

Critical Multiculturalism, Whiteness, and Social Work: Towards a More Radical View of Cultural Competence

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ABSTRACT. In this paper, I suggest that most cultural diversity classes in social work are taught from a liberal or conservative multicultural perspective that precludes a power analysis and a critical discussion of whiteness. In order to undo this status quo, social educators and practitioners need to incorporate critical multiculturalism as a tool in subverting racism. A critical multicultural practice includes an analysis of whiteness and a commitment on the part of white social workers to take up an antiracist practice. Pedagogical strategies are described that unmask whiteness. Finally, Stephen Madigan's oppositional whiteness, illustrated in a case vignette, is illustrated as an antiracist practice in which a white social worker/therapist situates his own privilege and becomes an ally. *[Article copies available for a fee from The Haworth Document Delivery Service: 1-800-HAWORTH. E-mail address: <docdelivery@haworthpress.com> Website: <<http://www.HaworthPress.com>> © 2006 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved.]*

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INTRODUCTION

Classes in multiculturalism are now commonplace in most graduate schools of social work. Since the late 1970s and 1980s, cultural competence and ethnic sensitivity have become increasingly included in the social work literature and curriculums (Green, 1982; Lum, 1999; Norton, 1978). The central themes in much of this literature have been concerned with developing a culturally competent practice model by offering effective services to ethnically diverse clients. According to Lum (1999), the culturally competent practice model focuses on four areas: (1) Cultural awareness, (2) knowledge acquisition, (3) skill development, and (4) inductive learning. A central assumption of this model is that, by teaching social work students about various ethnic and racial groups, one would be more sensitive and empathic to the needs of ethnic minority clients.

While there is much reason to celebrate the recent emphasis in social work practice and education on cultural competence, there are limitations of this model. A key weakness of current multicultural education theory and practice has an overemphasis on curricular change and an under-emphasis on the impact of structural racism on clients' (and students of color) lives. Peter McLaren (1994) has criticized multicultural education for an overly simplistic and naïve view of the wider social and cultural power relations. In addition, McLaren suggests that dominant forms of ethnicity, namely whiteness, are made "invisible" in discussions of multiculturalism. This paper includes a critique of the current emphasis on cultural competence in social work, situating it within "liberal" and/or "conservative" multiculturalism, wherein I offer an alternative multicultural perspective—critical multiculturalism—a perspective influenced by the writings of Paolo Freire (1970) and adherents such as Henry Giroux (2002), bell hooks (1984), and Peter McClaren (1994). This form of diversity theory has provided a more radical, antiracist conception of multiculturalism, which avoids the reductions found in most cultural competence models. I particularly focus on a key aspect within critical multiculturalism, critical whiteness studies, which explores the political, social, and historical situatedness of white ethnicities, and the hegemonic processes, which lead to their universalization and normalization. Pedagogical strategies that make whiteness visible and accountable will be discussed in a later section. Finally, a case example that illuminates critical multiculturalism in a practice setting will be highlighted.

**CONSERVATIVE AND LIBERAL MULTICULTURALISM
vs. CRITICAL MULTICULTURALISM**

Pamela Perry (2002) suggests that there are two types of multiculturalism practices in schools: “Conservative multiculturalism” and “liberal multiculturalism.” Conservative multiculturalism is an assimilationist model of cultural diversity in which white is posited as an “invisible norm by which other ethnicities are judged” hence reinforcing the hegemony of whiteness (McLaren, 1994, p. 49). Conservative multiculturalism tends to marginalize and dismiss the different experiences of students/clients of color and avoid a power analysis of institutional forms of racism. Anthony Platt (1992) argues that conservative forms of multiculturalism present race in ahistorical, universal terms devoid of any economic or class analysis. Hence, most multicultural programs do not link racism to economic injustices and helps create the false notion that racism can be overcome without any structural alteration of global capitalism. Platt also contends that multicultural education privileges racial and ethnic studies over feminist, queer, and disability studies allowing little theoretical space for intersectional analysis.

