

THE REMIX OF CULTURALLY RELEVANT PEDAGOGY: PERTINENCE, POSSIBILITIES, AND ADAPTATIONS FOR THE CHILEAN CONTEXT

EL REMIX DE LA PEDAGOGÍA CULTURALMENTE RELEVANTE: PERTINENCIA, POSIBILIDADES Y ADAPTACIONES PARA EL CONTEXTO CHILENO

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Abstract

In this paper, I explore prior and recent conceptualizations of the culturally responsive approach to teaching, an asocial justice perspective that presents possibilities for the Chilean context. Based on the recent literature, I propose Culturally Relevant Pedagogy 2.0 as a comprehensive framework that can be adapted to diverse local contexts beyond where it was originally developed. After describing the five principles that I consider more pertinent for Chile, I suggest adaptations such as the incorporation of grassroots youth culture and indigenous knowledge. In that vein, this work forms part in a major effort to build a theoretical basis that transcends boundaries but also adds a local perspective on teaching diverse students. My conclusions are intended to inform, inspire and stimulate pre-service and in-service teachers, and teacher educators in favor of quality education for diversity and equity.

Keywords: Social Justice, Pedagogy, Diversity, Social Inequality, Chile.

Resumen

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RECIBIDO: 05 de abril de 2016 ACEPTADO: 20 de septiembre de 2016 DOI: 10.4151/07189729-Vol.56-lss.1-Art.462 En este artículo teórico, exploro versiones previas y recientes del enfoque de enseñanza culturalmente sensible, una perspectiva de justicia social que presenta posibilidades para el contexto chileno. Basado en literatura reciente, postulo la Pedagogía Culturalmente Relevante 2.0 como un marco comprehensivo que puede ser adaptado en diversos contextos locales, más allá de dónde fue originado. Luego de describir los cinco principios que considero más pertinentes para Chile, sugiero adaptaciones como la incorporación de la cultura popular juvenil y los saberes indígenas. En ese sentido, este trabajo es un esfuerzo mayor de construcción teórica para trascender fronteras pero también añade una perspectiva local sobre la enseñanza de estudiantes diversos. Mis conclusiones tienen el propósito de informar y estimular a los educadores y formadores en favor de la enseñanza de calidad, para la diversidad y la equidad.

Palabras clave: Justicia Social, Pedagogía, Diversidad, Desigualdad Social, Chile.

1. INTRODUCTION

Student populations and their educational needs are increasing in diversity internationally. Issues such as the growing number of first generation school and college goers, persistent socioeconomic gaps, migrations, and contact among different ethnic, racial, cultural and linguistic groups in educational institutions are growing concerns for policymakers, researchers, and practitioners around the world (Banks & Banks, 2010). Unfortunately, diversity is strongly related to the educational disparities, particularly in countries with segregated school systems. Also, the emphasis on testing, standards, and accountability has been pointed out as one of the main factors that deepen the achievement gap between mainstream and minority students (Banks & Park, 2010).

In considering the magnitude and complexity of the educational inequities associated with diversity factors, some scholars have dedicated their efforts to understand the conditions that create and perpetuate disparities while practitioners have made continuous efforts to develop appropriate practices. However, many school system shave shown to be incapable of adequately address the problem. For instance, in North America, U.S. schools have been described as "dysfunctional for disproportionately large numbers of children who are not part of the racial and language mainstream" (Cochran-Smith, 2004, p. 46). In South America, Chile exhibits a deeply segregated school system, where social class is the main factor (Sleeter, Montecinos & Jiménez, 2016). In both cases, while the mere recognition of diversity has proved to be insufficient, curricular reforms, policies and practices have not been successful enough.

Since issues of diversity and inequality are now a global concern, theoretical perspectives such as Multicultural Education (ME), have become an international reform movement. Within ME, scholars from diverse nations have directed their search for equity and social justice toward principles and practices generated from Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (CRP)¹. This teaching approach captures the attention of international researchers and practitioners who see it as suitable theoretical frame work that can contribute to carry out transformations and practical implementations in different contexts and for diverse students. Certainly, it is necessary to analyze the pertinence and possibilities of this theory in contexts outside the U.S. and contribute to constructing a common ground that transcends national, geopolitical, and cultural boundaries. In doing so, we can give substance to potential educational interventions aiming to address student diversity and educational disparities.

