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SPECIAL ISSUE: MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION
Guest Editor: Valerie Ooka Pang

Editorial

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EDITORIAL

Editor's Note: We are happy to present here a special issue of Theory and Research in Social Education (TRSE) dedicated to multicultural education. The issue was put together in collaboration with guest editor Valerie Ooka Pang of San Diego State University.

Just beneath the Surface: Issues of Race, Class, and Gender

We live in a color-conscious society, in which the issue of race is intertwined with issues of class and gender. Public response to the 1995 acquittal of O. J. Simpson indicates that the U.S. is a deeply divided nation, split by skin color, wealth, and gender. In a Los Angeles Times poll (1995, p. S-2), 1 69 percent of whites surveyed indicated that they believed Simpson's team of lawyers used race inappropriately in the trial; by comparison, 64 percent of blacks surveyed felt that the issue of race was raised appropriately. The Simpson verdict acted as a catalyst to a volcanic eruption of feelings, in particular about race. Many people from the mainstream were enraged by a verdict that they viewed as racially biased and the product of a well-financed defense. Others were upset that the jury did not seem to consider the issue of domestic violence seriously. On the other hand, many blacks felt severe alienation when people challenged a verdict reached within the legal court system. Despite efforts toward equity, prejudice continues to fester just beneath the surface; sometimes it may crust over, but the sore has not healed (Hughes, 1959, p. 268) 2.

This special installment of TRSE focusing on multicultural education emerges at a time when discussion of equity issues is critical to our movement forward as a nation. It brings our attention to the creation of an expanding community and it is an urgent call to those of us in social studies education. Our dialogue about shared culture must be more than passive rhetoric about principles of freedom, equity, and justice. We cannot afford to use these principles as thin, white veils to obscure our systemic problems. Social studies educators can provide much needed leadership to span our deep racial divide. Although building such bridges may be difficult, social studies educators especially must understand that including the realities of those who have been muffled does not threaten the American tapestry, but rather enriches and enhances its design.


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The primary purpose of this issue is to frame an inclusive and evolving view of citizenship within a pluralistic society. Its second objective is to encourage dialogue among scholars of color and European Americans about the expanding community in the United States. What do we mean by expanding community? Whose voices should be heard? What civic competencies should our students develop? How can we grow beyond the call for conformity and draw upon the untapped possibilities that diversity brings?3

In the first article, "Expanding Conceptions of Community and Civic Competence for a Multicultural Society", Pang, Gay, and Stanley discuss tensions between individualism and the common good within the context of pluralism. They argue that community needs stem from important personal needs, and that citizens must develop competencies that encourage civic discourse and foster the ability to analyze public policies and issues as they affect everyone.

The next two articles form a point/counterpoint section. Boyle-Baise's article, "The Role of a European American Scholar in Multicultural Education," favors a working coalition of European Americans and people of color in addressing issues of equity. Ceola Ross Baber, in her article "Leaders of Color as Catalysts for Community Building in a Multicultural Society," agrees that European Americans should actively participate in the journey toward justice, but argues that people of color, because of their historical experiences, should occupy the forefront in restructuring our views on civic competence.

In the final feature article, Gloria Alter looks at how various textbooks present issues of equity to children. In her study, she found that most series continue to marginalize the experiences of people of color, women, and those from the lower class, although one series provides a more in-depth view of these issues. Even this series, however, presents an incomplete picture of American plurality.

We also include two book reviews in this issue. First, Elaine Stotko briefly discusses Geneva Gay's *At the Essence of Learning: Multicultural Education* and asserts that Gay's juxtaposition of universal education principles and multicultural perspectives should be extremely helpful to new teachers. In this view, multicultural teaching is equated with good teaching; that is, teaching consistent with our national ideals of equality, dignity, and excellence. Stotko's review is followed by Tlou and Morton's discussion of Cornel West's *Race Matters*. According to Tlou and Morton, West believes that we as a nation have shunned the needs of the black community, especially the poor in urban areas. West provides a detailed critique of contemporary American society and issues a moral challenge to the nation's leaders concerning

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race relations. West's book is especially pertinent to the current social discussion about race and our justice system.

The issue of race intertwined with class and gender continues to plague our nation as shown with the recent response to the O. J. Simpson court case. We cannot ignore our deep divisions. Justice is an ideal that we strive for, and it can never be taken for granted. Hopefully, we as social studies educators will contribute to creating a beautiful tapestry of strength and justice, rather than a torn fabric of exclusion and division. More than in any other field in education, our mission is to educate citizens who have the ability and the will to address our deepest social problems.

Valerie Ooka Pang
November, 1995
EXPANDING CONCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY AND CIVIC COMPETENCE FOR A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

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University of Washington

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Abstract
As changing demographics alter the ethnic make-up of the United States, social studies, in partnership with multicultural education, can play an important role in constructing new conceptions of this expanded, multicultural community. These new and challenging times pose key questions to social studies educators: Can we have unity without uniformity? When we talk about a government of, by, and for the people, to whom are we referring? What civic competencies should our students acquire to fulfill Barber's concept of an aristocracy of everyone? The degree to which the expanding community is able to facilitate unity and diversity among its culturally pluralistic members is one indication of success or failure.

Are pluribus and unum mutually exclusive? Can we have both? Can we have unity without uniformity? Is it possible to have ethnic melody without harmony and to create a confluence of cultures based upon consensus instead of conformity? As the twenty-first century approaches, the debate about the civic competencies needed to create an

1 We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Christine Sleeter in the development of this article.
Expanding Conceptions of Community

expanding community within the context of ethnic and cultural pluralism takes on new dimensions. Some scholars contend that cultural diversity and ethnic affiliations interfere with national allegiance and citizenship. Others believe that they enrich and enliven the creative potential of the United States and create a demand for new definitions of the American way and new interpretations of the American dream.

In this discussion we envision an expanding culture and community in the United States that is more inclusive of diversity, based upon the assumption that this is not a new challenge; it only has a new urgency because of shifting ethnic demographics and power relationships. As Greene (1993) suggests:

Since the days of De Tocqueville, Americans have wondered how to deal with the conflicts between individualism and the drive to conform. They have wondered how to reconcile the impassioned voices of cultures not yet part of the whole with the requirements of conformity, how not to lose the integrity of those voices in the process, how not to allow the drive to conformity [to] determine what happens at the end. But the community many of us hope for now is not to be identified with conformity. As in Whitman’s way of saying, it is a community attentive to difference open to the idea of plurality. Something life affirming in diversity must be discovered and rediscovered, as what is held in common becomes always more many faceted—open and inclusive, drawn to untapped possibility (p. 17).

What does expanding community mean? Whose voices should center and direct this community? How can we, as Greene recommends, grow beyond the call for conformity and draw upon the untapped possibility that diversity brings? How can we achieve what Asante (1991/1992) envisions as “cultural plurality without hierarchy” (p. 28) and what Payne (1993) proposes as “unity without the necessity for uniformity” (p. 2)? In this discussion we argue for new conceptions of community, canons of knowledge, educational paradigms, and civic competence that reflect the plurality of peoples, cultures, and contributions in the United States. We also attempt to clarify the place of multicultural education in all of these areas. Three major themes permeate these discussions: (1) All students need to know and value cultural diversity in an individual, group, national, and global context; (2) competence in cultural pluralism is a condition of effective democratic citizenship; and (3) multicultural and social studies education are natural complements and extensions of one another, both crucial to the development of skills needed for full membership and participation in an expanded, culturally pluralistic community.

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The United States is "unequivocally a multidimensional, pluralistic society" (Gay, 1993, p. 16). In 1990, there were approximately 2 million American Indians, 7.5 million Asian Pacific Americans, 22.5 million Latinos, 30 million African Americans, and 200 million European Americans living in the United States (Guillermo, 1993). Asian Pacific Americans were proportionately the fastest growing ethnic group, increasing at an astounding rate of 95 percent between 1980 and 1990. During the same period, the Latino population grew by 53 percent (Ong & Hee, 1993). By the year 2020, almost half of the public school students in the United States will be children of color (Banks, 1993). The phenomenal growth rate is due to the young age, high birth rate, and immigration patterns of these ethnic groups (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1993); for example, 84 percent of all immigrants who arrived in the United States in 1992 came from Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East. Thirty-three percent of the total came from various Asian nations (Nelan, 1993).

At the same time, the overall poverty level among children grew at the alarming rate of 46.8 percent from 1973 to 1992. The growth in poverty rates among specific ethnic groups were 116 percent for Latinos, 26.9 percent for African Americans, and 52.6 percent for European Americans (Mehren, 1992). Poverty statistics on children from other ethnic groups such as Southeast Asians, Asian Indians, and American Indians are not reported systematically or regularly; however, the trends are similar (Hing, 1993; Mazunder, 1993; U.S. Department of Commerce, 1993). In addition to becoming poorer and more linguistically, ethnically, and culturally diverse, students come from national origins and lived experiences that are significantly different from those of their predominately white, middle class, female teachers and the Eurocentric orientations of mainstream society. The existential gap between students and teachers is growing exponentially. To create an expanded and open community, we must create bridges where diverse peoples, experiences, and voices are welcomed, embraced, and entitled to all privileges and responsibilities.

As demographics change the ethnic contours of the nation, educational ideas and pedagogies must also change. Social studies education plays an important part in constructing conceptions of this expanded community because of its traditional role in socializing students into the democratic ethos of the nation. Multicultural education can be a vital partner in this process since many of its visions, ideals, goals, and values parallel those of the social studies field. Both social studies and multicultural education endorse programs and practices that promote individual freedom, equality, and justice as well as social cohesion within the law and spirit of democracy. These beliefs are the
foundations of two major ideological anchors of the envisioned expanding community: (1) There is no one model American individual or culture (American Association of College for Teacher Education, 1973); and (2) the rights of entitlement or membership include legal, pedagogical, moral, ethical, and knowledge-based dimensions.

These changing and challenging images of the United States pose key questions to social studies educators: Just how deep are the roots of economic, ethnic, and cultural stratification in the United States? How do these affect teaching and learning? Why are some groups consistently ignored, made invisible, or silenced? When we talk about a government of, by, and for the people, to whom are we referring? How can those with professional responsibility and moral consciousness plan educational agendas that ignore social, ethnic, and cultural realities? Can any education within this context be truly valid if it is not multicultural?

These questions have factual, methodological, and ethical ramifications. As Bull, Fruehling, and Chattergy (1992) explain:

> These are ethical, not [merely] factual, questions. They ask what people should do from among the actions that the facts make possible—what responsibilities people have toward one another, what freedom they should exercise, how they should make decisions that affect themselves and others, what role tradition should have in people's lives. They demonstrate that the ideal of unity in diversity has a moral and not just a pragmatic meaning. That ideal concerns not only how culturally, religiously, and ethnically different people can live together but also how they should live together (p. 4).

The deconstruction and transformation of messages, perceptions, and images about ethnic groups are crucial to creating new standards of community within cultural diversity.

The changing demographic and cultural complexion of the nation also has prompted suggestions that new interpretations of democratic and educational standards must be responsive to this new social order of cultural pluralism. All students are entitled to an education that prepares them for the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. Because they belong to an ethnically and culturally pluralistic society, they have a right to an education that reflects this reality. These sentiments are echoed by the editors of a fall 1993 issue of *Time* in their analyses of new immigration patterns affecting the United States:

> Although different and perhaps more problematic than those who came before, the latest immigrants are helping to form a new society, a variation and intensification of the
great American experiment. Too complicated and diffuse to be described as a melting pot, or even a goulash or a mosaic, that society today is really a collection of intertwining subcultures, each contributing its own character to the nation's life—from food to fashion, from art to politics—while retaining its distinctiveness ("America's Immigrant Challenge", p. 6).

These challenges demand new interpretations of human values and educational entitlements and new roles in constructing an expanding community where people from diverse cultural backgrounds are genuinely welcomed and fully enfranchised.

**Diversity, Unity, and Community**

Creating a genuine sense of community among culturally diverse peoples begins with a clear understanding of issues related to unity and diversity. The national unity we proclaim in the Pledge of Allegiance as one nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all and in our motto *e pluribus unum* is a vision rather than a reality. As Barber (1992) explains, diversity is, at once, a prominent virtue, a source of pride, a brave boast, a troubling reality, and an unsettling problem that complicates and muddles what it means culturally to be an American and a citizen of the United States. Banks (1992) concludes that while the United States may be one nation politically, it is deeply divided socially along race, ethnic, class, and gender lines. Ralph Ellison (1972) provides another compelling perspective on the fallacy of a nation of ethnic and cultural diversity attempting to deny those divisions and to create a artificial sense of unity based on human uniformity:

> Whence all this passion toward conformity anyway? Diversity is the word. Let man keep his many parts and you'll have no tyrant states. Why, if they follow this conformity business they'll end up by forcing me, an invisible man, to become white, which is not a color but the lack of one. Must I strive toward colorlessness? But seriously, and without snobbery, think of what the world would lose if that should happen. America is woven of many strands. I would recognize them and let it so remain. It's 'winner take nothing' that is the greatest truth of our country or of any country. Life is to be lived, not controlled; and humanity is won by continuing to play in face of certain defeat. Our fate is to become one, and yet many. This is not prophecy, but description. Thus one of the greatest jokes in the world is the spectacle of the whites busy escaping
blackness and becoming blacker every day, and the blacks striving toward whiteness, becoming quite dull and gray. None of us seems to know who he is or where he's going (pp. 563-564).

Therefore, "multicultural education is designed to help unify a deeply divided nation rather than to divide a highly cohesive one" (Banks, 1992, p. 23). It supports the national ideal of *e pluribus unum*, but demands that the standard of *unum* be changed from one of Eurocentric dominance to a composite, confluence, or synergy of ethnic and cultural pluralism. These standards for creating national unity out of diversity are what Molefi Asante (1991, 1992) envisions as pluralism without hierarchy.

In the struggle to construct new conceptual images of the United States as an expanding pluralistic community, several questions emerge. The first is, what does community mean? Often defined as group membership with both inclusionary and exclusionary standards (i.e., a way of determining who is and who is not an acceptable member of the group), normally community is viewed positively and connotes support, consensus, and identity, although the opposite is also true. Sometimes community is conceived in deliberate ways to determine who does not belong and is not accepted in a particular group. Our conception of an expanding community points toward more inclusivity in the rights and affiliations of diverse ethnic, racial, social, and cultural individuals and groups.

Another question that arises is, what impact will ethnic and cultural diversity have in building a strong national community? Critics of diversity claim that too much emphasis on differences divides rather than unites people, and belies the existence of a national, communal identity. An implicit assumption in these arguments is that national identity requires a common set of core values that everyone must uphold—in the United States, specifically freedom, justice, equality, and human dignity. Proponents of multicultural education do not deny or compromise these values but rather extend them to diverse peoples without penalty for or denial of their primordial identities. Expanding the conceptual and actual boundaries of the national community, however, raises questions about how its underlying values will be actualized in practice. What do these values mean when operationalized in culturally diverse contexts? Does national unity require identical interpretation of these values from everyone? What happens to feelings of community and unity when the social polity violates these values for some ethnic groups? Are these universal values flexible yet firm enough to ground the shifting boundaries of the new national community? Do these values transcend social contexts? What kinds of knowledge and
civic competencies do individuals need to function in this expanded community?

Undoubtedly, answers to these questions will come from social constructions and the products of human and practical reasoning. While national values such as freedom, equality, democracy, and justice may be universally appealing as principles, their practical expression may vary according to group, time, setting, and situation. Practical reasoning refers to the interpretation of values and behaviors required for praxis. This interest in and capacity for practical reasoning enables humans to determine and defend those values that drive cultures and societies (Stanley, 1992). Key to the intellectual development of students in an expanding community is the acquisition of practical reasoning skills and application of these skills toward social action within culturally pluralistic contexts.

In the expanding community, diversity is fundamental to the survival of democratic culture. John Dewey (1916) explains that democracy is a social process of shared communication and living rather than merely a form of government. Furthermore, a democratic society ensures the participation of all its members on equal terms, and readjusts its institutions to accommodate changes in different forms of associated life. Even though the need for community is inherent in the human condition, it is not present automatically, nor does it arise when people live in close proximity to each other. Instead, communities are based upon common interests and a willingness among diverse individuals to work collaboratively to achieve common causes.

Racial Stratification and Entitlement

In order to implement educational practices that address the needs of a wide range of diverse peoples, educators must understand how race, class, and gender entitlements facilitate or militate freedom, equality, and the pursuit of happiness for both individuals and groups. While the success stories of ethnic individuals should be applauded, they should not be mistaken as evidence of general success in culturally diverse groups. Unfortunately, individual successes do not protect diverse individuals from racial discrimination and unequal treatment when compared with their European American peers (Cose, 1993).

