THE EFFECTS OF A MULTICULTURAL CURRICULUM AND PREJUDICE REDUCTION EDUCATION ADDRESSING RACIAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY ON K-12 STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

The public school system of the United States never intended for all children to be educated equally. From the beginning, it was a system that discriminated against, isolated, and ignored many children based on their race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and socioeconomic status. Today, it still remains a system that struggles over cultural dominance. Institutionalized discrimination has had detrimental effects on American children and has claimed its victims into the twenty-first century.

This paper evaluates the effectiveness of a multicultural curriculum on academic achievement in diverse students. This paper will also evaluate prejudice reduction and anti-bias education in reducing racial, ethnic, gender, and class prejudice in children, including: the development of racial attitudes, prejudice reduction strategies, and textbook analyses. In addition, this paper evaluates institutional barriers that interfere with the implementation of effective multicultural education. Finally, this paper provides some recommendations for implementing more equitable education for racial and ethnic diversity.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

This chapter will examine two current sides of discourse concerning American education today. I will first provide the views of educators who believe that the central purpose of education is the development of children's intellectual knowledge. Thus, the goals of education must be fundamentally the same for all children, regardless of their heritage or circumstance. Therefore, the curriculum should not be written for particular racial, ethnic or gender groups and should not reflect special interests. The second view I will examine is the view from educators who believe education should be approached from a multicultural perspective. This view will address the inequalities of the Anglocentric, male-oriented curriculum that continues to exist within the public schools system. I will use statistics and educational research to support the existence of a continued cycle of discrimination, marginalization, and isolation of students of color and women within the public schools. I will also address the idea of how an inclusive multicultural curriculum and prejudice reduction education will support equality within the public schools for every student despite their race, ethnicity, religion, or gender.
Rationale

The United States public school system was established during the early nineteenth century for many reasons, such as educating students for good citizenship, ending poverty and crime, and stimulating national economic growth. However, according to Spring (2000), during the 1830’s and 1840’s, there was one particular focus that dominated the concerns of most public school reformers’, that focus was to use education in order to create a common culture including morality and political ideologies dominated by Protestant Anglo-American values. The perception by many whites during this time was that Irish Americans, African Americans, Native Americans and other immigrants were imposing a threat upon the dominance of white Protestant Anglo-American culture in the United States. As a result, Irish Americans and other Catholics found it necessary to establish their own system of schooling, the parochial school system. As for Native Americans and the majority of African Americans, they were segregated from the public school system from the very beginning. Therefore, the very foundation of the public school system was established in order to include only a certain population of children. The public school system of the United States never intended for all children to be educated equally. From the beginning it was a system that discriminated against, isolated, and ignored
many children based on their race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and socioeconomic status and it still remains a system that struggles over cultural dominance today.

Educators such as Diane Ravitch, E.D. Hirsch, and Chester Finn argue that the central purpose of education is the development of children's intellectual knowledge. These educators claim that multicultural approaches to curriculum reform do not offer viable explanations or solutions to the problem of racial inequality in schooling. Thus, the goals of education must be fundamentally the same for all children, regardless of their heritage or circumstance. Therefore, the curriculum should not be written for particular racial, ethnic or gender groups and should not reflect special interests. In fact, Ravitch (1995) claims that schools committed to multicultural education reform threaten to weaken National Goals for academic success. She claims that a national curriculum should be adopted, thus making education more accountable for academic achievement.

However, in 1954 the United States Supreme Court, in the case of Brown vs Board of Education, ordered the desegregation of all public schools. The Brown decision held that racially separate schools were inherently unequal and deprived African American children of equal protection of the laws as required by the fourteenth amendment. As a result of the Brown decision, public
schools were required to be desegregated in order to provide equal education for students of all races.

Although segregation is no longer legal and laws have been created to try to insure equal education for all students, educational reformers, such as Banks (1994), believe that the public school education system remains unequal and culturally dominated by Eurocentric values. Banks (1988) claims that a Eurocentric curriculum and a wide disproportionality gap in achievement, discipline, and dropout rates between white students and students of color perpetuate the cycle of inequity within the public education system for students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class groups.

The most important dimension of the public school system that maintains unequal education is the institutionalized Eurocentric curriculum. Banks (1994) states that the nature and goals of the dominant Eurocentric curriculum in the public school system is to enable students to acquire the belief that the interests, goals, and values of the dominant group are identical to those of the civic community. Also, it reinforces students to not challenge the status quo, it helps make students passive and content, and encourages them to passively accept the dominant ideologies, political and economic arrangements, and the prevailing myths and paradigms
used to rationalize and justify the current social and political structure. A Eurocentric curriculum confirms the dominance of the Anglo society and continues the cycle of inequality in education by marginalizing and ignoring the voices and experiences of people from diverse backgrounds.

Applebee (1989) claims that the Anglocentric, male-oriented curriculum continues to dominate the schools and university curriculum today even though there has been an enormous demographic change in the United States. According to the 1990 U. S. Census, one of every four Americans is a person of color, and by the turn of the century, one out of every three Americans will be a person of color. However, Applebee (1992) found that of the 10 most frequently required books taught in the high school grades, only one title was by a female author and none were by a writer of color. Delpit (1988) states that although the characteristics of the students in the U. S. schools are substantially changing, the schools have been reluctant to adapt their curricular and teaching styles to make them more consistent with the needs of students of color and low-income students. In many schools that have multiethnic populations, the curriculum, teaching, and motivational techniques remain Anglocentric.

Apple and Bean (1995) claim that it is the people of color and
women who are silenced by the bias curriculum dominated by the white male culture. Apple and Bean (1995) believe that knowledge is socially constructed, therefore, if the voices, experiences, and struggles of people of color and women are kept out of the curriculum then it will always be these students who will continue to receive an unequal education to their white classmates. According to Apple and Bean (1995), democratizing the structures and processes of the curriculum is a crucial aspect of schools in order to bring democracy and equity to the planned or overt curriculum.

Banks (1994) also supports curriculum reform in order to provide equity within the education system. Banks (1994) states that the primary goal of curriculum reform is to incorporate the voices, experiences, and struggles of ethnic, cultural, and gender groups into the curriculum. However, it must be taken further than simply curriculum infusion, which is when the curriculum is infused with ethnic and gender content but is still viewed and seen through the white dominant values. Banks (1994) believes that curriculum reform must entail transformation, which is when students and teachers make paradigm shifts and view the American and world experience from the perspectives of different racial, ethnic, cultural, and gender groups. Banks (1994) claims that until a curriculum transformation occurs within the public school curriculum the
inequities among students of color and white students will remain.

Banks (1994), Grant (1997), and Sleeter (1997) believe that the bias curriculum as well as the education system itself adds to and supports the inequalities and disadvantages of race and class. The achievement gap among African Americans and white students and Hispanics and white students is one example. Mickelson and Smith (1995) use the Coleman report mandated by Congress in 1964 which showed that the achievement gap between African Americans and white first graders was much smaller than the gap between twelfth graders. According to Mickelson and Smith (1995), the findings suggests that at best schools reinforce the disadvantages of race and class and at worst are themselves a major source of educational inequality.

Another example how the education system adds to and supports inequalities and disadvantages of race and class are tracking practices and policies that simply reinforce the achievement gap between students of color and white students. There are several forms of tracking, however, tracking students by ability grouping is a common form used in the public school system. Although schools claim to track by ability, Oakes (1985) found in her study of Rockford Public Schools in Illinois and San Jose Unified School District in California that both school systems were over-represented by
Another example of how tracking widens the proficiency gap between white students and students of color, is seen in Brewer, Reese, and Argys's (1995) National Educational Longitudinal Study. Brewer, Reese, and Argys (1995) found that only 18 percent of Hispanic students, 15 percent of African American students, and 10 percent of Native American students were placed in the high ability groups for math, while 47 percent of Asian students and 35 percent of white students were placed in high ability groups. In contrast, 35 percent of African American students, 34 percent of Native American students, and 25 percent of Hispanic students were placed in the lower math ability groups, compared to 17 percent of Asian students and 15 percent of white students. Tracking procedures, such as tracking by ability, continue to assist in widening the proficiency gaps between students of color and white students. Banks (1994) states that although there has been some improvement since the late 1960's and 1970's in the performance of African American and Hispanic students on proficiency tests the achievement gaps between students of color and white students still exist. The 1998 Bureau of Census also claims that although there has been some improvement since the 1970's in the performance of African American and Hispanic students on reading, mathematics, and
science proficiency tests, the academic achievement gaps between white students and students of color remain.

Although bias curriculum plays an important part in unequal education for students of color and women, racial attitudes, stereotypes, and behaviors also contribute to the inequities within the education system. Researchers have been investigating the characteristics of children's racial attitudes since the 1920's. Researchers such as Lasker (1929), found that most young children enter school with negative racial attitudes that mirror those of adults. However, research also indicates that effective curricular interventions can help students develop more positive racial and gender attitudes. For example, Trager and Yarrow (1952) found that first and second grade children who experienced a democratic, multicultural curriculum developed more positive racial attitudes than did students who experienced a traditional, mainstream curriculum.

Abi-Nader (1990) also found through her research that culturally sensitive instruction can create a positive outcome for diverse classrooms. Nader performed an ethnographic study in an inner city public high school for six months. The population of the school was 1700 and 81 percent of the students were minorities. Her observations found that through one teacher's culturally sensitive
instruction that reflected his knowledge of his students' culture
corns and needs, the students gained confidence in their ability to
learn, to solve problems, to set goals, and to reverse the stereotypes
which hindered their achievement.

Banks (1994) claims that although curricular materials can help
students develop more positive racial attitudes, successful
intervention is a complicated process that is influenced by a number
of factors, including the teacher's racial attitudes and skills, the
length of the intervention, the classroom atmosphere, the ethnic and
racial composition of the school and classroom, and the racial
atmosphere and composition of the community. However, if school
culture and social structure promotes gender, racial, and social-class
equality then school can help students develop more positive inter-
group attitudes and beliefs, thus prejudice reduction occurs.

Every year the United States becomes more diverse. This
increasing diversity has a tremendous influence on the nation's
schools. Banks (1994) states that according to the 1984 American
Council on Education, students of color made up the majority of the
school enrollments in 23 of 25 of the nation's largest cities. Banks
(1994) also claims that demographers project that students of color
will make up about 46 percent of the nation's school-age youths by
the year 2020. Research data and discourse on Eurocentric
curriculum, academic achievement, tracking, and racial and gender stereotyping disclose the reality of the inequities and prejudices that still penetrate the United States public education system toward people of color and women today. This reality raises two main questions. If research indicates that public school curriculum remains to be Eurocentric and therefore biased toward students of color and women and hinders their academic achievement, then what effects does a multicultural curriculum have on students? Second, what effect does prejudice reduction strategies have on students and their academic achievement?

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this paper is to review research which suggests that a Eurocentric curriculum and the lack of prejudice reduction efforts within the education system and schools perpetuate the cycle of prejudices and inequalities within the public school system toward students of color and women. Therefore, to create equality within an enormously diverse public education system, my focus will be to identify the effects that a multicultural curriculum has on all students and how prejudice reduction strategies may support equality within the public schools for every student despite of their race, ethnicity, religion, or gender.
Defining Terms

There are several definitions and theories of multicultural education. However, I define multicultural education as a transformational change from the Eurocentric education system to an education system that is inclusive to multiple views and experiences. An inclusive education system is one that acknowledges and teaches that there are many views, beliefs, and truths of how life is perceived. Banks (1994), suggests five dimensions of multicultural education: content integration, the knowledge construction process, an equity pedagogy, prejudice reduction and an empowering school culture and social structure. Although I believe that all dimensions must be present in a school in order to achieve the transformation of multicultural education, I am focusing on two dimensions in this paper, multicultural curriculum and prejudice reduction.

