



SIXTH EDITION

CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND EDUCATION

FOUNDATIONS, CURRICULUM, AND TEACHING

JAMES A. BANKS



CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND EDUCATION

Now available in paperback, the sixth edition of this definitive text provides students a strong background in the conceptual, theoretical, and philosophical issues in multicultural education from a leading authority and scholarly leader of the field—James A. Banks.

In the opening chapter, author Banks presents his well-known and widely used concept of Dimensions of Multicultural Education to help build an understanding of how the various components of multicultural education are interrelated. He then provides an overview on preparing students to function as effective citizens in a global world; discusses the dimensions, history, and goals of multicultural education; presents the conceptual, philosophical, and research issues related to education and diversity; examines the issues involved in curriculum and teaching; looks at gender equity, disability, giftedness, and language diversity; and focuses on intergroup relations and principles for teaching and learning.

This new edition incorporates new concepts, theories, research, and developments in the field of multicultural education and features:

- A new Chapter 5, “Increasing Student Academic Achievement: Paradigms and Explanations” provides important explanations for the achievement gap and suggests ways that educators can work to close it.
- A new Chapter 7, “Researching Race, Culture, and Difference,” explains the unique characteristics of multicultural research and how it differs from mainstream research in education and social science.
- A new Chapter 14, “Principles for Teaching and Learning in a Multicultural Society” contains research-based guidelines for reforming teaching and the school in order to increase the academic achievement and social development of students from diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, language, and gender groups.
- A new Appendix—“Essential Principles Checklist”—designed to help educators determine the extent to which practices within their schools, colleges, and universities are consistent with the research-based findings described in the book.

James A. Banks is the Kerry and Linda Killinger Endowed Chair in Diversity Studies and Founding Director of the Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington, Seattle. He is a past president of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) and the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), a Fellow of AERA, and a member of the National Academy of Education.

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Foundations, Curriculum, and Teaching

JAMES A. BANKS

University of Washington

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*To the memories of
Lula Holt Banks, who taught me compassion and caring,
Ira Eugene Banks, who epitomized these qualities,
and to
Cherry Ann, Rosie Mae, Tessie Mae, Angela, and Patricia,
Important women in my life.*

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

James A. Banks holds the Kerry and Linda Killinger Endowed Chair in Diversity Studies and is the founding director of the Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington, Seattle. He was the Russell F. Stark University Professor at the University of Washington from 2001 to 2006. Professor Banks is a past president of the American Educational Research Association and of the National Council for the Social Studies. He is a specialist in social studies education and multicultural education and has written widely in these fields. His books include *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies*; *Educating Citizens in a Multicultural Society*; and *Race, Culture, and Education: The Selected Works of James A. Banks*. Professor Banks is the editor of the *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*; *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education*; *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives*; and the *Encyclopedia of Diversity in Education*. He is also the editor of the Multicultural Education Series of books published by Teachers College Press, Columbia University. Professor Banks is a member of the National Academy of Education and a Fellow of the American Educational Research Association.

Professor Banks is widely considered the “father of multicultural education” in the United States and is known throughout the world as one of the field’s most important founders, theorists, and researchers. He holds honorary doctorates from the Bank Street College of Education (New York), the University of Alaska Fairbanks, the University of Wisconsin–Parkside, DePaul University, Lewis and Clark College, and Grinnell College and is a recipient of the UCLA Medal, the university’s highest honor. In 2005, Professor Banks delivered the 29th Annual Faculty Lecture at the University of Washington, the highest honor given to a professor at the university. In 2007, he was the Tisch Distinguished Visiting Professor at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Research by Professor Banks on how educational institutions can improve race and ethnic relations has greatly influenced schools, colleges, and universities throughout the world. He has given lectures on citizenship education and diversity in many different nations, including Australia, Canada, China, Cyprus, England, France, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Kenya, Korea, Norway, Malaysia, Portugal, Russia, Scotland, Singapore, Sweden, and New Zealand. His books have been translated into Greek, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Turkish.

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As cultural, ethnic, language, and religious diversity increases in the United States and the world (Banks, 2009b), the challenge of educating citizens to function effectively in a pluralistic democratic society deepens. The dream that drew millions of immigrants to the shores of the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is still a powerful magnet. Most of the immigrants who come to the United States today, like those who came in the past, are seeking better economic opportunities.