Issues of entitlement continue to plague U.S. society. Giroux (1992) has written, “While people of color are redrawing the cultural demographic boundaries of the urban centers, the boundaries of power appear to be solidifying in favor of [the] rich, white, middle, and upper classes” (p. 111). Some ethnic and cultural groups enjoy persistent privilege while others systematically are excluded from or are marginalized in mainstream society (Cose, 1993; McIntosh, 1989; Sleeter, in press; Spring, 1994). Sometimes exclusion is based upon racial
membership; this can manifest itself as overt and covert discrimination. As a social construct, racism is defined as the implicit or explicit social practice of imparting merits based upon membership in a particular race (Omi & Winant, 1986). McIntosh (1989) believes that in the United States, many European Americans benefit from the entitlement of their racial group. She explains further that "as a white person, I realized I had been taught about racism as something which puts others at a disadvantage, but had been taught not to see one of its corollary aspects, white privilege, which puts me at an advantage" (p. 10). She adds that unearned advantages and opportunities derived from white privilege are "like an invisible, weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools, and blank checks" (p. 10). As members of the mainstream, European Americans may not understand that they have a privileged social status and more opportunities in society than members of other ethnic groups.

The sense of privilege that McIntosh describes also is discussed by Maya Angelou. In her autobiography I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, Angelou (1969) describes a personal experience that illustrates how social entitlement affected her performance in school. When she moved to San Francisco as a teenager, Angelou was one of few African American students in a predominantly mainstream high school. She describes her feelings of insecurity and her reluctance to participate in classroom discussions:

The white kids had better vocabularies than I and, what was more appalling, less fear in the classrooms. They never hesitated to hold up their hands in response to a teacher's question; even when they were wrong they were wrong aggressively, while I had to be certain about all my facts before I dared to call attention to myself (p. 182).

Racial stratification in U.S. society can be seen in the entitlement Angelou's classmates conveyed. As an African American, Angelou did not feel she had the same right of expression; she sensed that society had placed limitations on her freedoms. Most European Americans spend their time in white-dominated spheres, making it difficult for them to understand the structural nature of racism (Sleeter, in press). Similarly, immigrants from countries in the Caribbean and in sub-Saharan Africa, who have spent their lives in predominantly black cultures and political climates prior to coming to this country have some difficulty understanding racism on a personal, experiential level. Because their own cultural perspectives and values constitute the normative standards of living, these individuals are effectively insulated, protected, or even blind to the nature and effects of racism.
The Impact of a European American World View

The entitlement of middle class European Americans and the limitations felt by people of color, females, and the poor serve as major impediments to an inclusive community. Many limitations are generated out of society’s overreliance on Eurocentric and middle class knowledge, practices, and values that exclude other frames of reference and force adherence to a single standard of normalcy. For example, schools are organized and governed according to “mainstream cultural conceptions of law, order, reason, and rationality” (Gay, 1993, p. 10). Students who come from backgrounds with similar orientations to the mainstream are privileged because they understand the expectations, underlying beliefs, and behaviors of school culture and community and are better prepared to succeed.

European American Entitlement: A Powerful Force

Underlying American social structures are European American values. One of the major values perpetuated throughout the educational process is individualism. Many Americans believe in the ‘bootstrap’ theory of advancement based upon individual effort and some notion of ‘survival of the fittest’. These values are often reinforced by fame, fortune, great events, or heroes’ views of history and achievement. It is epitomized in the Horatio Alger myth and in the great men and women approach used to teach children about making substantial changes in society. Students learn about the contributions of individuals such as Abraham Lincoln, Harriet Tubman, Susan B. Anthony, Martin Luther King, Jr., Dennis Means, Cesar Chavez, and Rosa Parks, yet few individuals are powerful enough to make social changes through their efforts alone. It is only through collective effort that individuals can challenge existing structures of inequalities (Sleeter 1989, 1991).

A strong sense of individualism is apparent also in legislative and judicial policies and funding programs enacted to empower various underrepresented groups. Programs such as Chapter 1, ESEA, Title IX, and the Indian Education Act are built upon the value of individualism. A strong theme throughout educational initiatives assumes that the status of culturally oppressed groups can be improved by increasing the accomplishments of individuals. Unfortunately, overwhelming evidence shows that the lives of a select few individuals can improve significantly without having a major impact on the status of the ethnic groups to which they belong. Many highly acclaimed African Americans who credit their personal progress to such entitlements as desegregation policies, court decisions, the Voting Rights Act, affirmative action laws, and the 1960s civil rights movement can be readily identified, and yet some analysts suggest that the economic, educational, and social plight of African Americans as a whole is as bad now as it was in the 1950s.
(West, 1993). Others suggest that the appearance of success is more illusive than real and is a factor of social class more than ethnic group. On these points, John Hope Franklin (in Briggs, 1994), the dean of African American historians, observes:

The Civil Rights Movement, as much as it accomplished, did not succeed in changing very important aspects of American life that would have opened up the society to everyone. Despite the fact that we have the vote, equal rights, and public accommodations, there’s still widespread discrimination. There’s still not only indifference, but hostility to blacks rising. There’s still racism manifested almost everywhere in this country. There is, to be sure, a growing black middle class, but there’s a growing black underclass and that underclass hears people talking about equality and benefits and democracy and they don’t get any of it...Everywhere you look there’s deprivation of one kind or another (p. 22).

Often people of color compromise their ethnic identity and affiliation in order to be successful by mainstream standards. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) and Fordham (1991) describe this dilemma among African American students torn between being academically successful and not wanting to ‘act white’. In other instances, individuals of color have to be extraordinarily successful to gain membership into the community of achievers (Gay, 1993; Cose, 1993). These examples indicate the power of racial stratification in American society.

Racism: A Difficult Issue to Address

Other aspects of differential entitlement that interfere with creating an inclusive community are mainstream society’s denial of racism and a tendency to place the blame and the onus for change on the victimized. John Hope Franklin (in Briggs, 1994) believes, “The people who are in positions of leadership never acknowledged that it existed...from the time of our Constitution right down through...all the leaders....We won’t deal with that. We’d rather slide into some odd rationalization that it’s blacks’ [fault]” (p. 22). Sleeter (in press) interviewed 26 European American teachers and found that most claimed to be blind to issues of color, i.e., they made no distinction in their attitudes and interactions with students based upon racial or ethnic identity. They did not want to appear to be racist, so they indicated that their difficulties with children of color were due to a culture of poverty rather than to racial biases or their own cultural misunderstandings. These teachers believed that personal interactions eradicate racism and that individual hard work can
overcome economic, social, and educational difficulties. They felt, however, that "people of color want 'special attention and privileges'...rather than being willing to work" (Sleeter, p. 6) for what they want. Denial of personal biases severely limits the growth of an expanding community in schools.

Unfortunately, when educators believe [that] there is no discernible level of prejudice, they will remain unaware of prejudicial comments or situations that persist. Detrimental messages about ethnic peoples manifest themselves in behaviors, attitudes, and common expressions used in the school environment. And prejudice is damaging to all children because it creates barriers to the development of enduring crosscultural relationships (Pang, 1988, pp. 378-379).

Refusal to accept the reality of racism as a societal issue affecting everyone is also embedded in the tendency to place a disproportionate amount of responsibility for change on the victimized. Reform focusing on equity for ethnically different students often centers upon the recruitment of educators of color and does not examine core structural problems. The fact that more African, Asian, Latino, and Native American teachers and administrators are needed is unquestionable; however, eliminating racism from the educational system and, by extension, from society at large cannot be placed disproportionally upon the shoulders of individuals or groups of color. Those who have the power to make changes must take the major responsibility for its eradication. Without change, the expanding community will not be possible. Mainstream society has the power and moral responsibility to eliminate racism; however, the European American power structure creates racism to serve its own purposes, and only this same power structure has the capability to make changes leading to an inclusive society (Briggs, 1994; Giroux, 1992; McIntosh, 1989).

Since many oppressed ethnic and minority groups do not have a strong political or economic power base, their cultural voices and demands for social justice often go unheard, or they are silenced when shadows of doubt are cast on the validity of their advocacies. Ralph Ellison wrote poignantly about the ways that Africans Americans are silenced and made powerless. Although his book *The Invisible Man* (1972) is fictional, its message is symbolically profound. His unnamed protagonist laments, "I am an invisible man. No, I am not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allan Poe....I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids—and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me" (p. 3). When the privilege of sociopolitical enfranchisement and
participation is denied to some groups, and when culturally diverse voices are either silenced, distorted, or obscured by racial and ethnic biases, everyone in society loses.

The Historical Struggle for Educational Equity

Historically, federal and state governments have institutionalized educational programs designed to assimilate dominated groups by destroying their cultural traditions, language, and religion, and replacing them with mainstream norms and ethos (Spring, 1994). For example, American Indian males have been forced to cut short their hair in accordance with a more European appearance, and teachers have punished Mexican American children for speaking Spanish in schools (Spring, 1994). These are examples of what Spring calls cultural genocide. The message underlying these actions is that mainstream culture, government, institutions, and morality are superior to other cultures.

Cultural exclusion has also been a powerful force in the institution of schools. Segregation, an accepted educational policy in this country until 1954, created a caste structure in which African American, Asian Pacific American, Mexican American, and American Indian children received a second class education (Spring, 1994) and were unfairly disadvantaged in competition with white peers for advanced education and employment opportunities. Many effects of segregation remain. Sometimes referred to as de facto segregation or resegregation, lingering effects are evident in the disproportionate number of students of color (especially African Americans, Latinos, Pacific Islander Americans, and American Indians) who opt for vocational curricula, who are enrolled in special education programs, who are subject to disciplinary referrals, and who drop out of school altogether (Banks & Banks, 1993; Gay, 1994; Pang, 1995; Spring, 1994).

More recent recognition of educational inequity along racial and ethnic membership lines has led to policies and judicial decisions creating legal precedents for educational parity. For example, the 1954 Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka ended de jure school segregation based upon the Fourteenth Amendment, which guarantees all citizens equal protection under the laws. The 1974 ruling in Lau v. Nichols established a foundation for bilingual education according to Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in any federally supported program (Ima & Rumbaut, 1989). Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 forbids educational discrimination based upon gender, and has brought about many institutional changes from policies dealing with allocation of financial resources to elimination of gender-specific classes such as powder-puff football for females and bachelor cooking for males (Sadker & Sadker, 1982). The Education for All Handicapped Children Act (later retitled the Individuals with
Disabilities Education Act [IDEA]) extends protection to children who qualify for various categories of special education from discrimination on the basis of ability. The pedagogical corollary is the use of culturally responsive methods, materials, and content to achieve common learning outcomes (Cheng, 1989) and to challenge traditional canons and standards of achievement. Embedded in these entitlements is the concept that the educational community must be expanded to embrace students from many different ethnic, social, racial, cultural, gender, and linguistic backgrounds, and that membership must be unequivocal. This involves more than laws and money; it requires a renegotiation of the knowledge bases, pedagogical practices, and moral standards of the educational process.

Images and Icons of Universal Values and Democratic Citizenship

A shared concern within social studies and multicultural education is the appeal to universal human values transcending ethnic and social group memberships as a foundation for building an inclusive democratic community. Do such values exist, and what are their sources? Stanley (1992) contends that they derive from interests common to all humans. These include aspirations for individual and communal betterment, the use of language in dialogue, the importance of human interpretation, compassion toward others, and a shared sense of human suffering and struggle. This focus on human interests rather than on values places the responsibility for identifying and interpreting crucial values onto each individual. Other proponents of critical pedagogy such as Giroux (1982), Freire (1970), and McLaren (1988) believe in the values of freedom, justice, equality, democracy, and human dignity, but feel that the meanings attributed to them are contextually and socially constructed. Therefore, educational programs should provide opportunities for students to define and clarify human values and to learn how to choose those that satisfy their own needs. Freire (1970) proposes critical consciousness coupled with self-affirmation in a process of reflection, dialogue, and re-evaluation as the most effective way to facilitate values analysis and choice making. These skills of critical consciousness are also the key to social activism and reform because actions reflect value orientations.

Some advocates of cultural diversity are reluctant to place too much emphasis on documents or icons usually accepted as the sources of our national values, items such as the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Statue of Liberty, and the national anthem. These critics cite past situations and events where these documents and images have not included everyone or have not protected the rights and dignities of some ethnic groups; e.g., the enslavement of African Americans, the forced relocation of Cherokees from their homes in
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Georgia to Oklahoma, and the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Persistent, oppressive practices such as these have led to a tragic loss of confidence and faith in American democracy for some individuals (Trueba, 1993). They are undeniable and unforgettable, but they reflect flaws in human morality and actions, not any inherent fallacies in democratic principles and constitutional values themselves. They also demonstrate that democracy is far from perfect or complete in its implementation. These imperfections reaffirm the belief that struggle and communal effort are essential to individual, group, and societal progress.

Constitutional Faith

The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are symbols of individualism, freedom, equality, and democracy (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985). In place of a national religion, the United States has developed a bond of constitutional faith that is civic and public (Barber, 1993). This fidelity to broad principles of democracy and to the legal process provides a strong unifying thread for people of the United States. It has helped us to avoid the civil turmoil that has destroyed other countries.

In his celebrated novel No-No Boy, John Okada (1976) provides graphic examples of how the constitutional faith of Japanese Americans prevailed in the face of extreme racism. He explores issues of national loyalty, ethnic membership, and family relationships within the context of the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Okada (1976) held to a belief in democracy and writes:

And the one who is the Negro or Japanese or Chinese or Jew is further fortified and gladdened with the knowledge that the democracy is a democracy in fact for all of them. One has hope, for he [sic] has reason to hope, and the quest for completeness seems to be a thing near at hand (p. 135).

People of color encounter conflicting experiences when constitutional faith collides with the harsh realities of discrimination. Most, however, continue to hold a strong belief in the redeeming potential of democracy, morality, and human dignity.

The oppression, victimization, and domination that various ethnic groups in the United States have experienced cannot be denied. The scars, distrust in national values, and the effects of these experiences cannot be underestimated; however, faith in democratic principles must be reaffirmed for everyone. An essential element of this reaffirmation and renewal is an honest and open confrontation with historical atrocities that are contradictory to constitutional rights and universal human values. One way to begin this social reconstructive and
transformational process is to resurrect individual and group examples of resistance for students to emulate. Failing to teach about Japanese Americans who fought against internment, for example, is a major oversight in social studies education. Class discussion should include the story of Gordon Hirabayashi, who was criminally prosecuted for refusing to register for the evacuation as demanded by Executive Order 9066. Hirabayashi was convicted of violating curfew and evacuation orders, and was sent to prison. The presiding judge, Lloyd Black, felt that the Japanese were unbelievably treacherous and wholly ruthless (Irons, 1990, p. 42). Despite such racist treatment from his own government, Hirabayashi never abandoned his belief in democratic ideals:

When my case was before the Supreme Court in 1943, I fully expected that as a citizen the Constitution would protect me. Surprisingly, even though I lost, I did not abandon my beliefs and values. And I never looked at my case as just my own, or just as a Japanese American case. It is an American case, with principles that affect the fundamental human rights of all Americans (in Irons, 1990, p. 62).

Personal stories of people such as Gordon Hirabayashi can help deconstruct the stereotypical image of Japanese Americans responding to internment passively and stoically. They also will place Japanese Americans within the community of resisters along with other ethnic groups who have actively opposed political domination, denial of human rights, and insults to the human dignity of oppressed people.

Yet another important aspect of the internment issue is the lasting impact of collaborative community work on American society. Beginning in the early 1980s, the sansei (third generation Japanese Americans) organized a grassroots movement to rescind Executive Order 9066 and recover lost civil rights. Throughout the nation they pressed for open and public forums about internment. Their efforts led to the formation of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, which finally ruled that internment had resulted from wartime hysteria and grave racial prejudice (Irons, 1990). Through continual vigilance, court rulings against Japanese Americans such as Gordon Hirabayashi were reversed. Finally, passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 required the United States to recompense each living Japanese American who had been interned, with $20,000 for unjustified imprisonment. In addition, the U.S. government made a public apology to the Japanese American community. Although it took over 40 years to overturn the order for relocation, it affirmed the rights of all Japanese Americans as well as those of every citizen in the national community. The passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 is a success story of community empowerment.
Collaborative struggle and action are a strong foundation for an inclusive community. Ethnic groups provide our nation with new perspectives and strategies for collaborative action. Kitano (1969) notes that lessons learned from the Japanese American community about strong group cohesion can offer the national community new visions about the importance of group solidarity over strong individualism:

The ability to look beyond the self and to act in relation to others is an admirable quality, and the ethnic identity, whether in terms of a nation and manifested as pride, or in terms of a community, helped the Japanese achieve a degree of cohesion and group loyalty that appears important for a meaningful life. Without an abstraction that leads beyond the self, life may regress to self-indulgence and to self-gratification so that the accumulation of wealth and power—often associated with ‘success’—may only be an empty victory (pp. 146-147).

Bennett (1975) points to similar lessons embedded in the ability of enslaved Africans to create a cultural system that ensured their physical and psychological survival and nurtured their human spirit under the most adverse circumstances. This was a remarkable achievement by any standard and even more so under the exigencies of slavery.

Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education: Aid or Obstacle to Community Building

Conflicting conceptions of the role and value of multicultural education have been popular and controversial topics in the mass media for the past several years. The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, and the American Scholar, to name a few, have featured critics’ arguments about the potentially negative effects on national unity of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity and multicultural education. Voices of advocacy are heard more frequently in professional journals such as Phi Delta Kappan, Educational Leadership, Social Education, Social Studies, and the Journal of Negro Education. Other publications such as Time and Newsweek combine description and criticism in their treatment of ethnic and cultural diversity. Illustrative of this trend are three Time magazine covers: “Beyond the Melting Pot” (April 9, 1990); “Who Are We? American Kids Getting a New—and Divisive—View of Thomas Jefferson, Thanksgiving, and the Fourth of July” (July 8, 1991); and “The New Face of America: How Immigrants are Shaping the World’s First Multicultural Society” (Fall 1993 special supplement).