Although content integration and the knowledge construction process are two separate dimensions, I believe that a multicultural curriculum involves both. I define multicultural curriculum as a curriculum that provides and enables students to view concepts, issues, themes, and problems from several perspectives and points of view. A multicultural curriculum provides different views, experiences, and sufferings of different people of color, ethnicity, culture, religion, class and gender than that of the dominant culture.
Prejudice reduction is the part of multicultural education where schools and teachers help students develop more positive racial attitudes by designing and implementing well planned and well conceptualized curricular interventions/strategies that will help students develop more democratic attitudes and values in order to defeat discrimination and prejudices (Banks, 1994).

Summary

The United States public school system of discriminating and isolating children based on their race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and socioeconomic status has had detrimental effects and has claimed its victims into the twenty-first century. Education is a powerful tool and has a tremendous effect on children and their future. Chapter Two's overview of the history of the public school system will provide a view of the institutionalized inequalities that have existed and the detrimental inequalities that continue to exist today.
CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

This chapter will examine several historical trends as they relate to American education and the racial, ethnic, and gender discrimination perpetuated both by the public school system and society. I will address how American schools developed and the racial conflicts surrounding education from the early 1800’s to the present.

Education before the Public School System

Prior to the American Revolution, education served mainly to prepare an individual to live a godly life. The major goal of education was to ensure that the public knew how to read the Bible and any religious and civil decrees. Further education, such as in grammar schools or Harvard College, did focus on the classics, however, this education was intended for the social elite.

After the Revolutionary war, leaders worried about stabilizing the political system and maintaining loyalty among its citizens. Leaders believed that creating one culture, the American culture, formed around Protestant Anglo-Saxon traditions, would ensure the loyalty and patriotism necessary in creating a solid government. Therefore, education after the Revolutionary war focused on
educating citizens to be loyal and virtuous. Thus, during the early 1800's, Charity Schools were created as a general attempt to reduce crime and poverty. Reformers involved in charity schools believed the solution to crime and poverty to be education and provision of the proper institutional environment. Hence, education was supposed to provide the tools by which an individual could function in a social role, and the institutional environment was supposed to teach an individual how to use these tools in a moral manner (Spring, 2000, p.69).

The Common School Movement

The common school movement developed during the 1830's and 1840's. Holding on to many of the same values from the post-revolutionary era, common school reformers believed that education could be used to assure the dominance of Protestant Anglo-American culture, reduce tensions between social classes, eliminate crime and poverty, stabilize the political system, and form patriotic citizens. Common schools advocates claimed that education would be the key to creating the good society.

Although common school advocates believed that the education system was creating a good society, in reality the common schools validated institutionalized racism within the education system. During the common school movement, many assimilationist practices
were experienced by groups such as Native Americans, African Americans, and Catholics (Spring 2000). Deculturalization programs included segregation, isolation, refusal to be allowed to speak your native language, boarding schools, content of curriculum reflecting the culture of Anglo-Protestant Americans, denied opportunity to express or practice religion and culture other than what was accepted by the Anglo-Protestant American culture, and refusal to be educated at all. These horrific practices targeted African Americans, Native Americans, Irish, Catholics, Southern and Eastern Europeans, Chinese, and Japanese immigrants (Chan 1991). Although immigration was on the rise during the late 1800's, the dominant Anglo-Protestant American culture was doing everything it could to either segregate or assimilate the fast growing diverse population.

Immigration laws portrayed the values of American society as well as well as the American education system. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Law was passed forbidding Chinese laborers to enter the country. Although there were other discriminatory immigration laws prior to 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Law portrayed what was yet to come (Chan 1991). 1883 marked the beginning of "Jim Crow" laws for African Americans, and in 1896 Plessy vs Ferguson was passed by the Supreme Court legalizing segregation. From the late 1800's through the first half of the 1900's, immigration restrictions,
segregation, and lynching were a few of the social atrocities that influenced the value system of our public schools and the textbooks (Franklin and Moss 2000).

In 1954 Brown vs the Board of Education was passed by the Supreme Court. This law desegregated public schools. Although desegregation of schools often turned violent and the actual implementation took time, this decision paved the way for equality and hope in and out of the education system (Franklin and Moss 2000).

The Ethnic Studies Movement

The 1954 decision, Brown vs. the Board of Education was the beginning of equal rights legislation, not only for African Americans, but for all people of color, women, and people with disabilities. Equality and reform was demanded from 1956 through the 1960's from African Americans, other ethnic groups, and women. From the Montgomery bus boycott to the 1964 Civil Rights Act protecting citizens against discrimination and segregation in voting, education, and the use of public facilities, the Civil Rights Movement, by law, acquired equality for all people (Franklin and Moss 2000).

In 1965 the Immigration Act was passed, eliminating the old restrictive immigration quota system of the 1924 Immigration Act. The new wave of immigration to the United States occurred during
the same time that African Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans, as well as other ethnic groups, were demanding a place for their cultures in the public school curriculum (Spring, 2000). As a result of these demands, educators began to advocate teaching about a variety of cultures in the public schools, thus, the ethnic/multicultural movement.

The Intergroup Education Movement

As immigration increased in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many educators came to believe that an important purpose of public education was to assimilate the large number of immigrants and their children. Dominant group educators, especially in the growing school system in industrial cities, concerned themselves with assimilating European immigrants and gave little attention to African-American education (Tyack 1974). The schools taught attitudes, behaviors, and language needed for success in an urban, industrial society. However, these attitudes and behaviors, as well as the English language, were often at odds with parents' values. In response to the use of the public schools to mold immigrant children into middle-class, Protestant values and American cultural norms, individual groups organized their own education efforts. Thus, the development of the intergroup education movement began to move forward (Banks and Banks 1996).
The Intergroup education movement focused on two major approaches. The first approach, often referred to as the cultural pluralism approach, was based on the belief that prejudice was the primary cause of intergroup tensions, and therefore programs should be aimed at modifying prejudiced attitudes. The second approach was based on the belief that prejudiced attitudes resulted from discriminatory practices, and therefore programs should be aimed at modifying discriminatory behavior (Svonkin, 1997).

According to Banks (1996) the intergroup movement was based on racial attitude research that began in the 1920's. The major objective of this research was to determine the effects of curriculum interventions on students' racial attitudes. The research compiled during the intergroup education movement has many important implications for prejudice reduction education. For example, the research indicating that racial attitudes begin to develop in preschool age children (Clark 1963), and that racial prejudice can become a social epidemic based on the sources such as IQ tests and bogus science (Dickson 1922). The prejudice reduction goal of the intergroup education movement has had a major influence on the development of the modern multicultural education movement as well as continued research addressing prejudice reduction.

The development of the intergroup education movement
emerged primarily addressing two main issues. In the late 1930's and 1940's the rise of fascism, concerns that Nazi propaganda was affecting people worldwide, and a feeling that ethnic loyalties might be useful in the fight against Nazism was one major issue regarding the development of intergroup education (Slawson 1979). Anti-Semitic hostility toward Jewish Americans began to rise and racist propaganda and violent incidents directed toward the Jewish community provided a driving force for the expansion of the intergroup movement.

The second major issue that provided further development of the intergroup movement, was the rising racial tensions found in larger, more ethnically diverse urban populations. A number of observers in the early twentieth century believed that the occupational level of African Americans in northern cities had declined rather than advanced in the previous half century. Many former slaves and free blacks were skilled craftsmen who were barred from their trades by unions or by industrial developments that made the crafts obsolete. In a number of cities immigrants cornered a large share of occupations formerly available to African Americans, such as catering, barbering, and the more skilled forms of domestic service, thus creating racial tensions among the job market (Tyack 1974). Education for African Americans also contributed to
the rising racial tensions. African Americans vigorously fought
dozens of attempts by whites to segregate them in cities and towns
all over the nation, for they knew from bitter experience that
separate schools in the South had been almost invariably unequal.
Lacking direct political power, African Americans turned to the
courts to defend the tenuous equity that integration promised. Thus,
a number of African American educators, as well as other allies from
different races, believed that the victimization of African Americans
presented an agenda for reform, not of education alone but of the
entire society (Tyack 1974). Therefore, the goals of the intergroup
movement shifted toward a focus on government legislation in order
to address racial prejudice on a broader scale affecting society as a
whole.

According to Glazer (1977) two themes ran through intergroup
education: people should not be ashamed of their cultural heritage
and people should tolerate racial, religious, and cultural differences.
However, tolerance took precedence over the celebration of group
differences, and assimilation was more important than pluralism. The
intellectual issues behind the movement had largely to do with
determining the nature of prejudice, finding effective means to
change attitudes, and similar questions. Intergroup education
marshaled the social and biological sciences to provide scientific data
to counteract bigoted attitudes and prejudice.

The concerns about fascism and the desire for interreligious and interracial understanding that drove the intergroup education movement declined in the 1950's, replaced by fear of the Soviet Union and anti-communism. Discussed in the next section is the Multicultural Education Movement, which provided rapid change to intergroup relations and their relationship to education during the 1960's and continuing through today.

The Multicultural Education Movement

The 1960's and 1970's brought change to intergroup relations and their relationship with education. Four factors contributed to the rise of multiethnic education and its successor, multicultural education: the civil rights movement, a rise in ethnic consciousness, a more critical analysis of textbooks and other materials, and the loss of belief in theories of cultural deprivation (Banks and Banks 1997).

The civil rights movement, energized by the Montgomery bus boycott, marches, sit-ins and other events; supported after 1960 by court decisions and the federal government; and visible throughout the country on television, brought the issues of intergroup relations, including education, to national attention. Banks and Banks (1997) claimed:

The movement demonstrated that these issues did not so much
call for fairness and tolerance by the dominant group, as the intergroup education movement had proclaimed, as they called for reconsideration of who held power, how that power was used, and subordinate groups' rights and resources (p. 211).

Desegregation of public schools was an important issue; some of the most dramatic civil rights events, such as the integration of Arkansas' Little Rock Central High School and the integration of southern universities, drew much attention (Franklin and Moss 2000). However, by the mid-1960's the civil rights movement shifted from passive perseverance to political power, self-determination, and cultural consciousness (Gay 1983).

The second factor that contributed to the rise of multicultural education was the rise in ethnic consciousness. Cultural pluralism was revived in the 1960's through the militant, ethnically conscious protests of African Americans who rejected assimilation. Self-determination became a subordinate group goal, and schools became part of the struggle for power, first for African Americans, then for Native Americans, Hispanics, and other minority groups. A mutiethnic education movement, and then a multicultural education movement, emerged in response to ethnic revitalization. According to Sleeter and Grant (1994), these first responses of schools and educators were hurried. Courses and programs were developed
without the thought and careful planning needed to make them educationally sound or to institutionalize them within the educational system. The ethnic studies courses developed and implemented during this period were usually electives and were taken primarily by students who were members of the group that was the subject of the course. Cultural pluralism is a major component within the vision of multicultural education and described by the National Coalition for Cultural Pluralism (1973) as:

A state of equal co-existence in a mutually supportive relationship within the boundaries or framework of one nation of people of diverse cultures with significantly different patterns of beliefs, behavior, color, and in many cases with different languages. To achieve cultural pluralism, there must be unity with diversity. Each person must be aware of and secure in his [her] own identity, and be willing to extend to others the same respect and rights that he [she] expects to enjoy himself [herself]. (p.14)

The third factor that contributed to the rise of multicultural education was the analysis of curriculum materials. Subordinate group parents and community members found that their children's education in general, and their textbooks and other media in particular, conveyed distortions and inaccuracies about their history
and heritage. During the 1970’s and 1980’s the nation’s education system gave a great deal more attention to inclusive materials and to shaping a curricula that reflected diversity (Banks 1994).

