Journal of Teacher Education

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CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND DIVERSITY
IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

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In the first part of this article, the author argues that teachers should help students to develop a delicate balance of cultural, national, and global identifications because of the rich diversity in the United States and throughout the world. To help students become effective citizens, teachers need to acquire reflective cultural, national, and global identifications. In the second part of this article, the author describes how he tries to help the students in one of his teacher education courses to challenge and critically examine their cultural and national identifications.

Because of the increasing racial, ethnic, cultural, and language diversity in the United States, effective teachers in the new century must help students become reflective citizens in pluralistic democratic nation-states. In this article, I argue that citizenship education needs to be reconceptualized because of the increased salience of diversity issues throughout the world. A new kind of citizenship education, called *multicultural citizenship*, will enable students to acquire a delicate balance of cultural, national, and global identifications and to understand the ways in which knowledge is constructed; to become knowledge producers; and to participate in civic action to create a more humane nation and world (J. A. Banks, 1997a). Teachers must develop reflective cultural, national, and global identifications themselves if they are to help students become thoughtful, caring, and reflective citizens in a multicultural world society.

This article consists of two major parts. In the first, I describe the theoretical and conceptual goals for citizenship education in a pluralistic democratic society. In the second, I describe how I implement these goals in one of my teacher education courses. The tone and style of the second part of the article are more personalized than those of the first part because I describe how the theory that I have developed is implemented in my own classroom.

Balancing Diversity and Unity

Most nation-states and societies throughout the world are characterized by cultural, ethnic, language, and religious diversity. One of the challenges to pluralistic democratic nation-states is to provide opportunities for cultural and ethnic groups to maintain components of their community cultures while at the same time constructing a nation-state in which diverse groups are structurally included and to which they feel allegiance. A delicate balance of unity and diversity should be an essential goal of democratic nation-states.

The challenge of balancing diversity and unity is intensifying as democratic nation-states such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom become more diversified and as racial and ethnic groups within these nations become involved in cultural and ethnic revitalization movements. The democratic ideologies institutionalized within the major democratic Western nations and the wide gap between these ideals and realities were major factors that resulted in the rise of ethnic revital-

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ization movements in nation-states such as the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom during the 1960s and 1970s.

These nations share a democratic ideal, a major tenet of which is that the state should protect human rights and promote equality and the structural inclusion of diverse groups into the fabric of society. These societies are also characterized by widespread inequality and by racial, ethnic, and class stratification. The discrepancy between democratic ideals and societal realities and the rising expectations of structurally excluded racial, ethnic, and social-class groups created protest and revival movements within the Western democratic nations.

THE NEED FOR A NEW CONCEPTION OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Because of growing ethnic, cultural, racial, and religious diversity throughout the world, citizenship education needs to be changed in substantial ways to prepare students to function effectively in the 21st century. Citizens in the new century need the knowledge, attitudes, and skills required to function in their ethnic and cultural communities and beyond their cultural borders and to participate in the construction of a national civic culture that is a moral and just community that embodies democratic ideals and values, such as those embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Students also need to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to become effective citizens in the global community.

Citizenship education in the past, in the United States as well as in many other nations, embraced an assimilationist ideology. In the United States, its aim was to educate students so they would fit into a mythical Anglo-Saxon Protestant conception of the "good citizen." Anglo conformity was the goal of citizenship education. One of its aims was to eradicate the community cultures and languages of students from diverse ethnic, cultural, racial, and language groups. One consequence of this assimilationist conception of citizenship education was that many students lost their first cultures, languages, and ethnic identities. Some students also became alienated from family and community. Another consequence was that many students became socially and politically alienated within the national civic culture.

Ethnic minorities of color often became marginalized in both their community cultures and in the national civic culture because they could function effectively in neither. When they acquired the language and culture of the Anglo mainstream, they were denied structural inclusion and full participation into the civic culture because of their racial characteristics.

Citizenship education must be transformed in this new century because of the large influx of immigrants who are now settling in nations throughout the world, because of the continuing existence of institutional racism and discrimination throughout the world, and because of the widening gap between the rich and the poor.

