makes them so are opportunities for students to reflect on and challenge the initial assumptions they carry with them into the field. Undoing prior assumptions is an important part of this process of learning to teach children who are not one's own. Ladson-Billings (2001) emphasizes this point when she notes that because of some teachers' prior experiences, they sometimes view their work through the lens of "helping the less fortunate" which provides little room for "the need to really help children become educated enough to develop intellectual, political, cultural, and economic independence" (pp. 82–83). Thus

in the program Ladson-Billings describes, students complete a six-week assignment in a community-based agency or neighborhood center while they are enrolled in two courses: *Teaching and Diversity*, and *Culture, Curriculum, and Learning*, in addition to a seminar designed to help students debrief their community experiences. Furthermore, the work of this experience goes on throughout the remainder of the program year, which is tightly integrated around the ideas that teachers need to know the communities where schools are located, teachers need to develop a "humanizing pedagogy," and teaching is "an unfinished profession" (p. 109). Thus the program seeks to prepare teachers as learners and includes regular reflection as part of that process.

The occasion for guided reflection helps teachers make sense of what they have seen and heard and helps them to learn how to use their emerging knowledge to design curriculum and assessment materials appropriate to the students they teach. This time for guided reflection also allows teacher educators to be explicit about the processes involved in learning from one's experience as foundational for the continued work of learning in teaching.

Learning About Self

The importance of learning about one's students is paralleled by the importance of learning about oneself. Activities or experiences that place students face to face with their entering beliefs and assumptions both about themselves and others, and about learning, schooling, and intelligence, are essential as novice teachers prepare to teach students who are often different from themselves, in schools that are also different from the ones they attended, in a society that is changing with rapid intensity every day. A number of pedagogical approaches have been developed that provide this opportunity for students. For instance, autobiography, narrative, and life history are all methodologies teacher educators have developed to help prospective teachers question their existing beliefs about themselves and others (see, for example, Gomez and Tabachnick, 1992).

A study of one such methodology showed how ethnic literature and autobiography can become a means for prospective teachers to conduct studies of their own lives, which allows them to see themselves as cultural beings, and can lead to changes in their beliefs about literacy, schooling, and cultural identity (Florio-Ruane, 2001). In another teacher education program, novice teachers were asked to write a number of short narratives about instances of learning in the classrooms where they teach. They were startled by their own unquestioned assumptions and beliefs, which become evident when they were asked to analyze the collection of narratives they had produced (Richert, 2002). In addition, some narratives that portray instances of culturally responsive pedagogy or that provide portraits of students inside and outside academic settings provide ways to challenge assumptions prospective teachers might hold. The skillful use of autobiography, family histories, and contemporary and historical narratives can

help prospective teachers learn about their own views, their students' experiences, and about the role of culture in learning, teaching, and schooling. We describe how this can be done in the account of Professor Holt's teacher education course, which is a composite account illustrating practices in several teacher education programs. (See "Professor Anderson Holt's Teacher Education Course.")

Professor Anderson Holt's Teacher Education Course

Anderson Holt is a professor in the teacher education program at a large state university in the Midwest. The demographics of the teacher education population at his university mirror the national population of teacher education students and teachers. Approximately 80 percent of Holt's students are white and about 75 percent are female. Many of Holt's students attended predominantly white elementary and secondary schools and grew up in rural areas or in small towns. Their experience at the large state university is the first opportunity they have had in their lives to interact with African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians in equal-status situations.

Among the major goals that Holt has for his course are to help the students understand the ways in which race is constructed in American society, how some racial groups are privileged and others are disadvantaged by established racial categories, and the pernicious effects of the "color-blind" approach to dealing with racial issues and problems in school (Schofield, 2003). Another aim of Holt's course is to help students understand the ways in which they are ethnic and cultural beings and the significant ways in which culture influences teaching and learning (Irvine, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Holt often hears student comments like these at the start of his multicultural teacher education class:

"I am just American. I don't have a cultural or ethnic group."

"Why do we have to talk about ethnic and racial differences? Why can't we all be just Americans?"

"Kids don't really see colors and these kinds of differences. I am afraid that if we bring them up we will just be teaching kids about them."

Helping Teacher Education Students Rethink Race, Culture, and Ethnicity

Although many students in teacher education programs view themselves as monocultural beings who are color-blind and raceless, evidence suggests that "color-blind" perspectives often mask unacknowledged biases about racial/ethnic minority groups. For example, in an important ethnographic study of a school, Schofield (2003) found that teachers who said they were color-blind suspended African American males at highly disproportionate rates and failed to integrate multicultural content into the curriculum. Color-blindness was used to justify the perpetuation of institutionalized discrimination within the school.

Teacher education students need to understand, for example, the ways in which the statement "I am not ethnic; I am just American" positions other cultures as non-American. A well-meaning statement such as "I don't see color" fails to legitimize racial identifications that often define the experiences of people of color and are

used to justify perpetuation of discrimination. If educators do not "see" color and the ways in which institutionalized racism privileges some groups and disadvantages others, they will be unable to take action to eliminate racial inequality in schools.

In his introductory teacher education course, Holt incorporates readings, activities, lectures, and discussions designed to help students "unlearn racism" and to read the "racial text" of U.S. society (Cochran-Smith, 2000). Assignments include a personal reflection paper on the book *We Can't Teach What We Don't Know: White Teachers, Multicultural Schools* (Howard, 1999), as well as a family history project. In his book, Howard (1999) describes his personal journey as a white person to come to grips with racial issues and to become an effective educator. In their reflection papers, Holt's students describe their powerful reactions to Howard's book and how it helps them to rethink their personal journey related to race and their ideas about race. Howard makes racism explicit for most of Holt's students for the first time in their lives.

In their family history project, the students are asked to provide a brief account of their family's historical journey and to give explicit attention to the ways in which race, class, and gender have influenced their family and personal histories. Although the family history project is a popular assignment, many students struggle to describe ways in which race has influenced their family and personal histories because race is largely invisible to them (McIntosh, 1997). Gender is much more visible to the women students in Holt's class. More of the female than male students are able to relate gender to their family and personal stories in meaningful ways.

Challenging the Metanarrative

A series of activities in Holt's course is designed to help students examine the U.S. metanarrative, to construct understandings and narratives that describe the development of U.S. history and culture in ways that incorporate the histories and cultures of the nation's diverse racial, cultural, ethnic, and language groups. These activities include historical readings, discussions, and role-playing events. The perspectives in these historical accounts are primarily those of the groups being studied rather than those of outsiders, because the students have already had much more experience with outsider perspectives than the voices of the people themselves (see, for example, Takaki, 1993; Banks, 2003). To function effectively in culturally, racially, and language diverse classrooms, teacher education students need to understand the experiences and perspectives of various communities and to understand how race, culture, and ethnicity are related to the social, economic, and political structures in U.S. society (Nieto, 1999; Omi and Winant, 1994).

Videotapes that powerfully depict the perspectives of ethnic groups of color on historical and contemporary events supplement the historical readings in Holt's course. These videotapes include *The Shadow of Hate: A History of Intolerance in America* (Guggenheim, 1995), which chronicles how various groups within the United States, including the Irish, Jews, and African Americans, have been victimized by discrimination. One of the most trenchant examples of discrimination in the videotape is the description of the way Leo Frank, a Jewish northerner living in

Atlanta, became a victim of anti-Semitism and racial hostility when he was accused of murdering a white girl who worked in a pencil factory he co-owned.

The Leo Frank case provides the students an opportunity to understand the ways in which race is a social construction, is contextual, and how the meaning of race has changed historically and continues to change today (Jacobson, 1998). Leo Frank was considered Jewish and not white in 1915 Atlanta. Holt presents a lecture that gives the students an overview of Brodkin's (1998) book that describes the process by which Jews (and other white ethnics, such as the Irish and Italians) became white in America by assimilating mainstream American behaviors, ideologies, and perspectives, including institutionalized attitudes toward groups of color (see also Ignatiev, 1995; Morrison, 1992). The students in Holt's class are surprised to learn how the meaning of race has changed through time and that the idea that whites are one racial group is a rather recent historical development.

A videotape that deals with a contemporary Native American issue is used to help students understand the ways in which the United States' past and present are connected. *In Whose Honor? (Rosenstein, 1997)* chronicles the struggle of Charlene Teters, a Native American graduate student, to end the use of a Native American chief as a football team mascot at the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana. The team is called The Fighting Illini, after Chief Illiniwek. During halftime, a student dresses up as Chief Illiniwek and dances. Teters considers the chief and the dance sacrilegious and demeaning to Native Americans. The videotape describes the social action taken by Teters to end the tradition, as well as the strong opposition by the board of trustees and alumni who want to maintain a tradition that is deeply beloved by vocal and influential alumni and board members. This leads to a consideration of how the construction of the Indian in U.S. society is controlled by mainstream institutions, including the mainstream media. Through questioning and discussion, Holt helps the students relate Columbus' construction of the Native people of the Caribbean as Indians, Cortes' construction of the Aztecs as savages, Turner's construction of the West as a wilderness, and the selection of Chief Illiniwek as a mascot. They consider which groups have the power to define and institutionalize their conceptions within the schools, what is the relationship between knowledge and power, and who benefits (and who loses) from the ways in which Native Americans, and other people of color, have been and are often defined in U.S. society.

An Unfinished Journey

Holt's course is designed to help his teacher education students better understand race, culture, and ethnicity, and how these factors influence the teaching and learning process. Holt seeks to communicate the respect he has for his students while at the same time encouraging them to seriously challenge their deeply held beliefs, attitudes, values, and knowledge claims. The course is a beginning of what Holt hopes will be a lifelong journey for his students. One course with a transformative goal can have only a limited influence on the knowledge, beliefs, and values of students who have been exposed to mainstream knowledge and perspectives for most of their prior education. Students are required to take a second multicultural education

course at the state university where Holt teaches. Also, other members of the teacher education faculty are trying to integrate ethnic, cultural, and racial content into the foundations and methods courses. The goal is to enable teachers to learn to understand and successfully engage the students they will meet, and to work on their behalf for effective education and social justice.

Source: Banks, James A. (2001c). Citizenship education and diversity: Implications for Teacher Education. *Journal of Teacher Education, 52*(1), 5–16, copyright © by Sage Publications. Reprinted by permission of Sage Publications, Inc.

Learning About How to Learn from Teaching

Although dispositions and commitments are clearly important, teachers do not continue to believe that "all children can learn" unless they have developed knowledge and skills that enable them to succeed in teaching diverse children. As described further in Chapter Eleven, reading and writing cases is one strategy to develop prospective teachers' capacities to spot issues, frame problems in complex teaching settings, develop teaching strategies, and learn from their own experiences (Kleinfeld, 1990, 1991; Merseth, 1996; Shulman, 1987). A number of educators have developed written and video cases that raise issues of culture and learning for teachers, allowing them not only to become more conscious of their own beliefs and perspectives, but also to become more aware of strategies for reaching their students (Banks, 1991; Kleinfeld, 1998). For example, the Teachers for Alaska program at the University of Alaska Fairbanks has used cases skillfully to explore concerns of multicultural teaching in local contexts. Cases in this program offer students a preview of situations they may encounter in their teaching careers; provide descriptions of strategies successful teachers use in handling these gnarly situations; and help novices develop tools for handling the "messy dilemmas that require all the imagination, intellectual resources, and tact at a teacher's command" (Kleinfeld, 1998, p. 145). (See "Using Cases to Support Learning from Practice in Multicultural Contexts.") Although such cases can be extremely valuable, they need to be constructed with great care, so that they avoid the risk of inadvertently stereotyping students or situations, or attributing to cultural or other characteristics of students behaviors that may have other origins (Darling-Hammond and Snyder, 2000).

Using Cases to Support Learning from Practice in Multicultural Contexts

The Teachers for Alaska program at the University of Alaska Fairbanks replaced the traditional sequence of foundation courses and methods courses followed by student teaching with a program organized around curriculum blocks, each of which emphasizes the study of a case that is thematically related to the subject matter being taught. The cases consist of actual stories of situations confronted by teachers in the culturally diverse classrooms and communities of Alaskan villages. They are modeled on the "dilemmas" approach to case method teaching used by the Harvard Business School to prepare practitioners for action in complex and uncertain con-

texts (Christensen and Hansen, 1987). These cases introduce students to the "tangled issues of teaching in remote villages—the simmering animosities between local people and high-paid outsiders, unfamiliar cultural rules that new teachers could unwittingly violate, the organization of power in village communities, the injustices the educational system has visited on villagers, and also the injustices visited on outside teachers" (Kleinfeld, 1998, p. 142).