Liberal multiculturalism “tends to exoticize others in a nativistic retreat that locates difference in a primeval past of cultural authenticity” (Perry, 2002, p. 196). This type of multiculturalism, often referred to as “cultural tourism,” is evident in many social works texts including *Culturally Competent Practice: Skills, Interventions, and Evaluations* by Rowena Fong and Sharelene Furuto (2001) where each chapter describes strategies of working with a particular ethnic minority group. Nowhere in the text is there any discussion of whiteness, leaving it the unmarked norm against which other racial and ethnic groups are compared with. Liberal multiculturalism, while well intended, reifies people of color into “tightly bound fictive identities that reproduce notions of inherent, durable, and unbridgeable differences between people” (Perry, 2002, p. 197). While there have been significant contributions made by liberal multiculturalism, honoring differences in this essentialist way does not necessarily undermine racism or other social inequalities and may reproduce stereotyping.

So, how can multicultural education for social workers historicize racism and critically engage with a more nuanced and complex analysis of culture, one that links diversity of education with social justice and includes a power analysis? A revised and transformative multiculturalism would take as its premise that as Stuart Hall (1996) states, “We all speak from a particular place, out of a particular history, out of a particular experiences, without being contained by that position” (p. 447). Hall’s

argument encourages multicultural educators and practitioners to speak less out of essential differences and more out of all our different histories, life experiences, languages, family and peer cultures, discourses, and values allowing one to illuminate the ways that differences are socially and politically constructed as well as “the multiple axes of ‘sameness’ that cross-cut axes of differences” (Perry, 2002, p. 197).

This new multiculturalism, which is referred to as “critical multiculturalism” (McClaren, 1994) is committed to taking cultural competence out of the classroom and into an antiracist practice. Critical multiculturalism includes the following features: (1) Recognizes the socio-historical construct of race, and its intersections with class, gender, nation, sexuality and capitalism; (2) creates pedagogical conditions in which students interrogate conditions of “otherness;” (3) challenges the idea of social work (and other social sciences) as an apolitical, trans-historical practice removed from the power struggles of history; and (4) makes visible the historical and social construction of whiteness. Hence, critical multiculturalism is more inclusive of white students/social workers and possibly may have the most profound impact on them. White students are encouraged to critically reflect and deconstruct what being “white” means to them. According to Perry (2002), this type of critical reflection would,

Help white and students of color move productively through times when different interpretive frameworks are hindering cross-understanding, such as when African-American students need to express pain and anger about slavery but white youth won’t listen because they cannot see how the “past” matters. It would also offer white students a means of moving past immobilizing feelings of guilt or denial and towards reformulating their identities in ways that challenge dominant interests, cross boundaries, and help develop a range of personal connections and political coalitions. (p. 197)

It is imperative that social work programs adopt “critical multiculturalism” (which includes a critical analysis of whiteness) as a core curriculum if social workers are to destabilize its legacy of racism (along with sexism, classism, ableism, heterosexism, and nationalism). This next section will discuss a key component of critical multiculturalism—critical whiteness studies.

CRITICAL WHITENESS STUDIES

In order to take up a critical multicultural social work practice that challenges the legacy of institutional racism, it is vital to examine the

recent critical scholarship on whiteness (Frankenberg, 1997). Critical whiteness studies have been greatly influenced by critical race theory, cultural studies, and postcolonial studies-disciplines that explore themes of race, nation, subjectivity, power, (post)colonialism, and identity. Recent interest in examining whiteness is a response to the fact that studies of race have tended to focus on historically marginalized racial and ethnic groups, thereby overlooking “whiteness” as if it is the natural, expected and normal way of being human. In an effort to denaturalize the idea of whiteness as the “privileged place of racial normativity,” critical studies of whiteness have viewed it as a social construction rather than as a “natural” biological category (Wray & Newitz, 1997, p. 3). Such a social constructionist view of whiteness emphasizes that its meanings are produced by “socially and historically contingent processes of racialization, constituted through and embodied in a wide variety of discourses and practices” (Wary & Newitz, 1997, p. 3). A primary goal of whiteness studies is to illuminate “the everyday, invisible, subtle, cultural and social practices, ideas and codes that discursively secure the power and privilege of white people, but that strategically remains unmarked, unnamed, and unmapped in contemporary society” (Shome, 1996, p. 503).