The U.S. Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998) projects that 47% of the U.S. population will consist of ethnic minorities of color by 2050. The percentage of ethnic minorities in nation-states throughout the world has increased significantly within the past 30 years. In many Western nations, the ethnic minority population is growing at significantly greater rates than is the majority population. Institutionalized discrimination and racism are manifest by the significant gaps in the incomes, education, and health of minority and majority groups in many nation-states. Ethnic, racial, and religious minorities are also the victims of violence in many nation-states.

In the United States, the share of the nation's wealth held by the wealthiest households (0.5%) rose sharply in the 1980s after declining for 40 years. In 1976, this segment of the population held 14% of the nation's wealth. In 1983, it held 26.9% (Phillips, 1990). In 1997, 12.7% of Americans, which included a higher percentage of African Americans and Hispanics (8.6% of non-Hispanic Whites, 26.0% of African Americans, 27.1% of Hispanics), were living in poverty (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998).

Cultural Communities and Multicultural Citizenship

Citizens should be able to maintain attachments to their cultural communities as well as participate effectively in the shared national culture. Cultural and ethnic communities need to be respected and given legitimacy not only because they provide safe spaces for ethnic, cultural, and language groups on the margins of society, but also because they serve as a conscience for the nation-state. These communities take action to force the nation to live up to its democratic ideals when they are most seriously violated. It was the abolitionists and not the founding fathers in the United States who argued that freedom and equality should be extended to all Americans. African Americans led the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s that forced the United States to eradicate its system of racial apartheid.

Okihiro (1994) points out that people and groups in the margins have been the conscience of the United States throughout its history. They have kept the United States committed to its democratic ideals as stated in its founding documents: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. He argues that the margins have been the main sites for keeping democracy and freedom alive in the United States. It was the groups in the margins that reminded and forced America to live up to its democratic ideals when they were most severely tested. Examples include (a) slavery and the middle passage, (b) Indian removal in the 1830s, (c) the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, and (d) segregation and apartheid in the South that crumbled during the 1960s and 1970s in response to the African American-led civil rights movement. In *The Story of American Freedom*, Foner (1998) makes an argument similar to Okihiro's:

> The authors of the notion of freedom as a universal birthright, a truly human ideal, were not so much the founding fathers who created a nation dedicated to liberty but resting in large measure on slavery, but abolitionists . . . and women. (p. xx)

A new kind of citizenship is needed for the 21st century, which Kymlicka (1995) calls "multicultural citizenship." It recognizes and legitimizes the right and need of citizens to maintain commitments both to their ethnic and cultural communities and to the national civic culture. Only when the national civic culture is transformed in ways that reflect and give voice to the diverse ethnic, racial, language, and religious communities that constitute it will it be viewed as legitimate by all of its citizens. Only then can they develop clarified commitments to the commonwealth and its ideals.

The Assimilationist Fallacy and Citizenship Education

An assimilationist conception of citizenship will not be effective in the 21st century because it is based on a serious fallacy. The assimilationist assumes that the most effective way to reduce strong ethnic boundaries, attachments, and affiliations within a nation-state is to provide marginalized and excluded ethnic and racial groups opportunities to experience equality in the nation's social, economic, and political institutions. As they begin to participate more fully in the mainstream society and institutions, argues the assimilationist, marginalized cultural and ethnic groups will focus less on their specific concerns and more on national issues and priorities (Patterson, 1977).

When ethnic groups experience equality, argues the assimilationist, ethnic attachments die of their own weight. The assimilationist views the ideal society as one in which there are no traces of ethnic or racial attachments. All groups will share one dominant national and overarching culture; people will forsake their ethnic cultures when they are structurally included in the national civic culture and community.

Apter (1977) calls the assimilationist position the "assimilationist fallacy." This position holds that as modernization occurs, ethnic groups experience social, political, and economic equality, and commitments to ethnic and com-

munity attachments weaken and disappear. Ethnicity, argues the assimilationist, promotes division, exhumes ethnic conflicts, and leads to divisions within society. It also promotes group rights over the rights of the individual.

As Apter (1977) keenly observes, the assimilationist conception is not so much wrong as it is an incomplete and inadequate explanation of ethnic realities in modernized, pluralistic, and democratic nation-states. Ethnicity and assimilationism coexist in modernized democratic nation-states. As Apter suggests, "The two tendencies, toward and against [ethnicity], can go on at the same time. Indeed, the more development and growth that takes place, the more some [ethnic] groupings have to gain by their parochialism" (p. 65).