In tandem with these viewpoints, Pulitzer Prize-winning author Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (1992) wrote The Disuniting of America, challenging
the significance and validity of the ethnic identity movement among groups of color. Schlesinger sees ethnic pluralism as a myth that has negative consequences for traditional American ideals (*e pluribus unum*, individualism, national loyalty, etc.) and ultimately leads to balkanization, resegregation, and the tribalization of American life.

Another critical perspective on ethnic and cultural pluralism was developed by Dinesh D’Souza (1990). His book *Illiberal Education* quickly skyrocketed to the New York *Times* bestseller list. D’Souza attacks the scholarly merits of women and ethnic studies programs, and accuses them of launching a tyranny of ethnic and gender political correctness that closes rather than opens doors to scholarly discourse. He also charges liberal educators with using issues of race and gender to bully colleagues into accepting practices such as affirmative action quotas in college admissions.

Taking a different viewpoint from Schlesinger and D’Sousa, Reiff (1993) argues that a natural connection exists between ethnic and cultural diversity and economics. To be competitive in the global marketplace, and keep its capitalistic economic base healthy, the United States must become more sensitive and responsive to multiculturalism both nationally and internationally. Reiff believes that “multiculturalism helps to legitimize whole new areas of consumerism....The multiculturalist mode is what any smart business man would prefer” (p. 64). It is an economic necessity that provides businesses with new markets, offers cultural product possibilities, and provides additional labor sources. Reiff contends, however, that multiculturalism as a movement toward social justice has failed dismally because in the past decade the living conditions among the poor, the working class, women, and people of color have worsened despite academic posturing. Here Reiff appears to be blaming multiculturalism for what is, in fact, a major economic downslide.

In contrast, academics such as Banks and Banks (1993), Bennett (1995), Garcia (1994), Gay (1994), Nieto (1992), and Sleeter and Grant (1988) describe multicultural education as a pedagogical and social necessity. They argue that neither individuals nor society can reach maximal potential unless social development opportunities and experiences are responsive to the cultural diversity replete in the United States. Pratte (1988) explains that ethnic groups provide individuals with a sense of belonging and identity, a safety valve for those whose ideas are not fully accepted by the mainstream, and protection for minority values, perceptions, and privacy. Culturally diverse groups strengthen the nation by challenging it to move closer toward fulfilling promises of freedom, equality, and social justice for everyone. Thus, “diversity, based on ethnicity, social class, language, national origin, economic status, cultures, and interests is no longer a luxury or matter of choice; it is a necessity for the survival of society” (Gay, 1993, p. 16).
Multicultural education scholars promote empowerment of culturally diverse individuals and groups through self-affirmation and acceptance, mastery of high status social knowledge, an egalitarian morality, social action skills, and commitment to advocacy for freedom, justice, and dignity for everyone. A critical element of this empowerment process is enfranchising students from different ethnic, social, and cultural backgrounds with multicultural parity in school curriculum and pedagogy, i.e., including their heritages, perspectives, contributions, and operational styles in the educational process and making academic success more accessible to all students.

Advocates also view multicultural education as an attempt to better align school experiences with social ideals and realities. Through a multicultural lens, we can validate the rich tapestry of peoples, cultures, and traditions that comprise the United States; critically examine social and political problems associated with this diversity; and teaches students the knowledge, attitudes, values, and skills needed to reform society so that it is more inclusive of cultural diversity in all levels of its functioning. In this regard, multicultural education is an effort to “close the gap between the Western democratic ideals of equality and justice and societal practices that contradict those ideals, such as discrimination based upon race, gender, and social class” (Banks, 1991/1992, p. 32). Multicultural education does not involve radically different goals for schools. Instead, it calls for their reinterpretation within the context of cultural pluralism. Schools must “expand their concepts of political and cultural democracy to include large groups of students who have been historically denied opportunities to fully realize American democratic values and ideas” (Banks, 1984, p. 63), groups such as American Indians, African Americans, Asian Pacific Americans, and Latinos. Some multiculturalists are expanding the list of constituent groups to also include those marginalized in society on the basis of poverty, gender, language, sexual orientation, and exceptionality (see, for example, Banks & Banks, 1993; Gollnick & Chinn, 1990; Sleeter & Grant, 1988).

Multiculturalists believe that a genuine understanding of cultural differences is needed to build a foundation for working together to improve society and to transmit to students their full legacy as citizens of the United States. This understanding will lead students to better appreciate the point made by Martin Luther King, Jr. (in Washington, 1986) that “we are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality; tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly” (p. 210). This “organic relationship allows the individuals to freely partake of their own distinctive heritages and to simultaneously become an integral part of the history and experiences of the common culture” (Sigel, 1991, p. 7). Furthermore, these reciprocal interactions enrich the lives of individuals and society, making them more interesting, stimulating, and exciting. They also provide a wider range of
potential solutions to social and personal problems than are possible in a monocultural system (AACTE, 1973; Pai, 1984).

Multicultural education hinges on transforming school programs and practices that teach Eurocentric experiences, heritages, and perspectives and exclude other ethnic groups into teaching that includes the knowledge and world view of groups such as African Americans, Latinos, American Indians, and Asian Pacific Americans. It resists the notion that knowledge is universal and absolute, and instead promotes an ethos of critical inquiry and a recognition that knowledge is socially constructed. These orientations embody Barber’s (1992) features of critical inquiry. Barber explains that any version of American history, culture, and development that cannot withstand sharp interrogation is worthless. Questioning whether the common culture of the United States includes sufficient and appropriate representations of all groups does not mean that European contributions will be denigrated or that those of other ethnic and social groups will be glorified indiscriminately. Rather, all contributions should be carefully scrutinized in order to gain greater knowledge of the human genius and to present more balanced and accurate renditions of our people’s stories (Hilliard, 1991/1992).

Advocates also contend that a multicultural education is simply a good education—education for freedom (Gay 1994; Parekh, 1986). Suzuki (1979) explains that it “basically amounts to sound educational practice coupled with a vision for a better society” (p. 50), containing the elements that constitute principles of good teaching, such as relevance, developmental and contextual appropriateness, validity, and teaching the whole child. Additionally, with multiculturalism these principles are placed within the context of a wider range of social and individual diversities than traditional educational programs and practices provide. As education for freedom, multiculturalism aims to liberate individuals, groups, and societies from the shackles of oppression, exploitation, and ethnocentrism. Parekh (1986) explains this perspective as an attempt to release the child from the confines of the ethnocentric straitjacket and to awaken him [sic] to the existence of other cultures, societies and ways of life and thought. It is intended to decondition the child as much as possible in order that he can go out into the world as free from biases and prejudices as possible and able and willing to explore its rich diversity....Multicultural education is therefore not a departure from, nor incompatible with, but a further refinement of, the liberal ideal of education. It does not cut a child off from his own culture; rather it enables him to enrich, refine, and take a broader view of it without losing his roots in it (pp. 26-27).
Social studies should be at the center of the struggle to demonstrate why and how the multicultural and multiethnic character of the United States must be an essential feature of all new conceptions, explanations, and images of the American way.

**Civic Competence for the Multicultural Community**

Strong parallels exist among the goals, visions, and purposes of social studies and multicultural education. Within these are the knowledge and skills needed for effective membership in the expanding, culturally pluralistic community. The citizenship skills commonly included in social studies programs provide the conceptual text, while the parameters of multicultural education create the operational context for civic competence. Underlying them are the ideas that community includes everyone and that the foremost obligation of education is to teach children the rights and responsibilities associated with citizenship in a community of diversity. These concepts are rooted in constitutional faith, belief in equal rights, inherent human dignity, and the demands of citizenship within democratic societies.

Three of the most recent standards for social studies education (National Council for the Social Studies [NCSS], 1994) comprise the foundational bases for civic competence in an expanding, multicultural society. They are skills related to citizenship, culture, and individual, group, and institutional interactions. Citizenship skills identified by NCSS (1994) involve teaching students how to:

- analyze the role of dissent and other actions to influence and change public policy;
- practice forms of civic discourse consistent with the ideals of citizens in a democratic republic;
- analyze public policies and issues from the perspective of formal and informal political participants;
- evaluate how public policy and citizen behaviors model or violate ideals of a democratic republican form of government; and
- participate in activities to strengthen the common good of all citizens (p. 105).

Barber (1992) equates citizenship skills with education for liberty, equality, and excellence, and describes it as the quintessential civic competence:

The literacy required to live in civil society, the competence to participate in democratic communities, the ability to think critically and act deliberately in a pluralistic world, the
empathy that permits us to hear and thus accommodate others, all involve skills that must be acquired. Excellence is the product of teaching and is liberty's measure. There is no excellence without freedom....If education must create both liberty and equality, it becomes the foundation of all individual growth and of all collective civilization. Nothing is more important. The great country, the great society, the great community is, first of all, the well-educated country, the learned society, the community of excellence (pp. 4, 7).

Competent citizens have the knowledge, skills, will, and ethics to work together to govern their lives according to democratic principles. So equipped, they are able to create an "aristocracy of everyone" (Barber, 1992, p. 5) where all are equally endowed in value, virtue, participation, and power.

Three empowering themes implicit in these standards are significant in cultivating multicultural competence: critical consciousness, activism, and community. Citizens of a culturally pluralistic nation question or interrogate all activities and actions that do not accept diversity as a normative feature of all aspects of education and society. They understand the fact that their lives are closely linked to others', and that what affects others likewise affects them, that is, cultural, political, and economic interconnectedness is a descriptive reality of individual, group, national, and global life. Our dependency upon one another is physical, social, and psychological. We need each other to survive, our identities are forged through a dialectical relationship with one another, and we are grounded in different families, groups, and communities (Barber, 1992; Dewey, 1916; Giroux, 1992). When groups progress, so do individuals, but the reverse is not necessarily true. Past emphasis on individual competitiveness has caused a select few to do exceptionally well while many others are plagued by powerlessness, oppression, economic hardships, and alienation. Citizens of the expanding community understand these disparities and work diligently to reconfigure resource distributions so that more attention is given to collective efforts and communal identity.

Citizens in pluralistic communities know that social accomplishments are communal and deserve collective celebration. Similarly, the transgressions and limitations of society come from all segments, not from one single group; likewise, they deserve communal sanction. Therefore, citizens in a culturally pluralistic society are critical thinkers who routinely question the presence, right, goodness, and validity of knowledge and actions related to issues of diversity; they understand the dialectism and reciprocity that exist among individuals, groups, societies, and nations; they are morally committed to promoting cultural, individual, and ethnic group equity; they actively engage in
reform efforts to achieve social justice for diverse groups and individuals; and they live by an ethic of equal respect, dignity, caring, and sharing for all members of the community. These competencies are both the criteria and conditions of individual freedom and social democracy. Barber (1992) explains why:

Citizens are self-conscious, critical participants in communities of common speech, common value, and common work that bridge both space and time. As freedom yields community, so the forms of community and commonality alone yield freedom. Education makes citizens; only citizens forge freedom. Democracy allows people to govern themselves; indeed, it insists that they do so. Education teaches them the liberty that makes self-government possible (pp. 26-27).

Citizens of a pluralistic society are also able to empathize with the points of view and lived experiences of individuals and groups different from themselves. They are devoted to constructing clear and complete portrayals of social privilege and disenfranchisement and to determining how these can be renegotiated to achieve parity for ethnic, social, and cultural diversity. In their compassion for others, they strive to prevent both the dispossession of the minority and the tyranny of the majority. Thus, the moral imperative of citizenship in the expanding community is communal, compassionate, and cultural consciousness. Education for citizenship in the multicultural society of the United States must be public, democratic, critical, liberatory, inclusive, and pluralistic. To accomplish these goals, “[w]e need in education a transformation as far reaching as the one that has seized Eastern Europe and what was once the Soviet Union, as radical as the abrupt ending of the Cold War, as profound as the metamorphosis of America’s vanquished enemies in World War II into its most dependable allies and most formidable rivals” (Barber, 1992, pp. 9-10).

Cultural Competencies

Cultural competencies for the expanding community are also embedded in the NCSS standards (1994), which state that educational programs should include the study of culture, cultural diversity, and relationships so that students can

- acquire a comprehensive understanding of the integrated wholeness of cultural traditions, beliefs, values, behavior patterns, and artifacts;
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- understand why shared assumptions, values, and beliefs cause individuals and groups to respond to changes in particular ways;
- value cultural diversity and cohesion both within and across groups;
- apply social science ideas, theories, and modes of inquiry to the examination of persistent issues and social problems;
- understand how role, status, and social class affect connections and interactions among individuals, groups, and institutions;
- examine belief systems basic to specific traditions and laws; and
- analyze tensions between expressions of individuality and efforts to promote social conformity by groups and institutions (pp. 79, 111).

Declarations such as "I didn’t know that," "I never had an ethnically different doctor, teacher, lawyer, friend, or neighbor before," and "Everybody is the same" occur too frequently for us to be confident that we are sufficiently prepared to build a genuine pluralistic community. Even without malicious intent, ethnically and socially different people who are isolated from one another develop superstitions, fears, myths, stereotypes, and biases that prevent the establishment of strong bonds of mutuality and reciprocity. These tendencies need to be counteracted with deliberately planned, well constructed, culturally responsive instructional interventions.

Educational programs should help students to acquire accurate and authentic information about different cultures and to develop skills in crosscultural interactions (Gay, 1993; Pang, 1994). These studies should not focus only on positive features nor should they sanitize or erase from ethnic and race relations in the United States any negative experiences, hostilities, and animosities. The quest for truth and wholeness in understanding the strengths and weaknesses of cultural groups and experiences should prevail. A compelling illustration of this kind of cultural analysis is "I am Joaquin" (Yo Soy Joaquin) by Rodolfo Gonzales (1967), an epic poem that is both a historical essay and a social statement on the composite ethnic and cultural identity of Chicanos. Gonzales' description suggests that self-examination is an essential part of the process of becoming culturally literate. He says that "I Am Joaquin" was written as a revelation of himself and all Chicanos with a similar historical legacy. As such, it is

a mirror of our [Chicano] greatness and our weakness, a call to action as a total people emerging from a glorious history, traveling through social pain and conflicts, confessing our

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weaknesses while we shout our strength, culminating into one: the psychological wounds, cultural genocide, social castration, nobility, courage, determination, and the fortitude to move on to make new history for an ancient people dancing on a modern stage (p. 1).

Yet, Chicana voices and contributions are conspicuously absent in this cultural portrait.

The wide range of experiences and influences that comprise Chicano culture and ethnic identity is evident among other ethnic groups as well. To fully understand them, students need to study the entire spectrum of cultural values and traits shared by all ethnic groups: how these are manifested differently in expressive behavior; how these expressions illustrate or violate basic democratic rights, principles, and actions; how they reoccur as themes, issues, and struggles across groups; what critical events are unique to ethnic groups; and what ethnically different contributions to all fields of human endeavor exist. Social studies and multicultural education are natural places in school curricula for these kinds of studies to occur.

Students also need to study their own cultural heritages and experiences with the same kind of critical analysis and thoroughness. This self-consciousness is necessary in a community of pluralistic members so that potential conflicts, misunderstandings, and blind spots in both intra- and intergroup interactions can be avoided or minimized. Stated more simply, people must know and appreciate the ways their own culture shapes their behaviors and be similarly informed about the cultures of others (Spindler & Spindler, 1993). Insight gained from this knowledge leads to kindred feelings, common bonds, and camaraderie among individuals from different ethnic, cultural, and social backgrounds. These are the sustenance from which communities are constructed. They are further cemented by individuals learning how to become cultural workers and how to engage in cultural border crossing (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Giroux, 1993a, 1993b). Biculturality is a positive contribution to the development of human connectedness, cooperation, and compassion in pursuit of the common good.

Conclusion

The expanding community we have envisioned is inclusive of all segments of the ethnically, racially, socially, and linguistically pluralistic citizenry of the United States. All have comparable access to high status knowledge, cultural validation, and power sharing. Most citizens understand their interdependence and engage in cooperative efforts to make institutional arrangements, relationships, and social opportunities
more equitable for everyone. The members of this community believe that

- plurality is a key element of the human condition and a descriptive reality of society. As we are born into this world we each exemplify this basic fact, and our socialization is also diverse;
- ethnicity, race, class, and gender continue to be used as obstacles to full membership and privilege in the community of empowerment;
- the structures, processes, and programs of schools and other institutions must be renegotiated to be responsive to multiculturalism; and
- community must take precedence over individualism in order to become a unified whole.

In the expanding community, diversity is both a normative and a transformative standard. It is a historical fact and an untapped potential to be cultivated; it is a vibrant force and a challenging presence that flourishes when it is valued, nurtured, and rewarded. A multiplicity of viewpoints is present in all democratic dialogues, and concomitant actions are characterized by critical reflection, cooperative effort, comprehensive representation, and shared power and responsibility. Civic competence involves protecting rights and dignities within the context of cultural pluralism.