It is also important to note that ME and CRP are part of greater theoretical, practical and research efforts to develop framing ideas regarding teachers' profile, knowledge, and skills necessary to teach culturally and linguistically students successfully. Consequent with those efforts, the adoption of comprehensive concepts that can adequately encompass various contexts is the first step. Here, for instance, I choose and suggest using the concept of "minoritized students" (Shields, Bishop & Mazawi, 2005; Sleeter, 2011) due to its appropriateness in describing underserved students regardless the

In English-speaking countries, Culturally Relevant Pedagogy is also known as Culturally Responsive Teaching. Other adjectives such as relevant, sensitive, congruent, appropriate, compatible, or equity pedagogy are used interchangeably. Recently, as I explain in this paper, scholars have coined the terms Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy (Paris, 2012) or Culturally Relevant Pedagogy 2.0 (Ladson-Billings, 2014).

context. Minoritized refers to students of color, students from different ethnic groups, indigenous students, new immigrants whose parents have relatively low levels of schooling, students living in poverty, and all students who have been ascribed characteristics of a minority and are treated as if their position and perspective is of less worth (Shields et al., 2005).

In the next pages, I will establish a position on the possibilities of a cross-national Culturally Relevant Pedagogy, focusing on the case of Chile where, in addition to the sociocultural diversity, economic and educational inequalities characterize this society (García-Huidobro, 2007; OECD, 2011; Senado, 2012). To substantiate my position, I will contextualize the proposal in the Multicultural Education framework and explain a number of CRP's principles that I consider more relevant for the Chilean case. In addition to explaining their meaning, significance, and ability to be implemented in Chile (pertinence and transferability), I will also address how some of these principles can be adapted or modified in order to fit the Chilean context. Finally, for those principles or practices that seem harder to transfer, I will suggest modifications targeting two key educational segments, namely, teacher education and professional development for in-service teachers.

2. THE MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION FRAMEWORK

Understanding CRP necessarily implies locating its roots in ME, whose definition started to reach consensus in the last decades. Recently, this consensus has been strengthened, although we can recognize some nuances or emphases regarding components, approaches, and goals. Banks (2010), for instance, asserts that:

Multicultural Education is at least three things: an idea or concept, an educational reform movement, and a process. [It] incorporates the idea that all students –regardless of their gender, social class, and ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics, should have an equal opportunity to learn in school (p. 3).

Sleeter and Grant (2003), in turn, state that ME involve racial or cultural diversity, gender, social class, and public policy such as immigration and bilingualism. In that vein, they contend that the focus should be on "several forms of difference that also define unequal positions of power ... [which] include race, language, social class, gender, disability, and sexual orientation" (p. iv).In their view, "Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist deals more directly [...] with oppression and social structural inequality based on race, social class, gender and disability" (Sleeter & Grant, 2003, p. 195-196).

Although there seem to be divergences between authors, here I point out and stress their convergences. Sleeter and Grant's (2003) Social Reconstructionist stance is clearly congruent with Banks' social action approach to the integration of multicultural content, which aims "to educate students for social criticism and social change and to teach them decision-making skills." Thus, educators are encouraged to "empower students and help them acquire *political efficacy*" (Banks, 2010, p. 245, italics in the original).

Other well-known conceptualizations of ME are provided by Bennett (2001) and Nieto (2004). Bennett (2001) highlights ME's multidisciplinary nature, especially for educators entering the field. Key principles of her conception are: (a) the theory of cultural pluralism; (b) ideals of social justice and the end of racism, sexism, and other forms of prejudice and discrimination; (c) affirmations of culture in the teaching and learning process; and (d) visions of educational equity and excellence leading to high levels of academic learning for all children and youth" (p. 173). Nieto (2004), in turn, defines ME as:

a process of comprehensive school reform and basic education for all students. It challenges and rejects racism and other forms of discrimination in schools and society and accepts and affirms the pluralism... that students, their communities, and teachers reflect. [It] permeates the schools' curriculum and instructional strategies, as well as the interactions among teachers, students, and families, and the very way that schools conceptualize the nature of teaching and learning (p. 346).

Despite their nuances, all definitions focus on affirmation of diversity, promoting democratic principles of social justice. ME represents an alternative way of viewing school reform since it responds differently to many problematic factors leading to school failure. It can transform and enrich the schooling of minoritized students because it takes into account the cultures, languages, and experiences of all children. The above definitions are particularly helpful to understand what CRP is and explore its possibilities in international contexts.