The teaching cases consist of two parts. Part one poses the dramatic problem nested within a web of related issues. For instance, one case begins with a classroom fight between an Eskimo student and an Anglo student. As the case develops, the teacher realizes the fight is related to the Anglo student's cutting remark about the Eskimo students' work ("D minus, huh?"). Later the teacher discovers that the Eskimo student's interpretation of this remark cuts to the core of his identity, "He thinks I am dumb because I am native." The case also develops such contextual issues as the stress of culture fatigue, the hostility of the local community, and lack of support from school administration. In the case, the teacher considers such pedagogical and ethical issues as: What is a fair grading system in an English class where some students are children of "outside professionals" and native speakers of English whereas others are Yup'ik-speaking children of subsistence hunters? What alternative grading options might be considered? How can competence be supported and recognized? The case presents teaching problems not as prepackaged neatly solved exercises but as difficult issues to be explored. The critical task for students in their discussion of the cases is first to understand the range of considerations and from that understanding to determine what else to explore.

Part two of the case shows how experienced teachers go about addressing the issues raised in the first part. The advantage of part two is that it features specific strategies that candidates can consider using themselves. In the previous example, for instance, the teacher revises his grading system with goals for each student and grades students on their success in meeting their individualized goals. He creates a bulletin board entitled "The Theme is Excellence" to post students' work, pictures of them doing homework, and articles about their parents from the local newspaper. With other teacher colleagues, he organizes a community relations campaign with a successful poster showing an Eskimo mother with a baby superimposed over a classroom of students. The caption reads, "WE TEACH . . . the children you love." During the program, students write a case from their own student teaching experience. Many of these cases become part of the curriculum for the program the following year. They provide a base for assessing students' success at understanding their work in a multicultural context and for developing productive strategies for reaching their students.

The case-based approach, coupled with carefully structured coursework and clinical experiences, appears to make a difference for candidates' learning. Evaluations of the Teachers for Alaska program show measurable improvement in students' crosscultural teaching skills from the point of entry until graduation. In a recent evaluation, at the end of their first semester on campus and again after their student teaching experiences in the villages, trained observers documented sample lessons graduates taught with culturally diverse students. At their entry into the program, 28 percent of the candidates took into account students' cultural frames of reference. At the

program midpoint, 62 percent did so. At the end of the program, 83 percent did so. Other measures, such as the use of active teaching strategies, showed similar changes (Kleinfeld, 1998). Examining and practicing teaching in cultural and community context appears to strengthen teachers' ability to take account of their students.

Ideally, in their clinical placements, student teachers will have the opportunity to observe firsthand schooling that seeks to confront the long-standing barriers created by tracking, poor teaching, narrow curriculum, and unresponsive systems. If prospective teachers have long-term placements in schools where they can work collaboratively with other teachers on classroom and schoolwide issues, as is the case in many professional development school partnerships, they can learn to become part of a team that works to transform the contexts for teaching and learning. (For examples of such partnerships, see Darling-Hammond, 1994; Guadarrama, Ramsey, and Nath, 2002.) One set of such partnership schools, for example, working with California State University at Fullerton, has created a collaborative approach to preparing special education teachers and regular education teachers involved in inclusion. Creating several sites that seek to demonstrate exemplary practices to special education and that restructure the ways in which students are educated, these teacher education partnerships have demonstrated steady increases in student achievement while educating new and veteran teachers as both skilled inclusion teachers and as agents of school change (Glasser, Karge, Smith, and Weatherill, 2002).

Clearly, however, inequities are not solved overnight. Some programs focus on arming prospective teachers with skills to evaluate what is working and not working for groups of students in their schools as the basis for planning and implementing changes. By exploring inequities in their teaching contexts through action research, student teachers can also be taught to critically examine current school structures, practices, and outcomes as they visit and study schools and evaluate school policies and reforms (see, for example, Darling-Hammond, French, and Garcia Lopez, 2002; Gebhard, Austin, Nieto, and Willett, 2002).

Studies of schools often involve prospective teachers in investigating particular issues or questions—sometimes generated by the course and other times by the candidates themselves—by systematically collecting information, observing interactions in classrooms and other parts of the school, looking at statistical data, examining artifacts or records, and interviewing students, parents, and staff. School studies can examine policy issues that are under discussion (for example, curriculum adoption or development, looping, family involvement policies, language learning policies); grouping practices and how they affect different students, teachers, and practices; inter- and intraschool resource allocations; discipline policies and practices; or other topics. These studies can expand understanding of different perspectives, provide skills for collecting and interpreting data, and develop candidates' knowledge of how school organizations operate—and how

they can be influenced to change. As Villegas and Lucas (2002a) note, however, about the process of such studies, guided reflection is essential. "Without it, preservice teachers might interpret problems they observe as deficiencies within the students, their families, and their communities while overlooking how inequitable conditions in schools and society contribute to these problems" (p. 143).

Considerations of Program Design

It warrants mentioning under the umbrella of the pedagogical approaches that structural changes in programs of teacher education are needed to make space for the kinds of learning experiences we are highlighting here. More time and opportunity for teachers to spend in the communities where they teach makes learning about these communities possible. Student teaching placements that are carefully chosen to enable teachers to work with expert veterans who are knowledgeable, skillful, and committed to all of their students are also important to this work. It is difficult to learn to teach well by imagining what good teaching might look like or by positing the opposite of what one has seen. Rather, placing students carefully with cooperating teachers who are teaching in culturally responsive ways and then structuring those field placements to connect with courses that help teachers understand those experiences are both essential to providing learning opportunities for students doing this work. Many professional development school relationships have been developed so that prospective teachers not only learn to teach from strong practitioners but also so that they work in a school context that has developed formal and informal structures to promote equity (see, for example, Darling-Hammond, 1994; Guadarrama and others, 2002). In these settings, candidates generally are able to experience many aspects of school functioning and learn from many practitioners beyond the individual classroom, including the aspects of the school like special education or language support services, the school governance process, extracurricular activities, and the like. In this way, they have the opportunity to see what schools do when they are committed to serving all of their students well and when they engage in continual self-reflection and improvement.

Another structural factor that impacts a program's ability to provide the kinds of learning opportunities we have highlighted concerns the admissions and hiring procedures that shape the learning community itself. A key building block for the curriculum of any school, from pre-K through graduate school, is the knowledge and set of experiences of those who are members of the learning community. When a diverse group of people gather to teach and learn from one another they become resources for each other. The opportunities for in-depth conversations, teaching examples, inquiry, and other opportunities to learn and grow are enhanced as people with diverse prior experiences come together. It is for this reason that scholars and practitioners have emphasized the recruitment

of more faculty of color in teacher education programs as well as the recruitment of individuals who have taught successfully in settings serving diverse learners. Similarly, having a diverse population of teacher candidates contributes to the learning climate for developing a culturally responsive pedagogy. The more diverse the array of prior experience and perspective among participants, the more generative can be the work of learning to teach.

However, just providing more diversity and experience among the professoriate and student population is not a magical solution to the needs teacher education programs face in preparing teachers to teach in culturally responsive ways. As we have already discussed, programs must develop a curriculum and pedagogy that helps people learn how to learn from those opportunities when people from diverse backgrounds come together to study teaching practice. Learning to learn together is part of this challenging work. An example comes in learning to actively confront stereotypes about the traits of students as well as teachers from various groups in order to correct the tendency to "exceptionalize" successful people of color while maintaining lower expectations of most. With this comes learning how to actively examine how classroom and school-level practices work to enhance or undermine achievement for different groups of students (Ladson-Billings, 1999). Teachers need to be supported in developing the commitment to teach all children to high standards. Holding onto the belief that all pupils can learn and that intelligence is not something immutable or fixed, teachers are then ready to develop the cultural sensitivity and intercultural competence that will create the foundation on which they can base their learning about their students over the duration of their professional careers.

Although considerable work has been done to develop pedagogies that prepare teachers to meet the needs of the widely diverse population of learners they face, at the same time there is much work to be done. New pedagogical approaches are needed, as is a broader inclusion of such efforts in programs nationwide. Similarly, continued effort needs to be made to create programs where these efforts are not standalone courses, but rather integrated experiences throughout the professional preparation program. Research has shown the limited impact of single, standalone courses on prospective teachers' knowledge, attitudes, and practices (Bennett, Okinaka, and Xio-Yang, 1988; Grant and Koskella, 1986; McDiarmid and Price, 1990; Sleeter, 1988). Similarly, single standalone community experiences are not enough to overcome years of prior conditioning. Ultimately, the goal must be to design programs that make attention to diversity, equity, and social justice centrally important so that all courses and field experiences for prospective teachers are conducted with these important goals in mind.

status, and learning challenges associated with exceptionalities. As Banks (1993) notes, all of these factors—and their interactions—are important for teachers who want to construct an "equity pedagogy" (p. 5). We incorporate aspects of the knowledge base regarding development, learning, and learning differences (see Chapters Two and Three of this volume) as well as content pedagogy, assessment, and classroom management (see Chapters Six, Eight, and Nine) with knowledge about culture and its influences on learning (Cazden and Mehan, 1990; Heath, 1983). We also discuss what teachers need to know to construct culturally responsive and learner adaptive pedagogy, curriculum, and assessment (Gay, 2000; Villegas and Lucas, 2002a; Palincsar, Magnusson, Collins, and Cutter, 2002) and to work with communities and parents (Moll and Gonzáles, 2004). Finally, this chapter discusses the kinds of teacher preparation experiences that may enable prospective teachers to more effectively teach diverse students (Nieto, 1999; Villegas and Lucas, 2002a; Zeichner, 1993a; Wolfberg, 1999).

CHALLENGES OF TEACHING DIVERSE LEARNERS

The following three vignettes portray teachers and students in U.S. public schools. Although necessarily incomplete, they provide a sense of the complexity of teaching in today's diverse schools. In particular, these vignettes point to some of the decision making required of teachers and the multiple, sometimes competing, contexts that influence those decisions. They also reveal how the demands of today's schools require that we rethink traditional teacher education as well as K–12 curriculum and instruction.

Ms. Cowen and a Special Education Placement

Ella Cowen has been teaching kindergarten for five years in Boston, Massachusetts, where the majority of children in her class are African American and Asian. Today she is attending an IEP (Individualized Education Plan) meeting for Julie Lee, who is part of her class only three times a week for two hours. Julie spends most of her time in a special education class down the hall. She was diagnosed with developmental delays when she was three years old and was given early intervention opportunities. Today, a team of professionals is trying to decide a correct placement for Julie for next year. Should she repeat kindergarten? Should she continue in special education? Should she be promoted and placed in an inclusive first-grade classroom? Julie's adoptive parents believe that she has serious language delays and would like to keep her in special education. Ms. Cowen, however, suspects that Julie was diagnosed at a time when she simply needed to adjust to a new country, new parents, and a new language. In the last few months, Julie has made noticeable progress, and Ms. Cowen believes Julie has the potential for more challenging work. Ms. Cowen is not sure whether a special education placement is appropriate, and she knows about the research showing that grade retention rarely raises achievement and can have

(1999–2000) indicate that teachers of color make up about 16 percent of the nation's teaching force—an increase from only 10 percent in 1986 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2003)—but still much less than the 40 percent of public school students who are students of color. Although beginning teachers include a somewhat larger proportion of teachers of color (21 percent of those with fewer than three years of experience), it seems clear that it will be some time before the population of individuals entering and remaining in teaching closely resembles the population of students in most schools.

More important than simple differences in racial or language backgrounds, there are also marked differences in the biographies and experiences of most teachers and their students. Most U.S. teachers are European Americans from middle-class backgrounds who speak only English. Many of their students are racial and ethnic minorities, live in poverty, and speak a first language other than English. Thus most teachers do not have the same cultural frames of reference and points of view as their students (Au, 1980; Heath, 1983; Lee, 1993). The importance of connecting new learning to prior experiences and the intrinsically cultural nature of learning and knowing (see Chapters Two and Three of this volume) suggest that teachers will need knowledge to understand students' backgrounds and experiences in order to structure meaningful learning experiences for all of them. Even if a teacher has a similar racial or ethnic background as her students, this does not guarantee all students access to educational opportunities (Foster, 2001; Montecinos, 1994). Indeed, all teachers need to develop cultural competence in order to effectively teach students with backgrounds different from their own.

The Demographic Divide: Differences in Educational Outcomes and Resources. There are marked discrepancies in the educational outcomes and learning conditions for students who vary by race, culture, language, socioeconomic status, and learning differences. With one in four children living in poverty, the United States has the highest rate of childhood poverty among Western democratic nations, with the percentage of African American and Hispanic children living in poverty much higher than the average, at 42 percent and 40 percent, respectively. The achievement levels of African American and Hispanic students on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) mathematics and reading assessments are consistently and markedly lower than levels for white students, as are high school graduation rates. Villegas and Lucas (2002a) conclude that "the consistent gap between racial/ethnic minority and poor students and their White, middle-class peers . . . is indicative of the inability of the educational system to effectively teach students of color as schools have traditionally been structured" (p. 9).