The degree to which the expanding community is able to facilitate unity and diversity among its culturally pluralistic members will be an indication of its success or failure. As Cornel West (1993) reminds us,

The interplay of individuality and unity is not one of uniformity and unanimity imposed from above but rather of conflict among diverse groupings that reach a dynamic consensus subject to questioning and criticism.... Individuality is promoted in order to sustain and increase the creative tension with the group—a tension that yields higher levels of performance to achieve the aim of the collective project (p. 105).

Placing the goals of a pluralistic community above individuality is a crucial aspect of the expanding society. Although our individual lives should be cherished, we must understand that it is through talking and working collaboratively that solidarity is created. Cultural diversity is to be celebrated as a unifying theme that calls for the renaissance of community.
Multicultural education and social studies education play key roles in the development of civic competence for a pluralistic and expanding society. Proponents of multiculturalism argue that for education to have maximum integrity and relevance, children must be taught that all ethnic groups have made worthy contributions to the fund of human knowledge. Without access to a broad knowledge base in social studies and throughout their school curricula, students are denied much of their human legacy and U.S. heritage. Because multicultural education makes this knowledge accessible, it is basic for anyone who wishes to achieve competency in almost any subject and thereby live according to a democratic ethic.

The expanding community offers the potential to capitalize on cultural pluralism and move us closer to our democratic, egalitarian ideals. Our struggle is a collective one. We must work diligently and collectively to give the phrase "we the people" an inclusive meaning in a multiracial, multiethnic, multicultural, multisocial, and multilingual society where "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are not only for the privileged, but for all—to achieve Barber’s notion of an aristocracy of everyone. The challenge before us is not one of ability or resources but of ethics and morality. Do we have the courage and the will to reconstruct society so that it is more culturally diverse in all of its structures, policies, and actions? Our survival, health, creativity, and prosperity are dependent upon how we answer this question.

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THE ROLE OF A EUROPEAN AMERICAN SCHOLAR IN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

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Abstract
This article is an examination of the role European American scholars play in the field of multicultural education. No one group can reflect the life experiences of a culturally diverse society; European American and culturally diverse scholars bring different strengths to the multicultural discussion. Only through dialogue between members of the mainstream and communities of color can an inclusive, expanding community be created.

This article originated from a conversation between myself and a scholar of color about appropriate roles for whites and people of color within multicultural education. As a white European American female, I often speak about race and ethnically related expectations for myself as a multiculturalist. For the most part, multicultural advocates express themselves as part of a coalition crossing boundaries marked by race, ethnicity, social class, gender, ability, and sexuality. Although I identify with women as an oppressed group, my race and ethnicity privilege me in ways that are mostly unspoken. In my experience, when leadership roles are defined within the field of multicultural studies, there is a mutual acknowledgment that scholars of color should lead the way. For many outside the academic confines of multicultural education, multicultural issues and expertise are perceived as the province of people of color. My involvement has been questioned on more than one occasion, and I have felt a subtle pressure to prove my multicultural worth.

This article is an analysis of the current status of multicultural studies and of the role of European Americans within the field. While I
express some attitudes and opinions of other European American multicultural scholars, I do not aspire to represent all of them. My intention is to examine the ways in which identity impacts upon multicultural education as an academic endeavor and to argue that an academic area should embrace all scholars or risk deintellectualizing the field. While the essence of multiculturalism is representation, especially for marginalized groups, I believe that different scholars with different life experiences have varying perspectives to offer the field.

To define my terms, I agree with Nieto (1992) that 'European American' implies culture while 'white' does not. The concept of culture captures aspects of privilege that designate majority status (e.g., language, values, and behaviors) and is appropriate here. Other literature about the influence of race and ethnicity on research, however, uses 'white' and 'whiteness' to emphasize racial inequality, and I would like for this work to be considered part of that discourse (e.g., hooks, 1990; McCarthy, 1990; Scheurich, 1993; Sleeter, 1993). Here 'white' refers to examples specifically racial in character; 'white' and 'black' are not capitalized because this usage is common reference for these groups.

Speaking about Multicultural Education

Who can speak best for multicultural education? This question assumes that there is a better or a worse. Consider a different approach. Greene's (1993) invitation for diverse people to come together in "authentic personal encounters" (p. 13) and create "ongoing dialogue, each one speaking out of a distinct perspective and yet open to those around" (p. 13) seems amenable to productive interchange. Gates' idea for a "conversation with different voices" (in Greene, 1993, p. 13) also characterizes a positive approach. Different perspectives are endemic to multicultural education. There is no universally accepted definition of multicultural education, and some approaches are oriented more toward school change and social critique than others. Different positions imply quite different meanings, something that is often confusing for those outside the multicultural domain.

At present, five primary models or approaches to multicultural education exist (Sleeter & Grant, 1994). Two are additive and do not challenge the existing structure of schools: teaching the exceptional and culturally different, with an emphasis on compensatory education to help culturally different students catch up to the mainstream (p. 41); and human relations, which focuses on promoting tolerance by teaching all students to appreciate cultural differences (p. 85). Three other approaches are emancipatory and reconstructive, and have roots in social struggles for equality (e.g., Banks & Banks, 1989; Gay, 1977;
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Gollnick, 1992). The single-group studies method, for example (Sleeter & Grant, 1994, p. 123), emphasizes recognition of and empowerment for single-interest groups. It was parented (Gay, 1977, p. 6) by ethnic minorities in the 1960s and reflects demands for educational equality generated by the civil rights movement. These demands resulted in specific units or courses of study such as black studies or Mexican American studies.

The goal of the multicultural education approach (Sleeter & Grant, 1994, p. 167) is school reform leading to greater equality for all learners. As the struggles of ethnic minorities were echoed by other subordinated groups such as women and people with differing abilities, advocates of this approach saw similarities in these quests for representation in schools (Banks, 1991/1992; Gollnick, 1992). Multicultural education is intended to unite these struggles in a cohesive, pluralistic charge for school reform.

Education that is multicultural and social-reconstructionist (Sleeter & Grant, 1994, p. 209) describes a recent derivation of the multicultural vision which includes an activist stance toward social equity. This approach combines multicultural and constructive study to prepare students to counter discrimination through social activism, and was outlined by Banks in the multicultural guidelines of the National Council for the Social Studies (1992a).

Within the multicultural field, movement toward coalition continues to be contested. Some scholars, many of whom are members of ethnic minority groups, express concern that a more inclusive focus dilutes attention to ethnic studies and incorporates groups not expressly cultural in nature; the fight against racism should not be fragmented by struggles against sexism, heterosexism, classism, linguicism, and ableism. These advocates believe that racial issues should remain at the center of multicultural efforts. In addition, some members of ethnic minority groups feel that their direct experience with racial discrimination and subordination earns them the right to lead reconstructive efforts.

One alternative perspective holds that oppression and discrimination operate across groups in ways complicated by interaction among dimensions of group identity such as race, class, and gender. Supporters of this position argue that these factors need to be considered in order to promote academic achievement for all learners. Racism is not seen as less essential to this charge for change, but rather as one key aspect of an emancipatory challenge. Those holding this view perceive reform as a coalescing of interests among marginalized groups and as a call for leadership with collective representation.

As multiculturalists debate who should lead which types of reforms, McCarthy (1988, 1990) claims that schools, state departments, and teacher education programs are moving away from a reconstructive
agenda toward benign pluralism (1988, p. 46), a human relations focus on cultural understanding (1990, p. 119). This stance accurately reflects much of what passes for multicultural education. Educators often focus on the celebration of vague notions of diversity and defer issues of oppression. What does this emphasis mean with regard to speaking about multicultural education?

**Speaking for Reconstructive Multicultural Education**

Advocating tolerance is different from moving to reconstruct school knowledge and practices. The former promotes plurality, while the second advances systemic reform. Here, I consider the dilemmas associated with speaking for reconstructive multicultural education, especially those related to roles for European American scholars. Central to these dilemmas is a long standing struggle about the relationship between experience and expertise.

At the core of reconstructive multicultural reform is the revision of knowledge (e.g., Banks, 1993). A multicultural canon challenges the notion that knowledge is neutral, objective, and represents absolute, verifiable truths. Multiculturalists view knowledge as a social construction defined by the dominant group. They seek to redefine knowledge in ways that present more diversified versions of truth.

Efforts to diversify truth center around the definition of multiple perspectives including information from previously marginalized groups. Those scholars with direct experience as members of marginalized groups are considered to be the most credible representatives. Those with minimal experience of subordination, such as European Americans, take great care to speak about rather than for marginalized groups and to identify themselves more as members of other subordinate groups (e.g., women) than as majority group members. This stance has not allowed European American scholars to represent and analyze their own experiences of dominance, and has cast a questionable shadow on their expertise. Is there a way to involve white scholars in the struggle for new knowledge and in so doing revise the notion of credible scholarship?

The work of several feminist epistemologists helps to answer this question. According to Code (1991) and Harding (1991), our society is comprised of groups that occupy different locations in an unequal hierarchy. From one's social location, society appears to work in varying ways; for example, from a majority and dominant position, the standards for meritorious success seem appropriate, and marginalized groups are seen as nonmeritorious people. In contrast, from a minority and subordinate position, standards for success seem biased, and marginalized groups are seen as coping well with a poor system.

Both Code and Harding propose that society can be perceived
more clearly from the standpoint or location of varying groups. As an example, Harding (1991) notes that the distinctive features of women's situations can be used as resources to criticize the dominant view and to decrease distortions in the picture of social life (p. 121). To express a standpoint, one starts a line of thinking from the social location of one's life. For example, what knowledge can be learned with queries from the standpoint of black women's lives or working class Latina women's lives? No one standpoint expresses the perspective of all members of a group, thus, there is no limit to the points from which analysis can proceed.

In what ways can standpoint theory contribute to speaking for reconstructive multicultural education? It can be used to reconsider credibility claims obscured by the experiential dimension of expertise. European American and ethnic minority scholars both have personal experiences that can be used to debunk and explain the beliefs and behaviors that create and legitimate unequal social positions. For example, marginalized people speak about oppression from the standpoint of their group identities, but majority people have not done the same. Harding (1991) raises a pertinent question about this situation: "Is it true that only the oppressed can generate knowledge, that one can contribute to criticism and the growth of knowledge only out of one's own oppression" (p. 278). She answers this question in the negative: "The logic of the standpoint argument leads to the assessment that oppression does not provide all the identities and social locations that can be used to ground the production of less false and distorted beliefs" (p. 282).

Harding's argument suggests that scholars in dominant groups must begin collectively to analyze their experiences from positions of dominance and to use their lives as a basis for research and discussion. One increasingly discussed starting point is the study of white racism. Scholars such as hooks (1990, 1993), McCarthy (1990), Scheurich (1993), and Sleeter (1993) encourage white educators to use self-reflection to examine how white racism works. Such an examination can be accommodated by standpoint theory.

Several proposals reflect standpoint theory in their guidelines for multicultural scholarship. Banks (1993) refers to a need to recognize varying perspectives through positionality, or explicit identification with frames of reference for research. Tetreault (in Banks, 1993) argues that the effects of positionality predicated by race, class, and gender vary according to context, and scholars should consider such influences on their work. Sleeter (1995) believes that examining positionality is important in terms of one's location in dominant or minority social positions. Others such as hooks (1990) urge white scholars to examine the influence of whiteness on their research. In general, these directives encourage more explicit examination of the relationship of
The Role of a European American Scholar

one’s identity to one’s work.

Another interface between standpoint theory and multicultural scholarship relates to the content of research and teaching. Delgado (1990), a civil rights attorney, develops the idea of voice scholarship in legal cases to include the stories and points of view for previously marginalized groups. He contends that voice scholarship can “sharpen our concern, enrich our experience, and provide access to stories beyond the stock tale” (p. 109). While such an approach relates well to reconstructive multicultural research, it requires care to include a diverse representation of stories from majority and minority standpoints and within any one standpoint.

Standpoint theory also involves understanding the lived experiences of self and others. Multicultural scholars can serve as models for speaking openly about the partial understandings that shape their lives. Dissonance, contradiction, and unease can be perceived as positive results of interactions among different standpoints.

Speaking as a European American Multiculturalist

I use some of my work as a multicultural educator to exemplify the research directions noted above; I speak for and about multicultural education as a European American scholar every day. My work reflects the particular cast of my identity, and my approach to multicultural teaching and research may well differ from that of an ethnic minority scholar. My scholarship centers around a vision of multicultural education as total school reform, an approach to change through the critique of prevailing practices, and advocacy for the development of collective multicultural responsibility. The majority of prospective and practicing teachers with whom I work are also white, female, middle class English speakers.

My work focus is a four-course sequence for multicultural studies leading to a certificate in multicultural leadership. I teach the first three courses, and the fourth is an elective selected from among other university courses addressing multicultural issues. The first three courses deal with awareness, acceptance, and affirmation of multicultural education, respectively.

Teaching Awareness

The first course emphasizes development of a multicultural mindset. Three approaches seem to work best for me and my teacher-students. Initially I serve as a model to demonstrate that multicultural education involves everyone. I then construct classroom communities in which students dealt with sensitive issues. Finally, I emphasize the study of dominance.
As a model for multicultural education, I physically represent the mainstream. When students see me approach multicultural education as my life's work, they recognize that this relates to them as well. As I facilitate interactions among different people, my students begin to reconsider their unease about doing so, and when they see me trying to unlearn stereotypes and prejudices, they gain some understanding that this is a life-long struggle.

When addressing sensitive issues, I try to encourage introspection. This provides a personal, historical lens for understanding the genesis of inaccurate beliefs. Class members relate readings, films, and guest visits to personal life experiences through journals and shared reaction papers. Introspection is often painful, however, as students discover sometimes that their attitudes and values are fallacious, discriminatory, and oppressive. This kind of self-revelation is possible only to the extent that the classroom is characterized by interactive dialogue, respect, and social critique.

Others have written about developing such an instructive climate (hooks, 1993, 1994; Maher, 1989; Shor, 1980), and I would like to add to that discourse ways in which the trust we built in our classroom community helped us begin to study the dominance of our own group. In my classes, students often express anger and frustration about the biased nature of their education with regard to knowledge about ethnic minority groups. We use this as a starting point to deconstruct our assimilation of supposedly neutral and objective knowledge favoring our dominant group. We examine a number of messages that we received as children, including those contained in favorite books and television programs. In this climate of sharing I feel that it is important to take risks with students and to examine my life experiences as they do theirs. Another useful approach is to move away from discussion of our culture to consideration of our position in society. Sleeter (1995) provides a helpful scheme for this analysis. We make use of her strategy for reviewing texts, novels, films, and personal experiences from the standpoint of haves or have-nots and through the lenses of dominant or minority position perspectives (p. 418).

Teaching a Critical Perspective

The second course in the multicultural sequence stresses planning and implementation of curricular change. To initiate such changes, students complete a project that includes professional self-evaluation, multicultural reflection, and personalized action. More specifically, this project entails the following: ethnographic mini-studies of current curricula from a multicultural perspective; appraisal and selection of one of the five multicultural approaches as a personal guide for curricular reform; and development and implementation of a plan for curricular change. This project encompasses the entire course.
Standpoint theory is infused into the selection of a multicultural approach. Students consider and write about the ways in which the historical/political/social context for their teaching, their personal identities, and the teaching circumstances impact their choice of a particular approach. Through this project, students complete a personal assessment of themselves as multicultural educators and develop a variety of initiatives that they consider workable and appropriate.

Teaching Activism

The third course focuses on taking action beyond the classroom or school. To foster community involvement, I introduce students to the activities of an established multicultural coalition (Boyle-Baise, 1995). Participation in the group is voluntary, but it provides students with an option for further resources and support. Also, the advocacy-oriented efforts of the group make students aware that activism is part of multicultural reform.

Work in this course centers entirely around activist projects. Some activities include: writing articles for the newsletter of the multicultural coalition or the campus newspaper, developing multicultural presentations for other students or faculty, and attending community meetings or functions related to multicultural issues. In addition, students develop a plan for activism that relates specifically to their work or life. As an example, one of my students, a third-grade teacher, prepared to serve on a textbook selection committee by learning to analyze texts from a multicultural perspective.

Who Can Speak Best for Multicultural Education?

I have attempted here to broaden the discussion of the multicultural paradigm to recognize multiple approaches, standpoints, and practices and to reflect the nature of multicultural struggles toward new ways of knowing. These struggles center around the convergence and coalition of multiple voices and position perspectives. Multicultural knowing is relativistic; there is no one explanation for truth, nor a best description of what is more true. Rather, we all strive continually for less partial and distorted versions of knowledge. It follows then that no one scholar, type of scholar, or stance of scholarship can represent and reflect the whole truth. European American and culturally diverse scholars bring different strengths to the multicultural dialogue.

This article represents part of a personal odyssey as I work to find my own voice as a European American scholar. Educators like myself can make significant contributions to reconstructive multicultural efforts, especially by using our own lives as starting places for examining such issues. Reform cannot prosper unless it is owned by a collective of ethnic minority and majority groups: "Until people begin
to see that multicultural education is for everybody, I don't think we're going to be successful" (Banks, 1992b, p. 21).

