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Sandra L. Foster
Associate Professor, School of Education and Counseling, slfoster@regis.edu

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Sandra L. Foster
Associate Professor, School of Education and Counseling
Regis University
(slfoster@regis.edu)

Abstract

Our nation continues to have a diverse population as reflected by our K-12 student population in America’s schools. However, approximately 83.5% of our nation’s teachers are white and mirror the demographics found in most teacher preparation programs. Because most teachers will come into contact with children who are culturally and racially different from them, preservice teachers will need to learn new ways of thinking about cultural differences and will need to be trained to work with students from various racial and cultural backgrounds.

Ignatian Pedagogy and Critical Pedagogy are effective strategies to challenge students’ preconceived notions about people who are culturally, linguistically, and socioeconomically different from them by forcing students to rethink their long-held conceptions of the world.

The goal of a Jesuit education is not only to liberate students but also to educate students of conscience, competence, and compassion. These goals are the aligned with some characteristics that define Critical Pedagogy. Critical Pedagogy is utilized to raise students’ critical consciousness regarding oppressive social structures and conditions. It is the hope of an Ignatian and “Critical Pedagogist” that courses utilizing these practices can be vehicles for change in the world by helping students not only understand justice, but that they live justly as agents of change.

Introduction

Our nation continues to have a diverse population as reflected by our K-12 student population in America’s schools. However, approximately 83.5% of our nation’s teachers are white and mirror the demographics found in most teacher preparation programs. It should come as no surprise that most teachers will come into contact with children who are culturally and racially different from them. Unfortunately, with today’s political climate regarding immigrants and people of color, racial and cultural differences form the basis of a hierarchy in which those individuals and groups belonging to the non-dominant cultures are, for the most part, looked on as inferior. With this in mind, it is imperative that preservice teachers learn new ways of thinking about cultural differences. Given that our attitudes and beliefs impact the way we interact and treat others who are culturally different from us, “it is impossible to prepare tomorrow’s teachers to succeed with all of the students they will meet without exploring how students’ learning experiences are influenced by their home languages, cultures, and contexts; the realities of race and class privilege in the United States; the ongoing manifestations of institutional racism within the educational system; and the many factors that shape students’ opportunities to learn within individual classrooms.”

In other words, preservice teachers have to be trained to work with students from various racial and cultural backgrounds. In order to do this, preservice teachers must be provided with the tools, knowledge, skills, and understanding needed to prepare them for culturally diverse classrooms.

The Promise: Ignatian Pedagogy and Critical Pedagogy

Ignatian Pedagogy and Critical Pedagogy in combination are effective strategies to challenge students’ preconceived notions about people who
are culturally, linguistically, and socioeconomically different from them by forcing students to rethink their long-held conceptions of the world. In Jesuit institutions, students’ educational experiences rely on the belief that students are capable of learning when they are provided with opportunities for active engagement in the world. In order for true learning to occur, the learner must be liberated in one way or another. In other words, after learning takes place, learners are able to defend their stance because of what they learned and because of what they know; they are liberated because they have gained new knowledge and are free from not knowing information.4

The goal of a Jesuit education is not only to liberate students but also to educate students on conscience, competence, and compassion. These are aligned with some characteristics that define Critical Pedagogy. Critical Pedagogy is utilized to raise students’ critical consciousness regarding oppressive social structures and conditions. With Critical Pedagogy, coming to consciousness (critical consciousness) is necessary for praxis, which is an ongoing, reflective approach taken by learners resulting in students participating in action that leads to social transformation. With Critical Pedagogy, students’ voices must be valued in order for them to be engaged in active learning. Only then can freedom be increased because they are learning and relearning through action.5 Education that raises learners’ consciousness is necessary and must be intentional. If not, it will not take place. It is the hope of an Ignatian and Critical Pedagogist that courses utilizing these practices can be vehicles for change in the world by helping students not only understand justice, but that they live justly as agents of change.

Using both Ignatian and Critical Pedagogy helps students come to understand that ideas about what is normal, good, or right are a result of their own life experiences rather than universal and accepted laws and that others will have equally valid, if not different, life experiences and ideas of what is normal, good, or right.6 Through critical consciousness, preservice teachers are able to achieve an in-depth understanding of how, via critical examination of power and privilege in contemporary society, the dominant culture is perceived. This is imperative in order to develop an understanding of their responsibilities as culturally responsive teachers in the classroom.