Educators in the United States as well as in nations around the world are grappling with the challenges and possibilities caused by global migration and increasing diversity. The number of international migrants grew from 154 million in 1990 to 232 million in 2013, which was 3.2 percent of the world's population of 7 billion (United Nations, 2013). The historic immigration nations—such as the United States, Australia, and Canada—as well as nations that have not viewed themselves as immigrant nations in the past—such as Germany (Luchtenberg, 2009), Japan (Hirasawa, 2009), and Korea (Moon, 2012)—are wrestling with contentious issues related to migration, citizenship, and education.

The source of immigrants to the United States has changed substantially since the Immigration Reform Act of 1965 was enacted and became effective in 1968. Most of the 8.8 million immigrants who came to the United States between 1901 and 1910 were Europeans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012a). Today, most of the immigrants who come to the United States are from nations in Asia and Latin America. Between 2002 and 2011, 89 percent of the documented immigrants to the United States came from nations in Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa. Only 11 percent came from European nations (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2012). The 2012 U.S. Census Bureau projects that ethnic groups of color will increase from 37.3 percent of the nation's population in 2012 to 57 percent in 2060 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012b). The nation's minority student population will also continue to increase. In 2010, students of color made up 48 percent of the students enrolled in prekindergarten through twelfth grade in U.S. public schools. Demographers project that students of color will make up about 52 percent of the nation's school-age youths by 2021 (U.S. Department of Education, 2013).

This rich racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity in the United States presents both opportunities and challenges. Diversity enriches the nation because it provides alternative ways to view the world and to solve social, economic, and political problems. A major challenge faced by democratic pluralistic nations such as the United States is how to balance diversity and unity. A nation-state that denies individuals the opportunity to participate freely in their community cultures runs the risk of alienating them from the national civic culture. To create a shared civic community in which all groups participate and to which they have allegiance, steps must be taken to construct an inclusive national

civic culture that balances unity and diversity. Unity without diversity results in cultural repression and hegemony. Diversity without unity leads to ethnic and cultural separatism and the fracturing of the nation-state (Banks, 2009a).

A major goal of multicultural education is to help students develop the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to participate effectively in their cultural communities, within the civic culture of the nation-state, and in the global community. To help students attain these goals, the school's curriculum and social structure must be substantially reformed and educators must acquire new knowledge, commitments, and skills.

Cultural Diversity and Education: Foundations, Curriculum, and Teaching, Sixth Edition, is designed to help educators clarify the philosophical and definitional issues related to multicultural education, derive a clarified philosophical position, design and implement effective teaching strategies that reflect diversity, and develop sound guidelines for multicultural practices. *Cultural Diversity and Education* describes actions that educators can take to institutionalize multicultural ideas, concepts, and practices in educational institutions.

This sixth edition incorporates new concepts, theories, research, and developments in the field of multicultural education that have occurred since the last edition of this book was published. Chapter 2 on preparing students to function as effective citizens in a global world has been substantially revised to incorporate the new work that I have done on global citizenship and diversity since the fifth edition of this book was published (Banks, 2008; 2009a; 2009b). Chapters 5, 7, 14, and the Appendix are new to this sixth edition. Although this new sixth edition consists of three new chapters, it has one chapter less than the previous edition. This was accomplished by combining two of the chapters in the previous edition in order to make the text more succinct. The statistics, citations, and references throughout this sixth edition have been thoroughly revised and updated.

This sixth edition consists of five parts. The chapters in Part I discuss the dimensions, history, and goals of multicultural education. Conceptual, philosophical, and research issues related to education and diversity are the focus of Part II. The major research and programmatic paradigms related to cultural diversity and education are described as well as the philosophical, ideological, and research issues related to diversity and education.

Part III focuses on curriculum and teaching. It examines the cultural identities of students, knowledge construction, and curriculum reform. The chapters in this part describe knowledge systems and paradigms that underlie curriculum and teaching and the ways in which these systems can be transformed. Curriculum and teaching strategies for decision making and action are discussed, with a focus on helping students learn how to construct knowledge, make reflective decisions, and participate in meaningful personal, social, and civic action. The three chapters in this part include teaching units that illustrate how teachers can help students to acquire the knowledge, values, and skills needed to become effective civic participants in a pluralistic, democratic society.

The chapters in Part IV focus on gender equity, disability, giftedness, and language diversity. Chapter 11 describes ways in which disability and giftedness are socially constructed concepts that have powerful effects on the attitudes and behaviors of students, teachers, and the culture and organization of schools. Chapter 12 presents information and insights about language diversity that teachers will find helpful when working with students from diverse cultural and language groups.

