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A sociological study of the manifestation of multi-culturalism in public schools

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A sociological study of the manifestation of multi-culturalism in public schools

Hammer, Christy Lee, Ph.D.

University of New Hampshire, 1994

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A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE MANIFESTATION OF MULTI-CULTURALISM
IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

BY

CHRISTY L. HAMMER
B.A., University of New Hampshire, 1985
M.A., University of New Hampshire, 1987

DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of

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in

Sociology
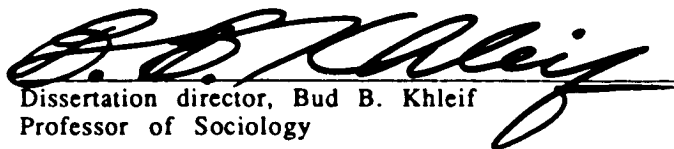
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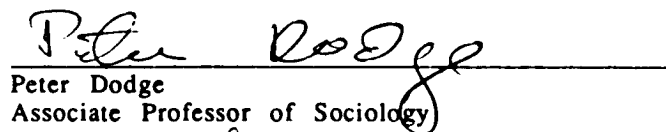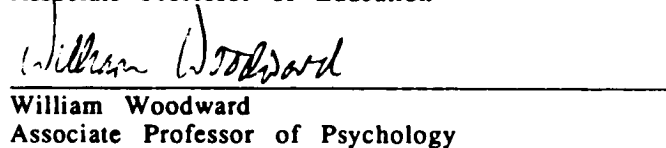
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MAY 2, 1994
Date

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of Leslie Sartelle, one of my best friends. He lived in Epping, New Hampshire. He died March 6, 1994 at the age of 32 from complications from AIDS. It is heartbreaking to see a thirty-year old surrounded by the types of convalescent aids that you normally would expect to see with someone three times his age: a cane, walker, and a stool for the bathtub. His death was one of undescribable pain and suffering. At the end, we could no longer pump enough morphine into his body to take away the pain.
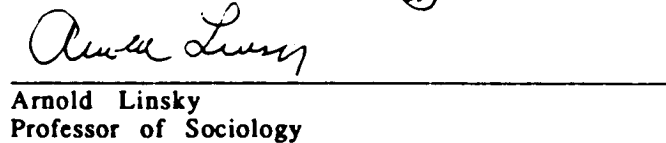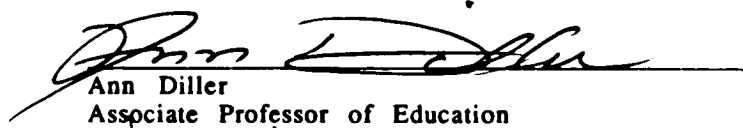
Les spent over ten years loving my best friend from childhood, Scott Clark. Scott and Les had the kind of beautiful relationship that we dream about: every day through all those years they could hardly wait to see each other at the end of the day.

I am convinced that those who oppose sex education and the availability of contraception in schools have not yet had a loved one die of this horrible disease. Bless the soul of Les, as well as the soul of blind and righteous idiots who have publicly expressed "tiredness" at dealing with the issue of AIDS and say that "no one gets this disease unless they ask for it."

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the people in my life who helped me, directly and indirectly, finish this work. My parents, Roger and Nancy Hammer, provided strong support throughout my graduate studies. Other friends, colleagues, and various "significant others" have been helpful and supportive as well: John Provencher, Scott Clark, Joan Schwartz, Dr. Robert Goodby, Dr. Donna Kerner, Nancy Grimes, Sue McKevitt, Jo-Ann Miller, Dr. Judy Fillion, Dr. Dan Santoro, and Rudy and Doris Dusek.

My deepest gratitude, love and affection is reserved solely for Dr. R. Valentine Dusek, my husband. It has been immeasurably invaluable to have a loved one that is so brilliant: he enthusiastically engaged me in many different discussions on the various topics treated within this work. His encouragement and gentleness never wavered. He is also a patient proof-reader.

Lastly, I would like to thank my committee members, Chairperson Professor Bud B. Khleif, Professor Peter Dodge, Professor Arnold Linsky, Professor Ann Diller, and Professor William Woodward. Professor Khleif's care and concern for his many graduate students and their work is legendary, and much appreciated in my case.

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ABSTRACT

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE MANIFESTATION OF
MULTI-CULTURALISM IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS
b y

Christy L. Hammer
University of New Hampshire, May, 1994

Debates on multi-culturalism are prevalent in politics, the mass media, and the educational system. I identify the range of local and national views concerning multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education, and explore how these views are manifest in actual multi-cultural practices in the schools. My central thesis is that the implementation of multi-culturalism in the schools threatens core, traditional values functional to the power structure. Yet, effective, quality multi-cultural education does takes place. This reveals a contradiction between the needs of the Nation-State to maintain certain core values and the need for multi-culturalism by international capitalism.

I have explored multi-cultural issues in New Hampshire through teacher surveys and interviews. Many educators support multi-cultural education but say that it is not yet needed in New Hampshire. A broad range of views are found in both educational trade journals and the popular press. Two major multi-cultural issues in the U.S. are described: bilingualism is explored as the first multi-cultural issue in New Hampshire, and, as the effect of the post-1492 European expansion into the New World is reexamined, the homage paid to Columbus within the school system is questioned.

Direct focus on the structure of oppression and on racism and sexism is largely absent in the writings on multi-culturalism that I have examined,

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particularly those for educators. Related topics I have explored are: the political correctness debate, cultural relativism, race relations and Afrocentric curriculum, the validity and inclusiveness of the Canon, "reverse" discrimination and affirmative action.

Obstacles to an understanding of the relationship of multi-culturalism to educational equity include: lack of public knowledge of civil rights laws in education, the role education plays in social reproduction, and the mystification of the structure of educational finance. My suggestions for future research include critical analysis of textbooks to determine both the focus on and avoidance of multi-culturalism and the perpetration of Eurocentrism in textbooks. Individualism is offered as one explanation for the scepticism towards multi-culturalism on the part of some teachers. I have made some recommendations for a true multi-cultural, gender-fair, and global education.

May, 1994

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CHAPTER 1

HOW POLITICS PERMEATE CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE: THE CASE OF

MULTI-CULTURALISM AND MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION

I am concerned in this work to find out what New Hampshire educators, as well as the general U.S. population, think of multi-cultural issues. Towards this end, I have conducted a survey of teachers on their views and follow the survey up with in-depth interviews of teachers. I also have conducted a content analysis of trade and layperson writings on multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education as well as review multi-cultural education curricula. I also am interested in determining what social factors influence teachers' perception of multi-cultural issues, and what effect various views have in the classroom.

In this chapter, I will introduce the issues which determine the scope of the project. Working hypotheses and assumptions are then laid out, followed by a review of the literature on multi-culturalism, multi-cultural education, and related topics. Next, the topic is placed in a sociological context, noting what concepts and theories will be pressed into service as multi-cultural issues are explored. Lastly, the specific research questions are enumerated, my methodology and data analysis are explained, and the scope and content of the remaining chapters are briefly described.

Introduction and Scope of the Project

In this sociological study, I view multi-culturalism as a contested cultural terrain, as a slightly delayed sequel to the social movements -- namely the Civil Rights Movements -- of the 1960s. I understand multi-culturalism as a

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national social and philosophical movement, reflected in multi-cultural education, that is, in actual school practices. My focus is on multi-cultural education in the State of New Hampshire, although I will also illustrate the broad range of different understandings of multi-culturalism in the U.S. The original contribution made by this work will lie in the insights I can offer concerning the particular situation with respect to multi-cultural education in New Hampshire and in the ways this particular situation can be related to the problem of multi-culturalism in general. The goal of this work is to explore what multi-culturalism means to people and to point to specific ways multi-cultural education can be implemented in New Hampshire.

The definitions of multi-cultural education often include the rationales for why multi-culturalism is incorporated in teaching and learning. The definitions also may include the methods of incorporating multi-culturalism in teaching and learning as multi-cultural education. The Northeast Consortium for Multicultural Education, at the Multicultural Education Working Conference held in New York, on February 1993 offered the following definition of multi-cultural education:

> An education which is multicultural is a lifelong process of
> learning and development that promotes mutual respect,
> excellence, and achievement for all by confronting historical
> and current inequities, fostering responsibility, productivity,
> and active participation in a diverse and evolving society.

Although this definition would apply to all sectors of society, much of the justification for multi-cultural education has to do with those settings such as New York and California where there are significant minority populations.

It should come as little surprise that the most controversial and contentious arguments over the implementation of newly multi-culturalized curriculum have occurred in those states with the highest minority

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populations. One argument, among the key issues in the debate, regards the legitimacy and alleged bias in the Canon. One of the more major issues raised in arguing that the Canon should be revised to include more people of color and females, has to do with the need of minority students to have material that affirms the value of their cultural identity. This issue is often couched in terms of self-esteem, and the argument is over the extent of the damage done by the Eurocentric Canon to the identity development of minority students.

For example, a New York court recently threw out a case filed by two sets of African-American parents claiming that the "racially discriminatory" curriculum their children were studying was damaging to their "self-esteem and ability to learn" because it was so Eurocentric. School Law News (October 8, 1993, p. 5) described this decision as the first precedent determining that anti-discrimination laws do not extend to curriculum materials, only to "equal access to equal educational materials." Issues raised by this court case -- such as the self-esteem and identity formation for both Anglo students and students of color -- are increasingly used in justifications in the literature for multi-cultural education.