While there is a long history of research demonstrating the many ways in which poverty contributes to low achievement by reducing access to prenatal

and childhood health care, safe housing, and a variety of out-of-school learning opportunities, unequal and inadequate education also contributes to these outcomes. Many studies have documented large disparities in the allocation of resources (for example, equipment, supplies, physical facilities, books, access to computer technology, access to qualified teachers, and class size) to schools serving white and affluent students in comparison with those serving low-income students and students of color. Recent analyses of data prepared for school finance cases in Alabama, California, New Jersey, New York, Louisiana, and Texas have found that on every tangible measure—from qualified teachers to access to technology and curriculum offerings—schools serving greater numbers of students of color tended to have significantly fewer resources than schools serving mostly whites (Darling-Hammond, 2004; see also, National Center for Education Statistics, 1998, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c). In 2001, for example, students in California's predominantly minority schools were five times more likely to have uncertified teachers than those in largely white schools (Shields and others, 2001) and had less access to every category of instructional resource, including textbooks, supplies, and computers, than did schools serving predominantly white and middle-class students (Oakes and Saunders, 2002).

These differences in outcomes have increasingly severe consequences for students and for society. Those who do not succeed in school are becoming part of a growing underclass, cut off from productive engagement in society. In addition to the increasingly strong correlations between educational attainment and income (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000a, p. 432), success in school is increasingly related to the ability to engage in any kind of productive employment. Whereas a high school dropout in 1970 had two chances out of three of getting a job, by 1998, only 44 percent of recent high school dropouts were in the labor force and employed (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000a, p. 430). These proportions are generally even lower for students of color. Furthermore, 30 percent of Hispanic sixteen- to twenty-four-year-olds and 14 percent of African American youth of the same age had dropped out of school (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000a, p. 127). For students diagnosed with learning disabilities, as many as 60 percent drop out of school before graduating from high school (Levin, Zigmond, and Birch, 1985; National Center for Education Statistics, 2000a, p. 129). At a time when the economy demands that more citizens attain higher levels of education, these trends, which have not improved for more than a decade, are deeply troubling.

Differential Treatment of Students in Schools. The differential allocation of skillful teachers appears to play a particularly important role in these disparate outcomes. For example, a number of studies have found teacher expertise (as measured by certification status and test scores, education, and experience

levels) to be a significant determinant of student outcomes (Betts, Rueben, and Danenberg, 2000; Ferguson, 1991a; Ferguson and Ladd, 1996; Fetler, 1999; Goldhaber and Brewer, 2000; Strauss and Sawyer, 1986). These and other studies have suggested that much of the difference in school achievement found between more and less advantaged students is due to the effects of substantially different school opportunities, in particular greatly disparate access to high-quality teachers and teaching (Barr and Dreeben, 1983; Dreeben and Gamoran, 1986; Dreeben and Barr, 1987; Oakes, 1990).

However, teachers alone do not account for all of the educational opportunities that make a difference to students' learning. The ways schools are organized for instruction, what curriculum they offer to whom, what teachers are assigned to which students, how families are involved, and whether and how teachers are encouraged to collaborate all matter for the quality of opportunity different students receive. There is substantial evidence, for example, that curriculum differentiation or tracking matters greatly for student achievement, and that at any given achievement level, students who are "tracked up" or who are exposed to a more rigorous curriculum learn more than same-ability students who are "tracked down" or offered a less challenging course of study (Gamoran, 1990; Hallinan, 2003: Hoffer, 1992; Slavin, 1990b). Differences in access to high-quality course content are associated with race and class and contribute to differences in achievement (Dreeben and Gamoran, 1986; Jones, 1984; Jones, Burton, and Davenport, 1984; Moore and Smith, 1985; Pelavin and Kane, 1990).

Researchers have found that students placed in lower tracks are typically exposed to a more limited, rote-oriented curriculum and ultimately achieve less than students of similar aptitude who are placed in academic programs or untracked classes (Gamoran, 1990; Gamoran and Mare, 1989; Oakes, 1992). Teacher interaction with students in lower-track classes has been found to be less motivating and less supportive, as well as less demanding of higher-order reasoning and responses (Good and Brophy, 1994). Presentations are often less clear and less focused on higher-order cognitive goals (Oakes, 1985). These interactions are also less academically oriented and more likely to focus on behavioral criticisms, especially for minority students (Eckstrom and Villegas, 1991).

Some evidence suggests that teachers themselves are tracked, with those judged to be the most competent and experienced, and those with the highest status, assigned to the top tracks (Oakes, 1986; Talbert, 1990). Students in the lowest tracks are most likely to be assigned teachers who are underprepared, unlicensed, inexperienced, and out-of-field (National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 1996). Disparate outcomes can also result from differences in class sizes, as well as texts, materials, and equipment, available to students in different courses and tracks.

Furthermore, some research suggests that race and socioeconomic status can determine assignments to tracks even after grades and test scores are controlled

(Gamoran, 1992; Oakes, 1992; Oakes, 1993). There is evidence that decisions about grouping influence not only achievement, but also how students relate to each other interpersonally: when students are grouped in racially or linguistically separated classes or programs, especially when these have different statuses within the school, they form fewer positive intergroup relationships (Khmelkov and Hallinan, 1999). And when student groupings are more segregated, racial climate is less positive within classrooms and schools (Braddock and Slavin, 1993). Conversely, when students of different backgrounds are placed together in classrooms and work together in well-managed cooperative groups, interracial relationships can improve (Slavin, 1995) as can achievement (Johnson and Johnson, 1989; Slavin, 1990a).

School personnel make many organizational decisions that have broad consequences for student outcomes, and teachers should be aware of the consequences of these decisions, so that they can help shape productive school environments. School personnel also need to be aware of how the norms and values they may take for granted in school accord with those that students experience in their homes, and how school decisions may either bridge or exacerbate differences that may exist between home and school. Many researchers have identified how students' cultural or subgroup norms may differ from those of the school. These school norms are expected to govern students' academic and social behavior (as well as their social status), and the extent to which students' behavior abides by these norms has a great deal to do with their academic and social success, as well as their treatment by school personnel (Comer, Haynes, Joyner, and Ben-Avie, 1996; Cusick, 1973; Heath, 1982, 1983). If the norms and values that pertain in a student's home or community diverge significantly from those that pertain in the school, the student experiences conflict, and the way this conflict is resolved by both the student and the school has much to do with whether the student experiences success.

For example, as we described in Chapters Three and Four, different cultural norms may cause educators and families to communicate in ways that inadvertently cause misunderstandings. In addition to linguistic norms, there are norms of engagement with schools and staff that differ across communities, with some parents feeling that they should be active partners in their child's education (and having the time to do so) and others feeling that efforts to do so might convey mistrust to the school personnel, whom they see as in charge of the process. Still others who have had poor experiences themselves in schools may have deep fear or mistrust of schools as institutions and feel inadequate or unsure about how to advocate for their children (Epstein, 2001).

Furthermore, in some communities, where few, if any, families have completed high school or gone to college, there may be little information about the college preparatory process and little experiential reason to expect that students will pursue such goals. Schools may expect that students have reference books

and computers at home; quiet, secluded places and time to study; health care for themselves and their families; encouragement for time spent on academic pursuits; and other supports for school achievement that are not always present when families struggle economically. Teachers, both individually and collectively, need to be aware of the contexts within which students are learning at home as well as at school in order to ensure necessary supports. Individual teacher and schoolwide awareness of cultural contexts, family experiences, and norms can be built through home visits, community study, and family involvement initiatives, which can help shape school policies that bridge normative differences (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Villegas and Lucas, 2002a).

Students face different kinds of borders as they negotiate a variety of sociocultural, economic, linguistic, and structural differences between home and school, which can be bridged by school efforts or made into chasms into which students fall (Davidson and Phelan, 1999; Phelan, Davidson, and Yu, 1998). If efforts to include parents in the educational process are infrequent, not informative about substantive issues affecting the students' learning, linguistically inaccessible, or held at times when working parents cannot attend, opportunities to reduce key barriers to student achievement will be missed. In addition to school policies governing parental involvement, students' challenges in negotiating these boundaries are exacerbated or ameliorated by policies regarding discipline, curricular and extracurricular inclusiveness, and outreach regarding information about college and other opportunities (Davidson and Phelan, 1999).

Some of these are among the informal systems that operate in schools alongside the formal ones—systems that recognize and reward some kinds of students and activities rather than others; systems that provide students access to information about extracurricular or outside of school opportunities; systems that make it more or less possible or welcoming for parents to participate in the life of the school; and systems that directly and indirectly convey norms about how students are treated, the so-called "hidden curriculum" of the school (Anyon, 1980). These signals about what and who matters in the school have strong consequences for whether students feel they belong in the school, whether they become attached to school and academic work, whether they believe they can achieve, and whether they feel it is worth investing effort and trust in the school and its members.

Part of the informal system are practices and signals that determine the treatment students receive in school. In addition to differences in resources, some studies have found, for example, that teachers often hold more negative attitudes about black children's ability, language, behavior, and potential than they do about white children, and that most black students have fewer favorable interactions with their teachers than white students (Irvine, 1990). Other studies have found that children of color are more likely to be punished for offenses that white students commit without consequence, and that black students,

particularly males, are more likely to be suspended from school than whites (Fine, 1991; Nieto, 1992; Carter and Goodwin, 1994).

Research also suggests that males and females tend to have different experiences in school, and these experiences can affect their potential for academic achievement and success. Females are less likely to be called upon by name, are asked fewer complex and abstract questions, receive less praise or constructive feedback, and are given less direction on how to do things for themselves (Jones and Wheatley, 1990; Sadker and Sadker, 1995). Although girls are identified for gifted programs more often than boys in elementary school, by high school fewer girls remain in gifted programs; this is particularly true for African American and Hispanic females (U.S, Department of Education—Office of Civil Rights, 1999; American Association of University Women, 1998).

On the other hand, boys receive more teacher attention than females, including more negative attention, and may be disciplined more harshly than girls for violating the same rules (Mid-Atlantic Equity Center, 1999; National Center for Education Statistics, 2000b), and males, especially African American males, are disproportionately placed in special education, often inappropriately (U.S. Department of Education—Office of Civil Rights, 1999). If we are to create schools where all students have opportunities to learn, teachers must know how to be alert for these kinds of disparities and aware of how to provide classroom environments that are both physically and psychologically safe for all students.

Responses to the Demographic Imperative. During the last fifteen years, professional organizations and institutions charged with the preparation of teachers have responded in a variety of ways to this demographic imperative. Currently, among the various professional organizations concerned with the preparation, licensing, and certification of teachers, there is general consensus both about the need for teacher preparation content that is related to sociocultural contexts and about important areas of teacher knowledge and skill. In 1972, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education formed the first of several commissions on multicultural education to help revise the preparation of teachers for a diverse society. In 1976, the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) added multicultural education and teaching for diversity to its standards, requiring that institutions seeking accreditation show evidence that they incorporate such content in their programs. By 1993, sixteen of the seventeen national subject area curriculum guidelines approved by NCATE had incorporated multicultural guidelines, and forty states required schools or teacher education programs to include the study of ethnic groups, cultural diversity, human relations, or multicultural/bilingual education in their programs.

Over the last decade, teacher preparation programs throughout the United States have revised courses, curriculum, fieldwork experiences, and policies to

include attention to social contexts, diversity, and multicultural education. In addition, the Multicultural Education Consensus Panel (Banks and others, 2001), sponsored by the Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington and the Common Destiny Alliance at the University of Maryland, identified twelve essential principles for teaching and learning in a multicultural society that are derived from research and practice. Consistent with previous syntheses and related bodies of research (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Villegas, 1991; Zeichner, 1993a), the first principle describes what teachers need to know and learn to teach effectively, including identifying their own attitudes toward different cultural groups, acquiring knowledge about the histories and cultures of diverse groups, becoming acquainted with diverse perspectives within different ethnic and cultural communities, understanding the ways that institutions and popular culture can perpetuate stereotypes, and translating that knowledge into classroom practices that provide all students access to academic rigor.

What Teachers Need to Know: Building a Culturally Responsive Practice

Clearly, teachers' technical competence in teaching and classroom management, as well as their knowledge of subject matter, are factors that strongly influence whether they will be successful in helping students learn. However, technical competence in teaching skills (such as leading discussions and managing groups), solid knowledge of subject matter, and knowledge of how to teach are essential but not sufficient for effective teaching. Teachers' attitudes and expectations, as well as their knowledge of how to incorporate the cultures, experiences, and needs of their students into their teaching, significantly influence what students learn and the quality of their learning opportunities. In this report, it is not possible to describe all the strategies that can help teachers work with diverse children. Instead, we provide examples of the approaches found over the last three decades to enhance instruction for children who have traditionally been poorly served by our system.