Part V focuses on intergroup relations and principles for teaching and learning. The research, theory, and strategies related to reducing student prejudice and helping students to develop democratic attitudes and behaviors are described in Chapter 13. Chapter 14, the final chapter, describes principles for teaching and learning in a multicultural society and summarizes the major issues, problems, and recommendations discussed in the previous chapters of this book. The Appendix consists of a checklist—based on the learning principles described in Chapter 14—that can help educators determine the extent to which practices within their schools, colleges, and universities are consistent with the research-based guidelines described in this chapter.

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Taylor and Francis for “Pluralism, Ideology and Curriculum Reform,” *The Social Studies*, Vol. 67 (May–June, 1967), pp. 99–106.

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The National Council for the Social Studies for “Should Integration Be a Goal in a Pluralistic Society?” In Raymond Muessig (Ed.), *Controversial Issues in the Social Studies* (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1975), pp. 197–228.

The State University of New York Press for “A Curriculum for Empowerment, Action, and Change.” In Christine E. Sleeter (Ed.), *Empowerment through Multicultural Education* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp. 125–141, ff. 311–313.

The University of Chicago Press for "The Social Studies, Ethnic Diversity and Social Change," from *Elementary School Journal*, Vol. 87, Number 5 (May, 1987), pp. 531–543. Copyright 1987 by The University of Chicago Press. All rights reserved.

Sage Publications Ltd. for James A. Banks and Caryn Park, "Race, Ethnicity, and Education: The Search for Explanations." In Patricia Hill Collins and John Solomos (Editors), *The SAGE Handbook of Race and Ethnic Studies* (pp. 383–414). London, England: SAGE Publications, Ltd.

Taylor and Francis for James A. Banks, "Researching Race, Culture, and Difference: Epistemological Challenges and Possibilities." In Judith L. Green, Gregory Camilli, and Patricia B. Elmore (Editors), *Handbook of Complementary Methods in Education* (pp. 773–793). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association; and Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

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James A. Banks

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DIMENSIONS, HISTORY, AND GOALS

Chapter 1 The Dimensions of Multicultural Education

Chapter 2 Educating Citizens for Diversity in Global Times

Chapter 3 Multicultural Education: History, Development, Goals, and Approaches

Chapter 1 describes five dimensions of multicultural education conceptualized by the author: (1) content integration, (2) the knowledge construction process, (3) prejudice reduction, (4) an equity pedagogy, and (5) an empowering school culture and social structure. The need for each of these dimensions to be implemented in order to create comprehensive and powerful multicultural educational practices is described and illustrated.

Chapter 2 describes how racial, ethnic, cultural, and language diversity is increasing in nation-states throughout the world because of worldwide immigration. It depicts how the deepening ethnic diversity within nation-states and the quest by different groups for cultural recognition and rights are challenging assimilationist notions of citizenship and forcing nation-states to construct new conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education. A delicate balance of unity and diversity should be an essential goal of citizenship education in multicultural nation-states, which should help students to develop thoughtful and clarified identifications with their cultural communities, nation-states, regions, and the global community. It should also enable them to acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to act to make the nation and the world more democratic and just.

Chapter 3 describes the development of educational reform movements related to cultural and ethnic diversity within an historical context. Historical developments related to ethnicity since the early 1900s, the intergroup education movement of the 1940s and 1950s, new immigrants in the United States, and the

ethnic revival movements that have emerged in various Western societies since the 1960s are discussed.

The historical development of multicultural education is also described in Chapter 3. The nature of multicultural education, its goals, current practices, problems, and promises are discussed. Four approaches to multicultural education are also described: the Contributions Approach, the Additive Approach, the Transformation Approach, and the Decision-Making and Social Action Approach.

THE DIMENSIONS OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

THE AIMS AND GOALS OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

The heated discourse on multicultural education, especially in the popular press and among writers outside the field (BBC News, 2010, 2011; Chavez 2010), often obscures the theory, research, and consensus among multicultural education scholars and researchers about the nature, aims, and scope of the field (Banks, 2009b, 2012b). In highly publicized statements in 2010 and 2011, respectively, Angela Merkel, the chancellor of Germany, and David Cameron, the prime minister of the United Kingdom, stated that multiculturalism had failed in their countries. Several multicultural scholars in Germany and the United Kingdom stated that multiculturalism could not have failed in Germany and the United Kingdom because it has never been effectively implemented in policy or practice.

A major goal of multicultural education—as stated by specialists in the field—is to reform schools, colleges, and universities so that students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class groups will experience educational equality. *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* (Banks, 2009b) and the *Encyclopedia of Diversity in Education*, published in four volumes as well as electronically (Banks, 2012a), document the tremendous growth and development of theory, research, and practice in multicultural education within the last three decades.

