

TEACHING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE:
EFFECTIVE STRATEGIES FOR IMPROVING THE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT
OF AFRICAN AMERICAN AND LATINO STUDENTS

by

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the contextual situation of students of color within the public education system and identifies effective strategies for teaching for social justice in a diverse secondary foreign language classroom. An investigation into the history of the educational experiences for African American and Mexican American students reveals educational racism and deculturalization for these students. In addition, historical background on educational movements for social change foreshadows some of the results from the research literature. A critical review of the literature shows that caring for the whole student, student-centered pedagogy, fostering school-home connections, developing cultural sensitivity and valuing biculturalism, and utilizing cooperative learning are effective strategies for helping students of color empower themselves to be agents of change in pursuit of social justice. Suggestions for future research and a discussion of classroom implications are provided to answer the question of effective strategies for teaching for social justice in a diverse foreign language classroom.

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PREFACE

The Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels this two-ness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

W.E.B. Du Bois (1953, p. 3)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the current public education situation in regards to students of color and equality of opportunity and provides the rationale for the investigation of the question: what are effective strategies for teaching for social justice in a diverse foreign language classroom? It discusses the importance of the question to the author, the professional educational community, students and society as a whole. Finally this chapter addresses the operational definitions used in the paper, as well as limitations on the scope of the paper.

Rationale

Need for Social Justice in Society

In American society today there is a huge disparity between the rich and the poor, and the gap is increasing. People of color are over-represented among the poor for their percentage of the population as compared to white people. In 1993 only 18.6% of White people lived below the poverty line, compared to 29.5% of African Americans, 25.1% of Asian Americans, and 28.7% of Hispanics (Spring, 2006, p. 74). Sixty three percent of Latino children live in low-income families (low-income is defined as beneath twice the federal poverty level), as compared with 61% of African American children, 30% of Asian American children, and 27% of white children (National Center for Children in Poverty [NCCP], 2006). In 1990, 23,000 African American men graduated from college, while 2.3 million African American men and youth passed through the corrections system (Hayden, 1996). In 2004, African Americans were two times more likely than Hispanics and five times more likely than whites to be in jail (United States Department of Justice [USDOJ], 2004).

Equality of Opportunity in Education

In theory, the public education system works to ensure that all students receive an equal chance to succeed in life because they have an equal opportunity at education, and education is the key to economic stability and upward mobility. Spring (2006) defined equality of opportunity as occurring when all members of a society are given equal chances to enter any occupation or social class. Ideally, it means all members of a society will occupy their positions because of merit, not because of family wealth, heredity or cultural advantages. The idea of equality of opportunity in education was introduced by Mann in the 1830's, and was known as the common school. Mann lobbied for the common school to order to reduce societal tensions between rich and poor by shifting the causes of inequality in society to the individual: a person is poor because she or he did not study hard enough to get ahead. In this way, blatant social, economic and political inequalities could be ignored (Spring, 2006, p. 34-5). Does equality of opportunity exist in schools today?

The Current Status of Students of Color within the Educational System

Scholars in the field of educational history have noted the evidence of the principles of correspondence, which is that schools reflect the norms and values of the host society—as such, inequities in society are reflected in the public education system (Clabaugh & Rozycki, 1990). This is reflected in what is commonly called the Achievement Gap, or the gap between students of color, particularly African American, Latino, and Native American students and white students on achievement measures such as performance on standardized tests, high school graduation rates, and grade point averages (Fine et al., 2005; Gay, 2000; Griggs et al., 1992; Valenzuela, 1999). This gap

has been around for decades, as it was documented by Hale-Benson (1986) in 1986. In the deficit model of thinking, the students' families or cultures have been blamed for their low performance in academics, saying things like 'they just don't care'. Rarely have schools turned the lens on the system in looking for a cause to the problem. According to the educational report published by the National Center for Education Statistics in 2001, African American children scored lower than white children on mathematics and reading achievement tests at every grade level studied. This achievement gap was reflected in the academy and economy, as African Americans also were found to have lower levels of educational attainment and earnings than whites (NCES, 2001).

Fine et al. (2005) identified six major systemic causes of the achievement gap. These six causes are finance inequity, tracking, racialized suspension practices, high-stakes testing with a disproportionate impact on students of color and students in poverty, distinct experiences of respect and recognition in school based on race and ethnicity, and a national retreat from desegregation. In their participatory action research design, the researchers defined the achievement gap as the opportunity gap, in order to reflect the systemic nature of the problem, rather than blaming the achievement gap on the individual students. Several ethnographic studies on youth in urban schools have documented this tendency to reduce collective problems to individual terms when addressing the underachievement of students of color (Fine, 1991; Valenzuela, 1999; Yeo, 1997). In order to combat this tendency, this paper refers to the achievement gap, as it is called in most of the literature, as the opportunity gap.

Finance inequity within public schools has been documented extensively (Karp, 2003; Kozol, 1991; McLaren, 1989; Spring, 2006). School funding is tied to local

property taxes: approximately 44% to 47% of school districts' budgets come from local sources, with the federal government contributing six to eight percent (Spring, 2006, p. 47). Therefore, the higher the property taxes in an area, the more the school spends per pupil. In New York, the discrepancy in per pupil spending between rich districts and poor districts was as much as \$9,000 (Hayden, 1996). The lack of money in poor districts, which are often urban districts with high numbers of students of color, translates into outdated materials, high teacher turnover, no extracurricular activities, and crumbling facilities (Kozol, 1991). It also sends a message to these students that society has written them off. In most major cities, the students are overwhelmingly Latino and African American: Chicago 87%, Washington DC 94%, St. Louis 82%, Detroit 96%, Los Angeles 84% Philadelphia, Cleveland 79% and New York almost 75% (Kozol, 2005). Finance inequity disproportionately affects students of color in comparison with white students. The fact that schools pay more for one child's education than another renders the American commitment to equality of opportunity nothing more than an empty promise (McLaren, 1989).

The United States is the one of the few industrialized nations that does not nationally fund education. As a consequence, local taxpayers have to vote to fund the schools and only 15% of taxpayers have students in the schools. Inequitable funding has been challenged in the courts; cases have been ruled upon in more than 30 states since the early 1970's with about half declaring funding inequitable. However, even when the court mandated a change in funding, it was often overruled or simply not heeded by the governor and legislators of the state (Karp, 2003).

Another major cause of the opportunity gap is the use of tracking to relegate a disproportionate number of students of color (excepting Asian American students) to remedial or lower tracks (Goodlad, 1985; Moses & Cobb, 2001; Oakes, 1985; Valenzuela, 1999). Tracking gives the illusion that children are sorted due to their merit or ability, rather than by teachers' expectations due to their socioeconomic class or race; consequently, students are trained to accept inequality and locked into positions of limited opportunity (McLaren, 1989). The students often accept the labels put upon them. Oakes (1985) found that students in lower tracks felt alienated, lowered their aspirations and were taught behaviors preparing them for low-status jobs.

In addition to attending schools with less funding and being placed in lower tracks more often than their white counterparts, Latino and African American students have reduced access to AP courses, and this negatively affects their admittance to universities because of the universities' policy of crediting AP classes as extra points in the admissions process (Solorzano & Ornelas, 2004). Certain classes serve as gatekeepers in the educational pipeline to the university for all students. Algebra has been identified by Moses and Cobb (2001) as the gatekeeper to citizenship because without algebra, students cannot continue in college preparatory math classes. Math literacy skills are essential for economic access in an era where almost every job requires high technology skills.

According to a report by the Center for Social Organization of Schools at Johns Hopkins University in 2004, African American and Latino students are more likely to attend high schools with high dropout rates. The report found that half of African American students attend high schools where half or more of the students do not

graduate. Forty percent of Latinos attend similar schools, compared with only eleven percent of White students (Spring, 2006, p. 76-77). This relationship between racial segregation and dropout rates is an example of institutional racism in the public school system. The dropout rate of Latino students for 2002 was 26%, compared to 11% of African American students and 7% of European American students (NCES, 2005a).

Since the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, the number of immigrants to the United States has dramatically increased, with the highest number immigrating from Latin American and Asia. This increase in immigration has created an increasingly diverse population in regard to race, ethnicity, and language. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census projections, by the year 2040 the majority of school-age children will be members of minority groups (Spring, 2006, p.107). In contrast with the ethnic diversity of students, 86% of new teachers entering the field are white, learning from an 88% white professorate (Brandon, 2003). Nationally, forty-two percent of public school students in grades K-12 were considered to be part of a racial or ethnic minority group in 2003, an increase from 22% in 1972. Of these students, 16.1% were African American, 18.6 % were Hispanic, and 7% were of other minority ethnic groups. In comparison, the percentage of public school students who were White decreased from 78 to 58% (NCES, 2005).

Given the opportunity gap detailed in the preceding paragraphs, the increasing diversity of the United States school-age population, and the trends in the demographics of the current teaching force, the answer to the question, what are effective strategies for teaching for social justice in a diverse foreign language classroom, is of utmost importance to the future of our nation.

Controversy

In response to the opportunity gap and in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement, educators such as Banks, Sleeter, Grant, and Nieto proposed multicultural education as a means to effectively educate students of color. The first wave of multicultural education consisted of demands for ethnic studies at the university level (Banks, 2001).

Multicultural education advocates met with opposition from the likes of Bloom (1987), Hirsch (1988), and Schlesinger (1991), who advocated for a teaching of core values derived from White Anglo American traditions. Hirsch (1988) made the case for developing standardized content to be taught in schools called cultural literacy. He argued that cultural literacy is a deep understanding of mainstream culture necessary to thrive in the modern world. He asserted that a shared knowledge base among citizens is essential for effective communication and for democracy. He claimed that American national values and traditions rather than multicultural education should be the focus of our schools. Hirsch developed a culturally literate dictionary and books dictating what culturally literate elementary school children should know.

Bloom (1987) argued that multicultural education is propaganda for acceptance of different traditions no matter what the content of those traditions. He bemoaned the loss of shared visions of public good with the onset of multicultural education and called for a return to the unity of knowledge. He described the intellectual crisis at the university level of not having a unified vision of an educated human being. Bloom lobbied for a return to the Great Books approach to get students excited about the philosophical questions in life and give them a fund of shared experiences. He described university

social scientists defending themselves against charges of racism and sexism, which he called an outrage against intellectual freedom.

Schlesinger (1991) argued that historically the United States was unified by the common use of the English language and core values such as mutual respect, individual rights, and tolerance of differences. He rejected Afrocentric education for distorting the importance of Africa in the development of contemporary African American culture. He also denounced the idea of teaching African American history in order to build a sense of self-worth in African Americans, or teaching history for therapeutic reasons.

Political, Social, and Economic Contexts behind the Controversy about Teaching for Social Justice

America's increasing racial tensions are fueling the debate over national identity and the content of school curriculum (Takaki, 1993). Racial tensions reached new heights in 1992 after four policemen were found not guilty of brutality against Rodney King. Over two thousand people were injured, 12,000 were arrested, and almost a billion dollars of property was destroyed during the riots. Korean proprietors suffered the majority of the losses. The economic backdrop to the controversy consists of the system of capitalism, which forces people to compete against each other for economic gains (Schweickart, 2002).

The current standards-based reform movement supported by the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), the move towards privatization of the public school system through providing school choice, and the Gates Foundation-funded small school reform movement deepen the controversy about how the public education system can justly serve our society (Au et al., 2005). The NCLB rhetorically demands that schools prepare

all students for college, though as a society the United States has never sent more than a third of its population to post-secondary institutions. NCLB critics claim that the NCLB is a manifestation of a centrist bureaucracy that does not trust educators or communities. The NCLB mandates that students pass standardized tests without providing funding for changing the school system or better preparing students, while currently typically half of all students entering a high-poverty high school read at a seventh-grade level or below. These new standards will simply accelerate the dropout rates unless there are dramatic changes in how high schools function. One movement for change is the conversion of comprehensive urban high schools to small academies, or schools within schools, in order to personalize instruction and boost test scores. Sometimes this translates to reduced course choices and extracurricular activities for urban youth. Another motivation for small school reform stems from the economic argument that “blames the education system for failing to produce adequate numbers of skilled workers for the high-tech demands of the new global economy” (p. 5). Small school reforms can serve the purposes of increasing school choice via increased options inside the public system, various charter school plans, or privatization and voucher schemes that seek to replace public education with a market system or turn schools over to for-profit management firms.

The funding of the small school reform by the Gates Foundation raises concerns about the democratic control of public education policy and questions about the privatization of this policy, especially when school districts are strapped for funding and therefore more likely to accept foundation money without clearly contemplating the merits of the suggested reform (Miner, 2005). Education initiatives are often instituted not because the community demanded them, but because a foundation decided to fund the

initiatives. According to Miner (2005, p. 25) this “gives foundations—private institutions with private boards, behind-the-scenes decision-making and no public accountability for the success or failure of their programs—inordinate power in determining public policy.” Foundation gifts are not democratic; they are gifts of the public’s money without public control, because philanthropists get tax breaks for endowing foundations, which translates into less tax money for the government. The Gates Foundation provides initial grant money, but no long-term funding of schools, which has forced many schools to struggle to make ends meet via fundraising endeavors.

Critics of the promises to bridge achievement gaps by providing rigor in small schools claim that larger societal policy changes are necessary, such as open admission to college for all, adequate and equitable funding for public education, and plans to address gaps in health care, income and housing (Au et al., 2005). Fine (2005) stated, “It breaks my heart to see the small schools movement commodified, ripped from its participatory and radical roots, and used to facilitate union busting, privatization, faith-based public education, and gentrification” (p. 12). These critics include the founders of the original small schools movement, a bottom-up reform movement committed to creating schools for social justice and social responsibility by valuing equity, access, participation, and democracy through providing creative performance-based assessment practices.

Importance of the question to the researcher

I have chosen to research this question because the issue lies close to my heart as woman of color who has spent considerable time living in solidarity with a marginalized indigenous population in Guatemala. One of the most important factors fueling my desire to teach is my passion about changing the status quo. In American society white

heterosexual middle-class men (and women) are normalized as the dominant culture and they are given unearned advantages in a public school system that values their cultural capital (Johnson, 2001). I believe that all teachers have a responsibility to teach in ways that students from diverse ethnic groups and backgrounds will feel connected to the material, included in the classroom community, and stimulated to learn. I am passionate about this aspect of teaching and consider it imperative to my practice, especially as I am planning to work in an urban school district with a high population of students of color.

Importance of the Question to the Educational Community

This question is very important for the professional community because of three primary reasons: (1) the increasing diversity of students in public schools (NCES, 2005; Spring, 2006), (2) the opportunity gap which causes the underachievement of students of color (Fine et al., 2005; Gay, 2000; Griggs et al., 1992; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Nieto, 1999), and (3) the reality that a large majority of the teaching force is white (Brandon, 2003; Nieto, 1999). Gay (2000) called for systemic reform in order to resolve the disproportionately poor academic performance of students of color, rather than blaming the students' families or their social-class backgrounds. Therefore, this question can help all teachers to better teach other people's children and give students an equal opportunity to succeed. It is imperative that the professional education community reflect on how to teach for social justice in the light of the statistics about minority children's performance in schools, as well as college admittance rates and participation in the prison system.

Importance of the Question to Society as a Whole

This question is especially important to our society when considering the current opportunity gap that students of color face in the education system in light of the history

of colonization and deculturalization of these ethnic groups in the United States (Spring, 2005). It begs the question: what role does equity have in democracy? In a country with a widening gap between the rich and the poor, with increasingly segregated housing and schools, with more homeless people than any other industrialized nation, with a health care system that leaves millions without health care, there exists a strong tendency to engage in dichotomous thinking, reflecting an us and them mentality. If we are to create the democracy that we espouse, we must realize that the current system is untenable for millions of people. We must figure out how to work across differences between a predominantly white teaching force and students of color in order to heal the wounds in our society. This question is important for purely economic reasons as well as for humanistic reasons. Many students of color who are not being served by the educational system end up as part of the welfare system or prison industrial complex. These students, devoid of hope or viable options for economic success, often turn to violence or drugs as means to survive. Do taxpayers want to spend \$6,000 to educate a young African American male or \$60,000 to keep that same person in prison for a year (Hayden, 1996)?

Importance of the Question to the Students

This question is of utmost importance for both students of color and White students. Goodlad (1985) conducted a study of several hundred schools in different areas of the country and found that schools are organized around White, middle-class cultural norms. Results of the study showed that by fourth grade many students from minority backgrounds were tracked into lower level classes with limited expectations for their success. Many students of color react to the injustices of a public school system that does not value them or their peoples' contributions to history by rejecting the system in order

to maintain their integrity (Kohl, 1994; Ogbu, 1994; Tatum, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999). Ogbu (1994) theorized that voluntary minorities, those whose parents were born outside the country and chose to come to the United States, see schooling as a means of social mobility and not a threat to their culture and identity and are trusting of school authorities. In contrast, involuntary minorities, those who were incorporated against their will through slavery or conquest, distrust the school authorities, are skeptical of the impact of schooling on getting ahead in this country, and believe that acquiring certain school behaviors entails a loss of cultural and language identity. Tatum (1997) reinforced this theory with her description of some African American students adopting an oppositional identity during their racial identity development. This oppositional identity protects one from the psychological assault of racism and maintains distance from the dominant group. It arises from anger and resentment at the systematic practices that serve to oppress Black people. The oppositional identity often results in Black students equating academic achievement with being White, and therefore not wanting to risk rejection from the peer group by succeeding in school.

Kohl (1994) identified the phenomenon of not-learning when a student purposefully chooses not to learn because the teacher is not respecting his or her integrity. "When you teach only the dominant culture's point of view, you risk many minority students shutting down because they feel misrepresented. They feel depressed and frustrated because of the realization that the people in power are ignorant and biased and there is no way to let them know about it" (p. 96). Similarly, Valenzuela (1999) found that not caring on the part of students was a way to resist a system seeking to disparage their culture. The resistance on the part of students detailed by Kohl (1994),

Valenzuela (1999), Ogbu (1994), and Tatum (1997) is described by Giroux's (1983) theory of resistance. His theory detailed student resistance to the educational system as a form of opposition against structures of domination. According to Giroux, resistance is an example of structure and human agency affecting each other and thus moving beyond the structure-agency dualism. He also defined resistance as the recognition of a dialectical process that takes place when people mediate and respond to their lived experiences and the structures of domination. Given the reactions of students of color to the educational system, it is imperative that teachers find a way to bridge the cultural dissonance they experience in order to work towards social justice.

White students also are hurt by passing through a system that validates their existence as superior because they remain ignorant of reality and prone to develop racist attitudes: "If a school curriculum denigrates one's ancestors, religion, and contributions to the history of the human race, and denies one's full dignity—that is if it teaches the superiority of one segment of democratic society over others—it is damaging to the minds and spirits of all children: those taught that their cultures are secondary and those given the false security of believing they are the creators of culture. An equitable curriculum must affirm all people as creator of culture and honor the multiplicity of human efforts to come to terms with living on earth." (Kohl, 1994, p. 95)

Theoretical Underpinnings

In order to narrow the scope of this paper, the author drew on social reproduction theory, a branch of the field of sociology which analyzes how class structure is reproduced from one generation to the next, and more specifically how schools "utilize their material and ideological resources to reproduce the social relations and attitudes

needed to sustain the social divisions of labor necessary for the existing relations of production” (Giroux, 1983, p. 76). MacLeod (1995) elaborated Bourdieu’s theory of cultural reproduction, which put the role of culture at the center of social reproduction theory. Bourdieu (cited in MacLeod, p. 13) defined cultural capital as the linguistic cultural background, knowledge, disposition and skills passed from one generation to the next. There are four points to Bourdieu’s theory. Firstly, each class transmits a distinctive cultural capital. Schools then legitimize and reproduce the dominant culture by valorizing the cultural capital of the upper class and depreciating that of the lower class. Upper class students’ cultural and linguistic competence is valued by the school and serves to facilitate their academic success. The differential academic achievement then translates back into economic wealth by the acquisition of superior jobs. Schools thereby reproduce social inequality in the guise of meritocracy by dealing in the currency of academic credentials. This process causes students who are marginalized to see themselves as causes of a process that is institutionally determined; meanwhile, the wealthier pupils take their cultural capital for granted and accept full credit for their success (p. 13-16).

In response to an education system that functions to further the interests of dominant society, many theorists have written in the tradition of critical pedagogy, an approach to schooling committed to empowering students and transforming the larger social order in the interests of justice and equality (McLaren, 1989). Critical pedagogy supports the self-empowerment of culturally marginalized and economically disenfranchised students and strives to link schooling to transformative social action in the interest of oppressed communities (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2003).

Critical race theory also informs the research for this paper. Critical race theory is a theoretical framework that draws from a broad race and ethnic relations literature base in law, sociology, history, and the field of education. Critical race theory in education includes the following five elements that form its basic model: (1) the centrality of race and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of subordination in education, (2) the challenge to dominant ideology around school failure, (3) the commitment to social justice in education, (4) the centrality of experiential knowledge, and (5) the transdisciplinary perspective (Solorzano & Ornelas, 2003).

Considering critical pedagogy as working for transformative social action in the interest of oppressed communities as well as my personal motivations as a person of color, I decided to choose the path to social justice that identifies effective strategies for students of color. In light of Bourdieu's (as cited in MacLeod, 1995, p. 13-16) cultural reproduction theory and critical race theory, I decided to further focus this paper on culturally responsive pedagogy because it values the cultural capital of diverse ethnic groups to help them succeed in the dominant society. Ladson-Billings (1995) defined culturally responsive pedagogy as a pedagogy of opposition specifically committed to collective, not merely individual, empowerment. She further elaborated that culturally responsive pedagogy depends on three criteria: (a) students must experience academic success, (b) students must develop and/or maintain cultural competence, and (c) students must develop a critical consciousness through which they challenge the status quo of the current social order.

Purpose of Paper

This paper will examine the following question: what are effective strategies for teaching for social justice in a diverse secondary foreign language classroom? There are many paths to teaching for social justice in the classroom, such as teaching critical thinking and problem-solving skills, using inquiry-based or dialogic learning, caring for students, teaching from multiple perspectives, teaching students to work together across differences, and explicitly teaching about the racism and the other –isms that affect all of us. This paper will focus on strategies that seek to improve the academic achievement and self-empowerment of students of color who have been historically marginalized and under-served by the public school system. It will then adapt the strategies to a secondary level foreign language classroom setting, because that is where the author plans to teach. Foreign language classrooms usually consist of students who plan to attend college, because of college entrance requirements for two years of foreign language study. Students of color comprise a relatively small percentage of the population in foreign language classrooms. Spanish classrooms often include Latinos who are native speakers.

Definitions

Teaching for social justice is teaching that helps students empower themselves to become agents for change in the service of social justice in our society. This paper adopts the definition of social justice used by Bell (1997) as full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs. In this vision of society, there is an equitable distribution of resources and all members are physically and psychologically safe and secure. Individuals have a sense of their own agency as well as a sense of social responsibility towards society as a whole (p. 3). This paper will use

culturally responsive pedagogy to refer to methods that have been called culturally relevant, centered, sensitive, congruent, reflective, contextualized, mediated, and synchronized (Gay, 2000). Culturally responsive pedagogy is defined as “using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them” (p. 29). Culture is an artifact of ethnicity and shows up in how people dress, perform societal roles, demonstrate beliefs about what is important, practice their spiritual lives, and abide by a code of ethics. It is manifested through art, music, verbal and nonverbal behaviors. It is bound together with language, a symbolic system which gives concepts meaning (Klug & Whitfield, 2003, p. 99-100).

Limitations

When considering the research regarding students of color and education, this paper will look at African American and Latino children because these ethnic minority groups are the largest represented groups in the Tacoma school district, where the author hopes to teach. Another factor impacting this decision is the fact that there is sufficient research on these ethnic groups. Only research literature regarding education, culture, and students of color in the United States will be considered. Literature will not be limited to the secondary level, because many studies at the elementary level regarding cooperative learning and culture are transferable to the secondary classroom. Although the author plans to teach in a foreign language classroom, research will not be limited to foreign language classrooms because of the dearth of studies regarding strategies for effective teaching of students of color in foreign language classrooms. Literature in each of the

sub-sections will be limited in scope because of the author's choice to provide an overview of various aspects of the question, rather than delving deeply into any one area.

Summary

This chapter presented the rationale for researching the question: what are effective strategies of teaching for social justice in a diverse foreign language classroom? It outlined the current educational position of students of color and discussed the importance of the question to the author, the professional education community, students, and society. Finally, it discussed definitions and limitations. Chapter Two will provide a history of the educational experiences in the United States for African Americans and Latinos. It will also provide a history of foreign language teaching in the United States and progressive educational movements leading up to the current one of teaching for social justice.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY

Chapter One outlined the current public education situation in regards to students of color and equality of opportunity and detailed the rationale for the investigation of effective strategies for teaching for social justice in a diverse foreign language classroom. This chapter provides a brief history of the educational experiences in the United States for African Americans and Latinos. It also presents a history of foreign language instruction and progressive educational movements leading up to the current one of teaching for social justice.

The African American Experience of Education

Colonial Era

The first enslaved Africans arrived at Jamestown in 1618. They were Creole, of mixed European and African descent, and from West Africa. In the south, under the plantation system, the enslaved Africans were subjected to deculturalization by their owners in order to make them pliable workers: the Africans were renamed and forced to live in linguistic isolation on the plantations with little instruction in English. During this time colonial schools were formed in communities with more than fifty homes to ensure religious conformity and subservience to authority, but the Africans were not a part of the schools (Spring, 2005).

Post-Revolutionary America

A major goal of schooling in this period was to turn a multicultural society into a mono-cultural society dominated by Anglo-American values. Other concerns were to create nationalism and loyalty to the new government and to use moral education to eliminate crime and poverty. Church congregations developed charity schools in the early

19th century in an effort to correct problematic behavior of children stemming from a perceived failure of parents to raise them properly (Spring, 2005). The goal of the charity schools was social stability, not intellectual enlightenment or equality of opportunity. Locke's theory about the human mind as a blank slate as well as Enlightenment ideas about the perfectibility of the human character combined to provide impetus to philanthropic efforts to educate the poor. The Quakers established charity schools outside their denomination for African American children in the late 1700's, thereby providing them with opportunities to enter the American schooling system. By 1820, African American free schools existed in Rhode Island, Delaware, Massachusetts, and New Jersey (Kaestle, 1983).