The fourth factor contributing to the emergence of multicultural education was the rejection of the deprivation theory. In its place came concepts influenced by anthropology which saw the difficulties subordinate group children faced in schools not from the perspective of cultural deficiency, but from the perspective of differences, or conflicts, between the culture of the school and the culture of the home. Values, language, and cognitive styles and strategies became a new focus of attention (Sleeter and Grant 1994).

By the mid 1970’s multicultural education seemed to be becoming a right with a high degree of government support (Glazer 1977). Beginning in the 1960’s, government at all levels became more involved in multicultural education, particularly in bilingual education. On the federal level, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title 9, forbade racial and ethnic discrimination in programs receiving federal funds. Follow-up memoranda prohibited discrimination based on inability to speak English. Most important, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 gave funds to public school districts, thus providing a mechanism with which to enforce the 1964 act. The 1972 Ethnic Heritage Studies Act signified a policy under
which education voluntarily maintains distinctive cultures. The Lau Supreme Court case (1974) established the principle that cultural factors and related student learning styles should be considered in a school’s response to children with different language backgrounds. The 1974 Bilingual Education Act declared that the United States policy was to encourage bilingual education programs where appropriate. In addition to the federal government’s involvement, state education authorities and some local school boards mandated the teaching of multicultural education (Crawford 1988).

However, during the 1980’s a backlash of education policy occurred. Governmental policies became very conservative and an increasing number of critics of multicultural education became active, arguing that multicultural education was divisive and would be “disuniting” to the country (Sleeter and Grant 1994). In 1983 A Nation at Risk was released reporting that the public schools were to blame for America’s difficulties in competing with Japan and West Germany in world markets. These reports led to the current federal education strategy, America 2000, which advocated the systematic restructuring of schools by focusing on results rather than procedures. Developing new world class standards and voluntary achievement tests; requiring more math, science, and computer literacy; allowing parental choice of schools; and creating more
rigorous programs of instruction were all strategies for America 2000 (Spring 2001).

The strategies indicated in America 2000, and many other factors that exist today, indicate a continuing need for multicultural education, including prejudice reduction. Such factors include: the increasing minority population, hate crimes, resegregation due to tracking of minority students based on grades, standardized tests, and school policies that create homogeneous ability groupings (Banks and Banks 1995). According to Banks and Banks (1997), multicultural education is an idea, an educational reform movement, and a process. The major goal of multicultural education is to change the structure of educational institutions so that male and female students, exceptional students, and students who are members of diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural groups will have an equal chance to achieve academically in school. Each major variable in the school, such as its culture, power relationships, the curriculum and materials, and the attitudes and beliefs of the staff, must be changed in ways that will allow the school to promote educational equality for students from diverse groups.

Summary

Throughout the United States history, social values have consistently influenced public policy. The Brown vs the Board of
Education and the Civil Rights Movement mark a turning point for both education and equality. However, policy changes have not altered the reality that inequities still exist for students of racial and ethnic diversity in the classrooms today. The studies in chapter three will examine research focusing on multicultural education. These studies will examine the effectiveness of multicultural curricula and prejudice reduction education on students.
CHAPTER THREE: CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter examines research as it relates to the effectiveness of multicultural curriculum and prejudice reduction strategies in public education. The research reviewed in this chapter is in four separate categories. The first category, academic achievement and multicultural education, examines the effectiveness of a multicultural curriculum. The second category, prejudice reduction in education, examines the effectiveness and importance of prejudice reduction strategies within education. The third category, textbook/literature analysis, will examine both literature and research evaluating curriculum and its effectiveness on ethnically diverse populations. Finally, the last category, institutional barriers preventing effective multicultural education, will examine both the institutional barriers as well as the lack of teacher knowledge for implementing an effective multicultural curriculum and prejudice reduction education.

Academic Achievement and Multicultural Education

To support the affect of multicultural curriculum on academic achievement, the following section reviews and evaluates studies
that searched for effects on academic achievement using multicultural strategies.

Tan (1999) performed a case study that examined the relationship between perceived multiculturalism of schools, ease of learning, academic achievement, and intent to stay in school among Mexican American students. Subjects were drawn from middle/junior high schools and high schools in six school districts in eastern Washington, in agricultural communities where large numbers of Mexican American families work in the agricultural industry. Schools were selected on the basis of Hispanic enrollments and dropout rates as reported in the Washington State Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction documents. Three school districts with low dropout rates, less than 10 percent, and three school districts with high Hispanic dropout rates, more than 25 percent, were selected. The original intent was to compare the level of multiculturalism between high and low dropout schools. However, inconsistencies in school reports on dropouts made these comparisons unusable. Students' perceptions (self-reports) were used instead. Data were collected from 258 Mexican American students in eighth and eleventh grade. It was expected that perceived multiculturalism in schools was positively related to perceived ease of learning, school achievement, and intent to stay in school, and
negatively related to intent to dropout among Mexican American children.

A Student Perception Questionnaire was distributed to high school classes in which all 11\textsuperscript{th} graders were enrolled and to all eighth graders in each of the six school districts within a four-month period. The survey measured the outcome variables of perception of intent to stay in school; intervening variables of school achievement and academic ease; and the independent variable of perceived multicultural learning environment. Control variables were sex, grade, household size, mother's socioeconomic status, and father's socioeconomic status. Factor analysis was used to select individual items for construction of the scales: intent, academic ease, grades, multicultural learning environment, cultural respect, and get along. Questionnaires were distributed to 479 eleventh grade students and 573 eighth grade students in the six school districts selected for the study. Three hundred and eleven eleventh grade students returned completed questionnaires; 55 percent were European American (EA), 36 percent were Mexican American (MA). The return rate was 68 percent for Mexican Americans and 57 percent for European Americans. At the eighth grade level 378 subjects, 66 percent, returned completed questionnaires. Of the 378 subjects, 54 percent were EA and 38 percent were MA. The return rates were 69 percent
for MA and 59 percent for EA. Mexican American and European American children were compared according to their perceptions of intent to graduate, school achievement, and academic ease. At the eighth grade level, Mexican American children (MA), compared to European American children (EA) had lower perceptions of intent to complete high school (MA mean = 8.8, EA mean = 9.7, p = .0001). They also perceived their grades were lower (MA mean = 3.3, EA mean = 3.7, p = .0001) and they had lower perceptions of academic ease (MA mean = 23.1, EA mean = 23.8, p = .18). Results were similar in the eleventh grade. Mexican American students and European American respondents were compared by grade, according to their perceptions of the school environment. At the eighth grade MA students had significantly lower perceptions of multiculturalism in the school environment on all the variables compared to EA students’. At the eleventh grade the results were similar, except on the variables PARINVT (parent involvement) and FEELGOOD (feeling good about how culture is treated in school). These two variables were about the same for MA and EA respondents.

Tan (1999) concluded that the results of this study supported the hypothesis that students who perceived their school as supportive of their culture and personal identity were more likely to intend to stay in school. She also concluded that students in the
sample perceived that a multicultural school was important to learning and to wanting to stay in school and to graduate. This study indicated that Mexican American students were more inclined to believe that they would graduate from high school when their culture and language were respected by teachers and other students. They also believed that learning was easier for them in a multicultural learning environment. For example, when teachers used examples from their native culture to help them learn and when they felt that they learned about their culture and people in their classes. Finally, in a multicultural learning environment, the students also perceived their academic achievement to be higher.

Tan (1999) defined her terms, provided the methodology and described the Student Perception Questionnaire and clearly explained the reliability rates for her coding system and the criteria for assessment. Unfortunately, the short time of four months is extremely minimal to draw conclusions about the effects of a multicultural environment on a population, therefore, a longitudinal study would be more convincing. Also, this study was limited to 8th and 11th graders in six school districts, in rural areas of eastern Washington, and to European American and Mexican American students. Therefore, results of the study cannot be generalized to other ethnic groups or to students in schools in urban areas.
The next study, Abi-Nader (1990), was an ethnographic study of a multicultural "college prep" program (PLAN) for Hispanic students in a large urban high school. Abi-Nader (1990) found that the PLAN program was effective because of the culturally sensitive instruction of the program teacher, such as, helping students to be proud of their heritage, helping students feel that their people can achieve success and reverse stereotypes, and to help students develop adaptive behavior that will facilitate success in a new culture. The teacher helped the students redefine their self-image as learners and as communicators in the following ways: (1) by raising expectations and standards for academic and social performance; (2) by using positive language in classroom interaction and both to praise students for their successes as well as to correct mistakes; and (3) by giving them the opportunity to "try on" new images through role-playing. Abi-Nader (1990) concluded that through culturally sensitive instruction that reflects the teacher's knowledge of his or her students culture concerns and needs, the students gained confidence in their ability to learn, to solve problems, to set goals, and to reverse stereotypes which hinder their achievement.

The six month ethnography study allowed Abi-Nader (1990) to collect a diverse range of data, such as informal and formal interviews, audio and video recordings, artifacts such as student
writings, and personal observation notes, as well as acquiring intimate knowledge of the program. Although the high school itself recorded an 11 year history of successfully graduating Hispanic high school students and sending at least 65 percent of them on to college, unfortunately, Abi-Nader's (1990) study was only six months long. In addition, her study focused only on three students, the teacher, the ESL coordinator, and two graduates. With such a small research sample it is difficult to assess if the success of the program was due to the personality of the teacher and or of the students, or if it was in fact the culturally sensitive instructional practices. A larger research sample and a longer study would have provided the validity of long-term effectiveness of the program and the practices.

Both Tan (1999) and Abi-Nader (1990) examined the effectiveness of multiculturalism of schools as whole and specific programs used within the schools in their studies. However, neither study addressed the use of the textbooks and role that the textbook had on providing effective multicultural practices. The next study addresses the reality that the textbook remains the major instructional tool in American public schools. Garcia, Powell, and Sanchez (1991) examined multicultural texts as tools in order to implement cultural pluralism effectively.
Garcia, Powell, and Sanchez (1991) reviewed the literature on multicultural curriculum and conducted research on prejudice in two predominately white suburban school sophomore classrooms (N=190). They created a control group that used the classroom text traditionally, and an experimental group that took advantage of the features and technology of the text. The researchers used the Black History Knowledge Test and the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI) instruments to measure the knowledge levels and racial attitudes of the students in both groups before and after the treatment. They found that the students' levels of knowledge and tolerance of African Americans was greater in the experimental group as a result of the multicultural materials. They concluded that the instruction methods of the teacher can greatly impact student learning.

The textbook Garcia, Powell, and Sanchez (1991) selected was the third most popular in the state and representational of textbooks used in many contemporary American classrooms. Unfortunately, the authors provided little support for their conclusions. They failed to provide their research data, tables, statistics, methodology, or procedure. The strength of the internal validity is unknown because of the missing information of the research methods employed. The
external validity is limited because of the white, suburban, Midwestern student sample population.