Before identifying general principles and practices of CRP, it is necessary to make its appropriateness and transferability explicit. While I establish important definitions and convergences, I stress cross-cultural principles, and focus on broad, comprehensive conceptions that seek for equity in the classroom and justice in society. From my view, ME and CRP principles are not only applicable in the United States or other English-speaking countries. Contrarily, due to globalized concerns regarding diversity and social justice, these emerge as reasonably transferable principles to various international contexts, including South America and Chile.

Cultural pluralism and educational equity have been enduring concerns in the Spanish-speaking literature for decades. Definitions have been developed and nurtured from different theoretical traditions and, due to the international academic exchange, the ME scholarship produced in the U.S. has gained popularity and influence. For example, English-speaking authors' articles and books have started to be translated to or written in Spanish (e.g., Sleeter & Grant, 2011; Campos, Montecinos & González, 2011) and Spanish book chapters have been also translated and published in English (e.g., Sleeter & Soriano, 2012), which demonstrates the international academic collaboration. Moreover, publications like *Educación Multicultural: Práctica de la equidad y diversidad para un mundo que demanda Esperanza*² (Williamson & Montecinos, 2011), confirms how Chilean researchers, teacher educators, and practitioners are open utilizing this framework. This not only responds to an intellectual

² Multicultural Education: Equity and Diversity Practice for a World that Demands Hope.

interest, but also to the social and cultural reality they investigate. Therefore, the transferability of ME and CRP to the Chilean context is not only conceptual, but also presents practical possibilities.

3. WHAT IS CULTURALLY RELEVANT PEDAGOGY?

Since the publication of "Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy," (Ladson-Billings, 1995), this theoretical perspective has evolved and been enriched by the contribution of a number of scholars. She has described CRP as "a pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (Ladson-Billings, 2009, p. 382). For Ladson-Billings (2006), there are three essential principles: (1) academic achievement, (2) cultural competence, and (3) sociopolitical consciousness. The first principle means holding high academic expectations and offering appropriate support such as scaffolding. The second implies reshaping curriculum, building on students' previous knowledge, and establishing relationships with students and their homes. Finally, the third principle means that teachers not only hold strong sociopolitical opinions; they must develop sociopolitical consciousness of their own and link social disparities with issues such as race, class, and gender.

Similarly, Gay (2010) has described CRP as a "different pedagogical paradigm needed to improve the performance of underachieving students from various ethnic groups –one that teaches to and through their personal and cultural strengths, their intellectual capabilities, and their prior accomplishments" (p. 26, italics in the original). Six essential characteristics describe Gay's (2010) conception. CRP is validating, comprehensive, multidimensional, empowering, transformative, and emancipatory (pp. 31-38). In short, the first three characteristics emphasize the cultural aspect of CRP, while the others embody a critical pedagogy stance and social justice orientation. Moreover, Gay (2010) has examined CRP around four dimensions where teachers' practices are involved: caring, communication, curriculum, and instruction. Here, I emphasize the principle of caring which implies that teachers attend not only to the performance but also to the person. As Gay (2010) summarizes, "caring in education has dimensions of emotion, intellect, faith, ethics, action, and accountability" (p. 54).

These definitions of CRP also resonate in the work of scholars like Irvine and Armento (2001) and Howard (2006). The former have stressed commitment to social justice in the sense that teachers can aim to contribute to the reconstruction of society through their teaching, while the latter proposes a transformationist pedagogy that defies the dynamics of social dominance and its implications in the school system. Villegas and Lucas (2002), in turn, presented a curriculum proposal for educating culturally responsive teachers that explicitly calls for embracing constructivist views, building on principles of social justice. The constructivist approach to CRP is a key factor in effectively working with minoritized students since it considers students' personal and cultural knowledge as the foundation of classroom inquiry.

For more than two decades, university-based researchers and practitioners have been inspired by CRP as a view on teaching and learning relevant and responsive to diverse students. Recent works, however, have guestioned if the terms "relevant" and "responsive" are the most appropriate for the

vast development on teaching and research based on this theoretical perspective. Paris (2012), for example, have offered the concept of *Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy*(CSP)³ to consider new developments that involve languages, literacies, and other cultural practices of communities marginalized by systemic inequalities. CSP seeks to ensure the valuing and maintenance of multiethnic and multilingual societies in a globalized world. It embodies research and practice in the asset pedagogy⁴ tradition and seeks to perpetuate and foster—to sustain—cultural pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling. Recently, Paris and Alim (2014) have deepened in their critique of previous formulations of CRP since they fail to remain dynamic and critical in a constantly evolving global world characterized by demographic and social change. Paris and Alim (2014) suggest that CSP's two most important tenets are: (1) a focus on the plural and evolving nature of youth identity and cultural practices and (2) a commitment to embracing youth culture's counterhegemonic potential while maintaining a clear-eyed critique of the ways in which youth culture can also reproduce systemic inequalities.