The most recent research on critical whiteness also illustrates that whiteness is not a monolithic, unchanging, and fixed category that always embodies a certain set of meanings within any context (Rasmussen, Klinenburg, Nexica, & Wray, 2001). For instance, John Hartigan’s (1997) ethnographic work on the meaning of whiteness for poor whites in Detroit, Michigan in the 1990s—a site where whiteness is not equated with economic privilege—called attention to the fact that within a particular historical context, multiple forms of whiteness exist. Critical whiteness researchers are currently studying when and where whiteness is marked and when it is unmarked and the ways it intersects with class, race, gender, nation, generation, age, ability, and sexuality. Most importantly, critical whiteness scholars are interested in praxis—combining critical analysis of whiteness with antiracist activism.

OPPOSITIONAL WHITENESS

Henry Giroux (2002) has discussed pedagogical strategies to assist white students to gain an understanding of the power of whiteness, white supremacy, and the historical legacy of racism. In order for whites to become antiracist activists, Giroux argues that whiteness needs to be reinvented (once whites have begun to notice and take responsibility

for their racial privilege). Otherwise, according to Giroux (2002), “whiteness as a marker of identity is confined within a notion of domination and racism that leaves white youth no social imaginary through which they can see themselves as actors in creating an oppositional space to fight for equality and social justice” (p. 144).

This re-articulation of whiteness begins with the simple question: What does it mean to be white? Giroux follows up with this inquiry: “How can we answer this question in such a way that allows for a critique and rejection of the oppression inflicted in the name of whiteness but simultaneously opens space for an oppositional, progressive white identity (p. 145)? Giroux (and others such as me) is not comfortable with the concept of a new oppositional white identity as a “race traitor” who renounces whiteness (Ware & Back, 2002). It is unlikely that a mass movement will grow around the race traitor concept, as oppositional whites would have little to rally around or affirm. The reinvention of whiteness operates outside any notion of racial superiority or inferiority, while confronting white hegemony directly. As it confronts the tyranny of white supremacy, oppositional whiteness avoids the projection of guilt onto individual white students. In the process, it generates a sense of hope in the possibility that white people can help transform the reality of racial injustice and re-articulate themselves around notions of justice, coalition building, community, and critical democracy. Giroux (2002) sums up his notion of oppositional whiteness:

By re-articulating whiteness as more than a form of domination, white students can construct narratives of “whiteness” that both challenge, and, hopefully provide a basis for transforming the dominant relationship between racial identity and citizenship, one informed by oppositional politics. Such a political practice suggests new subject positions, alliances, commitments, and forms of solidarity between white students and others engaged in a struggle over expanding the possibilities of democratic life, especially as it affirms both a politics of difference and a redistribution of power and material resources. (p. 164)

Following Giroux’s call for the re-articulation of whiteness, what possibilities are there for oppositional whiteness among white social workers who are interested in an anti-racist practice? The next section will illustrate pedagogical strategies used to interrogate whiteness in social work diversity classes. Following the section on classroom strategies, is an example of oppositional whiteness through a case transcript by my colleague, Stephen Madigan. This case example exemplifies a performance

of whiteness that is situated within a discourse of resistance and anti-racism.

OPPOSITIONAL WHITENESS IN THE CLASSROOM

Paolo Freire's (1970) work to transform pedagogy and education with the project of promoting radical democracy and liberation for marginalized persons has had a profound impact on the way I teach cultural diversity. Freire's insistence on situating educational activity in the lived experience of participants/students has opened up a series of possibilities for the way I attempt to make whiteness visible in the classroom. What follows are a few pedagogical strategies I use to deconstruct whiteness and as I began the process of unraveling racism.

I often begin a discussion/lecture on whiteness by situating myself as a white, middle-class male who has a great deal of unearned privilege in the current United States society. After situating my own social location, I suggest that whiteness is a historical, cultural, social, and political category. In order to understand whiteness, I inform the class that we will be addressing the following questions:

- When in United States history did “white” become a term used to describe a group of people? How did families identifying as German, Finnish, Irish, or Italian, for example, change to identifying as white or simply American?
- Are there any white cultural practices? Is there a white culture? Why do we find it difficult to answer those questions if we are white?
- How have white people been shaped by their social environment? How has racism affected their daily lives?
- How has whiteness been used politically? What current issues center around whiteness (Helfland & Lippin, 2001, p. 12)?

The above questions often lead to a fruitful dialogue with interesting answers given by both the white students and students of color. I foreground the conversation by stating that because whiteness is often invisible to white persons, but not invisible to people of color, these questions and exercises will bring whiteness into focus, not to reinforce its privilege, but to de-center whiteness. I encourage the white students to begin to take responsibility for their racial identity by thinking of their interactions with people similar and unlike themselves. I generally ask such questions as, “When are you white? What does whiteness mean to you? How could whites become an antiracist ally?”