Ethnicity and modernity coexist in part because of what assimilationists call the "pathological condition"; that is, ethnic groups such as Mexicans in the United States and Afro-Caribbeans in the United Kingdom maintain attachments to their ethnic groups and cultures in part because they have been excluded from full participation in the social, economic, and political institutions of their nation-states.

However, members of marginalized ethnic groups, as well as more privileged ethnic and cultural groups such as Greeks and Jews in the United States, maintain ethnic affiliations and ethnic attachments for more fundamental psychological and sociological reasons. Ethnicity helps them to fulfill some basic psychological and sociological needs that the "thin" culture of modernization leaves starving. Apter (1977) comments insightfully on this point:

> [Ethnic revival] is a response to the thinning out of enlightenment culture, the deterioration of which is a part of the process of democratization and pluralization. . . . Assimilation itself then vitiates the enlightenment culture. As it does, it leaves what might be called a *primordial space* [italics added], a space people try to fill when they believe they have lost something fundamental and try to recreate it. (p. 75)

Multicultural citizenship education allows students to maintain attachments to their cultural and ethnic communities while at the same time helping them to attain the knowledge and skills needed to participate in the wider civic culture and community.

Helping Students to Develop Cultural, National, and Global Identifications

Citizenship education should help students to develop thoughtful and clarified identifications with their cultural communities and their nation-states. It should also help students to develop clarified global identifications and deep understandings of their roles in the world community (Diaz, Massialas, & Xanthopoulos, 1999). Students need to understand how life in their cultural communities and nations influences other nations and the cogent influence that international events have on their daily lives. Global education should have as major goals helping students to develop understandings of the interdependence among nations in the world today, clarified attitudes toward other nations, and reflective identifications with the world community.

Developing a Delicate Balance of Identifications

Nonreflective and unexamined cultural attachments may prevent the development of a cohesive nation with clearly defined national goals and policies. Although we need to help students to develop reflective and clarified cultural identifications, they must also be helped to clarify and strengthen their identifications with their nation-states. However, blind nationalism will prevent students from developing reflective and positive global identifications. Nationalism and national attachments in most nations of the world are strong and tenacious. An important aim of citizenship education should be to help students develop global identifications and a deep understanding of the need to take action as citizens of the global community to help solve the world's difficult global problems.

Cultural, national, and global experiences and identifications are interactive and interrelated in a dynamic way. Writes Arnove (1999),

There is a dialect at work by which . . . global processes interact with national and local actors and contexts to be modified, and in some cases transformed. There is a process of give-and-take, an exchange by which international trends are reshaped to local ends. (pp. 2-3)
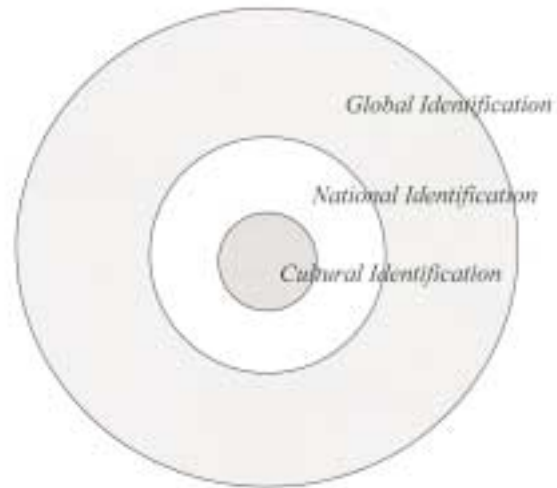
Students should develop a delicate balance of cultural, national, and global identifications (see Figure 1). However, educators often try to help students develop strong national identifications by eradicating their ethnic and community cultures and making students ashamed of their families, community beliefs, languages, and behaviors.

I believe that cultural, national, and global identifications are developmental in nature, that individuals can attain healthy and reflective national identifications only when they have acquired healthy and reflective cultural identifications, and that individuals can develop reflective and positive global identifications only after they have realistic, reflective, and positive national identifications (J. A. Banks, 2001). These identifications are dynamic and interactive; they are not discrete.

Individuals can develop a clarified commitment to and identification with a nation-state and the national culture only when they believe that they are a meaningful part of the nation-state and that it acknowledges, reflects, and values their culture and them as individuals. A nation-state that alienates and does not structurally include all cultural groups into the national culture runs the risk of creating alienation and causing groups to focus on specific concerns and issues rather than on the overarching goals and policies of the nation-state.