In responding to the critics, Ladson-Billings (2014) has recognized that CRP has been used and misused in different ways. For example, some have developed a more political edge while others put the focus on gender. But contrary to reject the critiques, Ladson-Billings (2014) underlines that scholarship is ever changing and that, today, researchers and practitioners are moving and evolving in new ways that require us to embrace a more dynamic view of culture and, as a consequence, of CRP. Thus, she proposes the concept of *Culturally Relevant Pedagogy 2.0: a.k.a the Remix*, which goes beyond the notions of culture that only relate to people who are part of a nation-state, an ethnic group, or a religious group. The new version also focuses on conceptions such as *youth culture* since "youth do maintain notions of membership (i.e., in-group versus out-group), language, art, beliefs, and so on" (Ladson-Billings, 2014, p. 75). For teacher education, for example, this means to abandon static images of cultural histories, customs, and traditional ways of being to embrace a new approach focused on always-changing students' diverse cultures.

CSP and CRP 2.0 are two terms in direct relationship. The evolution of the concept means that the academic work is as fluid as culture; thus, every new development has to reflect this fluidity. Either using the original or the new version, they key is "the way a new generation of scholars has taken on the notion of culturally relevant pedagogy and infused it with new and exciting ideas to better meet the needs of students" (Ladson-Billings, 2014, p.77). Therefore, teachers that seek to incorporate students' cultures have to push their practice to consider critical perspectives on policies and practices that may have direct impact on students' lives and communities (Cochran-Smith et al. 2016; Sleeter et al. 2016). One salient example of integration of critical perspectives and youth culture can be found in U.S. teacher education programs that have fully integrated hip-hop culture into the academy. "The thinking behind [this work]⁵ is that youth culture (specifically hip-hop) offers some important opportunities for changing the way we think, learn, perceive, and perform in the world"

McCarty and Lee (2014) have also proposed the term Critical Culturally Sustaining/Revitalizing Pedagogy (CSRP) in relation to indigenous education and the current linguistic, cultural, and educational realities of Native American communities.

⁴ In opposition to deficit views on education.

⁵ Ladson-Billings refers specifically to the First Wave program run by The Office of Multicultural Arts Initiatives within the Division of Diversity, Equity, & Educational Achievement at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

(Ladson-Billings, 2014, p. 78). Furthermore, the use of hip-hop based education (Adjapong & Emdin, 2015) has reached many school classrooms in different contexts, showing that minoritized students' cultures can be at the center of their learning process, fostering their academic achievement.

We, as researchers and practitioners across cultures, are invited to direct their attention to these new developments of CRP. The hip-hop based education example is particularly relevant since hip-hop culture is part of thousands of young students around the world. However, although it is a global cultural form, hip-hop and other forms of youth culture are still largely absent from the official curriculum and the teaching practices. As Ladson-Billings (2014) suggests, it is important "to incorporate the multiplicities of identities and cultures... to consider the global identities that are emerging in the arts, literature, music, athletics, and film" (p. 82). In other words, today's education has to consider the shifts of identity, that is, the hybridity, fluidity, and complexity that has not yet been considered in schools and classrooms. In the following sections, I address this issue in relation to Chile.

4. CRP PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES FOR THE CHILEAN CONTEXT

My selection of CRP principles will mainly follow the tenets of responsiveness and relevance, while also considering the sustaining feature of recent versions. In that vein, it will consider two basic criteria: the Chilean theoretical and pedagogical tradition, on the one hand, and its social and cultural context, on the other. First, the selected principles are situated in the sociocultural learning theory, the constructivist perspective, and the critical pedagogy approach that, for decades, have been present with diverse emphases in Chilean teacher education programs, professional development, and educational debate. Second, they find support in the Chilean cultural, sociopolitical, and economic context.