Helping students gain the skills they need in order to critically reflect and examine systems of power can be accomplished by engaging learners, which can be accomplished through Ignatian and Critical Pedagogy. Through an engaged pedagogy, students can participate in dialogue that is transformative, challenge power, and start to see all sides of an issue. As a result of an engaged pedagogy, students’ preconceived notions about people who are culturally, linguistically, and socioeconomically different from them are tested by what they learn through their experiences in the course as well as their experiences outside of the classroom. Reflection through engagement is a formative and liberating process that helps shape and develop the conscious of learners. The ultimate goal is for the learner to be transformed and to undertake action.7

By focusing on the elements of both Ignatian and Critical Pedagogy, preservice teachers are able to learn how to think critically and examine power and privilege as it relates to their lives and others despite how uncomfortable it may be for them to deconstruct their paradigms and identities. The unlearning and relearning that occurs in this class can be uncomfortable for many because this is the first time they are asked to critically examine their experiences and their worldviews in relation to issues of diversity. They are asked to navigate through contentious and difficult topics such as white privilege, educational inequity, culture, racism, discrimination, hidden curriculum, social class, social reproduction, social stratification, immigrant students, eradication of language, assimilation, Eurocentric curriculum, etc. The very idea of looking at a world plagued with inequities is new for many of these students since many choose not to see the inequities nor do they want to teach in schools where students are racially, culturally, linguistically, and/or socioeconomically different from them. The fear of the unknown sets in and the misperception of being seen as a racist are real feelings students experience at the beginning of this course.

Despite how uncomfortable students feel at the beginning of the course, utilizing Ignatian and Critical Pedagogy helps to increase their comfort...
level as they move through the course. Educating men and women of all ages and encouraging them to take leadership roles and to make a positive impact in a changing society is the pinnacle of a Jesuit education. Faculty and students are encouraged to engage one another not only through reflection and dialogue, but also through active involvement, with issues of social justice in contemporary society. Learning experiences that are designed to strengthen skills in analyzing the structural roots of suffering and the relationships of power and privilege in contemporary society, particularly as they affect the poor and marginalized is key to a Jesuit education. Because preservice teachers will come into contact with students who are poor and marginalized, the goal for teacher education programs should be to infuse these kinds of learning experiences in all courses.

The Praxis: A Multicultural Course

The following section describes how one teacher-educator utilizes Ignatian and Critical Pedagogy in a multicultural education course. The goal is to provide students with a safe space to participate in critical consciousness, transformative dialogue and reflection based on their experiences and new learning. One element of Ignatian Pedagogy is evaluation. However, traditional measurements of learning (e.g., multiple-choice exams) are not used. Ignatian Pedagogists look for indication of growth in mind, heart, and spirit as persons for others in class discussions, reflective notebooks, and final projects, which are then used to evaluate mastery of understanding and learning. By providing thorough descriptions of different strategies used to help students develop competence, conscience, and compassion, readers will get a glimpse of the power of utilizing Ignatian and Critical Pedagogy in a multicultural education course, where transformation of society starts with transformation of the preservice teacher; this is the first step toward equity and social justice in the classroom.

Reflection

The first assignment for students is to reflect on their family roots and backgrounds. They are required to discuss how they define their own ethnic and cultural identities as well as what this means for them on a personal level. Additionally, they are asked to address how their identities have affected their integration into their classrooms, both academically as well as culturally and socially. Another element of Ignatian Pedagogy is context where cura personalis, or personal care and concern for the student are practiced. Under this element, the facilitator becomes as familiar as possible with the life experience of the learner because our experiences do not happen in a vacuum. In fact, our experiences and the way we view and understand the world as a learner is impacted by our family members, friends, peers, and the larger society. In this course it is important for the facilitator to understand where his/her students are coming from in relation to diversity and to start with where students are and how they view the world when it comes to diversity issues. As previously mentioned, the topics covered under the umbrella of multicultural education can be contentious and challenging. In order to help students navigate through these topics, they must first be provided with the opportunity to self evaluate their own experiences. Students are asked to share their background and experience with people from ethnic, cultural and social class backgrounds other than their own. They are asked to address some difficult questions. What experiences have they had with people who are different? As a child, did they have friends who were of a different racial/ethnic background? How have these experiences influenced the ways in which they view and have interacted with people from other racial and ethnic backgrounds? How were people from different cultures viewed and treated by their family members? What messages did they receive about people who were different? After students respond to these questions, they are asked to consider how students from different backgrounds might experience school and what constitutes the culture of most schools. By completing this activity, students uncover memories of their childhood, their family, and their own schooling experiences. In some cases dredging up the past can bring about bad memories. It is this information that helps the facilitator gauge an understanding of where the student is at the beginning of the course as well as helps the facilitator use cura personalis in order to provide another element of Ignatian Pedagogy, experience. Under this element, opportunities that best engage learners as whole persons in the
teaching and learning process are provided to move students toward personal development and growth.