Another important goal of multicultural education is to give both male and female students an equal chance to experience educational success and mobility (Klein, 2012). Multicultural education theorists are increasingly interested in how the interaction of race, class, and gender influences education (Grant & Zwier, 2012). However, the emphasis that different theorists give to each of these variables varies considerably. Although there is an emerging consensus about the aims and scope of multicultural education, the variety of typologies, conceptual schemes, and perspectives within the field reflects its emergent status and the fact that complete agreement about its aims and boundaries has not been attained (Nieto, 2009).

There is general agreement among most scholars and researchers in multicultural education that, for it to be implemented successfully, institutional changes must be made, including changes in the curriculum; the teaching materials; teaching and learning styles (Lee, 2007), the attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors of teachers and administrators; and the goals, norms, and culture of the school (Banks & Banks, 2004, 2013). However, many school and university practitioners have a limited conception of multicultural education; they view it primarily as curriculum reform that involves changing or restructuring the curriculum to include content about ethnic groups, women, students with disabilities, LGBT students, and other minoritized cultural groups. This conception of multicultural education is widespread because curriculum reform was the main focus when the movement first emerged in the 1960s and 1970s and because the multiculturalism discourse in the popular media has focused on curriculum reform and has largely ignored other dimensions and components of multicultural education (Chavez, 2010).

THE DIMENSIONS AND THEIR IMPORTANCE

If multicultural education is to become better understood and implemented in ways more consistent with theory, its various dimensions must be more clearly described, conceptualized, and researched (Banks, 2004). Multicultural education is conceptualized in this chapter as a field that consists of five dimensions I have formulated (Banks, 2012b):

1. Content integration,
2. The knowledge construction process,
3. Prejudice reduction,
4. An equity pedagogy, and
5. An empowering school culture and social structure (see Figure 1.1).

Each of the five dimensions is defined and illustrated later in this chapter.

Educators need to be able to identify, to differentiate, and to understand the meanings of each dimension of multicultural education. They also need to understand that multicultural education includes but is much more than content integration. Part of the controversy in multicultural education results from the fact that many writers in the popular press see it only as content integration and as an educational movement that benefits only people of color (Glazer, 1997). When multicultural education is conceptualized broadly, it becomes clear that it is for all students, and not just for low-income students and students of color (May, 2012). Research and practice will also improve if we more clearly delineate the boundaries and dimensions of multicultural education.

This chapter defines and describes each of the five dimensions of multicultural education. The knowledge construction process is discussed more extensively than the other four dimensions. The kind of knowledge that teachers examine and master will have a powerful influence on the teaching methods they create, on