Building on the most recognized definitions of CRP, I stress Gay's (2010) caring, Villegas' and Lucas' (2002) embracing constructivist views, and Ladson-Billings' (2006) academic achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness as the five guiding principles that I find most appropriate and relevant for the Chilean context. In addition, and as a background, I embrace the recent conceptualization of CRP (CSP) that helps me to consider research and practice as ways to sustain social and cultural pluralism, particularly when considering youth popular culture in Chile. Due to cultural, theoretical, and pedagogical reasons, the first three principles can be considered easier to implement. Curricular, institutional, and policymaking aspects make the implementation of the last two more difficult, while at the same time, they are ethically urgent for a highly unequal education system.

4.1. Caring

Gay (2010) has stated that caring teachers "must be *involved* in students' lives; accept that teaching and learning are holistic enterprises; [and] ...always place students in learning environments and relationships that radiate unequivocal belief in their promise and possibility" (p. 52). It implies that teachers are culturally and emotionally responsive, but they also "are 'warm demanding' academic taskmasters [assuring that] all students are held accountable for high academic efforts and

performance" (p. 75). This description of caring implies that relationships precede learning. Culturally responsive teachers build good relationships with students by caring about their lives and holding them accountable for their academic work. Academically, teachers want to make sure that every student knows they hold high expectations for him or her; at the personal level, they are strict, establishing clear rules and expectations for behavior (Peña-Sandoval, 2013).

In evaluating the pertinence of CRP to Chile, I find research reporting the experience of Latino students in the U.S. as a proper bridge to outline an answer. Valenzuela (1999), for instance, has associated *authentic caring* with the Spanish/Latino concept of *educación*, which views sustained trusting, respectful, and reciprocal relationships between students and teachers as cornerstones of all learning. Rueda et al. (2004, cited in Villegas & Irvine, 2010), in turn, found that Latino students have better academic outcomes and school experiences when they are exposed to the *pedagogy of caring* that some teachers use in their practice. However, this concept should not be interpreted only as emotional relationships but one that involves dimensions of intellect, faith, ethics, action, and accountability (Gay, 2010). Among the characteristics that constitute the profile of caring teachers, I find the following significantly relevant for various contexts, including Chilean pre-service and in-service teachers serving minoritized students: affirming students in their cultural connections; being personally inviting; creating physically welcoming classroom spaces; and, managing classrooms with firm, consistent, and loving control (Shade, Kelly & Oberg, 1997). Teachers that enact these tenets are welcoming, build strong relationships, and explicitly communicate their high expectations for behavior and academic achievement.

4.2. Embracing Constructivist Views

Villegas & Lucas (2002) have encouraged educators to understand and embrace constructivist views of teaching and learning. This implies that teachers are not mere givers of information and managers of behavior; they are, on the contrary, mediators between their students and cultural contexts in such a way that students successfully connect the new information to their previous knowledge. Adopting a constructivist perspective implies that students are considered sense-makers and, in valuing their backgrounds, the teaching and learning processes are also guided by tenets of social justice.

One example of adopting a social justice-oriented constructivist perspective can be found in the concept of *funds of knowledge* (Moll & González, 2004). In line with the constructivist approach, this concept illustrates how teachers can transform students' sociocultural background into a pedagogical asset, engaging their lives in their learning process at school. Moll and González (2004) have found empirical evidence of specific funds of knowledge such as business knowledge, technical and professional knowledge, or the experience of being or becoming bilingual. Each exchange of information or resources inside families includes a didactic component, and it is part of the activity of sharing that constitutes a household's pedagogy. *Funds of knowledge* helps teachers to understand social practices using new theoretical tools; develop a theoretical perspective in order to learn from families and understand how people generate knowledge; and, finally, debunk ideas of low-income households lacking worthwhile knowledge and experiences (Moll & González, 2004, pp. 711-712).

These ideas constitute a concrete contribution to Chilean researchers and practitioners since they can add alternative theoretical developments to their traditional conception of constructivism. In framing their constructivist views within CRP, pre- and in-service teachers could connect prior and new students' knowledge, and be able to the incorporate students' backgrounds (family, community, and youth culture) into the curriculum (Peña-Sandoval, 2013). It seems plausible that the proximity of Chilean teachers to constructivist theories of learning could facilitate the adoption the CRP approaching order to better serve their students.