**Action**

In another assignment, students are asked to read *White Privilege* by Peggy McIntosh and to participate in a privilege activity in class. For many white students, this is the first time their whiteness is being challenged. Frankenberg defines whiteness as a set of locations that are historically, socially, politically, and culturally produced and, moreover, are intrinsically linked to unfolding relations of domination. Naming “whiteness” displaces it from the unmarked, unnamed status that is itself an effect of dominance. As Frankenberg asserts, to look at the social construction of whiteness, then, is to look head-on at a site of dominance. White privilege places members of the dominant culture at an advantage and members of non-dominant cultures at a disadvantage and whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal. Students realize that while these privileges seem normal to them, these privileges are not normal nor are they afforded to other groups of people, specifically members of non-dominant cultures. White privilege is a new concept for many of these students, as they do not see themselves as people with racial identity, let alone as someone who can identify with the term whiteness. In their minds, the color of one’s skin or race is associated with people of color. As long as they believe they are not racist, they believe they have nothing to do with racism. However, acknowledging their whiteness places them in the relations of racism and one of dominance. It is not until they are required to take inventory of their whiteness and their white skin privilege that they start to understand the significance of being members of the dominant culture and the significance of race on shaping our society.

The element of experience is utilized with the privilege activity, where students live vicariously through their peers’ and facilitator’s experiences in order to learn about privilege and how it shapes who we are as individuals. Students are asked to stand in a line and to hold hands. The facilitator reads aloud several statements related to privilege. If a statement pertains to them they are to step back. Students are asked to watch where their peers and their facilitator stand in relation to each statement. Invisible walls start to break down as a result of learning that peers who look like them do not necessarily have the same experiences. They realize that even in a homogenous group there is diversity. Additionally, they learn a lot about the facilitator and vice versa. It is here where relationship between student and teacher starts to develop. Under the tradition of Ignatian and Critical Pedagogy, teaching and learning is viewed as reciprocal. With these pedagogical strategies, teachers accompany learners in the lifelong pursuit of competence, conscience, and compassion. As facilitators, we are continually learning and when we learn from others, and ourselves it is at this time we are most effective in our teaching.

**Critical Consciousness**

Eventually, as students continue to read the required texts for the assigned course and begin to process information through class discussions about various topics that are covered in the course, white guilt becomes a catalyst for self-examination and self-reflection. Students start to become aware of the inequities in systems of power and start to feel ashamed that they have never recognized the kinds of privileges they are afforded. They realize that there is no level playing field in education and that practices that are normalized as a result of the dominant culture’s ideology in our schools in reality serve to marginalize and privilege certain groups of students. With this self-awareness, students begin to experience critical consciousness through critical reflection, elements of both Critical and Ignatian pedagogy.

Critical consciousness centers on key concepts of identity, reflection, analysis of power, and inquiry about assumptions. To envision critical consciousness in teacher education is to envision students engaging and participating in critical reflection and transformative dialogue about the different kinds of education we experience. As a result, students come to an understanding or an awareness of the various kinds of inequities that exist in institutions like schools and start to question how certain “normalized” practices in schools marginalize or privilege certain groups of students. Furthermore, students who are engaged...
in critical consciousness take a reflective stance, examining who they are and their identities, and how they are positioned within the dominant culture. They also start to understand that critical consciousness is not a one-time experience. It is an ongoing process that is influenced by social context, that is dependent upon changes in families, schools, society, and other institutions at any given time as well as their own experiences within these changing conditions and, therefore, always evolving.