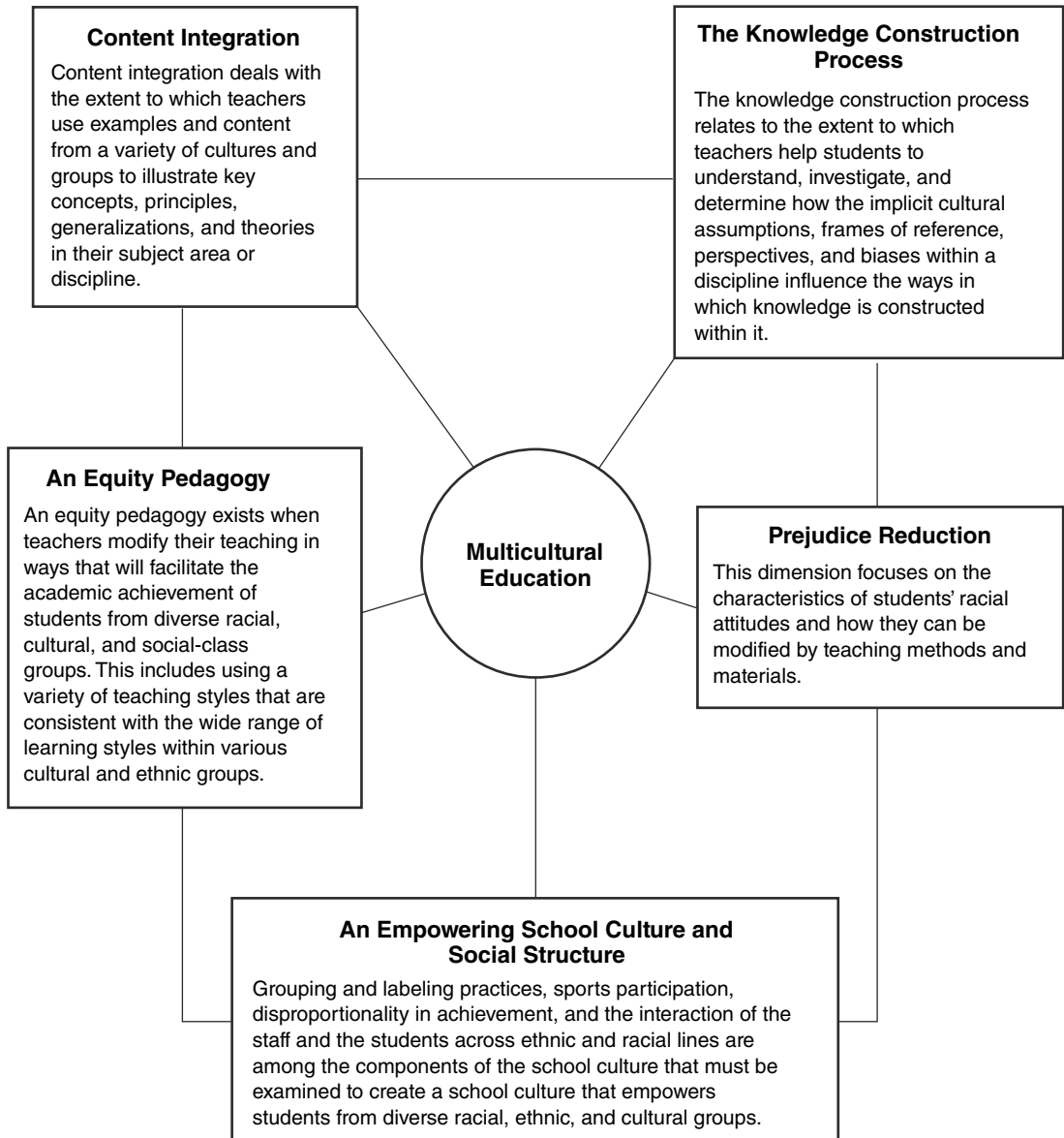


FIGURE 1.1 The Dimensions of Multicultural Education

their interpretations of school knowledge, and on how they use student cultural knowledge. The knowledge construction process is fundamental in the implementation of multicultural education. It has implications for each of the other four dimensions—for example, for the construction of knowledge about pedagogy.

LIMITATIONS AND INTERRELATIONSHIP OF THE DIMENSIONS

The dimensions typology is an ideal-type conception. It approximates but does not describe reality in its total complexity. Like all classification schema, it has both strengths and limitations. Typologies are helpful conceptual tools because they provide a way to organize and make sense of complex and distinct data and observations. However, their categories are interrelated and overlapping, not mutually exclusive. Typologies rarely encompass the total universe of existing or future cases. Consequently, some cases can be described only by using several of the categories.

The dimensions typology provides a useful framework for categorizing and interpreting the extensive literature on cultural diversity, ethnicity, and education. However, the five dimensions are conceptually distinct but highly interrelated. Content integration, for example, describes any approach used to integrate content about racial and cultural groups into the curriculum. The knowledge construction process describes a method in which teachers help students to understand how knowledge is created and how it reflects the experiences of various ethnic, racial, cultural, and language groups.

THE MEANING OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION TO TEACHERS

A widely held and discussed idea among theorists is that, in order for multicultural education to be effectively implemented within a school, changes must be made in the total school culture as well as within all subject areas, including mathematics (Nasir & Cobb, 2007) and science (Lee & Buxton, 2010). Despite the wide acceptance of this basic tenet by theorists, it confuses many teachers, especially those in subject areas such as science and mathematics. This confusion often takes the form of resistance to multicultural education. Many teachers have told me after a conference presentation on the characteristics and goals of multicultural education: "These ideas are fine for the social studies, but they have nothing to do with science or math. Science is science, regardless of the culture of the students."

This statement can be interpreted in a variety of ways. However, one way of interpreting it is as a genuine belief held by a teacher who is unaware of higher-level philosophical and epistemological knowledge and issues in science or mathematics or who does not believe that these issues are related to school teaching (Harding, 1998, 2012). The frequency with which I have encountered this belief in staff development conferences and workshops for teachers has convinced me that the meaning of multicultural education must be better contextualized in order for the concept to be more widely understood and accepted by teachers and other practitioners, especially in such subject areas as mathematics and science.

We need to better clarify the different dimensions of multicultural education and to help teachers see more clearly the implications of multicultural education for their own subject areas and teaching situations. The development of active,

cooperative, and motivating teaching strategies that makes physics more interesting for students of color might be a more important goal for a physics teacher of a course in which few African American students are enrolling or successfully completing than is a search for ways to infuse African contributions to physics into the course. Of course, in the best possible world both goals would be attained. However, given the real world of the schools, we might experience more success in multicultural teaching if we set limited but essential goals for teachers, especially in the early phases of multicultural educational reform.