However, there is a lack of literature specifically addressing the need for multi-cultural education in a community such as New Hampshire. This project will shed some light on the scope and nature of the need for multi-cultural education in a state with one of the lowest percentage of racial and ethnic minority students in the U.S. In New Hampshire, the argument for multi-cultural education would have to center on the need to have an education that prepares students for the world in which they actually will live, as well as the need to have an education that, in some respects, compensates for the relative homogeneity of the community. The literature review reveals

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that the most obvious area of concern over multi-cultural education has been that of how Eurocentric education negatively affects minorities. However, a second area of concern expressed in the literature (Hilliard 1988; Takaki 1993; Diop 1974) is the possible social, intellectual, psychological, and moral damage done to White students themselves by the standard Eurocentric education.

The argument for multi-cultural education generally comes from both Whites concerned that their children can function well in an increasingly diverse world as well as racial and ethnic minorities groups and females who clamor for their collective, cultural voices to be heard. However, in a location like New Hampshire, the rationale for multi-cultural education might need to center on the desire to avoid damage to White students by Eurocentric curricula. This is due not only because New Hampshire has so few, visible minority residents, but also because the assumption can be made (often falsely) that New Hampshire students do not need multi-cultural education because they will become adults in the same relatively homogeneous community where they are now going to school.

I need to examine this debate whether Eurocentric education self-affirms and legitimizes the privileges of White children a bit further. This question leads me to wonder whether this process results in White adults who possess negative personality attributes such as self-indulgence, selfishness, and a tendency towards bigotry and narrow-mindedness. The other side of this debate is over whether Eurocentric education damages the self-concept of White children in an important sense -- whether Eurocentric education creates and maintains delusions of White grandeur. (The same could be said about Androcentric education and the delusions of White males.) Children, as well as adults too often, tend to live both up and down in accordance with our

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perception of the expectations of the "Generalized Other." Damage can probably occur in either regard. What damage occurs to the self-concept of White males, for example, who are socialized with the expectation of becoming the conquistadors rulers, discoverers and innovators of the world? History books teach the White male that everything remarkable and immortal was done by White males.

It is hard to estimate the effect of this. As Khleif (1978, p. 65) says: "School texts present history as being only shaped by White men and ignore or falsify the roles played by various ethnic groups." Since Khleif specified "White men," he probably should have included that the roles played by females are often likewise "ignored" and "falsified." We can ask what kind of pressure and anti-social reactions this socialization might create. We can also ask what happens in the socialization of White children -- male and female -- in a place like New Hampshire where diversity is still exotic and rare, even if curricular materials are available to represent a more balanced view of a multi-cultural world.

Regardless of these debates, the survey and interview results frequently express a sentiment of New Hampshire educators that multi-cultural education is not needed here, at least not yet. (This also occurs, though less frequently, even in those schools with significant minority populations.) The underlying message is that when teachers stare back into enough eyes of darker-skinned students and so-called language minority students they will then both recognize and act on the need to incorporate some multi-cultural components into their curricula. There is no way of predicting whether this would indeed happen. Further, this criterion for determining the need for multi-cultural education is limiting as it depends completely and arbitrarily on the

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enlightenment and whim of the individual teacher. Lastly, since the population is half female, this sentiment completely leaves females out of the multi-cultural debate.

The work of social scientists and educators on the topic of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education needs to focus on several central problems. First, how does one develop sufficient motivation for multi-cultural education if the problem does not seem as urgent and immediate in a place like New Hampshire? Secondly, given that sufficient motivation occurs, what is the role of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education in places that lack a majority or near-majority of African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and/or Asian-Americans? And thirdly, what do the issues of gender contribute towards the determination of the role of multi-cultural education? By taking up the first question as the most central one, social science can contribute by making it clearer how to infuse a multi-cul'ural perspective in educational settings that involve primarily Whites living among Whites. Throughout this particular research project we will address this issue by providing multiple illustrations of how multi-cultural education is working in New Hampshire schools.

There are many different concepts of multi-cultural education held by lay-persons, teachers and academics that I have attempted to pull together here. Theories, concepts, and methods which might fall under the rubric of multi-cultural education seem to include: 1) global education, 2) world studies, 3) peace studies, 4) human rights education, 5) conflict resolution and crisis intervention education, 6) anti-prejudice education (e.g., anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-homophobic), 7) gender and/or women's studies, and, 8) cross-cultural education and cross-cultural communication. In K-12 education and

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in higher education, multi-cultural theories, concepts and methods might be present only in one or more of the areas commonly referred to as social studies (history, sociology, anthropology, economics, political science, geography) or in English or literature courses. Multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education might also be found in developmental psychology, philosophy, environmental education, and law-related education. Throughout this work, the attempt is to maintain the broadest definition of multi-culturalism while identifying and analyzing different conceptualizations.

Some definitions of multi-cultural education seem synonymous with so-called global education. However, multi-cultural education is not identical with global education. One difference appears to be that global education is frequently more evident in social studies, such as in the "new geography" and "backyard history" movements. The "new geography" essentially stresses political geography rather than just memorizing the locations of nations. Although that, too, is quite important, the "new geography" takes memorization as only the first step in learning about geo-political issues. The "backyard history" movement stresses the connection of history with biography and with autobiography. In order to made history more real and meaningful to students, a "backyard history" project might start with an exploration of part of their own family's past, then provide a broader context of local and regional historical detail.

Multi-cultural education efforts are often more psychological and emotional than global education, stressing the "three F's" (Food, Fun, and Festival) of "tourist" curriculum. Some criticisms of multi-cultural education focus on this "tourist" curriculum approach, particularly as part of the claims that multi-cultural education is hyper-sensitized "political correctness." Mako

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Nakagawa, in a keynote speech at a Washington D.C. conference on Civil Rights in Education on December 9, 1993, said that multi-cultural education needs to move beyond just "tacos on Tuesday and fried rice on Friday." Both multi-cultural education and global education stress the "shrinking global village" ideology, but in different ways. In this project I will attempt to sort out different definitions of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education -- whether they compete with or complement each other.

The scope of this work will include an analysis of both perennial and current issues crucial to the understanding of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. These include:

1) how teachers understand multi-culturalism. This includes the role of teacher education in emphasizing certain philosophical positions opposed to multi-cultural thinking, such as Western individualism;

2) what multi-cultural education entails. This includes analysis of both pedagogical and curricular trends in education which generally fall under the broad umbrella of multi-cultural education, such as cooperative learning strategies;

3) the state of race relations, both globally and nationally. This includes the intensified debate around affirmative action including the tenacious mis-understandings of affirmative action. I am interested in the role this misunderstanding has in our collective attitudes towards multi-culturalism. This analysis will also include a socio-historical analysis of the civil rights legislation on education and the debates on the meaning of inclusion and of equal educational opportunity versus equal educational outcomes, and the current nonchalance with civil rights law interpretation and enforcement;

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4) the political correctness/free speech debate and movements. This includes the contentious recognition of and naming of so-called "hate crimes," particularly those that stem from racial and sexual bias. Also included here is attention to how political correctness and the intensified debate in late twentieth-century academia over the "canon" has re-framed the cultural and philosophical relativism/absolutism arguments;

5) the recent assertion that the roots of Western Civilization originated in Africa. This includes the so-called "Black Athena" argument or thesis which concerns the influence of Africa on Greek culture. It also includes the reception by the educational community of the most race-referenced of multi-cultural curriculum -- that which is "Afrocentric" in nature; and,

6) the lack of knowledge about the political economy of education and the structure of educational finance. This involves examining the light that social reproduction theory and the economic analysis of education sheds on the issues of multi-cultural education in particular.

These will be the issues for exploration in this dissertation.

Hypotheses and Assumptions

Several hypotheses and assumptions have emerged to guide this work. These are based on observations and knowledge acquired from four years' worth of reading and working on the issue of multi-cultural education and multi-culturalism. They include:

1. The desire for, the perceived need and usefulness of, and the actual implementation of multi-cultural education curriculum and pedagogy

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by teachers are associated with their perception of multi-culturalism and the issues which surround it. For instance, a preliminary review of multi-cultural articles from education trade journals suggests that there is a pervasive perception that multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education are closely associated with highly political and activistic ideology, namely Leftist. This is related to the perception of multi-cultural history as "revisionist" and opportunistic rather than as corrective or as "righting the record." There is contention over the concept of "inclusion" with respect to educational opportunities and curriculum. This contention is strong among classroom teachers as well as among those who influence policy decisions regarding civil rights issues in the schools. This is a confusing debate for some teachers and a frightening one for others.

2. Since educational activities have strong political resonance, social phenomena of political relevance (e.g., "political correctness," affirmative action, the "Black Athena Thesis," etc.) will influence educator perception and practice of multi-cultural education. These national issues build upon and interact with the local influence of living in the "Deep North" of New Hampshire. The particular way New Hampshire citizens (and educators) understand the issues at hand is determined by their own lived experiences of race and ethnicity in the community. For example, the legacy of the struggles of Franco-Canadian immigrants to retain their cultural heritage found in the bilingual education movement in New Hampshire have lent their own particular twist to educators' understanding and use of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. This is because bilingualism

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is historically the only form of multi-cultural education heavily debated in New Hampshire.