In order to protect their children from the prejudice of white children, a committee of African Americans asked for a separate school for their children in Boston in 1798. Their request was denied twice, before it was approved in 1806. In 1833 a report was issued by the school committee that declared that segregated education was not benefiting either race. In addition, the African American school received inferior teachers and operated under worse physical conditions. A prominent black abolitionist in Boston, David Walker, argued that white Americans were keeping black Americans down by denying them educational opportunities. The African American community lobbied for integrated education, which was finally granted in the state of Massachusetts in 1855. Between 1800-1835 the southern states instituted bans on education for enslaved African Americans. Literacy was a punishable crime during this time in the south (Spring, 2005).

Although some African Americans received schooling in the early 19th century, they did not advance proportionately in society. Kaestle (1983) documented that the

upward mobility of African Americans in all charity schooling was incidental, and the main focus was on moral education rather than individual advancement. Charity school reformers believed that education “would help reduce crime and vice while it muted cultural differences” (Kaestle, p. 39). Thus, from the beginning of their participation in the American school system, African Americans faced an agenda primed to conform them to external cultural values rather than cultivate their individual interests. Poor White children also were subjected to schooling for specific cultural values; however, they received access to economic opportunity through the process that the African Americans did not. This inequality of economic opportunity between African Americans and Whites despite equal educational achievement continues to exist in present-day society and negates the truth of education as a means for upward mobility.

The Common School

The 1830's saw the development of the common school movement in reaction to the cultural pluralism at the time. Spokesmen from workingmen's associations, teachers, and parents lobbied for a tax-supported system that would provide all youth an equal chance for advancement and extend beyond the charity school system to include all children (Kaestle, 1983). Common schools differed from previous schools in that they were administered by state and local government in order to serve public goals. The purpose of the common schools was to engender a consensus of beliefs through teaching the same moral, social, and political ideology. Reformers saw common schools as the answer to reducing crime, corruption, political violence, social conflict between rich and poor through indoctrination of all children in one schoolhouse with the same ideology. Common schools were developed in order to ensure that the Protestant Anglo American

culture remained dominant above Irish Catholic, African American, and Native American cultures. The common school was ideally a means for providing equal economic opportunity (Spring, 2005). The purposes behind the common school movement foreshadow the current position of people like Hirsch (1988) and Schlesinger (1991) that a unifying American curriculum should be taught in schools.

Before 1860 the free public elementary schools (or common schools) were established in only a small portion of the country, namely New England and the Middle Atlantic States (Oakes, 1985). Free public schooling did not generally reach the South until after the Civil War. The pedagogy of the common schools consisted of rote learning, recitation, and strong discipline.

In response to increasing immigration from southern and eastern Europe at the end of the 19th century, common schools adopted Americanization programs to indoctrinate children of immigrants to American values and beliefs (Spring, 2005). Common schools employed McGuffey Readers as curriculum. These readers illustrated the poor escaping poverty by becoming industrious, thrifty, and moral. As a result, students who did not already possess these values and beliefs had a more difficult time in the school system than students who learned traditional American values at home.

First Crusade for African American Education and the Age of Industrialism

In the south after the Civil War freed slaves struggled hard for education: they educated themselves with elementary textbooks, established schools on their own, and fought to implement state school systems. They saw literacy and practical education as key in order to gain economic and political power (Spring, 2005). Most freed slaves were forced to become sharecroppers and tenant farmers. Though free, their debts to white

landlords served to keep them in economic bondage (Takaki, 1993). Plantation owners resisted increasing spending on schools for African Americans because they saw education as dangerous—it could cause workers to demand higher wages or to leave the fields for better opportunities. In 1895 two major events occurred that shaped the future of African American education. The first was the United States Supreme Court *Plessy v. Ferguson* case, which ruled that African Americans, as citizens, were granted separate but equal rights (Spring, 2005). This case originally involved transportation, but spread to education, and racially segregated schools were allowed under the “separate but equal” doctrine (Love, 2003).

The second event was Booker T. Washington’s speech to the International Exposition in Atlanta (Spring, 2005). Washington outlined his view of a compromise: African Americans would accept social segregation in exchange for jobs as part of the industrial era. He believed that social acceptance would follow economic importance. Industrial education, according to Washington, served the purpose of instilling good work habits and moral values in African Americans that would prep them for subordinate positions in society. Washington did not see the purpose of studying literature and philosophy when the job openings for African Americans were mostly restricted to manual labor. Washington helped create the Tuskegee Institute, an African American college that focused on vocational training.

W.E.B. Du Bois disagreed with Washington, calling his compromise a disaster for black people because it gave up political power, civil rights, and higher education. Du Bois called instead for education that would provide leaders for the African American community, validate African American culture, and educate the African American people

about the need for constant struggle. Du Bois founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP] in 1909, whose primary goal was to end racial segregation (Spring, 2005). In 1935 Du Bois posed the question: does the Negro need separate schools? (Ladson-Billings, 1994). His question reflected the historical debate about the merits of integration versus segregation within the African American community. Proponents of segregation believed that segregated schools held higher expectations for African American students and protected them from the racism and discrimination of Whites; however, segregated schools received less public funding and less access to the dominant economy (Kaestle, 1983).

Intelligence Tests and Racial Superiority of Anglo-Americans: The Birth of Tracking

Binet, a French psychologist, developed tests for identifying children with special needs (Gould, 1981). He cautioned that they did not measure intelligence, nor should they be used for normal children, but rather only for learning-disabled children. American psychologists, primarily Goddard, Terman, and Yerkes, perverted Binet's intention and invented the hereditarian theory of IQ. They reified the scores as measures of an entity called intelligence, which was largely inherited, and marked a person's station in life. Terman advocated universal testing in order to channel people into professions suited to their mental level. The IQ tests were the precursor for the standardized testing in schools that is prevalent today, especially since the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act. Currently in Washington State students must pass the Washington Assessment of Student Learning in order to graduate from high school.

Standardized tests are based on belief in the ability to give a numerical value to a person's intelligence level. While proponents of standardized tests claim they are an

objective measure of intelligence, in reality they possess cultural assumptions which give students with certain cultural and economic capital an advantage over other students (Gould, 1981).

Educational theorist Edward Thorndike contributed to the creation of standardized tests and measurements with his behaviorist stimulus-response theory of learning. He administered intelligence tests to almost 9,000 high school students in the 1920's and concluded that the smartest ones learned the most, so that the content of the curriculum was irrelevant (Ravitch, 2000). According to historian Karier (as cited in Oakes, 1985), Thorndike "built his own middle-class values into the tests and dared to call them scientific" and he said "exactly what a growing middle class wanted to hear about itself and its schools" with his positive correlations of morality, wealth, intelligence and social power (p. 37).

During World War I, a team of psychologists developed army intelligence Alpha and Beta tests and administered them to the soldiers. The tests were developed quickly and with vague, subjective definitions of intelligence. After the war, these tests were sold to educators at low prices and used in the schools. The motivation behind the testing was to discover who was natively intelligent, in order to position these people to become leaders in society. The belief in native intelligence meant that intelligence levels also vary among ethnic groups and social class lines. The result of the testing was to clothe racial bias in allegedly scientific measurement, and to lend support to the system of tracking people with different intelligence levels into different societal jobs. Brigham published a study in 1923 whose results confirmed the superior intelligence of Americans with ancestors from Sweden, Norway, and England to African Americans (Spring, 2005).

The influence of social Darwinism contributed to the belief that children of various social classes differed in fundamental ways (Oakes, 1985). This combined with the goal of schooling contributing to the industrial economy through the efficient use of human resources, led to the addition of vocational training to schools, and to the notion of the comprehensive high school as a sorting machine. Schools functioned to select students for various occupations and provided them with appropriate training and skills. Standardized tests provided a meritocratic basis for assigning students to various school curricula, despite the fact that the tests were biased to favor certain social classes. Sorting of students and curriculum differentiation in the early 1900's provide the basis for the tracking and ability grouping prevalent in schools today. Standardized tests continue to have a disproportionate effect on students of color and low-income students today, as evidenced by the statistics on standardized test performance as well as the move to develop culture-fair tests and the creation of entities such as the Washington State Bias and Fairness Commission.

Second Crusade for African American Education

The second crusade for African American education occurred from 1910 to the 1930's and involved the expansion of segregated schools for African Americans (Spring, 2005). The financial support for the new schools came from black southern citizens, donations by private foundations, and government money. The citizens had to pay out of pocket while at the same time paying taxes going towards schools for white children. As a result, many of the schools in the public domain were actually paid for by private citizens. Nearly 5,000 rural schools for African Americans were built during this time. Despite unequal funding of the African American schools, many of the schools provided

an excellent education because the teachers were committed to the students' success and the communities were strongly linked to the schools.

This period of time coincided with the migration of two million African Americans to the northern cities (Takaki, 1993). Between 1910 and 1920 the African American population in Detroit increased from 5,000 to 40,800 and from 44,000 to 109,400 in Chicago. World War I had drastically reduced the number of European immigrants, so northern factories facing labor shortages sent labor recruiters to the South. Before the war, African Americans had been largely restricted to employment as servants, and the entrance of African Americans into industry caused competition and conflict with white workers. Managers used African Americans as strikebreakers against white labor unions. This served to deepen feelings of resentment of Whites toward African Americans and provides a background to the racial tensions behind the controversy about teaching for social justice today. In addition, discrimination restricted African Americans to living only in certain neighborhoods. In some cases, when African Americans moved in to a neighborhood, Whites moved out. The racial segregation of housing in the 1920's parallels the current situation in regards to racially segregated housing and the White exodus to the suburbs.

During the 1920's African American intellectuals and artists gathered in Harlem and created art reflecting their experiences in a call for African American pride. Hughes called on African American writers to declare "I am a Negro – and beautiful!" (as cited in Takaki, 1993, p. 359). This time period became known as the Harlem Renaissance.

Brown vs. Board of Education and the Civil Rights Movement

Fighting against the Nazis during World War II highlighted the racial inequalities and paradoxes of democracy in the United States (Takaki, 1993). The unification of Americans of all races for the purpose of defeating Nazism provided the transition to the Civil Rights Movement. Du Bois designated World War II as a War for Racial Equality that was a struggle for democracy for people of all colors (as cited in Takaki, p. 399). After World War II racial discrimination was seen as un-American. In 1948 President Truman desegregated the armed forces.

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled that separate is inherently unequal in the landmark *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* case. As such, segregation in public schools was declared unconstitutional and therefore illegal. The decision was based on the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment passed in 1868 (Love, 2003). The decision overturned the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* case of 1895. However, the decision was slow to be implemented because of resistance among European Americans and a lack of supervisory and enforcement power on the part of the court system (Spring, 2005).

During the Civil Rights Movement African Americans fought hard for the integration of schools, as evidenced by this excerpt from Martin Luther King Jr.'s first nationwide address, "Give us the ballot and we will quietly, lawfully, and nonviolently, without rancor or bitterness, implement the May 17, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court" (cited in Spring, 2005, p. 410). The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 ruled that federal funds must be withheld from institutions that did not comply with desegregation, and this helped to speed up integration. The Civil Rights Act also prohibited discrimination in public housing and employment. Some prominent African

Americans did not view integration as a positive thing. Zora Neale Hurston wrote in a letter to the *Orlando Sentinel* in 1955 “I regard the ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court as insulting rather than honoring my race...It is well known that I have no sympathy nor respect for the ‘tragedy of color’ school of thought among us, whose fountain-head is the pressure group concerned with this court ruling. I see no tragedy in being too dark to be invited to a white school social affair. The Supreme Court would have pleased me more if they had concerned themselves about enforcing the compulsory education provisions for Negroes in the South as is done for white children” (as cited in Fine et al., 2005, p. 496-7).

The legal victories of the Civil Rights Movement did not change the structural economic foundations of racial inequality (Takaki, 1993). Though African Americans could order meals at lunch counters, many did not have the money to do so. It was difficult to find jobs. Poverty raged rampant in African American ghettos, and desperate ghetto inhabitants were aware that others had better opportunities for education. These economic inequalities continue to exist today between Whites and African Americans, and they are reflected in the inequities public schools, as Kozol (1991) reported.

Afrocentric schools and African American Studies

Since the Civil Rights Movement the struggle for equal education for the African American community has moved to curriculum and school culture. Some advocate for Afrocentric schools, which are designed to honor and respect African American culture and thereby redirect students’ resistance to academics. Jawanza Kunjufu, a supporter of Afrocentric schools, stresses the importance of teaching students that within African American traditions it is possible to be black and to be an intellectual. Afrocentric

schools are taught from an African American cultural frame of reference and seek to preserve African American culture (Spring, 2005).

Student protests about traditional curriculum in California led to the development of the first African American studies classes at the university level in the late 1960's (Kutler, 2003). The economic crisis of the mid 1970's and early 1980's caused declines in university budgets, and the African American studies classes faced cuts from the administration. Prominent African American academics also criticized the classes for low academic standards and poor leadership. Standardization and definition of African American studies has eluded scholars in the field.

The Mexican American Experience of Education

This section will focus on the Mexican American experience of education because Mexican Americans are the largest group among the Latino population at 58.5 percent, followed by Puerto Ricans (9.6 percent), and Cuban Americans (3.5 percent) (US Census Bureau, 2001). Also, the majority of the educational research and literature focuses on Mexican Americans. However, people from Spanish-speaking countries in Central America, South America, and the Caribbean all fall under the broad ethnic term of Latino.

Gonzalez (1990) documented that historically political domination and socioeconomic inequality have dictated the course of educational policy in America through such measures as intelligence testing and tracking, curriculum differentiation, vocational education, Americanization, and segregation. External events such as World War II and the cold war have also shaped educational policy. Gonzalez emphasized the

political economy as the key factor in shaping social relations between dominant and minority communities.

Mexican Americans can trace their roots as Americans (in the sense of citizens of the United States) to the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848. This war was provoked by the United States, after the annexation of Texas, in order to have a pretext for taking California. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed in 1848, ceding half of Mexico's territory to the United States. The territory comprising the modern-day states of California, Texas, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and part of Colorado was ceded to the United States (Zinn, 1999). Mexicans living in the ceded territory were granted United States citizenship under the treaty; however, these rights were abridged immediately by restrictions placed on voting rights and by segregation of schools.

The Mexican American struggle for equal educational opportunity can be divided into two fronts: the language of instruction and school segregation. In order to indoctrinate the new citizens to the American culture and way of life, schooling had to be conducted in English. Depriving a people of their language is part of the process of deculturalization, defined by Spring (2005) as "an educational process that aims to destroy a people's culture and replace it with a new culture" (p. 183). In 1855, the California legislature passed a law that required all school instruction to be in English, and the Texas legislature followed suit in 1870. The Texas legislature went so far as to criminalize the use of any language but English in school instruction in 1918. Some Mexican Americans resisted the English-only doctrine and sent their children to private Catholic schools so they could receive bilingual instruction (Spring, 2006).

The legal support for the establishment of segregated schools for Mexican Americans was provided by a series of court cases. In Texas, Mexican Americans were classified as “not white” in 1897 and therefore subject to segregation. In California in 1935, segregation was upheld because Mexican Americans were classified as Indians (Spring, 2005). Gonzalez (1990) documented that the segregation of Mexican children in the school system “reflected and recreated the social divisions within the larger society formed by residential segregation, labor and wage rate differentials, political inequality, socioeconomic disparities, and racial oppression” (p. 21). Thus, education for Mexican Americans meant a preservation of their subordination. This is an example of the principles of correspondence (Clabaugh & Rozycki, 1990), in which schools reflect the norms and values of the dominant society. This parallels what is occurring in the public school system today, with the increasing de facto segregation of schools (Kozol, 2005) and the implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act and its implications for school choice such as charter and magnet schools reflecting the residential segregation, labor and wage rate differentials, political inequality, socioeconomic disparities, and racial oppression in society at large.

Gonzalez (1990) further explained that the purpose of segregation was to “Americanize the child in a controlled linguistic and cultural environment” as well as to “train Mexicans for occupations considered open to, and appropriate for, them” (p. 22). Mexican schools were vastly inferior to Anglo schools because of inadequate resources, poor equipment, and unfit buildings. For the few Mexican American students who continued on to Anglo junior high schools, they were consistently tracked into lower ability tracks, effectively continuing segregation. According to Gonzalez, segregation

became a means of domination and control that arose in response to the economic interests of the Anglo community. It was intrinsically racist both in that it was based on racial social theories, and in that it led to educational practices that reinforced a pattern of social inequality based on nationality and race.

There was a large increase in immigration of Mexican Americans in the early decades of the 20th century, from 23,991 in the first decade of the century to 487,775 in the third, due to the demand for agricultural labor. Many farmers employing Mexican Americans had similar beliefs about their education as plantation owners in the South did about their African American employees' education: they wanted to keep them ignorant in order to ensure their labor source. "Educating the Mexicans is educating them away from the job, away from the dirt" said one Texas farmer (Spring, 2006, p. 116). Some Mexican American families did not want to send their children to school because they feared the loss of their children's income. The contribution of these factors led to the non-enforcement of compulsory school laws in Texas: only 30.7 percent of Mexican school-age children attended school in one Texan county in 1921. Another parallel exists here with the African American experience of education in the non-enforcement of compulsory education laws as a form of racial discrimination.

In the early decades of the 20th century schooling reforms were based on the political economy of growing U.S. capitalism and industrialization (Gonzalez, 1990). The reforms, such as testing, tracking, curriculum differentiation via vocational education, and Americanization, sought to create the political consciousness and productive skills among minorities that would lead to stability and growth in the economy. During this time period, the socioeconomic conditions of the Mexican community included poverty,

segregation, and employment in low-skilled occupations. Mexicans received lower wages for the same jobs as White workers, and were part of the working class. Public education of Mexicans served to reproduce the class character from one generation to the next by training Mexicans for horizontal instead of vertical movement on the socioeconomic scale and inculcating political socialization. This is an example of Bourdieu's (as cited in MacLeod, 1995) social reproduction theory.

Mexican American children were tracked in disproportionate numbers into vocational education programs because educators thought they had a natural talent for manual labor (Donato, 1997). Boys were socialized for unskilled occupations and girls were prepared to become domestic servants, sometimes in completely separate industrial schools. This process of tracking served to codify the sociopolitical and economic relationships between Mexican and White communities. This overrepresentation of Latinos and African Americans in low track and special education classes continues today (Oakes, 1985; Valenzuela, 1999).

Gonzalez (1990) noted that Americanization, or the assimilation of Mexican Americans into the Anglo society, was the prime objective of public education for Mexican Americans. Americanization classes were taught to both children and adults in schools and communities. Americanization was the practical manifestation of the dominant social theory at the turn of the century, organic social theory, which maintained that the absence of common norms undermines the social order. In Americanization programs Mexican American children learned that their family, community, and culture were obstacles to school success, as the goal of the programs was to eliminate an entire culture deemed undesirable. This is echoed in the current school system as schooling

subtracts resources from Mexican Americans, while devaluing their cultural heritage (Valenzuela, 1999). Americanization programs centered around teaching the English language, reflecting the view that the “first step in making a unified nation is to teach English to the non-English speaking portion of the population” (p. 41). The current English-only movement reflects the same position.

In 1929 middle-class Mexican Americans joined together to form the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), whose primary goal was to fight discrimination against Mexican Americans, particularly in the form of school segregation. LULAC called on members to both honor their Mexican culture and adopt the American culture—to embrace their double-consciousness, as Du Bois used the term to describe African Americans in 1903 (Spring, 2005).

Segregation and its programs ensured that the political and economic divide between Mexican Americans and Anglos continued, which led to a lack of political integration necessary for social stability (Gonzalez, 1990). In response, the federal government launched national reform programs on the eve of World War II, such as intercultural and inter-American education, in order to ameliorate minority and dominant group relations and mobilize society for war. The termination of segregation of Mexican children was a key objective of a campaign by the Office of Inter-American Affairs. Proponents of this type of education viewed the reconciliation of Anglo-Mexican American relations in the Southwest as essential to the realization of U.S. foreign policy objectives in Latin America.

Spring (2006) documented that in the 1940's and 1950's the tide began to turn on school segregation for Mexican Americans. In 1946 segregation was declared illegal in

California with the case *Mendez vs. Westminster School District of Orange County*. In 1946 LULAC and a group of parents brought a case to the Texas courts complaining of segregation due to Mexican ethnicity, and the court ruled that segregation was illegal and discriminatory. This landmark case marked the first use of the 14th Amendment to overturn widespread segregation of a minority group, and it provided an important precedent for the later *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (Gonzalez, 1990). However, paralleling resistance to implementation of the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision, the school districts did not comply with the court ruling, and instead employed many tactics to avoid integration.

Once integration of schools was legally achieved, the Civil Rights Movement saw the spread of activism to student groups fighting for bilingual and bicultural education. During the conflict-filled civil rights era, “protest became a conventional method for social, political, and economic redress” (Donato, 1997, p. 57). The Black Power Movement, the Vietnam War, and the struggles of women and minority groups for civil rights contributed to an atmosphere of change. 10,000 Mexican American students walked out from four high schools in East Los Angeles in May of 1968 in protest of rundown facilities and educational curriculum that did not include their history, culture, or language (Urrieta, 2004). Meanwhile, *La Raza Unida*, a group formed to protect the rights, culture, and language of Mexican Americans, was agitating on other fronts. Legislators responded to the pressure from activist groups and passed the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (Spring, 2006). This legislation legitimized the funding and implementation of bilingual education in public schools and reversed 200 years of the federal government’s ‘sink or swim’ position on language policy (Arce, 2004). However,

significant changes in educational policy did not occur until after the U.S. Supreme Court mandated that failure to provide non-English-speaking Chinese students a comprehensible education denied them equal educational opportunities in the historic 1974 *Lau v. Nichols* case (Donato, 1997). The *Lau* decision stated that public schools had to take affirmative steps to make schooling comprehensible to students with limited English proficiency, but did not require bilingual education. In 1976, California became one of the first states in the nation to mandate bilingual education.

Gonzalez (1990) claimed that “the continued inequality in educational outcomes distinguishing Mexican from Anglo communities remains . . . a lingering consequence of an historical relationship between a developed and underdeveloped nation”. He cautioned that the massive migration of Mexicans to the United States, a consequence of a subordinate and dependent nation next to an economic power, maintains and deepens a long history of socioeconomic inequality between Anglo and Mexican American communities. Current debates about immigration reform and organized protests from the Mexican American community are a reflection of the history of controversy surrounding the dependence on cheap Mexican labor and simultaneous desire to Americanize the Mexican immigrants.

Language Policy Debates

The struggle of Mexican Americans and Latinos over the language of instruction of their schooling has intensified in recent years. Bilingual education is a means for protecting minority languages and cultural rights while teaching English to English Language Learners (Spring, 2006). Current educational research on the developmental nature of second language acquisition in relation to cognitive structures as well as the

efficacy of bilingual programs versus English only programs in terms of long-term student achievement of English language learners points overwhelmingly to the superiority of maintenance bilingual programs (August & Shanahan, 2006). However, the current political administration has suppressed this research and insists on English-only instruction. The stance of the administration is reflected by the English Language Acquisition Act of 2001, which officially changed the Office of Bilingual Education to the Office of English Acquisition and denied federal money to schools with bilingual education programs (Spring, 2006).

The English-only movement is supported by the citizen action group U.S. ENGLISH, founded in 1983, whose goal is the preservation of the unifying role of the English language in the United States. The group currently supports the English Language Unity Act of 2005, H.R. 997, which was introduced in the House. If passed, the bill would declare English as the official language of the United States and establish a uniform English language rule for naturalization. Currently 27 states have some form of official English law. (U.S. English, 2006).

The anti-bilingual education sentiments go beyond federal government policies and special interest groups to the voting public. In 1998, Californian voters approved a mandate for English-only instruction known as Proposition 227 by a margin of 61% to 39% (Crawford, 2000). In the 1990's the demographics of California changed radically due to rising immigration and higher birthrates in language-minority communities. Between 1990 and 1996, 9 out of 10 of new California residents were Latinos or Asian Americans. Opinion research revealed that the majority of the electorate had a sense that

Spanish was a threat to the nation, and upholding English as the language of the nation is way of protecting a way of life in the face of changing racial demographics.

Foreign Language Instruction

Throughout the history of foreign language teaching, changes in methodology have reflected changes in the kinds of proficiency needed, changes in theories of the nature of language and language learning, and changes in social and political contexts (Richards & Rodgers, 2001). Five hundred years ago, Latin was the most widely studied language in the Western world because it was the dominant language of religion, politics, and commerce. Due to political changes in Europe in the 16th century, the status of Latin diminished. Though it was no longer the language of spoken and written communication, it was still studied for grammar and rhetoric purposes. The study of Latin grammar was an end in itself, because it was thought to develop intellectual abilities. This influenced the methodology for teaching other foreign languages in the 18th and 19th centuries via the Grammar-Translation method. The goal of this method was to be able to read literature in the foreign language and develop mental discipline, and little emphasis was placed on oral communication. This method dominated foreign language teaching from the 1840's to the 1940's. Current college texts sometimes reflect the principles of this method. The method, however, is not based on theory. There is no literature that offers a rationale or justification of it.

In the mid- and late nineteenth century, opposition to the Grammar Translation Method developed because of the increased opportunities for communication between Europeans, which necessitated oral proficiency (Richards & Rodgers, 2001). The opposition became known as the Reform Movement, and the reformers believed that

spoken language is primary, sentences should be learned in meaningful contexts, grammar should be taught inductively, and translation should be avoided. These principles reflected the beginning of the discipline of applied linguistics. The need for oral proficiency was reflected with the founding of the International Phonetic Association in 1886. The Association created the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) in order to transcribe the sounds of any language.

At the same time proponents of natural methods argued that methods of teaching second languages should be based on first language acquisition (Richards & Rodgers, 2001). The Direct Method was the most prominent of these natural methods, and it was officially approved in France and Germany in 1900. In the United States the Direct Method became widely known through the Berlitz commercial language schools. The Direct Method called for exclusive instruction in the target language and a focus on oral communication skills and everyday vocabulary taught through demonstration. After the United States entered World War I, most public school systems curtailed study of the German language reflecting the anti-German feeling of the times (Crawford, 1989). Several states passed laws banning German speech in the classroom. The anti-German sentiments spilled over into hostility towards all minority languages, and led to the Americanization campaign referenced in the Mexican American educational experience history section. The general attitude of the public shifted, and learning in languages other than English was considered unpatriotic.