The development of a phase conceptualization for the implementation of multicultural educational reform would be useful. During the first or early phases, all teachers would be encouraged to determine ways in which they could adapt or modify their teaching for a multicultural population with diverse abilities, learning characteristics, and motivational styles. A second or later phase would focus on curriculum content integration. One phase would not end when another began. Rather, the goal would be to reach a phase in which all aspects of multicultural educational reform would be implemented simultaneously. In multicultural educational reform, the first focus is often on content integration rather than on knowledge construction or pedagogy. A content-integration focus often results in many mathematics and science teachers believing that multicultural education has little or no meaning for them. The remainder of this chapter describes the dimensions of multicultural education with the hope that this discussion will help teachers and other practitioners determine how they can implement multicultural education in powerful and effective ways.

CONTEXTUALIZING MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

We need to do a better job of contextualizing the concept of multicultural education. When we tell practitioners that multicultural education implies reform in a discipline or subject area without specifying in detail the nature of that reform, we risk frustrating motivated and committed teachers because they do not have the knowledge and skills to act on their beliefs. Educators who reject multicultural education will use the “irrelevance of multicultural education” argument as a convenient and publicly sanctioned form of resistance and as a justification for inaction.

Many of us who are active in multicultural education have backgrounds in the social sciences and humanities. Consequently, we understand the content and process implications of multicultural education in these disciplines. A variety of programs, units, and lessons have been developed illustrating how the curriculum can be reformed and infused with multicultural perspectives, issues, and points of view from the social sciences and the humanities (Au, 2009; Banks, 2009a). As students of society and of the sociology of knowledge, we also understand, in general ways, how mathematics and science are cultural systems that developed within social and political contexts (Harding, 1998).

Most mathematics and science teachers do not have the kind of knowledge and understanding of their disciplines that enables them to construct and

formulate lessons, units, and examples that deal with the cultural assumptions, frames of reference, and perspectives within their disciplines. Few teachers seem able to identify and describe the assumptions and paradigms that underlie science and mathematics (Harding, 2008). They often make such statements as, “Math and science have no cultural contexts and assumptions. These disciplines are universal across cultures.” Knowledge about the philosophical and epistemological issues and problems in science and mathematics, and the philosophy of science, is often limited to graduate seminars and academic specialists in these disciplines (Harding, 1998).

A number of informative and helpful publications for teachers have been published in recent years that focus on teaching about diversity in math and science. Important publications about ways to incorporate diversity issues into math and science include books by Nasir and Cobb (2007), Mukhopadhyay and Roth (2012), and Gutstein (2006) on teaching about diversity in math and a book by Lee and Buxton (2010) on diversity issues in science. Another helpful resource for teaching dealing with math and diversity is *Rethinking Mathematics: Teaching Social Justice by Numbers*, edited by Gutstein and Peterson (2013) and published by Rethinking Schools.

Multicultural education is a way of viewing reality and a way of thinking, and not just content about various ethnic, racial, and cultural groups. New publications continue to provide teachers with the examples and specifics they need to integrate diversity into their teaching in the various content areas. Teachers can learn about new and helpful publications by visiting the websites of organizations such as Rethinking Schools and Teaching Tolerance. All teachers, including mathematics and science teachers, need to think of ways in which they can modify their teaching and implement equity pedagogy in their classrooms (Banks & Banks, 1995), which is a way of teaching that is not discipline-specific but that has implications for all subject areas and for teaching in general.

THE DIMENSIONS OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Teachers can examine the five dimensions of multicultural education when trying to implement multicultural education. These dimensions, identified above, are summarized in Figure 1.1. They are defined and illustrated below.

Content Integration

Content integration deals with the extent to which teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories in their subject area or discipline. The infusion of ethnic and cultural content into the subject area should be logical, not contrived. The widespread belief that content integration constitutes the whole of multicultural education might be an important factor that causes many teachers of subjects such as mathematics and science to view multicultural education as an endeavor primarily for social studies and language arts teachers.

More opportunities exist for the integration of ethnic and cultural content in some subject areas than in others. In the social studies, the language arts, music, and family and consumer sciences, there are frequent and ample opportunities for teachers to use ethnic and cultural content to illustrate concepts, themes, and principles. There are also opportunities to integrate the math and science curriculum with ethnic and cultural content (Lee & Buxton, 2010; Nasir & Cobb, 2007; Mukhopadhyay & Roth, 2012). However, these opportunities are not as apparent or as easy to identify as they are in subject areas such as the social studies and the language arts.