Multicultural Citizenship Education, Knowledge, and Action

To help students acquire reflective and clarified cultural, national, and global identifications, citizenship education must teach them to know, to care, and to act. As Paulo Freire (1985) points out, students must be taught to read the word and the world. In other words, they must acquire higher levels of knowledge, understand

A major goal of multicultural citizenship education should be to help students acquire a delicate balance of cultural, national and global identifications.

FIGURE 1   Cultural, National, and Global Identifications

the relationship between knowledge and action, develop a commitment to act to improve the world, and acquire the skills needed to participate in civic action. Multicultural citizens take actions within their communities and nations to make the world more humane. Multicultural citizenship education helps students learn how to act to change the world.

To become thoughtful and effective citizen actors, students must understand the ways in which knowledge is constructed and how knowledge production is related to the location of knowledge producers in the social, political, and economic contexts of society. Multicultural citizenship education must also help students to become knowledge producers themselves and to use the knowledge they have acquired and constructed to take democratic social and civic action.

I have conceptualized five types of knowledge that can help educators to conceptualize and teach about knowledge construction (J. A. Banks, 1996): (a) personal/cultural knowledge,

(b) popular knowledge, (c) mainstream academic knowledge, (d) transformative academic knowledge, and (e) school knowledge. Although the categories of this ideal-type typology can be conceptually distinguished, in reality they overlap and are interrelated in a dynamic way. *Mainstream academic knowledge* and *transformative academic knowledge* are briefly defined below because these concepts are used in the discussion in the second part of this article.

Mainstream academic knowledge consists of the concepts, paradigms, theories, and explanations that constitute traditional and established knowledge in the behavioral and social sciences. An important assumption within mainstream knowledge is that objective truths can be verified through rigorous and objective research procedures that are uninfluenced by human interests, values, and perspectives (Homans, 1967).

Transformative academic knowledge consists of the concepts, paradigms, themes, and explanations that challenge mainstream academic knowledge and that expand the historical and literary canon (J. A. Banks, 1996, 1998; Limerick, 1987). Transformative scholars assume that knowledge is influenced by personal values, the social context, and factors such as race, class, and gender. Whereas the primary goal of mainstream academic knowledge is to build theory and explanations, an important goal of transformative knowledge is to use knowledge to change society to make it more just and humane.

The Knowledge Construction Process and Student Identifications

The knowledge construction process describes the ways in which teachers help students to understand, investigate, and determine how the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed. When the knowledge construction process is implemented in the classroom, teachers help students to understand how knowledge is created and how it is influ-

enced by the racial, ethnic, social-class, and gender positions of individuals and groups.

When students participate in knowledge construction, they challenge the mainstream academic metanarrative and construct liberatory and transformative ways of conceptualizing the U.S. and the world experience. Understanding the knowledge construction process and participating in it themselves help students to construct clarified cultural, national, and global identifications and to become knowledgeable, caring, and active citizens in democratic societies.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

Helping Teachers to Develop Clarified Cultural and National Identifications

Teachers need to develop reflective cultural and national identifications if they are to function effectively in diverse classrooms and help students from different cultures and groups to construct clarified identifications. Several characteristics of U.S. teachers and teacher education students make it difficult and problematic for them to develop reflective cultural and national identifications.

Most of the nation's teacher education students are middle-class White females who have little experience with other racial, ethnic, or social-class groups. Even when they come from working-class backgrounds, teacher education students tend to distance themselves from their class origins and to view themselves as middle class in values, perspectives, and behaviors. This occurs in part because White students who come from lower- and working-class communities and cultures—like students of color—must distance themselves from their primordial cultures to experience academic and social success in educational institutions. This is true not only in the United States but in other nations, as is epitomized in this statement by a Canadian Ukrainian who recalls his school experiences (Diakiw, 1994):

This [school] was not an environment in which I was able to talk proudly about my heritage. I retreated

and assimilated as fast as I could. I was ashamed of my background. I was particularly embarrassed about my parents. Compared to my friends' parents, mine seemed ignorant and crude. . . . I visited in their homes but not until the end of grade thirteen did I invite any friends to mine. Only then did I realize that despite the differences in culture and wealth, my parents were among the best. (p. 54)

When teacher education students from working-class backgrounds distance themselves from their class origins, they become less able to connect their childhood experiences with those of low income and working-class students of color. Consequently, they are less likely to develop an empathetic understanding of students whose behaviors and values conflict with those of the school's mainstream culture (Erickson, 2001).