From this starting point, I define white privilege and using Peggy McIntosh's (1988) seminal paper, "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack." In this short paper, McIntosh describes how she came to understand her own white privilege and provides a list of examples of common white privileges. Often this discussion is difficult, especially for some white students who respond with defensiveness and denial. I invite the white students to look for non-judgmental ways of discussing how white people benefit from being white. Some of the questions I ask include:

- Which privileges of those that McIntosh lists in her paper resonate with you?
- What are five ways in which white people are hurt by white privilege?
- How is a white person talking about white privilege seen or heard by white friends and colleagues?
- How is a person of color talking about white privilege viewed by whites?
- How can we create a climate of safety here so that a person of color specifying white privileges can have credibility?

To address some of the guilt and shame that many white students feel in addressing their privilege (and the long US history of white supremacy), I spend a good amount of time noting the rich history of whites who have risked becoming antiracist allies. I often ask the white students to conduct research on white citizens who took up the cause to undo racism. At this point, the barriers to antiracist action are named and problem-solving occurs, leading to cross-dialogue with students of color and a sense of hope and inspiration. In conjunction with this hopeful dialogue, I introduce white students to Giroux's idea of "oppositional whiteness."

Since the mass media and popular culture play such a huge role in current postmodern culture, I often use films to supplement our class discussion of whiteness and other issues of race. Since most of the students find popular culture and movies a central aspect of their social lives, they are responsive to this pedagogical tool. Giroux (2002) argues that since film serves as a primary public pedagogy and a form of cultural politics, it is crucial to use it in schools. Since public life and civic education has declined, Giroux (2002) suggests that "film may provide one of the few mediums left that enables conversations that connect politics, personal experiences, and public life to larger social issues" (p. 7).

Following Giroux's thesis, I often use mainstream films as a vehicle to make whiteness visible. One such film that I show in class is *Dead Poets Society*, a narrative that depicts the pedagogical style of rebellious teacher Mr. Keating (played by Robin Williams) and depicts his close relationship with his students at a conservative male boarding school. The film illustrates how the students viewed Mr. Keating as a promoter of transformative education, passionately committed to teaching, and helping his students live in a more emancipatory way.

After watching the film, I encourage the students to do a close reading of the film. Many students echo the sentiments of Giroux (2002) who suggests that race is invisible in *Dead Poets Society*, which privileges "whiteness, patriarchy, and heterosexuality as the universalizing norms of identity" (p. 75). The film takes for granted the equation of whiteness with class privilege and does not problematize its nostalgic narrative with a critical analysis of the intersection between race and sexuality. After viewing this film (and other similar films), many students begin to understand how whiteness operates in the United States society as the unmarked norm.

Likewise in another illuminating filmic analysis, Giroux (2002) depicts how current conflicts over gender, race, and class are ideologically smoothed over in the narrative of the movie, *Grand Canyon*. In this film, the white bourgeois family of the story comes to recognize racial and cultural differences in the present, but in a manner that reassures them that they do not have to give up power and privilege and that difference can be simply absorbed into the status quo. I often use this film to discuss the pros and cons of surrendering white privilege.

OPPOSITIONAL WHITNESS IN NARRATIVE THERAPY

In her essay, "Women of Color Constructing Psychology," Oliva Espin (1995) critiques most traditional clinical social work (and most psychotherapies) as informed by essentialism and the treatment of "scientifically verifiable disorders." The task of traditional clinical social work is to identify problems, examine their discrete causes, and make "interventions" to assist clients in coming to a resolution. From traditional modernist perspectives, problems (like depression, conduct disorder, or anorexia) are typically described as individual pathologies attributable to biological or "fixed" conditions. Espin suggests that modernist/scientific therapies have been particularly harmful to clients of color; they are often pathologized due to not living up to white, universal

norms of behavior. Hence, many therapies inadvertently, according to Espin, reproduce racist discourses. Espin (1995) believes that “a social constructionist paradigm that sees psychological characteristics as a result of social and historical processes, not as natural, essential characteristics of one or another group of people is the more productive approach in the study of diversity than some other traditional paradigms accepted in psychology” (pp. 132-133). Narrative therapy is one such social constructionist approach.