The next study, Kim, Clarke-Ekong and Ashmore (1999), analyzed a unique K-12 multicultural education program developed by educators and anthropologists in response to the increasing diversity among K-12 students. The program used a hands-on approach to educate students about the origins of humans on earth and the importance of biological and cultural diversity. The vision of the CHOCD (Center for Human Origin and Cultural Diversity) is based on the belief that all people will benefit by possessing knowledge of their shared origin. During five months 187 students experienced the learning stations at the CHOCD lab. The students represented five different schools, including 99 students from three public schools and 88 students from two private schools. The grade distribution included 41 sixth graders, 32 seventh graders, 29 eighth graders, 21 ninth graders, 56 tenth graders, five eleventh graders, two twelfth graders, and one who did not respond. The gender breakdown was 80 males, 106 females, and one who did not respond. There were 29 African Americans, 137 European Americans, 10 Asians, six Hispanics, and three others. The pre- and post-questionnaires shared nine questions, including six true/false and three multiple choice, content-based questions (three questions per station) and four
Likert-type scale awareness items. The content knowledge scores were calculated, using the sums of three questions related to each learning station. From the results, Kim, Clarke-Ekong, and Ashmore concluded from the choices the students made at all three learning stations that the students made significant progress in content knowledge, $t(173) = 20.168, p<.05$, $t(174) = 16.051, p<.05$, and $t(184) = 10.829, p<.05$, respectively. The change of pre and post content knowledge mean scores for Station 3 (skin color) was the lowest of all the stations. That was an understandable result because of the highly abstract nature of the content information covered in the Station 3 and or because of the difficulties of overcoming previously held stereotypes. The self-awareness scores were calculated, using the sums of four Likert-type scale questions. The mean score for pre-awareness were 5.74 and the standard was 1.63; for post-awareness the scores were 5.10 and 1.56 respectively. From the results, Kim, Clarke-Ekong, and Ashmore concluded that the students made significant progress in awareness, $t(172) = -5.096, p<.05$. Because the low score indicated a greater awareness of human diversity, the participants showed a positive change in their awareness. They also found that student awareness and content knowledge of diversity issues improved significantly after completing the three stations of
the CHOCD program. Over 90 percent of the students agreed that the content of the program was important.

The size, scope and purpose of the present study provided extensive insight into the effects of multicultural curriculum as well as an integrative model of multicultural education. Kim, Clarke-Ekong and Ashmore (1999) clearly explained their research methodology. Their weakness, however, was that they relied on the assumption that student growth in awareness and knowledge was measurable by tests consisting of nine multiple choice and true-false questions and four Likert type awareness questions. Kim, Clarke-Ekong and Ashmore (1999) did not provide data indicating the amount of time students spent at each lab and whether the program was additive or integrated into larger multicultural curriculum. Many other variables could have impacted student knowledge outside of the CHOCD program. The possibility of confounding variables weakened the internal validity of the research. It is surprising that Kim, Clarke-Ekong and Ashmore (1999) measured the increase in content knowledge and did not assess the ability of the program to reduce racial bias.

In Lipman's (1997) ethnographic research at Gates High School, she examined the relationships between student achievement, race, teacher values, and curriculum. Her primary informers were 22
teachers, all of the administrators, all three counselors, the school nurse and case manager and 10 students. Lipman (1997) found that the school's tracking programs created racially stratified classes. She concluded that an absence of critical dialogue about race and a disproportionate punishment of African American students perpetuated the inequalities already deeply imbedded in the hidden curriculum.

Her data analysis was embedded in the cultural context of Gates High School. Unfortunately, there was an inconsistency in her data. In 'the School and the Community' section, Lipman stated that she interviewed 25 teachers at Gates. However, in the 'Method' section she stated that she interviewed 22. Lipman stated that she spent one week a month at Gates, and another week a month at a junior high in Riverton. She described her experiences at the other school briefly throughout the study, but she did not provide any of the demographic information about the other school. It served as a comparison, but there was no data offered to support the comparison as valid. Because the data for research came from individuals from Gates High School, the research was subjective.

Jacob's ethnographic research study was done at Heritage High School, an urban school in New York. Jacob (1995) chose this school based on its multicultural education program. His primary goal was
to examine how multicultural education altered the learning environment of a school and thereby influenced student relations, attitudes, and behaviors. His research consisted of five distinct sources of data: (1) 240 hours of participant observations, (2) 14 individual interviews with teachers and administrators, (3) 10 focus-group interviews with students, (4) a variety of written material, including grant evaluations and policy statements, and (5) informal surveys of students. The data were analyzed according to a methodology referred to as grounded theory, whereby insights, themes, and theories are based on and grounded in the data itself. The first stage of analysis consisted of open coding. Each interview transcript and observation narrative was read and analyzed line by line to generate initial categories and themes. A second stage of coding then identified consistent themes and relationships in each of the three sources: teacher interviews, student interviews, and participant observations. Once these general categories were constructed, each source was reviewed again to locate additional evidence in the data. The third stage of coding then compared these general themes across all the data sources, establishing even broader, more consistent themes. This triangulation of several data sources not only increases the validity of specific findings but also assures a comprehensive perspective of the data. Finally, themes and
categories were analyzed across gender, ethnicity, and academic standing to explore differences among these groups.

Jacob (1995) concluded that by creating an engaging and communal learning environment, multicultural initiatives that seek to recognize and celebrate cultural diversity can improve intergroup relations and increase motivation, effort and school identification among minority students.

The small focus of Jacob's (1995) research over a four-month period allowed him to collect a variety of data and gain personal insight and a deep understanding of the program. The ethnographic research design also provided a cultural context for the multicultural education program. He did an excellent job of defining terms and explaining methodology. However, his research and findings were very subjective. The data Jacob (1995) collected included his own biases, opinions, and perceptions. Also, the limited 240 hours of personal observation and small sample size of teacher and student interviews makes it difficult to generalize his findings.

In this next study, Felice (1973) reported data he took out of a larger three-year study. Felice (1973) examined the I.Q. measurement, achievement test scores, achievement value orientation, school socio-economic climate, school racial-ethnic climate, school status (in-school/dropout) and parental authority
structure of Mexican American adolescents. Felice (1973) found that the self-concept and racial-ethnic compositional climate of the school were highly linked to educational achievement. Positive self-concept encouraged high achievement test scores and negative self-concept was linked to dropping out. Felice (1973) concluded that segregated, lower socio-economic climate schools contributed to a negative self-concept in Mexican American adolescents.

One major weakness in this research study is the external validity of the data. Felice (1973) did not provide adequate information about the sample population of the Mexican American adolescents. Felice (1973) did not provide the gender, race, class, or size of the sample population. He also did not explain the methodology used for the interviews. Furthermore, Felice (1973) relied on standardized test scores to measure the intelligence and academic achievement of Mexican American students, although standardized tests don't necessarily indicate a person's intelligence.

Huber, Hieger, and Parscal’s (1992) case study collected data in three middle school classrooms to explore and define “culturally responsible pedagogy” in action. Based on the premise that there are teachers who are establishing successful and effective learning environments and engendering student self-esteem, three case studies were developed to investigate how teachers created a
learning environment where, regardless of a learner's background, social, academic, and personal development were maximized. Administrators and peers identified fifteen teachers as effectively interacting with diverse student populations through community endorsement. Six were willing to participate, but only three were interviewed. Fifty hours of classroom observations were done, note taking and videotaping were used. Half of the students in each class were interviewed and two of the three teachers kept informal journals. Huber, Hieger, and Parscal (1992) concluded as culturally responsible educators, these teachers each recognized the significance of the student's culture, home, and individual background. Therefore, diverse students responded positively to learning and their environment if their teachers knew who they were and what their needs as individuals were.

This study is highly subjective. The study sample was small and Huber, Hieger, and Parscal (1992) did not explain how the subjects were chosen. However, the results of the case study can be generalized regardless of race/ethnicity because all students, even white students, have cultural identity, values, and needs.

The following study by Ogbu and Simons (1994) is a case study that examined the relationships between school performance, cultural models, educational orientations and strategies among
African American, Latin American, and Chinese American students. Ogbru and Simons (1994) examined these students (N=2245) and found that the role of education and hard work in overcoming discrimination was seen as equally important for all three groups. They also found that all three groups showed little faith in education. However, the communities, families, and friends from all three groups wanted the students to succeed in school.

Ogbru and Simons (1994) did not include the gender or the SES background of the sample population. This could have influenced the data. Also, the methodology was not explained. However, the large sample population indicated a strong internal validity and made the study more generalizable.

The purpose of following research, Miller’s (1996) multiphase ethnographic study, contributed to understanding how English teachers perceived multicultural education, enacted curriculum, and constructed pedagogy for multicultural literature and literacies for diverse students. The research represents the analyses of a research group working together and individually, over the course of one year, on ethnographic case studies of teachers in New York State. Data consisted of interviews with teachers and yearlong participant observations in diverse classes in Western New York.
This multiphase ethnographic study focused on the following major questions: (1) How do teachers select, organize, and treat multicultural literature in their classrooms? What pedagogies and texts do they employ to bring about pluralistic understandings? (2) What supports and constraints in the class, school, and larger contexts influence the teachers who desire to include multicultural perspectives? (3) What curricular and pedagogical problems and issues arise related to integrating multicultural perspectives into the classroom? What solutions emerge? And (4) how is student thinking about multiculturalism and diversity influenced?

In Phase 1 of the study, they began by interviewing teachers with reputations for teaching for diversity and, then, in Phase 2, focused intensive study on six of the teachers in different geographic and sociopolitical community contexts. During the school year, the researchers observed the teachers in their classes twice a week more when a series of lessons on multicultural literatures were planned. Sources of data for the ethnographic case studies were transcriptions of class lessons and of teacher and student interviews, descriptive field notes and the writing done by selected focal students from each class. The data was annotated and analyzed throughout the study. The constant comparative analysis of the data allowed them to triangulate multiple data types and perspectives to seek
confirmation of emerging interpretations and to cross-check themes generated and refined by progressive analysis.

Miller (1996) concluded that teachers are enacting their goals for diversity and equity with great care, and that teachers within a complex nesting of sociopolitical contexts, construct multicultural literatures, literacies, and perspectives differently, due to multiple contextual, conceptual, and personal issues. The different goals among teachers influenced the content of multicultural curriculum.

There were many weaknesses throughout this study. Miller (1992) did not describe the subjects. She did not explain the selection process of subjects. Her sample was small. However, the findings that teachers in white suburban areas are teaching multicultural education and teachers in diverse urban populations hesitate teaching multicultural literature fearing that it may provoke dangerous emotions provides reason to keep research going to help support the benefits of a multicultural education.

This next study by Herman and Tucker (2000) tested the relationship between teacher-rated engagement and academic outcomes for three groups of at-risk Latino American students: Nicaraguan-born, Cuban-born, and US-born, when controlling for demographic variables and problem behaviors. Teacher and school records provided information about 248 Latino American students
(including 37 Cuban-born, 87 Nicaraguan-born, and 124 US-born) in grades 7-10 who attended nonprofit state funded Alternative Schools in Miami, Florida conducted by the Cuban American National Council. Two regression analyses, one with overall GPA and the other with teacher-rated achievement as the criterion were run for each Latino subgroup. These analysis revealed engagement as a significant predictor of both outcome measures, overall GPA and teacher-rated achievement, controlling for teacher-rated problem behaviors and demographics. Thus, engagement in learning was a significant predictor of academic achievement for three subgroups of Latino American students.

For each student in homeroom class, teachers completed a three-part teacher-report measure: (a) the RAPS-T, (b) the Academic Questionnaire, and (c) the Problem Behavior sub-scale of the Social Skills Rating System. Each teacher-report measure was labeled with the name of the student about whom the teacher was being asked to provide information. Teachers returned all of their completed measures in sealed envelopes to an Alternative School principal. The current study examined the relationships among student engagement and two outcome measures, overall GPA and teacher-rated achievement, when controlling for demographic variables and teacher-rated problem behaviors. Two regression analyses, one with
overall GPA and the other with teacher-rated achievement as the criterion were run for each Latino subgroup. Each analysis included engagement, problem behaviors, age, sex, grade and economic risk as predictors. The models predicting overall GPA were significant for both Nicaraguan-born, $F(6, 77) = 3.35$, $p < .01$; and US-born students, $F(6, 89) = 3.59$, $p < .01$. Engagement emerged as the only significant predictor for US-born students ($\beta = .47$); engagement ($\beta = .50$) and problem behaviors ($\beta = -.28$) were both significant predictors for Nicaraguan-born students. The model for Cuban-born students, limited by a small sample, was not significant, $F(6, 26) = 2.55$, $p = .055$.