One of the consequences of the monocultural experiences and the privileged racial and class status of many White college students in teacher education programs is their tendency to view themselves as noncultural and nonethnic beings who are colorblind and raceless. Consequently, they often view race and culture as something possessed by outsiders and others and view themselves as "just Americans." These kinds of perceptions and perspectives often lead majority group students to ask these kinds of question during class discussions: "Why do we have to focus on race and other kinds of differences? Why can't we all be just Americans?"

The culturally isolated experiences of most of my teacher education students, reinforced by their assimilationist high school education and the popular culture, result in their accepting without question the metanarrative of U.S. history that has dominated the nation's curriculum since the late 1800s. The metanarrative that is institutionalized within the nation's schools, colleges, and universities is called "American exceptionalism" by historians such as Appleby (1992) and Kammen (1997).

The institutionalized metanarrative conceptualizes the development of U.S. history as a linear movement of Europeans from the east to the west coast of the United States, a movement that was ordained by God to bring civilization to the West, which was a *wilderness* and a *frontier*. These words connote that the lands on which

the Native Americans lived were uninhabited until the Europeans arrived in the West.

Frederick Jackson Turner (1894/1989), in a paper presented at the 1893 meeting of the American Historical Association that was destined to become a classic, characterized the frontier as "the meeting point between savagery and civilization" (p. 3). Turner's characterization of the West epitomizes the metanarrative that is institutionalized in the nation's schools, colleges, and universities. However, the established metanarrative, which I call "mainstream academic knowledge" (J. A. Banks, 1996) and Apple (1993) describes as "official knowledge," has been strongly challenged by transformative scholars within the past 30 years (C.A.M. Banks, 1996; Limerick, 1987). The use of concepts such as wilderness, frontier, and westward movement are legacies of Turner's frontier thesis and the times in which he lived and worked. Cherry McGee Banks (1996) describes the serious limitations of the mainstream metanarrative:

> By telling part of the story and leaving other parts of the story out, meta-narratives suggest not only that some parts of the story don't count, but that some parts don't even exist. The exclusive nature of meta-narratives, their canonized place in formal school curricula, and the extent to which they are woven into the societal curriculum result in meta-narratives producing a feeling of well-being and comfort within mainstream society and their validity rarely being questioned. (p. 49)

The strong and persistent challenge that transformative scholars of color and women have directed toward mainstream academic knowledge since the mid-1960s has resulted in significant curriculum changes in the nation's schools, colleges, and universities and in textbooks. However, despite these substantial changes, many of the concepts, perspectives, and periodizations of the mainstream meta-narrative are still deeply embedded in the curriculum, in textbooks, and in the popular culture.

Helping Teacher Education Students Rethink Race, Culture, and Ethnicity

To develop clarified cultural and national identifications, teacher education students must be helped to critically analyze and rethink

their notions of race, culture, and ethnicity and to view themselves as cultural and racial beings. They also need to reconstruct race, culture, and ethnicity in ways that are inclusive and that reveal the ways in which these concepts are related to the social, economic, and political structures in U.S. society (Nieto, 1999; Omi & Winant, 1994).

Teacher education students need to understand, for example, the ways in which the statement, "I am not ethnic; I am just American," reveals the privileged position of an individual who is proclaiming his or her own unique culture as American and other cultures as non-American. A statement such as "I don't see color" reveals a privileged position that refuses to legitimize racial identifications that are very important to people of color and that are often used to justify inaction and perpetuation of the status quo. If educators do not "see" color and the ways in which institutionalized racism privileges some groups and disadvantages others, they will be unable to take action to eliminate racial inequality in schools.

In an important ethnographic study of a school, Schofield (2001) found that teachers who said they were colorblind suspended African American males at highly disproportionate rates and failed to integrate content about African Americans into the curriculum. Color-blindness was used to justify inaction and the perpetuation of institutionalized discrimination within the school. Colorblindness is part of the "racial text" of teacher education which, as Cochran-Smith (2000) points out, teachers and teacher educators must "unlearn."