3. An undercurrent exists of general distrust and suspicion of multi-cultural ideas and concepts. This arises from confusion, political maneuvering and image-making around issues of inclusion and civil rights. For example, even many liberals now misunderstand civil rights laws involving principles of affirmative action as "quota" laws which demand the hiring of less-qualified women and people of color over more-qualified white males. Another related example is the misperception and confusion between educational opportunity and educational outcomes. Civil rights laws only cover opportunity, not outcomes. It was over exactly this issue that President Clinton decided to withdraw the nomination of Lani Guinier to a high civil rights position. Guinier spoke out against the adequacy and fairness of a set of laws which do not concern themselves with the differential academic outcomes associated with racial and other minority groups, but rather concern themselves merely with the appearances that educational opportunities to achieve positive outcomes are not denied. In addition, educators remember how, at the 1992 GOP Convention, Pat Buchanan specifically characterized multi-culturalism as a social ill; an evil malady of complete relativistic hedonism and self-serving hype. The way race relations, the politics of inclusion, and civil rights debates play out in the American consciousness necessarily impacts the ways multi-culturalism is understood and the way multi-cultural education is used.

4. There exists ignorance, misunderstanding of, and a general lack of

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attention paid to the influence of ethnic and racial groups (not to mention gender or socio-economic groups) in the development of Western Civilization. There exists, likewise, ignorance and misunderstanding of the interplay of ethnicity, race, gender, and socio-economic status in the history of Western Civilization. This ignorance -- intentional or otherwise -- serves to reinforce the notions of racial inferiority and underlies eugenic thinking and the intellectual industry of scientific racism. This misunderstanding of the role of racial and ethnic groups in Western history also underscores the belief that civil rights, multi-culturalism, and multi-cultural education are neo-liberal remedies. Multi-culturalism is viewed merely as helping those who are less endowed with the full human capacities and potentials possessed by the European White male to join in the "American Dream."

Race and ethnicity still have a confused and confusing relationship in the minds of many Americans. As Ron Takaki points out, in the U.S., *"race...has been a social construction that has historically set apart racial minorities from European immigrant groups.* Contrary to the notions of scholars like Nathan Glazer and Thomas Sowell, *"race in America has not been the same as ethnicity"* (1993, p. 10, emphasis added). Takaki notes that the ruling class has been successful in writing in -- ideologically and historically -- race, specifically Whiteness, into the U.S. national identity. This view or illusion will surely affect educators' perception of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education.

5. Fear and anger on the part of educators affect their understanding

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and use of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. The fear is one of "them getting us," personally and economically: xenophobia, in short. The anger is from the frustration, confusion, and anxiety that typically come with re-examining one's own educational process. For educators, this process includes the teaching of the triumph of the individual's identity over the group identities and the social distinctions we make on account of those identities and affiliations. This process also includes the tenacious belief in the cultural deficit models for our educational theories and practices.

Phrases like "cultural deficit," "culture of poverty," and "multi-cultural" may share the underlying assumption that some cultures are better -- more advanced and civilized -- than others. Culture -- whether that be defined as race, sex, ethnicity, nationality or religion -- is used as a weapon in this way to sort, categorize, and even to rank groups of people in order to legitimate differential access to resources. Hence, while culture appears like a neutral word refering to identity and ethnicity, it is also used as a weapon to maintain the structure of power relations.

Educators seem largely unaware of this use of culture as a weapon. Mostly, educators are angry and confused that multi-cultural thinking and teaching are undermining their attention to the individual. They consider this individual to be magically devoid of characteristics such as sex and race. Many teachers and school administrators have expressed to me the sentiment that "We treat 'em and teach 'em all the same. It makes no difference if the students are male or female, black or white." The education of the teachers is

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usually mainstream, non-critical, and heavily steeped in Western individualism. This results in trepidation over what the truth is and resistance to examining their own assumptions. The relationship of a teacher's knowledge and viewpoint about aspects of the relativism debate and "political correctness" to the understanding and use of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education is tempered by the individualistic and apolitical nature of teacher education.

6. The understanding and use of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education is correlated with teachers' significant (and sometimes total) lack of knowledge and familiarity with multi-cultural materials. Many educators have no knowledge of the fact that for every Afro-centric curriculum package available there are very many others which stress the need to recognize and build on human diversity in the U.S. in order to compete in the shrinking global village in much more generic and less political ways. Major multi-national corporations like IBM and Xerox are conducting multi-cultural-type "valuing differences" training for employees. However, multi-cultural education is still considered subversive and of Leftist or even of Communistic leaning for many American educators indoctrinated with a strong dose of Western individualism.

7. The criticisms of multi-cultural writings range from accusations of falsehood to criticisms of "mere" selectivity and exaggeration. A last assumption I make in this work is that partisan support on any social issue is confirmed by the extent to which the position of the opposed can be made to appear more questionable in terms of objectivity, thus suspect of the most bias. This work will examine how the use and

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understanding of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education pivot on the "control of consciousness" (Khleif, 1986) which is successfully carried out on teachers by those with the power to frame the debates -- the "spin doctors" -- of public education.

In the conclusions, I will return to these hypotheses and assumptions to see how they fared.

Review of the Literature

Multi-cultural education and its parent philosophy, multi-culturalism, are understood in various ways. One understanding holds that multi-culturalism is "pluralistic" in intent and is inclusive and affirming in effect. An opposite understanding of multi-culturalism is that it is "particularistic" in intent and in effect divisively emphasizes some cultural-, ethnic-, or gender-particular histories and social statuses at the expense of others (Ravitch, 1990). Schlesinger (1991) cuts the axis in a second way between "academic-intellectual multiculturalism" and "political-ideological multiculturalism." The former refers to the positive value in accumulating objective knowledge of cultural diversity, while the later refers to multi-culturalist efforts which threaten to undercut the "unum" in the bedrock American philosophy of E Pluribus Unum. This divisiveness happens, according to Schlesinger and others[1], through the promotion of ethnic and cultural separatism. (Endnotes are at the end of each chapter.)

Yet a third common approach used to understand multi-culturalism and its manifestation as multi-culturalism education is the debate over the Western Canon: while some commentators (D'Souza 1991, Bloom, 1987) maintain that multi-cultural education is a force outside the Western or American

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mainstream that is threatening to take over "classical" American education, others, like Banks (1991), argue that not only is the social movement towards multi-cultural education consistent with Western democratic ideals, but that the movement has indeed grown out of such ideals. James A. Banks is generally considered to be the main writer on multi-cultural education, at least in terms of textbooks. Banks is a political moderate who is generally anxious to avoid the most radical political implications of multi-cultural education. His work comes out of a liberal, pluralistic model and claims that "multi-cultural education is not about dividing a united nation, but about uniting a deeply divided nation" in the sense of emphasizing group and individual commonalities within the human condition while also studying and celebrating cultural and individual differences.[2]

Schlesinger (1991) argues in The Disuniting of America that ethnic and racial conflict is replacing ideologies as the explosive issue of our time. He cites ethnicity as a cause of the breaking up of nations such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, and a major factor in violence in India, South Africa, Indonesia, Iraq, and Israel. His major concern, however, is the impact of increasing attention to ethnic and racial differences in the U.S. He is especially concerned about the role education is playing in helping students form identities and loyalties related to culture and nation.

Schlesinger (like Banks) thinks that multi-cultural education is nothing new. In Schlesinger's view, the interaction of peoples from different cultures and the borrowing of skills and ideas from others and their adaptation to fit local geographic and cultural conditions is the very story of civilization. This perspective, which includes attention to the national traditions of our country before the study of "other" cultural traditions, is what Schlesinger

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calls "academic-intellectual" multi-culturalism. "Political-ideological" multi-culturalism, on the other hand, is the antagonistic over-emphasis on race and ethnic differences, especially in the context of differential opportunity and social inequality.

In the literature, multi-cultural education issues are being evaluated as to how they are a part of different educational concerns. In different sub-fields of education it is argued that multi-cultural education can be used to improve the educational climate and educational successes of "at-risk" students. This proposed use of multi-cultural education focuses on the recognition that multi-cultural education can be preventive to school failure by providing an understanding of multi-cultural issues (such as race and racism, and sex and sexism). This understanding can result in healthier educational environments, according to separate studies by Robinson, Rogers, and Ford. Robinson (1992) examines how the lowered expectations which most teachers hold for female students and students of color leads to what she calls AREPs, or At-Risk Educational Practices. Rogers, et al. (1992), reviewed a sample of 121 higher education programs that trained school psychologists showing that 60% had integrated some measure of multi-cultural training in their program, such as in courses on cross-cultural counseling. In special education as well, more attention is being given to the special needs of minority students (Ford, 1992) even if such exposure consists of merely a single workshop or single course on multi-cultural topics.[3]

Multi-cultural education is about culture and schools, culture and socialization. The first contemporary wave of theorizing about these topics in the 1960s focused on the so-called "cultural deficit" model. These were books that focused both on the social pathology of the environment and on the

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resulting individual who was under-developed culturally, morally, inter-personally, and intellectually. Titles describing the "culturally disadvantaged" student commonly appeared, as with Crow's Educating the Culturally Disadvantaged Child: Principles and Programs and Beck and Saxe's Teaching the Culturally Disadvantaged Pupil.[4]

Crow discussed the "deficits" of disadvantaged children. These included a deficit in the knowledge that, although racial and ethnic groups were all discriminated against at one time, "disadvantaged children fail to understand that such groups have gradually worked their way up to complete social equality" (Crow, 1966, p. 94). In fact, the proponents of the "cultural deficit" model were not primarily those overtly protecting the status quo and hiding the importance of racism as a basis for U.S. ideology. It was a neo-liberal and good-hearted yet narrow-minded and midguided view that social programs could help bring the deficit child up to full-speed by concentrating, not on the social structures of power, but on "blaming the victim" by focusing on the cultural differences and sympathetically naming them "deficits".[5]

Another observation is how carefully the word "race" is avoided in these books even though race is so obviously yet covertly implied through the mentioning of urban slums, female-headed households, and other euphemisms. Other stereotypes are rampant as well. In a article on "Music for the Disadvantaged Pupil" it is mentioned that "the culturally disadvantaged child is more responsive to tactile or motor experiences." This is given as a rationale for why music taught to the "disadvantaged" should have a strong beat with an emphasis on physical movement such as clapping and foot stamping which "they" relate to better than "others" (Beck and Saxe, 1965, p. 210).