Each of the three models with teacher-rated achievement as criterion were significant: Cuban-born, $F(6, 28) = 7.01$, $p < .001$; Nicaraguan-born $F(6, 81) = 15.99$, $p < .001$; and US-born, $F(6, 95) = 17.26$, $p < .001$. Engagement was the only significant predictor in the Cuban-born ($\beta = .95$) and Nicaraguan-born ($\beta = .65$) models. In addition to engagement ($\beta = .71$), age was a significant predictor ($\beta = -.38$) in the US-born model such that younger students were rated more favorably than older students in this group. Herman and Tucker (2000) concluded that engagement in learning was a significant predictor of academic achievement for three subgroups of Latino American students.
The small, nonrandom samples in this study limit the accuracy and generalizability of the present findings. These findings may not apply beyond the students in this study. Also, response bias may have inflated the inter-correlations among the variables in these models. However, given its significance to educational outcome this study opened the door for further research, specifically needed to identify ways to promote further the connections to school and learning.

Prejudice Reduction/Anti-Bias

The following section reviews studies that support the effectiveness and need for prejudice reduction in education.

Byrnes and Jones (1985) conducted a study of children's and teacher's prejudices in a rural, homogeneous community for two purposes. First, to identify racial attitudes of teachers and the effect of these attitudes on the opportunity for addressing racial attitudes of students. Second, to determine the impact on the students' racial attitudes when they are immersed in an environment involving little or no contact with students of racially and ethnically diverse backgrounds. Byrnes and Jones concluded that White children in homogeneous learning environments showed a critical need for
prejudice reduction strategies, although their research also confirmed that these strategies were crucial and beneficial to all students.

The Byrnes and Jones (1985) study included students from the first, third, and fifth grades. The stratified population sample for this study included: twenty-one teachers, eight of whom came from a rural community school, nine of whom came from a suburban school, and another four teachers who came from a suburban school noted for its divers population. The student population for this study included 53 rural school age children and 48 suburban school age children.

Byrnes and Jones (1985) based their findings in this study on a series of interview questions. Students were interviewed concerning their views of people who are different from themselves in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, or family lifestyles. Teachers were interviewed concerning their racial beliefs, attitudes, and approaches, if any, to prejudice reduction education with children. Byrnes and Jones (1985) found that overall the teachers interviewed in this study were concerned about displays of prejudice in their students, but they did not have many strategies to deal with this prejudicial behavior. In fact, only one first grade teacher indicated that she had responded to a student’s prejudicial behavior in the classroom. One area where teachers did attempt to address prejudicial behavior was
in classroom rules. Most of the teachers indicated an interest in including prejudice reduction education during lessons about democracy.

One of the most significant conclusions from Byrnes and Jones' (1985) study was that first graders have already developed stereotyped attitudes toward racial and ethnic differences. A high percentage of first grade students indicated that children were teased on the basis of their physical differences, such as skin color.

This study concluded that neither first, third, nor fifth grade students are able to explain or define the concept of prejudice. Most White students get their information about African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Asian Americans from family members and friends or from the media and books. Prejudice reduction strategies, therefore, must be designed to overcome these effects of racial isolation.

The findings and conclusions of the Byrnes and Jones (1985) study indicated that White student populations, particularly in homogeneous school environments, should receive more research attention. This study indicates that in the absence of interracial and intercultural student contacts, stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes, and teasing behavior directed at racial, ethnic, physical, and religious differences, are likely to be present at all grade levels studied. The
teachers who participated in this study indicated their belief that children at these ages (first, third, and fifth graders) are somehow immune from prejudice and discrimination. This belief is contradicted by numerous studies, such as Doyle and Aboud (1995) who indicate that children are aware of racial and ethnic differences and prevailing social attitudes toward these differences by the time they reach pre-school. Therefore, the Byrnes and Jones (1985) study indicates a great need for more teacher-training in prejudice reduction.

Aboud (1988) conducted formal research on interethnic relations during her doctoral studies and found that the studies done concerning prejudice during the previous forty years were lacking in the range of possible ethnic diversity. Aboud (1988) indicated that more research is needed from a developmental perspective to properly evaluate prejudiced attitudes in children. Aboud (1988) reviewed three major types of tests that have been used to measure prejudice in children. The first type is the forced-choice question format developed by Clark and Clark in the 1930’s for African American children. The major finding that resulted from this type of testing is that even very young children can experience prejudice toward other ethnic groups, as well as aversion toward their own skin color.
The second type of test reviewed by Aboud (1988) is known as the Preschool Racial Attitude (PRAM), a multiple item test. The PRAM test presents children with 24 racial and 12 gender items, each associated with a positive or negative quality. It has been used successfully with children up to ten or twelve years of age.

The third type of test reviewed by Aboud (1988) is most often used to measure racial attitudes. It is called the continuous rating scale. In this test there are more than two response alternatives along a continuum of positive to negative dimensions. For example, children are asked how much they like a person and how close they would choose to sit by that person. The children are able to evaluate members of each ethnic group separately along this testing continuum. Aboud (1988) recommends that all three kinds of tests be used, especially in combination.

Aboud’s (1988) study made a significant contribution to prejudice reduction because her use of social-cognitive developmental approach. She used Piaget’s cognitive theory which sets forth a three stage sequence of social-cognitive development based on the child’s changing egocentric understanding of the world. The first stage is from ages four to seven years during which children are highly egocentric and unaware of racial or ethnic groups. Piaget argues that children’s preferences at this age are random. The
second stage is from ages seven to ten years when children’s understanding extends beyond themselves to encompass a larger ethnic group identity. The third stage is from ages ten to fifteen years when children undergo more extensive decentration and are able to distinguish among other ethnic groups and apply this principle of reciprocity to other groups. Children at this age level are able to adapt and understand a perspective different from their own.

Aboud’s (1988) study claimed that greater efforts toward prejudice reduction in the early years, from three to five years of age, can actually help do more than merely reduce prejudice in the school years. She believed that the causes of prejudice reflect more than parental and societal views. Aboud (1988) viewed prejudice from a social-cognitive, developmental perspective, so that the child has attitudes that reflect the dominant developmental process that begins with an affective, egocentric perception and moves toward cognitive reasoning processes.

Aboud’s (1988) study supported three conclusions. First, children are already ethnically aware by the time they enter elementary school and respond to social cues of the dominant society regarding the acceptance or rejection of a person based on their race/ethnicity. Second, by age 11 children’s ethnic group preferences have become stabilized and closely patterned after those found
among adults. Third, children at the pre-operational stage begin to develop racial attitudes that are influenced by the dominant society, and this occurs before they can intellectually test their validity by using their reason. Therefore, Aboud’s (1988) study confirms that the beginning of interventions of prejudice reduction strategies should be made before age eleven.

The next study by Bernstein, Zimmerman, Werner-Wilson, and Vosburg (2000) was based on earlier findings by using measures that include classification tasks. Nineteen preschool participants were randomly assigned either to an intervention group or a control group. The children were pre-tested to obtain a baseline measure of their classification skills (i.e., classified by age, gender, race/ethnicity). Following the pre-test measures, children in the experimental group participated in an eight-week intervention program designed to reduce racial/ethnic stereotyping. Increases in classification skills were observed in the experimental group at post-test. Bernstein, Zimmerman, Werner-Wilson, and Vosburg concluded that by the end of the eight-week intervention, children in the experimental group were less likely to sort photo cards by race/ethnicity and more likely to sort them by gender and age. Therefore, the results suggested that interventions for preschoolers expand young children’s ability to classify individuals on multiple dimensions.
Unfortunately, this study has many limitations. This task measures children's ability to classify people on multiple dimensions. However, it is possible that prejudice or stereotyping may still form later in development. Also, the generalizability of the findings is limited due to the modest sample size (N=19). Further research is needed with larger samples in order to determine if multicultural education is an effective tool for helping preschool children develop more tolerant racial attitudes.

The following study by Doyle and Aboud (1995) examined longitudinal changes between ages six and nine years in white children's (N=47) prejudice toward black people and Native Americans with use of the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (PRAMII) and a multiple-response racial attitude measure (MRA). In the longitudinal sample, black/white PRAM scored decreased from kindergarten to Grade 3, t(44) = 4.27, p<.001. To investigate cross-sectional differences, a 2 (Grade) x 2 (PRAM Version) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on PRAM scores with PRAM version (black/white, Native Indian/white) as a repeated factor. Differences between grades and between versions were significant, f(1, 93) = 15.8, p<.001, and 5.1, p<.05. Children in grade three were less prejudiced than kindergarten children on both versions. At both ages, children were somewhat less prejudiced to Native Indians than
to black people. Additional children (N=40) were tested at age nine. The cross-sectional sample replicated itself both in the \textit{PRAM} scores and the \textit{MRA} scores. In both samples, older children were less prejudiced on the \textit{PRAM} than younger children, most of whom were prejudiced. On the \textit{MRA}, which measured attitudes to each racial group independently, favorable-white and unfavorable-black evaluations did not decline with age, but unfavorable-white and favorable-black evaluations increased. Doyle and Aboud (1995) concluded that age-related decreases in prejudice primarily reflected increases in attitudes that ran counter to prejudice rather than a reduction in in-group bias. These changes were primarily developmental in nature and related to social-cognitive growth.

Doyle and Aboud’s (1995) longitudinal study provided long term analysis. They clearly explained the methodology of their research as well as defined key terms. However, the small size of the sample population indicated a weak internal validity and decreased the generalizability of the research.

The next study by Sanchez (1997) was a year-long study examining three questions: (1) Does the increase in quantity and quality of the African American experience in a U.S. history textbook promote significant knowledge acquisition of that group? (2) Does this knowledge positively modify racial attitudes of White students
toward that group? And (3) What is the effect of a teacher's utilization of the textbook's technology on knowledge acquisition and attitude change? The subjects were 149 White high school sophomores enrolled in U.S. history classes in two Midwestern high schools. Four teachers were placed in pairs in a limited use control group and an extensive use experimental group. Two instruments were administered to all of the students subjects as both the pretest and the posttest. The *Black History Knowledge Test*, a 40-item objective measure of the African American experience, was designed by the researcher based on information included in contemporary secondary U.S. history textbooks. It served as the knowledge measure. Serving as the attitude measure, the second instrument was the *Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI)*, a 120-item measure of racial attitudes toward African Americans. When Sanchez (1997) researched the relationships between attitude change and knowledge acquisition, he found that both groups gained in knowledge about African Americans. However, the attitude measure did not change for either group. The knowledge gained did not change the attitude of white students toward African Americans. Therefore, Sanchez (1997) concluded that his findings supported Allport's (1954) assertion that knowledge becomes irrelevant "unless mixed with attitudinal glue." That is, acquired knowledge could be
distorted to rationalize existing attitudes, or knowledge may be somehow isolated/segregated from attitude.

Although the year long duration is a strength of this study, there are still other problems in the study design. Sanchez (1997) failed to address race and class issues in his selection of all White suburban sophomores. Sanchez (1997) also did not provide the gender composition of the sample group, thus possible gender differences were not accounted for. In addition, there were basic arithmetic errors in the data tables. These errors evoke the question of accuracy of the statistical analysis. Finally, Sanchez' (1997) use of *The Black History Knowledge Test* indicates an assumption that fact based knowledge is an accurate measure of student knowledge of the contributions of African Americans to American history.