In the language arts, for example, students can examine the ways in which Ebonics (Black English) is both similar to and different from mainstream U.S. English (Alim & Smitherman, 2012; Hudley & Mallinson, 2011). The students can also study how African American oratory is used to engage the audience with the speaker. They can read and listen to speeches by such African Americans as Martin Luther King, Jr., Congresswoman Maxine Waters of California, Marian Wright Edelman, Al Sharpton, and President Barack Obama when studying Ebonics and African American oratory. The importance of oral traditions in Native American cultures can also be examined. Personal accounts by Native Americans can be studied and read aloud (Hirschfelder, 1995).

The scientific explanation of skin color differences, the biological kinship of the human species, and the frequency of certain diseases among specific human groups are also content issues that can be investigated in science. The contributions to science made by cultures such as the Aztecs, the Egyptians, and the Native Americans are other possibilities for content integration in science (Bernal, 1987, 1991; Weatherford, 1988).

The Knowledge Construction Process

The knowledge construction process consists of the methods, activities, and questions teachers use to help students to understand, investigate, and determine how 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 influenced by the racial, ethnic, and social-class positions of individuals and groups (Code, 1991; Harding, 1998). *Positionality* is the term used to describe the ways in which race, social class, gender, and other personal and cultural characteristics of knowers influence the knowledge they construct or produce.

In the Western empirical tradition, the ideal within each academic discipline is the formulation of knowledge without the influence of the researchers' personal or cultural characteristics (Myrdal, 1969). However, as critical theorists, scholars of color, and feminist scholars have pointed out, personal, cultural, and social factors influence the formulation of knowledge even when objective knowledge is the ideal within a discipline (Banks, 1996; Code, 1991; Collins, 2000). Often the researchers themselves are unaware of how their personal experiences and positions within society influence the knowledge they produce. Most mainstream

U.S. historians were unaware of how their regional and cultural biases influenced their interpretation of the Reconstruction period until W. E. B. Du Bois (1935) published a study that challenged the accepted and established interpretations of that period.

It is important for teachers as well as students to understand how knowledge is constructed within all disciplines, including mathematics and science. Social scientists, as well as physical and biological scientists on the cutting edges of their disciplines, understand the nature and limitations of their fields. However, the disciplines are often taught to students as a body of truth not to be questioned or critically analyzed. Students need to understand, even in the sciences, how cultural assumptions, perspectives, and frames of reference influence the questions that researchers ask and the conclusions, generalizations, and principles they formulate.

Students can analyze the knowledge construction process in science by studying how racism has been perpetuated in science by genetic theories of intelligence, Darwinism, and eugenics (Gould, 1996; Harding, 1998). Scientists developed theories such as polygeny and craniometry that supported and reinforced racist assumptions and beliefs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Gould, 1996; Jacobson, 1998). Although science has supported and reinforced institutionalized racism at various times and places, it has also contributed to the eradication of racist beliefs and practices. Biological theories and data that revealed the characteristics that different racial and ethnic groups share, and anthropological theory and research about the universals in human cultures, have contributed greatly to the erosion of racist beliefs and practices (Benedict, 1940; Boas, 1940).

Knowledge Construction and the Transformative Curriculum. The curriculum in the schools must be transformed in order to help students develop the skills needed to participate in the knowledge construction process. The transformative curriculum changes the basic assumptions of the curriculum and enables students to view concepts, issues, themes, and problems from diverse ethnic and cultural perspectives (Banks, 1996). The transformative curriculum can teach students to think by encouraging them, when they are reading or listening to resources, to consider the author's purposes for writing or speaking, his or her basic assumptions, and how the author's perspective or point of view compares with that of other authors and resources. Students can develop the skills to analyze critically historical and contemporary resources by being given several accounts of the same event or situation that present different perspectives and points of view.

Teaching About Knowledge Construction and Production. Teachers can use two important concepts in U.S. history to help students to better understand the ways in which knowledge is constructed and to participate in rethinking, reconceptualizing, and constructing knowledge. "The New World" and "The European Discovery of America" are two central ideas that are pervasive in the

school and university curriculum as well as within popular culture. The teacher can begin a unit focused on these concepts with readings, discussions, and visual presentations that describe the archaeological theories about the peopling of the Americas nearly 40,000 years ago by groups that crossed the Bering Strait while hunting for animals and plants to eat. The students can then study about the Aztecs, the Incas, and the Iroquois and other highly developed civilizations that developed in the Americas prior to the arrival of Europeans in the fifteenth century.