Critical consciousness requires that one must constantly reflect on his or her actions, beliefs, and values. To be reflective teachers means to question the goals and values that guide their teaching, the institutional and cultural contexts in which they teach, and examine their assumptions they bring to the classroom relative to their students' cultures and lived experiences. Reflection supports the tenets of critical consciousness in that it requires one to “recognize, examine, and ruminate over the implications of one’s beliefs, experiences, attitudes, knowledge, and values as well as opportunities and constraints provided by the social conditions in which he or she works.”

Reflection is also an element of Ignatian Pedagogy, where the facilitator engages students through memory, understanding, and feelings in order to help them grasp the meanings and values of what is being studied and the implications for their practices as teachers. Reflection requires one to be self-critical in order to be better prepared to teach children who bring a variety of experiences and backgrounds to the classroom.

Transformative Dialogue

Along with reflection, active dialogue between preservice teachers in a multicultural classroom is vital if we want preservice teachers to reflect on their thoughts and feelings about their practices. In this case, reflection must occur before transformative dialogue takes place. In order for this to happen, preservice teachers must practice reflection as a political act that either contributes toward or hinders, the realization of a more just and humane society. Preservice teachers are asked to reflect both inwardly at their own practice and outwardly at the social conditions in which their practices are situated and to participate in dialogue to address what this means for them as future teachers.

The goal is for students to discuss and come to an understanding about the sociopolitical and sociocultural contexts of everything that encompasses education and how these forces impact everything they do in the classroom. As teachers and educators, we must provide an environment of comfort, safety, and trust where students are open to questioning their long held beliefs about people who are culturally, linguistically, and socioeconomically different from them and are willing to examine the consequences of their actions. If there are no opportunities for participation in critical, reflective and transformative dialogue, the risk is loss of engagement among preservice teachers. Without engagement in critical reflection and dialogue, preservice teachers are not able to develop critical consciousness, nor are they able to develop in heart, mind, and will, a basic tenet of Ignatian Pedagogy.

Assignments for Engagement

One major assignment students must complete for this course is a reflection notebook. This is different from a journal in that it requires students to go beyond the surface to share their ideas, questions, fears, challenges, experiences and thoughts about the course. Students are required to demonstrate their ability to make connections between what they have learned in class and their personal life experiences. They are required to go beyond their comfort zone and to push well beyond the material insightfully critiquing the “party line.” Their reflective notebook provides them a safe place to participate in transformative dialogue with the facilitator. Additionally, the concept of contemplation in action, another Ignatian tenet supports the practice of reflective practice, specifically to how Shon defines action, not solutions as the heart of reflective practice.

With this kind of reflective practice, students come to understand by doing, by being involved in the activity, and by reflecting on their experience in light of the readings used by the professor, the class discussions, field observations, class simulations, peer presentations, etc. Reflection on experience is an element of Ignatian Pedagogy. Students are encouraged to be
attentive to what they are experiencing in themselves and the world around them, to reflect on these experiences and on what kind of questions that have emerged as a result of these experiences. Then they are encouraged to make a judgment, ‘yes this is so,’ ‘no, this is not so,’ or ‘I do not know yet what to think’ and to determine what this judgment might call for by way of action. The goal is to engage students in deeper critical reflection so they are able to really think about the ways in which their learning benefits the children they will teach in the future.

Another course requirement is that students observe in an ESL and/or a bilingual classroom in schools where 75 to 85% of the student population are recipients of free and/or reduced lunches or a Title 1 School, which is defined by the US Department of Education as a school with large concentrations of low-income students who receive supplemental funds to assist in meeting students’ educational goals. As students complete their observations, they start to recognize some of the things we have discussed in class such as inequity, English-only policies, racism, discrimination, hidden curriculum, social reproduction, Eurocentric curriculum, and domination of non-dominant cultures. For many of these students this is the first time they witness inequity and stratification in education and this is the first time they step outside of their comfort zone in order to analyze the reality in schools.

Field experiences are ideal in teacher education especially in a multicultural education class. Students are asked to engage their learning in heart, mind, and will and to use empathy in order to understand how certain students from certain groups experience inequity and injustice in schools via policies and procedures. Providing students with field experiences enables them to achieve an understanding of real classrooms that reaches beyond the cognitive. Under Ignatian pedagogy, encouraging students to pay attention to their experiences in real classrooms moves learners toward the goal of evoking an affective response to the visit, which can incite personal as well as intellectual growth.