The following study by Swartz (1993) researched the pedagogical solutions needed to enable educators to disrupt the patterns of race, class, gender and ethnic supremacy in education. Swartz (1993) examined literature and interviewed a sample of teachers about race, class, and gender issues (N=17). Swartz (1993) selected three fragmentary expressions of supremacy for analysis. She found that there was an acceptance and preference for African American ghettoization. In addition, some teachers had higher expectations for girls than for boys because they were female, and
especially if they were middle class. Swartz (1993) concluded that the curriculum, instructional materials and school practices must be critiqued and reworked to eliminate classism.

Swartz (1993) provided strong support in the introduction and throughout the body of the text. She defined her terms to avoid the possibility of confusion and this was especially important because of the widespread use of the term ‘multicultural education.’ Unfortunately, in Swartz’s (1993) non-systematic research method, she did not explain her research methodology or procedure. Her research method was also highly subjective because she only selected three findings to report and analyze. It is unknown how well the responses represented the perspectives of the other respondents. Swartz (1993) did not include the gender composition of her sample, which could have impacted the results.

Lesko and Bloom’s (1998) case study examined the contradictory effects of teaching multicultural education in two American white women’s university classrooms. Lesko and Bloom (1998) used discourse analyses to understand the confusing results of teaching about difference. Course readings and a field trip to an urban school were examined in regard to the instructor intentions and students’ responses. Lesko and Bloom (1998) concluded that post-positivist knowledge and pedagogy must examine what the
implications of any one fashioning of the world are for social action. An emphasis on the production of interpretations incurs a responsibility that we must accept.

The scope of this case study was extremely limited. Lesko and Bloom (1998) vaguely discussed their methodology. They did not define terms. They did not provide demographics for their subjects in their classrooms. They did not even mention the sample size of their classrooms. The results of this case study were determined solely on Lesko and Bloom's (1998) personal analyses. There was no explanation of how they reached their conclusion.

Wham, Barnhart, and Cook (1996) examined the effects of combining home and classroom reading experiences of multicultural storybooks on the awareness and attitudes of kindergarten, second grade, and fourth-grade students toward individuals representing other cultures, circumstances, or lifestyles. Their research was based on 128 students (55 females and 73 males) who attended a public elementary school in a small midwestern community. The composition of the student population was mostly middle-class Caucasian. Wham, Barnhart, and Cook (1996) used two classrooms of students for each grade level in the study, selecting randomly one classroom as the control group (CG) and the second classroom as the Storybook Reading Group (SRG). All participants parents agreed to
read to their child for at least 15 minutes per day as well as fill out a reading record on which they would record the number of pages read and comment on their feelings about the contents of the book. All participants answered a survey, which examined their attitudes toward aspects of diversity, both at the beginning and at the end of the study (seven-month time period). The questions on the survey asked subjects to respond to hypothetical situations in which they would be reading about or participating with individuals representing a range of diverse backgrounds. Subjects were given answer sheets on which there were numbered rows with three faces per row. Each face within a row was the same except for the mouth. The first face showed a broad happy smile, the second, a straight line indicating a neutral response, and the third, an inverted smile, indicating displeasure. At the conclusion of the study, all responses to the diversity questions on the survey administered to the subjects were converted to ordinal numbers in order to facilitate data analyses (smile = 3, straight line = 2, and inverted smile = 1).

Wham, Barnhart, and Cook’s (1996) primary question guiding the study asked whether children’s attitude toward multicultural diversity would be enhanced by exposure to multicultural literature. They concluded that the posttest indicated that for kindergartners, a positive change occurred on five of the nine questions while there
was negative change on three of the items resulting in no overall gains. For second graders, there was a positive change on six items in the SRG and no negative changes. For fourth graders a positive change occurred on six of the nine items and a negative change on three items. A different pattern occurred in the control groups where there was an overall negative change at all three grade levels. These findings indicated that, across the school year, attitudes toward multicultural diversity became more positive or remained steady in the Storybook Reading Groups and became more negative in the control groups. Therefore, without a diversity program, children's appreciation of diversity may actually decrease across the school year.

Wham, Barnhart, and Cook (1996) described their population sample thoroughly, such as class, gender and ethnicity as well as the location of the school used. They also explained their methodology clearly. However, there are still many limitations. First of all, there was no control over the children’s choices of books, and there was no explanation of how and what books were chosen for the study. Also, the study included parent-child reading and there was no control over the quality of the parent-child interactions. Finally, there was no way to record if the children became more culturally aware from outside of this program over the course of the year.
Textbook/Literature Analysis

According to Garcia, Powell, and Sanchez (1991) the use of textbooks constitutes as much as 90 percent of instructional time in American public schools. To support the effects of the textbook on ethnically diverse populations, the following section examines and evaluates studies that searched for effects textbooks may have academically, socially, and emotionally on students.

In this study, Banks (1969) analyzed the representation of African Americans in 36 American history textbooks, grades four though eight. He also selected a sub-sample of six books for use in a comparison between texts from 1964 and 1968. Banks (1969) created 11 categories for analysis. Banks (1969) concluded that in textbooks authors frequently discussed discrimination without providing any explanation and avoided issues of racial violence, prejudice, and conflict. Banks (1969) also found that textbook authors selected token black heroes, rather than representation of the every day experiences of African Americans.

Bank's (1969) research study, although may appear to be outdated for current researchers, was one of the first multicultural social studies textbook content analysis studies. This study provided the foundation for the methodology and focus of subsequent studies.
Also, the idea of tokenism in textbooks in 1969 can be seen in textbooks used today. The large size of the textbook sample provided strong external validity, despite Bank's (1969) failure to provide information concerning how the texts were obtained for sample. Bank's (1969) also provided strong internal validity by clearly outlining his research categories for analysis.

When Sleeter and Grant (1991) examined the representation of race, gender, disability and social class in 47 social studies, reading and language arts, science and mathematics textbooks for grades one through eight, they found that white culture consistently dominated textbooks. In their examination of 14 social studies textbooks, they found that Asian Americans were represented in less than four percent of the pictures, Black Americans in 11 percent, Hispanic Americans in three percent and Native Americans in less than ten percent. The quality of representation was also insufficient. Sleeter and Grant (1991) stated that people of color were not portrayed as solvers of their own problems and the discussions of the problems were presented from a white perspective. Sleeter and Grant (1991) concluded that textbooks continue to legitimate the status of white males through an avoidance of social issues, conflict and controversy.

Unfortunately, this study was very broad. Sleeter and Grant (1991) did not identify their method for textbook selection or the
degree to which the textbooks selected were representational of textbooks used in classrooms. However, the focus of Sleeter and Grant (1991) on the language and quality of content, as opposed to quantity of representation in textbooks builds a strong and compelling case for a re-evaluation of the messages conveyed by textbooks.

Garcia and Florez-Tighe (1986) examined the accuracy and balance of the representation of Blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans in nine basal reading series from 1979 to 1982. Garcia and Florez-Tighe (1986) found that none of the reading series provided accurate or idealistic portrayals of people of color. The representation of Native Americans was the most unbalanced and stereotypic. They concluded that people of color should be portrayed in more diverse roles and more accurate settings.

Garcia and Florez-Tighe (1986) created a strong foundation for their research. They clearly defined their terms, provided the reliability rates for their coding systems, methodology, criteria of assessment, and the methods for textbook selection. However, the research could have been more complete if they had included a more in-depth discussion of the results and their implications. The results reported were minimal and provided a limited understanding of the portrayal of people of color in the nine basal reading series reviewed.
In Epstein's (1994) investigation of the representation of African Americans in the civil rights movement in two history textbooks, she found that the perspective and content of information could greatly change the message of the texts. Epstein (1994) selected one of the five best-selling traditional textbooks, which focused on political and military history and another less popular text written by a specialist in African American history. Epstein (1994) focused on who the textbook authors credited for causing change and whose perspective the author used in describing the consequences of change. She concluded that the latter textbook presented a much more in-depth and accurate depiction of African American achievements during the civil rights movement.

Epstein (1994) did not discuss the two textbooks in equal detail. She selected one textbook for detailed analysis and the other text as an example of accurate textbook coverage. She did not analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the textbook written by the specialist in African American history. The narrow scope of the study on the civil rights movement limits the validity of this study. Furthermore, she did not describe her methodology for selecting her categories for analysis.

Gordy and Pritchard (1995) conducted a survey to obtain the most widely used textbooks in Connecticut and then analyzed the
representation of slavery in 17, fifth grade social studies textbooks. When Gordy and Pritchard (1995) assessed the level of multiculturalism in the textbooks based on a scale developed by Banks, they found that all of the 17 books only reached the additive stage for inclusion of race/ethnic groups. They also found that none of the textbooks discussed the link between the present conditions of African Americans and the conditions under slavery. Furthermore, the textbooks presented the perspective of the white male slave owners. Gordy and Pritchard concluded that the implications of textbook authors’ failure to address a complete picture of the slave trade fails to provide explanations for slavery or the mentality that created slavery.

Gordy and Pritchard (1995) created a strong research design by establishing clear categories and methodology of analysis. This is seen in the number of texts (N=17) and the prevalent use of the textbooks in the sample. However, the study is limited because the textbooks used in this study only represent one state and are not necessarily representative of textbooks used nationwide. Furthermore, Gordy and Pritchard (1995) used the issue of slavery to generalize textbooks’ representation of diverse perspectives, including the perspectives of women and other ethnic groups including Asian Americans, Latino Americans, and Native Americans.
When Sanchez (1999) evaluated the quality of representation of Native Americans in 12 U.S. history textbooks used in Indiana public schools, he found that all of the textbooks reviewed required more depth and accuracy of representation. Sanchez (1999) rated the textbooks from one (poor depiction) to five (comprehensive and accurate on all aspects of the criteria) using a criteria assessment of five values: generosity and sharing, respect for the elderly and women, getting along with nature, individual freedom, and courage. Sanchez (1999) found that three textbooks rated a 1, two rated a 2, four rated a 3, and three rated a 4. Sanchez (1999) concluded that out of the twelve textbooks assessed, only three provided an acceptable portrayal of the Native American culture and their role in American history.

Sanchez (1999) established clear categories of analysis and created a scientific system for analysis. Although it was a strength that Sanchez (1999) selected texts that were in use at the time of his research, the textbooks used in Indiana were not necessarily representative of textbooks used nationwide.

Harada's (2000) study examined the nine U.S. history textbooks used most often in Hawaii public schools. Harada (2000) found that Asian Americans were consistently underrepresented in the textbooks. When Asian Americans were addressed in the texts,
Chinese and Japanese Americans were usually the focus. Several times the texts provided inaccuracies and left out important information. Harada (2000) coded the texts using ten concepts identified by Banks (1991) and found that the least emphasized concepts were power, social protest, and communication. Hence, Harada (2000) concluded that, in general, textbooks treated Asian Americans as passive victims of racist immigration policies and acts of discrimination.

Harada (2000) focused her study on texts used in Hawaii, therefore, the texts used in the study may not necessarily represent the entire U.S. Harada (2000) clearly defined her methodology and analysis. However, Harada’s (2000) vague discussion of findings, such as the inaccuracies of the text, weakened her study.

Institutional Barriers

The following section examines and evaluates studies that searched for institutional barriers preventing effective multicultural education including the lack of teacher knowledge necessary for implementing an effective multicultural curriculum and prejudice reduction education.

According to Sleeter (1995) and Tatum (1992), White teacher education students often distance themselves from racism. They readily recognize themselves as White by description but often fail to
acknowledge or understand the privileges their white skin grants them. Their White privilege is often invisible to them. Some teacher educators and teacher education programs have responded to White students' need for greater understanding of race-related topics by providing opportunities for learning about multicultural education. Research involving White undergraduates in antiracist teacher education courses suggests the courses can help students recognize racial oppression in schools and help them gain insight into their Whiteness. These studies of race-focused multicultural education courses suggest they can be influential in changing expressed attitudes and convictions during the course. The following studies support the need in such courses in order to help teachers succeed in implementing multicultural and antiracist education.