Research on Culturally Responsive Teaching. To build a culturally responsive practice, teachers need to have a broad set of teaching strategies for working with diverse children. Teachers need to know how to examine their own cultural assumptions to understand how these shape their starting points for practice. They also need to know how to inquire into the backgrounds of their students so that they can connect what they learn to their instructional decision making, in a sense becoming anthropologists who explicitly seek to understand their students' cultural practices (Gutiérrez and Rogoff, 2003). As Geneva Gay (1993) argues, a teacher needs to be prepared to be a "cultural broker" who "thoroughly understands different cultural systems, is able to interpret cultural symbols from one frame of reference to another, can mediate cultural

incompatibilities, and knows how to build bridges or establish linkages across cultures that facilitate the instructional process" (p. 293).

Efforts to reduce the gap between the cultures of students and the often unexamined norms of teachers are one major aspect of culturally responsive teaching. There are many ways in which different conceptions about the nature of meaningful communication exacerbate such gaps. (See also Chapters Three and Four.) For example, Philips (1972) found that the participation structures used on the Warm Springs Indian reservation differed in substantial ways from those used in the school. At home, parents rarely engaged in questioning of their children as a mode of teaching, and verbalization between adults and children was relatively infrequent. Consequently, Indian students were reluctant to participate in class discussions because they were required to speak in front of the class and because the teacher dictated the speech. Similarly, Heath (1982) found that the patterns of interactions between adults and children were quite different at home and at school for African American children in Trackton. These children's parents did not generally ask them stylized "known answer" questions of the sort common in school (for example, "What color is this leaf?" "Who sat on a tuffet?"). Consequently, the children often did not respond to such seemingly obvious questions asked by their teachers, or they responded to them in ways that the teachers found unsatisfactory. When teachers modified their interaction styles with the students to ask more authentic questions, they talked more and became more deeply involved in the lessons.

Efforts to create cultural connections between the school and children's communities have often led to increased achievement. For example, Au (1980) found that when teachers incorporated participation structures into their lessons that were similar to "talk story" in Hawaiian culture, the reading achievement of Hawaiian second-grade children significantly increased. Tharp (1982) studied reading comprehension in the Kamehameha Early Childhood Program in Hawaii. He found that a culturally relevant, comprehension-oriented reading program using active instructional methods can be more effective than a program focused more on discrete subskills using instructional methods that do not incorporate the students' cultures.

Lee (1995) investigated the effects of using the African American tradition of signifying as a scaffold for teaching skills in literacy interpretation to African American students. She found that when teachers incorporated this cultural knowledge into instruction, the students provided longer and more sophisticated comments on the texts. In a four-year evaluation of the High School Puente Project in California, Gandara (2002) found that Mexican American and Latino students who participated in a rigorous academic preparation program that incorporated community-based research and writing, academic counseling, and opportunities to interact with community leaders applied to and attended universities at nearly twice the rate of those who did not participate in the program. In a longitudinal study on the use of students' "funds of knowledge"

in classroom instruction, Luis Moll and colleagues (2004) found that Latino students' academic performance is strengthened when students' community knowledge is tapped.

Other research has examined the practices of successful teachers of students of color and English language learners to discover what such teachers do. This research suggests that effective teachers of students of color form and maintain connections with their students within their social contexts. They are familiar with community speech patterns and often incorporate elements of such communication patterns, such as "call and response," even while they instruct in standard English. For students of varying language backgrounds, they allow the use of multiple languages while teaching the target language; and they celebrate their students as individuals and as members of specific cultures, asking students to share who they are and what they know with the class in a variety of ways (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Garcia, 1993; Irvine, 2003; Murrell, 2002; Nieto and Rolon, 1997; Strickland, 1995).

Jacqueline Irvine (1992), Gloria Ladson-Billings (1994), and Eugene Garcia (1993) have all summarized research finding that effective teachers of students of color—who include white teachers as well as members of minority groups—link classroom content to students' experiences, focus on the whole child, and believe that all of their students can succeed. They use an active, direct approach to teaching: demonstrating, modeling, explaining, writing, giving feedback, reviewing, and emphasizing higher-order skills while avoiding excessive reliance on rote learning or punishment. They see the teacher-student relationship as humane and equitable, and characterized by a sense of community and team. Their classrooms typically emphasize cooperation rather than competition and feature cooperative learning strategies and student-initiated discourse and participation.

Knowledge for Building a Culturally Responsive Practice. Teachers who "think pedagogically" about diversity are able to build a practice that is both academically challenging and responsive to students. Building a culturally responsive practice requires teachers to build a broad base of knowledge that grows and changes as students, contexts, and subject matters shift. Knowledge of self and of others (students, parents, community) is an essential foundation for constructing, evaluating, and altering curriculum and pedagogy so that it is responsive to students. In the classrooms of culturally responsive teachers, the methods of instruction and assessment, the curriculum, and the classroom climate work together to support the academic achievement of all students.

The teachers in our opening vignettes demonstrate the challenges of developing a practice that meets the needs of diverse populations of students, especially when that diversity is constantly in flux and the consequences of the differences between and among students are crucial to determining student outcomes. In addition to drawing upon her knowledge of child development,

Ms. Cowen's (see Ms. Cowen and a Special Education Placement) awareness that she is working within multiple contexts in evaluating Julie's needs and placement is critical. Expectations of the school and home, state legal mandates, as well as a moral sense of what might serve this particular student all inform her recommendation about Julie's placement, as does her careful observation of Julie's classroom performance. Teachers are often the first professionals to become aware of learning challenges experienced by children in their classrooms. These insights can be as straightforward as noticing that a child cannot see the blackboard to recognizing that a child is having significant problems with auditory processing and retrieval of information.

This type of "problem spotting" must be accompanied by care and sensitivity. A teacher must have some knowledge of children and typical patterns of development, as well as normal differences. She must know her students well because even young children can find ways to hide what they see as weaknesses. At the same time, children develop differently, and a delay in one area may gradually disappear over time. If a teacher suggests to a child that the child may have a learning disability, it can discourage or embarrass a child who believes that disability or special education carries with it a stigma and it can initially upset parents if they are not aware of ongoing learning challenges.

In addition, as Ms. Cowen's vignette illustrates, teachers should be aware of the research that shows children of color and those who are new English language learners are often overidentified with certain disabilities. At the same time, because of inappropriate attributions of some difficulties to language barriers or "cultural deprivation," such students may fail to be identified for special education services in other cases. A range of in-classroom and standardized evaluations are necessary to gain a more complete picture of student strengths and needs that should inform instructional decisions. Knowledge about Julie's individual history, her knowledge of child and language development, her knowledge regarding the overrepresentation of English language learners in special education, and her ability to assess student work all combine to inform this important professional recommendation. Also important is how Ms. Cowen worked with Julie to find and build upon her strengths and to keep work samples to guide assessment, which informs both her teaching and this placement recommendation.

Mr. Levy (see Mr. Levy and a Student Paper on Immigration) found himself confronting a student's attitudes toward and misinformation about new immigrants when he read Roger's paper, which connected unemployment to immigration and "those people" who were taking jobs away from people who "belonged" in the United States. In thinking about how to respond to Roger, Mr. Levy had to consider many factors, including Roger's lack of knowledge about immigration (a subject matter issue), and his attitudes and beliefs about "others." Mr. Levy also had to decide the pedagogy he would use to approach Roger given

the many other students in the class who were themselves immigrants and who had varying kinds of knowledge and experiences with unemployment.

Ms. Carrington (see Ms. Carrington: Teaching Shakespeare to English Language Learners) had to know a great deal about her students as she embarked on the challenging path of teaching them Shakespearean sonnets—a requirement of the state curriculum. Her challenge concerned how to provide access to the Shakespeare text given both the language and cultural differences among her twenty-eight students. For both Mr. Levy and Ms. Carrington, the work has to begin by learning about their students: who they are, what they know, and what meanings and strengths they bring with them to school. As previous chapters in this volume make clear, all students need scaffolds to connect what they know from their lives outside school to their life and work in school. Ms. Carrington needed not only a deep understanding of her students, but also an understanding of the content in relation to the students; for example, language or themes that could make Shakespeare difficult for that particular group of students and themes that could make it engaging and increasingly well understood.

Teachers need to be able to understand student cultures and differences without falling victim to the cultural stereotypes that might result from a superficial understanding of students and their experiences. It is this kind of superficial knowledge, and the potentially damaging stereotypes that can result from it, that Cazden and Mehan (1989) warn against when they observe that it can be dangerous to attempt to transmit shorthand knowledge about a list of different cultures to prospective teachers. Instead, prospective teachers must learn how to learn from their students and members of the communities where they teach, borrowing strategies from anthropology and sociology. Although some knowledge of the histories of cultures is certainly necessary, teachers need access to the particular experiences of the students they work with to inform their decisions.

The importance of connecting with students and their communities for the purposes of mutual information and support suggests a "reciprocal and interactive" orientation toward practice. In such a practice, students and teachers work together to construct meaning out of content, rather than teaching a decontextualized set of skills that are passed from teacher to student. The collaborative interactive model suggests instead that curriculum and pedagogy be connected in direct and intentional ways with the lives of children (Cummins, 1986; Delpit, 1995; Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Nieto, 2000; Olsen and Mullen, 1990; Moll, 1988). To accomplish this, teachers need to know how to generate and sustain a genuine dialogue with students so that they will be able to draw on what the students know and care about and monitor their engagement and success. The following vignette featuring a successful sixth-grade teacher illustrates the sort of interactions that enable students' experiences to become an official part of the classroom curriculum. The vignette demonstrates not only

group. One group member who assumed a leadership position was a very quiet Vietnamese girl whose relatives had fought in the war. She brought in pictures, maps, letters, even a family member to talk to the class about Vietnam. In the book, the main character made origami to sell to her classmates. Lewis taught her students how to make origami. She introduced them to Elanor Coerr's *Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes.* A second group of students researched nuclear proliferation. . . .

Although [many of Lewis's students] had had previous problems, including poor academic performance, truancy, suspension, recommendation for special-education placement, and at least one threatened expulsion, Lewis's class represented an opportunity for a new academic beginning.

One of Lewis's star students, a boy named Larry, had had a particularly troubling history. Although he was short and slightly built, he was the oldest child in the class. He had been left back several times and was 13 in a class made up of 11 year olds. He had been traumatized by the drive-by shooting of a favorite aunt. Other teachers in the school referred to him as "an accident just waiting to happen." None wanted him in their classrooms. Lewis referred to Larry as a "piece of crystal."

"He's strong and beautiful but fragile. I have to build a safe and secure place for him and let him know that we—the class and I—will be here for him. The school has been placing him in the kitchen junk drawer. I want him to be up there in the china closet where everyone can see him."

By the end of the school year, Larry had been elected president of the school's sixth grade. He was involved in peer conflict mediation and was earning A's and B's in every subject. . . . While Larry represented a special example of accomplishment, the classroom was a special place for all of the children, including the nine non-African Americans. (They were Latino, Pacific Islander, and Vietnamese.) The work was challenging and exciting. The students were presumed to have some level of literacy, which formed the foundation for increased competency. Reading, writing, and speaking were community activities that Lewis believed all students could participate in—and they did.

Source: Excerpted from Gloria Ladson-Billings. © 1994. *The DreamKeepers*, pp. 107–112. This material is used by permission of John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Ann Lewis's classroom demonstrates a variety of pedagogical strategies that culturally responsive teachers use to engage students' interests and support their learning and development. It also illustrates important aspects of curriculum and assessment that support these strategies.

Pedagogy. A first glance at Ann Lewis's classroom shows how interaction and collaboration, which are central to a reciprocal approach, produce a great deal of talk about what students read and research about related issues, both within and beyond the current text. Lewis clearly knows how to create multiple opportunities for students to engage in collaborative dialogue that supports the relationships within which teaching and learning occur while also supporting students' cognitive growth. There are many ways to create opportunities for students to engage in meaningful oral and written exchanges in the classroom through such practices as journal and essay writing, reciprocal teaching, cooperative groupwork, and peer tutoring, among other strategies (For examples, see Garcia, 1993; Irvine and Armento, 2001; Nieto, 2000; Weiner, 1999; Villegas and Lucas, 2002b).

However, as the vignettes in this chapter indicate, knowing a set of practices is not sufficient. Teachers also need to know when and how to use specific approaches to achieve their goals under a range of different circumstances (Moll, 1988; Nieto, 2000; Neito and Rolon, 1997; Reyes, 1992; Valdes, 1996; Weiner, 1999). For example, in Mr. Levy's vignette, we saw him weighing his next instructional move: an individual lesson? A whole class lecture on the economics of immigration? An activity to encourage student inquiry and discovery? Deciding between these instructional options requires not only knowledge of his students' interests, but a careful assessment of their abilities and knowledge of which instructional strategy can most effectively lead them to the next level of understanding.