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There has been work which applies both to the particulars of White teachers teaching students of color, as well as to how these students of color feel the "assimilation blues" living in a predominately White neighborhood. Paley (1979) presents a gripping and refreshingly honest story of how inadequate she felt as a White teacher primarily teaching students of color. Paley argues that rather than ignoring diversity (which we tend to do) we need to directly confront differences of students who are truly diverse. Paley slowly comes to grips with her inability to teach minority children very effectively.

Paley's situation is similar to that of many teachers in New Hampshire's Southern tier where the demographics are changing rapidly. Paley, like many New Hampshire teachers, is generally ignorant of the complex and significant cultural differences between herself and her students. She knows she is unable to "deal with" race-ethnic minorities in her class. Paley outlines her own personal struggles -- successes as well as failures -- to move beyond the prejudice she brings with her to the classroom. She also argues that multi-cultural education is a lifelong journey that has just barely begun with the examination of one's own preconceptions. As Paley says, out of all her conceptions of intelligence, the "(images) were never Black" (White Teacher, 1979, pg. xiv).

Students of color living and schooling in the White school have their own set of discomforts and issues. Tatum (1987) in Assimilation Blues: Black Families in a White Community shows how Blacks perceive White society, and examines Blacks' very mixed feelings towards the White educational system. While in part they cling to the myth of opportunity and see allegiance to White society as a route to economic security in the middle-class, they are also

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deeply alienated, angry, and feel spiritually bankrupt by the "selling out" of Black culture -- the close-knit family systems, the community outreach, the spirituality -- for the comforts and securities of White suburbia.

Serow (1983) analyzes school policy on issues of diversity, tolerance, and multi-cultural education. He says that multi-cultural education is part of the bigger social transformation of the school. This transformation names the school as the policy-maker, arbitrator and problem-solver of the vast multitude of social ills -- all on top of their traditional educative mission.

Serow also states: "By virtually any measure, the United States is one of the most diverse societies on the face of the Earth" (p. 1). He quotes Alexis de Tocqueville from Democracy in America as saying that in no country other than the U.S. "has the principle of association been more successfully used or more unsparingly applied to a multitude of different objects." De Tocqueville was referring to the voluntary associations we form, including various social, cultural, religious, community groupings or collectives: our multi-cultural selves, broadly defined. It is no wonder, Serow believes, that multi-culturalism is a major issue in schooling.

Pierre van den Berghe, author of the classic textbook for race and ethnicity courses, Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective (2nd edition, 1978), argues in the Introduction that ethnicity is defined more broadly than race: an ethnic group might or might not share specific physical characteristics such as skin color but need only to be members of a geographically-close residence with a specific language or religion that marks them off from their neighbors. Race and ethnicity are important categories since membership often includes the conscious recognition of a distinction between "us" and "them," between insiders and outsiders. Van den

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Berghe believed that assimilation was merely a "more subtle form of domination" where the "less-powerful groups (gradually) abandon distinctive cultural patterns and adopt those of the dominant..." The same is true for the "melting pot" variation of the assimilation model. The cultural pluralism model ideally consists of peoples maintaining cultural distinctiveness yet co-existing in a tolerant environment supportive of and adaptive to cultural differences (Serow, 1983, p. 7).

Gordon Allport's Nature of Prejudice is one earlier source where the contact theory of race relations is expounded, according to Serow (1983, p. 31). Allport's theory is similar to the social psychological notion of Leon Festinger (1951, pp. 62-68) that "closeness begets closeness" when close contact with mixed racial groups in a supportive and relatively non-competitive environment results in reduced hostility, increased tolerance and even appreciation of racial differences. Serow (1983) argues that school desegregation efforts have not focused on these issues, that are sometimes referred to as intra-school desegregation problems. Rather, desegregation efforts have focused on the more common understanding of between school desegregation: if the numbers are racially-balanced enough, we do not tend to worry if all the Whites sit on one side of the cafeteria and all the Blacks sit on the other side.

Durkheim believed that the process of education was for the socialization of morality which would include the teaching of civility, respect for authority, and group affiliation.[6] However, educators and others now question whether the rote teaching of values and mores work. Would the educational theory of Durkheim apply to the teaching of morals and values central to tolerance of cultural differences? I think not. The kind of moral

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training emphasizing tolerance of cultural differences, which is imperative to the modern world, seems more aligned with the contact theory of Allport, Festinger, and others mentioned above. Anti-prejudice training clearly needs to focus on the affective domain: as the anthropologist Ruth Benedict said about racism, any scientist can refute racist theories intellectually but that still can easily leave the belief untouched.

In terms of academic writings on the subject of multi-cultural education the most comprehensive review is provided by Sleeter and Grant (1987).[7] In their Harvard Educational Review summary of 89 articles and 38 books on K-12 multi-cultural education in the U.S., they concluded that "the term multi-cultural education means different things to different people. The only common meaning is that it refers to changes in education that are supposed to benefit people of color" (p. 436).

Sleeter and Grant categorized five types or approaches to multi-cultural education. They believed that those schools attempting to integrate multi-cultural education in its program and philosophy have generally embraced one of these five types. These types or foci are:

1. the focus on teaching the culturally different to assimilate more easily with the mainstream culture. This is the view and goal that drives the programs for students of color and linguistic minority students designed to help them learn about and "fit in" to the school and community. This view is criticized for "creaming" off the very top best and brightest students out of the community of race and ethnic minorities to serve as tokens in the White community. It prepares people of color to compete with Whites, but "places the burden of eliminating racism on people of color and their teachers." This approach does not require Whites to learn about racism, oppression, or other forms of

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cultural diversity;

2. the focus on human relations and inter-personal relationship building and community building. The goal of this view is to increase inter-cultural communication leading to culturally different students feeling good about themselves and getting along with each other. These attempts are criticized as not linking its strength in practical, classroom strategies and activities with a theoretical basis of "intergroup conflict or prejudice formation." This approaches does not deal adequately with institutional discrimination and class- and race-based issues like poverty;

3. the "single group studies" which are comprised of lessons and curriculum units about specific ethnic groups. This approach is often called Ethnic Studies, and often can be sexist as it lacks attention to gender as part of the domain of multi-cultural understanding. Similarly, Women's Studies, as another "single group" area of study, can be racist by ignoring the way race structures the lives of women of color. This approach is criticized for lacking attention to social change. It emphasizes teaching about group differences without necessarily raising awareness of oppression as a concept or as a problem to be tackled;

4. incorporation of multi-cultural education as a main part in school reform. This is the most popular approach. It tries to cover the entire range of educational concerns from staffing patterns, curriculum, instructional pedagogy, to programs for language-minority students. However, educators who deal with multi-cultural education issues seldom discuss systemic practices that need review. These include ability groupings, tracking, and intelligence and achievement testing bias. The primary focus is on race and ethnicity with sex equity usually discussed in a separate chapter or curriculum unit, if at all.

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Social class issues are usually subsumed under racial and ethnic identity issues.

Sheeter and Grant acknowledge the concern that broadening the umbrella to different types of diversity can dilute the attention paid to racial and ethnic issues, but still argue that recognition of the connection among the various forms of diversity might insure that "Blacks and women are not viewed as discrete and separate groups" (p. 433). Nonetheless, they also argue that emphasizing culture at the expense of social stratification issues gives those in power the impression that "maintaining and valuing cultural differences takes precedence over confronting racism" (p. 434). Social stratification, as is acknowledged here, is as much an impetus for multi-cultural education as is racism. Lastly,

5. the approach that views education as multi-cultural and social reconstructionist by nature. This is the least developed yet most favored by Sheeter and Grant. This position encourages students to understand and to promote cultural diversity as well as to challenge existing social inequalities. This approach extends the former approach to include social action against racism, sexism, and inequality in order to eliminate social problems. Those few educators who view multi-cultural education in this light tend to put more emphasis on class than on culture, seeing class as the major obstacle to equality. Sex equity also tends to receive more attention in this approach, which sometimes comes under the banner of emancipatory education, transformative education, or critical teaching.

Sheeter and Grant present the most comprehensive of studies of multi-cultural education that I can find. They conclude that all these approaches need to be more inclusive and address other factors, such as gender and social

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class, in addition to race. They also criticize the literature for focusing most heavily on the "individual classroom teachers as the agent of school change" when the change needs to be on the entire school, system-wide or nation-wide. This issue of individualism in the teaching profession will be taken up more fully in Chapter 5.

The literature review shows how varied the views are about the content, purpose, and pedagogy of multi-cultural education. Sheeter and Grant (1987) maintain that the best multi-cultural education is about exposing social and political contradictions and institutional discrimination. On the other side, Ravitch (1990) holds that multi-cultural education is useful only if it does not stress social differences in a "particularistic" manner but rather focuses on "America the Melting Pot." Banks (1991) believes that multi-cultural education does not have to be based on a cultural pluralism model yet it can still bring groups together in social harmony. Schlesinger (1991) would disagree: if multi-cultural education is not conducted within a cultural pluralism model of objective scholasticism, it is political, separatist, hostile, and unhealthy for the nation as a whole.