4.3. Academic Achievement

This principle equals the meaning of student learning (Ladson-Billings, 2006). By recent frameworks (e.g., Sleeter et al. 2016), it implies holding high academic expectations and scaffolding students' learning process. Guided by this principle, teachers do care about students' feeling and behaviors, but the focus stays on the cultivation of students' minds and supporting their intellectual lives because self-esteem and self-control are the product of engaging students in academic work. Ladson-Billings' (2009) has shown that teachers enact this principle in various ways: helping disadvantaged students to become intellectual leaders in the classroom; involving students in a learning community rather than being taught in an isolated and unrelated way; making students' real-life experiences a part of the official curriculum; and, transforming traditional curricular conceptions. Shealso found that when students were treated as competent, they are likely to demonstrate competence. Thus, when teachers provide instructional scaffolding, students move from what they know to what they need to know.

The relevance of the *academic achievement* principle has been empirically proven in various contexts. Morrison, Robbins & Rose (2008), for example, have operationalized CRP in collecting 45 studies from countries such as Australia, Canada, India, and Papua New Guinea. Based on empirical evidence, they classified teaching practices following Ladson-Billing's (2006) principles. The most salient practices found were: modeling, scaffolding, and clarification of the challenging curriculum; using students' strengths as instructional starting points; investing and taking personal responsibility for students' success; creating and nurturing cooperative environment; and, high behavioral expectations(Morrison's et al., 2008, pp. 435-437). These practices focus on *academic achievement* in ways that teachers reinforce their beliefs in students' intellectual capacities; adapt their instruction to diverse learning styles and develop differentiated instruction; and, honor the collective and the individual aspects of the students' academic work.

4.4. Cultural Competence

This principle can be described as teachers' will and ability to connect to students across differences regarding their culture, race, ethnicity, social class, family background, etc. (Ladson-Billings, 2006). Teachers' attitudes, beliefs, actions, and instruction reflect their ability to reshape curriculum, building on students' culture to foster academic improvement. Culturally competent teachers make that most of the students across most of their differences achieve at a higher level -including tests and daily achievement in the classroom- and engage in a deeper level, most of the time, without giving up who

they are. Given these characteristics, *cultural* competence emerges as an essential principle that could prompt a number of contextualized pedagogical practices applicable by teachers in diverse contexts.

In the case of Chile, this principle can be crucial particularly in major urban areas where many students are underserved due to their social class, ethnicity, and/or recent immigration status. Although Chile does not exhibit racial/ethnic diversity and immigration rates like some developed nations, it is undeniably multiethnic and multicultural due to the existence of indigenous, mixed, and immigrant populations. Data extracted from the last census show 147% of increase in the population declaring to belong to an indigenous group (PULSO, 2013). In Chile, 11.1% of the population declares to be part of one the 11 ethnic groups, being Mapuche the most significant native group (84.11%). Although a great deal of Mapuche continues living in the south, most of those who consider themselves Mapuche live in the urban area of the capital, Santiago (INE, 2012). Consequently, thousands of Mapuche and other minoritized students attend to school in urban areas where teachers are not well prepared to serve them (Fernández, 2005; MINEDUC, 2011; UNICEF, 2011).

The immigrant population, in turn, has duplicated during the last decade going from 184,464 in 2002 to 339,536 in 2012 (INE, 2012). Recent reports from non-government organizations (e.g., González, 2015) show an accelerated migration growth in the last five years (in decreasing order: Peru, Colombia, Argentina, USA, Spain, Bolivia, Ecuador, and other South American, Caribbean, and European countries). From these groups, the Peruvian and Colombian populations show more increment in the last years and their children in school age represent an important challenge for the school system which segregates the student population according their socioeconomic status. Consequently, in addition to the cultural factor, immigrant children suffer the same segregation of Chilean students living in poverty.

To address the economic, social, and cultural differences, Chilean teachers need to beguided by the *cultural competence* principle and enact diverse culturally responsive and sustaining practices. To translate this principle into practices, scholars suggest reshaping the prescribed curriculum, building on students' funds of knowledge, and encouraging relationships between school and communities (e.g., Morrison et al., 2008; Sleeter et al. 2016).

4.5. Sociopolitical Consciousness

Ladson-Billings (2006) has stated that teachers' task is "to help students use the various skills they learn to better understand, and critique their social position and context" (p. 37). This principle implies that teachers engage in the world and others critically, helping students to develop a broader sociopolitical consciousness that allows them to analyze and critique the conditions that produce and maintain social inequities. Thus, this characterization is the correlate to the empowering, transformative, and emancipatory characteristics of CRP described by Gay (2010).