In this short segment from Ann Lewis's classroom we see her use several different strategies to engage her students in the material. At first glance, the classroom looks like one that would be recognizable to many: students listened while one student read the text aloud. When the reading finished, another student raised a question about the reading that created an opportunity for Lewis to activate and build upon students' prior knowledge. Rather than answering Jerry's question directly, Lewis responded with a question of her own, asking students to make connections to their prior knowledge by thinking about another character they knew, this one from a film. With the contribution from another student, she is able to demonstrate that students can use clues that help them visualize what they read and connect themselves and their experiences with the text.

She extends and makes explicit this reading strategy using one of the characters in the book and a Venn diagram as a visual tool for students to see similarities and differences between one of the characters and a student in the class. Doing this demonstrates to students one way experienced readers connect with literature and gives them a visual means of representing that knowledge. When a student asks another question about a dispute the main character has with her father, Ms. Lewis once again does not simply answer the question. Instead, students do a role-play to understand the conflict more clearly. After the role-play, the students build their knowledge of the main character rather than having the answer handed to them. This shifts the responsibility for generating knowledge from teacher to students and teacher collectively. Ms. Lewis has not disappeared from the process, but she has skillfully supported the students in taking increased control over their learning and has modeled strategies they can use to help answer their own questions in the future.

Ms. Lewis' pedagogical moves in this brief selection illustrate the use of a wide range of strategies, which provide multiple opportunities for students to engage with the material and expand the probabilities that students who learn in different ways can gain an understanding: students read aloud, they listened, they talked, they produced visual representations, and they acted things out. Ms. Lewis needed to know not only the range of pedagogical choices she had

and how to use them successfully, she also needed to know which approaches were likely to achieve particular goals with this group of students.

Ms. Lewis also displays knowledge of literacy development. We are told in the vignette that this is the first chapter book that some of the students have read. Ms. Lewis understands that for some inexperienced readers it is difficult to visualize what they read in the text. When Jerry asks a question about the protagonist in the book, Ms. Lewis suspects that he needs to remember to use clues from the text to help visualize and connect what he knows to his reading. The instructional moves she makes pick up on this cue from Jerry's question and explicitly provide some strategies that students can draw upon to read complex texts: visualizing text, making comparisons, and making predictions. Ms. Lewis also knows that if students use those strategies with the support of their peers, they are more likely to use the strategies independently in the future, so she practices the strategies together as a large group.

Curriculum. Culturally responsive teachers need to know how to develop a curriculum that takes into account the understandings and perspectives of different groups while also attending to the development of higher-level cognitive skills (Banks, 1991, 2003). This involves selecting material that is inclusive of the contributions and perspectives of different groups (Delpit, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 2002) and that is responsive to the particular cultural context within which one teaches (Irvine and Armento, 2001; Knapp and Shields, 1991; Sleeter and Grant, 1999; Villegas, 1991). To create a curriculum that creates connections for their students, teachers need to have wide-ranging knowledge of subject matter content, so that they can construct a curriculum that includes multiple representations addressing the prior experiences of different groups of students (Lee, 1993; McDiarmid, 1994).

Ann Lewis's knowledge of curricular material also allows her to build upon student interests while pushing students to more sophisticated academic work. She needed an awareness of a range of multicultural resources in order to select the novel they read together. In selecting the novel, Ms. Lewis needed to consider not only its potential for student interest, but the difficulty of the book—where some students would be challenged and where some would find the reading easy—and needed to consider her goals for them as readers as well as the district's grade level standards. The book she selected is not one that many of the students could read on their own, but with her help and the help of their peers, they can read the book together. Anne selected the book in light of her knowledge of students' zones of proximal development in this area. With her careful scaffolding, the book stretches the students to read at a higher level than they might have been able to on their own. Another aspect of her pedagogy is represented in her explicit attention to reading. She knows what experienced readers do when they encounter texts that are challenging and she shares those strategies explicitly with students.

In addition, the vignette shows that she uses students' excitement and engagement in the novel and moves them into research projects, allowing the students to shape their own inquiries. In the process, she not only teaches students about doing research, but creates a place for students to share and learn from traditional resources and each other's histories (and, in fact, creates opportunities for students to learn their own histories more deeply). In encouraging one student whose parents had fought in the Vietnam war to share some artifacts of the period—maps, pictures, and the like—and inviting a family member to talk with the class, Ms. Lewis connected her school work with the home environment while enriching the cultural and historical knowledge of all her students.

Assessment. Developing and modifying assessment strategies so that they are sensitive to children's differences can also enhance student learning (Darling-Hammond, 1996; Goodwin, 1997a). This requires knowledge of a range of assessments and what each reveals about student learning. (See Chapter Eight in this volume.) Ms. Cowen's vignette, for example, demonstrates her awareness of a variety of tools that provide her with a fuller view of Julie's strengths and areas that need development. In addition, Ms. Cowen's knowledge of development helps her articulate precisely where she sees Julie's progress. Ms. Cowen also reveals that she has a complex view of student achievement that goes beyond a single measure.

Ms. Lewis clearly had specific goals for reading the novel her class was working on together, and she challenged all students to reach those goals. Before she selected the novel, she needed to assess her students' strengths, abilities, and interests as readers and the areas where they needed to work. Thus she used the knowledge gained from her assessments of them as readers to inform not only her text selection, but also her goals for teaching the text.

Another important feature in Ms. Lewis's practice was her explicit articulation of strategies available to readers. Explicitly teaching those strategies makes it more likely that students will use them in their future reading. Had she not been able to articulate them, she might have just waited for students to discover those strategies accidentally. Some students might have done so, whereas others would never have figured them out. Delpit (1995) makes this point quite powerfully, noting that, especially for students whose home culture is different from that of the school, demystifying school expectations and learning strategies is critical.

Teachers' Attitudes and Expectations: The Importance of Dispositions

Another aspect of culturally responsive teaching is the ability to build upon the strengths that students bring to school. To capitalize on students' strengths, teach-

ers need to be able to assess what knowledge and beliefs students bring to the classroom, evaluate how they learn in different domains, and structure conditions that will facilitate their academic achievement (Au, 1980; Mehan, Villanueva, Hubbard, and Lintz, 1996; Tharp, 1982). We saw how, in preparation for an IEP meeting regarding her student, Ms. Cowan reflects on the abilities she has seen Julie demonstrate in her classroom. Her careful observation has allowed her to see beyond the initial special education diagnosis to a nuanced understanding of several aspects of Julie's learning. Similarly, Ms. Lewis is able to see the leadership potential in her student Larry, and she creates experiences for him that generate increased effort, motivation, and success. Students' learning is facilitated when teachers view them as learners who have experiences, ideas, and home and community resources that can be built upon to help them master new knowledge and skills (Moll and others, 1992; Moll and Gonzalez, 2004).

Developing a Sociocultural Consciousness. The vignettes featured in this chapter point to research indicating that there are some beliefs and attitudes that are critical for teachers to be effective with all students, including respect for all learners and their experiences, confidence in their abilities to learn, a willingness to question and change one's own practices if they are not successful in a given case, and a commitment to continue seeking new solutions to learning problems (see, for example, Delpit, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995; Gay, 2000; Irvine and Armento, 2001; Murrell, 2002; Tharp, Estrada, Dalton, and Yamaguchi, 1999; Villegas, 1991; Villegas and Lucas, 2002b). In addition to building on students' strengths, developing a "sociocultural consciousness" enables teachers to realize that the worldview they may have grown up with is not universal but is greatly influenced by their life experiences and aspects of their cultural, gender, race, ethnicity, and social-class background (Banks, 1998; Harding, 1991; Villegas and Lucas, 2002a). Mr. Levy's awareness that his own family's immigration history is one factor shaping his response to Roger's paper demonstrates an aspect of this sociocultural consciousness (Willis and Lewis, 1998; Tatum, 1997). Teachers are more aware of how they interact with their students—and what their choices are—when they develop self-knowledge, in particular, an awareness of themselves as cultural beings as well as an awareness of the ways their culture shapes their views. Those teachers who develop this consciousness are not only aware that multiple perspectives exist, but they can also create opportunities for students to articulate their views and discover ways in which their experiences and popular culture shape these views.

When prospective teachers develop greater sociocultural consciousness, it becomes a vehicle for the development of a more affirming and positive attitude toward students. Teachers begin to better understand how their interactions with their students and the world in general are influenced by their social

and cultural location and that of the students. Bernstein (1972) summed it up nicely when he said, "If the culture of the teacher is to become part of the consciousness of the child, then the culture of the child must first be in the consciousness of the teacher" (p. 149).

By building on the experiences and knowledge of their students, teachers can create more personalized and motivating social contexts for teaching. Veteran teachers such as Ms. Cowen and Mr. Levy realize the importance of continuing to learn about their students throughout their careers. Ms. Lewis masterfully channels the excitement generated by a novel they read together, allows students to pursue a variety of interests generated by the novel, and draws from a variety of resources to do so. In the process, she creates opportunities for students to share their knowledge across cultures, developing a cross-cultural or sociocultural awareness in students as well. When prospective teachers develop greater sociocultural consciousness, it can become a vehicle for developing a more affirming and positive attitude toward students and a foundation for building curriculum.

It is most important that teachers not make quick assumptions about children. It is easy to label a child unmotivated when he is lost and unable to connect to instruction or is underchallenged and bored. It is tempting to label a child slow who is simply confused by directions on how to complete an assignment. Teachers must believe that it is possible to develop and adapt instruction to engage all children, to help them learn, and to help them become responsible members of a classroom community. They must also know how to provide clear, organized directions—using multiple modes of communication so that students who process information differently will be able to understand them—and well-scaffolded tasks that provide many entry points into the material so that students *can* learn. To teach all children well, teachers must tailor their curriculum and instruction so that their students will be engaged in meaningful work.

These concerns for affirming environments and meaningful learning opportunities operate at the school level as well. There is evidence that when schools have adopted a philosophy and set of pervasive practices that are based on an understanding of children's development and experiences—that affirm students, offer a strong curriculum to all, and promote individual development as well as positive intergroup relationships—attachments to school, positive interactions among adults and children, and achievement can be strengthened (Comer, Haynes, and Joyner, 1996; Khmelkov and Hallinan, 1999; Newmann and Wehlange, 1995; Nieto, 2003; Slavin, 1995).

Without an explicit agenda to develop such norms and to look for ways to recognize and support all students, to offer all individuals and groups a rich and meaningful curriculum, and to build positive relationships across students, many schools inadvertently (and sometimes knowingly) distribute opportunities for learning and success inequitably. Individual teachers who seek to

change these norms within their classrooms will be much less effective than if they work within a context that reinforces their efforts. Consequently, teachers need to be aware of how the formal and informal systems of the school operate to construct opportunity and how to participate in school-level change processes that call attention to organizational needs and help develop a supportive culture schoolwide.

Teaching Children with Exceptional Needs: Building an Inclusive practice

The ideas of *culturally responsive classrooms* and *inclusive classrooms* are not entirely the same, but they are similar. Specifically, both terms suggest that schools and teachers need to develop classrooms that are supportive of children and accepting of difference. Within both of these conceptions, children's strengths are emphasized and differences are considered a positive part of a learning environment because they allow children to share and experience diverse perspectives. In the past, children with exceptional needs were largely taught in isolated special education classrooms, and special education was associated primarily with a deficit orientation. Today, although special education is still connected closely to a medical model because children are "diagnosed" with certain disabilities, most educators understand that learning differences exist along a vast continuum, that human beings typically develop compensatory strengths—often formidable ones—to allow them to expand their learning even though they may have some areas of difficulty, and that strategic instruction can make a large difference in what students achieve. Moreover, many believe that viewing disability as a type of insurmountable deficit is a socially constructed notion that is detrimental to children and should be challenged (McDermott, 1996).

Other lingering misconceptions include the equating of special education with behavioral models of teaching featuring a focus only on rote acquisition of skills or with a legalistic model that focuses on labels and procedures that must be followed. In this chapter, we present an inclusive model that reflects a broad view of diversity, one which recognizes that students have multiple and complex experiences, strengths, and identities that include interests and talents as well as ethnicity, gender, social status, family experiences, and learning differences, among others. These complex sets of experiences require that students be taught as individuals by teachers who are observant and diagnostic in their approach and who are also aware of the more general patterns in learning to be considered as they assess and plan instruction. Quite often, teachers who are prepared to teach students with exceptional needs become more skillful teachers of all students because they develop deeper diagnostic skills and a wider repertoire of strategies that are useful for many students who learn in different ways.