Narrative therapy (Smith & Nylund, 1997; White & Epston, 1990) relies a great deal on historian Michel Foucault’s (1980) analysis of power/knowledge that provides the details of the socio-political context of a person’s life. Narrative therapy’s co-founders, Michael White and David Epston (1990) discuss Foucault’s notions of the inseparability of power/knowledge and how the “truth” of traditional notions of knowledge privilege one form of knowledge over another. White and Epston also explore how Foucault’s notion about techniques of self that recruit the subject into actively participating in their own subjugation through normalizing discourses that serve as a key mechanism of social control. For White and Epston (1990), therapists are “inevitably engaged in a political activity in the sense that they must continually challenge the techniques that subjugate persons to a dominant ideology” (p. 29). Therapists must always assume that they are producing in domains of power and knowledge and are often involved in questions of social control. Likewise, clinical social workers must realize, according to White and Epston that psychotherapy does not exist outside the politics of gender, race, class, and sexuality. Therefore, therapists should work to demystify and unmask the hidden power relations implicated in their techniques and practices.

The practices of narrative therapy have been invaluable to me as a clinical social worker and as a white person who is interested in antiracist activism. More than a set of clinical techniques, narrative therapy involves the interlocking nature of theory, ethics, and skills that constitute a way of being and a philosophical framework. Narrative therapy embodies a lifestyle and a political project that involves speaking and listening respectfully and is concerned with disrupting dominant cultural norms that are disqualifying of people’s lives. This ethical stance and political project includes addressing the legacy of white supremacy both within the culture of therapy and the culture at large. The values and practices of narrative therapy offer clinical social workers tools to critically examine white privilege and step into oppositional whiteness. I now turn to a clinical example of such a practice.

Case Example: Stephen Madigan and Oppositional Whiteness

Stephen Madigan, a white male narrative therapist (an MSW and PhD), conducted a live interview at a workshop in 1999 in Chicago, sponsored by Governors State University, which became a training video portraying the leading theories of family therapy and their application (Carlson & Kjos, 1999). The interview was with an 11-year-old African-American male, Ollie, and his African-American mother. Apparently, Ollie was recently suspended for assaulting a white male peer at school and was asked to seek court-ordered therapy. According to Ollie and his mother, the suspension and required therapy were “unfair”—the white child had assaulted Ollie first and had not received a suspension or any other reprimand.

During the interview Madigan initiates an inquiry into race when attempting to make sense of Ollie’s suspension.

Madigan: [addressing the mother] So, do you think that race had something to do with how Ollie was treated?

Mother: I think so because if it had been a white boy, it was a white boy, but if it had been two white boys, I don’t think they would, they wouldn’t have went to court.

Madigan: So the person that was involved with Ollie was white?

Mother: Yes.

Madigan: Yeah.

Mother: He was, he’s not a bad boy either, it’s just that the parents, both of them or one just made a big thing out of it.

Madigan: Yeah, yeah. As a mother, how does it feel to have Ollie exposed to this system that maybe he might get treated differently because of the color of his skin?

Mother: Well, I don’t like it.

As the conversation continued, Madigan begins to deconstruct the racist social practice of labeling African-American male youth as “deviant,” “conduct disordered” and/or “criminal.”

Madigan: [asking the mother] So do you think that TROUBLE (the problem that was externalized) might find the African-American children in the school quicker than. . .and they'll unfairly develop reputations of trouble more than the white children in the school?

Mother: I think so.

[later in the session]

Madigan: Do you have any final words you'd like to say?

Mother: I'd like to say I didn't know we would get to tell this story but it's a true story.

Madigan: Yeah. And I just want to tell you that I really believe your story. And I'd like to stand behind your story in any way that I can. And I am very sad that this story is going on for you.

Mother: Yeah, me too.

Madigan: I'm saying that as a person here with you, and I'm also saying that as a white person. So thank you so much for coming and sharing this story with us.

Mother: Okay. Thank you.

After the session, Madigan wrote a letter to the school principal and school psychologist protesting against the treatment that Ollie received at school. The letter also included alternative and preferred versions of whom Ollie might be—descriptions that were left out of the problem account. In the letter, Madigan included verbatim quotes from Ollie about his preference to avoid trouble. Apparently, the school psychologist was persuaded by the letter and worked with Ollie and his mother to support preferred story. In addition, the psychologist supported Ollie's mother to tell their story to other African-American parents at the school.