As mentioned earlier, this dialogue began with a conversation between myself and a scholar of color, about who speaks best for multicultural education. We have continued this conversation as we serve together on panels where we express different perspectives about multicultural reform. Through this ongoing dialogue, we recognize that we both make significant contributions toward creating an inclusive community.

References


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LEADERS OF COLOR AS CATALYSTS FOR COMMUNITY BUILDING IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

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Abstract
In this article the author examines the construction of civic competency in a multicultural society as a factor in explaining why people of color should act as catalysts for community building. First, ways of knowing in a multicultural society are described, and then the following questions are addressed: What is the nature of social studies education and citizenship efficacy in the twenty-first century? What is the role of multiculturalism in constructing social understanding and civic efficacy? Why do scholars and activists of color need to assume a leadership role in constructing civic competency in a multicultural society? The central issue in this article is not an advocacy of exclusivity, but an explanation of the particular leadership role demanded of scholars from microcultures of color to give authentic voice to those microcultures in the expanded community.

During the past four years, diversity debates have defined academic and popular discourse about the construction of knowledge. Debaters include scholars, activists, and other citizens. Three orientations have emerged out of these discussions: cultural nationalism, cultural pluralism, and cultural criticism. Cultural nationalists favor either western hegemony (e.g., Eurocentric) or a recentered canon (e.g., Afrocentric). Cultural pluralists want "collectively, to forge a new, and vital, common American culture in the twenty-first century" (Gates, 1992, p. xvii). Cultural critics want to work as catalysts for ensuring that our nation's democratic ideals become a reality for all Americans (West, 1993).

Inevitably professional educators engage one another in the current debate about knowledge construction. The present discourse reflects a wider concern, however. We also have our cultural
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nationalists, cultural pluralists, and cultural critics, but the purpose of this article is to begin a serious dialogue among scholars from microcultures of color and those from the macroculture, one that focuses on the creation of an expanding community where all voices, including previously silenced ones, are heard in the construction of knowledge. This article is specifically concerned with the construction of civic competency in a multicultural society as a contributing factor to explain why people of color should act as catalysts for community building.

Ways of Knowing in a Multicultural Society

Western hegemony has dominated the construction of knowledge in our society, particularly in the academic community. The western hegemonic canon was formed "when scholar-critics were white men, and when women and persons of color were voiceless, faceless servants and laborers" (Gates, 1992, p. 17). Since people of color and women have been omitted from the dialogue on knowledge construction, a distorted perspective of their realities has pervaded our society especially in the academy.

Eurocentric cultural nationalists seek to maintain their definition of westernness as the content base for kindergarten through postsecondary curricula. Many Eurocentric cultural nationalists subscribe to a deficiency philosophy as justification for their continued domination, one which contends that (a) people of color are culturally, intellectually, and cognitively deficient or different in exotic or subhuman ways; (b) western civilizations should dominate the curriculum because curricular contributions from minorities are some of the worst manifestations of American culture; and (c) minority scholars are not as competent (Hoover, 1990). Deficiency philosophy reveals an abysmal ignorance of the myriad contributions of nonwhite scholars and educators, and it continues to silence voices from microcultures of color.

Expanding the canon will also expand the national community. In order to do this, we must follow the advice of Greene (1993) and heed the voices silenced over the years, which "entails a recognition of exclusions and deficiencies long denied, a discovery of ways to fill the voids and in some fashion to repair" (p. 3). Recovery of all voices must take place before a communal American identity can be forged (Gates, 1992). We need authentic and accurate scholarship in defining the realities of people of color in order to create an inclusionary communal American identity.

Recovering the voices of silenced groups and expanding the boundaries of community membership to include a multiplicity of assumptions, values, and beliefs can be facilitated through the use of social epistemology, an ongoing process that grounds truth and inquiry in social relations and raises the following questions: Whose truth do
we seek? Who defines whom? What are the means of inquiry? What is the purpose of inquiry? (Crichlow, Goodwin, Shakes, & Swartz, 1990; Popkewitz & St. Maurice, 1991). Social epistemology is a means to the creation of a communal identity and a community where everyone has authentic and emancipatory representation. We must first recover voices from microcultures of color and develop authentic definitions of culturally specific experiences so that we can then forge alliances with progressive voices from the macroculture.

Authentic definitions of culturally specific experiences constitute neither separatism nor ghettoization of diverse voices; rather, such definitions are a critical component in the evolution of a communal identity. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) explain this in relation to feminism:

> When scientific findings, scientific theory, and even the basic assumptions of academic disciplines are reexamined through the lens of women's perspectives and values, new conclusions can be drawn and new directions forged that have implications for the lives of both men and women (pp. 8-9).

Multiculturalism can be used to establish the same implications for ethnically based differences that include language, national origin, race, religion, and tradition. McCarthy (1993) is correct in his criticism of those multicultural models that conceptualize inclusivity only as adding diversity to the dominant school curriculum. Multiculturalism must be more critical in exposing the relationality of school knowledge as well as promoting authentic representation of all cultural groups and experiences.

One domination should not be replaced with another; however, people of color must provide their own perspective, and European Americans must listen to the voices from our microcultures of color. Scholars and activists of color should forge alliances with progressive European Americans in the creation of an inclusive, egalitarian community. Expanding the community also requires that critical catalysts from microcultures of color take the leadership role in the construction of civic competency in a multicultural society.

The concept of civic competency raises certain questions: What is the nature of social studies education and citizenship efficacy in the twenty-first century? What is the role of multiculturalism in constructing social understanding and civic efficacy? Why do scholars and activists of color need to assume a leadership role in constructing civic competency in a multicultural society? I will address these key questions in what follows.
Social Studies Education and Civic Competency

The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) Task Force on Standards for Teaching and Learning recently presented its “Vision of Powerful Teaching and Learning in the Social Studies” (1993), in which the aim of twenty-first century social studies was defined as building social understanding and civic efficacy. The “Curriculum Guidelines for Multicultural Education” prepared by the NCSS Task Force on Ethnic Studies Curriculum Guidelines (1992) places social understanding and civic efficacy within the context of a multicultural society:

Multicultural education helps students understand and affirm their community cultures and helps to free them from cultural boundaries, allowing them to create and maintain a civic community that works for the common good. Multicultural education seeks to actualize the idea of e pluribus unum within our nation and to create a society that recognizes and respects the cultures of its diverse people, people united within a framework of overarching democratic values. A national culture or school curriculum that does not reflect the voices, struggles, hopes, and dreams of its many peoples is neither democratic nor cohesive (p. 274).

Our nation needs a citizenry that is critical, reflective, and active if we are to sustain faith in our democratic ideals and ensure that they become a reality for all members of our society.

The social studies textbook graphically illustrates the current failure of schools to uphold the standards proposed by NCSS. McCarthy (1990) notes that social studies texts continue to reproduce and legitimize Eurocentric dominance by omitting the voices and distorting the images of people of color and other cultural groups such as women and the poor. King and Wilson (1990) also discuss the ways that textbooks distort the realities of people of color; for example, Western scholars continue to discuss Egypt as part of the Middle East rather than continental Africa. They also tend to anglicize the features of ancient Egyptians and continue to ignore scholarly evidence documenting that the indigenous peoples of Egypt were black Africans.

Recently, in an undergraduate secondary education course that I teach, students analyzed high school textbooks currently used in core subject areas (social studies, English, math, and science) and addressed the following criteria: inclusion versus omission, accuracy versus distortion, depth versus superficial treatment, and stereotyping. Each criterion had a related set of determinants that guided the analysis.
For the inclusion versus omission criterion, students examined textbooks for visibility or invisibility of different ethnic minority groups as well as number of representations. Accurate versus distorted representations were determined through the following questions: Are authentic realities of ethnic minority groups represented or are the depictions filtered through mainstream cultural lenses? Are the experiences of these groups represented in such a way that they contrast unfavorably with an unstated norm of middle class, male, Anglo-America? Are representations confined to negative or deficit explanations? Is there a single point of view, or are there multiple perspectives? Are only safe heroes and sheroes included—those that avoid serious confrontation with mainstream institutionalized norms? With regard to depth versus superficial treatment determining questions were: Are ethnic minority group experiences represented just as holidays, food, and clothing? Are these lifestyle attributes oversimplified or are genuine insights and in-depth analyses offered? Finally, the stereotyping criterion focused on how ethnic minorities are depicted in illustrations; for example, if the illustrations were caricatures and if ethnic minorities were depicted exclusively in ghettos, barrios, and the like.

Although the students' analyses were not rigorous, some interesting patterns emerged in their textbook reviews. First, they agreed that it was easier to complete a multicultural analysis of English and social studies texts than of math or science ones because the first two are more naturally multicultural subject areas while math and science tend to be more color blind subject areas. The students also agreed that the English textbooks better addressed cultural diversity issues than did the social studies texts. The third area of agreement concerned inclusion versus omission. Students believed that relative to their own high school experiences the number of different groups represented in the contemporary texts was adequate. The fourth pattern pertained to differences between European American students and African American and Latino students concerning their thoughts about accuracy versus distortion, depth versus superficiality, and stereotyping criteria. The African American and Latino students were more critical of the social studies textbook in particular, and they pointed to more specific examples. While many European American students generally thought that the social studies textbooks were acceptable but could be improved, the students of color were disturbed that such distortions, superficiality, and stereotypes were still present in 1994.

The students' analyses concur with Garcia's (1993) conclusion that although "content that deals with minorities has increased in quantity, it is not clear that it has improved in quality" (p. 34). This conclusion hearkens back to McCarthy's (1993) conception of representation, authenticity, and authority as they relate to knowledge construction. In spite of Garcia's concerns about the
legitimacy given to textbooks in the transmission of knowledge, textbooks continue to be powerful tools in the construction of social understanding and civic efficacy or lack thereof. McCarthy raises the questions that are central to understanding how the construction of knowledge as exhibited in textbooks violates NCSS standards of social understanding and civic efficacy: Who defines whom? Who controls the production of pictures and images in this society?

To realize the kind of social understanding and civic efficacy advocated by NCSS, the voices of silenced groups must be heard in authenticity, not merely represented inaccurately in numbers. "At issue...is the struggle over accuracy versus misrepresentation...and the constructed supremacy of Western cultural knowledge transmitted in schools versus the inherent primacy of the multiple and collective origins of knowledge" (Crichlow, Goodwin, Shakes, & Schwartz, 1990, p. 102). Including more information about the African American struggle for justice does not suffice, especially if that information is inaccurate and inauthentic. A prime example is content related to Rosa Parks and her role in the Montgomery bus boycott. While more about this historical incident may be appearing in textbooks, Rosa Parks' actions are generally attributed to physical exhaustion rather than to her moral indignation. This view not only belies Mrs. Parks' long-term activism in the local community, but it also misrepresents African Americans as passive or reactive actors in the civil rights movement (Kohl, 1993).

The Role of Multiculturalism in Constructing Civic Competency

Multiculturalism is critical to the construction of social understanding and civic efficacy for the twenty-first century. Such a construction involves actualizing Gates' communal American identity and Dewey's great community—or creating a democratic society grounded in e pluribus unum. In the recent diversity debates Eurocentric cultural nationalists have asserted that differences divide, tribalize, and balkanize the United States; they have a difficult time reconciling unity with diversity because of a dichotomous world view that assumes a strict either/or position (Ladson-Billings, 1992). In this zero-sum mentality one assumes that embracing another's understanding of the world means abdicating one's own value system. Unity and diversity are complementary forces, however, not oppositional. Diversity must be used to build community; we can only celebrate our commonalities when we truly respect, not merely tolerate, our differences.

Achieving unity in diversity is the real aim of multiculturalism, one that reflects what it really means to be a citizen in a free society. We have to support "the civic culture while maintaining personal and group allegiances that reflect diverse perspectives and interests"
Multicultural educators often illustrate this principle through modeling. For example, in every secondary social studies methods class I teach, at least one European American student, usually southern and male, plans to develop a lesson about the confederate flag. As an African American female whose family members have suffered at the hands of groups appropriating the same flag as their symbol (e.g., the Ku Klux Klan), I might want to disallow the lesson or give the student a failing grade; however, I am also a social educator who values freedom of expression in the community of social educators. As such, I encourage and assist the student with developing a sound lesson that explains the flag’s origins, its contemporary symbolism, and its effects upon people from different segments of society. I want my students to learn that while my perspective on the confederate flag may be painfully different from theirs, we as social educators must all be concerned with promoting freedom of expression and cultural understanding.

The kind of multiculturalism that will construct viable social understanding and civic efficacy for the twenty-first century is inclusionary (Baber, 1993), emancipatory (Crichlow et al., 1990; McCarthy 1990), liberatory (Ladson-Billings & Henry, 1990), critical (Nieto, 1992), and transformative (Banks, 1994). This kind of multiculturalism demands that we engage in additional ways of knowing, thinking, and being, including transformation of the western canon. This, however, is not and should not be considered a denouncement of Western ideas, but rather a “full inclusion of the marginalized groups into western institutions and a reform of these institutions so that their practices are more consistent with their democratic ideals” (Banks, 1994, p. 6). Multiculturalism, as discussed here, means recognizing the multiple dimensions of a communal American identity. Langston Hughes (1974) expressed the dual reality of being African American when he wrote: “I, too, sing America. I am the darker brother. They send me to eat in the kitchen [w]hen company comes. Tomorrow, I’ll be at the table. I, too, am America” (p. 275). Inclusionary, emancipatory, liberatory, critical, and transformative multiculturalism extends beyond the language of inclusivity by emphasizing multivocality as a central force in the construction of civic competency in a multicultural society.

Scholars of Color: Leaders in Constructing Civic Competency

Actualization of our communal American identity requires that people of color reclaim their authenticity and give it voice. It also requires that European Americans examine their privileged status in American society and recognize their anxieties concerning the presence of microcultures of color. This means that a multiculturalist must be
entrenched in the new cultural politics of difference and become a critical, organic catalyst "who stays attuned to the best of what the mainstream has to offer—its paradigms, viewpoints, and methods—yet maintains a grounding in affirming and enabling subcultures of criticism" (West, 1993, p. 22).

While there certainly are critical multiculturalists from the macroculture, scholars and activists from microcultures of color experience the duality of participating in both a critical subculture and the American macroculture, giving them an understanding about issues of color (race), culture, and equity that European Americans may lack. Although European Americans are not a culturally homogeneous group, their conscious cultural identity tends to lie with the western macroculture (Alba, 1990; Sleeter, 1993). European Americans are inclined to use their macrocultural experience and related cultural dominance to define microcultures of color. Consequently, they may not possess the competence and comfort to analyze and synthesize authentically the realities of microcultures of color. Sleeter, a critical multiculturalist from the macroculture, eloquently expresses the source of this incompetency and discomfort: "While I believe whites are educable, I have gained appreciation for the strength of our resistance to change. My own color gives me a degree of comfort, privilege, and insulation that serves me in ways I continue to take for granted" (1993, p. 168). In her two-year staff development study of 26 European American teachers who taught in a school where at least one third of the students were economically disadvantaged or ethnic minority, Sleeter found two affective patterns among teachers. They either refused to recognize color differences, or they failed to distinguish between issues of culture and the experiences of voluntary and involuntary immigrants (Ogbu, 1994). These attitudes helped the teachers to cope with "the paradox of liking and helping students of color while explaining away the subordination of people of color and adhering to social structures that benefit themselves and their own children" (Sleeter, 1993, p. 168).

In my own work with inservice and preservice teachers, I have found that educators focus on what Bullivant (1993) calls the lifestyle dimension of multiculturalism rather than on the life chances dimension. Lifestyle refers to the history, heritage, traditions, and customs of a cultural group while life chances refers to the problems cultural groups face in gaining economic opportunity in the wider society. Focusing on lifestyles alone allows European Americans to avoid directly confronting racial privileges and racial boundaries. For example, the preservice and inservice teachers I work with have no problems developing activities or lessons that celebrate holidays from around the world; they showcase cultural food and clothing or teach students to count to ten in Spanish and Swahili and are, in fact, very
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proud of these multicultural lessons. When asked to develop lessons addressing problems that ethnic minority groups face in the wider society or examining knowledge-based issues like expansionism or exploration from multiple perspectives, they exhibit few ideas and even become uncomfortable. These teachers do not realize that this “paradox of white consciousness is the ability not to see what is very salient: the visible markers of social categories that privilege people of European ancestry” (Sleeter, 1993, p. 160).

A few ethnobiographical reflections on my work struggling to construct civic competency in a mainstream teacher education program may further illuminate why multiculturalists from microcultures of color need to be the primary critical catalysts for community building. Born in the deep south and reared in various parts of the United States and other countries due to my father’s military career, I spent much of my childhood with my maternal and paternal grandparents in Alabama, all of whom were community activists and leaders. Living in a segregated society and experiencing the inhumanities of Jim Crowism firsthand, I chose to pursue a teaching career because of my family’s activism and commitment to social change as well as their commitment to truth and inquiry. From these role models, I learned that the African American teacher not only transmits knowledge, but also has an obligation to his or her collective community to create agents of change.