In the following case study, Lawrence (1997) conducted her research study to examine whether the shifts in thinking White students experienced about themselves as racial beings and about systems of oppression during a multicultural education course were evident in teaching practice during a practicum. She wanted to know the degree to which their racial identity development influenced their teaching practices and interactions with students and school personnel.
Lawrence (1997) taught a 15-week multicultural education course on white identity with white teacher education students. She examined the degree to which the racial identity development course influenced the teaching practices and interactions with students and school personnel. She interviewed three students after they had finished the 15-week practicum experience. Based on the three students' post-practicum interview data, using both open-ended and semi-structured questions, Lawrence (1997) coded the transcripts of the teacher candidates' comments, categorized codes, and formed themes according to Banks' (1993) five dimensions of multicultural education. She developed propositions from the data on the degree to which each teacher candidate engaged in multicultural pedagogy or displayed antiracist behaviors during interactions with students and colleagues.

Lawrence (1997) concluded that racial identity development may have important implications for multicultural teaching: white teachers with more fully developed racial identities are likely to experience greater success in multicultural teaching situations than those with poorly developed racial identities.

There were many weaknesses in this study. The sample size was small. Lawrence (1997) limited her research to only three interviews. The outcome of the research was extremely subjective.
since the data was analyzed on personal assumptions. The results of this study cannot be generalized because the interpretations of racial identity vary from person to person. However, Lawrence’s (1997) knowledge on racial identity make her results of the study believable, therefore, opening the door for more research to be done about racial identity and its influence in the classroom.

The next study by Sparks and Butt (200) was a model of action research that examined sixty-three student teachers: thirty-nine were male, twenty-four were female, forty were Euro-American and twenty-three were Latino, African American or Asian American. The research was developed in order to examine the question, “does creating an action plan toward multicultural education, and implementing it in student teaching, have an impact on a teachers attitude toward minority populations within their classes?” A baseline knowledge level was established as a beginning to the critical thinking and analysis process regarding multicultural issues. Multicultural goals were then established for the 16-week semester. Interaction and dialogue, in which student teachers shared multicultural experiences during two, four-hour multicultural workshops followed. During the course of the semester, each student was then asked to document multicultural incidents through log entries indicating goals, observations, personal reactions and things
they did and the outcome. Included in the log entries student teachers were expected to indicate a development of a plan action, implementation of a plan action, as well as assess their ability to meet their respective multicultural goals. Three entries per week for the sixteen-week semester were required.

Sparks III and Butt (2000) concluded that student teachers that participated in this study became more aware of their own bias and developed a more sensitive attitude toward minority populations within their classes.

This study had many weaknesses, such as a small study sample. It also was a very subjective study because the author's opinion favored the outcome of the study. The results are not generalizable. However, Sparks III and Butt (2000) provided the methodology and also provided the gender and ethnic background of the participants. Although Sparks III and Butt's (2000) study held many weaknesses, this study provided positive information for education programs. The study opened the door for new ideas in teacher education programs, such as having student teachers create a multicultural action plan and use it during their student teaching in order to help them become more sensitive to diversity issues in their classrooms.
The next study, Rios (1993) examined the differences in how four teachers in an urban multicultural high school thought about classroom events based on their differing conceptions of multicultural education. The question guiding the study was, "Are there qualitative differences in how teachers in an urban, multicultural school think about classroom scenes based on their conception and articulation of multicultural education?"

The subjects chosen for this study came from a pool of interested (paid volunteer) teachers (N = 16) at a multicultural high school in an urban city in the Midwest. Rios selected to analyze four teachers because he believed they represented the entire group with respect to gender, subject matter, discipline, and conception of multicultural education. Rios (1993) collected all data on an individual basis and tape-recorded all interviews. Each participant was interviewed twice, for 1 1/2 hours each time. Rios (1993) analyzed the data by using a coding scheme he developed.

Rios (1993) concluded that yes there are qualitative differences in how teachers in an urban, multicultural school think about classroom scenes based on their conception and articulation of multicultural education. The findings also concluded that a teacher’s conception of multicultural education becomes more sophisticated as
the number and kind of attributions increase, which results in more complex thinking.

Although it is strength that Rios (1993) explained his methodology clearly, there were many problems in his study. His subject sample was extremely small and they were not randomly selected. In fact, they were paid to do the study. The study was also subjective. Rios (1993) analyzed the data and used a coding scheme that he developed, therefore, the results are bias. However, this study extends our understanding of how teachers interpret students in relationship to their cultural background and conception of multicultural education is important in how these interpretations are made.

The next case study by Wolf (1998) analyzed fieldnotes, final papers, and audiotaped interviews with 10 preservice teachers in order for preservice teachers to reflect on how issues of culturally conscious pedagogy continue to impact their understandings of curriculum, instruction, and assessment in their first year of teaching. Wolf (1998) concluded that preservice educators must prepare future teachers for diversity.

This study was very confusing. Wolf (1998) did not provide any information on how he analyzed his data. He did not provide any demographic information on his subjects. He did not explain his
methodology clearly. He was very scarce on discussing his findings. Because this study is subjective and clarifications are limited critics will find it easy to disclaim the validity of this study.

This next study by Bell, and Munn (1996) examined a 2-year research project, preparing teachers for diverse classrooms. Colleges, universities and public school systems in North Carolina implemented this research. The participants focused on three objectives: to identify attitudes, knowledge, and skills that are necessary for teachers to educate effectively to all students in a culturally diverse classroom. The project participants worked on two concurrent areas related to the preparation of preservice teachers and the growth and development of teachers and leaders who are already in the schools. As they explored the literature related to these areas, an important concept emerged: that is, people are often unwilling to change, even when logic suggests that the proposed change would help them.

Bell and Munn (1996) concluded that pre-service and in-service education programs must address cultural, mainstream academic, transformative, and school knowledge to prepare teachers for diverse classrooms. The cultural and popular knowledge that many minority students bring to school conflict with the cultural and popular knowledge of administrators and teachers and are ignored
by the mainstream academic and school knowledge. This study indicated that the way teachers treated their students was very important. The most effective teachers are those who demonstrate that they understand the culture of their students, who understand the developmental stages and needs of their students, and whose students believe them to be caring human beings.

This study had many weaknesses. Bell and Munn (1996) did not explain their methodology. The demographics of the participants were never described. The sample size was never given. The data and the assessment of the data were never addressed. It was difficult to understand how they concluded their findings. However, this study indicated the need for further research examining strategies enabling teachers to effectively educate all children.

This next study by Carroll, Gregg, and Watts (1995) examined what teachers in Florida knew about teaching multicultural education. Carroll, Gregg, and Watts (1995) initiated a survey to teachers in Florida asking them what they knew about, were confused about, and needed to learn more about regarding teaching culturally diverse students. Carroll, Gregg, and Watts (1995) concluded that neither preservice or in-service teacher education programs have adequately prepared teachers to manage multicultural issues.
This study was very subjective. Carroll, Gregg, and Watts (1995) did not provide the demographics of the 176 teachers who responded to the survey. This could have a tremendous affect on the outcome of the study. Also, the sample was not random. The researchers specifically used teachers who went to conferences because they believed these teachers to be more professionally active than other teachers. Therefore, the selection process had bias implications. The sample size was also small for representing the state of Florida. Carroll, Gregg, and Watts (1995) failed to define their terms; therefore, the answers to the survey questions could have various meanings for each participant. However, this study does create questions about in-service and preservice teacher’s ability to adequately teach to diverse students, thus, calling for more investigative research.

Although how teachers interpret multicultural education, as well as their own cultural identity, may constitute as one institutional barrier when implementing an antiracist and multicultural education system, the following study identifies several other important barriers.

This case study by Carr and Klassen (1997) involved survey and interview procedures to determine the barriers to the implementation of antiracist education. Carr and Klassen (1997) used
70 completed random sample questionnaires, 25 completed targeted questionnaires (identified racial minority teachers) and 28 administrative officials and 22 teacher interviews. Carr and Klassen (1997) concluded that there are at least five barriers to the implementation of antiracist education: 1) lack of a shared vision, 2) decentralization of decision making, 3) few minorities in positions of power, 4) compartmentalization of equality interests, and 5) informal resistance. They claimed that these barriers reinforced inequitable power relations and prevented antiracist education.

Carr and Klassen (1997) have much strength in this study. They provided their methodology as well as the racial make-up of their subjects. They used a random sample survey for one of their questionnaires, which provided generalizability. However, their samples were small in comparison to the population of the school district and they did not report the gender of their subjects, which may be crucial to the outcome of the study. Also, the case study was done in Canada, which may influence critics of its validity in the U.S. However, this study discusses specific barriers that interfere with the implementation and success of multicultural and antiracist education and therefore opens the door for future research needed in the United States.
As mentioned in the prior study, the lack of shared vision and informal resistance, are barriers that prevent the implementation of antiracist and multicultural education. The following studies support this claim.

This case study by Connelly (2000) examined the question; "Does embedded intergroup relations theory in schools help successful race relations. This study is in response to a suburban school changing its racial composition. The perspectives of several key leaders were analyzed, and three key leadership events were examined. An analysis of these events using embedded intergroup relation theory revealed that the high school and the community were unable to authorize key members to do the work of improving race relations. Furthermore, significant boundary problems, such as central office intrusion and the absence of key members of the high school community, weakened the efforts of concerned staff. Connelly (2000) concluded that the implementation of strong boundaries, an effective leader, and the respect among community members and school officials must all be present if a school wants or needs to make changes. All three concepts were lacking in this case study; therefore, tensions among races existed due to the change of racial composition in the school.
This study was subjective because Connelly (2000) was doing his dissertation in support of embedded intergroup relations, therefore, the analysis of the data from the interviews and observations may be bias. Although Connelly (2000) provided his methodology and the racial background of the subjects used, he did not provide their gender, which may have had a significant impact on the outcome. However, Connelly’s (2000) study created concern about racial changes in other predominantly white communities, which may demand more research and investigation into the subject matter.

This next study by Tanemura Morelli and Spencer (2000) examined curricula, policies, and practices used to address racism and bigotry among elementary, middle, and high school students. The study attempted to discover underlying barriers to implementing antiracist and anti-bigotry curricula. A two-phase multi-method field design was used to collect data from respondents in five northwestern U.S. school districts. Forty-four administrators, counselors, and teachers were interviewed with a semi-structured interview guide. The interview schedule consisted of open-ended questions in the following areas: 1) school and community characteristics; 2) the nature of the relationships between students and teachers; 3) recent incidents of racism and bigotry; 4) curricula,
resources, and programs used to prevent or decrease racism and bigotry; 5) awareness of school or state policies regarding racism and bigotry; and 6) improvements or resources needed to reduce racism and bigotry. The second phase consisted of 172 completed surveys.

Tanemura Morelli and Spencer (2000) concluded that violent acts, threats, and harassment directed against minority groups reported in all five school districts studied revealed strong evidence that continuing racist and bigoted attitudes exist. Although a multicultural education philosophy was mentioned in all mission statements of all five schools, the actual use of multicultural education among teachers and administrators varied from infrequent to somewhat frequent. Thus, without articulated policies to deter racism and without policies to implement multicultural and antiracist curricula, the individual efforts of teachers, counselors, and social workers remain weak and inconsistent.