The development of multi-cultural education can be traced under a number of equally contentious aliases -- the cultural deficit model, the disadvantaged child model, cross- and inter-cultural education, "at-risk" education, and bilingual education. While a few writers on multi-cultural education, such as Serow (1983), for example, will specifically discuss racism and race theories, the majority of multi-cultural writers avoid dealing directly with race issues and questions. It appears that educators produce multi-cultural-type programs with euphemistic titles that at root are indeed dealing with race issues. However, use of the word race is infrequent.

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The Sociological Context

My study falls within the context of the sociology of education in general and within the project of examining the role the public schools plays in social reproduction in particular. By social reproduction I mean the cyclical conditioning of appropriate behaviors and ideologies by hegemonic agents of social power and control -- the ruling elite -- that constantly makes anew and provides continuity to the power structure of society. The sociology of race and ethnic relations provides a theoretical backdrop in the examination of education's relationship to social differentiation and social stratification, power and disempowerment, cultural imperialism, and the requirements made upon educational theory and practice by the nation-state.

This work is also conducted theoretically within the realm of interpretive sociology. I am concerned to show how perception or interpretation of social phenomena related to multi-culturalism affects behavior around and within multi-cultural education. Understanding the historical, political, and social context of multi-culturalism is necessary in order for individuals to start examining what they take for granted. Such an understanding will enable them to see, for example, the links between capitalistic expansion of the economy, and racism and prejudice, as well as the broader links between power, social control, and systems of education and knowledge.[8]

Theories of socialization suggest that appropriate behaviors and ideologies are transferred generationally (cf. Mannheim, 1952, pp. 276 - 320) to maintain social structure. The public education system occupies a salient role in this process since it possesses the most clearly definable pedagogy. *A*

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central premise of this work is that the issues of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education are so hotly debated because the curriculum and pedagogy of multi-cultural education threaten the reproduction of the social structure, the traditional power arrangements of society.

It is easier to maintain a tiered system of privilege and opportunity on the basis of ascription if generations are successfully indoctrinated with the belief that "Other" cultures and sub-cultures are less valid and important and have contributed less to the cumulative "progress" of Western civilization, both domestically and internationally. Multi-culturalism, although often contested or dismissed, also serves as a reigning *Zeitgeist* center-stage in the social reproduction of the current generations that may be understood as a social movement within this generational process. Mannheim made a similar point, arguing that the "problem of generations" is "indispensable" to sociologists interested in the phenomena of social movements. How is it that multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education have become the "vital sensibility" (Ortega Y Gasset, 1933, pp. 13-15) of the late twentieth-century generation and what are the consequences?

It is hoped that this research will contribute to our understanding of the debates surrounding the multi-cultural education movement by analyzing the core ideology of multi-culturalism as a social movement, and by exploring the role of the debate over multi-culturalism in the enculturation/ socialization process. As stated earlier, the central hypothesis of this work is that the multi-cultural education movement threatens generational reproduction of the social structure. Multi-cultural education is viewed as an emancipation movement for, and by, the oppressed, the excluded. The American public school can be viewed as a "contested terrain" and as an

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institution of accommodation. If we see the public school as such an institution -- one sensitive to outside pressure and interest groups -- this would help us understand the overall parameters, scope, and influence of multi-cultural education on both the young students and their teachers.

Multi-cultural curricula and pedagogy meet resistance because they threaten the reproduction of the prevailing power relations. They expose the "conflict existing between the social forces of production and the relations of production" (Marx, 1859, pg. 21). In spite of this truth, however, an emphasis on the hegemonic agents and forces -- the macro-physics of power relations -- could be overdone. Over-emphasis on the macro-physics of social structure may obscure the micro-physics of power at work in all social situations like those within the schools. This work will also study the will of the active, resisting and adapting agency of the individual teacher in the contradictory considerations and interests among those working for the production and reproduction of curricula promoting multi-culturalism. Those who engage in the work of multi-cultural education do so precisely because it is not a foregone conclusion that schools will always reproduce the power relations. Schools, as agencies of both stability and change, can also reproduce what ought to be, not just reproduce what has been.

Other sociological theories relevant to this work include Myrdal's "moral delimma," Stone's attempt to take biology out of race theories, Berreman's assessment of "caste"-like race relations in the U.S. and Blauner's "internal colonialism" theory of the control of institutions as a mediating factor in the "packaging and handling" of racial-ethnic communities. Other sociological concepts that will be examined include the idea of social difference, pluralism, inclusion, separatism, and individualism.

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The multi-cultural education "movement"[9] itself and the reaction to it cannot be understood apart from the context of the inflammatory and violent way race relations are played out in U.S. urban society during the current information age. Racial tension commands media attention and mesmerizes media watchers like little else. This, too, of course, is assumed to affect the manner in which educators view and use multi-cultural materials. How race relations are manipulated by the sound bite writers and image makers who work at the pleasure of the Nation-State also affects multi-cultural perception and use.

"The United States, in seems, remains the permanently unfinished country" (Glazer, 1985, p. 3). The curriculum in U.S. schools still focuses on a very narrow portion of our past and present lives, given the existing and increasing rich ethnic and cultural diversity. Some argue that an emphasis on cultural diversity is a direct attack on the much more enduring cultural traditions of our country. They recommend that we should study the Federalist Papers and the Declaration of Independence rather than multi-culturalism and cultural pluralism. Educators, ultimately as representatives of the status quo, have difficulty in attempting to sort out the controversy around multi-cultural education. They are increasingly pressured to incorporate a multiple perspective of the human experience, as well as having to deal with the social and psycho-emotional difficulties students bring to school.

Multi-cultural education tends to values cultural pluralism -- a concept which aims towards a heightened social unity dependent on the unique strengths of all cultures within a society. Contrary to popular belief, a philosophy of cultural pluralism may reject assimilation as well as separatism. Cultural pluralism rests on the notion that a healthy society will result from

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free and open interaction among those groups which reflect different cultural perspectives and histories. This provides the basis for multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education.

Research Questions

The questions this research sets out to answer are the following:

1) How did multi-culturalism arise as a social movement in the post-1960 era and become problematic in the post-1970 era? (Under what guises has multi-culturalism flourished and floundered?)

2) What gave the movement its impetus and what contributed to its definition as a central social issue? (Within which contextual backdrops are multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education debated and understood in the media?)

3) With regard to its appearance in schools and school districts, what seem to be the aims, professed rationales and consequences of multi-cultural education for students, teachers, and other school and educational personnel? (How are multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education understood and practiced by education practitioners?

4) To what extent is a certain "socio-cultural framework" (Khleif, 1978) for understanding school-based racial-ethnic and multicultural issues useful in explaining how multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education are understood and operate in New Hampshire public schools?

5) What is the relationship between the multi-cultural education movement and:

    a) the struggle and debate over cultural relativism,

    b) the "politically correct" movement,

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c) the debates over the "Canon",

d) the "contested terrain" of the roots of Western Civilization (as embedded, for example, in the Black Athena thesis),

e) the interpretation of the political philosophy of e pluribus unum in the late twentieth century,

f) race relations and the common understandings or conceptualizations of race relations,

g) the notion of equal educational opportunity in American culture,

h) the movement and status of civil rights in American culture, and,

i) the interrelatedness and distinctions between multi-cultural education and related issues in education such as the "global village" approach and concepts such as "cultural diversity," and "cultural sensitivity"?

Of note is the fact that a review of the literature shows that multi-cultural education research is most prevalent in Canada and Australia, with the U.S. coming in third. Why are issues of multi-culturalism strongest in "immigrant," post-settler-regime societies? To what extent is the resistance to granting concessions to multi-culturalism endemic to the nation-state due to its insistence on monism and on the hypothetical unity -- as represented by the ruling elite -- of language, religion, and ethnicity? Do New Hampshire teachers agree that multi-culturalism is an attempt to bring about human equality (legal and emotional) for the suppressed ethnic-racial, ethnic-religious, and other social minority groups (e.g., Afro-, Hispanic-, Asian-, and Native-Americans, non-Protestant groups, women)? Is it a "just cause" or a threat to "national security" that "Others" want their "culture" in the broadest sense to be as valid and legitimate in the view of both the minority and the

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majority group? Lastly, will the results of my analysis replicate those studies of multicultural education that argue that although the public opinion is favorable about multi-cultural education, individuals generally do not hold strong convictions about the needs to support multi-cultural education programs?

Next, I will review my data sources and the methods of analysis I have chosen.

Methodology and Data Analysis

The conceptual frameworks within which we understand multi-culturalism will be delineated through research utilizing 1) content analysis, 2) survey questionnaire, and 3) interviews. These conceptual frameworks expose the various ways multi-culturalism is understood theoretically and practically. This research will synthesize, analyze, and clarify these various understandings and provide prognosis and prescription for the multi-culturalist project.

I propose to conduct a content analysis comparing the ways multi-culturalism is conceptualized from three different sources: 1) at least twenty articles from a variety of educational trade magazines and journal articles as of 1980 including Education Week, School Law News, Phi Delta Kappan, School Administrator, Teacher Magazine and Educational Leadership, as well as an analysis of the Social Science Citation Index; 2) "regular" or mainstream journalism like daily newspapers, weeklies, and monthly magazines, and, 3) ten sets of various multi-cultural education curricula.