To instruct special needs students effectively, teachers need to understand the nature of various disabilities, ranging from mild to moderate learning disabilities—for example, dyslexia, dyscalculia, developmental aphasia, or perceptual problems—to other concerns such as developmental delays, mental retardation, hearing impairments, visual impairments, autism, emotional and behavioral disorders, speech and language impairments, physical impairments (mobility), emotional disturbance, and attention deficit, hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). Teachers should be aware that certain conditions such as cerebral palsy and autism are associated with a spectrum and can be very mild (hardly recognizable) to very severe. For common disabilities (for example, auditory or visual processing problems), teachers should at minimum have a basic repertoire of strategies and adaptations that can help students gain access to the material they are teaching in an appropriate way.

In addition, a teacher should have some understanding of the eligibility and placement process and how to work with other professionals and parents within these processes. Although it is not necessary for novice teachers to know the details of all the various highly specialized tests used for assessment purposes for all the different types of disabilities, they should be able to talk with parents about how their child will be assessed, given the learning difficulties the teacher has reported. They should be able to communicate with professional colleagues about the findings of assessments and the services to be offered. They need to know where to find additional information—from research or from professional colleagues—about specific diagnoses, disabilities, and services when it is necessary to work with an individual child and his family. They should be prepared to work with parents who have varied reactions to news concerning their children. For example, one parent might be upset and argue that her child has no learning challenges, whereas another parent will use legal means to obtain resources for his child that are not readily available.

Teachers will need to know how to contribute to and implement Individualized Education Plans (IEPs) for students in their classrooms, and they should be aware that the IEP process was developed as way to ensure that children have access to best possible educational opportunities within the least restrictive environments, and that parents are assured due process. Teachers should understand students' rights and have a working knowledge of the laws and policies associated with access to education, such as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), so that they can meet the spirit of these policies.

What Teachers Need to Know About Teaching Children with Exceptional Needs

To teach children with learning differences, it is important for teachers to have a deep understanding of child development, learning, language development,

and sophisticated strategies for teaching content, managing the classroom, and assessing both *how* children learn and *what* they are learning—aspects of teaching we have treated elsewhere in this volume. In this section, we address how teachers can use that knowledge and specific knowledge about distinctive learning needs to move children forward in their progress. For example, children identified with learning disabilities often need adaptive instruction and supports in various areas of development (see Chapter Three), including speech and language, gross and fine motor, cognition, and social and emotional development. In this chapter, it would be impossible to talk about all the instructional adaptations to assist children with special learning challenges, so we provide a few examples of particularly powerful strategies that illustrate key principles of instruction used with students of different ages who have learning disabilities. General education teachers will not generally know all the adaptive techniques available to children with disabilities, but they should have some understanding about important principles of instruction as well as information about where to find these special adaptations and strategies when they need them.

Example #1: Young Children with Speech, Language, and Social Delays. Young children with speech and language delays have difficulty connecting with peers and developing meaningful relationships. This can interfere with social and emotional development. Many children with social problems, particularly children with autistic spectrum disorders, face serious challenges learning how to play and socialize with peers. They experience problems conveying and interpreting social-communication cues that make it difficult to coordinate social activities with other children or to join peers in play. Attempts to socialize are often subtle, obscure, or poorly timed and mistaken as signs of deviance or limited social interest. Many children spend inordinate amounts of time alone pursuing repetitive and unimaginative activities. Without appropriate intervention, they are at high risk for being excluded from their peer culture and failing to learn the communication skills they will need throughout life (Wolfberg, 1999). Knowledge of these learning and development issues—and of strategies that can counteract these problems—is critical for teachers to appropriately support students' social learning, interpersonal skills, and their symbolic capacities. One such strategy includes engaging children in an Integrated Play Group. This strategy creates play groups with special needs children and nondisabled children and uses principles of cognitive apprenticeship to engage children in guided play with scaffolding that enables "expert" assistance from more skilled peers to teach communication and play strategies (Wolfberg, 2003) (see The Integrated Play Groups Model).

Many knowledgeable preschool teachers use augmentative communication symbols (picture symbols that enable children who cannot read or talk to

communicate by pointing to a sequence of pictures) to develop materials to help all children with and without disabilities learn language skills. These teachers use the playgroup models to help all children learn to interact, to develop social and communication abilities, and to become caring citizens in their learning communities.

The Integrated Play Groups Model

Integrated Play Groups are designed to support children of diverse ages and abilities with autism spectrum disorders (novice players) in mutually enjoyed play experiences with typical peers and siblings (expert players) within school, home, and community settings. The intervention seeks to maximize each child's developmental potential as well as intrinsic desire to play, socialize, and form meaningful relationships with peers through a carefully tailored system of support described as "guided participation" (Rogoff, 1999). This system monitors play initiations by children;

Outcomes for Novice Players	Outcomes for Expert Players
• More frequent and sustained social interaction and play with peers—decreased isolate play • Advances in representational play, developmentally/age-appropriate play—decreased stereotyped play • Advances in related symbolic activity (writing and drawing) • Improved social-communication skills • Improved language skills in verbal children • More diverse range of play interests • Higher degree of spontaneous social engagement (initiation and responsiveness) with peers • Increased affect—emotional expression • Sheer enjoyment—"fun factor" • Formation of reciprocal relationships—friendships with peers	• Greater awareness, tolerance, acceptance of individual differences • Greater empathy, compassion and patience for others • Increased self-esteem, confidence, sense of pride in accomplishments • Increased sense of responsibility to cooperate and include others • Ability to adapt to children's different play interests and ways of relating and communicating • Sheer enjoyment—"fun factor" • Formation of reciprocal relationships—friendships with atypical peers

Source: Based on the findings of Gonsier-Gerdin, 1993; O'Connor, 1999; Wolfberg, 1988, 1994; Wolfberg and others, 1999; Wolfberg and Schuler, 1992, 1993; Zercher and others, 2001.

builds on these by providing assistance through directed and modeled play as well as verbal and visual cueing; and immerses novice players at their level of development in more advanced play experiences with expert players through partial participation. An equally important focus is on teaching the peer group to be more accepting, responsive, and inclusive of children who relate and play in different ways (Wolfberg, 2003). Research shows that children learn and develop in a multitude of ways through shared experiences in play (Vygotsky, 1966, 1978). Moreover, peers perform a distinct role in fostering children's socialization and development that cannot be duplicated by adults (Hartup, 1979, 1983; Wolfberg and others, 1999). To test the effectiveness of the playgroups model, scholars have conducted a number of empirical studies on children with and without disabilities (see the following summary). In many of these studies, there was evidence that children made gains in both social and symbolic play while participating in playgroups, and acquired improved communication and symbolic skills in the areas of spoken language, writing, and drawing.

Example #2: Older Children with Learning Disabilities. In contrast to earlier beliefs that students with learning disabilities need highly repetitive, rote activities in order to learn, researchers have discovered that strategic instruction—helping students learn approaches to solving problems or producing work—is highly beneficial to students with special needs. This includes helping students develop some of their own strategies for learning and retention, including memory aids (for example, mnemonic devices) and organization strategies (task analysis, webbing, and outlining). It also includes highly effective strategies for enhancing metacognition. Like the strategy instruction used in the Integrated Play Groups, discussed earlier, researchers have found that learning disabled and nondisabled students benefit from strategy instruction in many academic subjects, including writing. (See "Teaching Metacognitive Strategies for Writing to Students with Learning Disabilities.")

Teaching Metacognitive Strategies for Writing to Students with Learning Disabilities

Studies of learning have found that students are more able to learn complex skills when they are able to think "metacognitively," that is, to think about their own thinking and performance so as to monitor and change it. Vygotsky (1978) suggested that talking things through, internally or aloud, actually helps people learn by helping them organize and manage their thought process. In fact, studies of writers have found that they engage in an internal dialogue in which they talk to themselves—sometimes even muttering aloud—about audience, purpose, form, and content. They ask and answer for themselves questions about who they are writing for, why, what they know, and how ideas are organized as they plan, draft, edit, and revise. They guide their thinking with metacognitive strategies that help them write purposefully.

This basic research has led to strategies for teaching writing that help novice writers learn how to engage in this kind of self-talk and self-monitoring as they go

through similar processes. In one study, teachers of fourth- and fifth-grade learning disabled and non-learning disabled students were taught how to implement these strategies in their classrooms by analyzing texts, modeling the writing process, guiding students as they wrote, and providing students with opportunities for independent writing over the course of a year. Analyses were conducted for an intervention group of 32 students and a matched comparison group of 31 similar students selected from a pool of 500 students in seven urban schools participating in a broader research study. In each group, half of the students were learning disabled and half were non-learning disabled. The study found that the groups whose teachers had received the special training engaged in more self-regulating metacognitive strategies and were more able to explain their writing process. This ability was positively and significantly related to measures of their academic performance in reading and writing. Although there were significant differences in the writing knowledge of learning disabled and non-learning disabled students within the comparison group, the learning disabled students whose teachers had had the special training were just as able to describe and use the writing strategies—such as the ability to organize, evaluate, and revise their papers in appropriate ways—as were the regular education students in the comparison group. Sometimes, the learning disabled students who had received this strategy instruction even outscored the regular education students.

Source: Englert, Raphael, and Anderson (1992).

Example #3: Elementary-aged Children with Reading Disabilities. There are also specific kinds of instruction that can help students with particular learning disabilities, such as dyslexia. In a review of research on teaching reading to students with reading disabilities, the National Research Council's report *Preventing Reading Difficulties in Young Children* (1998) found that a useful instructional strategy for working with many elementary-aged children with reading difficulties is phonemic awareness training (see, for example, Williams, 1980). Word recognition skills of severely disabled readers can often be substantially improved through intensive supplementary training including either explicit instruction in phoneme awareness and letter-sound patterns or training in using common orthographic patterns and analogies to identify unfamiliar words (Lovett and others, 1994). Recent analyses on an expanded sample indicate that the two training conditions are about equally effective for older (grades 5 and 6) and younger (grades 2 and 3) children with reading disabilities (Lovett and Steinbach, 1997).

These studies indicate, first, that intensive training, even over relatively short periods, can substantially improve the word-reading skills of children with serious reading disabilities and that these positive outcomes are maintained over months or years after the cessation of training. Second, it is clear that phonologically oriented training programs are not the only type of intervention that can facilitate word recognition, although this approach produces the strongest

gain in phonemic awareness and phonological decoding when combined with training in other reading skills. Teachers who work with students who have difficulty with reading need to be able to assess students' reading difficulty and be aware of the range of possible interventions and what research says about which interventions would profit students the most.

Example #4: General Accommodations. There are a number of different types of adaptations that teachers have at their disposal. Teachers need to know how to teach specific strategies to children, how to use adaptive materials to help children with speech and language difficulties socialize with other children, and how they can focus on particular instructional strategies (such as phonemic awareness training) to help children with reading disabilities. More generally, teachers also need to know how to create adaptations of the work they plan for learners with particular needs. These can include adaptations of:

Size: The length or portion of an assignment, demonstration, or performance learners are expected to complete. For example reduce the length of report to be written or spoken, the references needed, or the number of problems.

Time: The flexible time needed for student learning. For example individualize a timeline for project completion, allow more time for test taking.

Level of Support: The amount of assistance to the learner. For example students work in groups, with peer buddies, or mentors.

Input: The instructional strategies used to facilitate learning. For example use of videos, computer programs, field trips, and visual aids to support active learning.

Difficulty: The skill levels, conceptual levels, and processes involved in learning. For example provide calculators, tier the assignment so the outcome is the same but with varying degrees of concreteness and complexity.

Output: The ways learners can demonstrate understanding and knowledge. For example to demonstrate understanding, students write a song, tell a story, design a poster, or perform an experiment.

Degree of Participation: The extent to which the learner is actively involved in the tasks. For example in a student play, a student may play a part that has more physical action rather than numerous lines to memorize.

Modified Goals: The adapted outcome expectations within the context of a general education curriculum. For example in a written language activity, a student may focus more on writing some letters and copying words rather than composing whole sentences or paragraphs.

Substitute Curriculum: The significantly differentiated instruction and materials to meet a learner's identified goals: For example in a foreign language class, a student may develop a script that uses both authentic language and cultural knowledge of a designated time period, rather than reading paragraphs or directions (reprinted with permission: Cole, S., Horvath, B., Chapman, C., Deschenes, C., Ebeling, D., and Sprague, J., 2000).

Some of the strategies for working with special needs learners can and should be used with all children. For example, all teachers should use visual aids, plan concrete examples, and provide hands-on activities for students who have had little prior experience in a domain. Teachers need to know the range of common adaptations that exist, know how to implement them, and know under what circumstances they are most effective.