In the Chilean case, a number of scholars and organizations (e.g., García-Huidobro, 2007; OECD, 2011; Peña-Sandoval, 2011; Senado, 2012) have noted that its school system presents disturbing inequities

among students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. Both national and international measurements show that educational disparities have been maintained or even deepened among Chilean schools and, as it was once asserted by the OECD, "the Chilean education system is consciously structured by social class, promoting inequalities among students according their socioeconomic origin" (2004,p. 279). This is precisely why the sociopolitical consciousness principle of CRP has to be promoted among teachers in order to help reducing the academic achievement gap between privileged and minoritized students.

Although adopting this principle is urgent and it can be deeply rooted in the educational tradition of many teachers, the implementation of this principle seems more difficult to implement in classrooms due to the reduced space for a comprehensive, social justice-oriented curriculum. The focus on standardized testing for national measurements of academic outcomes forces many teachers teach for the test. However, international literature prove that a translation of the *sociopolitical consciousness* principle is possible when it is translated to the following teaching practices: critical literacy; engaging students in social justice work; making explicit the power dynamics of mainstream society; and, sharing power in the classroom(e.g., Cochran-Smith et al. 2016; Morrison et al., 2008; Sleeter et al. 2016). These practices are strongly recommended in Chile where most of the stakeholders demand a stronger and more just public education system.

5. MODIFICATIONS SUGGESTED FOR IMPLEMENTING CRP IN CHILE

While advocating for the pertinence of the principles selected and described, I acknowledge difficulties in implementing every aspect of the CRP. The principles of *caring*, *embracing constructivist views*, and *academic achievement* can be considered easier to implement due to cultural, theoretical, and pedagogical arguments. And, although they are ethically urgent for a highly unequal education system, the principles of *cultural competence* and *sociopolitical consciousness* need some adaptations due to curricular, institutional, and policymaking reasons inherent to the Chilean context.

Regarding *cultural competence* it is important to notice that while in countries like the U.S. the main concerns have been the growing racial and linguistic diversity, in the case of Chile social class (poverty) and ethnicity seem to have higher priority than language and race. In this vein, my proposal echoes Gorski's (2013) view on teaching and reaching students living in poverty. Therefore, to my view, teacher education programs and professional development initiatives should prioritize teachers' knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, actions, and instruction especially directed to learn from two main sources:(1) grassroots youth culture (*cultura juvenile popular*, in Spanish) and(2) ethnic and immigrant groups, according to the contexts where they teach.

First, despite the scarcity of literature addressing grassroots youth culture, there are some precedents in the study of Chilean youth that need to be considered in any action plan for developing *cultural competence* in pre- and in-service teachers. For example, teacher education programs should redesign courses utilizing the growing academic production on youth in Chile. In fact, in the twenty-first century, a body of work has accumulated experience and insight into diverse youth groups and their

cultures (e.g., Baeza-Correa, 2013; Duarte, 2005; Sandoval, 2002), which should be utilized in preparing culturally competent teachers.

This literature can constitute a key first step in the knowledge construction process inside teacher education programs aiming to prepare teachers that will serve in grassroots communities. Due to their cultural mismatch with the school culture, students coming from low-income, disadvantaged contexts, constitute a population difficult to engage in the teaching and learning process, which usually helps to reproduce the inequities. Therefore, the study of grassroots youth culture in disadvantaged contexts should be an important topic in pre-service teacher education and professional development activities. In addition, examples of theories and practices using youth culture like hip-hop (Adjapong & Emdin,2015; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Paris & Alim, 2014) can be particularly useful for urban contexts.

Second, although Chile is a multiethnic country, governmental policies and programs focused on the education of indigenous students are very recent. Several reports and studies have identified numerous problems in the recently implemented Intercultural and Bilingual Education (Fernández, 2005; Montecinos, 2004; MINEDUC, 2011; UNICEF, 2011). One of those problems is the insufficient or inappropriate preparation of teachers working in intercultural/bilingual schools. Thus, teacher education programs and professional development initiatives should help to address the shortage of culturally competent teachers serving indigenous populations. International literature shows that, in order to improve education for indigenous populations, teacher preparation for both indigenous and non-indigenous teachers should incorporate the political, social and cultural aspects surrounding the education of indigenous students (López, 2008) and include experiential knowledge within indigenous communities (Zeichner & Melnick, 1996; Reid, 2004).