Buttressing these content analyses will be the data derived from an attitudinal and behavioral survey of teachers on multi-culturalism and multi-

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cultural education: the <u>1992 NH Department of Education Survey on Multi-cultural Education</u>. Constructed by myself, this survey consisted of 35 qualitative and quantitative questions sent out to New Hampshire schools in May of 1992, with the request that one teacher from each public, private, and parochial elementary school be chosen by the principal to respond (see Appendix A). The survey return rate was approximately 46% (209 out of 455). In the creation of the survey instrument (as well as in the creation of the interview guide), I wanted to know:

1) if NH teachers are infusing or integrating multi-cultural education into their curricula and pedagogy, and

2) if so, what types of materials they are using, as well as

3) why they are or are not teaching from a multi-cultural perspective, and,

4) if they are teaching from a multi-cultural perspective, what they think their students gain from it.

With regard to the construction of the interview questions and to the content analysis of educational and mainstream popular literature there is the additional desire to:

5) assess teacher's knowledge and understanding of the social and theoretical frameworks I believe to be most relevant to an analysis of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education (e.g., relativism, racism, Black Athena thesis, "global village" education, "political correctness," "cultural sensitivity," and "Afrocentric" education.)

Since educators and society at large contest the content of "multi-cultural" education, I pose survey questions, ask interview questions, and analyze articles on the issues closely related to multi-culturalism: global

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education, ethnic history and culture education, and education purporting to deal with issues of "cultural sensitivity" or "cultural diversity."

After field-testing the interview guide with teachers from Central High School in Manchester I revised the guide and conducted twelve in-depth, face-to-face interviews with New Hampshire educators (see Appendix B). The interviews serve as follow-up to the survey data. The interview process ranged in length from one hour, fifteen minutes to over three hours in length. As the survey respondents might be biased towards those who are enthusiasts and implementers of multi-cultural education, the selection of educators to be interviewed will represent the broad spectrum from multi-cultural enthusiasts and "experts" to those who perceive little need for multi-cultural education in New Hampshire.

In the analysis of data, I am concerned with comparing the survey and interview data with the content analysis in order to see in what ways do the local particulars of New Hampshire conform or deviate from the national situation with regard to multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. Specifically, I will look at how the constituency for New Hampshire education differs from what it is nationally (e.g., New Hampshire's population has historically been homogeneously White, although it is rapidly changing in some areas of the state). I want to see how the issue of multi-culturalism applied to education is handled given this essentially still homogeneous population, and how educators' views on civil rights issues might affect the way multi-culturalism is applied to education. Lastly, I want to be able to uncover and distinguish different rationales for multi-cultural education: how the rationale for white children going to school with other white children needing multi-cultural education is different from the rationale for multi-

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cultural education in, say, East Saint Louis, Los Angeles, Miami, New York City, or Detroit.

By doing this, however, it is not my intent to underestimate the importance of multi-cultural education for all communities. Rather I seek answers for those teachers who ask "We don't really need multi-cultural education here, do we?" It is clear that many New Hampshire students will not ultimately reside in an area so lacking in racial-cultural diversity. An informal poll I took while talking to a 11th and 12th grade history class in Northern New Hampshire showed that over three-fourths of the class believed they were going to move somewhere out of New Hampshire after graduation. By 1995[10], the nation we need to prepare New Hampshire students to live in contains an average of 34% minority enrollment in all elementary and secondary schools nationwide, and over 50% minority enrollment in the schools of five states.

With the data analysis I hope to explain the understanding of multi-culturalism as a philosophical and social movement that one cross-section of New Hampshire teachers (and the U.S. educational community at large) has. I will explore why and how that understanding affects their use of multi-cultural curriculum and pedagogy. Chapter II offers: 1) an analysis of a survey of teachers on multi-cultural education and related issues, conducted by the Equal Educational Opportunity Office of the New Hampshire Department of Education; and, 2) an analysis of twelve face-to-face interviews with New Hampshire teachers. (A copy of the teacher survey is in Appendix A and a copy of the interview guide is in Appendix B). Chapter III includes a content analysis of writings on multi-culturalism in education trade magazines and journals, in popular press, and in multi-cultural curriculum materials in order

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to explore the different ways multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education are conceptualized in the literature.

The analysis of the survey, the interviews, and the content analysis of writings on multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education will be held up against our understanding of the daily grind of teachers' classroom-based lives. We will explore how teachers come to grips with and make decisions about the significance of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. The most interesting issue involves teachers' views on the political and social-philosophical movements for and against multi-culturalism. How do they employ their own personal views in the course of multi-cultural education in the classroom?

I have used two methods of survey research, a survey questionnaire and face-to-face interviews, in order to gain an appreciation of educators' understanding and use of multi-cultural education and related issues. "Survey research is probably the best method available to the social scientist interested in collecting original data...(and is) an excellent vehicle for the measurement of attitudes" (Babbie, pg. 316).

Probability sampling was not used in this work and thus the results cannot be generalized to the larger population. My units of analysis are: 1) a group of New Hampshire elementary educators in the survey; 2) a cross-section of New Hampshire educators in the interviews; and, 3) the generalized perspective of the public including special attention to educators' perspective in the content analysis. Even if probability sampling was feasible, however, given the nature of the topic and the nature of New Hampshire's demographics and political climate I still would hesitate to generalize any results outside of my sample of New Hampshire educators. In any case, the

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survey and interview data should not be taken to represent the "average" views of a New Hampshire teacher with respect to multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education, but rather as a method to illustrate part of the range of viewpoints on these issues. The survey also did not distinquish between responses from public, private, and parochial schools nor the geographic location of the respondent. Another variable that could have skewed the results is that the school principal was asked to select a teacher to fill out the survey without any criteria by which to make that selection. Hence, it is quite possible that survey respondents were teachers who were known practitioners of multi-cultural education.

The survey was accompanied by a letter of introduction to the research project and included assurances of confidentiality and the understanding that the survey was voluntary. Since "informed consent is the major issue for research participant advocates..." such consent was given prior to all face-to-face interviews (Smith, 1981, pg. 16). Lastly, participants in the survey research are protected from personal harm which could come about due to their involvement with this project as the individual names of participants are not used and are only identified as Interview #1, Interview #2, etc., with accompanying demographic material.

The content analysis of national education trade magazines and journalistic reports on multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education will, it is hoped, go some distance in making up for the lack of generalizability with the self-administered survey. Both in the survey and in the interviews I have chosen to work with open-ended questions as much as possible, as I am most concerned with ascertaining "...the respondent's level of information (and) frame of reference..." (Smith, 1981, pg. 156). In the structuring of closed-

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ended questions, I believe it would be too difficult to keep my own conscious and unconscious beliefs and attitudes hidden. Additionally, the in-depth interviews are conducted with educators representing the broadest possible spectrum. This includes advocates of multi-culturalism and utilizers of multi-cultural education to educators who are either skeptical, nonchalant, or, for a variety of reasons, are opposed to the incorporation of multi-culturalism in their classrooms. Particularly with the face-to-face interviews, I have to be aware of the "social desirability" issue of survey research (Babbie, pg. 153), as respondents will naturally sway their answers slightly in whatever direction they will be seen most favorably.

Substantial use of so-called contingency questions (i.e., "If yes, then why or how?") allow for more elaboration of answers in both the survey and the interviews. During the interviews, a probing strategy of appropriate follow-up questions like "anything else to add?" helps to flesh out the responses. Ultimately, the goal of these three methods of analysis is to provide enough data to allow discussion of the general understanding and use of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education both as a local and a national phenomenon. The analysis is both exploratory in the sense of increasing researcher understanding and explanatory in the sense of linking attitudes and beliefs towards multi-cultural issues with individual agency and behavior.

The recommendation for further study entails evaluation research in order to see if and how this link matters in the multi-cultural education of students. Such evaluation research could develop and apply performance outcomes to test student competency with multi-cultural concepts and attitudinal and behavioral assessments. These could be used to see, for example, whether tolerance and appreciation of cultural, linguistic, or gender

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differences have been increased. Lastly, the world of multi-cultural education is ready for the beginning of longitudinal studies to see whether such tolerance of differences has lasting inter-personal and intra-personal effects.

The interview questionnaire begins with the following instructions and introduction:

> Whatever answers you give and opinions you share will be strictly confidential: no one person or school will be identified or identifiable in any report. I am going to see many people, and what I am interested in is the overall picture.
>
> During this interview, I would like us to keep the broadest, most inclusive definition of multi-cultural education in mind, even as I ask you to cite and critique specific topics which might or might not be understood as multi-cultural (from INTERVIEW GUIDE, Appendix B).

Babbie (1979, pg. 335) relates a high response rate to lower response bias, and considers 50% as the "adequate" response rate for analysis. The return of my survey fell slightly short of this mark (at 46%), which was probably due to the fact that the survey reached educators in the last, often hectic, weeks of the school year. This result might imply that the survey results have higher response bias, meaning that even within the ungeneralizable New Hampshire sample there might be biases that caused some educators to either fill out or not fill out the survey. The logic used throughout the analysis of these data moves in a more inductive fashion from the specific observations gleaned from both survey and interview responses and the content analysis to the more general working out of underlying principles.