When I was recruited to assist a teacher education program in meeting its multicultural education goals, I realized that most of my colleagues were basing their perception of these goals on the lifestyle approach to multicultural education. They wanted me to help infuse celebrations of ethnic history, heritage, traditions, and customs into their courses. I, on the other hand, wanted a separate course to help our students to (a) understand the complex nature of multiculturalism; (b) gain a basic grasp of the key concepts of culture, pluralism, and ethnicity; (c) analyze the effects of dehumanizing “isms” on teaching and learning; (d) confront and understand their own ethnicity and status in society; and (e) develop a life chances approach to multicultural education. As part of a departmental staff development plan, my colleagues attended the lecture component of my undergraduate multicultural education course, after which they commented upon my competence in delivering the course content and upon my willingness to take risks by using personal examples to illustrate theoretical points. When my European American colleagues told me, “You really know what you’re talking about,” they were commenting on both my academic expertise and my experiential knowledge as well as the authentic construction of knowledge about the realities of microcultures of color. The tone and content of their comments indicated to me that they, as European Americans, did not feel capable of giving authentic voice to a microculture. They could certainly describe and sympathize
with the African American experience, but they could not understand or present it in the same critical way that I could.

As a person of color working in a macrocultural institution, I must also empathize with the realities of macroculture students. When my European American, southern male students want to plan and teach lessons about the confederate flag, I help them develop multiple perspectives in the lesson, even though looking at the flag pains me. I can understand their pride in their southern heritage and I allow discourse on this pride without destructive comments, because the issue in this dynamic is not the final truth about the confederate flag, but how different truths facilitate social understanding and civic efficacy. I often wonder what my European American colleagues would do in similar situations. Suppose one of their African American students wanted to develop a lesson about Kalid Abdul Muhammed as a leader in the African American community. While one may not agree with his ideology, some segments of the community have identified him as their leader and they must be heard. I do not agree with European American, southern sentiments about the confederate flag but I allow these voices to be heard in my social studies methods course because multivocality is a central force in the construction of civic competency in a multicultural society.

Conclusion

Leaders of color face challenges when they act as the critical catalysts in the construction of civic competency in a multicultural society. One difficulty involves the greater dimension of power and authority available to the macroculture in claiming the high moral ground of human understanding. I refer not only to the construction of social knowledge contained within the canon or curriculum but also to educators whose job it is to impart that knowledge. Howard (1993), a multiculturalist from the macroculture, explains how European Americans must rethink their role in multicultural education by moving beyond their negative responses to diversity to find a place of authentic engagement with their colleagues of color, one based upon honesty and humility. European Americans need to recognize that microcultures must reclaim their own voices: "It is not helpful for white Americans to be marching out in front with all the answers for other groups" (Howard, 1993, p. 39).

Scholars and activists of color, particularly those who have managed to retain their microculture identity and work with the western canon simultaneously, stand in a unique position with regard to multiculturalism. Although I am still in the process of understanding how macroculture power and authority relate to my own role as a multiculturalist, it is clear to me that embedded in this role is a
leadership position that is less a matter of choice for me than it is for my colleagues from the macroculture. The microcultural roots that I cannot abandon and my ability to participate effectively in the macroculture demand that I help negotiate the construction of civic competency in our multicultural society.

I do not exclude the possibility of alliances among critical, organic catalysts from the macroculture and microcultures. As a multiculturalist, I cannot engage in any type of exclusivity; however, before multicultural educators from the macroculture can become such catalysts, they must begin the journey from dominance to diversity as described by Howard (1993) and Sleeter (1994). This journey must involve a critical look at the ways one’s privileged status creates contradictions between actions and ideologies, and between the realities of our society and its democratic ideals. In addition, every multiculturalist must understand how these contradictions perpetuate a monovocal construction of knowledge, and learn to develop instead a social epistemology approach to the construction of civic competency among students. Once European Americans have such an understanding of self, society, and social epistemology we can then forge solid alliances and coalitions to create a community of authentic, emancipatory, liberatory, critical, and transformative voices.

References


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TRANSFORMING ELEMENTARY SOCIAL STUDIES: THE EMERGENCE OF A CURRICULUM FOCUSED ON DIVERSE, CARING COMMUNITIES

Gloria Alter
Northern Illinois University

Abstract
In a wide-ranging analysis of elementary textbook series the author asks (a) to what degree do current textbooks address multicultural education and global citizenship; and (b) to what degree are elementary students encouraged and enabled to care about others and to view people from inclusive, nonstereotypical, and unprejudiced perspectives? Curriculum that addresses these concerns could prepare students to build authentic, democratic communities. In previous studies findings show that texts typically do not reflect diverse perspectives and multicultural or global realities, utilize methodologies adequate to address multicultural education, present controversial issues, or provide consistent opportunities for higher level thinking. This grounded theory study of current elementary social studies teacher guides illustrates the possibility of a new curricular organizer—the concept of a diverse, caring community. This new and much needed change of perspective could provide the first step toward a transformed social studies.

Introduction

Statements of concern for democratic community reiterate many objectives of multicultural, global, and moral education. Educational literature in general as well as critical pedagogy and critical theory in many social sciences and social studies related disciplines reflect the current emphasis upon the core social studies concepts of community and diversity. In today's climate of reform, one would expect these ideas to play a central role in the revisioning and restructuring of the elementary social studies curriculum.
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Sergiovanni (1994) presents a strong case for schools as communities. He suggests that our educational dilemmas are often understood and communicated superficially, as we fail to acknowledge the underlying causes as relationship issues (Institute for Education and Transformation, 1992). Theoretical and research literature supports the human need for community, but even more compelling are examples of schools that have changed their ideas, policies, and practices to support authentic community. Here, new conceptions of power and shared visions of community have been utilized to overcome entrenched policies and practices. These communities as discussed by Sergiovanni (1994) are “collections of individuals who are bonded together by natural will and who are together binded [sic] to a set of shared ideas and beliefs” (p. xvi). Moral commitments and trust underlie the common purposes of these communities.

In authentic, democratic communities, power is understood and utilized differently than in hierarchically oriented institutions (Shor, 1992). For Sergiovanni (1994), “‘power over’ others [is transformed into] ‘power to’ accomplish shared visions and goals” (p. xix). Kreisberg (1992) reconceptualizes the deeply engrained view of power over others as power with others. More power is created as it is shared, and communities become inclusive and truly participatory.

Sergiovanni perceives a certain loss of individual freedom in community, but asserts that individual needs can be built into the community’s vision. Kreisberg emphasizes that individual needs are met through community while self-interest is transcended in favor of the common good. He notes that strategies for the domination, oppression, and exploitation of others frequently are perpetuated by those who cling to power over others, and it is these dangers inherent in hierarchical understandings of power that community empowerment strategies seek to overcome.

Sergiovanni’s work is intended to provide “the necessary intellectual framework for understanding the human quest to build communities that are inclusive, meaningful, and democratic” (1994, inside cover) with the recognition that this requires change in the fundamental assumptions and operating principles of traditional educational institutions. The process of implementing such a vision is an endeavor unique to each school community, but the personal, authentic, and caring aspects of that education and community remain constant.

Authentic Curriculum or Politics as Usual

The politics of a curriculum are an outgrowth of the nature of the community. In their introduction, Castenell and Pinar (1993) state:
We offer a collection of essays which complicate the curriculum controversy....We suggest that curriculum is racial text...that debates over what we teach the young are also...debates over who we perceive ourselves to be, and how we will represent that identity, including what remains "left over" as "difference" (p. 2).

Rather than complicating the curriculum controversy, Castenell and Pinar help to clarify and focus curricular debate on substantive core issues.

Students often believe that the curriculum represents authoritative knowledge and truth; however, texts typically replicate the social norms and beliefs that govern society and depict them in a way that is incomplete and misleading (Apple, 1993; Apple, 1992; Apple, 1986; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Beyer & Apple, 1988; Castenell & Pinar, 1993). Women, minorities, and other groups representative of the diversity in our population are often excluded altogether or are seriously misrepresented. In fact, texts can be said to misrepresent us all as they misrepresent reality, and the legitimacy of the textbook is brought into question as a result.

"The concept of text implies both a specific piece of writing and...social reality itself...as human reality. [Text] is fundamentally discursive" (Castenell & Pinar, 1993, p. 2). Curriculum is understood to be "a discursive formation of identity and difference" (p. 3). James Banks (1994a) states that we must "create a cohesive and democratic society while at the same time allowing citizens to maintain their ethnic, cultural...and primordial identities....[We must] create an authentic, democratic unum with moral authority and perceived legitimacy, [and] the pluribus (diverse peoples) must negotiate and share power" (p. 4). Multicultural education clearly holds the potential for such a transformation of power in our educational institutions, curriculum, and society.

Jere Brophy's critiques of elementary social studies textbooks and his reviews of text studies (Brophy & Alleman, 1993; Brophy, McMahon, & Prawat, 1991) reveal numerous ways in which textbooks fail to meet this challenge. They tend to utilize an add-on and inadequate approach to multicultural studies, to reflect an American perspective of history exclusively, to lack depth in their treatment of cultural and historical content, to provide little meaningful or more than fact level content, to omit controversial aspects of history, and to provide insufficient opportunities for critical thinking and decision making.

James Banks (1994a) illustrates appropriate and realistic responses to meet the needs for adequate textbooks identified by Brophy and others. He encourages the use of new scholarship and
suggests alternative textbook accounts of such events as the Montgomery bus boycott and the Rosa Parks incident. Further, his numerous works provide a multitude of specific curricular and instructional strategies, as well as related research and content for curriculum development (Banks, 1994a, 1994b, 1993, 1991a, 1991b; Banks & McGee Banks, 1992).

The present study addresses broad curricular perspectives across many text series; it lays the groundwork for follow-up content analyses and comparison for studies on the next series of texts produced. Its focus on caring significantly differs from previous studies; however, in this case multiple sets of questions similar to but not limited to certain aspects of previous studies were utilized. The scope of the study is beyond the typical content analysis research focus of "a given theme, group, or historical event" (Wade, 1993, p. 238) and thus, does not provide comparable detail about specific content.

Studies by Rogers (1991) and Waters (1991), deal with the same text content reviewed in this study. Their content findings may be of related interest, but provide little comparable information. One statement by Waters (1991) regarding the 1991 Houghton Mifflin series is more global in nature and is pertinent to the findings reported here:

If one had to choose one term to describe the series it would be a humanistic approach. The authors of this series have made an extra effort to present all concepts in as sophisticated and high level a way as possible. They do not want to insult the reader (pp. 27-28).

The series, however, was criticized in the news for de-emphasizing and inaccurately portraying certain groups (Berenson, 1992; Epstein & Ellis, 1992). While this was a characteristic of all of the series, the humanistic approach was unique to Houghton Mifflin. The present study focuses on the broader conceptual overview of the curriculum and to a lesser extent on its detailed content.

Grounded Theory Analysis of Elementary Textbooks

Which, if any, aspects of our current elementary social studies textbook series do address multicultural and global citizenship or encourage students to care about others and to view them from inclusive, nonstereotypical, and unprejudiced perspectives? These questions were the focus of this study. The most recent versions of the six standard textbook series in print (Bowker, 1991, 1995) were selected for study. These are listed in Table 1. None of these publishers has yet released a major revision or a substantively new series, although Harcourt Brace Jovanovich and Macmillan are developing essentially new programs (the dates of release have not yet been announced).
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In this study, all of the series and grade levels are included through theoretical sampling; broad-based questions which might be raised only after examining multiple and initially undefinable aspects of the texts are addressed; information from teacher guides is utilized; and many paradigms are focused upon simultaneously. Paradigms or frameworks included but were not limited to syntheses useful for

![Table 1](image_url)

Elementary Social Studies Textbook Series Reviewed

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<tr>
<td>K Special Days</td>
<td>K My World</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 People We Know</td>
<td>1 Families and Neighbors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Places We Know</td>
<td>2 Neighborhoods and Communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Communities</td>
<td>3 Communities Near and Far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 States and Regions</td>
<td>4 Geography: Our Country and Our World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 The United States*</td>
<td>5 America: Yesterday and Today*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 The World Past and Present*</td>
<td>6+ Latin American and Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6+ The Eastern Hemisphere</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6+ Europe and the Soviet Union</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6+ The World Yesterday and Today*</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K Reaching Out*</td>
<td>1 Living in Families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Exploring My World*</td>
<td>2 Living in Communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Exploring Our Country*</td>
<td>3 Comparing Communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Exploring World Communities*</td>
<td>4 Comparing Regions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Exploring Regions Near and Far*</td>
<td>5 Our Country*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Exploring America's Heritage*</td>
<td>6+ World Cultures*</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Exploring Our World,</td>
<td>6+ Eastern Hemisphere</td>
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<tr>
<td>+ Past and Present*</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Exploring America and</td>
<td>6+ Western Hemisphere</td>
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<td>+ Latin America*</td>
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<td>K The World I See*</td>
<td>K All Around Me*</td>
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<td>1 I Know A Place*</td>
<td>1 People and Neighborhoods*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Some People I Know*</td>
<td>2 Neighborhoods and Communities*</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 From Sea to Shining Sea*</td>
<td>3 Communities Near and Far*</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 This is My Country</td>
<td>4 Regions Near and Far*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 America Will Be*</td>
<td>5 United States and Its Neighbors*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 A Message of Ancient Days*</td>
<td>6 Eastern Hemisphere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Across the Centuries</td>
<td>6+ The World Past and Present*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 A More Perfect Union</td>
<td>6+ World Regions</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Teacher manuals analyzed in either initial coding or later theoretical sampling.
multicultural education. LaBelle and Ward (1994) supply an extensive review of these frameworks.

Grounded theory analysis involves concept development, refinement, and theory generation. Emerging concepts and theory are developed systematically in relation to the data, not simply drawn from them. When theory is developed in this way, it is closely related to practice and is able to transcend paradigms, existing theories, and preconceived conceptual frameworks (Hutchinson, 1986). Grounded theory can provide theoretical development and/or in-depth examples of theoretical concepts and applications for practice (Glaser, 1978). Its central concern is with theory generation versus theory verification or description of empirical phenomena. A number of writings by the originators of the method are helpful in explicating its scientific rationale and in detailing its methodology (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In this study, practical examples of curricular approaches and perspectives emerged from the data analysis process.

Coding

Teacher manuals containing student text were chosen for analysis because they indicated the intended use of the material. Analysis began with the kindergarten level of the Macmillan series and continued through several grade levels, word for word. All content—instructional objectives, questions, information including visuals, student activities, and assessment—was included. Through a coding process, any information that might answer the research questions was recorded. The data source (publisher, level/title, unit/lesson, page), along with one or more of its characteristics, was identified, and this information was reported verbatim in notes. Data were analyzed for their relationship to as many categories or concepts as possible and examined from many perspectives. Themes and potential connections between coded entries were recorded immediately upon observation.

1 The results of grounded theory analysis are often presented in the form of an outline, discussion, a set of propositions with illustrative examples, or some artistic form of communication, such as a concept diagram. The key concepts and properties are included in any discussion, but all the data accumulated are not presented. The “massive grounding effort could not be shown in a writing” (Glaser, 1978, p. 134), nor could one describe exactly how the hypotheses develop. This is inferred with use of the methodology.

A theory's generalizability is determined by the degree to which certain categories and properties persist across different groups or units of study (e.g., text series, curriculum topics, or grade levels). Although grounded theory does not require a certain number of comparison groups, a greater number of groups can indicate a more generalized hypothesis with more completely developed categories and properties. At the same time, it takes only a few cases to identify and confirm a category or property. A certain direction of relationship is suggested rather than a magnitude of relationship established as in random sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The written theory will indicate the conditions and social structure for which the findings have relevance (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 30).
Concept Development

Both educational and informational concepts emerged through this process. Topics included: national leaders, symbols, landmarks, and holidays; good citizenship behavior and appropriate behavior toward family members and fellow citizens; and inclusive objectives and content limited to one nationality, ethnic or cultural group, or perspective. These examples reveal the natural process by which concept groupings and interrelationships begin to emerge. Categories became saturated or fully conceptualized as new examples shed no further light on a concept's breadth (e.g., its range of expression in different grade levels or series) or depth (e.g., the amount of information provided, its complexity, or the degree to which it is interrelated with other content).

In the concept development process, examples or incidents and then concepts were compared, moving toward the development of increasingly theoretical categories. Glaser (1978) breaks down the comparison process roughly by showing the data compared with the results of the process (see Table 2). Open-minded questioning drives this

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparison</th>
<th>Result</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incident to incident Case to case</td>
<td>Identification of as many uniformities and variations as</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>possible to generate concepts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional cases to initial concepts and their</td>
<td>Disconfirmation, verification, or modification—development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>properties</td>
<td>of concepts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emergence of additional concepts, properties, hypotheses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concept to concept</td>
<td>Selection of concepts which best fit the data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Identification of appropriate levels of abstraction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evolution of a smaller set of higher-level concepts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conceptual integration into theory using the core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounded theory to other theory or literature</td>
<td>Synthesis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2
Grounded Theory Analysis (Constant Comparative Process)
process. Patterns in the data are sought which develop and change from initial observations to the final theoretical presentation. Evidence of existing paradigms is sought as well as evidence of new theoretical possibilities.

To establish categories (concepts), differences in collected data are deliberately maximized and minimized. Similar groups or sources establish a category's basic properties, then different groups are compared to determine how these properties vary under different circumstances (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Deductive selective sampling is focused on filling out properties of the categories and relationships among the categories. Datum is also collected selectively, and is screened by its relationship to the core variable. There is constant refitting of the categories to the data. The emerging conceptual framework is tested as ongoing data collection confirms, denies, or requires the adaptation of categories. The number of categories is reduced as they merge, and major processes or core variables that explain much if not all of the data become apparent.