In 1929 the Coleman Report, a study on the state of foreign language teaching in American schools and colleges, argued that reading was a more reasonable goal than conversation skills because of restricted instructional time, limited skills of teachers, and

perceived irrelevance of conversation skills for the average American college student (Richards & Rodgers, 2001). As a result of this report, foreign language teaching in the United States focused on reading until World War II.

With the entry of the United States into World War II the government needed personnel who were fluent in German, French, Italian, Japanese, Chinese, and other languages to work as interpreters and translators (Richards & Rodgers, 2001). The Army Specialized Training Program was established in 1942 to train students for conversational proficiency using an oral-based approach. It involved using both a native speaker and a linguist as teachers for small classes with an intensive amount of hours. During this period linguists were also becoming more involved with teaching English as a foreign language. The United States had emerged as a major international power, and there was an increasing demand for expertise in teaching English as a foreign language both in the United States and internationally. When the Russians launched their first satellite in 1957, the United States government acknowledged the need for a greater focus on teaching foreign languages so that Americans could stay abreast of technological advances in other countries. As a result, the government passed the National Defense Education Act of 1958, which provided funds for the study of modern languages, the development of materials, and the training of teachers. The Audiolingual Method was developed for the teaching of foreign languages at the university level. Its proponents claimed that the method was scientifically based. It combined structural linguistics, behaviorist psychology, contrastive analysis of the target and native languages, and aural-oral training. The teacher-centered Audiolingual Method consisted of memorizing dialogues

and performing pattern drills, first orally, then in written form. It had a strong focus on grammatical accuracy.

In the 1960's the linguist Chomsky developed a theory of transformational grammar which challenged the Audiolingual Method because it rejected the structuralist approach to language as well as the behaviorist theory of language learning (Richards & Rodgers, 2001). A major paradigm shift occurred in language teaching in the 1970's and 1980's as linguists and applied linguists searched for alternatives to grammar-based approaches. Mainstream language teaching shifted its focus to language as communication and on making the classroom a place for authentic communication. Many methods were developed by different leaders in the field of teaching languages during the 1970's such as Total Physical Response, The Silent Way, and Suggestopedia. These methods were not developed around linguistic theory but around specific theories of learning.

In the 1980's, the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach was rapidly adopted and disseminated worldwide in language teaching circles, and it continues to form the basis for most world language courses at the high school and college levels today (Richards & Rodgers, 2001). The core principles of CLT are (a) authentic and meaningful communication is the goal of classroom activities, (b) the primary units of language are categories of functional and communicative meaning, not grammatical and structural features; (c) the primary function of language is to allow interaction and communication, and (d) learning is a process of creative construction and involves trial and error. The CLT philosophy has been adapted into diverse teaching practices such as Cooperative Language Learning, Task-Based Teaching, and Content-

Based Teaching. Of particular interest is the Natural Approach, based on Krashen's language acquisition theory, which has had a wide impact in the United States. Krashen's theory stated that people acquire language best by understanding input that is slightly above their level of competence and that a learner's emotional state is an affective filter that either passes, impedes or blocks the input necessary for acquisition. In the Natural Approach the focus is on listening and reading; learners should only speak when they feel ready to do so.

According to Crawford (1989), in the late 1980's the United States government became disturbed by the growing trade deficit with linguistically developed countries like Japan. As a result, Congress created a \$20 million program in 1988, on top of the \$35 million it was already spending, in order to promote the teaching of foreign languages.

In conclusion, the teaching of foreign languages in the United States has changed over time in response to major events in world history, the relationship of the United States with other countries, new linguistic theories, and advances in related fields such as psychology and education (Richards & Rodgers, 2001). Some of the historical debates have been over the primary goal of learning a language: is it grammatical competency, oral proficiency, reading, or communication? Methods have differed in their recommendations on the use of the target language with respect to the native language. The methods have reflected various theories about language and about learning.

Teaching for Social Change

The current movement of teaching for social justice, or social justice education, combines theory and practice from a varied history of movements for social change in the United States and abroad. It has roots in social and economic critical theory that

originated in Europe, the civil rights movement in the United States and subsequent efforts to develop multicultural, anti-racist, and culturally relevant pedagogy, and liberation education, or popular education, from Latin America, particularly Freire (1970) and literacy work (Zollers, Albert, & Cochran-Smith, 2000). Additional influences include critical race theory and critical gender studies.

Dewey

John Dewey has been called the father of the progressive movement. In the early 1900's Dewey argued for an education that was rooted in the people's experience and actual lives, rather than the traditional education where knowledge was learned to be of some future use: "One trouble is that the subject-matter in question was learned in isolation; it was put, as it were, in a water-tight compartment...it was segregated when it was acquired and hence is so disconnected from the rest of experience that it is not available under the actual conditions of life." (Dewey, 1938, p. 48) This depicts the uselessness of memorizing separate discrete facts that are not connected to a student's life experience. In *Experience and Education*, Dewey called on educators to reflect on their practices and beliefs and not just blindly adopt the progressive ideology as a reaction to the traditional method. According to Dewey, the goals of education are a progressive organization of knowledge and ideas and the formation of purpose (via observation, knowledge of the past, and judgment) which is translated into a plan for action based on prediction of consequences of actions. Later educators in the progressive movement have echoed the theme of education as helping people to make decisions for themselves and be in control of their own lives (Freire, 1970; Horton, 1990; Moses & Cobb, 2001).

Highlander Folk School

The Highlander Folk School began in the mountains of Tennessee in 1932 as a school for industrial union organizing as part of the labor movement in the 1930's and 1940's. It began as a community school where participants lived and worked, and was later used as a training center for workshops. In the early 1950's, it shifted its focus to organizing for civil rights and became a key gathering place for leaders of the black revolution such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, Andrew Young, and Stokely Carmichael. "The job of Highlander was to multiply leadership for radical social change" (Horton, 1990, p. 115). This was reflected in the birth of the Citizenship Schools, literacy classes that registered people to vote, organized by Septima Clark. The education at Highlander was popular education that adopted an experiential and holistic philosophy.

Highlander was founded by Myles Horton with the guiding premise that the best teachers of poor and working people are the people themselves. As such, classes involved a circle of learners, rather than outside experts. The goal of the Highlander Folk School was to help people with decision-making through analyzing and trusting their own experience. "Now, you have to learn to make decisions, to take responsibility, and the way to do it is not to listen to lectures, but to act. While you're here, you're going to have the opportunities to make decisions and try your ideas out and act on them." (Horton, 1990, p. 135). Instead of trying to give answers, the teachers tried to see the problems and the answers the people already had. The pedagogy at Highlander was reminiscent of John Dewey: give the people experiences that embody what you are trying to teach. For example, with the goals of a democratic society in which people cooperate, then the teachers at Highlander used cooperative group learning in a democratic classroom.

Horton (1990) stressed that in teaching for social change, one must train groups of people who will work together afterwards. Other central tenets to the philosophy at Highlander were trusting in the people's ability to develop the capacity for working collectively to solve their problems, using music as a central part of social struggle, loving and caring for people, respecting them and dealing with them as they are, and genuinely respecting students' ideas. Horton held a holistic view of education such that one can not break it up into unrelated methods and ideas. He taught with two eyes—one that saw how the people currently perceive themselves, and one that looked at his goals for where they could be. He then began with where the people were by making them uncomfortable and challenging them to move to where they could be (p. 131-2). Horton stressed that anger at the system must be a slow burning fire instead of a consuming fire, because otherwise this anger can distance one from working with populations who are not aware of their own exploitation and consequently feel no rage. Horton also emphasized that those working for social change must relate their beliefs to the real situation at hand as well as understand the social and economic forces behind the real situation. He discussed how a collective struggle in a social movement encourages the participants to increase their demands (p. 116-7). This final insight relates to Moses and Cobb's (2001) philosophy behind the Algebra Project as a movement for social change.

Citizenship Schools

Citizenship schools began at Highlander in 1957, and as the movement spread, they were turned over to the SCLC in 1961. Septima Clark headed the citizenship school program, which taught people to read, using examples from their lives such as seed packets or grocery lists. The schools used people who were not actually teachers to teach,

so the teachers could learn along with the students (Horton, 1990). The citizenship schools trained activists for social justice using progressive pedagogy (Perlstein, 2002).

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Freedom Schools

The summer of 1964 was the Freedom Summer in Mississippi. The Freedom Schools adopted a student-centered curriculum that reflected a belief in starting with students' own experiences and then moving them along through questioning. They also reflected a belief that African Americans could participate fully in American democratic life and work for change (Perlstein, 2002). The *Mississippi Freedom School Curriculum—1964* stated “One of the purposes of the Freedom Schools is to train people to be active agents in bringing about social change. We have attempted to design a developmental curriculum that begins on the level of the students' everyday lives . . .” (as cited in Ayers, 1998, p. xviii).

Black Panther Liberation Schools

The liberation schools, begun after the founding of the Black Panthers in 1966, taught kids and adults the revolutionary ideology of the Black Panthers via explicit direct instruction from an Afrocentric perspective. The pedagogy reflected the belief that the leaders no longer trusted the people to think for themselves, but instead felt they must feed the people the correct political ideology. At this point, faith in integration and the ability of African Americans to achieve justice within the political system had declined (Perlstein, 2002).

Open School Movement

This movement, which began in the late 1960's and continued to the mid-1970's, was concerned that all public schools were poorly conceived. It was also dedicated to

empowering children of the poor from diverse communities. Kohl was a leader in the development of the movement. He exemplified a strong commitment to community interactions and an unshakable faith in students (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2003). At this time, the U.S. Office of Education developed the Experiential Schools Program. There was an infusion of young people with a social mission into teaching as a form of resistance to the Vietnam War, who provided the inspiration for the movement (Horton, 1990, p. xi-xii).

Paulo Freire

The Brazilian educator Paulo Freire is considered by many to be the most influential educational philosopher in the development of critical pedagogy. Freire published *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in 1970, and continued writing and teaching until his death in 1997. He was concerned with questions of power, culture, and oppression in the context of schooling. Freire emphasized the importance of praxis, or the union of theory and practice. Praxis, according to Freire, is question-posing and transforms asymmetrical power relations. Another important concept in Freire's work is conscientization (*conscientização*) or the development of a critical social consciousness which reflects a deeper awareness of social realities and one's own capacities to re-create them (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2003). Freire also wrote about the dialogical method of teaching, where student and teacher work together on a subject of mutual interest. In the dialogical method, students are subjects who create knowledge rather than objects who receive it (Shor & Freire, 1987). Freire criticized schools that used the "banking system" of education, filling students' minds with information to be used at a later date.

His description of the banking system parallels Dewey's critiques of traditional education in the 1930's.

Popular Education

Hammond (1998) described popular education as education organized by the people in their own community with the goal of creating a new society, outside the control of the official education system. The roots of popular education in El Salvador are in the liberation theology of the Latin American Catholic church, which began in the 1960's with the call for modernization of the church. Liberation theology asserts that all human beings share a dignity that deserves to be honored in this life, and that people must act to put God's will in practice. Popular education was limited by poverty and war, and the will to teach and learn grew from commitment to struggle for economic justice and dignity. The guiding vision of popular education included four components: (a) education is political, and political content is essential to motivating the people; (b) learners discuss and reflect on the conditions of their lives and thereby analyze their oppression, (c) education is integrated with community life, and the learners' goal is to serve the community; and (d) there is universal access, where everyone is not only entitled to education, but capable of benefiting from it.

The methods used in adult literacy circles in El Salvador were based on the principles that learning is active and based on concepts relevant to people's lives, and that knowledge was drawn out of people rather than deposited in them (Hammond, 1998). In class, before beginning reading and writing, the students would reflect on a photo of a shack, discussing why people had no access to decent homes, the condition of their own homes, and how they could get better homes. In order to encourage students who felt

ashamed at not being able to read, teachers focused on other skills the students possessed, such as riding horses and harvesting corn. Popular education did not pursue self-esteem for its own sake, but rather self-esteem and empowerment were created as by-products when participants discovered their abilities, learned new skills, and put them into practice. The conscientization, or consciousness-raising, of the people must come from the subjects themselves or it will not work.

This work has ties to Moses and Cobb's (2001) description of succeeding in teaching students Algebra by getting the students to demand of themselves to learn. The pedagogy is also similar to that described by Horton (1990) at the Highlander school. It also relates to school-home connections, or the importance of community, and education as linked to the community, which was a finding from the review of the research literature. The teacher is seen as engaging students rather than delivering knowledge. Popular education is an example of experiential education, where knowledge is derived from personal experience.

Rethinking Schools

In 1986 a group of educators in Milwaukee, Wisconsin banded together to create a forum for teachers and education activists to offer alternative perspectives to the top-down policies and marketplace reform of the public school system in Milwaukee (Au et al., 2006). They are committed to multicultural, anti-racist social justice education. Over the past twenty years, the group has grown to embrace a national audience. They publish a quarterly magazine and have published many books, all in the service of providing resources and encouragement to teachers who want to challenge their students to think deeply about issues of race, class, equity, globalization, and connections to other human

beings. They maintain a website with articles and teacher resources. Rethinking Schools has consistently defended public education while at the same time insisting on radically transforming it, to become more just, more challenging, and more fun. Their publications offer real-world examples of the critical pedagogy school of thought. Rethinking Schools encourages teachers to be activists for social justice inside and outside the classroom, by working in alliance with parents and community members. Rethinking Schools is more than a publication—it is a movement that has sprouted up teacher groups for social justice all around the country (Nieto, 2006).

Comer Process Schools

The psychiatrist Dr. James P. Comer (1980) developed the Yale School Development Program (SDP) in response to inner city schools serving populations of students of color where school staff and parents were not united in their efforts. His program involved the application of social and behavioral science principles in order to improve the climate of relationships of all involved and facilitate academic and social growth of the students through the shared responsibility and decision-making of parents and staff. The Comer Process is a school-wide intervention centered on healthy child development along six developmental pathways (physical, cognitive, psychological, language, social, and ethical) as the keystone to academic achievement and life success (Comer, Ben-Avie, Haynes, & Joyner, 1999). Its guiding principles are consensus, collaboration, and no-fault. Parents, school staff, community members, guidance counselors, and the whole school community join together to effect change in a school. Comer Process Schools demonstrated successful results in terms of student engagement, attendance, and well being and teacher attendance in Chicago and in New Haven,

Connecticut. Comer et al. recommended that teachers (a) let students know you believe in them, (b) be prepared to work extra to help students be successful, (c) know students well and bond with them to prevent counterproductive behaviors, and (d) be tenacious in collaborating with parents and others in the school in order to promote the students holistic development. A total of 640 schools have implemented the SDP (Noblit et al., 2001).

Small School Reform

Beginning in the 1980's, committed educators and community activists in New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Oakland fashioned a "gutsy social movement for creating democratic, warm, and intellectually provocative schools, particularly for poor and working-class youth of color" (Fine, 2005, p. 11). This social movement was the small schools movement grounded in a set of radical educational and political principles. It held that poor and working-class children, largely African American, Latino and/or immigrant, deserved the same sense of belonging, trust, and intellectual possibilities that the rich routinely received. The movement was conceived as a movement for educational justice through the definition of schools as public institutions with deep social responsibilities for intellectual, economic and civic well-being. The small schools valued democratic participation in school governance and did not have restrictive entrance criteria in order to provide access for all students. The schools were committed to equity, and they took the lives, biographies, communities, and histories of the students as the starting point for intellectual and civic engagement. The small schools movement resisted high-stakes tests and externally generated assessment as fundamentally anti-intellectual; instead, educators developed a complex and creative

performance-based assessment system containing a mix of outcome and process measures. The small schools movement saw the development of schools for social justice and social responsibility, in which students studied real-life equity issues in their own communities. In New York State, 28 small schools comprise the New York Performance Standards Consortium, and they have outperformed exam-driven schools over the past 10 years in regards to dropout rates, and students attending and continuing university studies (Cook & Tashlik, 2005).

The Algebra Project

Moses and Cobb (2001) detailed their experiences with the Algebra Project in an effort to answer the following questions: How can we increase the economic access of people of color? How can we bring about systemic change in the educational system from the bottom up? The authors posited that economic access is the most urgent social issue affecting poor people and people of color and that the lack of math literacy skills prevents people from achieving economic access. They supported their argument by citing the technological advancements due to computers and information technology—by 2010 all jobs will require high tech skills. Therefore, Algebra is the gatekeeper to citizenship because it is the gatekeeper to higher math skills and to getting into college.

The goal of the Algebra Project was for all students to enter high school ready to do the college prep track in math (Moses & Cobb, 2001). That is, all students in 7th and 8th grade should have taken algebra. The Algebra Project worked with kids in 5th and 6th grades to prepare them for the conceptual work of algebra. The pedagogy of the Algebra Project was both inquiry-based and culturally based (bridging real life to mathematical language). It was experiential learning that used cooperative group work. It used Kolb's

(1984) experiential learning cycle by starting with where the kids were and experiences they shared, drawing on a common culture, reflecting, doing abstract conceptualization, and applying the knowledge to an experience. It employed the use of graphing calculators in order to move through curriculum in a non-linear fashion and capitalize on students' interest in images. Students learned that math is the creation of people working together and depending on each other. There were five steps to the curriculum process: physical events (a trip), pictorial representation of the event (students chose what is of value to them to represent, and thus had ownership), intuitive language (students discussed and wrote about the event in their own language), structured language (teacher isolated features of the experience that form basis for building mathematical knowledge), and symbolic representation (students in groups constructed symbols to represent the ideas, then shared them with the class). This method meant that from the beginning, all students had access and something to say about doing math.

The Algebra Project was based on grassroots involvement and community organizing. Moses and Cobb (2001) found that the key to community organizing was to organize around the kids. They organized teachers, parents, and other community folk around student needs. But first they had to figure out what those needs were by giving young people a voice and listening to them. They reported that youth should be involved in all aspects of decision-making, attending and participating in community meetings and school board meetings. They found that the power of the Algebra Project resided in its target population—students and their parents—and unless they were organized, they were voiceless. Community organization also depended on the centrality of families and organizing in the context of where one lived and worked. Moses and Cobb cited the

importance of coming to a consensus about what a group is fighting for in order to bring about systemic change.

The southern part of the project began with the researchers (Moses & Cobb, 2001) organizing community meetings to describe the project. Some teachers then became interested and took leadership in implementing the project. For example in West Tallahatchie County, Mississippi, students, parents, community, teachers, and school administration came together. In the county 94 % of the students are African American and 95% are on free/reduced lunch. After one year of the Algebra Project students in the district reached or surpassed state standardized tests in Algebra I, U.S. history and functional literacy tests. A teacher remarked that the Algebra Project brought teachers from different schools together as a team, working for the students.

Moses and Cobb (2001) drew on lessons from the Civil Rights Movement in their work with the Algebra Project. They declared that students have to shake free of other people's definitions of who they are and what they are able and willing to do. They claimed that it was harder to fight against the racist message of intellectual inferiority because it was more subtle than the raw racism of segregation laws and Ku Klux Klan.

Moses and Cobb (2001) found that demand played a central role in systemic change. Demand came on two levels. On the first level, the kids made a demand on themselves—they committed to going after real mathematical competence. The authors illustrated the demand concept through a speech to the kids at a middle school: "Society is already prepared to write you off the way sharecroppers in the Delta have been written off. They say you don't want to learn. You can change that and you have to decide whether or not you want to do it. I can't do that for you" (p. 150). The target population

of the Algebra Project made the demand themselves, instead of just having their needs advocated for them by others. In order for kids to make the demand on themselves, they had to see mathematics as relevant to gaining control over their lives and connected to change for the better. On the second level, the kids made a collective and political demand on the educational system and their communities to give them what they needed. At the National Algebra Project Youth Conference in 1998 the youth adopted the slogan “Each one teach one” to illustrate the movement for youth who have successfully moved on to high school and college to build math literacy with the next generation of middle school students.

The conclusions drawn by Moses & Cobb (2001) about successful strategies for working with African American students coincide with research with respect to collaborative learning (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Slavin & Oickle, 1981; Treisman & Fullilove, 1990) and their findings in respect to systemic change overlap with Horton’s (1990) work at the Highlander School and Freire’s (1970) ideas about empowering oppressed populations.

Moses & Cobb (2001) provided a powerful example of how to work for social justice from the bottom up: you must get the students to demand to learn, to see learning as vital to improving their lives, to see it as relevant. And then, students can collectively demand for change in the system. First, when working with a target population, you have to find out what their needs are: you have to listen to their needs and voice. The solution must come from the targeted population, from the people themselves. The students must have ownership of their learning. Their work with the Algebra Project also demonstrated that inquiry-based, culturally relevant, experiential curriculum which involves

cooperative learning is effective for working with students of color (Moses & Cobb, 2001).

Multicultural Education

According to Banks (2001), the first phase of the multicultural education movement was ethnic studies, as educators in the 1970's initiated the incorporation of ethnic studies information into school curriculum. This grew out of the Civil Rights Movement, as ethnic minority groups focused on cultural consciousness and gaining political power (Sleeter, 1996). Prominent early multicultural education scholars included James Banks, Geneva Gay, Carl Grant, Christine Sleeter and Sonia Nieto. The second phase of multicultural education focused on bringing about structural and systemic changes in schools. The third phase emerged when other groups, such as women and people with disabilities, added their voices to demands for inclusive curriculum. The current phase concerns the development of theory, research and practice in relation to race, class and gender (Banks, 2001). Banks defined the five dimensions of multicultural education as content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and an empowering school culture and social structure.

The political climate in the United States shifted to the right in the late 1970's and 1980's, and the dominant ideology was one of a colorblind society where racism was isolated to individual occurrences. Multicultural education has been criticized by conservative educators such as Schlesinger (1991), Hirsch (1988), and Ravitch (2000) who complained that by teaching children about diverse groups of people, schools have produced culturally illiterate Americans who have no sense of a shared culture (Sleeter, 1996).

Social Justice Education

McCarthy and Whitlock (2002) described social justice education as a newly emerging field bridging distinctive academic areas such as social psychology, sociology, dialogue work, teacher education, urban studies, legal studies, and multicultural education. Social justice education has the goal of social and institutional change for schools and school systems. It utilizes a framework that considers the dominant or targeted social group identities of participants in education within an analysis of greater social hierarchies, and it entails addressing issues of power and institutionalized oppression in the classroom. Social justice education involves both educational process via a set of interactive, experiential pedagogical principles that help students understand the meaning of social difference and oppression in their personal lives and curricular content consisting of an interdisciplinary subject matter that analyzes multiple forms of oppression.

Summary

This chapter gave a brief historical overview of the educational experiences of African American and Mexican American learners in the United States. It also described the history of foreign language instruction and progressive educators and movements with the goals of teaching for social change. The next chapter will provide a critical review of the literature regarding effective strategies for improving the academic achievement and self-empowerment of African American and Latino students.

CHAPTER 3: CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Chapter Two provided a discussion of the historical background to the question what are effective strategies for improving the academic achievement and self-empowerment of students of color, specifically African American and Latino students, by outlining the educational experiences of each of these groups. It also described important instances in the history of various threads that came together to form the basis of teaching for social justice. This chapter undertakes a critical review and analysis of the literature regarding strategies for improving the academic achievement and self-empowerment of African American and Latino students. It first critiques studies depicting the opportunity gap, then critiques studies related to culture, teaching and learning, looks at specific interventions/strategies for social change, and finally evaluates studies related to teaching and learning strategies, specifically cooperative learning, culturally responsive pedagogy, and student perceptions of effective pedagogy. It critiques each study independently and in relation to similar studies.

Opportunity Gap

This section presents two studies, the first of which describes one aspect of the opportunity gap detailed in Chapter One, Latino and African American students' access to AP classes, and also sets the stage for the rest of the studies in this chapter. The second study gives insight into the relationship between self-esteem, personal sense of control, and academic achievement, which also provides direction for how teachers can focus their energy in order to close the opportunity gap.

Solorzano and Ornelas (2004) conducted a descriptive research study on Latino and African American students' access to AP classes using critical race theory as a

framework. They investigated the following questions: (a) how do school structures, practices, and discourses help maintain racial and ethnic discrimination in access to AP courses? (b) How do Latina/o and African American students and parents respond to the educational structures, practices, and discourses that help maintain racial and ethnic discrimination in access to AP courses? (c) How can school reforms help end racial and ethnic discrimination in access to AP courses? (d) Do Latino/a and African American students have equal access to AP courses at their high schools?

The participants in the sample were students in the top 50 AP ranked high schools in the state, students in the Los Angeles Unified School District [LAUSD], and students in these four schools: Van Nuys High School, Hamilton High School, Palisades Charter High School and Bravo Medical Magnet High School (Solorzano & Ornelas, 2004).

Solorzano and Ornelas (2004) employed two levels of design. First, they analyzed all California high schools, and secondly they examined the LAUSD, looking at the 2001-2002 data from the California Department of Education. For the first level, the researchers used 2000-01 data from the California Department of Education to develop the AP Student Access Indicator (APSAI), which controlled for both the size of the school and the number of AP courses available at the school. This indicator divided the overall high school student enrollment by the number of AP courses available at the high school. The lower the ratio of students to AP courses, the higher the ranking of the school. Next, data from the top 50 public high schools (schools with the highest ranking on the APSAI) in the state were combined and analyzed for the racial make-up. For the second level of design, they compared the ethnicity of students in the schools versus the

ethnicity of students in AP classes in LAUSD. Then they looked at four schools within LAUSD and did the same thing.

When Solorzano and Ornelas (2004) examined California's top 50 AP high schools (as measured by the AP Student Access Indicator), they documented that Latina/o and African American students are less likely to be in the top 50 AP high schools. While Latina/o students made up 38% of California's high school student enrollment, they only made-up 16% of the student population enrolled in these top 50 high schools. Similarly, while African American students comprised 8% of California's high school students, they were 5% of the student population in the top AP high schools.