What Teachers Need to Know About Developing an Inclusive Practice

Developing an inclusive practice goes beyond understanding special education policy and identifying specific instructional strategies that will help students with disabilities. Teachers must also know how to develop a supportive classroom community in which all students feel safe with the teacher and with each other. This involves sophisticated skills in classroom management. For example, it is important for teachers to be able to design groupwork in which children with varying abilities can work together productively. This requires identifying the strengths of special needs learners in ways that allow them to contribute and helping other students learn how to work within a heterogeneous group that supports contributions from all members (Johnson, 1985; Johnson and Johnson, 1989; Cohen and Lotan, 1995).

To develop inclusive classrooms teachers need to be able to observe, monitor, and assess children to gain accurate feedback about their students' learning and development. Thus they need to have skills in systematic inquiry, including the ability to observe not only an individual child in interaction with different tasks, but also the interactions among students. (See for example, the story of Akeem in Chapter Eight on Assessment.) Given the context of the classroom, the interactions between children, the individual nature of the learning challenges, and the child's life outside school, they need to determine why children may be responding or behaving in particular ways. Then they need to be able to develop interventions, track changes, and revise their strategies as necessary.

As mentioned earlier, teachers also need to attend to cultural and language differences as well as differences in how students learn and interact with one another. Most often this requires that teachers actively work to develop class-

room communities where students are not only accepted, but are valued for their diverse experiences inside and outside the classroom. Teachers need to find ways to bring those experiences into the classroom. To develop an inclusive community students need to feel safe, not only with the teacher, but also around their peers. Developing this type of community can be difficult and takes some skill. For example, the teacher should be able to develop activities that are not overly competitive. If a teacher encourages children to talk about their disabilities and their backgrounds, the teacher needs to know how to direct conversations and to support people who are disclosing information. Teachers may also need to provide direct instruction on how children should interact with their peers. In fact, some children need to be taught how to be empathetic.

Developing an inclusive practice also requires that teachers work closely with other professionals. The necessary collaboration skills are complex, sometimes requiring that a teacher move beyond "being polite" with other teachers and professionals in order for them to communicate about serious educational issues that require debate and may create conflict. These may range from issues concerning individual students and whether they are being appropriately placed or treated in school to issues concerning broader school practices, such as tracking or curriculum differentiation, student placement policies, curriculum or teaching policies, or issues related to the quality of services provided in special education or in other parts of the school program. Teachers need to know how to raise questions and issues in a professional manner, seek appropriate information about student performance and school practices and bring that information to the table for discussion, and suggest strategies for clarifying goals and taking action. They need to know how to listen carefully so as to understand different positions and points of view, look for consensus and identify differences in ways that move the conversation forward, and take steps to resolve conflict. In the next section, we talk more about how teacher education programs can help teachers develop both the skills and the dispositions they need if they are to work successfully with diverse children and help create school environments that support equity and progress for all students.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

Acquiring the kinds of knowledge we have described in this chapter—self-knowledge, cultural and linguistic knowledge, culturally informed pedagogical knowledge, knowledge about the nature of learning differences, knowledge of teaching methods and materials suitable for different kinds of learning needs, and knowledge of home-school relationships—is a complex undertaking. The teacher education community has responded to the challenge

of helping prospective teachers acquire this knowledge base in a number of different ways that include instructional and curricular offerings that put teacher candidates in closer contact with the students and communities they serve. New program structures and recruitment processes for students and faculty also strengthen opportunities for teachers to expand their cultural knowledge and experiences.

The challenge of teaching diverse learners starts the moment teachers begin planning ways to connect their students with the subject matters they intend to teach. For this connection to occur, teachers must know their students—who they are, what they care about, what languages they speak, what customs and traditions are valued in their homes. This suggests that teacher education needs to include a variety of opportunities for teachers to learn about their students and the communities from which they come. At the same time they must know how to continue to learn about their students because their students will continue to change for every class and every year. Not unrelated is what teachers need to know about themselves—who they are, how their past school experiences frame their ways of knowing and being in school, and how that, in turn, tends to influence what they believe and what goals they set for doing the work. Teacher education pedagogies that stress all three of these knowledge domains—knowledge of learners, knowledge of self, and knowledge of how to continue to learn in teaching—suggest how we might begin to consider the implications of considering the "diverse learners" when thinking about learning to teach.

Learning About Students and Communities

We have suggested in this chapter that knowing one's students is important for teaching them well, as is believing that all students can learn and achieve high levels of academic success. The challenge of knowing one's students well and continuing to believe in their potential is fortified as teachers develop the knowledge and skills that enable them to succeed in teaching children from diverse backgrounds. There are several promising teacher education pedagogies that have emerged to prepare teachers to accomplish this goal. What kinds of activities might teacher educators design to prepare teachers for meeting the coupled challenge and opportunity of teaching our nation's diverse student population?

In *Educating Culturally Responsive Teachers*, Villegas and Lucas (2002a, p. 138) describe four types of field experiences that can help prospective teachers understand the school and community contexts in which they practice, and gain skills for becoming agents of change. These include guided school and community visits; service learning opportunities in both schools and other community organizations; studies of students, classrooms, schools, and communi-

ties; and practica in diverse contexts with teachers who are engaged in an equity pedagogy. All of these require care in structuring and guiding the learning experience, and each offers the possibilities for personal insights, professional learning, and deeper understanding of the social and structural features of schools and communities that shape opportunity.

One way to get to know one's students is to spend time with them and time in their communities paying careful attention to who they are, what they know, and what is the context for their experiences. In some teacher education programs, teacher candidates engage in various assignments and activities that take them into the communities where their students live and where their students' parents work. The "funds of knowledge approach" developed by Moll and González (2004) provides an example. This approach, which builds on ethnographic methods, centers on visiting students' households for the purpose of developing social relations with family members to document their knowledge and social capital so that it can be integrated into the work of the school (Moll and González, 2004). Through their inquiries teachers can document the funds of knowledge found in their students' households, including knowledge about vocations and avocations as well as community resources. In becoming theoretically and methodologically adept with this form of inquiry, they can rediscover those cultural resources in their students and incorporate them into the curriculum (González and others, 1995; Moll, Amanti, Neff, and González, 1992). Through their engagement with the inquiry process the teachers learn to employ this methodology as they continue to learn about their students in future years.

Rather than isolated in one experience or even one course, opportunities for novice teachers to spend time in the communities where their students live need to occur in a variety of ways and throughout the teacher's professional preparation (Bennett, Okinaka, and Xio-Yang, 1988; Grant and Koskella, 1986; McDiarmid and Price, 1990; Sleeter and Grant, 1988). These kinds of learning opportunities can also be offered through Child or Adolescent Case Study assignments that require teachers to come to know the life circumstances of a particular child very well (Roeser, 2002), for example, or extended fieldwork assignments that have teachers working in neighborhood or community settings (Ladson-Billings, 2001).

Community experiences in and of themselves are not necessarily educative, however. What makes them so are opportunities for students to reflect on and challenge the initial assumptions they carry with them into the field. Undoing prior assumptions is an important part of this process of learning to teach children who are not one's own. Ladson-Billings (2001) emphasizes this point when she notes that because of some teachers' prior experiences, they sometimes view their work through the lens of "helping the less fortunate" which provides little room for "the need to really help children become educated enough to develop intellectual, political, cultural, and economic independence" (pp. 82–83). Thus

in the program Ladson-Billings describes, students complete a six-week assignment in a community-based agency or neighborhood center while they are enrolled in two courses: *Teaching and Diversity*, and *Culture, Curriculum, and Learning*, in addition to a seminar designed to help students debrief their community experiences. Furthermore, the work of this experience goes on throughout the remainder of the program year, which is tightly integrated around the ideas that teachers need to know the communities where schools are located, teachers need to develop a "humanizing pedagogy," and teaching is "an unfinished profession" (p. 109). Thus the program seeks to prepare teachers as learners and includes regular reflection as part of that process.

The occasion for guided reflection helps teachers make sense of what they have seen and heard and helps them to learn how to use their emerging knowledge to design curriculum and assessment materials appropriate to the students they teach. This time for guided reflection also allows teacher educators to be explicit about the processes involved in learning from one's experience as foundational for the continued work of learning in teaching.

Learning About Self

The importance of learning about one's students is paralleled by the importance of learning about oneself. Activities or experiences that place students face to face with their entering beliefs and assumptions both about themselves and others, and about learning, schooling, and intelligence, are essential as novice teachers prepare to teach students who are often different from themselves, in schools that are also different from the ones they attended, in a society that is changing with rapid intensity every day. A number of pedagogical approaches have been developed that provide this opportunity for students. For instance, autobiography, narrative, and life history are all methodologies teacher educators have developed to help prospective teachers question their existing beliefs about themselves and others (see, for example, Gomez and Tabachnick, 1992).

A study of one such methodology showed how ethnic literature and autobiography can become a means for prospective teachers to conduct studies of their own lives, which allows them to see themselves as cultural beings, and can lead to changes in their beliefs about literacy, schooling, and cultural identity (Florio-Ruane, 2001). In another teacher education program, novice teachers were asked to write a number of short narratives about instances of learning in the classrooms where they teach. They were startled by their own unquestioned assumptions and beliefs, which became evident when they were asked to analyze the collection of narratives they had produced (Richert, 2002). In addition, some narratives that portray instances of culturally responsive pedagogy or that provide portraits of students inside and outside academic settings provide ways to challenge assumptions prospective teachers might hold. The skillful use of autobiography, family histories, and contemporary and historical narratives can

help prospective teachers learn about their own views, their students' experiences, and about the role of culture in learning, teaching, and schooling. We describe how this can be done in the account of Professor Holt's teacher education course, which is a composite account illustrating practices in several teacher education programs. (See "Professor Anderson Holt's Teacher Education Course.")

Professor Anderson Holt's Teacher Education Course

Anderson Holt is a professor in the teacher education program at a large state university in the Midwest. The demographics of the teacher education population at his university mirror the national population of teacher education students and teachers. Approximately 80 percent of Holt's students are white and about 75 percent are female. Many of Holt's students attended predominantly white elementary and secondary schools and grew up in rural areas or in small towns. Their experience at the large state university is the first opportunity they have had in their lives to interact with African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians in equal-status situations.

Among the major goals that Holt has for his course are to help the students understand the ways in which race is constructed in American society, how some racial groups are privileged and others are disadvantaged by established racial categories, and the pernicious effects of the "color-blind" approach to dealing with racial issues and problems in school (Schofield, 2003). Another aim of Holt's course is to help students understand the ways in which they are ethnic and cultural beings and the significant ways in which culture influences teaching and learning (Irvine, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Holt often hears student comments like these at the start of his multicultural teacher education class:

"I am just American. I don't have a cultural or ethnic group."

"Why do we have to talk about ethnic and racial differences? Why can't we all be just Americans?"

"Kids don't really see colors and these kinds of differences. I am afraid that if we bring them up we will just be teaching kids about them."

Helping Teacher Education Students Rethink Race, Culture, and Ethnicity

Although many students in teacher education programs view themselves as monocultural beings who are color-blind and raceless, evidence suggests that "color-blind" perspectives often mask unacknowledged biases about racial/ethnic minority groups. For example, in an important ethnographic study of a school, Schofield (2003) found that teachers who said they were color-blind suspended African American males at highly disproportionate rates and failed to integrate multicultural content into the curriculum. Color-blindness was used to justify the perpetuation of institutionalized discrimination within the school.

Teacher education students need to understand, for example, the ways in which the statement "I am not ethnic; I am just American" positions other cultures as non-American. A well-meaning statement such as "I don't see color" fails to legitimize racial identifications that often define the experiences of people of color and are

used to justify perpetuation of discrimination. If educators do not "see" color and the ways in which institutionalized racism privileges some groups and disadvantages others, they will be unable to take action to eliminate racial inequality in schools.

In his introductory teacher education course, Holt incorporates readings, activities, lectures, and discussions designed to help students "unlearn racism" and to read the "racial text" of U.S. society (Cochran-Smith, 2000). Assignments include a personal reflection paper on the book *We Can't Teach What We Don't Know: White Teachers, Multicultural Schools* (Howard, 1999), as well as a family history project. In his book, Howard (1999) describes his personal journey as a white person to come to grips with racial issues and to become an effective educator. In their reflection papers, Holt's students describe their powerful reactions to Howard's book and how it helps them to rethink their personal journey related to race and their ideas about race. Howard makes racism explicit for most of Holt's students for the first time in their lives.

In their family history project, the students are asked to provide a brief account of their family's historical journey and to give explicit attention to the ways in which race, class, and gender have influenced their family and personal histories. Although the family history project is a popular assignment, many students struggle to describe ways in which race has influenced their family and personal histories because race is largely invisible to them (McIntosh, 1997). Gender is much more visible to the women students in Holt's class. More of the female than male students are able to relate gender to their family and personal stories in meaningful ways.