Regarding sociocultural consciousness, I believe it can be better applied in teacher education programs (or school districts) that emphasize social justice-oriented practices embedded in a critical pedagogy stance. Although today many programs claim to have a social justice approach, practical and ideological concerns coming from diverse stakeholders pose barriers for comprehensive implementations. Therefore, it is necessary to push forward to develop new perspectives on teacher education that, on the one hand, analyze and problematize discourses of 'diversity' that reproduce harmful cultural separations in the Chilean society (Matus & Infante, 2011) and welcome the demands for teachers educated for indigenous languages and cultures (eg. Mapuche), being responsive to cultural and linguistic characteristics of students (Ferrada & Turra, 2016; Quintriqueo et al. 2014), that is, developing a culturally sustaining/relevant pedagogy.

Finally, to redesign teacher education programs that promote the development of pre-service teachers' sociocultural consciousness, I suggest the implementation of a number cross-social or cross-cultural community-based experiences that include a variety of field experiences that represent a situated teacher preparation. Placements in community-based organizations have demonstrated to provide opportunities to learn about students and communities and from the practices of

community-based educators (McDonald, Bowman & Brayko, 2013; Zeichner & Payne, 2013). Unfortunately, most teacher education programs in Chile do not focus on specific populations, generating an important knowledge gap regarding Chilean pre-service teachers' knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and dispositions to serve minoritized students.

Cross-social and cross-cultural community-based experiences can involve activities such as *service leaning or cultural immersion* (Boyle-Baise & McIntyre, 2008). I believe *service learning* could allow Chilean pre-service teachers to work with and learn from local youth and adults in the process of doing something worthwhile for them. I also suggest *cultural immersion* to supplement conventional studying teaching and allow Chilean pre-service teachers to have cultural experiences that help them venture outside their cultural comfort zone and transform their understanding of others. Thus, they could learn to teach and immerse themselves in the lives and cultures of the people with whom they work. Using these field experiences, complemented by social justice- and community-oriented tenets, Chilean teacher education programs could actually promote sociopolitical consciousness in pre-service teachers that will value and access community knowledge, mediate between the university and the local community, and foster more democratic relationships.

6. CONCLUSION

I have described CRP through a set of key principles, namely, caring, embracing constructivist views, academic achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness. The principles translate into practices that help students from diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural groups to succeed in academics and be valued as active and reflective members of a better society. It is sustained that, by enacting this approach to teaching, pre- and in-service teachers can help to overcome educational inequities.

However, beyond its original conceptualization, I have also stressed new approaches like *Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy* (Paris, 2012) that push forward for a CRP 2.0 (Ladson-Billings, 2014), embracing the complexity and fluidity of culture and scholarship. An essential characteristic of the latest developments is the inclusion of youth culture (e.g. hip-hop based education) as a way to connect schools to students' worlds. Consequently, in addition to the five CRP principles, I have suggested the inclusion of grassroots (popular) youth culture in Chile as a way to inform teacher education and develop more relevant/sustaining pedagogy. Moreover, I have highlighted the importance of critical, social justice-oriented perspective that overcome harmful cultural separations between social groups and move forward in preparing teachers for indigenous and immigrant student populations.

In my view, CRP shows its pertinence and transferability to different contexts including Chile. While I have not attempted to outline an exhaustive list of specific teaching strategies, techniques, or moves, the goal of this essay is to describe a comprehensive perspective on (an inclusive body of tenets) that, in addition to local sociocultural features and adaptations, can inform preservice teachers, experienced teachers, and teacher educators. The appropriateness of CRP lies mainly in its potential to address the increasing educational inequalities and, as a consequence, the needs of diverse, minoritized students.

Youth from disenfranchised groups can benefit from teachers adopting CRP since concrete practices can be derived to better teach their subject matter in a culturally sustaining/relevant way.

CRP2.0 can certainly strengthen current efforts to develop a more inclusive and efficient teaching and learning process. Informed by its principles, pre-service and in-service teachers in Chile (and elsewhere) can build knowledge of context, act on cultural competence, challenge their own beliefs, attitudes, and practices, and learn how to plan and teach meaningful lessons for diverse learners. Based on that transformation, they will be responsive to all students' cultures, providing students better learning and life opportunities to become active citizens of a democratic society.

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