For the second level of design, three different patterns emerged around access and availability of AP courses: Latina/o students are disproportionately underrepresented in AP enrollment district-wide; schools that serve urban, low-income Latina/o and African American communities have low student enrollment in AP courses; and even when Latina/o and African American students attend high schools with high numbers of students enrolled in AP courses, they are not equally represented in AP enrollment. The researchers (Solorzano & Ornelas, 2004) called this structure and process schools within schools. In the school district as a whole as well as at all of the four schools, lower percentages of African American and Latina/o students were enrolled in AP courses than the total percentage in school, and the reverse trend was seen for Asian and White students. In the district as a whole, Latina/o students were 66% of the LAUSD's high school student enrollment, while they comprised only 49% of district wide AP enrollment. Similarly, African Americans were 14% of the overall high school population and 8% of the AP student enrollment. Whites comprised 12% of student enrollment and

22% of AP enrollment and Asians comprised 9% of the district's student enrollment and 21% of AP enrollment.

This study (Solorzano & Ornelas, 2004) brought up a critical point in the educational pipeline contributing to the Opportunity Gap--the role of Advanced Placement (AP) courses as one of the curricular options that impact college admissions. It described the legal status of using race in the college admissions process and the role of AP courses in determining college admission eligibility.

The researchers (Solorzano & Ornelas, 2004) presented a suggestion for a more equitable college admission system:

Colleges and universities continue to focus on traditional indicators to determine the eligibility of admitted students. Hence, high school grade point averages (GPAs), standardized tests, and AP courses weigh heavily in determining eligibility for college admission. Therefore, to be equitable, one could argue that all California comprehensive high schools should offer a full array or at least an adequate number of AP courses and ensure proportionate student enrollment as one factor in preparing competitive applicants for university admission (p. 21).

I am confident in trusting the results of this study because the data gathering process was described in detail, and the study could be easily replicated by other researchers. I have not read similar studies in other geographical regions, but from what I have seen in the Tacoma school district, I imagine that similar results in relation to the access of students of color to AP courses would be found in school districts throughout the country.

Ross and Broh (2000) conducted a retroactive study using data from the National Educational Longitudinal Study done in 1988, 1990 and 1992 to test two hypotheses: (a) academic achievement (grades and test scores) leads to an increased sense of personal control which, in turn increases academic achievement, and (b) academic achievement increases self-esteem, but self-esteem does not affect subsequent achievement once perceived control is adjusted. They found that sense of personal control has more of an effect on academic achievement than self-esteem. The researchers employed operational definitions for self-esteem as the perception of oneself as a person of worth (comes from others' evaluations of one as a worthy person) and sense of control as the perception of oneself as an effective person (comes from successful behaviors, achievements, accomplishments).

The stratified, clustered national probability sample of students, $n = 8,802$, completed questionnaires about schoolwork, family, attitudes, and behaviors in eighth grade during the base year and participated in all three years (Ross & Broh, 2000). Academic achievement was measured by both grades (in math and English) and standardized test results on math and reading from the 8th and 12th grades. Self-esteem was a latent construct indicated by seven items on the Rosenberg (1980) self-esteem scale, measured in 10th grade. It was a Likert scale, with items such as 'I feel good about myself'. Sense of personal control was a latent construct indicated by five items on a Likert scale, such as 'When I make plans, I am almost certain I can make them work'. It was also measured in the 10th grade.

The findings showed that both of the hypotheses were supported (Ross & Broh, 2000). With adjustments for locus of control, the impact of self-esteem on subsequent

academic success was not significant, while the standardized coefficient for locus of control impacting subsequent achievement was $.074, p < .05$. High academic achievement had greater effect on locus of control ($B = .228, p < .05$) than on self-esteem ($B = .191, p < .05$). Other findings were that males, children from families with high household incomes, and African Americans have higher levels of self-esteem than do others, as well as higher levels of perceived control (for African Americans it was only with adjustment for SES, measured as income and education, but without adjustment they had lower levels of personal control).

The main weakness to this study (Ross & Broh, 2000) is the self-reporting of the students' sense of personal control and self-esteem based on Likert scales, which could be swayed by the students' perceptions of what others wanted them to answer. There is no way of verifying the self-reported data, especially as the study was done retroactively. Strengths of the study are the sample size and design and the adherence to statistical principles through structural equation modeling of the data. The authors' drew conclusions that are congruent with the goal, design, and findings of the study. This study did not specify differences according to race for the effects on sense of control or self-esteem. Despite the weaknesses of the study, the results can be generalized to the population I am interested in due to the sample size and design of the study.

These two studies combined document the extent of the opportunity gap with relation to access to AP courses (Solorzano & Ornelas, 2004) and provide insight into what qualities in students lead to academic achievement and could help close the opportunity gap (Ross & Broh, 2000). Solorzano and Ornelas (2004) found that Latina/o students are disproportionately underrepresented in AP enrollment district-wide; schools

that serve urban, low-income Latina/o and African American communities have low student enrollment in AP courses; and even when Latina/o and African American students attend high schools with high numbers of students enrolled in AP courses, they are not equally represented in AP enrollment. Ross and Broh (2000) documented that sense of personal control has more of an effect on academic achievement than self-esteem. This informs my question by showing that I should focus on strategies that affect students' sense of personal control.

Both of the studies (Ross & Broh, 2000; Solorzano & Ornelas, 2004) involved large sample sizes and were of the quantitative descriptive nature. Ross and Broh (2000) conducted their study on a national level, while Solorzano and Ornelas (2004) restricted theirs to California.

Culture, Teaching, and Learning

This section presents studies documenting the importance of culture in relation to learning. They show that culture manifests itself via differences in learning styles (Hale-Benson, 1986), racial identity development (Rumbaut, 1994; Tatum, 1997), and navigating between distinct worlds of home, school, and peer groups (Phelan et al., 1991). The primary findings call for teachers to care for the whole student while keeping in mind the student's cultural background, to provide role models of intellectuals from the same ethnic background, to employ cooperative learning techniques so students interact with each other, and to actively strengthen school-home connections (Phelan et al., 1991).

Hale-Benson (1986) conducted a study of 30 African American and Euro American women ages 55 to 85 years old who had reared at least one child, and who

were all grandmothers. She investigated the cultural differences that derive from African heritage as well as effective pedagogical practices for African American children. She contacted the study participants through three Senior Citizen's Centers in New Haven and North Haven, Connecticut.

Hale-Benson (1986) first interviewed 13 African American women from the Sea Islands and in Charleston, South Carolina in order to develop the interview instrument and form hypotheses for the next phase. She did not provide any reliability information about the instrument. These sites were chosen because they reflected an Afro-centric value system. Next, she conducted interviews with 30 white and black grandmothers. She then analyzed the interviews for information about socialization in Black families and behavioral styles of Black children. The researcher, an African American female, conducted all the interviews. The interview used a pre-coded form consisting of 183 items and six checklists that were organized into files representing the hypotheses of the study. The interviews lasted between 1.5 and 2.5 hours. There were 12 files identified: human orientation vs. object orientation, physical activity, social breadth, religious orientation, achievement orientation, variability of home environment, autonomy/discipline, willfulness/assertiveness/style, adaptability of family roles, creative arts, food preference, and attitudes towards abortion/conception. All of the items in each file were summed and analyzed by a t-test procedure.

Hale-Benson (1986) described her theoretical positioning as African heritage theory, which holds that the vast majority of cultural traits of Afro American culture can be traced back to West Africa. She provided additional insight into her approach to the education of African American children when she compared poor urban African

American neighborhoods in America to developing countries around the world, claiming that the relationship between Blacks and Whites all over the world was one of colonized to colonizer. The colonizer had two purposes for educating the colonized: socialization into accepting the value system, history, and culture of the dominant society, and education for economic productivity.

Hale-Benson (1986) reported a significant difference in the following files: human orientation vs. object orientation (Blacks being more human-oriented, $p < .0002$), religious orientation (Blacks being more religious, $p < .001$), autonomy/discipline (autonomy there was no difference, in discipline Blacks used stricter practices, more corporal punishment, $p < .04$), willfulness/assertiveness/style (Blacks being more willful, indicating that African-Americans are an emotion-charged people, $p < .02$), creative arts (Blacks being more expressive and creative, $p < .0009$), attitudes towards abortion/conception (Blacks less in favor of abortion, more likely to keep babies out of wedlock, $p < .02$).

After measuring differences between African American culture and Euro American culture through her qualitative study, Hale-Benson (1986) provided recommendations for culturally responsive early childhood education for African American children in terms of curriculum and teaching strategies. She detailed that curriculum for Black children should be made up of three components: an ideology for consciousness-raising and struggle against the oppressor/colonizer, pedagogical relevance, and academic rigor. The focus should be fostering a positive self-concept and positive attitude toward learning/school. The curriculum should include African American studies as a focal point.

Hale-Benson (1986) further detailed the effects of culture on cognition in respect to shaping teaching strategies. She outlined the importance of taking culture into consideration for teachers, because people socialized in a culture become imbued with that culture's history and cannot be separated from it. They approach activities (such as taking tests) from a certain standpoint and attitude, and this must be understood when attempting to evaluate them.

Cohen defined two types of cognitive learning styles, or methods of organizing information: analytical and relational (as cited in Hale-Benson, 1986, p. 30). The analytical style, the style school systems traditionally value, involved breaking a stimulus into its attributes and valuing those in and of themselves. In contrast, learners using the relational style only saw significance when those attributes are related to something else. African Americans tended to use the relational learning style. Hilliard (as cited in Hale-Benson, 1986, p. 42) described the core of the African American cultural style (which has a strong relationship with Cohen's relational style): African Americans responded to the whole picture instead of its parts; they preferred inferential reasoning over deductive or inductive reasoning; they tended to focus on people and activities rather than things; they had a keen sense of justice and were quick to perceive injustice; they tended to be proficient in nonverbal communications instead of word dependent; they tended to approximate space and numbers rather than sticking to accuracy.

In response to the cultural style described by Hilliard, Hale-Benson (1986) recommended the following teaching strategies for African American children: (1) use of body language and nonverbal communication, (2) use of Standard English, (3) equal

talking time between teacher and students, (4) group learning, (5) variety of learning activities, and (6) use of African American music in the classroom.

In this study (Hale-Benson, 1986) the data gathering process was described in sufficient detail. There was no triangulation of sources, nor member-checking of the data (at least not stated). There was not enough detail provided about the significant differences. It listed the p values but not the differences. This study therefore has a medium level of credibility. The study about cultural differences therefore cannot be transferred to all situations involving African Americans and Whites. The recommendations for practice are specifically for early childhood education. The study has a low level of confirmability because it is not auditable since the whole interview the researcher used is not provided. An additional weakness to the study is that one interviewer conducted all of the interviews, and her beliefs could have biased the data that she heard. This study first described research and theories about African American cultural style, then confirmed some cultural differences between African Americans and Euro Americans. The study also made suggestions for culturally responsive teaching based on these cultural differences.

Tatum (1997) also studied the effects of culture on learning, but she looked specifically at racial identity development. A clinical psychologist with research interests in black children's racial identity development, Tatum had been applying the theory of racial identity development in her teaching, research, and clinical and consulting practice for almost 20 years at the time of her study. She used a variety of methods of data collection, such as multiple interviews, classroom encounters, and personal experiences combined with research that others had done about the topic; however, these methods

were informally conducted and not described in detail in the study. Tatum used examples from her teaching and her clinical practice to illustrate her points about the racial identity development of Black adolescents. The context of this study was not very similar to other studies.

Tatum (1997) found that adolescents of color were more likely to be actively engaged in exploring their racial and ethnic identities than white adolescents because of the impact of dominant and subordinate status. Before puberty, race was not salient for African American kids because it was not salient for society; but when they became adolescents they received messages about others' perceptions of their race. Tatum cited an example of security guards following African American male teenagers around shopping malls.

According to the model by Cross called the psychology of nigrescence, there are five stages of identity development: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, internalization, and internalization/commitment. "In the pre-encounter stage the personal and social significance of one's racial group membership has not yet been realized, and racial identity is not yet under examination" (Tatum, 1997, p. 55). Tatum described how Black children absorb the many of the values of the dominant white culture by virtue of living in a white supremacist society, including the value that it is better to be White. She claimed this can be mitigated if Black parents actively seek to provide their children with positive cultural images and role models. Tatum purported that around age 11-12 events often occur that force the child to realize the personal impact of racism. The child then enters the encounter stage and begins to work out what it means to a member of a racially oppressed group. This manifestation can occur socially when Black girls do not begin

dating when their White friends do. They begin to feel devalued both because of societal messages about who is sexually attractive and desirable, and because of messages about who they will become. Black youth are more likely to be in lower tracks in schools, which affects their understanding of racial identity. A major challenge for Black youth is resisting negative stereotypes in the media and from surrounding people and affirming positive definitions of their selves.

In the encounter stage, Black youth may react by developing an oppositional social identity, as identified by Fordham and Ogbu (as cited by Tatum, 1997, p. 60) in their research with high school students. This oppositional identity protects one from the psychological assault of racism and maintains distance from the dominant group. It arises from anger and resentment at the systematic practices that serve to oppress Black people. Black students tend to sit together because their peers provide them with the support and understanding they need in dealing with racist acts—it is a positive coping strategy to navigate environmental stress. Also, they look to their peers to define what it means to be Black. The oppositional identity often results in Black students equating academic achievement with being White, and therefore not wanting to risk rejection from the peer group by succeeding in school. The oppositional identity that disdains academic achievement is a post–desegregation phenomenon. Black students who are academically successful may adopt the coping strategy Fordham (as cited by Tatum, 1997, p. 63) identified as racelessness, where they play down the characteristics that identify them as Black in order to fit in with White classmates. A final choice for Black racial identity is one of emissary—one who sees his or her personal achievement as advancing the cause of the racial group.

Tatum (1997) cited the need for courses in African American history and literature at the high school level in order to provide Black adolescents with examples of African American academic achievement. She outlined the role supportive teachers can play by helping African American students find a same-race peer group. She also described the use of a Student Efficacy Training program as a method of improving academic achievement. The program at a suburban middle school in Boston was designed to improve academic achievement of African American students. The participating African American students met as a separate group with faculty to discuss issues such as racial encounters and feelings of isolation in a psychologically safe space.

This study (Tatum, 1997) was lacking in important features of qualitative research design, such as dependability, transferability, and confirmability. There was no explanation about data gathering or analysis, therefore the study is neither transferable nor confirmable. The study was unique because it was conducted over many years of counseling and teaching about racial identity development, and it was the representation of that collective information. Therefore, it is hard to compare it with similar studies to determine the dependability level. However, the study did have a good credibility level because of triangulation of data from multiple interviews, classroom encounters, and personal experiences combined with research that others had done about the topic. Also, Tatum (1997) provided adequate examples to illustrate the stages of racial identity development.

The findings are important because they explain the psychological stages of racial identity development that African American students are going through in adolescence as well as some of the roles that African American students may adopt in response to

dominant culture. It is important for the culturally responsive teacher to know her students (Gay, 2000)—in order to create culturally relevant learning experiences, the teacher must know where the students are, what they are thinking about and wrestling with. Tatum's (1997) findings underscore the importance of teaching about Black intellectual history in order to minimize the development of an oppositional identity. I feel confident in trusting this study in regards to the racial identity development process of African Americans because of the operational definitions used by the author, the author's experience in the field, and the many examples Tatum provided to illustrate the stages.

Similar to Tatum's (1997) publication on racial identity development, Rumbaut (1994) researched the formation of ethnic identity during adolescence among immigrant youth from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. The findings revealed that many factors influence an immigrant teenager's definition of ethnic identity. Expected discrimination, for example agreeing with the statement, "people will discriminate against me no matter how far I go with my education" was significantly associated with increased depression and decreased self-esteem.

Rumbaut (1994) surveyed over 5,000 teenage children of immigrants in Miami and San Diego in order to investigate issues of ethnic identity, self-esteem, and assimilation. He found that the only ethnic self-identity positively associated with higher self-esteem was a Black self-identity, which is contradictory to other research on the importance of a positive ethnic identity. In an analysis of the odds of selecting a Chicano identity, males with low GPA's and educational/occupational aspirations were more likely to choose a Chicano identity. This finding is consistent with theory and research on

student resistance or adoption of an oppositional identity (Kohl, 1994; Ogbu, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999). In general, experiences with discrimination caused students to be less likely to identify as American and more likely to remain loyal to a national-origin identity. High English language proficiency and academic GPA were associated with higher self-esteem and lower depression levels. Being labeled and assigned to Limited English Proficient (LEP) classes was associated with diminished self-esteem.

The implications of this study for strategies for teaching for social justice in a foreign language classroom are that teachers must be aware of the negative psychological effects of racial/ethnic discrimination and strive to create an environment that limits discrimination. In addition, teachers must not make assumptions about a student's cultural or ethnic identity because all people identify differently. In regards to students whose native language is not English in foreign language classrooms, this study shows that it is important to also encourage them to improve their English skills.

I am hesitant to accept the findings of this research because of the paucity of numbers reported when the researcher reported the findings. Also, I think that though the research highlights the negative effects of discrimination on students, the findings do not provide specific answers to my question, but rather provide broad suggestions such as trying to prevent discrimination in the classroom and treating each student as an individual.

Phelan, Davidson, and Cao (1991) conducted a two year longitudinal study that looked at the multiple contexts and factors in students' lives. They investigated how meanings and understandings derived from students' family, peer, and school worlds combine to affect students' engagement with schools and learning. The study described

the importance of cultural capital in respect to comfortability in the school environment. In respect to effective strategies for teaching for social justice in a diverse classroom, the major findings highlighted the importance of teacher caring and cooperative learning techniques. Their research revealed that teachers who care for students by showing personal concern for their lives and being attuned to their needs can help students attain academic success despite the incongruence of school expectations and norms with family or peer expectations. The findings also asserted the importance of employing cooperative learning pedagogical techniques in order to teach students the skills for working successfully with different people in diverse social settings. A major factor in the comfort of students navigating between worlds was whether the other actors in their lives (parents, friends) also transitioned between worlds, which underscored the importance of school-home connections.

The sample consisted of 54 students from four large desegregated urban schools in California who were asked to participate in the study (Phelan et al., 1991). The majority of the students were in ninth grade. Minority and majority group students in both high and low achievement categories were included in the sample. The researchers conducted three in-depth interviews with each student. They also utilized classroom observations, teacher interviews, informal conversations, open-ended interviews, and student record data such as test scores, grades, attendance and referral records. The researchers looked for patterns and created a typology to show the patterns. The researchers emphasized that prior research had focused on families, peers, and schools as distinct entities, while their approach looked at the intersections of these influences.

Phelan et al. (1991) reported four distinctive patterns for boundary crossings between family, peer, and school worlds: (a) congruent worlds/smooth transitions, (b) different worlds/boundary crossings managed, (c) different worlds/boundary crossings hazardous, and (d) borders impenetrable/boundary crossings insurmountable. For the students in the first type, values, beliefs, and expectations were parallel across worlds. These students barely perceived boundaries between their family, peer, and school worlds. Students in this group were frequently White, middle-class to upper middle-class high-achieving youth. The authors cited the example of Ryan, whose parents and friends also moved freely and fluidly between worlds. Ryan had little contact with or knowledge about students different from himself and his friends. None of Ryan's classes had incorporated cooperative learning techniques, and few classes had provided opportunities for students to work together. Students in this type have a limited perspective due to the congruency of their worlds.

For students in the second type, family, peer and school worlds are different with respect to culture, ethnicity, socioeconomic status or religion and therefore require adjustment when navigating between them (Phelan et al., 1991). The authors cited a Filipina student bussed to a school across town who had to purposefully separate herself from her sister's peer group in order to fit in at school. Students in this type are often academically successful students of color who are forced to deny aspects of themselves. Most students in the third type do well only sporadically in school, in particular classes where they perceive the teacher as caring and where instructional methods involve student to student interaction. Students in the fourth type do not achieve success in school

because the other factors in their lives are too conflicting or energy-absorbing (peer group or family life).

Strengths of this study include the incorporation of triangulation, detailed description of data gathering, and provision of adequate examples to illustrate the typology of the coding categories (Phelan et al., 1991). Weaknesses include insufficient detail about the data analysis procedure and lack of member-checking. The findings are consistent with similar studies citing caring and cooperative learning as important strategies for student success (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999), which show that it is a dependable study. The study is neither auditable nor confirmable with the level of detail provided. The study does merit transferability because of its dependability and credibility. I am fairly confident in the results of this study because of the strong qualitative design techniques employed, and the fact that the composition of the sample population included high school students of various ethnicities and achievement levels.

Overall, these studies on culture, teaching, and learning show that culture indeed is a strong factor in determining how a student learns. Two of the studies critiqued (Hale-Benson, 1986; Rumbaut, 1994) contained significant weaknesses in their research design that inhibit further conclusions other than pointing to the importance of culture, and some factors to be aware of, such as the adverse effects of discrimination, and different cultural learning styles. The other two studies (Phelan et al., 1991; Tatum, 1997) provide important information for answering the question of how to teach for social justice in a diverse foreign language classroom: via caring for students, using cooperative learning techniques, knowing about the student's culture including the stages of racial identity development, and strengthening school to home connections.

Interventions/Strategies for Social Change

This section discusses studies about specific intervention programs such as summer outreach programs, community education programs, and school-wide reform programs with the goal of effecting social change. Important insights from these programs include the following: (a) reforms should be student-centered, or based and organized around the target population; (b) reforms should involve cooperation between parents, teachers, administrators, staff, and community members; (c) teaching that is inquiry-based, experiential, culturally relevant, and concerned with the whole child provides academic results; (d) teachers must get students to demand of themselves to learn, and then to make a collective demand; (e) teachers' high expectations of students contribute to students' academic success, and (f) valuing biculturalism teaches students to walk in two worlds (Arce, 2004; Berta-Avila, 2004; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; Noblit et al., 2001).

Lucas, Henze, and Donato (1990) investigated six successful high schools with large populations of Latino language-minority students as part of an initiative by the Southwest Center for Educational Equity to develop strategies for Arizona high schools to serve language-minority students. They chose the high schools based on qualitative recommendations by educators as well as quantitative measures of success such as attendance and drop-out rates, standardized test scores, and numbers of Latinos going on to post-secondary education. The students in the sample had a working-class background: 98% of their fathers worked in labor and service industries, while 90% of their mothers worked as housewives or in the service industry. The researchers noted eight features that existed across the six sites: (a) placing value on students' languages and cultures and

recognizing the diversity among them, (b) holding high expectations of language-minority students, (c) school leaders making the education of language-minority students a priority via hiring teachers from similar cultural backgrounds, (d) explicitly designed staff development to help all teachers and staff (not just ESL teachers) serve language-minority students effectively, (e) offering a variety of courses and programs for language-minority students, both advanced and basic courses so as not to trap LM students in low-level classes; (f) counselors sharing the same native language and cultural background with the students, (g) encouraging parents of language-minority students to become involved in their children's education, and (h) a shared strong commitment to empower language-minority students through education.

Lucas et al. (1990) described their data collection process with excellent detail. It consisted of structured interviews, classroom and school-wide observations, student questionnaires, and various records and documents. Their original data analysis categories and study design were inspired by the effective schools literature, and shaped as they gathered information. They then conducted within-site and cross-site analyses to obtain the eight features of effective schools as well as concrete examples of these features. Strengths of this study include the high credibility and confirmability, due to the level of detail provided. Additional strengths are the triangulation of data and the numerous examples given to illustrate each feature. The study has a high dependability rate in respect to the effective schools literature, and the findings coincide with those of other studies (Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999). One weakness to the study is the fact that it is an exploratory study. Further research is needed over longer periods of time to corroborate the findings, examine each

feature in greater depth, and investigate schools with different populations of students. Despite the exploratory nature of the study, it merits transferability to secondary schools serving language-minority students because it incorporated many strong qualitative design strategies.

This study provided many recommendations and concrete examples as to how schools can effectively support Latino language-minority students. The findings revealed that schools and teachers must place a high priority on services and attitudes that go beyond academic instruction, which has been stressed in other literature regarding Latino learners (Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004; Valenzuela, 1999). Some of the recommendations for teacher actions outside of the classroom will influence my effectiveness in reaching Latino learners and teaching for social justice within the foreign language classroom, such as: (a) recognizing students' individual strengths, backgrounds, and problems instead of treating them as members of a group; (b) encouraging students to further develop their Spanish skills through offering Spanish classes for native speakers with challenging academic content; (c) offering extracurricular activities of interest to Latino students, such as dance classes, or publishing a monthly newspaper in Spanish; (d) visiting classrooms in Mexico to learn about the type of instruction there in order to be able to better relate to students' learning style; (e) holding on-campus ESL classes for parents in order to strengthen the school-home connections; and (f) participating in community activities. I am very confident in trusting the results of this study because of the effective research design and dependability of the findings.

Noblit et al. (2001) conducted case studies of five schools that had implemented the Comer Process and had positive changes in student achievement, discipline, and

parent involvement in order to document what connections existed between the School Development Program (SDP) created by Comer (1980) and school success. Comer designed the SDP in the late 1960's in order to reform urban schools serving primarily low-income African American populations by giving them a sense of power to effect change. His reform program exuded faith that people of color and teachers in urban schools can make education work for poor children (Noblit et al., 2001).

Noblit et al. (2001) used a comparative design with the five case studies in order to draw their conclusions. They found that the SDP allowed schools to think and act more systematically. The SDP contributed the mechanism to develop collective agency via wider participation in decision-making. The findings of this research inform my question by showing that a focus on the developmental needs of the whole child (physical, cognitive, psychological, language, social, and ethical) resulted in improved academic achievement and student engagement. The findings also showed the importance of collaboration and communication between parents, teachers, and administrators, and the community at large in order to meet the needs of each child, which corresponds with other research (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999). They emphasized that teachers should think about what needs to be done to help children learn, rather than make them conform to the system. The SDP reform echoed historical educational movements for social change in that it was student-centered (Freire, 1970; Hammond, 1998; Horton, 1990; Moses & Cobb, 2001). Similar to popular education in El Salvador (Hammond, 1998), the SDP reform gave the teachers more autonomy in the classroom as a sign of respect, which increased teacher confidence.

Noblit et al. (2001) used individual and focus-group interviews, observations of classrooms, Comer team meetings, school and community, and review of documentary data on student achievement, attendance, and school improvement efforts as the major data collection techniques. The researchers conducted four site visits at each school, and pursued multiple perspectives in their data collection. They adhered to important strong qualitative design principles by employing both triangulation and member-checking in their research design. They described their data analysis procedure and process for deriving coding categories in sufficient detail. Their study is therefore both confirmable and credible. This study only involved schools that were designated as successful; thus, it does not provide information about the success of all schools that have implemented the SDP. However, important guidelines for classroom teaching can be extracted from this study.