After the study of the Native American cultures and civilizations, the teacher can provide the students with brief accounts of some of the earliest Europeans, such as Columbus and Cortés, who came to America. The teacher can then ask the students what they think the phrase “The New World” means, whose point of view it reflects, and to list other and more neutral words to describe the Americas (Bigelow & Peterson, 2003). The students could then be asked to describe “The European Discovery of America” from two different perspectives: (1) from the point of view of a Taíno or Arawak Indian (Rouse, 1992; the Taínos were living in the Caribbean when Columbus arrived there in 1492); and (2) from the point of view of an objective or neutral historian who has no particular attachment to either American Indian or European society.

The major objective of this lesson is to help students to understand knowledge as a social construction and to understand how concepts such as “The New World” and “The European Discovery of America” are not only ethnocentric and Eurocentric terms, but are also normative concepts that serve latent but important political purposes, such as justifying the destruction of Native American peoples and civilizations by Europeans such as Columbus and those who came after him (Loewen, 2010; Todorov, 1992; Zinn & Kirschner, 1995). The New World is a concept that subtly denies the political existence of Native Americans and their nations prior to the coming of the Europeans.

The goal of teaching knowledge as a social construction is neither to make students cynics nor to encourage them to desecrate European heroes such as Columbus and Cortés. Rather, the aim is to help students to understand the nature of knowledge and the complexity of the development of U.S. society and how the history that becomes institutionalized within a society reflects the perspectives and points of view of the victors rather than those of the vanquished. When viewed within a global context, the students will be able to understand how the creation of historical knowledge in the United States parallels the creation of knowledge in other democratic societies and is a much more open and democratic process than in totalitarian nation-states.

Another important goal of teaching knowledge as a construction process is to help students to develop higher-level thinking skills and empathy for the peoples who have been victimized by the expansion and growth of the United States. When diverse and conflicting perspectives are juxtaposed, students are required to compare, contrast, weigh evidence, and make reflective decisions. They are also able to develop empathy and an understanding of each group’s perspective and point of view. The creation of their own versions of events and situations, and new

concepts and terms, also requires students to reason at high levels and to think critically about data and information.

Prejudice Reduction

The prejudice reduction dimension of multicultural education describes the characteristics of students' racial attitudes and strategies that can be used to help them develop more democratic attitudes and values. Researchers have been investigating the characteristics of children's racial attitudes since the 1920s (Lasker, 1929). This research indicates that most young children enter school with negative racial attitudes that mirror those of adults (Aboud, 1988; Stephan & Stephan, 2004). Research also indicates that effective curricular interventions can help students develop more positive racial and gender attitudes (Levy & Killen, 2008; Stephan & Stephan, 2004). Since the intergroup education movement of the 1940s and 1950s (Trager & Yarrow, 1952), a number of investigators have designed interventions to help students develop more positive racial attitudes and values (Levy & Killen, 2008; Nagda, Tropp, & Paluck, 2006; Slavin, 2012).

Since the 1940s, a number of curriculum intervention studies have been conducted to determine the effects of teaching units and lessons, multiethnic materials, role playing, and other kinds of simulated experiences on the racial attitudes and perceptions of students. These studies, which have some important limitations and findings that are not always consistent, indicate that under certain conditions curriculum interventions can help students develop more positive racial and ethnic attitudes (Aboud, 2009; Stephan & Vogt, 2004).

Despite the limitations of these studies, they provide guidelines that can help teachers improve intergroup relations in their classrooms and schools. Trager and Yarrow (1952) conducted one of the earliest curriculum studies. They examined the effects of a curriculum intervention on the racial attitudes of children in the first and second grades. In one experimental condition, the children experienced a democratic curriculum; in the other, nondemocratic values were taught and perpetuated. No experimental condition was created in the control group. The democratic curriculum had a positive effect on the attitudes of both students and teachers.

White, second-grade children developed more positive racial attitudes after using multiethnic readers in a study conducted by Litcher and Johnson (1969). However, when Litcher, Johnson, and Ryan (1973) replicated this study using photographs instead of readers, the children's racial attitudes were not significantly changed. The investigators stated that the shorter length of the later study (one month compared to four), and the different racial compositions of the two communities in which the studies were conducted, may help to explain why no significant effects were produced on the children's racial attitudes in the second study. The community in which the second study was conducted had a much higher percentage of African American residents than did the community in which the first was conducted.

The longitudinal evaluation of the television program *Sesame Street* by Bogatz and Ball (1971) supports the hypothesis that multiethnic simulated materials and interventions can have a positive effect on the racial attitudes of young children.