Another assignment is for students to critically examine current curriculum being used in Colorado and Wyoming classrooms. Students are required to examine existing content curriculum that uses a current adopted textbook. They are required to analyze the unit of existing curriculum and find ways that they can make the curriculum more inclusive and of greater connection to their students’ lives. Students are also required to examine areas of bias in different kinds of activities and assessment, including cultural biases, difficulties in accurately assessing students who are English language learners, gender issues, disability issues, and issues of individual learning styles. The final product should demonstrate their understanding of how the unit reflects the conceptual framework of multicultural education, inclusive education, equity in education, and social justice in education. Additionally, students are required to articulate how the unit relates/connects to their students’ lives and the community, differentiates instruction for all learners, reflects Critical Pedagogy, and reflects how the curriculum integrates structural reform and multicultural, social action, and awareness. Critical Pedagogy favors a curriculum that is inclusive, challenges the status quo, and encourages learners to act. Additionally, a focus of both Ignatian and Critical Pedagogy is developing curriculum that is focused on issues of justice and equity.

Curriculum Development

Challenging preservice teachers to critically examine curriculum and to create strategies that provide a multicultural curriculum is one step to helping students learn how to practice multicultural education, to teach for social justice, and to create pedagogies of power so they are able to transform their classrooms. Since education is embedded in a particular sociocultural and sociopolitical context, multicultural education needs to be placed within a framework of empowering attitudes and beliefs rather than just being viewed as a pedagogy or curriculum. In order to truly transform society for social justice, in addition to changing the content of the curriculum, the content needs to be presented critically and critically questioned so preservice teachers’ thinking and learning will change. Our greatest hope for providing equitable teaching environments for our children is to focus on teachers’ practices, and a great starting place is during their preservice training. It is here where
they can practice and apply what they have learned to the curriculum they will be required to teach once they complete their training. In order for this to become a reality, teacher education programs must make changes to its programs if their goal is to prepare teachers who question content in textbooks and its curricula. In order for preservice teachers to practice critical examination of curriculum and to make needed changes so it is inclusive, preservice teachers must be provided numerous opportunities throughout their teacher education program to make changes to the curricula. Furthermore, preservice teachers must also be able to demonstrate this practice during their practicum or student teaching to ensure mastery of learning has taken place.

Teaching students how to develop curricula that are inclusive suggests that other cultures may well have valuable ideas to offer. Honoring various perspectives challenges the presumed Eurocentric ideals, something that may be uncomfortable to both students and teachers. However, multiple perspectives must be encouraged and respected and part of the educational experience for all children. Students need a curriculum that encourages them to empathize with others. Teaching against the grain takes great courage and vision because it dares to challenge the official knowledge and prevailing truths about what works and what does not work.

Furthermore, when students start to envision other ways in which they could infuse lessons with activities reflective of multicultural education, they begin to feel a sense of agency and make a commitment to impart more knowledge, not just what is required by the curriculum. In order for students to develop into effective multicultural educators, they must know how to respond to the myriad forces that shape them. Understanding how the intersections of race, ethnicity, class, language, gender, sexual orientation, religion, disability, immigration status, and other dimensions of diversity impact their classrooms, schools, and their everyday lives is one of the many challenges they face. However, once they start to imagine the possibilities for themselves and their students, they start to proactively search for multiple perspectives and pursue multiple possibilities to improve their practice, because they recognize that they must be able to respond to the diverse needs of their students. It is important to help students learn how to critically reflect what it means to be a multicultural educator. They must learn how to sustain this practice so they do not see it as an additive program, but one that is inclusive of their everyday life as a teacher. Multicultural education has a greater possibility to impact student learning when it is approached through the lens of Ignatian and Critical Pedagogy.