Noblit et al. (2001) documented that the Comer Process led to positive change in schools by creating a more participatory governance process and thereby redefining the power of principal, teachers, and parents, valorizing the professional decision-making skills of teachers, promoting a strong sense of accountability to the students and the community in respect to the needs of the community, and creating capacity to effect change. The principles of consensus, collaboration, and no fault combined to focus the schools' attention on potential solutions rather than failures. I am very confident in allowing the results of this study to inform my question because of the strong qualitative design features. The research underscores that effective teaching focuses on the holistic developmental needs of the student, not just academic needs, and seeks connections with

the students' families and communities with a no-fault mentality in order to promote academic achievement.

Ball (2000) investigated how teachers use classroom talk to help create quality instruction conducive to a critical pedagogy. She conducted research with three African American female teachers in three urban community-based programs in the Midwest. Two of these were job training programs serving predominantly African-American populations, and one was an ethnocentric rites-of-passage program for African American female participants. Ball collected data through interviews, participant observation in classrooms, and unobtrusive ethnographic observations. She then produced transcripts and coded them based on the oral language interactions between students and teachers, focusing mostly on teacher talk. Finally she used discourse analysis. Discourse was coded for theme, type of verbal interaction, and language use that was either accepting, praising, encouraging, linking to the students' experiences, expanding, questioning, confirming of students' understanding, invoking symbolic solidarity, invoking critique, or invoking action. According to the data, the teachers were placed on a continuum in regards to agency. Research occurred over the course of three years.

Ball (2000) found that all three teachers emphasized two main concepts to their students: preparing them to play multiple roles in society, and responding to societal challenge with some form of activism. Teachers were placed on a continuum as far as their implementation of critical pedagogy by how they spoke differentially to matters of human agency, moving from individual agency to group agency and from a restricted domain to an elaborate domain in regards to choice. Ball documented that discourse centered on encouraging students to take control of their future wherever possible

through language acquisition. They did not spend much time deconstructing the system or pointing fingers at the man. They focused first on encouraging students to analyze their perceptions of themselves and their positions in the world. Secondly, the teachers focused on the power of choice and using language and literacy skills to obtain achievable goals. In one instance, students were encouraged to question and challenge oppressive social formations. One teacher used frequent encouragement, humor, and fluidly shifted registers between Standard English, African American Vernacular English, and machinist shop lingo. Another teacher encouraged students to make choices and believe in themselves by stressing that African American means I can, I can (the last four letters of each word), so just by birthright, students can succeed. The third teacher used choral repetitions, oratory and dramatic activities, and interactive call and response discourse as examples of African American traditions of oral literacy.

The author (Ball, 2000) concluded that there is a need to create dialogic, multiculturally sensitive classrooms where teachers help students re-envision themselves as problem-solvers and critical-thinkers. However, this conclusion was not apparent from the findings of the study, and parallels instead the tenets of critical pedagogy rather than the actual findings of the discourse analysis of the study. The conclusion the author drew was not supported by the results she reported. The author claimed the study could be transferred from non-traditional classrooms to all types of classrooms; however, specific parts of the discourse are relevant to the specific situation (e.g. call and response with a group of women in rites-of-passage program). The author did not say how she selected the three women teachers, nor did she talk about the effects of the pedagogy (in terms of achievement, self esteem, or personal control). Adequate examples were not given to

illustrate the verisimilitude of the categories found. The credibility of this research is low because of the lack of description of the data-gathering and data-analysis processes; also, there was neither triangulation nor member-checking in this study. As such, the study does not merit wide-spread transferability.

Rodriguez, Jones, Pang, and Park (2004) conducted descriptive research on the six week summer residential outreach program of the San Diego State University Science Enrichment Project to determine if it was meeting its goals of advancing student competency in math and science learning and promoting the development of students' academic and cultural identities. The program implemented culturally responsive teaching principles (use of collaborative learning, scaffolding in cultural competencies, extensive interaction between students and teachers) and principles from critical theory (status equalization of students' primary languages and cultures and the mainstream culture, bicultural affirmation, and the codes of power principle) in its curriculum and instructional practices. The research showed that the program was meeting both goals. The qualitative data from interviews demonstrated that students felt safe, comfortable, provided with motivational and academic support, and encouraged to explore other cultures as well as their own cultural identities. This study provides insights for my question on effective strategies for teaching for social justice by using collaborative learning and practicing status equalization and teaching the codes of power; however, due to the poor research design, I am reluctant to accept the findings.

The quantitative part of the data reflected 10th graders recruited from the southwestern United States, Hawaii, and American Samoa by school counselors, teachers, and regional programs, $n = 193$ (Rodriguez et al., 2004). They were 54%

female, 46% male, 46% Mexican American/Latino, 17% Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, 21% African American, 12% Native American, with 40% of participants whose first language was not English. Participants took the Test of Integrative Process Skills (TIPS) that measures mathematical and scientific thinking as a pre-test and post-test. There was no comparison group. The findings showed significant increases on the TIPS test in each cohort during the four-year period (1998-2001). In 1998, the mean overall score increased from 20.21 to 24.00. In 1999, the mean overall score increased from 20.16 to 25.30. The mean overall score in 2000 increased from 20.34 to 24.66. The difference between the mean scores was least in 2001 when scores increased from 20.25 to 23.82. The increases for each year from pre- to post-test were statistically and numerically significant ($p < .05$).

This study (Rodriguez et al., 2004) had some major problems in design that prevent me from seriously considering the researchers' conclusions. The quantitative data showed a relatively small gain of four points, which though significant at $p < .05$, is not meaningful. There was no mention of the validity and reliability of the TIPS test. For the qualitative part, there was no member-checking of the data presented, or triangulation of data. Data was collected from voluntary group interviews, so perhaps only those who enjoyed the program would volunteer to stay for it. In addition, results reported were from just one group of eight students. There was no description of the coding done into the respective categories. The principles of culturally responsive teaching were explained in theory, but the description of the outreach program itself was not detailed enough to show how the principles were enacted in the curriculum.

Arce (2004) utilized a participatory research design to examine how socially conscious bilingual Latino educators resisted multiple layers of hegemonic structures as they began their careers in the public school system. The purpose of the study was to gain a clearer understanding of how new teachers created conscious acts of resistance to the dominant ideology in their classrooms. The following themes emerged from the dialogues: (a) isolation of bilingual teachers, (b) manifestations of power relations among students, (c) use of a culturally bound pedagogy, (d) countering of hidden curriculum through critical pedagogy, and (e) development of identity and voice for both students and teachers. Although this study concerned bilingual educators, it pertains to my question of how to teach for social justice in a diverse foreign language classroom because I will be a new teacher struggling to implement counter-hegemonic practices in a language classroom.

Arce (2004) documented that none of the teachers felt safe sharing her/his political views or visions of education with her/his peers in the schools, which lead to frustration and feelings of isolation. The teachers noticed how Euroamerican children consistently took a lead role in classroom discussions and activities, and actively sought out Latino voices. The teachers taught history of diverse cultural groups from a perspective of resilience and resistance rather than a victimized perspective, in the interest of developing solidarity with all oppressed peoples and challenging views of subordinate groups. All of the teachers noted that the Latino students had a demeaning perspective of their own community as well as a lack of knowledge of their own history in the United States. Effective strategies for teaching for social justice include making connections with like-minded educators in order to engage in dialogue, developing voice

and support one another, being aware of power dynamics among students and actively encouraging contributions from students of color, teaching history from a perspective of resistance, using textbooks as a springboard for critique, bringing in alternative curricular resources, and planning curriculum that encourages students to develop their own self-identity and voice through the study of themselves, communities, and histories.

The author (Arce, 2004) described her conceptual framework as rooted in critical pedagogy, bilingual education, and the politics of language. The researcher chose the five Spanish-speaking bilingual emergency-certified elementary education teachers to be participants because of their expressed commitment to social justice. The teachers taught in urban and semi-urban settings in California. The intent of participatory research is to transform social conditions, rather than report the way things exist. It works on the assumption that all participants fully support the purpose of the study, and that they thoroughly understand the intent of the study. The researcher and the participants used dialogue as the primary research method. Four collaborative dialogues served as a way to identify the problem, facilitate the emergence of voice, construct new knowledge, and consequently guide classroom practices. In addition, classroom observations (a two-hour visit weekly for 15 weeks to each of five classrooms), interviews, and informal collaborative conversations served to give additional perspectives. Data was analyzed with the intent of discovering the dimensions of the problem and finding alternatives to guide the participants toward collective action.

I am confident in the results of the study conducted by Arce (2004) because of the participatory action research design and the triangulation and member-checking employed. I have not read many similar studies expressly concerned with social justice

using participatory research methodology, so I am unsure about the dependability of the study. However, the study merits transferability to the population I am interested in because of the researcher's collaboration with participants to collectively identify the strategies they employed in teaching for social justice with Latino populations.

Berta-Avila (2004) conducted a study utilizing participatory research and critical ethnography of three critical Xicana educators in order to determine how Xicana identity relates to teaching for social transformation and emancipation of Raza students. She defined Xicana as a Latina/o who has a political, social, and cultural consciousness of the Xicana/o people and puts that consciousness into practice. Raza is a term that Latino civil rights groups began to use in the 1960's to describe themselves; it translates as race, or the people, in Spanish. Findings revealed that these critical educators saw themselves as change agents whose responsibility in the classroom was to challenge the educational norms used to create inequities and promote biculturalism among Raza students. In addition, they stated that it is not enough to simply be a person of color with no social or political understanding of the connection between education and the dominant society, because that merely reinforces the message that Raza life experiences are not valid and Raza students must forsake their cultural identity to succeed in the United States. These findings inform my question of how to teach for social justice by detailing the importance of how I, as a person of color, relate to my ethnic identity in respect to the dominant White society, Raza students, and the classroom work to address social inequities. I must take pride in my history and roots, recognize my reality as a member of a subordinated group, and teach from that viewpoint. This is echoed in one of the four components of culturally responsive teaching espoused by Gay (2000): knowing oneself. In addition, the

findings stress how teachers need to teach Latino students how to walk between worlds: how to grasp one's culture and know oneself and not let go of that, but at the same time walk in the dominant society and survive there. In essence, teaching for social justice involves valuing biculturalism and giving students the tools necessary to negotiate between two distinct cultural worlds, which are also reflected in Delpit's work (1995). It is showing students that reality involves more than an either/or choice of assimilation or maintaining one's identity.

Berta-Avila (2004) outlined her choice of research methodology as participatory and critical ethnography in order to "listen to and document underrepresented voices in order to name, reflect, and create transformation" (p. 70). She selected five participants who self-identified as critical Xicana educators through her involvement in classrooms in Sacramento and recommendations from colleagues. The participants taught in middle schools in rural northern California. A weakness to the study is that perspectives from only three of the participants were included in the article. The author did not give a reason for the omission of two voices, and perhaps it was because they did not coincide with the themes that emerged. Data was collected via a group dialogue, individual dialogues, journal reflection writings, and observations of one teacher. The dialogues were audio taped, transcribed, and submitted to participants for review. The researcher analyzed the transcripts and identified emergent themes of positionality and agency. A strength of the study is the use of participatory research in order to give voice to critical educators; however, I think the data collection methods fall shy of providing an accurate picture because there were not very many dialogues, nor was there much triangulation of data as only one teacher was observed. This gives the study a medium level of credibility.

However, there is value in each person's experience. The findings of this study have been corroborated by other research (Delpit, 1995; Gay, 2000), so it is dependable. I have a medium level of confidence in the findings of this study, and feel that it is transferable because of the dependability and participatory research design.

Overall, the six studies critiqued in this section reveal the importance of pedagogy that begins with the students' lived experiences and realities, both on a micro level in the classroom (Arce, 2004; Noblit et al., 2001) and on a macro level in school-wide reform and community action (Noblit et al., 2001). Arce (2004) called for curriculum that encourages students to develop their own identity and voice through the study of themselves, their communities, and their histories. This emphasis coincides with the focus of historical movements for social change at Highlander Institute (Horton, 1990), in the Mississippi Freedom Schools (Perlstein, 2002), in popular education in El Salvador (Hammond, 1998), in Freire's (1970) literacy work in Brazil, and in the Algebra Project documented by Moses & Cobb (2001).

Collectively, these studies provide me with important strategies for teaching for social justice in a foreign language classroom. Noblit et al. (2001) stressed the importance of meeting the developmental needs of the whole child (physical, cognitive, psychological, language, social, and ethical) in order to improve academic achievement and student engagement, which parallels the conclusions that Lucas et al. (1990) drew—teachers must reach out to Latino learners in ways that go beyond academic instruction, such as offering extracurricular activities of interest to Latino students, participating in community activities, and offering Spanish classes for native speakers with challenging academic content.

Another salient finding among these studies was the importance of school-home connections, or involving the community in the public education process. This was a key element on the macro level for school change, as documented by Lucas et al. (1990) and Noblit et al. (2001). In addition, Arce (2004) showed the importance of making connections with like-minded educators in order to engage in dialogue and support one another. Berta-Avila (2004) and Lucas et al. (1990) found that holding high expectations and valuing students' culture while teaching them to navigate the dominant culture were successful methods of motivating students.

Of the six studies in this section, three of them employed very strong qualitative research design techniques and had high credibility, dependability, and transferability (Arce, 2004; Lucas et al., 1990; Noblit et al., 2001). One study (Berta-Avila, 2004) had a medium level of credibility, while two studies (Ball, 2000; Rodriguez et al., 2004) utilized research methods that were not very convincing. In Ball's (2000) case, she drew conclusions that were not apparent from the findings of the study, she did not describe the sample selection process, nor did she describe the effects of the pedagogy she observed. Rodriguez et al. (2004) documented a relatively small gain of four points on the pre- and post-intervention tests, and they collected qualitative data from a self-selected group of only 8 students out of a total of 193 participants.

Teaching and Learning Strategies

Cooperative Learning

Cooperative learning has been cited by other studies as effective with African American and Latino students (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Phelan et al., 1991). This section presents four quantitative studies of the effects of cooperative learning on student

achievement. Results from two of the studies show that cooperative learning has a positive influence on the academic achievement of African American students (Slavin & Oickle, 1981; Treisman & Fullilove, 1990). Results from the other two studies are not very convincing due to flaws in research design and are not generalizable to the population I am interested in (Dill & Boykin, 2002; Yager et al., 1986).

Treisman and Fullilove (1990) conducted a descriptive quantitative evaluation of the impact the Mathematics Workshop Program (MWP) had on mathematics performance and persistence of participating students at the University California at Berkeley. Their hypothesis was that an effective program would produce similar levels of achievement regardless of differences in aptitude for mathematics (as measured by SAT-M scores), admissions status (special or regular), or membership in the Educational Opportunity Program for educationally or financially disadvantaged. The sample consisted of 646 African American undergraduates who entered UCB and enrolled in Mathematics 1A between 1973 and 1984; only students earning grades in the class were used. The MWP program was designed based on an earlier informal observational study by Treisman (as cited in Treisman & Fullilove, 1990) on the study habits of twenty Chinese Americans and twenty African Americans. He found that the Chinese Americans tended to study in groups, combining social and study time, while African Americans tended to study alone. The Chinese American study groups had a shared purpose and facilitated the exchange of information between group members, which helped the students to master calculus. The Chinese Americans were disproportionately represented among strong students, while the African Americans were disproportionately represented among weak students. These observations formed the basis for designing the MWP.

The Mathematics Workshop Program was billed as an honors program and was offered to students in their first year of calculus (Treisman & Fullilove, 1990). The workshop's 20-30 participants were organized into groups of 5-7 students who worked together for approximately two hours twice a week on worksheets containing carefully constructed, unusually difficult problems. The students' primary responsibility was to help each other solve the worksheet problems and understand the ideas on which the problems were based. In the evaluation, students were considered part of the workshop group if they attended at least three workshop sessions during any three week period of the semester. The inclusion of these "minimal attenders" in the workshop category tends to understate the effects the MWP had on academic performance, as they performed at a lower level than those who assisted more regularly.

The MWP students were a self-selected group, therefore participants could not be randomly assigned to treatment and control groups (Triesman & Fullilove, 1990). Therefore, any treatment effect associated with the MWP could also be a function of different motivational levels. In order to control for this confound, the evaluation was divided into three periods of the program's history: 1973-1977 (before the program started), 1978-1982 (when the program served 57% of all African American students in Mathematics 1A), and 1983-1984 (when the program lost funding and served only 23% of African American students in Mathematics 1A). The first period provided baseline data about African American students pre-MWP. The researchers used the chi-square test to test the association between group membership and three outcome measures: (1) earning a final grade of B-minus or better in Mathematics 1A, (2) earning a final grade of

D+ or less in Mathematics 1A, and (3) persisting in the university (either graduating or being in good academic standing in fall 1985 semester).

For the first outcome measure, Treisman and Fullilove (1990) reported that MWP students were two to three times more likely to earn grades of B-minus or higher than non-MWP students, irrespective of the year enrolled ($p < .01$). For example, in 1978, 39% of MWP students received grades of B-minus or higher as compared to only 4% of non-MWP students. When analyzed according to the subgroups outlined in the hypothesis, MWP students in any given enrollment category were two to three times more likely to earn grades at the higher score level than non-MWP students in comparable categories. Also, when MWP students with SAT-M scores in the lowest triad of score distribution were compared with non-MWP students with SAT-M scores in the highest triad of score distribution, there was no significant difference in the proportion earning final grades of B-minus or better.

For the second outcome measure, the failure rate of the historical control group (33%) did not differ statistically from those in the non-MWP group in years 1978-1982 (40%) or in years 1983-4 (41%); however, the failure rate among MWP students in both the 1978-1982 period (3%) and the 1983-4 period (7%) did differ quite significantly from that of all three non-MWP groups. Each analysis was significant at $p < .0000$ (Triesman & Fullilove, 1990).

For the third outcome measure, the proportion of MWP students who had graduated or were still enrolled in a mathematics-based major by spring semester 1985 was 64%, as compared to non-MWP students 41%, and students in the pre-MWP era

39%. Both of these comparisons are significant at $p < .0001$ (Triesman & Fullilove, 1990).

The data gathering was described in depth (using five different sources for information from UC Berkeley's different offices). Data was then statistically analyzed to check the effectiveness of the program. The researchers (Triesman & Fullilove, 1990) concluded that the program was effective because it produced higher levels of achievement for MWP students than non-MWP students across all the subgroups mentioned in the hypothesis. This conclusion was congruent to the goal, sample, design and findings of the study. The variables were measured by grades received on transcripts and whether or not the students graduated or remained in good academic standing. These are conventional widely accepted measures of academic achievement, and therefore are valid to use for evaluating a program's effectiveness on academic achievement; however, they do not necessarily say anything about knowledge.

One potential confounding variable in this study was the motivation of the students due to the fact that they self-selected to be in the MWP program. The researchers (Triesman & Fullilove, 1990) acknowledged this confound and attempted to correct for it by including pre-MWP data to provide a baseline comparison. Some strengths of the study were the large sample size, the use of data from several years, and the evaluation of students with varying previous expertise in math (as measured by SAT-M scores) and socioeconomic status in order to take these outside factors into consideration. Due to the strength of the study's design, the findings can be generalized to high schools and colleges.

The findings inform my question because they support the hypothesis that group work on rigorous tasks is effective for improving academic achievement for African American students at the college level. They also suggest that the reason why it is effective is the creation of academically oriented peer groups whose participants value success and academic achievement. This relates to Tatum's (1997) work on racial identity and Ogbu's (1994) theory about the creation of an oppositional identity. The group work gave the participants social and study skills and encouraged them to spend more time on learning tasks (10 to 14 hours weekly) as opposed to 6-8 hours weekly for non-MWP students. This study of an effective intervention program for African American students using cooperative learning in a university level calculus class coincides with Moses and Cobb's (2001) work on Algebra as one of the gatekeepers to economic access.

Slavin and Oickle (1981) conducted a pre-test/post-test 2 X 2 factorial design study to investigate the effects of cooperative learning teams on student achievement and race relations for African American and White students. Study participants included 230 students in English classes in grades six to eight in a desegregated rural middle school in Maryland. 78 students were African American and the rest were White. Students were taught by 5 White teachers in ten classes. Data included represents only 199 students for whom the researchers received valid pre- and posttests.

Classes were randomly assigned to treatments within teachers (Slavin & Oickle, 1981). In both treatment conditions students studied the same language mechanics curriculum (studying the same worksheets and taking the same quizzes) on the same schedule for four periods a week for 12 weeks. Four classes and 84 students were in the

Team group (30 students were African American) and six classes and 146 students (48 students were African American) were in the non-Team group. The teachers all taught one or two of each type of class, except for one teacher who taught only one non-Team class.

The Team treatment was a modification of the STAD (Student Teams Achievement Divisions) where students worked in 4 to 5 member teams to master academic material (Slavin & Oickle, 1981). The teams were heterogeneous in terms of academic achievement, sex, and race in the proportion they represented in the class as a whole. Teams worked together to answer worksheets, then were quizzed individually. Quizzes were compared to students' past averages and the resulting improvement scores were added up to form team scores. In the non-Team treatment, or the control group, the worksheets were studied individually rather than in teams, otherwise, everything else was the same.

Academic achievement was measured by the standardized Hoyum-Sanders Junior High School English test, which was given as a pre and posttest in parallel forms. Cross-racial friendships were measured by the single question: Who are your friends in this class? Only the first 6 names were counted (Slavin & Oickle, 1981).

Slavin and Oickle (1981) analyzed the data by first computing gain scores and then analyzing these scores using an analysis of variance for treatment x race and treatment x pretest (the gap in pretest scores between African American and White students was too great to use an analysis of covariance). Then the researchers checked the use of gain scores instead of analysis of covariance by repeating the analysis using analysis of covariance. The findings using both methods were virtually identical.

Slavin and Oickle (1981) documented that the Team treatment reduced the gap in scores between African American and White students. On the pre-tests, Whites scored significantly higher than African Americans: 7.43 points higher $F_{(1,75)}=4.56$, $p < .036$ in Team classes, and 6.47 points higher, $F_{(1,120)}=10.31$, $p < .002$ in non-Team classes. In the non-Team classes, posttest differences were just as high, with Whites scoring 6.79 points higher, $F_{(1,120)}=9.07$, $p < .003$. On the other hand, in the Team classes on the posttest Whites scored only .92 points higher than African Americans, a non-significant difference, $F_{(1,75)} < 1$, n.s. Overall, the Team group made significant gains in academic achievement compared to the non-Team group ($p < .021$). In particular, African Americans in the Team group scored significantly higher than African Americans in the non-Team group ($p < .002$), while White students in Team group scored only slightly higher than White students in the non-Team group. In regards to cross-racial friendships, Whites in the Team group named more African Americans as friends than Whites in the non-Team group ($p < .016$).

Strengths of this study by Slavin and Oickle (1981) included the random assignment to treatment groups, the similarity of the treatment except for the cooperative groups, and the pre-test/post-test control group design. A weakness of the study is the lack of information about the reliability or validity of the Hoyum-Sanders Junior High School English test, which weakens the researchers' claim that cooperative learning increases academic achievement for African American students. In addition, measuring academic achievement on the basis of one standardized test provides only a limited assessment of achievement. There could also be extra-experimental reasons for the increase in achievement of the African American students. The authors (Slavin & Oickle,

1981) discussed the possibility that the result could be an artifact of measurement or design—for example that there might be a ceiling on the standardized test that restricts the amount that initially high-performing white students could improve (but this was dismissed because the maximum score was 105 out of 135, and the mean of the White students scores was 75). The authors conceded that determination of the relative contributions of race and pretest on achievement gain was difficult because race and pretest scores were confounded ($r = .314$), but concluded that evidence favored interpretation that it was race that interacted with treatment because within race groups there were no significant treatment x pretest interactions ($F_{(1,129)}=1.72$, n.s. for Whites and $F_{(1,62)}=1.93$, n.s. for African Americans. Even when they took the treatment x pretest interaction into account, there was a unique effect of the Team treatment on African Americans' achievement.

The findings support the fact that African American students benefit from cooperative learning, which has been documented in other research (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Triesman & Fullilove, 1990). I feel confident in believing this study because the authors addressed and explained potential confounds, and because of the design of the research (2 groups, pre- and posttest). Also, 9 of the 10 classes were taught by teachers who taught both treatment and control groups, so this would not be a confounding variable. The authors (Slavin & Oickle, 1981) posited two explanations for the findings: (a) that African Americans' peer group is more important to them than it is for White students, and (b) that African Americans are more cooperative by nature than Whites, and thus learn more through collaboration.

Yager, Johnson, Johnson, and Snider (1986) investigated the following two questions: Does group processing help improve the achievement of cooperative learning groups? What is the impact of cooperative learning groups on high-, medium-, and low-ability students? The sample consisted of 84 third-grade, middle-class students from a Midwestern school district in the United States. Forty four males and 40 females were randomly assigned to three conditions stratifying for sex and ability (as determined by standardized tests administered to third graders by the school district). The top third of the students were classified as high ability, the middle third as medium ability, and the bottom third as low ability.

The researchers (Yager et al., 1986) employed a three group pretest-posttest experimental design. In each of the cooperative learning group treatments, students were randomly assigned to one of seven learning groups with four members in each, again stratifying for gender and ability level. In each group there was at least one student from each ability level (high, medium, and low). There were two independent variables in the study: (a) cooperation with group processing, cooperation without group processing, and individualistic learning, and (b) ability level. In the cooperation with group processing treatment, group members spent the last five minutes of each class period reflecting on the day's session, analyzing and discussing problems in working together, commenting on positive behavior, and setting goals for collaboration during the next session. In the cooperation without group processing treatment group members spent this time collecting and organizing materials. In both cooperation treatments group members were instructed to work together, ensuring that all members learned the material and all members contributed their ideas. Groups worked for 30 minutes and turned in one worksheet per

group. In the individualistic learning treatment students were instructed to work on their own and seek help only from the teacher. The dependent variable, student achievement, was measured by three tests given individually to each student. The first was a pretest consisting of 50 multiple choice items. An achievement test of 25 multiple choice questions was given after 12 instructional sessions, and the second half of this test, also consisting of 25 multiple choice items, was administered at the end of the 25-session unit. Finally, a retention test of 50 multiple choice questions was given 21 days after the end of the unit. Achievement was also measured daily by the scoring of the worksheets. Unscheduled observations of each of the three conditions were made four times a week to verify accurate implementation. The researchers conducted a 3 X 3 analysis of variance (ANOVA) with Newman-Kuels post-hoc comparisons to determine the differences among treatments.