To conclude, my effort will combine the global and the local, the theoretical and the concrete, towards an understanding of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. The social construction of multi-culturalism and

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multi-cultural education will be explained and viewed from both a New Hampshire and a national perspective. Chapter 1 has laid the groundwork for the issues I intend to address in this dissertation. I have described how this exploratory, descriptive study aims at informing practice by answering two central questions: 1) What social phenomena affect the perception of multi-culturalism? and, 2) how does this understanding of the concept of multi-culturalism affect how educators use multi-cultural education materials in the classroom?

In Chapter II, we shall see what the <u>Social Science Citation Index</u> tells us about multi-cultural education as it evolved into a separate category in the literature. This review also suggests what educators seem to have read about multi-cultural issues. Against this baseline, I will present and analyze the data from both the teacher survey and the questionnaires. Chapter III includes a content analysis of educational trade magazines, popular press coverage of multi-cultural issues, and multi-cultural education curricula. Chapter IV includes an overview of two multi-cultural case studies. First, I will show how bilingual education serves as a predecessor to multi-cultural education with particular importance in New Hampshire's history. Secondly, I will review the rash of revisionist writings on Columbus and his "discovery" of America since this story is important to understand the transformational potential of multi-cultural education.

Chapter V discusses the issues that influence perception of multi-culturalism. These issues include the "political correctness" debate and "hate crimes" versus free speech and academic freedom, how the relativism arguments are re-framed by the insurgence of multi-cultural education and debates over the Canon, and how race relations affect educational policy and

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practice. Chapter VI analyses the role of individualism in the West and in the education of educators and how that affects their perception of diversity in the classroom. Chapter VI will also include an overview of the status of civil rights laws concerning theories and practices to assure equal educational opportunities for race, sex, and national origin minority students. Chapter VII is concerned with the role public education plays in social reproduction including an analysis of the economics of educational financing. Shifts in pedagogical styles towards multi-cultural approaches are presented as hope for the future. Lastly, I will present policy recommendations suggesting ways and rationales for conducting multi-cultural education, review the role textbooks could play, and articulate a vision of what true global education needs to look like.

End Notes to Chapter I

1. See also the historian C. Vann Woodward, "Freedom in the Universities" (Aufderheide, 1992) for a claim very similar to that of Schlesinger.

2. Banks, director of the Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington, is quoted from the June 1993 article by Tony Kneidek "Believing is Seeing: The Need for Educational Equity," in Northwest Policy, a newsletter of the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory.

3. See Robinson, Tracy, "Transforming At-Risk Educational Practices by Understanding and Appreciating Differences", Elementary School Guidance and Counselling, Vol. 27, Dec. 1992, and Rogers, Margaret R., et. al., "Multicultural Training in School Psychology: A National Survey", School Psychology Review, Vol. 21(4), 1992, and Ford, Bridgie A., "Multicultural Education Training for Special Educators Working with African-American Youth", Exceptional Children, Vol. 59(2), Oct.-Nov. 1992)

4. Crow, Lester D., et. al., Educating the Culturally Disadvantaged Child:

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Principles and Programs, David McKay Company, Inc., New York, 1966, and Beck, John M., and Saxe, Richard W., Eds., Teaching the Culturally Disadvantaged Pupil, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, IL., 1965.

5. The cultural deficit model often smacks of what Bourdieu calls "cultural capital." How does lack of cultural capital fit with the cultural deficit model? One wonders if the same elitist and culturally imperialist criticisms of the cultural deficit model could also be used in arguments against the more contemporary cultural capital model. This issue will be taken up again in the discussion on social reproduction theory in Chapter 5.

6. See Emile Durkheim, Moral Education, Free Press, New York, 1961, p. 147-152.

7. See "An Analysis of Multicultural Education in the United States," Christine E. Sleeter and Carl A. Grant, Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 57, November 1987.

8. See Husserl, Edmund, Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology, Collier Books, 1962 [1931] pp. 96-99, on the idea of "bracketing-off" some of our taken-for-granted enculturation and experiences interpreted in such a way as to encourage prejudices and mis-understandings.

9. The idea of multi-culturalism as a "movement" stems from Freire's (1986) notion that a social movement needs language which frames the movement (e.g., "Women's Liberation," "Black Power," "Multi-culturalism") before the movement can actually begin.

10. According to statistics from "Minority Public School Enrollments Expected to Rise", in Career Opportunities News, December 1991, p. 9.

CHAPTER II
THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MULTI-CULTURALISM I: HOW NEW HAMPSHIRE TEACHERS AND THE EDUCATIONAL COMMUNITY UNDERSTAND MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION

In the previous chapter, I surveyed the many different understandings of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education and some of their suggested rationales. In this chapter, I am interested in exploring these various understandings more in depth. How have New Hampshire educators constructed their own belief systems about multi-culturalism? Have educators in New Hampshire decided whether multi-cultural education is important? Whatever their perceptions or beliefs are, what seems to have influenced them? I am interested in the overall culture of education and public school teachers: how do they see the world?

First, I will start by chronologically reviewing the literature on multi-cultural issues. I want to know what ideas and trends have coalesced into what we now call multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education, as well as when the various, related concepts began to be named in the literature. Secondly, the bulk of this chapter will focus on a sample of New Hampshire educators. The sample includes survey responses from 209 elementary school teachers and interviews with twelve educators including five elementary teachers, one high school art teacher, two high school social studies teachers, two high school English teachers, one 7-12 grade guidance counselor, and one middle school assistant principal. Through both a written survey and face-to-face interviews I found out what these educators think of multi-culturalism, multi-cultural education, and related issues. The survey is on self-esteem and multi-cultural issues, while the interviews are solely concerned with multi-cultural

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issues. Thirdly, I will analyze the survey and interview data together to suggest some classroom and educative effects based on the beliefs and perceptions of New Hampshire educators towards multi-cultural issues.

Tracing the Career of Multi-Culturalism and Multi-cultural Education

What ideas might be considered to fall under the umbrella of "multi-cultural" and when did they start to infiltrate scholarly work? The predecessors of all that we lump together as multi-culturalism started, at least for modern social science, in the late 1940s and early 1950s under categories of "cross-cultural humanism" and "cultural democracy." Gunnar Mrydal's 1944 The American Dilemma is considered one of the first sociological treatise on Black-White relations in the U.S., while the the first treatise that focused on race issues and race relations specifically in the school was Theodore Brameld's Minority Problems in the Public Schools, published in 1946.

The 1960s brought on an increasing popularity of terms like "intergroup" and "intercultural," and crystallized the cultural humanism of the previous era into areas of study such as "human inter-cultural relations." In the 1970s and into the 1980s terms like "diversity" became buzz-words and to study things "globally" took on a new importance. Also in the 1970s, what would be called the multi-culturalism movement of the 1980s took root: books about pluralism and equality in the school setting were popular (Kozol's Death at an Early Age is one example) and fields such as "bicognitive learning" as well as movements like bilingualism took hold.

Although the Social Science Citation Index did not list multi-culturalism proper as a category until 1978 in the social sciences, educators had already begun to implement some multi-cultural ideas into curriculum. The first

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popular books for educators interested in strategies for how to teach social studies and language arts to the "culturally different" student appeared in 1971 (James Banks, 1971a, 1971b). These early efforts focused mostly on the pedagogical issues rather than the curricular issues. The literature on the "cultural deficit" model is similarly inclined. (Recall our review of the cultural deficit model in Chapter I.) However, a good dose of cultural relativism in the multi-cultural education literature since the late 1960s and early 1970s succeeded in stripping some of the xenophobia, cultural ignorance, and elitism from the cultural deficit models.

A review of the Social Science Citation Index shows that the topic of "multi-ethnic" appeared in 28 articles in 1975, and 34 articles in 1976. The first listing for the actual topics of "multi-culturalism" and "multi-cultural" occurred in 1978. The numbers steadily increase through the early 1980s: 34 listings in 1980; 44 listings in 1981; 104 listings in 1982; 73 listings in 1983; 109 listings in 1984. From 1985 and 1988 the interest apparently remained constant in the researching of these issues as the numbers of citations hovered right around 100 per year. In 1989 the most dramatic leap (to 142 listings) occurred and it has not tapered off since: 1990 had 151 listings, 1991 had 176 listings, and for the first eight months of 1992 there had already been 166 citations classified as belonging to the topic of what is "multi-cultural" or "multi-culturalism." One last note is that the category of "multiracial" (interestingly enough given the centrality of race to multi-culturalism) did not appear in the Citation Index until the late 1980s.

The career of the term "multi-cultural" began in the 1970s and took off in the 1980s. Interestingly, although there exists a general feeling that multi-culturalism is already passé, the review of the literature above shows little

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indication that the popularity of multi-cultural topics is winding down. Next, through our survey we will examine some of the views and the practices of multi-cultural education in New Hampshire elementary schools.

Survey Data on Issues of Multi-cultural Education

A copy of the 35 item survey is found in Appendix A. Survey data were derived from an attitudinal and behavioral survey of teachers on multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education and related issues. The survey was constructed by myself and administered under the auspices of the Title IV Equal Educational Opportunity (EEO) Office of the New Hampshire Department of Education and was co-sponsored by the Philbrook Foundation.[1] While the Philbrook Foundation was mainly interested in issues of self-esteem and mental health among children, the EEO Office agreed to take the lead role in conducting the teacher survey as the Chairperson of the Philbrook Foundation agreed to allow questions on multi-cultural education.