Multicultural education must be infused into all teacher education courses because providing preservice teachers with only one opportunity to practice critical consciousness, reflection, and transformative dialogue is not sufficient. Teacher preparation programs run the risk of students forgetting what they have learned in a course like this if they do not have opportunities to practice it throughout their program and during their practicum or student teaching. Because our population continues to become more diverse at a rapid pace, “most educators have reached a consensus that addressing racial/ethnic diversity is the highest priority, so the next step is to move beyond simply tolerating diversity and group differences.”27 The challenge as teacher-educators is to change direction in our thinking and to move beyond the assumption that we have to teach about the importance of diversity on a superficial level. In this case, teaching the importance of diversity is defined as practicing ‘color blindness’ and living and working under the notion that we are all the same under the skin; that culturally, we are converging; that materially, we have the same chances in this country; and that any failure to achieve is therefore the fault of people of color themselves.28 Teaching our students under this kind of ‘diversity’ paradigm is counteractive to transforming society and teaching for equity and social justice. Continuing on this path perpetuates the current system in place and does not allow students to critically examine the structures of power that exist or the privilege certain groups of people enjoy all the while marginalizing other groups of people. Most importantly, it does not allow for institutional change nor does it allow for students to see themselves as agents of change. Instead, if we truly want help our preservice teachers impact change in our education system, our focus should be on culturally responsive pedagogy in the classroom. In order to do this,
our students who are in the teaching credential program must learn how to practice critical consciousness, which involves reflection and transformative dialogue.

Conclusion

Transforming the structural factors in the educational system in order to redress cultural insensitivity and inequity should be one of the main goals of a multicultural education. In order for institutions of higher education to claim they are preparing preservice teachers to teach in culturally diverse classrooms, they must critically examine their program to ensure their students are engaged in critical consciousness, reflection and transformative dialogue. Though students might find these to be difficult and unsettling, data from students’ reflective notebooks show that students start to understand the necessity once they share their experiences and start to make connections between classroom discussions, simulations, course texts, and their field observations. By the end of this course, preservice teachers are able to critically examine curriculum and normalized practices that privilege and marginalize certain groups of students via school policies in our schooling system. Additionally, students claim they no longer view the world the same way they did prior to taking this course. Their paradigms have shifted and they are able to reflect and discuss their position within the dominant culture and how this impacts their practices. Furthermore, they yearn to learn more about their identity and how their standing in the world impacts their perspective of people who are culturally, linguistically, and/or socioeconomically different from them. Analyzing the world around them through critical reflection and critical consciousness is important for students so they are able to provide equity in education and teach for social justice.

While our goal as teacher-educators should be to prepare the most effective teachers that will benefit all children, we cannot forget the ultimate goal is to promote equity and equality in schools so all students will be able to receive a quality education. The challenge lies in whether or not students will sustain these skills as they move through their training and negotiate the demands of mandated policy, such as high stakes testing. It may take small acts of courage, one teacher at a time. Scripted curricula that come in neat little packages or cookie cutter approaches to teaching do not fit well with diverse learners in our diverse world. Incorporating changes is a difficult process. However, providing the tools for preservice teachers to use in their classrooms is a start. By starting at the classroom level, one can only hope that it will transfer to outside of the classroom where students start to become agents of change in their own communities. The goal is to encourage preservice teachers to act. This can occur through various actions. Though these actions may not immediately transform society into a community of justice and equity, it is at least a step towards reaching the goal of teaching for equity and social justice. For example, if students critically examine curriculum as a daily practice, curriculum can become a beacon of hope and joy if it is presented in an honest, direct, and comprehensive way, and if it acknowledges the lives of the students to whom it is directed. If there is no relation to students’ lives outside of school, students who represent non-dominant cultures will continue to feel alienated and disconnected from the very system that claims to have their best interest at hand.

We cannot ignore the urgency that currently lies in front of us as teacher-educators when it comes to preparing preservice teachers to teach in culturally diverse classrooms. Utilizing both Ignatian and Critical Pedagogy is important not only in a multicultural education course but in all preservice courses. If we do not, we risk complacency with the current system as well as perpetuation of the status quo and the current stratification that exists in our society. We have a moral obligation to provide opportunities for personal growth and reflection and to provide our students with the tools they need that leads to action and transformation of society, even if it means challenging students to move beyond their comfort zone. The goal is not to produce missionaries but to produce agents of change and cultural workers who transform society through action and through their profession. Together, Ignatian and Critical Pedagogy provide the elements needed in order to make this a reality. 
Notes


2 Sonia Nieto, The Light in Their Eyes: Creating Multicultural Communities (New York: Teachers College Press, 2010).


8 Richard Dunphy, S.J., Tradition (Denver, CO: Regis University, September 2010).


11 Ibid.


13 See note 10.


18 Ibid., p. 33.

19 Stephen Kenmisi, quoted in Zeichner and Liston, p. 59.


21 See note 4.


24 See note 7.


26 See note 2.


28 Frankenberg, White Women, Race Matters, 15.


30 Nieto, Light in Their Eyes, 149.

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