Yager et al. (1986) found no significant difference between the three groups on the pretest. On the achievement posttest students in the cooperation with group processing treatment scored higher than those in the other two treatments, and those in the cooperation without group processing treatment scored higher than those in the individualistic treatment, $F(2, 75) = 112.51, p < .001$. Similar results were found for achievement on the retention test, $F(2, 75) = 172.12, p < .001$. These findings hold for high-, medium-, and low-ability students. In addition, there were significant interaction effects for both the achievement posttest, $F(4, 75) = 5.05, p < .001$, and the retention test, $F(4, 75) = 9.78, p < .001$. In both of these cases, the difference between the high- and low-ability students was less under the cooperative treatments than under the individualistic one. On the daily achievement measure, the cooperative groups achieved

significantly higher than did the students in the individualistic treatment, $F(2, 39) = 11.31, p < .001$. The students in the cooperation with group processing treatment achieved a 94% accuracy rate on the daily assignments, compared with 89% for students in the cooperation without group processing treatment, and 82% for students in the individualistic treatment.

In this study the authors (Yager et al., 1986) drew conclusions that were congruent with the sample, design, and findings of the study. A strength to this study was the pretest-posttest three group experimental design incorporating random assignment. This points to a good degree of internal validity. Another strength to the design is the fact that the dependent variable was measured in three ways (daily achievement on worksheets, posttest, and retention test); however, it would be further strengthened by an additional performance-based measure of achievement outside the realm of a multiple choice test. The achievement test had an average difficulty of 55% and a reliability of .84 using Kuder and Richardson's Formula 21. The retention test had an average difficulty of 52% and a reliability of .88 using the same formula.

A weakness to the study is that the researchers (Yager et al., 1986) did not provide information about whether all of the students in the treatments completed the instructional period and the achievement tests. There could be a misrepresentation of data due to incomplete statistics if this were the case. A potential confounding variable could be the teachers' differing level of experience. The researchers did not specify whether one teacher taught all three treatment conditions or not. In regards to generalizability, this study was conducted with third graders, whose developmental considerations are distinct from students in the secondary setting. In addition, it was

conducted with middle class students in the Midwest, where the large majority of students are White. For these reasons, I am not very confident in allowing the findings to influence my masters question regarding a diverse secondary foreign language classroom. I trust the findings in respect to cooperative learning with group processing for all ability levels because of the strengths in experimental design; however, the generalizability is low for my particular question.

Dill and Boykin (2002) investigated the comparative influence of individual, peer tutoring, and communal learning contexts on the recall of African American children in a quantitative study. They examined two hypotheses: (a) students will give greater endorsement to communal values as compared to individual values, and (b) communal learning contexts will facilitate more text recall than the individual criterion context. Both of their hypotheses were supported by the findings. These findings support the use of cooperative learning as an effective teaching strategy for African American students, however due to flaws in the research design and the sample size and make-up, I am not very confident in allowing them to influence the answer to my question.

The sample consisted of 72 African American fifth graders (36 females and 36 males) from low-income families at a Midwestern urban public school (Dill & Boykin, 2002). The participants were randomly selected by gender for participation in the study, and randomly assigned to one of three learning contexts. Each 30 minute study session was conducted with six students, grouped homogeneously for gender, for a total of 12 sessions. In the communal learning context students sat with a partner, shared a set of materials, and were instructed to help each other learn the story. In the peer tutoring context, students sat with a partner, shared a set of materials, and were instructed to take

turns reading the material, generating questions, and asking each other the questions they generated. They were informed that they must answer at least 75% of the questions correctly to receive a reward. In the individual learning context, students sat alone and had their own materials. They received the same instructions with regards to generating questions and achieving 75% on the recall test. All the students were given 10 minutes to complete a text recall task directly after each study session ended.

Dill and Boykin (2002) found that both of their hypotheses were supported. The researchers used the Personal Beliefs and Behaviors (PBB) questionnaire, a Likert-type measure developed specifically for this study, to measure students' preference for communal and individual behaviors. For the first hypothesis, students endorsed communal items on the PBB questionnaire at a mean level of 2.95 ($SD = .60$) and individual items at a mean of 2.20 ($SD = .55$). A paired sample t test revealed this difference to be statistically significant, $t = 7.627, p < .001$. For the second hypothesis, they conducted a 3 X 2 between-subjects ANOVA to examine the impact of learning context and gender on text recall. They found the mean recall performances under the communal, peer, and individual contexts were 6.67 ($SD = 2.84$), 4.29 ($SD = 3.37$), and 4.21 ($SD = 3.72$) respectively, significant at $p < .05$, showing that the communal learning context had the best impact on text recall. No differences were found related to gender.

The major weakness of the study by Dill and Boykin (2002) was the lack of control for prior knowledge because of the lack of a pre-test. In addition, a posteriori power analysis revealed that with power of .71 significant contextual effects were still found, which suggested that the incorporation of a larger sample size or a within-subject design would have increased the internal validity of the study. The alpha reliabilities for

the PBB were .75 and .64 for the communal and individual scales, respectively. These reliability levels are fairly low, which makes the results questionable. The text recall was measured by a 20-item open-ended recall task, for which no reliability or validity information was given. In addition, study participants were informed of the purpose of the study, which may have influenced their responses on the PBB. I accept the results of this study as indicative that a communal learning context is preferable for African American elementary school students, but I do not think the study merits generalizability to the population I am interested in due to the research design flaws and the sample composition.

Overall, the four studies critiqued in this section point to the positive influence of cooperative learning in general, and specifically on the academic achievement of African American students (Dill & Boykin, 2002; Slavin & Oickle, 1981; Triesman & Fullilove, 1990; Yager et al., 1986). Two studies (Slavin & Oickle, 1981; Triesman & Fullilove, 1990) exhibited strong experimental design and generalizability. They demonstrated that group work on rigorous tasks is effective for improving the academic achievement of African Americans, perhaps due to the creation of an academically oriented peer group. The remaining two studies utilized mediocre experimental designs, and were not generalizable to my specific question because of the sample population used (Dill & Boykin, 2002; Yager et al., 1986); however, their results showed the superiority of communal learning over individualistic learning for the text recall of African American elementary school children (Dill & Boykin, 2002) and of cooperative learning with group processing over individualistic learning for a mostly white elementary aged sample population (Yager et al., 1986).

Two of the studies were set in the Midwest (Dill & Boykin, 2002; Yager et al., 1986), one was set in Maryland (Slavin & Oickle, 1981), and the fourth study was set in California (Triesman & Fullilove, 1990). Two studies took place in elementary schools (Dill & Boykin, 2002; Yager et al., 1986), and one took place in a middle school setting (Slavin & Oickle, 1981). The fourth study was conducted at the college level (Triesman & Fullilove, 1990). All of the studies were quantitative in nature. Studies by Dill & Boykin (2002), Triesman and Fullilove (1990), and Slavin and Oickle (1981) focused on African American students.

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

This section reviews nine studies related to the effectiveness of culturally responsive pedagogy for diverse learners. Significant findings related to teaching for social justice in a foreign language classroom include (a) caring for the whole student, outside of a purely academic context (Brown, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999; Ware, 2006); (b) developing cultural sensitivity through learning about students' cultures and valuing biculturalism in school (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1996, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999), (c) fostering a learning community (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1997), (d) holding high expectations for students (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Ware, 2006; Valenzuela, 1999), (e) viewing oneself as a facilitator of learning rather than a dispenser of knowledge (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1996), (f) encouraging students to give back to their communities (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela; 1999) and (g) utilizing assertiveness or authoritative discipline (Brown, 2003; Ware, 2006).

In her seminal ethnographic study Ladson-Billings (1994) researched the questions: (a) What are the pedagogical strategies and beliefs of teachers who are effective with African American students? (b) what are the salient elements of a model for culturally relevant teaching? The subjects of her study were eight effective teachers of African American students in a community in northern California of 25,000 people that is primarily low-income, African American and Mexican American. The teachers were selected through community nomination by African American parents of school-aged children who attended local Baptist churches. The parents were asked which teachers were effective with their children. The nominations were then cross-checked with principals of schools. The teachers chosen for the study came up on both lists. All of the teachers were female. Five were African American and three were Caucasian. They ranged in teaching experience from 12 to 40 years. They all taught in an elementary school setting. Ladson-Billings gained entry to the subjects through the Baptist church. She had no prior relationship with the study participants, but had lived in the community for eleven years. The context of this study differs from that of other similar studies because the researcher is a part of the community where she did the study.

For her research design, Ladson-Billings (1994) utilized ethnographic participatory research with four components: teacher selection, teacher interviews, classroom observations and videotaping over two school years, and collective interpretation and analysis. The teachers collaborated in viewing the videotapes and working together to analyze and understand the exemplary practices they observed. This helped to reduce researcher bias. Ladson-Billings developed a quantitative five point

Likert scale questionnaire based on the teaching model that emerged from analyzing the videotapes which served as a confirmation of the qualitative analysis.

Ladson-Billings (1994) clearly described her theoretical positioning in the Afrocentric feminist epistemology tradition. This epistemology consists of four major points: concrete experience as a criterion of meaning, the use of dialogue to create equal rules, an emphasis on caring, and an emphasis on personal accountability. The African American children and community were the subjects, not the objects of the research, which kept the Afrocentric perspective. The intent of the study was to learn from African American students and their teachers while maintaining the integrity of their culture and world view. As such, no comparisons were made with white middle-class students, and it was assumed that the study participants demonstrated normative behavior.

While looking for a model for culturally relevant pedagogy, Ladson-Billings (1994) employed the operational definition of pedagogy that uses students' culture in order to maintain it and transcend the negative effects of the dominant culture (p. 17). The primary aim of culturally relevant pedagogy is to assist in the development of a relevant black personality that allows African American students to choose academic excellence yet identify with African American culture (p. 17). This goal reflects the research done by Tatum (1997) that cited the need for African American students to have alternative role models. It also addresses the oppositional identity observed by Fordham & Ogbu (1986). Culturally relevant pedagogy empowers students intellectually, emotionally, socially, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and values.

The findings of the research provided a model for culturally relevant pedagogy that is divided into three main domains: (a) teachers' conceptions of themselves and others, (b) how classroom social interactions are structured, and (c) teachers' conception of knowledge (Ladson-Billings, 1994). In the first domain, effective teachers of African American students were found to have high self-esteem and high regard for others and to see themselves as artists and teaching as an art. They saw themselves as part of the community and teaching as giving something back to the community, and encouraged students to do the same. They believed that all students can succeed and helped students make connections between their community, national and global identities. They saw teaching as pulling knowledge out of students, rather than putting it in.

In the second domain, classroom social interactions were structured so that the teacher-student relationship was humanely equitable and extended outside the classroom (Ladson-Billings, 1994). Effective teachers demonstrated connectedness with all students and encouraged a community of learners. They encouraged students to learn collaboratively and expected that students teach each other and be responsible for each other.

In the third domain, effective teachers of African American students conceived knowledge as continuously re-created, recycled and shared by teacher and students (Ladson-Billings, 1994). They also viewed knowledge critically. They were passionate about content. Effective teachers helped students develop necessary skills and they take student diversity and individual differences into account when thinking about excellence as a standard.

Ladson-Billings (1994) underscored the importance of giving African American students the tools to struggle against oppression:

African American children cannot afford the luxury of shielding themselves with a sugar-coated vision of the world. When their parents or neighbors suffer personal humiliations and discrimination because of their race, parents, teachers and neighbors need to explain why. But beyond these explanations, parents, teachers, and neighbors need to help arm African American children with the knowledge, skills, and attitude needed to struggle successfully against oppression. These, more than test scores, more than high grade-point averages, are the critical features of education for African Americans. If students are to be equipped to struggle against racism they need excellent skills from the basics of reading, writing, and math, to understanding history, thinking critically, solving problems, and making decisions; they must go beyond merely filling in test sheet bubbles with Number 2 pencils (p. 139-40).

A strength of Ladson-Billing's (1994) study is the high level of credibility due to her methodology. The data-gathering was described in detail and included the interview questions. Data was coded with the program Ethnograph and then by hand in order to arrive at an inductive model of culturally relevant teaching characteristics. Many examples were given to illustrate the categories chosen. She employed triangulation in the research design through coded interviews, analysis of videotapes by the research collaborative, and a quantitative Likert scale questionnaire. Ladson-Billings employed member-checking before publishing her study. These findings can be transferred to urban schools where teachers teach African-American students due to the strong qualitative

design procedures followed. The study has a high level of confirmability due to the level of detail provided about the data and coding procedures. The study is consistent with other research, and has been used as a template or grounded theory for additional research (Love & Kruger, 2005; Powell, 1997). I feel very confident in the findings of this study because of the triangulation used in the data collection and analysis, the extensive examples given to illustrate the categories, and the use of collaborative research in the methodology.

The findings of this study inform my question of how to teach for social justice through helping students of color empower themselves with the use of collaborative learning, believing and expecting that each student can succeed, caring for the students in relationships that extend outside the classroom, and viewing knowledge as continuously recycled between teacher and students. The view of knowledge that Ladson-Billings (1994) documented parallels Shor and Freire's (1987) description of knowledge as co-created by teacher and students. The expectations for success that Ladson-Billings chronicled echo Kohl's (1994) vision of expecting all students to succeed. Finally, this study points to the importance of the teacher being a part of the community she teaches in and encouraging students to give back to their own community.

Powell (1997) extended Ladson-Billings (1994) grounded theory, or framework for culturally responsive pedagogy with African American students, with his longitudinal case study of one teacher working with primarily Latino students. He began the five-year study with a focus on how the teacher's prior experiences influenced her classroom teaching, but over time the study evolved to focus on culturally responsive teaching. The findings that are relevant to my question include in respect to effective strategies for

teaching for social justice include the following: (a) inviting students to learn through creating a learning community in a stress-free, non-threatening and safe classroom, (b) using curriculum that “meets the needs of the students in the reality in which they function” (p. 475), and (c) knowing who the students are outside of school and letting this knowledge drive curriculum decisions. The first point coincides with Krashen’s theory of language acquisition (as cited in Crawford, 1989), which stated that students acquire a second language more easily when their affective filter, or stress and discomfort level, is low.

Powell (1997) visited the teacher Amy’s classroom approximately every two weeks for five years, and debriefed each observation with her afterwards. He audio taped and transcribed formal and informal conversations with her, and continuously compared new data with data that had already been collected. The length of the study is a strength as it helps to provide a textured portrait of Amy’s classroom practice. The researcher described the data gathering process well and outlined the data analysis process leading to the derivation of themes, which make the study confirmable. He also provided adequate examples of Amy’s comments and practices to illustrate the similarity of the themes. He utilized triangulation in data gathering. An additional strength is the dependability of the research, as the findings are corroborated by other research citing the importance of viewing students holistically and taking their culture into account (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Phelan et al., 1991; Valenzuela, 1999), of keeping the curriculum relevant to the students’ actual lived realities, (Freire, 1970; Hammond, 1998; Horton, 1990; Moses & Cobb, 2001), and of creating a safe and inclusive learning community (Ladson-Billings, 1994). The findings of this study are transferable because they are dependable

when compared to Ladson-Billings (1994) study on culturally responsive pedagogy. A weakness to this study is that it is based on the author's subjective definition of a good, or successful, teacher. The author did not provide evidence or details testifying to the fact that Amy was an effective teacher, nor did he provide information on how Amy was selected for the study. I am moderately confident in using the results of this study because the strengths and the weaknesses seem to balance each other out.

The study by Powell (1997) extended Ladson-Billings (1994) framework to Latino learners. The findings stressed the importance of caring for students as people and relating to them as people, instead of just in a strictly academic sense. In regards to my future classroom, this study points to creating a safe and inclusive environment that fosters a learning community, and to learning as much about my students' realities and cultures as I can in order to develop my cultural sensitivity, and then choosing my curriculum based on this knowledge.

Love and Kruger (2005) conducted a descriptive correlational study on teachers' beliefs and student achievement. They attempted to create a quantitative measure of teachers beliefs regarding culturally responsive teaching practices in classrooms serving African American children. They based their survey of 48 items measuring teacher beliefs on the findings from Ladson-Billings (1994) study about culturally responsive pedagogy. Of the 48 items, 9 items had a significant correlation with student achievement. Seven of these nine items that had positive correlations were congruent with the beliefs of successful teachers from the previous study (Ladson-Billings, 1994). The statements were (a) ability to connect with students, (b) interdependence of students on one another for success, (c) seeing and hearing from parents, (d) teaching as a way of

giving back to the community, (e) switching roles with students in the classroom, and (f) believing in the success of all students. Two statements reflected traditional teaching practices: (a) teacher as disseminator of knowledge, and (b) use of drill and repetition. These findings suggest that effective teachers of African American students may hold an eclectic array of beliefs, and do whatever works in the situation. The findings inform my question in relation to the potential impact of teacher expectations and the importance of making school-home connections; however, I am not very confident in the findings.

The sample included 49 elementary school teachers from two schools in a southeastern city, 70% of whom were African American (Love & Kruger, 2005). The researchers measured student achievement with a norm-referenced standardized achievement test, and averaged classroom scores because the unit of analysis was the classroom teacher. This study's weaknesses include the self-reporting of teachers' beliefs, which introduced the risk that teachers respond in socially acceptable ways, the use of standardized achievement tests as the only measure of student achievement, and the fact that four of the six schools were participating in organized change efforts, which could have biased some participants. The correlation results do not prove causation, and other unmeasured factors could have influenced the results. I am hesitant to accept the study's findings because of the potential confounding variables and aforementioned weaknesses to the study's design.

Ware (2006) described a comparative case study of two African American teachers at the middle and elementary school levels that examined the teachers' practices and beliefs in relation to the teaching strategies noted in the literature on African American teachers. In particular, she investigated whether the shared cultural/ethnic

background of the teachers and students influenced instructional practices. This study revealed that high expectations for student success, authoritative yet caring discipline, caring for the whole student, and a strong sense of one's cultural identity are important for creating a culture of achievement for African American students. These findings overlap with other research on culturally responsive teaching (Brown, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999).

The findings of this study showed that the teachers acted as warm demanders in the following capacities: (a) authority figures/disciplinarians, (b) caregivers, and (c) pedagogues. Irvine and Fraser defined the term warm demander as a descriptor for teachers who "provide a tough-minded, no-nonsense, structured and disciplined classroom environment for kids whom society had psychologically and physically abandoned" (as cited in Ware, 2006, p. 436). As authority figures, the teachers addressed off-task behavior immediately and sternly, while showing their humanity by apologizing for the mean-talk later on. Their reprimands to students were a caring, explicit, authoritative way of saying, "I expect more from you". The teachers demonstrated caring through identifying what could motivate students to reach their high expectations, keeping an open mind when assessing a student's potential, teaching them to care about their communities, listening to students, and disciplining them. The teachers expressed beliefs that relationship building was as important as teaching subject matter in order to teach the whole child, and that poverty was no excuse for lack of achievement. The teachers fully expected all students to learn and challenged students to assume a culture of achievement, regardless of their past experiences in school. The teachers employed both direct instruction using call-and-response style and inquiry learning, as well as

culturally responsive curriculum and technological instruction with computers. The study found that the teachers' warm demander pedagogy was positively influenced by their strong identification with their African American heritage.

Ware (2006) used interviews and classroom observations as her primary data sources. She employed an inductive research strategy, seeking to build a theory rather than test an existing theory. She described her theoretical and conceptual framework as the cultural context of teaching and learning, which holds that "those students who tend to be successful in school bring to school those values the school deems appropriate" (p. 429). She originally coded the data based on categories from a review of the literature, but warm demander categories emerged and she collapsed the original categories. Ware had several strong design points. She described the data gathering and coding procedures with sufficient detail to ensure credibility. She also included adequate examples to illustrate the coding categories. The study had a good dependability level as the findings were corroborated by other research (Brown, 2003; Delpit, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999). She emphasized an attempt to minimize bias and errors by adhering to the teachers' descriptions and explanations. She performed a member-check before publication.

A weakness of the study by Ware (2006) was the fact that one teacher was only observed three times. Additionally, there was minimal triangulation of data, exhibited only in the consistent responses of the two teachers to questions asked over a period of several months. She emphasized that confirmability by other researchers was not expected, but that the goal was to ensure the results were consistent with the data collected. However, overall Ware provided convincing support for the effectiveness of

high expectations, caring, and authoritative discipline in creating a supportive academic climate for African American students. I am confident in transferring these results to a secondary school population because of the research design and the dependability of the findings.

Valenzuela (1999) completed a three year ethnographic study combining qualitative and quantitative data on generational differences in academic achievement among Mexican youth in order to provide a multilayered account of the relationship between schooling and achievement. The study participants were students at a large segregated inner city high school in Houston, Texas where 95% of the student body was Latino, primarily of Mexican descent. Valenzuela chose this particular high school for four major reasons: (a) it was the site of a massive student walkout three years prior; (b) it was located in a historic Mexican community that provided for generational diversity; (c) it represented the trend of increasingly segregated schooling for Mexican Americans; and (d) it had a bleak achievement record. Prior to beginning her research, Valenzuela had lived near the school and had attended numerous community meetings about the school's problems. The context of the study was similar to other studies conducted on the Mexican experience of schooling.

She collected data primarily via participant observation and supplemented it with data gathered from field notes and informal interviews with students, parents, teachers, administrators, and community members and leaders. Valenzuela conducted group interviews with students in the cafeteria at lunch. She was primarily interested in interviewing 9th and 10th graders because students at these grade levels have the highest failure and dropout rates. She conducted follow up interviews with individual students

when she had unanswered questions. She created condensed field notes and audiotapes of her impressions during each day of participant observation, which she then expanded into a more detailed account each night. For the quantitative part, she distributed a survey to the entire student body ($N = 2,281$) questionnaires and used data from school and district documents. The survey tracked student achievement through student self-reports of their GPA on the day after report cards came out. Valenzuela used the quantitative data to help frame her question.

The researcher (Valenzuela, 1999) developed themes based on an ongoing analysis of empirical data from several sources, which she assessed in terms of existing theoretical frameworks. The major themes were (a) conceptions of caring, (b) social, cultural, and linguistic divisions among youth, (c) collectivist orientations, and (d) individuals' orientations towards schooling. She then performed a cross-case analysis on each major theme, which entailed examining later cases to see if they matched those found earlier. She developed subcategories from the cross-case analysis in order to further organize data. Next she generated displays and summarized differences between immigrants and U.S.-born Mexican youth using Filemaker Pro. The quantitative survey data and group interview data provided confirmation for the major findings from the participant observations. Valenzuela situated her research within three major bodies of literature to form her notion of subtractive schooling: social capital theory, caring and education, and subtractive assimilation (academic achievement literature comparing immigrant and U.S.-born youth).

Valenzuela (1999) concluded that schooling was a subtractive process for the majority of students in the non-college-bound track because it fractured students' cultural

and ethnic identities and created social, linguistic, and cultural divisions among students and between students and staff (p. 5). The schooling process encouraged U.S.-born Mexican youth to de-identify from Mexican culture and also from their immigrant peers, thereby sacrificing the opportunity to cultivate bilingual and bicultural competencies, as well as to use immigrant peers as role models. The majority of students felt that teachers don't care about them and don't expect them to succeed.

The findings of the study (Valenzuela, 1999) showed a disconnect between teachers' beliefs about aesthetic caring and students' perceptions of authentic caring. There was a large difference in the two conceptions: one attempted to divorce students from their community and culture, while the other affirmed their culture and community. Teachers expected students to care about school and the academic content, and often interpreted youths' attire as evidence of rebellion and not caring. Teachers (with few exceptions) then did not make any more effort to forge reciprocal relationships with students. This lack of personal relationship between teacher and students directly violated the Mexican youths' definition of caring, as embodied in the Spanish word *educación*. *Educación* refers to competence in the social world, where one respects the dignity and individuality of others, in addition to formal academic training. It encompasses the family's role in teaching a sense of moral, social, and personal responsibility. When teachers denied students the opportunity to engage in reciprocal relationships, they invalidated the students' definition of education as well as their culture. Mexican youth expressed wanting to be cared for as human beings before caring about school. Immigrant students responded to the demand that they care about school by complying because they did not see a threat of culture or language loss by doing so; in contrast, U.S.-born

Mexican youth often responded by rebelling or withdrawing because they equated caring about school with losing their ethnic identity.

One student expressed his resistance to the idea of doing well in school because of the implicit goal that doing well meant the individual success of moving out of the *barrio*, rather than helping his community:

I don't get with the program because then it's doing what they [teachers] want for my life. I see *Mexicanos* who follow the program so they can go to college, get rich, move out of the *barrio*, and never return to give back to their *gente* [people] . . . If I get with the program, I'm saying that's what it's all about and that teachers are right when they're not (p. 94).

In Frank's mind success in school meant consenting to the school's project of cultural disparagement and de-identification. In this example not caring is a form of student resistance, similar to Kohl's (1994) description of not learning in order to preserve one's integrity and ethnic identity.

Valenzuela (1999) found that the Mexican American youth she studied did not equate academic achievement with acting white, as Ogbu's framework would suggest (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Instead, they rejected schooling—the content of their education and the way it was offered to them (Valenzuela, 1999).

The survey results (Valenzuela, 1999) for youth in the regular, non-college-bound track showed that immigrant youth had a significantly higher record of academic achievement than that of the U.S.-born, second, and third generation youth ($p < .001$). For youth in the college-bound track there was no difference in achievement between generations. Immigrant youth (regardless of track placement) experienced school

significantly more positively than their U.S.-born counterparts. They saw teachers as more caring and accessible and rated the school climate higher ($p < .001$). This data provides support for Valenzuela's argument that schooling is a subtractive process for Mexican American students.

A strength to this study was the high level of credibility because the data gathering, analysis, and coding categories were described in detail. Valenzuela (1999) provided numerous examples to illustrate the categories chosen. She also employed triangulation of data. There was no mention of member-checking with all of the students involved in group interviews; however, the researcher shared her work during the analysis process with other students at the high school who were acting as transcribers, as well as with teachers and the principal. The study is confirmable because of the high level of detail provided by the researcher. The study is dependable because the findings overlap with Ladson-Billings (1994) work on caring and community, as well as with Moses and Cobb's (2001) and Noblit et al. (2001) findings on the importance of school-home connections. The study merits transferability because of the strong qualitative design elements.