Challenging the Metanarrative

A series of activities in Holt's course is designed to help students examine the U.S. metanarrative, to construct understandings and narratives that describe the development of U.S. history and culture in ways that incorporate the histories and cultures of the nation's diverse racial, cultural, ethnic, and language groups. These activities include historical readings, discussions, and role-playing events. The perspectives in these historical accounts are primarily those of the groups being studied rather than those of outsiders, because the students have already had much more experience with outsider perspectives than the voices of the people themselves (see, for example, Takaki, 1993; Banks, 2003). To function effectively in culturally, racially, and language diverse classrooms, teacher education students need to understand the experiences and perspectives of various communities and to understand how race, culture, and ethnicity are related to the social, economic, and political structures in U.S. society (Nieto, 1999; Omi and Winant, 1994).

Videotapes that powerfully depict the perspectives of ethnic groups of color on historical and contemporary events supplement the historical readings in Holt's course. These videotapes include *The Shadow of Hate: A History of Intolerance in America* (Guggenheim, 1995), which chronicles how various groups within the United States, including the Irish, Jews, and African Americans, have been victimized by discrimination. One of the most trenchant examples of discrimination in the videotape is the description of the way Leo Frank, a Jewish northerner living in

Atlanta, became a victim of anti-Semitism and racial hostility when he was accused of murdering a white girl who worked in a pencil factory he co-owned.

The Leo Frank case provides the students an opportunity to understand the ways in which race is a social construction, is contextual, and how the meaning of race has changed historically and continues to change today (Jacobson, 1998). Leo Frank was considered Jewish and not white in 1915 Atlanta. Holt presents a lecture that gives the students an overview of Brodkin's (1998) book that describes the process by which Jews (and other white ethnics, such as the Irish and Italians) became white in America by assimilating mainstream American behaviors, ideologies, and perspectives, including institutionalized attitudes toward groups of color (see also Ignatiev, 1995; Morrison, 1992). The students in Holt's class are surprised to learn how the meaning of race has changed through time and that the idea that whites are one racial group is a rather recent historical development.

A videotape that deals with a contemporary Native American issue is used to help students understand the ways in which the United States' past and present are connected. *In Whose Honor?* (Rosenstein, 1997) chronicles the struggle of Charlene Teters, a Native American graduate student, to end the use of a Native American chief as a football team mascot at the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana. The team is called The Fighting Illini, after Chief Illiniwek. During halftime, a student dresses up as Chief Illiniwek and dances. Teters considers the chief and the dance sacrilegious and demeaning to Native Americans. The videotape describes the social action taken by Teters to end the tradition, as well as the strong opposition by the board of trustees and alumni who want to maintain a tradition that is deeply beloved by vocal and influential alumni and board members. This leads to a consideration of how the construction of the Indian in U.S. society is controlled by mainstream institutions, including the mainstream media. Through questioning and discussion, Holt helps the students relate Columbus' construction of the Native people of the Caribbean as Indians, Cortes' construction of the Aztecs as savages, Turner's construction of the West as a wilderness, and the selection of Chief Illiniwek as a mascot. They consider which groups have the power to define and institutionalize their conceptions within the schools, what is the relationship between knowledge and power, and who benefits (and who loses) from the ways in which Native Americans, and other people of color, have been and are often defined in U.S. society.

An Unfinished Journey

Holt's course is designed to help his teacher education students better understand race, culture, and ethnicity, and how these factors influence the teaching and learning process. Holt seeks to communicate the respect he has for his students while at the same time encouraging them to seriously challenge their deeply held beliefs, attitudes, values, and knowledge claims. The course is a beginning of what Holt hopes will be a lifelong journey for his students. One course with a transformative goal can have only a limited influence on the knowledge, beliefs, and values of students who have been exposed to mainstream knowledge and perspectives for most of their prior education. Students are required to take a second multicultural education

texts (Christensen and Hansen, 1987). These cases introduce students to the "tangled issues of teaching in remote villages—the simmering animosities between local people and high-paid outsiders, unfamiliar cultural rules that new teachers could unwittingly violate, the organization of power in village communities, the injustices the educational system has visited on villagers, and also the injustices visited on outside teachers" (Kleinfeld, 1998, p. 142).

The teaching cases consist of two parts. Part one poses the dramatic problem nested within a web of related issues. For instance, one case begins with a classroom fight between an Eskimo student and an Anglo student. As the case develops, the teacher realizes the fight is related to the Anglo student's cutting remark about the Eskimo students' work ("D minus, huh?"). Later the teacher discovers that the Eskimo student's interpretation of this remark cuts to the core of his identity, "He thinks I am dumb because I am native." The case also develops such contextual issues as the stress of culture fatigue, the hostility of the local community, and lack of support from school administration. In the case, the teacher considers such pedagogical and ethical issues as: What is a fair grading system in an English class where some students are children of "outside professionals" and native speakers of English whereas others are Yup'ik-speaking children of subsistence hunters? What alternative grading options might be considered? How can competence be supported and recognized? The case presents teaching problems not as prepackaged neatly solved exercises but as difficult issues to be explored. The critical task for students in their discussion of the cases is first to understand the range of considerations and from that understanding to determine what else to explore.

Part two of the case shows how experienced teachers go about addressing the issues raised in the first part. The advantage of part two is that it features specific strategies that candidates can consider using themselves. In the previous example, for instance, the teacher revises his grading system with goals for each student and grades students on their success in meeting their individualized goals. He creates a bulletin board entitled "The Theme is Excellence" to post students' work, pictures of them doing homework, and articles about their parents from the local newspaper. With other teacher colleagues, he organizes a community relations campaign with a successful poster showing an Eskimo mother with a baby superimposed over a classroom of students. The caption reads, "WE TEACH . . . the children you love." During the program, students write a case from their own student teaching experience. Many of these cases become part of the curriculum for the program the following year. They provide a base for assessing students' success at understanding their work in a multicultural context and for developing productive strategies for reaching their students.

The case-based approach, coupled with carefully structured coursework and clinical experiences, appears to make a difference for candidates' learning. Evaluations of the Teachers for Alaska program show measurable improvement in students' cross-cultural teaching skills from the point of entry until graduation. In a recent evaluation, at the end of their first semester on campus and again after their student teaching experiences in the villages, trained observers documented sample lessons graduates taught with culturally diverse students. At their entry into the program, 28 percent of the candidates took into account students' cultural frames of reference. At the

program midpoint, 62 percent did so. At the end of the program, 83 percent did so. Other measures, such as the use of active teaching strategies, showed similar changes (Kleinfeld, 1998). Examining and practicing teaching in cultural and community context appears to strengthen teachers' ability to take account of their students.

Ideally, in their clinical placements, student teachers will have the opportunity to observe firsthand schooling that seeks to confront the long-standing barriers created by tracking, poor teaching, narrow curriculum, and unresponsive systems. If prospective teachers have long-term placements in schools where they can work collaboratively with other teachers on classroom and schoolwide issues, as is the case in many professional development school partnerships, they can learn to become part of a team that works to transform the contexts for teaching and learning. (For examples of such partnerships, see Darling-Hammond, 1994; Guadarrama, Ramsey, and Nath, 2002.) One set of such partnership schools, for example, working with California State University at Fullerton, has created a collaborative approach to preparing special education teachers and regular education teachers involved in inclusion. Creating several sites that seek to demonstrate exemplary practices to special education and that restructure the ways in which students are educated, these teacher education partnerships have demonstrated steady increases in student achievement while educating new and veteran teachers as both skilled inclusion teachers and as agents of school change (Glaeser, Karge, Smith, and Weatherill, 2002).

Clearly, however, inequities are not solved overnight. Some programs focus on arming prospective teachers with skills to evaluate what is working and not working for groups of students in their schools as the basis for planning and implementing changes. By exploring inequities in their teaching contexts through action research, student teachers can also be taught to critically examine current school structures, practices, and outcomes as they visit and study schools and evaluate school policies and reforms (see, for example, Darling-Hammond, French, and Garcia Lopez, 2002; Gebhard, Austin, Nieto, and Willett, 2002).

Studies of schools often involve prospective teachers in investigating particular issues or questions—sometimes generated by the course and other times by the candidates themselves—by systematically collecting information, observing interactions in classrooms and other parts of the school, looking at statistical data, examining artifacts or records, and interviewing students, parents, and staff. School studies can examine policy issues that are under discussion (for example, curriculum adoption or development, looping, family involvement policies, language learning policies); grouping practices and how they affect different students, teachers, and practices; inter- and intraschool resource allocations; discipline policies and practices; or other topics. These studies can expand understanding of different perspectives, provide skills for collecting and interpreting data, and develop candidates' knowledge of how school organizations operate—and how

they can be influenced to change. As Villegas and Lucas (2002a) note, however, about the process of such studies, guided reflection is essential. "Without it, pre-service teachers might interpret problems they observe as deficiencies within the students, their families, and their communities while overlooking how inequitable conditions in schools and society contribute to those problems" (p. 143).

Considerations of Program Design

It warrants mentioning under the umbrella of the pedagogical approaches that structural changes in programs of teacher education are needed to make space for the kinds of learning experiences we are highlighting here. More time and opportunity for teachers to spend in the communities where they teach makes learning about those communities possible. Student teaching placements that are carefully chosen to enable teachers to work with expert veterans who are knowledgeable, skillful, and committed to all of their students are also important to this work. It is difficult to learn to teach well by imagining what good teaching might look like or by positing the opposite of what one has seen. Rather, placing students carefully with cooperating teachers who are teaching in culturally responsive ways and then structuring those field placements to connect with courses that help teachers understand those experiences are both essential to providing learning opportunities for students doing this work. Many professional development school relationships have been developed so that prospective teachers not only learn to teach from strong practitioners but also so that they work in a school context that has developed formal and informal structures to promote equity (see, for example, Darling-Hammond, 1994; Guadarrama and others, 2002). In these settings, candidates generally are able to experience many aspects of school functioning and learn from many practitioners beyond the individual classroom, including the aspects of the school like special education or language support services, the school governance process, extracurricular activities, and the like. In this way, they have the opportunity to see what schools do when they are committed to serving all of their students well and when they engage in continual self-reflection and improvement.

Another structural factor that impacts a program's ability to provide the kinds of learning opportunities we have highlighted concerns the admissions and hiring procedures that shape the learning community itself. A key building block for the curriculum of any school, from pre-K through graduate school, is the knowledge and set of experiences of those who are members of the learning community. When a diverse group of people gather to teach and learn from one another they become resources for each other. The opportunities for in-depth conversations, teaching examples, inquiry, and other opportunities to learn and grow are enhanced as people with diverse prior experiences come together. It is for this reason that scholars and practitioners have emphasized the recruitment

of more faculty of color in teacher education programs as well as the recruitment of individuals who have taught successfully in settings serving diverse learners. Similarly, having a diverse population of teacher candidates contributes to the learning climate for developing a culturally responsive pedagogy. The more diverse the array of prior experience and perspective among participants, the more generative can be the work of learning to teach.

However, just providing more diversity and experience among the professoriate and student population is not a magical solution to the needs teacher education programs face in preparing teachers to teach in culturally responsive ways. As we have already discussed, programs must develop a curriculum and pedagogy that helps people learn how to learn from those opportunities when people from diverse backgrounds come together to study teaching practice. Learning to learn together is part of this challenging work. An example comes in learning to actively confront stereotypes about the traits of students as well as teachers from various groups in order to correct the tendency to "exceptionalize" successful people of color while maintaining lower expectations of most. With this comes learning how to actively examine how classroom and school-level practices work to enhance or undermine achievement for different groups of students (Ladson-Billings, 1999). Teachers need to be supported in developing the commitment to teach all children to high standards. Holding onto the belief that all pupils can learn and that intelligence is not something immutable or fixed, teachers are then ready to develop the cultural sensitivity and intercultural competence that will create the foundation on which they can base their learning about their students over the duration of their professional careers.

Although considerable work has been done to develop pedagogies that prepare teachers to meet the needs of the widely diverse population of learners they face, at the same time there is much work to be done. New pedagogical approaches are needed, as is a broader inclusion of such efforts in programs nationwide. Similarly, continued effort needs to be made to create programs where these efforts are not standalone courses, but rather integrated experiences throughout the professional preparation program. Research has shown the limited impact of single, standalone courses on prospective teachers' knowledge, attitudes, and practices (Bennett, Okinaka, and Xio-Yang, 1988; Grant and Koskella, 1986; McDiarmid and Price, 1990; Sleeter, 1988). Similarly, single standalone community experiences are not enough to overcome years of prior conditioning. Ultimately, the goal must be to design programs that make attention to diversity, equity, and social justice centrally important so that all courses and field experiences for prospective teachers are conducted with these important goals in mind.