**Theoretical Sampling**

Theoretical sampling led from one text series to another, to determine whether similar concepts and thematic patterns were observable in more than one series. For example, content related to national and/or global identity emerged repeatedly, and texts that were judged the most likely to reveal alternative perspectives were subsequently sampled. The fifth-grade texts emphasizing the nation and the sixth-grade texts emphasizing the world verified this pattern, and no new categories presented themselves.

In-depth sampling occurred at the beginning of this process and was followed by selective sampling of theoretically relevant data. Categories were then interrelated into larger schemas throughout theoretical sampling and in the identification process, until one organization accounted for all data and revealed several core variables. In the end, all pieces of data had been compared to all others and were found to be related to these variables: nationalistic versus global-humanistic perspectives, content accuracy and adequacy, and cognitive-affective learning processes.

**Findings**

This study is an examination of six text series—Harcourt Brace Jovanovich (1991), Heath (1991), Houghton-Mifflin (1991), Macmillan (1990-1991), Scott-Foresman (1991), and Silver-Burdett (1991)—including 27 teacher guides. Only the Houghton Mifflin series was found to supply progressive examples of the characteristics of all three selected core variables. Houghton Mifflin was found to lie at one end of
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a continuum (most multicultural, global, inclusive) and Macmillan emerged at the other end of the continuum. The additional series fell in the middle. They could be characterized as lacking diverse perspectives and multicultural or global realities, utilizing methods inadequate to address multicultural education, failing to present controversial issues, and failing to provide consistent opportunities for critical thinking. In the present grounded theory analysis, which focuses on the text series at each end of the range—Houghton Mifflin and Macmillan—three powerful themes were found to exist: the potential for global-humanistic perspectives at several levels of the curriculum (e.g., scope and sequence, unit, lesson, language), an awareness of the need for adequate and accurate content, (e.g., acknowledging unfavorable aspects of American history), and the utilization of learning processes that are more experiential, holistic, and integrative of diversity. Examples of these three aspects of the curriculum are discussed below.

Nationalistic versus Global-Humanistic Perspectives

Houghton Mifflin repeatedly provides examples of global-humanistic perspectives at the lesson, unit, and scope and sequence levels. Even in its language and literary components, examples are observable. Its content tends to show more awareness of multicultural realities. For example, a poem in the kindergarten level teacher’s edition entitled “The Edge of the World” by Mary Fanny Youngs, presents a global world view and suggests that other countries might be as desirable locations to live as the United States (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991e, p. 115). Hong Kong and other places “may be bad” or “may be fair”. The author of the poem “may come back” or “may stay there”. The central idea is that the author someday must travel beyond the world in view to discover new places. The lesson that includes this poem is titled “Faraway Places” and is found in the text The World I See. This text also integrates multiculturalism in a consistent manner. Repeatedly and at regular intervals, it integrates multicultural literature with the purposes and units of the text.

The Macmillan kindergarten textbook includes many poems reflecting a national emphasis, but one in particular that contrasts sharply with a global perspective. That poem is “I Love America” by Norma Keen Duffy (Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991a, p. 128). The superficial characteristics of the wealth and resources of America appear to be the reason for the author’s conclusion that America is the best. While this could be interpreted as only one author’s perspective, the implication is that the United States is objectively the best country and that resources (seas, mountains, trees, fields, plains, highways, etc.) are appropriate criteria for drawing this conclusion. The poem is in roughly the same location in the text as
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its Houghton Mifflin counterpart, and both textbooks include many typical kindergarten topics; however, the Macmillan kindergarten title, *All Around Me*, and a number of lessons with a nationalistic flavor significantly differ in orientation from the Houghton Mifflin text. Macmillan includes handicapped and other diverse students in a manner that might be considered an add-on approach.

The lesson examples of “Special Americans” and “You Can Be A Special American” in Macmillan’s kindergarten and first-grade texts, respectively, contrast with Houghton Mifflin’s global focus on “People Who Made a Difference” in the world (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991d). Questions from the first-grade teacher’s lesson guide include: “Who has helped to make our country great? What is the name of our great country? How are the children in the two pictures helping to keep our country great? Have you ever helped another American? Have you ever given clothes that you have outgrown to other Americans? What are some other ways people can help other Americans?” (Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991d, pp. 176-178, emphasis added). These reveal a clear emphasis on the United States to the exclusion of other nations. The encouragement of students to care about others is repeatedly associated with their own family or other Americans. The lesson about being a special American focuses on people working together in a community. A young boy folding a flag is pictured, and a teacher asks how we show respect for the flag (answer: “By saying the Pledge of Allegiance”). The lesson concludes with the song “America” (Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991d, pp. 177-179). Caring is blatantly linked with nationalism, and the tone of the lessons subtly suggests to students that moral concern should be addressed toward members of this nation. Although Macmillan depicts some diverse students in these lessons and includes a African American and a woman in its lesson on special Americans, this appeared somewhat token.

In contrast, Houghton Mifflin contains a unit on “People Who Made a Difference” (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991d, p. 133a), which presents a world perspective by examining human rights and needs as addressed in the lives of a diverse group of individuals (e.g., Yoshiko Uchida, a Japanese American author; Roberto Clemente, a baseball player, Louis Braille, an inventor who was blind; and Alexa Canady, an African American woman surgeon). The objective of the first lesson on “Making a Difference” is to “explain how a person can make a difference in the world” (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991d, p. 133a). The introduction to the unit includes the song “Free to Be...You and Me” by Stephen Lawrence (p. 133d), which promotes individual differences as well.

A pattern of inclusive language is exemplified by the Houghton Mifflin lesson “Two Countries, Two Traditions” (Armento, Nash,
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Salter, & Wixson, 1991d, p. 41a), and contrasts with Macmillan's insider-outsider perspective in the lessons of "Families in Other Lands", "Needs and Wants in Other Lands", and "Living in Other Lands" (Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991d, pp. 28, 72, 122). Further, the lessons utilizing this 'we-they' language are found in the "Building Bridges" sections, not in the regular lessons. It might be noted that special sections are also identified for thinking and citizenship skills.

Houghton Mifflin reflects a humanistic perspective in the lesson "The Empty Lot" (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991b, pp. 30-33), which is framed as a conversation between a father and a son about the possibility of a new friend moving into the neighborhood where an empty lot stands. The story concludes with friends in the neighborhood planting a tree. Connections to the environment as well as to family and friends in the neighborhood present an interpersonal conceptualization of neighborhood.

A contrasting and less humanistic lesson from Macmillan is "People and Places in the Neighborhood", in which neighborhood is defined as "a place where people live, work, and play" (Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991c, p. 10, emphasis added). The lesson centers on a child moving into a larger home. An excerpt illustrates its flavor: "Every neighborhood has homes where people live. In the neighborhood where Mike used to live, the homes were close together. In the neighborhood where Mike lives now, the homes are farther apart" (p. 11). The emphasis is on economics and better neighborhoods, even competition (implicit) and separation, rather than on community building. The focus on external wealth is connected with superficial content here as in the earlier poem "I Love America."

Elements of a global-humanistic perspective are observable in Houghton Mifflin's scope and sequence plan and also in its language, integrated literature, lessons, and unit organization. The scope and sequence is included in every teacher guide. Goals are listed as follows:

Comprehend the history of women, minorities, and the full range of social classes not just the history of the elite or the notable individual [history]; Recognize the economic global interdependence of societies [economics]; Develop an awareness of the structure of social classes and the changes in status of women and racial and ethnic minorities in U.S. society and other societies [social and political systems]; Develop an appreciation for the multicultural, pluralistic nature of U.S. society [national identity]; Recognize that the American patriotic ideals are not yet fully realized and that to be protected they must constantly be reaffirmed [national identity]; Develop a respect for human rights,
including those of individuals and of minorities [citizenship]; Recognize the special strategies required to allow the different elements within our pluralistic society to live together amicably [citizenship]; Recognize and appreciate the multicultural and multiethnic dimensions of our society and the contributions made by various groups [culture] (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991e, pp. T27-T35).

Content Adequacy and Accuracy

It is fair to say that no text series provided both adequate and accurate content. Lesson content varied significantly, however, in terms of the inclusion of multicultural and global content and perspectives.

The story of Columbus provides an opportunity to address historical inaccuracy. Some lessons still include erroneous references to Columbus's discovery of America and his desire to prove that the world was not flat (Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991d, p. 134). By contrast, in other texts, lessons allow students to study the Columbus Day holiday and report on it, giving them some voice in their own learning (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991d, pp. 112-113). In additional cases of questionable and/or controversial history, some teacher background notes address the content: questioning the idea that Betsy Ross was responsible for the first flag (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991b, p. 216) or calling attention to Japanese internment, for example, when such information could add some depth of understanding to the lesson (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991c, p. 169).

Varied perspectives of people and events are observable in art and photography as well as in narrative. The work of a Native American artist was used in one lesson (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991b, p. 80), and vivid images of woodcarving and other crafts were used in others (pp. 70-75, 94, 105-106), illustrating both quality of the craft and artistic use of symbols to communicate meaning; the artwork exuded respect. In the other series, images of Native Americans by the well-known artist George Catlin seemed to center around the stereotypical role of hunting and the pervasive image of teepees, although the full range of Catlin's work extends beyond these images (Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991d, pp. 132-133).

The narrative framework of Houghton Mifflin's America Will Be begins with and emphasizes Native Americans (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991a, p. 1), focuses on the United States as a nation of many peoples and cultures (p. 1a), allows for discussion of the need among diverse groups for political strength and acceptance as immigrants, acknowledges different types of immigrants (voluntary and involuntary) (p. 26), highlights ethnic and age diversity through U.S. maps (pp. 35, 39), and also maps the loss of American Indian land.
The concept of history itself is considered (p. 60), and the idea of studying history as a way to understand the world and empathize with others (p. 70). The Age of Exploration is dealt with in the larger context of the European desire for wealth, the extension of trade (p. 102) and the suffering, exploitation, and enslavement endured by the American Indian (pp. 122, 169, 172). This narrative framework and larger perspective are significant for their potential as alternatives to a European-centered understanding of history.

Discussions of ethical content and behavior are addressed in lessons about caring for others and are common in more than one series. These are few in number and typically do not address complex issues. They mostly note the need to work together and care for others in a group or family. Ethics beyond the family arena or a few good deeds are not addressed.

Cognitive and Affective Learning Processes

The degree to which a text series deals with experiential or value-oriented learning and higher level thinking was also found to be a core variable. Methods and activities judged likely to achieve multicultural goals (Alter, 1992) were found in the Houghton Mifflin series. Other series failed to supply significant numbers of reflective questions in regular lessons and neglected opportunities to engage students in more active learning.

The absence of instruction relating to higher level thinking is striking. In the Macmillan series, rote learning in a flag lesson example was repeated at several different grade levels with no new information (Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991a, pp. 138-139; Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991b, pp. 272-273; Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991c, p. 192-195; Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991d, pp. 152-153). Such lessons were virtually identical and apparently were not intended to teach understanding about the pledge or the symbolic meaning of the flag, but to condition national pride. A focus on the external image instead of on deeper meaning is evident in the following questions: “What are the three colors in our flag? What color are the stripes? How many stripes are on the flag? What color are the stars? How many stars does the flag have? What do the stars stand for? What does pledge mean? What does allegiance mean” (Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991c, p. 153). A Houghton Mifflin example provides an alternative approach by presenting different representations of the U.S. flag over time and summarizing in this way: “Whatever form the flag took, it has always stood for a single nation that believes in ‘liberty and justice for all’” (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991b, p. 228).

Superficial use of content is readily observable in the Macmillan series. For example, one lesson objective of “Our Country’s Birthday”
(Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991a, pp. 142-143; Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991c, p. 144) is to learn about Fourth of July activities. Students may discuss watching fireworks, going to parades, and having picnics, but they learn nothing about the holiday’s meaning apart from the idea that it is the country’s birthday. In contrast, a lesson from Houghton Mifflin, “An Immigrant on July 4” (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991b, p. 222), deals with the complexity of being a citizen and describes what this country means to a young immigrant.

Another example from Macmillan contains rote level questions: “What kind of clothes are the Pilgrims/Indians [sic] wearing? Where are they eating the feast? What kind of furniture are they using? What kind of food are they eating? How are the Pilgrims cooking their food” (Beyer, Craven, McFarland, & Parker, 1991a, p. 135). These questions lead to a lesson on arranging a place setting at a table. In contrast, lessons from Houghton Mifflin include objectives and activities such as the following: “Identify the original Native American groups who lived in your community. Describe the way of life of the original Native American group or groups. If there are any Native Americans in your class or in your community, invite them to speak on their heritage and their pride in it” (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991b, p. 90) and “Role play different aspects of the Cheyenne way of life, such as hunting buffaloes, putting up a teepee, preparing food such as pemmican, curing buffalo hides, and drying buffalo meat. Encourage students to use the information...and additional research to make their skits as accurate as possible” (p. 83).

The Houghton Mifflin series contains examples of learning activities that draw upon more in-depth and multicultural content, while providing more engaging tools and methods (e.g., quality graphic organizers for critical thinking, role play, reflection upon literature) than could be identified in the other series. No other series made use of higher level reflection, although Silver Burdett-Ginn did include lessons involving higher level thinking in special citizenship sections. The misuse of methodological terms was also observable where, for example, cooperative learning activities were viewed as synonymous with student group work. Activities at a significant cognitive level of learning were rare outside of Houghton Mifflin. It should be stated, however, that Macmillan does supply an activity book in addition to the teacher’s manual, one that was not part of this analysis and may contain additional higher level activities.

Overall, global humanistic perspectives, where they were present, were connected with more in-depth, accurate and adequate content, and equally substantive learning processes. Perspectives, content, and processes operated as one.
The findings of this study imply the need for changes already articulated by numerous insightful, serious, and committed researchers, teachers, curriculum developers, administrators, citizens, and students. In educational literature from many disciplines, a common agenda for change toward a more democratic society and a more democratic social education has begun to take shape. Of course, vested interests and the inability or unwillingness of the privileged to acknowledge these realities create opposition to equity and justice and to a diverse and caring community. In spite of this, the call for a just society with an authentic democratic community is capturing the interest of compassionate and open educators and activists.

Several critical areas for change parallel the findings in this study; for example, the scope of community (national or global and multicultural) and the question of whose knowledge and perspectives are taught. Peter McLaren writes forcefully about the effect of we-they thinking upon the process of research and consequently upon its results as authenticated knowledge: "The notion of 'otherness' and 'difference'...[has been used] as a means of culturally annexing 'those people' for the benefit of exalting and monumentalizing 'us''" (Estrada & McLaren, 1993, p. 33). McLaren confirms that research can become revelatory and liberating instead of invasive and oppressive, although it must overcome a legacy in which research practices have been "informed by the most hideous forms of racism, sexism and violence—especially directed toward people of color, women, and the poor" (p. 33).

Research can support the development of much needed correctives: (a) more inclusive knowledge, (b) more authentic images and identities, (c) varied and validated perspectives on events and issues, and (d) the differentiation of concepts such as citizen and consumer; democracy and capitalism; democratic ideals and cultural realities; the common good and social inequality, domination, and exploitation; the social construction of knowledge and truth; and immorality and complicity.

Beyond the rethinking of content, concepts, perspectives, assumptions, and identity, ethics and values must be made explicit in the curriculum. "We can, as Cornel West suggests, promote non-market values such as love, care, justice, equality, sacrifice, communal accountability, and moral responsibility to disadvantaged groups" (Estrada & McLaren, 1993, p. 31).

Few persons in control of the information exchange which takes place in classrooms, from textbook publishers to
classroom teachers, actively engage students in activities and discussions that provide positive counterdefinitions to those portrayed in the curriculum and in the larger social and cultural context (Estrada & McLaren, 1993, p. 27).

Regarding the cognitive and affective processes and the active and experiential learning often neglected, democratic education and its commitment to shared authority can bring about authentic learning. As classrooms are transformed, students and teachers must adjust to new roles, skills, and goals and reject the conditioned pattern of memorization and the concept of the teacher as sole authority. Many sources detailing practical examples of teachers who have achieved a transformed elementary social studies are available (Alter, 1994a; Berman & LaFarge, 1993; Bigelow, Christensen, Karp, Miner, Peterson, Levine, & Miller, 1994).

Conclusions

New frameworks for elementary social studies must model revised understandings of who we are and can be as individuals, citizens, and communities. Texts continue to reinforce past ideologies that no longer fit our global society. Global perspectives without accompanying moral concerns for community, however, can contribute to continued inequity as well. As authentic, democratic community is sought, the central organizer of the expanding communities can become transformed into diverse, caring communities connected at the deep level of shared values and commitments.