Valenzuela's (1999) research informs my question of how to teach for social justice in a diverse foreign language classroom with the conclusion that a teacher must become an honorary member of the cultural communities of the students she serves. The teacher can achieve this by becoming a student of her students' culture, and by valuing biculturalism and bilingualism in the classroom. The teacher must recognize that "marginality evolves when children are socialized away from their communities and families of origin" (p. 264) and thus work to educate the whole child, which includes a

concern for the child's community. The teacher must work to create home-school connections and care for Mexican American students according to their definition of *educación*. In accordance with this definition, the teacher must teach her students how to live in the world as responsible respectful human beings who give back to their communities. The teacher must care about her students as whole people, instead of viewing them in strictly academic terms. The teacher must also demonstrate caring by holding high expectations, being willing to consider individual circumstances when applying rules or deadlines, providing differentiated assessment options, integrating material that affirms Mexican culture in the curriculum, maintaining a positive attitude and sense of humor in the classroom, and recognizing that students live real and complex lives that affect their performance in school. I am confident in drawing these inferences because of the strong qualitative design components present in the study (high confirmability, dependability, credibility, and transferability).

Godina (2003) investigated the relationship between culturally responsive instruction and Mexican-American middle school students' motivation for learning in a community intervention program with a quasi-experimental design. The researcher entered the data in the statistical program SPSS and ran *t* tests on paired samples for the pre- and post-survey results. The results indicated that only questions related to awareness of Aztec and Mexican culture had statistically significant differences in the pre- and post-survey responses ($t(39) = -2.24, p < .05$ and $t(51) = -2.43, p < .05$). Students indicated reading preferences related to Mexican culture on the post-survey. The author also cited narrative comments showing students' appreciation and pride with respect to the intelligence and culture of their ancestors. While there is validity in each

person's experience, and the narrative comments proved the intervention was successful for some students, overall the findings are not substantial enough to inform my question of strategies for teaching for social justice in a diverse foreign language classroom.

Sixty-one Mexican American middle school students completed a Likert-scale interest inventory on cultural knowledge, self-esteem, goals, and reading preferences before and after the treatment of two days of lecture on Mesoamerican culture and one day of Aztec dance (Godina, 2003). Community activists from the Xinachtli Project administered the treatment. The research design of this study contained many flaws. There was no control group included in the study. The students self-reported their survey answers. There was no reliability or validity information about the interest inventory. Also, other confounding variables could have played a role such as gender, class, and students' identity that affected the students' interaction with the treatment. Perhaps most importantly, the researcher drew conclusions in the abstract based on inconclusive evidence in the results of the study. The results of this study are not generalizable to other populations because of the flaws in quantitative research design.

Brown (2003), a professor in a teacher education program, conducted a study on culturally responsive classroom management in urban settings. He sought to identify how effective urban teachers developed a classroom management system that encouraged cooperation, addressed diverse students' ethnic, cultural, and social needs, and led to genuine learning. He interviewed 13 1st through 12th grade urban teachers in economically impoverished communities from seven cities (Philadelphia, NYC, Chicago, LA, SF, Minneapolis, and Wichita) throughout the United States. The study participants were selected through identification by fellow colleagues or acquaintances, and they

volunteered to be interviewed. Teaching experience of the subjects ranged from 2 to 33 years. The subjects consisted of nine European American teachers, one Sri Lankan, one African American, and two Hispanic teachers. The research design for Brown's study was not described in detail. He reviewed the literature on culturally responsive teaching, interviewed the teachers, and looked for salient themes.

The findings of Brown's (2003) investigation revealed that caring for students, being assertive and acting with authority, and communicating effectively with students, or employing congruent communication styles, were the three primary themes of culturally responsive classroom management that the teachers shared. Caring was shown in various ways by all of the teachers interviewed. An ESL teacher first created an environment where students felt safe, valued, and secure before moving on to academics. The teacher did this through engaging in social games at the beginning of the year and establishing school-to-home relationships. Another teacher used body language, gave lots of hugs, rarely raised her voice, and always treated students with respect. Assertiveness was shown through establishing and making clear a set of academic expectations for students, enforcing rules and behavioral expectations, and contacting caregivers to garner support for their efforts. Eleven of the 13 teachers said assertiveness was critical in establishing a business-like learning environment. One teacher described it as tough love. In respect to employing congruent communication styles, the teachers cited the need to be aware of specific verbal and nonverbal communication styles that affect students' ability and motivation to engage in learning activities. This included being aware of the call response discourse of African Americans speaking while the teacher is talking, as well as

using collaborative learning experiences and student-to-student verbal interaction for second language learners.

This study is dependable because its findings overlap with other studies citing caring as important (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999), assertiveness as a key component of success (Delpit, 1995), and culturally congruent communication as instrumental in educating students (Brice-Heath, 1983); however, the study has a low credibility rate because of the lack of information about the research design. Brown (2003) did not specify how long or intensive the interview process was, nor did he provide the questions included in the interviews. This study is not auditable, and therefore not confirmable. Another major problem with Brown's research is that he did not specify how he coded the data from the interviews. There was neither triangulation nor member-checking in this study. The researcher gained entry to the subjects through colleagues, and the subjects were self-selected (they volunteered to be interviewed). This raises questions about how the teachers were classified as effective—was it just on the account of one person's opinion? The sample of teachers interviewed represents a large geographic region and ranges from the elementary to secondary levels. This suggests transferability to urban areas around the country; however, because of the low confirmability and credibility of the research, I am hesitant to accept the findings of this study as transferable.

Smith-Maddox (1998) investigated the effects of contextual influences (home, school, and community) and culturally relevant strategies on academic achievement by racial-ethnic groups. For his retroactive study he used data on 24,599 eighth graders from 1,052 schools in the National Educational Longitudinal Survey of 1988. He merged the

data from the base-year student, parent, and teacher questionnaires. He picked certain questions on the survey to represent domains chosen for the study. For the independent variable four domains were constructed to represent the contextual dimensions of culture: student, family, school and teacher. The student domain included these variables: race (only coded for African American and White), gender, educational aspirations, homework habits, activities, cultural synchronization (measured by students' responses to 'I talk to my teacher about studies in class'), and culturally relevant content (measured by responses about whether their ethnic group's history, government and social studies was taught in English or in their group's language during the first two years of middle school). The family domain included these variables: SES, parental involvement, and parents' educational expectations. The school domain was measured by the percentage of minority students. Teacher perceptions of their students' achievement level were measured for the last domain. The dependent variable academic performance was measured by a composite standardized test score in mathematics. Then a regression analysis was performed on the data.

Results given by Smith-Maddox (1998) indicated that many cultural factors were shown to have a positive effect on academic achievement: students' aspirations, homework habits, participation in extracurricular activities as well as parents' SES, parental involvement, expectations, and regular communication with teachers. Academic performance of eighth graders was found to be influenced by their parents' economic and cultural capital (SES, parental involvement and expectations and communication with teacher). Placement in low-ability groups, cultural content, and percentage of minorities in school had a negative effect on academic achievement. All of these variables were

significant ($p < .05$ or better). The R squared value revealed that these factors together accounted for 38% of the variation in academic performance. Females were more likely than males to have high achievement and African Americans were more likely to have lower academic achievement than European Americans. Also, when looking at just the cultural content and controlling for other variables, the strongest effect was for American Indians (beta = .115), while weakest effect was for African Americans (beta = .009)—but both of these results were not significant. Negative and significant findings were found for European Americans, Asian Americans, and Latino Americans in respect to cultural content.

Smith-Maddox (1998) addressed the limitations of his study as being too general. He described a need for more refined studies in order to operationalize key variables like cultural capital and cultural content. For example, these variables could be measured by underlying constructs like content relevance, teacher discourse, classroom life, racial/ethnic identity, values, beliefs, and assumptions, rather than by the frequency of culturally related discussions. He also suggested within-group and cross-cultural research designs. This study found that the academic performance of eighth graders is influenced by their parents' economic and cultural capital; however, Smith-Maddox cautioned that the findings should be understood as suggestive rather than definitive.

A major weakness of this study is the fact that it was done retroactively with previously collected data, therefore it was not designed specifically to study the effects of culture on achievement. Another critique is that Smith-Maddox (1998) only cited the use of African American and white as dummy variables, meaning that they were assigned a number in order to later report statistics based on race; however, Smith-Maddox still

reported statistics for other ethnic groups, and it is unclear how he recorded those statistics without assigning dummy variables to the other ethnic groups.

Powell (1996) used the constant comparative method of data analysis to conduct a cross case analysis of four successful teachers in culturally diverse classrooms. He investigated the biographical factors leading to the teachers' success, the classroom strategies each teacher used to reach diverse students, and the personal and professional qualities that enabled the teachers to be culturally responsive. His study was unique in that it addressed effective strategies for diverse classrooms, rather than focusing on effective strategies for a specific ethnic group. The themes that emerged inform my question: (a) putting students ahead of content in the classroom curriculum through negotiating with the students what content will be taught, (b) seeing oneself as a risk-taker, guide, and facilitator in the classroom; and (c) acquiring and demonstrating cultural sensitivity by learning student's native languages, having students write about their home lives, visiting students' homes, not using culturally insensitive curriculum, engaging in extracurricular activities related to culture, and recognizing the profound influence that social and cultural factors outside school have on life in school. The research also stressed the importance of viewing the child holistically, "You can't make assumptions about students until you move beyond the classroom, until you see them in their culture" (p. 58).

A strength to the study by Powell (1996) is the credibility of the research. He described the data gathering process well and outlined the data analysis process leading to the derivation of themes, which makes the study confirmable. He also provided adequate examples of teachers' comments and practices to illustrate the similarity of the

themes. He utilized triangulation through formal taped interviews, observations, and informal conversations with teachers, administrators and students. However, there was no member-checking before publication. An additional strength is the dependability of the research, as the findings are corroborated by other research citing the importance of viewing students holistically and taking their culture into account (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Phelan et al., 1991; Valenzuela, 1999), of putting students instead of content at the center of curriculum (Freire, 1970; Hammond, 1998; Horton, 1990; Moses & Cobb, 2001), of fostering school-home connections (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Lucas et al., 1990; Valenzuela, 1999), and of beliefs about teaching as guiding and facilitating rather than dispensing knowledge (Freire, 1970; Horton, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1994). The findings from this study are transferable to the population I am interested in because of the strong qualitative design elements to the research, and the fact that the sample consisted of teachers from different geographical regions in elementary through high schools. One weakness to the study is that the researcher only spent five days at each of the schools, which does not give the same depth to the research as other studies that lasted several years.

The results of the study by Powell (1996) confirm that effective teachers in diverse classrooms, despite not having any formal training in multicultural education, employ instructional strategies and hold beliefs about themselves and their students often cited by the literature on culturally responsive teaching. These teachers saw themselves as risk-takers in the classroom, trying out new strategies and searching for relevant content. They emphasized that teachers must see themselves as facilitators of student learning rather than authorities of content knowledge, and they made their classrooms

student-centered by collaborating with students to decide on the content to be taught. In addition, they took action to inform themselves about their students' cultures and lives outside of school. These are all important aspects for me to attend to in order to teach for social justice in a diverse foreign language classroom. I am confident in the results of this research because of its credibility, dependability, and transferability. In addition, the choice of the schools and teachers through the snowball sampling technique gives me confidence in the research design.

Cumulatively, the nine studies reviewed in this section revealed significant findings related to teaching for social justice in a foreign language classroom. The most often-cited characteristic for improving the academic achievement of diverse students was caring for the whole student, beyond a purely academic context, with five claims (Brown, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999; Ware, 2006). Secondly, developing cultural sensitivity through learning about students' cultures and valuing biculturalism in school had four claims (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1996, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999). High expectations for students were cited in three articles (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999; Ware, 2006). The following assertions appeared in two articles each: (a) fostering a learning community (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1997), (b) viewing oneself as a facilitator of learning rather than a dispenser of knowledge (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1996), (c) encouraging students to give back to their communities (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999), and (d) utilizing assertiveness or authoritative discipline (Brown, 2003; Ware, 2006).

Three of the studies were primarily quantitative in nature (Godina, 2003; Love & Kruger, 2005; Smith-Maddox, 1998), while two were qualitative ethnographies (Ladson-

Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999), and the remaining four were qualitative case studies (Brown, 2003; Powell, 1996, 1997; Ware, 2006). Three studies claimed to work with primarily African American students (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Love & Kruger, 2005; Ware, 2006), while two studies claimed to work with primarily Latino students (Godina, 2003; Valenzuela, 1999), and the remaining four studies claimed to work with a diverse population of students. The studies all took place in a public educational setting, though they ranged from elementary to secondary school.

Four of the qualitative studies followed strong design principles and as a result, I am quite confident in their findings (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1996; Ware, 2006; Valenzuela, 1999). Three studies had medium levels of credibility (Brown, 2003; Powell, 1997; Smith-Maddox, 1998), and therefore still informed my question; however two studies (Godina, 2003; Love & Kruger, 2005) did not follow sound or convincing research methodology, so I did not consider their findings as relevant to my question.

Students' perspective

The studies in this section use quantitative and qualitative methodology to examine the perspectives and opinions of African American and Latino students with respect to their education. These studies are important because they give voice to the target population, which has proven to be a key element to social change, both historically and contemporarily (Freire, 1970; Hammond, 1998; Horton, 1990; Moses & Cobb, 2001; Noblit et al., 1991). Montecinos (1995) and Griggs et al. (1992) interviewed undergraduate students about the importance of multicultural curriculum and factors affecting their academic achievement, respectively. Fine et al. (2005) conducted an extensive regional participatory research study on the opportunity gap in public schools

in New York. Franquiz and del Carmen Salazar (2004) focused on effective strategies and school reforms for Chicano/Mexicano high school students.

Franquiz and del Carmen Salazar (2004) investigated the research questions (a) what pedagogical strategies are used to effectively teach Chicano/Mexicano high school students and (b) what types of school programs support the academic resiliency of Chicano/Mexicano high school students in their five year ethnographic study of a high school in northern Colorado with a primarily White student body and 35% Latino students. Academic resilience refers to students sustaining high levels of academic performance despite the presence of adverse conditions in their lives at home or at school. They found that, according to the students interviewed, *respeto* (respect), *consejos* (advice, special genre of verbal teaching that sounds like a spontaneous homily and is meant to influence behaviors and attitudes), *confianza* (mutual trust), and *buen ejemplos* (role models, exemplary people) were the components necessary to achieve academic success. In addition to exemplifying respect for students' language, culture, and unique selves, teachers should plan curriculum based on what students can do with the linguistic and cultural resources they bring to the classroom in order to cultivate bilingualism and biculturalism in the students. Effective teaching for social justice for Latino students involves being a good role-model, giving advice, developing mutual trust, and respecting students. It entails extending oneself beyond the traditional definitions of a teacher's role in order to relate on a personal level with the students. Finally, students cited a classroom culture where they felt safe, where each student was seen as a leader, and where there was an expectation and responsibility to help each other, as important to their academic success.

Franquiz and del Carmen Salazar (2004) examined data from three distinct programs aimed at helping Chicano/Mexicano students achieve academic success—the Opportunity School designed for students who did not experience success in the regular classes, an ESL pullout class, and a social studies elective called Unity class—in order to ensure variation representing the range of experiences among Chicano/Mexicano students. They used data from the samples to create a theoretical model about ways to foster the academic resiliency of Chicano/Mexicano students. They described their theoretical positioning as caring Chicana theorists who prescribe to Freire's (1970) vision of a humanizing pedagogy. They presented their data gathering processes with sufficient detail, but did not provide adequate detail about the process of deriving the categories for the model. The study has a medium level of credibility, but is not confirmable. A strength to the study is the researchers' use of triangulation among different programs in the school; however, there was no member-checking before publication. The study is dependable, as the results coincide with other research studies (Stanton-Salazar & Spinas, 2003; Valdes, 1996; Villenas & Moreno, 2001). The study is transferable because of the dependability and credibility of the research, as well as the sample population consisting of urban Latino students.

In conclusion, this study provided data that supports the use of caring to show respect, create trust, give advice, and be a role model to Latino students in order to help them succeed academically (Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004). It also emphasized the importance of valuing the students' linguistic and cultural resources and creating a safe, community-minded classroom culture through expectations and material displays in

the classroom. I am confident in allowing the results of this study to inform my investigation because of the dependability and transferability of the research.

Griggs et al. (1992) collected data from African American and Latino college students in order to determine which factors contributed to the students' academic and vocational development and discover implications for helping other minority students with their academic and vocational development. They included 36 undergraduate students of color (20 African American, 16 Latino; 28 female and 8 male; 25 from two parent households, 11 from single parent households; 18 reported parents' education as ranging from none to high school and 18 reported one or both parents had some college education) in their sample. The students were involved at a summer research mentoring program at U. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. They had been chosen to participate in the program because they showed interest in graduate study, had a B or better college GPA, and had identified and acted upon their vocational plans.

The research was conducted via a written questionnaire and structured interviews. The interview consisted of 17 questions designed to provide data that when analyzed would answer the questions of the research: factors leading to these students' success and implications for other minority students. The questions were based on factors which had been determined to influence academic and vocational development (formal and informal educational experiences, vocational exploration, vocational aspirations, vocational expectations, influence of teachers, mentors, and significant others, work experience and opportunity to succeed). The researchers (Griggs et al., 1992) described their theoretical positioning as a phenomenological approach. The researchers then analyzed transcripts of interviews around themes.

The factors found to contribute to students academic and vocational success were (a) high level of internal control over vocational choices, (b) confident of their academic ability, (c) special personal and academic relationship with a teacher, (d) made their vocational choice by middle school, (e) models for vocational choice were real people and fictional characters on television, and (f) parental influence by modeling work ethic, being generally supportive, communicating expectations for achievement (Griggs et al., 1992).

The students' cited the following implications for helping other minority students with their academic and vocational development: (a) Teachers should extend themselves more and have higher expectations; (b) more academic and vocational counseling is needed, (c) more programs and courses relevant to needs, backgrounds and interests of students of color should be offered; (d) more ethnic, racial and same sex role models in instructional materials, work settings, and other learning experiences should be included, (e) students should be exposed to people in a wide variety of vocations and these should be presented as options instead of vocational hierarchies; (f) tracking and experiencing some academic failure fosters feelings of worthlessness, so greater student choice is needed in selection of programs and courses; and finally (g) schools should involve parents in making and implementing the academic decisions of their children (Griggs et al., 1992).

Griggs et al. (1992) cited one student as an example of the need for more programs and courses relevant to the needs, backgrounds, and interests of students of color as well as ethnic and racial models in instructional materials:

...Society has a tendency to go in the direction that the media go—the different images of us and images of violence and demoralization in general...it gets in your mind and whether or not you constantly think about it, it still gets in there. The school system has to be structured in a way where people are actually interested in class. As a black person, I can't imagine just wanting to sit around all day and hear about how great white people are (p. 13).

This study had many flaws in qualitative research design. The data-analysis and method for deriving coding categories were not described. The researchers (Griggs et al., 1992) provided some of the interview questions with sample responses to illustrate the themes chosen, but did not cite how many of the total interviewed supported a theme. There was no member-checking of the data. There was triangulation of two sources using structured interviews and a written questionnaire. The credibility of this study is medium based on this analysis. The confirmability is low because the study is not auditable. Some of the findings are consistent with other studies, such as the implications for higher teacher expectations of students (Hale-Benson, 1986; Ladson-Billings, 1994), programs relevant to needs and backgrounds of students of color, or culturally responsive pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1994), and tracking fostering feelings of worthlessness in students (Oakes, 1985). This study was unique in that it involved the students' perspectives on factors contributing to their own success, rather than investigating teachers' classroom practice. As the study is not very credible, it is also not transferable.

Fine et al. (2005) undertook an extensive ethnographic regional analysis with quantitative and qualitative components with students in New York and New Jersey in order to answer three questions: (a) how do youth in desegregated settings think about

education and racial justice? (b) how is access to AP/honors classes related to race/ethnicity and class? and (c) what are the effects of small performance-based urban schools on student engagement and achievement?

The researchers (Fine et al., 2005) employed a participatory action research design that drew on critical race theory and standpoint theory. They called the study the Opportunity Gap Research Project and provided a multi-method, multi-site, and multi-generation analysis of urban and suburban schooling in relation to racial, ethnic and class (in)justice. The project began with research camps where students first learned about research design and methods, then created a survey focusing on youth views on justice in schools. The survey was then administered to 9, 174 9th and 12th graders in urban and suburban schools. The participants of the original research camps were selected by graduate students working in six schools (four to five students from each school) to represent diverse academic, demographic, and political styles. For the survey part, the data reflected a sample size of $N = 4,474$ 9th and 12th graders. Ninth and 12th graders were selected in order to document experiences entering and leaving the schools. The students in the sample were from the Regional Minority Consortium Network, a network consisting of 11 desegregated districts with between 25% and 55% students of color, in the inner ring of suburbs around New York City.

The researchers (Fine et al., 2005) collected qualitative data via focus groups (24 groups of 4-8 in 7 schools and one community-based activist organization Mothers on the Move), individual interviews (32), senior transcript analysis for AP enrollment (in four Consortium districts), elder interviews (12), data feedback sessions in eight sites,

graduate follow-up via surveys and interviews, and site specific case studies (about tracking and finance inequity).

The sample for the qualitative data included students from four small urban high schools in the Performance Based Assessment Consortium (consortium of alternative schools dedicated to high academic challenge, no tracking, and performance based assessment; one school desegregated, the other three largely Latino, African American, African Caribbean), one large urban high school in New Jersey, mothers from one community organization in the South Bronx, and elders who have been affected by the Brown vs. Board of Education decision (Fine et al., 2005).

Fine et al. (2005) reported the survey results from the Regional Minority Network Consortium, $N = 4,474$, on views of racial justice in schools in terms of the percentage of respondents who marked agree/strongly agree. For the question “classes are not as mixed as they should be”, 50% of Asian/Pacific Islander students agreed, 47% of whites agreed, 70% of African American students agreed, 73% of African Caribbean students agreed, and 49% of Latino students agreed, with chi squared = 78.11, $df = 4$, $p < .001$. For the question “school not good at providing equal opportunities”, the breakdown was 18.9% Asian/Pacific Islander, 17.7% White, 40.9% African American, 41.4% African Caribbean, and 35.6% Latino, with chi squared = 119.02, $df = 4$, $p < .001$. In regards to the question “there is an achievement gap at my school” the breakdown was 60.9% Asian/Pacific Islander, 60.4% white, 70.4% African American, 71.6% African Caribbean, and 59.1% Latino, with chi squared = 15.93, $df = 4$, $p < .001$. There was substantially greater concern about inequities noted by African American, African-Caribbean, and Latino students—especially those in high track classes.

The findings on tracking were based on surveys done in suburban, desegregated schools—the Regional Minority Network Consortium—and transcript analysis done at four of these schools. The researchers (Fine et al., 2005) analyzed enrollment patterns in AP/honors courses through the lenses of race/ethnicity and parents' educational level (class). For the total sample, of Asian/Pacific Islander 58% were enrolled in AP/honors, Whites 56%, African-American 33%, African-Caribbean 35%, and Latino 27% (chi-squared = 387.43, $df = 4$, $p < .001$) and for students with college educated parents 69% of Asian/Pacific Islanders were enrolled in AP/honors, Whites 65%, African-American 42%, African-Caribbean 42%, and Latino 43% (chi-square = 87.85, $df = 4$, $p < .001$). Asian American and White students are significantly more likely to enroll in AP/honors classes than African-American, African-Caribbean, and Latino students, even when the parents of the latter group are well-educated. Enrollment in AP/honors classes often leads to additional privileges, like involvement in PSAT/SAT preparation courses. Access to rigorous courses and academic challenge is racialized within desegregated schools. This phenomenon has been called schools within schools by other researchers such as Solorzano and Ornelas (2004).

Students in AP and Honors courses were significantly more likely than their peers to report feeling challenged academically ($F = 28.72$, $df = 1,2690$, $p < .001$); they experienced educators as being more responsive ($F = 29.340$, $df = 1,2827$, $p < .001$); they were more likely to feel that they are known and understood by educators ($F = 81.775$, $df = 3,3052$, $p < .001$), and they were more confident that they are being academically well prepared for college ($F = 35.532$, $df = 3,3020$, $p < .001$). A CHAID (chi-square automatic interaction detection) analysis of race/ethnicity, gender, parents' education and track as

predictors of various items of academic engagement, motivation, confidence and achievement demonstrated that on many outcomes track is a stronger predictor than race/ethnicity. Examples of this finding appeared in the following two statements: importance of education to me, $F = 30.09$, $df = 3,3996$, $p < .001$, and school has prepared me as well as any other student for college $F = 35.532$, $df = 3,3020$, $p < .001$ (Fine et al., 2005).

The data on small schools (Fine et al., 2005) was based on the schools in the Performance Based Assessment Consortium. These schools were designed so that all students would receive a college-bound education—there are no tracks or levels in the schools. Students are assessed through student inquiry projects and externally validated performance assessments. The students in the small schools had higher rates of civic engagement, academic engagement, and experiences of teacher responsiveness than did students at large suburban schools: (a) teachers are responsive to students like me 80% vs. 62%, (b) teachers give me a second chance 72% vs. 46%, and (c) I feel academically challenged 76% vs. 63%. The sample size was 3,362 for the large school and 392 for the small schools.

Fine et al. (2005) incorporated many strong qualitative design techniques. They utilized triangulation and member-checking of the data and presented data with a good level of detail and statistical measurements. The study is both credible and confirmable, although a third party auditing the data would need to communicate with the authors. Findings are consistent with other studies in regards to tracking (Oakes 1985; Solorzano & Ornelas, 2004), and with research on small performance based urban schools (Ancess & Darling-Hammond, 2003). This study is unique because of its multidimensional

approach, magnitude, and use of students as researchers. The findings can be transferred to other suburban desegregated schools in large cities across the nation.

The results of the study (Fine et al., 2005) demonstrated that students of color are aware of the inequities in schools, that tracking functions as an inequitable system based on race/ethnicity, and that small performance based urban schools have higher levels of student engagement than large suburban schools. I feel very confident trusting the results of this study because of the design (participatory action research), the adherence to qualitative research design principles (credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability), the large sample size for the survey part, and the triangulation of data.