Tanemura Morelli and Spencer (2000) clearly defined their use of terms throughout the study. They described their methodology, as well as the gender and job description of their interviewed subjects. But, most importantly, they addressed the issue of racism, bigotry, and violence that still exists. Unfortunately, the study was very subjective. The analysis of the interviews as well as the questions on the survey could be seen as very bias. Also, the answers on the
survey could vary depending on the "politically correct" and "social consciousness" of the participants. The sample was also extremely small compared to the population of five school districts. However, this study addressed the existence of racism and bigotry that still remains within American public schools despite the activism for multicultural and antiracist education, therefore, indicating the need for continued research.

This next case study by Huerta (1999) examined how multicultural education was interpreted and implemented by a sample of secondary teacher educators at Utah State University. Twenty-five secondary teacher educators across the content areas participated in group meetings to discuss relevancy of multicultural education to secondary teachers, analysis of course syllabi, interviews to determine their multicultural knowledge base, presentation of six implementation strategies, and analysis of data for two years.

Huerta (1999) concluded that the lack of reform in multicultural teacher preparation still exists. Multicultural education policies and implementation plans relevant to secondary teacher education remain absent, despite accreditation mandates and leadership claims of success.
Huerta (1999) clearly defined her use of terms in the study. She provided the profile of the participating institution as well as her methodology. She also provided the gender of the participants. The length of the study was also a positive. However, she did not provide the ethnicity of the participants, which may have an impact on the outcome of the study. The study was very subjective. The participants as well as Huerta (1999) analyzed the data, indicating a very bias outcome. However, Huerta's (1999) findings indicate a need for further research studying the barriers that interfere with implementing multicultural education policies as well as classroom strategies.

According to Carr and Klassen's (1997) study, the state of not having enough minorities in positions of power within the education system is an institutional barrier preventing the implementation of multicultural and antiracist education. The following study supports this claim.

This study by Carr and Klassen (1996) examined the roles which racial minority teachers played in antiracist education. Carr and Klassen (1996) observed Flemington Elementary School as it attempted to re-create itself by focusing on teacher recruitment strategies. The school changed its hiring practices and began focusing on hiring people who understood the issues of anti-racism and who
were qualified. At the same time the school was also conscious of recruiting teachers to promote equity among the staff. Flemington Elementary School is located in an area with a highly diverse population. The population was comprised of 60-70% of Black students, with the remaining number representing a range of other ethnic groups. Carr and Klassen's question initiating this study was: "Are there significant benefits for students, and for the education system at large, attributed to a diverse, representative teaching corps?"

Based on Carr and Klassen's (1996) study, they concluded that the changes of the composition of the staff, including a new Black principal, combined with the initiatives such as a strong parent/community programs and special programs for students at-risk increased the academic achievement of students.

There were many weaknesses throughout this study. Carr and Klassen (1996) provided no information on their methodology, the demographics of the teacher population at the school before and after the observations. There was no data given to support the findings. However, the study supported claims indicated by other research that the lack of minorities in position of power within the education system is an institutional barrier interfering with the
implementation of multicultural and antiracist education. Therefore, the need for further research is important.

Summary

Multicultural curriculum and prejudice reduction education instigates controversial discourse. Although the United States population is becoming rapidly diverse the education system remains institutionally biased. The research examined in this chapter indicates that aggressive policies and practices need to be implemented in order to provide equity for every child in America.

The studies examined for academic achievement and multicultural education support the findings that a multicultural education positively effects academic success for diverse students'. For example, Huber, Hiege, and Pascal's (1992) research indicated that there are teachers who are establishing successful and effective learning environments and engendering student self-esteem. These teachers recognized the significance of the student's culture, home, individual background, as well as their individual needs. Therefore, diverse students responded positively to their learning and their learning environment. Tan's (1999) research also indicates these findings. Students in her study perceived that a multicultural school was important to learning and to their desire to stay in school and to
graduate. These students were more inclined to believe that they would graduate from high school when teachers and other students respected their culture and language. Therefore, they believed that learning was easier for them when teachers knew who they were and used examples from their native culture to help them learn. Thus, in order for multicultural education to successfully help students achieve academically, it is essential for teachers to know who their students are and recognize the significance of their students’ culture and all that it encompasses.

The studies examined throughout the prejudice reduction and anti-bias section of this chapter support the finding that early prejudice intervention is necessary in view of the early age at which racial awareness and prejudice begins to develop. These studies, such as Aboud’s (1988), points out that greater efforts towards prejudice reduction in the early years, from three to five years of age, can actually help do more than merely reduce prejudice in the school years. These studies indicate that the causes of prejudice reflect more than parental and societal views. For example, Aboud (1988) views prejudice from a social-cognitive, developmental perspective, so that the child has attitudes that reflect the dominant developmental process that begins with an affective, egocentric perception and moves toward cognitive reasoning processes. Hence, a
child's awareness of race/ethnicity begins at an early age and continues throughout childhood. Therefore, prejudice reduction strategies also need to begin early and continue through a child's developmental process.

The studies examined throughout the textbook analysis section of this chapter provide no indications on the effect textbooks have on students of color and academic achievement. However, these studies do support the finding that textbooks inaccurately represent people of color and white culture consistently dominates textbooks used in classrooms. These studies also support that tokenism of people of color is a common tactic used in textbooks in order to incorporate diversity into the text. This type of strategy initiates tokenism as a multicultural tool, hence, ineffectively establishing successful multicultural education. Therefore, since textbooks play such a crucial role in children's learning, multicultural education includes the advocacy for textbook changes to make the curriculum more representative and more accurate of diverse views.

The studies examined throughout the institutional barrier section of this chapter support the finding that there are several institutional barriers that exist that interfere with successful and effective implementation of multicultural education. The barriers addressed in these studies are the lack of shared vision,
decentralization of decision making, few minorities in position of power, compartmentalization of equality interests, and informal resistance. However, the most prevalent barrier interfering with multicultural curriculum is the lack of shared vision. Teachers interpret multicultural education, as well as their own cultural identity, in various ways. Therefore, the need for multicultural education programs for preservice teachers, as well as programs for in-service teachers, to help teachers understand and identify effective multicultural and antiracist education strategies is essential. Chapter Four's analysis of the research and literature examined in this chapter will provide support as well as provide classroom implications and implications for further research in the areas of multicultural curriculum and prejudice reduction education.
CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

Introduction

In this chapter I will provide my evaluation and findings from the research and data from the previous chapters. Based on my findings I will also provide classroom implications and implications for further research. It is my hope that future educators will also see the desperate need for equity within the public school system and advocate for a multicultural curriculum and prejudice reduction education.

Summary of Findings

The purpose of this paper is to consider effective strategies, such as multicultural curriculum and prejudice reduction for reducing race, class, ethnic, and gender biases that exist within our public education system. Although racism and discrimination are imbedded within the social and political structures of this Nation, the social, political, and educational movements of the past have created a path towards equity. It is up to educators to pursue it.

Creating an inclusive, equitable learning environment for every student is the long held goal in multicultural education. Within the realm of multicultural education is the dimension multicultural curriculum. Several strategies for multicultural curriculum and inclusive education were evaluated in this paper.
Inclusive Multicultural Curriculum Can Alter the Learning Environment

The importance of providing an inclusive multicultural curriculum is a consistent finding of the academic achievement and textbook analyses studies. Researchers Banks (1994), Jacob (1995), and Sleeter and Grant (1991), concluded that Anglocentric curriculum continues to dominate the schools today even though studies have shown that an inclusive multicultural curriculum stimulates academic achievement and positive self-esteem for all students. Abi-Nader (1990), Huber, Hieger, and Parscal (1992), and Wham, Barnhart, and Cook (1996), found that responsible pedagogy as well as culturally sensitive instruction is essential in implementing a multicultural curriculum.

Students of color, women, and students from low socioeconomic backgrounds are more often than not, isolated, marginalized, and especially falsely stereotyped in modern day curriculum. Studies done by researchers, such as Tan (1999), Felice (1973), and Ogbu (1994), confirm that when students see themselves, their culture, and even their language accepted by their teachers and their peers, then their academic achievement, self-image, behavior, and attitude toward education change in a positive manner.

Multicultural curriculum is an ongoing developmental process
and is just as important for teachers as it is for students. Researchers such as Rios (1993), Lawrence (1997), and Carr and Klassen (1997) assert that teachers need to be educated on race, racial identity, multicultural education strategies, such as implementing an inclusive multicultural curriculum and prejudice reduction practices, in order to be effective in the classroom.

**Prejudice Reduction**

The importance of implementing prejudice reduction in education is a consistent finding of the anti-bias and prejudice reduction attitude studies. Researchers Bernstein, Zimmerman, Werner-Wilson, and Vosburg (2000), Doyle and Aboud (1995), and Wham, Barnhart, and Cook (1996), found that children's racial awareness and prejudicial attitudes begin at an early age, as early as preschool.

Doyle and Aboud (1995) performed a longitudinal study of prejudice in white children beginning at age four. Doyle and Aboud (1995) concluded that children's prejudices are formed by the time they reach kindergarten. The study also indicated that as children get older and are able to utilize the evaluation process, the possibility of being less prejudiced transpired.

Prejudice reduction is another ongoing developmental process and is also important for the teachers as it is for the students. Banks
(1994), Lawrence (1997), and Sparks III and Butt (2000), claim that teachers must be willing to look at their own biases, address their own racial identity, and critically evaluate the materials used in the classroom for prejudices, biases, and false representations in order to be effective at addressing racial biases and prejudices in the classroom.

The preceding summaries of findings indicate that an inclusive multicultural curriculum and prejudice reduction education is essential for all students in order to help promote academic achievement, a positive self-image, and a positive attitude toward education and others. The next section applies some of these findings to implications for classroom methods for achieving an inclusive multicultural curriculum and prejudice reduction.

**Classroom Implications**

**Inclusive Multicultural Curriculum**

Banks (1994) recommends that the school curriculum should be reformed so students will view concepts, events, issues, and problems from different ethnic perspectives and points of view. Reconceptualizing the curriculum and making ethnic content an integral part of a transformed curriculum should be distinguished from merely adding ethnic content to the curriculum. For example, content about Native Americans can be added to a Eurocentric
curriculum that teaches students Columbus discovered America. In such a curriculum, the students will read about Columbus's view of the Indians when he “discovered” them. However, in a transformed curriculum the students will read and learn about the culture of the Arawak Indians as it existed in the late 1400's, the journey of Columbus, and the meeting of the aboriginal American and European cultures in the Caribbean in 1492.

**Prejudice Reduction**

A study was done in a mid-western, pre-dominantly white elementary school. The teacher wanted to address the issue of racial discrimination and segregation towards African Americans. The teacher divided the class by the color of their eyes. The students with brown eyes sat on one side of the class and the students with blue eyes sat on the other side of the classroom. For that day the teacher and children with blue eyes would communicate together, the children with blue eyes could drink out of the water fountain, and the children with blue eyes could go to lunch and go out to recess. As for the children with brown eyes they were ignored, not spoken to, and did not have any privileges. Of course the children with brown eyes were humiliated and saddened by their treatment. However, the next day the roles were reversed. The children with brown eyes had all the privileges and the children with blue eyes
had none. As the roles reversed, so did the attitudes and behaviors.

On the third day the teacher asked the children how did they feel the
day they had privileges and the day they were ignored. This opened
the discussion for racial prejudices by placing the children in roles
that they normally do not occupy and examining how they feel and
how others may feel.

Implications for Further Research

Further research should be done in the areas of academic
achievement in an implemented inclusive multicultural curriculum.
General studies have been done concluding a positive outcome.
However, I would like to see a longitudinal study done on students
who are doing poorly in school and are placed in a classroom with a
teacher who implements an inclusive curriculum. The outcome of
such research would be interesting and also important to the
education field.

A large number of the racial attitude studies focused on
preschool children. More longitudinal studies with racial and gender
differences in older students are recommended for future areas of
research.
REFERENCES