Stephen Madigan's narrative therapy session stands in stark contrast to much of what I have witnessed in school counseling and clinical social work. Therapy discourses on race have been reworked in ways that elide the larger structural and systemic inequalities that give racism such perseverance. Giroux (2003) has noted that problems of race "have been psychologized either as issues of character, individual pathology,

or genetic inferiority” (p. 123). In a post-Civil Rights, post-Reagan United States, race is defined largely through the language of privatization and is visible in two interconnected discourses—the self-help discourse and the politics of demonization. First, there is a discourse of self-help, which displaces social welfare from government and schools to individuals. Self-help discourses are augmented by representations that portray black men as lacking moral values and needing character development so that they can take responsibility for their own lives. Psychotherapy and clinical social work has played a significant role in supporting this privatizing discourse. According to Giroux (2003):

The doctrine of self-help is invariably bolstered by allusions to a few African Americans—Tiger Woods and Michael Jordan, for example—and is aimed at youth who supposedly can achieve the American dream if they quit whining and “just do it.” This highly individualized and privatized discourse has been very important as a rationale for dismantling the welfare state while simultaneously ignoring corporate policies that create downsizing, unemployment, toxic waste dumps in poor neighborhoods, and a lowering of urban tax revenues. (p. 123)

Related to the discourse of self-help is the “politics of demonization” (Giroux, 2003, p. 124), which portrays black men as dangerous and violent. The popular media has reinforced images of black men as dangerous, sexist, and threatening through depictions of gangsta rappers such as Snoop Dog, as well as sports figures such as Allan Iverson and Mike Tyson. The film and television industry has also reinforced such representations through films such as *187* or *Traffic* and reality shows such as *Cops*. These representations play a critical role in criminalizing social policy, and justifying oppressive measures towards African-American youth. Giroux (2003) writes that “like the language of self-help, the representational politics of pathology is purely psychological—devoid of any social context within which to situate behavior” (p. 124). Hence, pathological labels such as “conduct disorder” are increasingly placed on black youth to describe a whole range of behaviors that challenge white, middle-class norms.

Instead of the classic intervention of privatizing the problem by labeling Ollie as “conduct disorder” and teaching him anger management skills, Madigan contextualizes the problems and creates a safe space for Ollie and his mother to discuss issues of racism. Madigan, by inserting race and whiteness (including situating his own white identity) into the

conversation makes important connections between what is happening in the micro-aspects of Ollie and his mother's life and its link to the macro systems of a racist culture. Ollie's mother is surprised by Madigan's support (including Madigan's letter of protest) expecting the therapy to reinforce judgmental and racially prejudiced norms. Madigan's ethical posture in this therapeutic encounter is an example of Giroux's oppositional whiteness and is a fissure in the racist history of clinical social work/psychotherapy.

CONCLUSION

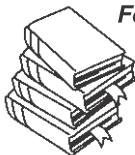
This paper critiqued "cultural competence" situating it within liberal and conservative multiculturalism. Within this frame, multiculturalism is viewed as a celebration of diversity and recognizes the importance of inclusion and participation, emphasizing difference, pluralism, and tolerance. The content of these graduate programs emphasizing pluralism is tailored to meet the needs of the dominant group of well-meaning white graduate students by including sufficient information regarding specific cultures to enable students to engage in what is believed to be an ethnically sensitive practice. While well intended, liberal, or conservative multiculturalism employs an essentialist and narrow understanding of race—one that sees races as fixed and given, discrete and homogenous. Additionally, this approach to multiculturalism resorts to a kind of "color and power evasiveness" (Frankenberg, 1993) that obscures the ways in which white racism assigns values and consequences to certain kinds of differences.

I suggested that social work educators and practitioners embrace critical multiculturalism as a form of praxis in unhinging racism. A critical multicultural practice includes a critical analysis of whiteness and a commitment on the part of white social workers and therapists to take up an antiracist practice. I shared some teaching strategies I use to discuss whiteness, including the practice of showing films in class as a form of racial and cultural pedagogy. I also depicted Stephen Madigan's oppositional whiteness, demonstrated in his case vignette, as form or re-articulating whiteness, namely that of oppositional whiteness.

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