Montecinos (1995) conducted a qualitative study investigating the perspectives and experiences of students of color in relation to multicultural curriculum. For her sample, she used 18 ethnic minority students enrolled in the undergraduate teacher preparation program at a midsize, public, Midwestern university were asked to participate in the study. Fourteen were African American (3 male, 11 females), three were Mexican American females, and one was a Korean American male. In addition, the three African American graduate students who assisted in the interview process were interviewed and included in the results. Montecinos was a professor at the same university as the students in the sample.

The research design consisted of interviews and subsequent data analysis (Montecinos, 1995). The interviews were one hour long, semi-structured, audio-taped, and consisted of four sets of open-ended questions. The interviews were conducted by the researcher or one of three graduate students who had received training in the interview protocol. Then the interviews were transcribed and analyzed in respect to three aspects of

multicultural education: (a) the importance of the school meeting the goals of multicultural education, (b) the ways in which high school curriculum reflected a monocultural approach to schooling and the consequences this can have on students of color, and (c) if a multicultural curriculum had a positive impact on the students' attitudes towards school. The researcher did not clearly describe her theoretical positioning, but rather stated her goal as investigating students' opinions about multicultural education.

The findings of the study (Montecinos, 1995) showed that a multicultural education is very important to students of color. In respect to the first aspect, the interview data revealed that students cared most about addressing the following two goals of multicultural education: (a) need for a curriculum that reflects the contributions and perspectives of various ethnic groups in order to reduce student alienation, and (b) the need to design a curriculum that explicitly addresses prejudiced and discriminatory behaviors. Students reported that curriculum which only presents a White perspective teaches students of color to disengage from the learning process because it does not concern them, while also fostering a false sense of superiority in White students who do see themselves reflected in the curriculum. One student emphasized the importance of teaching about discrimination and racial stereotyping to students who have had little direct contact with people of color, and are thus subject to media stereotypes as their main source of information. In respect to the effects of monocultural curriculum, students cited ill-structured cross-cultural contacts and the refusal of teachers to learn from students as occurrences that interfered with a curriculum that addressed bias and discrimination. Some of the cross-cultural contacts occurred during cooperative learning where students of color felt left out because they did not have equal access to the

resources or they weren't given an important task to complete within the group. The interviewees described teachers who did not admit to their own prejudices, nor to gaps in their knowledge about culturally diverse history. One student described an effective multicultural experience when a teacher asked the whole class to role-play the experiences of Black people in South Africa so that all students could learn about the impact of prejudice. Students described positive feelings when specific teachers taught about their history.

In conclusion, the interviews showed that feelings of inclusion or exclusion from the curriculum greatly affected the school orientations of students of color (Montecinos, 1995). When they felt included, they had strong positive feelings about school. Students of color also expressed respect for teachers who acknowledged their ignorance on matters of diversity, and then acted to inform themselves. The findings of the study on the experiences of students of color validated the goals and practices advocated in multicultural education literature.

This study was lacking in several qualitative design strategies (Montecinos, 1995). The data gathering was not described in much detail. There was no transcript of the interview questions provided, nor was there an explanation of how the data was analyzed to support or disprove the three themes. Some examples were provided to illustrate the claims made, but no data was presented in relation to how many of the 21 interviewees supported a claim. There was no triangulation of sources nor member-checking. The study is therefore not very credible. An outside party would need additional information in order to confirm the results. The findings are consistent with other studies in respect to the importance of inclusion of ethnic groups' history in the

curriculum (Valenzuela, 1999). The findings also echo the reasons Kohl (1994) outlined in favor of multicultural education. The findings are important because they give voice to students of color in the debate about multicultural education, however the research methodology does not merit widespread transferability.

Cumulatively, these four studies reflecting students' perspectives on their education add depth to the answer to how to teach for social justice in a foreign language classroom. Unfortunately, the research methodology for two of the studies (Griggs et al., 1992; Montecinos, 1995) did not merit transferability, although Griggs et al. (1992) reported results that echo other studies (Lucas et al., 1990; Powell, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999; Ware, 2006). Latino learners stated that a learning community, personal relationships with teachers, caring on the part of teachers, and a curriculum that starts with the students' strengths and values biculturalism is important for their academic success (Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004). Meanwhile, the results of the study (Fine et al., 2005) have an impact on the policy level in the pursuit of social justice. Fine et al. (2005) demonstrated that students of color are aware of the inequities in schools, that tracking functions as an inequitable system based on race/ethnicity, and that small performance based urban schools have higher levels of student engagement than large suburban schools.

One of the studies combined quantitative and qualitative research (Fine et al., 2005), while the other three studies were of a qualitative nature (Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004; Griggs et al., 1992; Montecinos, 1995). Two studies involved interviews of university undergraduates in the Midwest (Griggs et al., 1992; Montecinos, 1995). The other two studies were set in high school settings, in Colorado (Franquiz & del Carmen

Salazar, 2004) and in New York (Fine et al., 2005). One study focused on Latino students (Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004), and the other three included both African American and Latino student perspectives (Fine et al., 2005; Griggs et al., 1992; Montecinos, 1995).

Summary

Cumulatively, the literature reviewed in this chapter revealed many parallels across the sub-sections in terms of effective strategies for teaching for social justice. As defined in Chapter One, teaching for social justice is teaching that helps students empower themselves to become agents for change in the service of social justice in our society. The most salient elements that emerged from the research in service of this goal were (a) caring for students as real, complex people, beyond a strictly academic level; (b) student-centered pedagogy, or pedagogy that begins with the students' lived experiences and holds students as more important than content; (c) developing cultural sensitivity, strengthening school-home connections, valuing biculturalism; and (d) cooperative learning.

Caring for students as real, complex people, beyond a strictly academic level, was reflected in the sub-sections on culture, teaching, and learning (Phelan et al., 1991), on social change (Lucas et al., 1990; Noblit et al., 2001), on culturally responsive teaching (Brown, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999; Ware, 2006), and on student perspectives (Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004). Student-centered pedagogy, or pedagogy that begins with the students' lived experiences and holds students as more important than content, was cited across sub-sections as important for

helping students empower themselves to become agents for change (Arce, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Noblit et al., 2001; Powell, 1996).

A third powerful component to helping students of color empower themselves concerns the element of culture. Culture was shown to be important, different for each person, and comprised of many facets (Berta-Avila, 2004; Hale-Benson, 1986; Phelan et al., 1991; Rumbaut, 1994; Tatum, 1997). It emerged in two primary ways both for the classroom teacher on the micro-level and for the school on a macro-level: (a) developing cultural sensitivity, or learning about students' cultures, often through visiting their homes and strengthening school to home connections (Lucas et al., 1990; Noblit et al., 2001; Phelan et al., 1991; Powell, 1996, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999), and (b) valuing biculturalism in the classroom (Berta-Avila, 2004; Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004; Lucas et al., 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999). Finally, cooperative learning was cited in the sub-sections on culture (Phelan et al., 1991) and culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994), and was proven to be effective by the research (Slavin & Oickle, 1981; Triesman & Fullilove, 1990).

Chapter four will summarize the findings from the critical review of the literature, discuss resulting implications for teaching for social justice in a diverse secondary foreign language classroom, and suggest directions for future research on effective strategies for teaching for social justice.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

Chapter Three critiqued research literature regarding strategies for improving the academic achievement and self-empowerment of African American and Latino students in the service of teaching for social justice. Chapter Three reviewed studies related to culture, teaching and learning, specific interventions/strategies for social change, and studies related to teaching and learning strategies, specifically cooperative learning, culturally responsive pedagogy, and student perceptions of effective pedagogy. This chapter begins with a summary of the findings from Chapter Three, including the identification of major trends and the persuasiveness of the results for each sub-section of the literature. It then progresses to identify classroom implications of the literature review, and finally suggests directions for further research.

Summary of Findings

Opportunity Gap

Main findings. These two studies combined document the extent of the opportunity gap with relation to access to AP courses (Solorzano & Ornelas, 2004) and provide insight into what qualities in students lead to academic achievement and could help close the opportunity gap (Ross & Broh, 2000). Solorzano and Ornelas (2004) found that Latina/o students are disproportionately underrepresented in AP enrollment district-wide; schools that serve urban, low-income Latina/o and African American communities have low student enrollment in AP courses; and even when Latina/o and African American students attend high schools with high numbers of students enrolled in AP courses, they are not equally represented in AP enrollment. Ross and Broh (2000) documented that sense of personal control has more of an effect on academic achievement than self-

esteem. This informs my question by showing that I should focus on strategies that affect students' sense of personal control.

Trends. Both of the studies (Ross & Broh, 2000; Solorzano & Ornelas, 2004) involved large sample sizes and were of the quantitative descriptive nature. Ross and Broh (2000) conducted their study on a national level, while Solorzano and Ornelas (2004) restricted theirs to California.

Persuasiveness. In their descriptive research study Solorzano and Ornelas (2004) drew conclusions that were congruent with the method, goal, and sample of the research design. They documented their procedure well, and provided a good level of detail about the data gathering and analysis procedure. Therefore, their findings are persuasive.

Although Ross and Broh (2000) had some weaknesses in their research design, their results are generalizable because of the large sample size and adherence to statistical principles through structural equation modeling of the data. They conveyed a medium amount of persuasiveness due to the retroactive nature of the study and the self-reported data.

Culture, Teaching, and Learning

Main findings. Overall, these studies on culture, teaching, and learning show that culture indeed is a strong factor in determining how a student learns. Two of the studies (Phelan et al., 1991; Tatum, 1997) provide important information for answering the question of how to teach for social justice in a diverse foreign language classroom: via caring for students, using cooperative learning techniques, knowing about the student's culture including the stages of racial identity development, and strengthening school to home connections.

Trends. Of these four studies, only one was set in a school setting (Phelan et al., 1991). Two of the studies were qualitative (Phelan et al., 1991; Tatum, 1997) and two of them were primarily quantitative (Hale-Benson, 1986; Rumbaut, 1994). Two of them (Hale-Benson, 1986; Tatum, 1997) focused specifically on cultural aspects of African American learners.

Persuasiveness. Two of the studies critiqued (Hale-Benson, 1986; Rumbaut, 1994) contained significant weaknesses in their research design that inhibit further conclusions other than pointing to the importance of culture, and some factors to be aware of, such as the adverse effects of discrimination, and different cultural learning styles. The remaining two studies adhered to qualitative research design principles enough for me to be confident in citing their findings.

Interventions/Strategies for Social Change

Main findings. Overall, the six studies critiqued in this section reveal the importance of pedagogy that begins with the students' lived experiences and realities, both on a micro level in the classroom (Arce, 2004; Noblit et al., 2001) and on a macro level in school-wide reform and community action (Noblit et al., 2001). Arce (2004) called for curriculum that encourages students to develop their own identity and voice through the study of themselves, their communities, and their histories. This emphasis coincides with the focus of historical movements for social change at Highlander Institute (Horton, 1990), in the Mississippi Freedom Schools (Perlstein, 2002), in popular education in El Salvador (Hammond, 1998), and in Freire's (1970) literacy work in Brazil.

Collectively, these studies provide me with important strategies for teaching for social justice in a foreign language classroom. Noblit et al. (2001) stressed the

importance of meeting the developmental needs of the whole child (physical, cognitive, psychological, language, social, and ethical) in order to improve academic achievement and student engagement, which parallels the conclusions that Lucas et al. (1990) drew—teachers must reach out to Latino learners in ways that go beyond academic instruction, such as offering extracurricular activities of interest to Latino students, participating in community activities, and offering Spanish classes for native speakers with challenging academic content.

Another salient finding among these studies was the importance of school-home connections, or involving the community in the public education process. This was a key element on the macro level for school change, as documented by Lucas et al. (1990) and Noblit et al. (2001). In addition, Arce (2004) showed the importance of making connections with like-minded educators in order to engage in dialogue and support one another. Berta-Avila (2004) and Lucas et al. (1990) found that holding high expectations and valuing students' culture while teaching them to navigate the dominant culture were successful methods of motivating students.

Trends. In terms of research design, two of the studies (Arce, 2004; Berta-Avila, 2004) utilized forms of participatory research or ethnography. Three of the studies were qualitative case studies (Ball, 2000; Lucas et al., 1990; Noblit et al., 2001). The sixth study combined quantitative and qualitative research to conduct an evaluation of a summer outreach program (Rodriguez et al., 2004). In relation to sample population, two studies focused primarily on African American students (Ball, 2000; Noblit et al., 2001). Three studies focused primarily on Latino students (Arce, 2004; Berta-Avila, 2004;

Lucas et al., 1990), and one study investigated both African American and Latino students (Rodriguez et al., 2004).

Persuasiveness. Of the six studies in this section, three of them employed very strong qualitative research design techniques and had high credibility, dependability, and transferability (Arce, 2004; Lucas et al., 1990; Noblit et al., 2001). One study (Berta-Avila, 2004) had a medium level of credibility, while two studies (Ball, 2000; Rodriguez et al., 2004) utilized research methods that were not very convincing. In Ball's (2000) case, she drew conclusions that were not apparent from the findings of the study, she did not describe the sample selection process, nor did she describe the effects of the pedagogy she observed. Rodriguez et al. (2004) documented a relatively small gain of four points on the pre- and post-intervention tests, and they collected qualitative data from a self-selected group of only 8 students out of a total of 193 participants.

Cooperative Learning

Main findings. Overall, the four studies critiqued in this section point to the positive influence of cooperative learning in general, and specifically on the academic achievement of African American students (Dill & Boykin, 2002; Slavin & Oickle, 1981; Triesman & Fullilove, 1990; Yager et al., 1986). This brief foray into the literature regarding cooperative learning shows that I should utilize the teaching strategy of cooperative learning in my foreign language classroom in order to facilitate the academic achievement of African American students. This findings corresponds with research on effective teaching of second languages (Crawford, 1989), which describes the importance of having students use the language to communicate for real purposes.

Trends. Two of the studies were set in the Midwest (Dill & Boykin, 2002; Yager et al., 1986), one was set in Maryland (Slavin & Oickle, 1981), and the fourth study was set in California (Triesman & Fullilove, 1990). Two studies took place in elementary schools (Dill & Boykin, 2002; Yager et al., 1986), and one took place in a middle school setting (Slavin & Oickle, 1981). The fourth study was conducted at the college level (Triesman & Fullilove, 1990). All of the studies were quantitative in nature. Studies by Dill & Boykin (2002), Triesman and Fullilove (1990), and Slavin and Oickle (1981) focused on African American students.

Persuasiveness. Two studies (Slavin & Oickle, 1981; Triesman & Fullilove, 1990) exhibited strong experimental design and generalizability. They demonstrated that group work on rigorous tasks is effective for improving the academic achievement of African Americans, perhaps due to the creation of an academically oriented peer group. The remaining two studies utilized mediocre experimental designs, and were not generalizable to my specific question because of the sample population used (Dill & Boykin, 2002; Yager et al., 1986); however, their results showed the superiority of communal learning over individualistic learning for the text recall of African American elementary school children (Dill & Boykin, 2002) and of cooperative learning with group processing over individualistic learning for a mostly white elementary-aged sample population (Yager et al., 1986).

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

Main findings. Cumulatively, the nine studies reviewed in this section revealed significant findings related to teaching for social justice in a foreign language classroom. The most often-cited characteristic for improving the academic achievement of diverse

students was caring for the whole student, beyond a purely academic context, with five citations (Brown, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999; Ware, 2006). Secondly, developing cultural sensitivity through learning about students' cultures and valuing biculturalism in school had four claims (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1996, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999). High expectations for students were cited in three articles (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Ware, 2006; Valenzuela, 1999). The following assertions appeared in two articles each: (a) fostering a learning community (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1997), (b) viewing oneself as a facilitator of learning rather than a dispenser of knowledge (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1996), (c) encouraging students to give back to their communities (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999), and (d) utilizing assertiveness or authoritative discipline (Brown, 2003; Ware, 2006).

Trends. Three of the studies were primarily quantitative in nature (Godina, 2003; Love & Kruger, 2005; Smith-Maddox, 1998), while two were qualitative ethnographies (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999), and the remaining four were qualitative case studies (Brown, 2003; Powell, 1996, 1997; Ware, 2006). Three studies claimed to work with primarily African American students (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Love & Kruger, 2005; Ware, 2006), while two studies claimed to work with primarily Latino students (Godina, 2003; Valenzuela, 1999), and the remaining four studies claimed to work with a diverse population of students. The studies all took place in a public educational setting, though they ranged from elementary to secondary school.

Persuasiveness. Four of the qualitative studies followed strong design principles and as a result, I am quite confident in their findings (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1996; Ware, 2006; Valenzuela, 1999). Three studies had medium levels of credibility (Brown, 2003;

Powell, 1997; Smith-Maddox, 1998), and therefore still informed my question; however two studies (Godina, 2003; Love & Kruger, 2005) did not follow sound or convincing research methodology, so I did not consider their findings as relevant to my question.

Student Perspectives

Main findings. Cumulatively, the four studies reflecting students' perspectives on their education add a new dimension to the answer of how to teach for social justice in a foreign language classroom. Latino learners stated that a learning community, personal relationships with teachers, caring on the part of teachers, and a curriculum that starts with the students' strengths and values biculturalism is important for their academic success (Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004). Meanwhile, the results of the study (Fine et al., 2005) have an impact on the policy level in the pursuit of social justice. Fine et al. (2005) demonstrated that students of color are aware of the inequities in schools, that tracking functions as an inequitable system based on race/ethnicity, and that small performance based urban schools have higher levels of student engagement than large suburban schools.

Trends. One of the studies combined quantitative and qualitative research (Fine et al., 2005), while the other three studies were of a qualitative nature (Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004; Griggs et al., 1992; Montecinos, 1995). Two studies involved interviews of university undergraduates in the Midwest (Griggs et al., 1992; Montecinos, 1995). The other two studies were set in high school settings, in Colorado (Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004) and in New York (Fine et al., 2005). One study focused on Latino students (Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004), and the other three included both African

American and Latino student perspectives (Fine et al., 2005; Griggs et al., 1992; Montecinos, 1995).

Persuasiveness. Unfortunately, the research methodology for two of the studies (Griggs et al., 1992; Montecinos, 1995) did not merit transferability, although Griggs et al. (1992) reported results that echo other studies (Lucas et al., 1990; Powell, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999; Ware, 2006). Fine et al. (2005) made a strong case for their findings because of their multidimensional approach, magnitude of the study, and use of students as researchers. They utilized triangulation and member-checking, and presented their data with a good level of detail. Although the study by Franquiz and del Carmen Salazar (2004) had a medium level of credibility, it merited transferability because of the sample population and the dependability of the findings.

Classroom Implications

Analysis of 29 research articles investigating effective strategies for teaching for social justice in a diverse foreign language classroom revealed several trends across sub-sections; however, these were not specific to the foreign language classroom, so I will extrapolate that part of the classroom implications. The most salient element that emerged from the research was caring for students as real, complex people, beyond a strictly academic level. This was reflected in the sub-sections on culture, teaching, and learning (Phelan et al., 1991), on social change (Lucas et al., 1990; Noblit et al., 2001), on culturally responsive teaching (Brown, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999; Ware, 2006), and on student perspectives (Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004). Secondly, student-centered pedagogy, or pedagogy that begins with the students' lived experiences and holds students as more important than content, was cited

across sub-sections as important for helping students empower themselves to become agents for change (Arce, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Noblit et al., 2001; Powell, 1996).

A third powerful component to helping students of color empower themselves concerns the element of culture. Culture was shown to be important, different for each person, and comprised of many facets (Berta-Avila, Hale-Benson, 1986; Phelan et al., 1991; Rumbaut, 1994; Tatum, 1997). It emerged in two primary ways both for the classroom teacher on the micro-level and for the school on a macro-level: (a) developing cultural sensitivity, or learning about students' cultures, often through visiting their homes and strengthening school to home connections (Lucas et al., 1990; Noblit et al., 2001; Phelan et al., 1991; Powell, 1996, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999), and (b) valuing biculturalism in the classroom (Berta-Avila, 2004; Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004; Lucas et al., 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999).

Additional components demonstrated as effective were cooperative learning, high expectations on the part of the teacher, and a safe learning community. Cooperative learning was cited in the sub-sections on culture (Phelan et al., 1991) and culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994), and was proven to be effective by the research (Slavin & Oickle, 1981; Triesman & Fullilove, 1990). The sub-sections on culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Powell, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999; Ware, 2006) and social change (Lucas et al., 1990, Noblit et al., 2001) named high expectations as important. Finally, sub-sections on student perspective (Franquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004) and culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994) reflected a safe learning community as valuable for success.

When attempting to teach for social justice by helping students of color empower themselves to be agents of change, teachers must keep in mind the historical and contemporary educational experiences of students of color as well as the social, economic, and political conditions affecting them. Gonzalez (1990) documented that education for Mexican Americans meant a preservation of their subordination in the larger society through segregation. Historical investigation revealed that the American schooling system has engaged in educational racism and based its norms for assessment on the beliefs and standards of the European American cultural perspective (Spring, 2005). Du Bois (1953) poignantly expressed the feeling of being African American in a dominant white culture as a double-consciousness, the “sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity” (p. 3). In response to this educational racism, many students of color engage in resistance, via the adoption of an oppositional identity (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Tatum, 1997) or purposely choosing not to learn (Kohl, 1994).

In light of this historical background it is imperative that teachers demonstrate caring for African American and Latino students that goes beyond the traditional European American educational norms and parameters. Teachers must show caring for students as human beings, and attempt to create personal relationships with each student.

Historically, the education system has tried to de-culturalize and Americanize immigrants and students of color (Spring, 2005). Teachers must combat this long negative history of schooling for students of color by demonstrating respect for their cultures, and valuing biculturalism in the classroom. Teachers should attempt to become

honorary members of students' cultural communities through learning about their cultures and developing school-home connections.

Historical evidence has shown the effectiveness of educational movements for social change that use student-centered pedagogy, or pedagogy beginning where the students are, with their own experiences, lives, families, communities (Freire, 1970; Hammond, 1998; Horton, 1990; Moses & Cobb, 2001). I also experienced this when doing development work in the Peace Corps in Guatemala—the solution must come from the people themselves. Teachers interested in teaching for social justice must take this advice to heart. They have to get the students to demand of themselves to learn, to see learning as vital to improving their lives, to see learning as relevant. And then, students can collectively demand for change in the educational system. The teacher must find out what the students' needs are and listen to their needs and voice. The students must have ownership of their learning.

The theme of community resurfaced in different manifestations many times during the literature review: the learning community in the classroom, becoming part of students' cultural communities, and involving the community in school decision-making processes as a vehicle for change. Especially in literature regarding Latino learners, the importance of the teacher reaching out to students' parents via home visits and phone calls was stressed. Teachers must recognize the importance of family in Latino culture and attempt to recreate that familiarity in the classroom learning community, as well as involve student's families in class. Finally, according to the literature review, classroom teachers should implement cooperative learning techniques and hold high expectations for all of their students to succeed.

In my personal foreign language classroom this fall, I can make it student-centered by asking students to help decorate the room. An important part of teaching foreign languages is teaching the culture that is bound up with the language; therefore, students can bring in decorations that depict their own culture or elements of the culture we are studying to hang on the wall. I can collaborate with the students to decide on what the content will be based on what they want to learn—what questions are bothering them? What are they worried about? How can our learning in the classroom help them in their lives? I need to find out their prior background in studying languages, research what opportunities there are in nearby communities to use the language effectively, and figure out how to make our learning relevant and important in their lives. Then they will demand of themselves to learn. Perhaps I can devise a field trip or an interview project with recent immigrants to stimulate their desire to learn and make the purposes for language use authentic.

In terms of developing school to home connections I can hold on-campus ESL classes for parents participate in community activities. I also can visit students' homes to meet their families and learn more about their cultures. I can value biculturalism by encouraging Latinos to further develop their Spanish skills through offering after-school Spanish classes for native speakers with challenging academic content. I can also value biculturalism by praising it in class, and talking about what a gift it is.

I can increase my cultural knowledge by visiting classrooms in Mexico to learn about the type of instruction there in order to be able to better relate to students' learning style. Additionally, I can work to develop a safe learning community, which helps reduce the affective filter so that language acquisition can proceed faster (Crawford, 1989). I can

utilize cooperative learning, which is also encouraged by literature regarding language teaching (Crawford, 1989), because it engages students by using language for authentic purposes.

A foreign language classroom provides many opportunities to demonstrate caring by asking about students' lives outside the classroom, because at the beginning levels students are learning basic vocabulary. I can also show caring through smiling at students, being available after school, and through sharing my own life experiences.

In conclusion, this research project has given me many additional ideas for how to effectively teach for social justice in a foreign language classroom that were only cited by one article, but to me seem valid just the same. Some of these are making connections with like-minded educators to engage in dialogue (another example of the theme of community), being aware of the power dynamics among students and actively encouraging contributions from students of color, and teaching history from a perspective of resistance.

Implications for Further Research

This literature review critiqued a few articles across several sub-sections of the literature. Some of the articles in each section could not be considered as valid for informing my question because of flaws in research methodology. As such, I realize that I am only providing a brief snapshot of the total literature in relation to my question, and that I am drawing conclusions based on a limited amount of articles. With these limitations stated, the literature I have reviewed provides some direction and suggestions for further research.

I found gaps between theory and practice in the realms of critical pedagogy and teaching for social justice—while these areas of study are well developed and defined, there are not many studies explicitly linking theory with practice. Additional studies in this area would be helpful in providing a more complete picture.

Qualitative studies often lacked sufficient detail when describing the process for deriving themes, for example, how many interviewees subscribed to a certain theme. In the future, qualitative research involving interviews would do well to provide more detail so that research consumers can be surer of the findings.

I found the most persuasive qualitative studies to be book-length ethnographies. This research project was limited by time, and thus prevented me from reading many of the books on the topic. More research articles by authors summarizing their book-length studies would be helpful for research consumers who operate under time constraints.

Due to the elusive and yet all-encompassing nature of culture, researchers had difficulty isolating cultural elements when conducting quantitative studies related to culture. I suggest that ethnographic and participatory research designs are more conducive to providing valuable results with the topic of culturally responsive teaching.

Finally, more research is needed that reflects the opinions and perspectives of the students themselves as far as what pedagogical methods or classroom strategies are effective for them. As shown historically and proven by contemporary research, we must first listen to the target population, and hear their voicing of their own needs, before any movement for social change can hope to work.

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