In this context, issues of social injustice and inequity can be addressed as the priority concerns that they are, and methods and processes utilizing in-depth and authentic content can provide for higher level reasoning, valuing, and action so that students engage in more community and real world learning. The use of critical theory in the retelling of our history and politics, the search for common values, and the challenge to develop a caring curriculum as we restructure our schools and society (Alter, 1994b; Etzioni, 1993; Gagnon, 1987, 1989; Goodman, 1992; Karst, 1989; Kidder, 1994; Kung & Kuschel, 1993; Loewen, 1995; Noddings, 1992; Parenti, 1994; Takaki, 1993; Wachtel, 1989; Zinn, 1980, 1984, 1990) will not be accomplished easily; however, the foundations have been laid by understandings of educational community in the various literatures of democratic education, critical pedagogy, and multicultural education. The political timing may be right for a real change, and the NCSS standards can pave the way for this change as a vision of diverse, caring community guides their implementation.
References


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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOK NOTES

Celebrating Diversity: An Introduction


Review by ELAINE M. STOTKO, Assistant Dean, College of Education, University of Delaware.

Geneva Gay's *At the Essence of Learning: Multicultural Education* was commissioned by Kappa Delta Pi as the first in a new series of biennial volumes exploring critical issues in education. This book, which reflects Kappa Delta Pi's two-year study on the theme "Celebrating Diversity" was designed to challenge educators to think about issues associated with multicultural education and about responses to these issues.

With regard to current reform efforts in education, Gay discusses the increasing diversity of our nation's schools and proposes that many tenets of these reforms should be recast in the terminology of multicultural education. Gay holds that multicultural teaching is synonymous with good teaching, and this volume serves as both an introduction and an advocacy piece for multicultural teaching. She discusses both the theoretical and practical aspects of multicultural education, from controversial political issues to methods for examining one's own attitudes and understanding about good teaching and multicultural education, and notes that critics of multicultural education range from those who are skeptical about its successful implementation in the classroom to those who see it as an overarching threat to quality education.

Advocates also hold varying ideas about what multicultural education encompasses, but most agree that it must be viewed as more than cultural trivia; that is, cultural diversity and multicultural education should not be limited only to special events or celebrations (e.g., Black History Month) or to certain subject areas such as social studies or the fine arts. In addition, such instruction should not be reserved only for "minority" students, since all students can benefit from learning about the contributions that culturally diverse groups and individuals have made to our culture and to humankind.
What does multicultural education entail, then, for classroom practice? In the preface, Gay notes that the greatest challenge of education today is to ensure success for all children. Throughout the book she reiterates the point that the only way to reach this goal is, in fact, to treat each child differently. If the student is truly the center of good educational practice, then we must allow each child to draw from his/her unique experience to make meaning of school and the world. Educators must understand that many different factors determine the construction of each child’s identity, values, and abilities; this in turn must be reflected in teachers’ decisions regarding instructional practice. As Gay states: “Using the same techniques and procedures to teach students who learn in different ways ensures inequity of learning opportunities and outcomes” (p. 126).

Although the volume discusses classroom practice, it is not a ‘cookbook’ of instructional strategies. Instead, it moves from various principles of teaching and learning (everyone has a right to a free and public education; relevant teaching methods and materials increase learning) to a restatement of these principles in the terminology of multicultural education (the public is culturally pluralistic; multicultural content, experiences, and perspectives improve learning for culturally different students). Gay, however, does offer suggestions for ways to build upon the differences present in our classrooms and help students better understand diversity, and she includes many references to sources for further reading and additional information on instructional strategies.

For educators new to the ideas of multicultural education, this volume carefully frames the debate. The text and exercises invite the reader to explore his/her own attitudes toward multicultural education within the context of current educational practice. This text was not created to include practical suggestions; however, the supplementary materials that Gay cites throughout the text are helpful to teachers searching for specific instructional strategies.
ESSAY REVIEW

Forging a Human Alliance


Review by JOSIAH TLOU and CORNEL MORTON, Virginia Tech University.

Cornel West’s book, Race Matters, is a collection of eight short essays on vital themes central to the African American experience: nihilism in black America, black rage, crisis in black leadership, the taboo of black sexuality, black/Jewish relations, homophobia, politics, and affirmative action. The essays form a cohesive and concerted intellectual attack on consumer-driven, American culture, and on the American obsession with sex and self-gratification. West depicts a self-indulgent culture where individual gratification is prized over group values and the humanity of people. The result, he claims, is despair, abandonment of the community, and ultimately lawlessness.

In his introduction, West skillfully sets the stage by describing cultural chaos and racial conflict as indicators of the spiritual impoverishment of society as a whole. For West, the lack of true dialogue and frank discussion on race issues tends to distort the problem, and “people have failed to confront the complexity of the issue in a candid and critical manner. The predictable pitting of liberals against conservatives, great society Democrats against self-help Republicans reinforces intellectual parochialism and political paralysis” (p. 4). Accordingly, West, like W. E. B. DuBois (1903) almost a century ago, notes that both liberals and conservatives view African Americans as ‘problem’ people.

West’s critique of contemporary American society leads him to question the sincerity of current political responses; he finds them too timid, too confining, and too limited in their possibilities for resolving this national challenge. West observes that both liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans have formulated their positions based upon white perspectives:

For liberals black people are to be ‘included’ and ‘integrated’ into ‘our’ society and culture, while for conservatives they are to be ‘well-behaved’ if ‘worthy of acceptance’ by ‘our’ way of life. Both fail to see that the
presence and predicaments of black people are neither additions to nor defections from American life, but rather constitutive elements of that life (p. 6).

The implication is that only certain Americans can define what it means to be American and the rest, including blacks, must simply fit in. (Corollary to this, if blacks don’t like it here, they can go back to Africa.) Hence, white America has been weak willed historically about ensuring racial justice and “has continued to resist fully accepting the humanity of blacks” (p. 7).

Deprivation of humanity in the black community has led to a loss of hope, to an absence of self-love and love of others, to a breakdown of family and neighborhood bonds, and to “social deracination and cultural denudement of urban dwellers, especially children” (p. 9). Accordingly, this situation has created rootless, dangling people with little link to the supportive networks—family, friends, school—that sustained some sense of purpose in life. In the past, American communities have been sustained by a spiritual force that helped them to face despair, disease, and death. That spiritual and moral force that was handed down through the generations, dignity and decency, excellence and elegance has disappeared (pp. 9-10).

In his discussion, West asserts that the root cause of this predicament and crisis is the emergence of the post-industrial city—a postmodern culture that is increasingly “a market culture dominated by gangster mentalities and self-destructive wantonness” (p. 10). No one can escape the postmodern culture phenomenon, but it has had a greater impact on the disadvantaged and has resulted for them in extreme violence on a daily basis, creating a “nihilistic threat to [society’s] very existence” (p. 19). West utilizes what he terms a Christian prophetic tradition to expose and critique modes of domination within American society. He argues that such a tradition combines moral reasoning with fundamental ideas of mature black identity, coalition strategy, and black cultural democracy, and links concepts of self-love and self-respect with the moral quality of black responses to racist degradation in the American past and present. In Race Matters, West capably illustrates a wide range of complex issues and applies salient ideas to confront, embrace, and digest the multiplicities of postmodern life as it relates to African American experiences.

In perhaps one of the most insightful discussions in the book, West effectively exposes the limitations of both conservatives and liberals in solving the so-called problem of black people. Conservatives
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place too much weight on the myth of self-reliance and fall into the trap of blaming the victim, while liberals believe in an environmental determinism that does not allow for personal agency. Both positions fail to provide useful solutions for our contemporary problems. For West, both liberalism and conservatism rely upon an expanding capitalist economy which by definition produces an underclass, disenfranchised politically and economically. Hence, he suggests a radical and fundamental change in American economic and social life, far beyond what either liberals or conservatives conceive. West echoes the warnings of French political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville (1956) regarding ideas that purportedly possess “all the characteristics of a Divine decree” (pp. 289-290). De Tocqueville identified and discussed the principle of equality more than 160 years ago in his classic work Democracy in America. In it, he points out that the principles of equality are not divine, but are diabolical instead, because they dissolve social and religious bonds. The consequences of such dissolution are manifest in the American political scene today and reflected in such reactions of conservative politicians as the recent Contract with America.

De Tocqueville also writes that democratic people love equality; the more equal they become, the more they love equality. He further contends that citizens will turn to the central government to remove inequities because solutions at other levels are likely to cause delays and to be incomplete. As people become more equal, they become more individualistic and apathetic about civic matters. To de Tocqueville, individualism is a pejorative term commonly understood as self-centeredness. In the end, the equality principle impoverishes social life and heightens self-preoccupation.

West, however, finds more potential in a liberal position that advocates equality and equity. He also finds the concept of equality still very limited because it has failed to produce a realistic response to an economy changing to benefit all groups in America. According to Mark Sanders (1994), West also views the liberal agenda as a failure in terms of the recent economic transformation, particularly with regard to the globalization of capital and markets and the shrinking industrial complex, all of which have sidestepped the American social agenda. West suggests that black recovery and survival must be wedded to a comprehensive economic, political, and cultural reconstruction, one that reconciles a more equitable, socialist relationship between labor and wealth. Since the former Soviet Union failed in its attempt to implement a socialist agenda, we wonder if West’s prescription requires some modification; yet his message is provocative to anyone who is sensitive to this challenge to the nation’s social climate.

West has, in our opinion, successfully analyzed the condition of black America, but he has failed to place his conception of black
nihilism within a political and historical context. For him, black nihilism is the "despair and dread that now floods the streets of black America" (p. 19); however, he has not discussed the convergent series of dynamics that have created this nihilistic condition. He fails, for example, to mention the ways that contemporary American capitalism has worked to create a consumer-oriented culture while black institutions that co-exist within the larger society are undermined by forces "sometimes in partnership with an aggressive market economy" (Sanders, 1994, p. 649).

West does explain the underlying reasons for the urban migration to suburbia which has left America’s inner cities without resources, a drain that creates economic hardship resulting from a low tax base and that highlights the problem of despair in many inner city communities. Because he does not address or discuss, however, critical changes in the post-industrial era, crucial differences in the tax base structure for urban and some suburban areas, or the enormous impact of media upon popular consciousness, we wonder, like Sanders (1994), if this analysis can lead to new ideas about chronic problems based on race. West's tendency to reduce critical problems to the simplest terms is inadequate for dealing with the myriad complexities of postmodern black life.

Concerning the issue of an unequal system for acquiring wealth and power based upon a political and economic system that perpetuates disparity, West fails to investigate or discuss closely the ways that each of us is implicated in these systems regardless of our individual distinctions and, hence, the ways we tacitly perpetuate such disparity by not involving ourselves more in its removal. Given the larger society's lack of resolve in reducing poverty and obvious inequity, we need to promote meaningful dialogue/conversation centered on the eradication of these problems. West does correctly point out the shortcomings of the national debate about race. With a conservative assault aimed at dismantling what remains of the great society programs, we observe a stall in progress associated with a more socially just agenda, one that is consistent with an apparent rightward shift in the political mood of the country's middle class.

In the chapters "Demystifying the New Black Conservatives" and "Crisis of Black Leadership", West describes how black conservatives such as Thomas Sowell in Race and Economics have attacked traditional black liberal ideas. According to West, "Sowell's book signified something new—a bid for conservative hegemony in black political and intellectual leadership in the post-civil rights era" (p. 74). West also illustrates vividly how issues and events such as the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings, the 1993 uprising in Los Angeles, the recent crisis in national black leadership, and the daily conditions of black, inner city life have conspired to create the realities
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of racial hatred, violence, and human pain that predicate a meaningless and nihilistic culture.

The confirmation hearings of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas made clear the comingling of race, class, and gender in American society. Toni Morrison (1992) calls for a critical discussion on the same event: "For the kind of insight that invites reflection, language must be critiqued" (p. xi). In her words, "frustrating language, devious calls to arms, and ancient inflammatory codes deployed to do their weary work of obfuscation, short circuiting, evasion, and distortion" (p. ix) are symptomatic of what ails America. West’s analysis in Race Matters suggests the extent to which the politics of complicity influence how Americans of all persuasions, liberals as well as conservatives, think and talk about racial issues. He points out that racial discourse has been undermined by “traditional liberal and conservative rhetoric” and he attempts to offer a postmodern analysis with new insights into contemporary race relations.

West also addresses black anti-Semitism as well as Jewish antiblack racism, and shows how both are imbedded in the history of American race relations. Despite recent tragic results, African and Jewish Americans have common histories of oppression and degradation. These experiences should provide common ground for forging a genuine alliance. Indeed, in the 1960s the civil rights movement provided the motivation for such comradeship. According to West, however, “few blacks recognize and acknowledge one fundamental fact of Jewish history, that is, European hatred of Jews as Christ killers and resentment based upon perceived disproportionate presence of Jews in certain commercial occupations” (p. 105). This religious bigotry feeds the stereotypes of Jews as villains and alleged conspirators plotting control of economic and political power. On the other hand, some Jewish “resistance to affirmative action and government spending on social programs pits some Jews against black progress” (p. 107). Some Jewish groups also view black leaders such as Louis Farrakhan and John Jeffries as basically anti-Semitic because of their past support of radical Islamic groups that oppose the state of Israel.

In reconstructing the Clarence Thomas hearings, West faults both Thomas and Anita Hill for their support of the “unbridled capitalist market forces—that saw the redistribution of wealth from working people to well-to-do people through deregulation and taxes” (p. 45). He is particularly critical of Thomas, whom he regards as self-promoting and unscrupulous. In a speech to a conservative audience in San Francisco, Thomas described his sister Emma Mae as a “welfare cheat” (in West, p. 40), a comment that revealed a “lack of integrity and character dealing with his sister’s condition” (p. 40). West articulates his disappointment in black leaders who acquiesced and
were delinquent in their duty to question Bush's tokenist appointment of Thomas, a choice reinforcing mediocrity. West suggests that many blacks rallied around Thomas simply because of his race, even after Thomas' assertion that the proceedings were nothing more than a "high tech lynching" (in West, p. 41). On this point West writes:

If black leaders had taken a prophetic framework of moral reasoning rather than a narrow framework of racial reasoning, the debate of the Clarence Thomas/Anita Hill hearings would have proceeded in quite a different manner in black America (p. 44).

West distances himself from his own experiences regarding race issues except in the preface, where he shares a personal experience from his days at Williams College and Princeton University. He recalls the following:

Years ago, while driving from New York to teach at Williams College, I was stopped on fake charges of trafficking cocaine. When I told the police officer I was a professor of religion, he replied, "Yeah, and I am the Flying Nun. Let's go, nigger!"...I was stopped three times in my first 10 days at Princeton for driving too slowly on a residential street with a speed of 25 miles per hour (p. xv).

Throughout the book West refrains from making his own experiences central. He simply calls his views progressive, and attacks American society for its lack of moral leadership in dealing with the deplorable impact of race relations. He laments the fact that the debate has been stifled by the positions taken by both liberals and conservatives because neither political party has the will to resolve the race issue. According to West, both parties would rather avoid the issue and pretend it did not exist.

West further notes that racism is not simply an intellectual problem that can be confronted through arguments but also a problem of the soul. The "chance for conversion rests neither on an agreement about what justice consists of nor on an analysis of how racism, sexism, or class subordination operate. Such arguments and analyses are indispensable. But a politics of conversion requires more" (p. 29). For West, new ways of thinking and talking about race are required, ones that lead to social change and transformations in "one's own affirmation of one's worth—an affirmation fueled by the concern of others. A love ethic must be at the center of a political conversion" (p. 19).

On the whole, Race Matters is provocative and informative. West engages us with stimulating ideas and even-handed criticism. His
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analysis is lucid and engaging, and provides us with a powerful moral message that speaks to the tradition of the 1960s civil rights movement—disruptive and expansive public discourse highlighted by leadership and grounded in moral and prophetic reasoning. In the final chapter, West demystifies Malcolm X and credits him as a "prophet of black rage" (p. 136). He points out that

young blacks are up against forces of death, destruction, and disease unprecedented in the everyday life of black urban people. The raw reality of drugs and guns, despair and decrepitude generates a raw rage that among past black spokespersons, only Malcolm X's speech approximates" (p. 149).

West has given us a bold and progressive vision with an agenda for forging a critically important human alliance. His admonition that we stand together to combat repressive forces and paralyzing pessimism or suffer separately from the vicious effects of our racial divide is the challenge he issues to a nation in need of prophetic vision. In West's own words, "in these downbeat times, we need as much hope and courage as we do vision and analysis....We must accent the best of each other even as we point out each other's shortcomings" (p. 159).

References
INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

*Theory and Research in Social Education* is designed to stimulate and communicate systematic research and thinking in social education. Its purpose is to foster the creation and exchange of ideas and research findings that will expand knowledge about purposes, conditions, and effects of schooling and education about society and social relations.

Conceptualizations and research from all of the social sciences, philosophy, history, and the arts are needed in clarifying thinking and practice in social education. Manuscripts are welcomed on topics such as those that follow:

- Purposes of social education;
- Models, theories, and related frameworks concerning the development, diffusion, and adoption of curricular materials;
- Instructional strategies;
- The relation of the social sciences, philosophy, history and/or the arts to social education;
- Alternative social organizations and utilizations of the school for social education;
- Comparative studies of alternative models of social education;
- Models of and research on alternative schemata for student participation and social action;
- Relationship of different pre- and in-service patterns of teacher training to social education;
- Models of the utilization of objectives in social education and related research findings;
- Implications of learning theory, child development research, socialization and political socialization research for the purposes and practice of social education;
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