In the first course I teach for teacher education students, I incorporate readings, activities, lectures, and discussions designed to help students construct new concepts of race, culture, and ethnicity. Most students in the course are White women. These activities are designed, in part, to help the students "unlearn racism" and to read the "racial text" of U.S. society and popular culture (Cochran-Smith, 2000). Assignments include a personal reflection paper on the book *We Can't Teach What We Don't Know: White Teachers, Multicultural Schools* (Howard, 1999) as well as a family history project.

In his book, Howard (1999) describes his personal journey as a White person to come to grips with racial issues and to become an effective educator. He speaks in a personal and engaging way to White teachers. In their reflection papers, my students describe their powerful reactions to Howard's book and how it helps them to rethink their personal journey related to race and their ideas about race. Howard makes racism explicit for most of my students for the first time in their lives.

In their family history project, the students are asked not only to provide a brief account of their family's historical journey but also to give explicit attention to the ways in which race, class, and gender have influenced their family and personal histories. Although the family history project is a popular assignment, most of the students have to struggle to describe ways in which race has influenced their family and personal histories because race is largely invisible to them (McIntosh, 1997). Gender is much more visible to my women students. More of the female than male students are able to relate gender to their family and personal stories in meaningful ways.

Challenging the Metanarrative

A series of activities in the course is designed to help students examine the U.S. metanarrative, to construct new conceptions and narratives that describe the development of U.S. history and culture (which I call transformative knowledge), and to think of creative and effective ways to teach new conceptions of the American experience to students. These activities include historical readings, discussions, and role-playing events about U.S. ethnic and racial groups (J. A. Banks, 1997b), with the emphasis on the history of ethnic groups of color. The perspectives in these historical accounts are primarily those of the groups being studied rather than those of outsiders.

The perspectives of both insiders and outsiders are needed to give students a comprehensive

understanding of U.S. history and culture. However, I emphasize the perspectives of insiders in this course because my students have been exposed to outsider perspectives for most of their education prior to my course. I also focus on insider perspectives because one of the most important goals of the course is to help students learn how to challenge and critically analyze the mainstream metanarrative they have learned during their high school and college years.

The historical readings in my course are supplemented by videotapes that powerfully depict the perspectives of ethnic groups of color on historical and contemporary events. These videotapes include *The Shadow of Hate: A History of Intolerance in America* (Guggenheim, 1995), which chronicles how various groups within the United States, including the Irish, Jews, and African Americans, have been victimized by discrimination. One of the most trenchant examples of discrimination in the videotape is the description of the way Leo Frank, a Jewish northerner living in Atlanta, became a victim of anti-Semitism and racial hostility when he was accused of murdering a White girl who worked in a pencil factory he co-owned.

The Leo Frank case provides the students an opportunity to understand the ways in which race is a social construction, is contextual, and how the meaning of race has changed historically and continues to change today (Jacobson, 1998). Leo Frank was considered Jewish and not White in 1915 Atlanta. In a lecture, I provide the students an overview of Karen Brodkin's (1998) book that describes the process by which Jews became White in America and what the experiences of Jews and other White ethnics, such as the Irish and Italians, reveal about the characteristics of race in the United States.

Brodkin (1998) argues that Jews had to assimilate mainstream American behaviors, ideologies, attitudes, and perspectives to become White. Among the important attitudes they had to acquire, she argues, were the institutionalized attitudes and perceptions that mainstream Whites held toward groups of color. Brodkin argues, as does Toni Morrison (1992), that Whites defined themselves in opposition to African Americans, and that this oppositional definition was one important way in which disparate groups of White ethnics were able to form a collectivity in the United States and to construct themselves as one cultural and identity group.

Ignatiev (1995) describes the ways in which the Irish, like other White ethnic groups, became White by acquiring mainstream White values and behaviors directed against ethnic groups of color. My students are always surprised to learn how the meaning of race has changed through time and that the idea that Whites are one racial group is a rather recent historical development.

I use a videotape that deals with a contemporary Native American issue to relate historical events to current issues and to help the students understand the ways in which our nation's past and present are connected. *In Whose Honor?* (Rosenstein, 1997) chronicles the struggle of Charlene Teters, a Native American graduate student, to end the use of a Native American chief as a football team mascot at the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana. The team is called The Fighting Illini, after Chief Illiniwek. During halftime, a student dresses up as Chief Illiniwek and dances. Teters considers the chief and the dance sacrilegious and demeaning to Native Americans. The videotape describes the social action taken by Teters to end the tradition, as well as the strong opposition by the board of trustees and alumni who want to maintain a tradition that is deeply beloved by vocal and influential alumni and board members. The people who defend the 70-year-old tradition cannot understand how anyone can find it offensive.

In Whose Honor? (Rosenstein, 1997) helps the students understand how the construction of *Indian* in U.S. society is controlled by mainstream institutions, including the mainstream media. Through questioning and discussion, I help the students relate Columbus's construction of the Native people of the Caribbean as Indians, Cortés's construction of the Aztecs as savages, Turner's construction of the West as a wilderness, and the selection of Chief Illiniwek as a mascot. We discuss the following questions

to uncover ways in which these events are connected (J. A. Banks, 2000):

1. Which groups have the power to define and institutionalize their conceptions within the schools, colleges, and universities?
2. What is the relationship between knowledge and power? Who exercises the most power in this case study?
3. Who benefits from the ways in which Native Americans have been and are often defined in U.S. society? Who loses?
4. How can views of Native Americans be reconstructed in ways that will help empower Native American groups and create more justice in society?

An Unfinished Journey

My project to help teacher education students develop reflective cultural and national identifications is a work in progress that has rewards, challenges, unrealized possibilities, conflicts, and—at times—frustrations for my students and me. My work on global identifications and issues is incomplete and episodic. Each time I teach the course, I feel that I do not have enough time to deal with cultural and national issues. Global issues remain mostly an unrealized and hoped-for goal. Making links when discussing cultural and national issues is the extent to which I deal with global issues in the course.

The class is an unfinished journey for the students and me in several important ways. It is a beginning of what I hope will be a lifelong journey for my students. I realize that one course with a transformative goal can have only a limited influence on the knowledge, beliefs, and values of students who have been exposed to mainstream knowledge and perspectives for most of their prior education. Students are required to take a second multicultural education course in our teacher education program. Also, other members of the teacher education faculty are trying to integrate ethnic, cultural, and racial content into the foundations and methods courses.

My course is also an unfinished journey because I am still trying to figure out how to achieve the delicate balance of showing respect for my students while at the same time encouraging them to seriously challenge their deeply held beliefs, attitudes, values, and knowledge

claims. I am also trying to conceptualize effective ways to determine the short-term and long-term effectiveness of the course. The opinions of most of my students when the course ends are encouraging. However, I do not know the relationship between these opinions and the behavior of the students when they become teachers.

When I taught the class in fall 1999, 21 of 25 students wrote positive and detailed responses to the following question on the University of Washington's standardized course evaluation form: "Was this class intellectually stimulating? Did it stretch your thinking? Yes No Why or why not?"

However, I worry about the 4 students in this class of 25 who merely checked Yes in answer to the question and made no further comments. The responses of these 4 students evoke these questions: What are the meanings of their terse responses? In what ways might these 4 students differ from the other students who wrote detailed comments? Do they need a different kind of course and a different set of experiences? How will these 4 students, as well as the other 21 students, view the experience in my course a year after they have been teaching? Will the course make a difference in the ways in which they teach and deal with multicultural content? I was heartened to read in a study reported by Ladson-Billings (1999) that some of the students in a teacher education program who had been "the most resistant to the program's emphasis on equity and diversity issues feel that it has been most beneficial to them in their teaching" (p. 116).

My observations of my students during this 10-week course, reading of their reflection papers and other papers, listening to their class discussions, having conversations with them, and studying their end-of-class course evaluations indicate that most of my students attain some of the important course objectives. They develop an understanding of how knowledge is constructed, how it relates to power, and how the mainstream metanarrative privileges some groups and marginalizes others. They also develop a better understanding of race, culture, and ethnicity and begin the process of

questioning some of their assumptions about these concepts. Perhaps most important, most of my students begin to view their own cultural and racial journeys from different and more critical perspectives. I believe that these critical perspectives will help them to develop more reflective cultural, national, and global identifications.

Teachers with the knowledge and skills I teach in my course are better able to interrogate the assumptions of official school knowledge, less likely to be victimized by knowledge that protects hegemony and inequality, and better able to help students acquire the knowledge and skills needed to take citizen action that will make the world more just and humane.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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