The survey consisted of 35 qualitative and quantitative questions and was sent out to New Hampshire elementary schools in May of 1992. The survey was accompanied by a request that the school principal choose a teacher from each school to respond. The survey return rate was approximately 46% (209 out of 455). In the explanation of my data and methodology in Chapter I, I noted that the survey results are not from a sample that is generalizable to the larger population. Hence, the percentages here are simple frequency counts. No statistical tests or statistical analyses were employed. By "demographics" I am referring to the qualitative and quantitative assessment of the respondents as a whole.

There were no explicit categories of related questions, such as I created

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for the interviews, yet the survey did cover six main issues: 1) self-esteem, 2) interpersonal relationships in general, 3) interracial and gender relationships in particular, 4) racial/ethnic demographics, 5) views of the causes of racial-, gender-, and class-based bias and stereotyping, and, 6) views, interests, and classroom practices concerning multi-cultural topics. Whenever possible, I asked teachers what they thought of parents including questions about parental school involvement and parents' views of cultural diversity.

The survey questions on self-esteem were part of my job of conducting the survey for the Philbrook Foundation and the Equal Educational Opportunity Office. Self-esteem was the main issue in which the Foundation was interested. However, I will review a few of the findings on self-esteem topics that might not appear to have a relationship with multi-cultural education, because later I want to return to the issue of justifying multi-cultural education with attempts to raise low self-esteem levels.

Exactly half of the teachers who responded to the survey felt that their students were moderately affected by "low self-esteem." This question did not ask teachers to distinguish their perception of boys' and girls' self-esteem or of the self-esteem of Anglo-White students versus students of color. Sixty-two percent of the teachers responded that their students, to a moderate extent, were "having difficulty with interpersonal relationships with peers." Close to the majority of teacher respondents believed that their students were on the path of "developing a sense of personal worth" to some degree. Only 14% of respondents felt their students were "troubled by psychological problems," and only 12% thought their students, to a strong degree, have "difficulty empathizing with others."

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Name calling is another matter entirely. This is an important issue in these times of public debate over whether words "wound" -- in either a socially or even legally significant sense -- especially when referencing minorities, including females. Almost one in three teachers (32%) have "heard (their) students use derogatory language (e.g., name calling) with reference to racial or ethnic minorities" while approximately one in three teachers (29%) have heard their students make similar remarks in "reference to females." It is interesting that more teachers have heard racial and ethnic name calling in a state with only a few percentage points' worth of racial and ethnic minorities, while we would presume the school population is approximately half female.

In response to my query about teachers hearing derogatory comments made to students, it is interesting that several answered that it is "not a problem since we have few racial and ethnic minorities" in their school. In addition, eight respondents of those who elaborated their answers to this question with comments wrote of language and incidents which were primarily sexist or derogatory towards or about females (e.g., taunts of "you were beaten by a girl" during academic competitions in the classroom). Two further comments detailed racial name calling, and two more comments expressed the early-socialized sense of homophobia among children. Prejudice towards gays and lesbians was suggested by these two comments.

Teachers overwhelmingly did not identify either gender or race-ethnicity as a variable in low self-esteem. More than half of the respondents believed that "social or emotional problems" (64%) or "low socio-economic status" (61%) are found among students appearing to have the greatest self-esteem problems.

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Both students (65%) and parents (70%) were thought by teachers to have an "average" "level of understanding and tolerance...towards socio-cultural diversity." Teachers thought that approximately 13% of both students and parents had poor "understanding and tolerance" of multi-cultural diversity.

How do we learn biases: our prejudices and stereotypes? The teachers surveyed felt that the strongest variable "...in the socialization of biases, prejudice, and stereotyping" was "parents/family," followed (in rank order) by "peers," "media," and "teachers/school." Seventy-one percent thought "parents/family" was the strongest variable in the socialization of prejudice and stereotypes, while 47% thought that "teachers/school" was the weakest source for that socialization among the four options given.

A surprisingly large 47% of teachers said that they had "racial or ethnic minorities in (their) classes." The state demographics officially still stand at 97% Anglo, with slightly more than 1% Asian and slightly less than 1% each of Black or Hispanic. We know that cities in Southern New Hampshire (e.g., Manchester, Nashua) have up to 25% non-white students, and that there are just a scant handful of elementary schools right on the border of New Hampshire and Massachusetts with upwards of 40% to 45% Non-Anglo populations. Still, I would have expected that the almost homogeneously Anglo complexion of the Northern two-thirds of New Hampshire would have resulted in far fewer racial and ethnic minorities being reported. This survey relied solely on the perception and the knowledge of teachers to identify for themselves just what students they considered "racial or ethnic minorities." In the qualitative elaboration of this question, several teachers listed Greek and Jewish students as among those "coded" as racial and ethnic minorities in

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the classroom.

This problem is caused in part by the structure of the New Hampshire school registry. The registry is the method of data collection on various demographics of children attending New Hampshire public schools which asks both teachers and parents of enrolling students to provide various demographical information. The New Hampshire school registry began only in 1990 to ask about student racial and ethnic background. (Before this date, New Hampshire was one of only four remaining states in the U.S. that did not request racial and ethnic minority student information on their school registry. The other three states, interestingly, were in the Deep South.) As in other states, the New Hampshire school registry since 1990 is patterned on the U.S. Census, which limits racial and ethnic minority student background information to five categories: White/Anglo, White and Non-white Hispanic/Latino, Black/African, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Native American/American Eskimo.

When asked to elaborate in detail about the race and ethnic minority students which they had in class, teachers gave an interesting array of responses including some that are hard to understand (e.g., "Indian Greek"?) and some that were hard to swallow (e.g., the usage of words like "colored" and two references to "Negroes" (sic) as in "Negro students from Proctor (Academy) come into our class and help"). In terms of race and ethnic groups which would fall under the category of "Asian/Pacific Islanders" in census and school registry language, the New Hampshire respondents collectively reported nine "Korean," four "Chinese," four "Asian," three "Oriental," three "Laotian," and one each of "Vietnamese," "Japanese," "Hawaiian," and "Malaysian." There are several things worthy of comment here. Note that the

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phrase "Oriental" is still used by school teachers although increasingly in the last ten or so years there is sentiment in popular press and literature which emphasizes the derogatory nature of the term (for example, see Takaki, 1989). Along with "Oriental," "Asian" is used as an umbrella terms to denote geographical origin in lieu of naming specific nationalities.

Lastly, according to anecdotal knowledge and based on request for English as a Second Language (E.S.L.) instructional assistance, a significant number of Pacific Islander students live in New Hampshire. However, it is surprising to see only one "Vietnamese" student mentioned while four "Chinese" students were noted. There appears to be a larger population of Vietnamese than Chinese in New Hampshire, so I am left to speculate as to the extent of mis-identification of different Asian or Pacific Islander nationalities as "Chinese." This seems to be a common default: two Japanese-American scholars (Takaki in California and a University of New Hampshire professor) have almost identical stories of being misidentified as Chinese and yelled at to "go back where you came from, Chink."

Not a respondent identified a student as Latino, which is increasingly the preferred word for Chicano or Latin American nationalities. Five respondents identified "Hispanic" students, ten respondents identified "Spanish" students, and one each identified a "Costa Rican," "Puerto Rican," "Latin," "South American," and "Brazilian" student. Curiously, two respondents identified race and ethnic minority students in their class simply as "ESL" (the acronym for English as a Second Language). It is difficult to ascertain if this means that teachers are aware of students with Limited English Proficiency (or L.E.P. students, as they are labelled) who receive English as a Second Language (E.S.L.) services but do not know or differentiate

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or identify them as originating from a specific culture. Given the New Hampshire demographics, we might assume these two students are Spanish-speaking, but they could just as well be French-, Russian-, Laotian-, or any one of the other approximately 120 nationalities and languages reported to make up the New Hampshire cultural mosaic. Speaking of the idea of identifying someone as Spanish-speaking, it was surprising to see that ten students were identified as "Spanish" and only five as "Hispanic." I can only assume that the identifier of "Spanish" referred to Spanish-speaking and not to peninsular Spain as the country of origin.

No student was identified as African or African-American, although fourteen were identified as "Black," one as "colored," two as "Negro" (as mentioned above) and one as "Dominican Republic" (who might or might not be "Black" in terms of race or ethnicity). Two students were identified confusingly as "mixed marriage," and two were identified less confusingly but with the antiquated language of "mulatto". One student was identified as "Iranian," one as "Indian Greek," and two as "Jewish". It is interesting that the general public still, tenaciously, occasionally classifies Jewish people as a particular "race" or "ethnicity" rather than as multi-ethnic religious culture. Of note is the mix of answers which are sometimes referring to a defined race or ethnicity, sometimes to a nation-state of origin, and sometimes to a language.

To the question of racial and ethnic demographics in the classroom, one teacher wrote, "It is exactly this kind of question which prevents cultural unity!!" A similar, though less direct, sentiment is expressed in another statement, "We are a diverse group...not a lot of any (particular group) except American, which we all are" (emphasis added.) This was a message, I believe,

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for the survey-taker. It was reminding me that what was really important was that we were all Americans, which supersedes or undermines (depending on your point of view) any recognition of or allegiance to a particular racial, ethnic, or nationality group.

This answer that "it is exactly this kind of question which prevents cultural unity" was the most direct and angry statement in the survey. It appeared to suggest that asking about or studying cultural diversity is divisive in itself and undermines individualism. Several other responses to the next question, which inquired about the importance of multi-cultural education in their curriculum, expressed similar sentiments, as did several responses to the last open-ended question which asked for further comments and suggestions. Of note here is that, in my experience conducting workshops, teachers often pride themselves as "color-blind" or "sex-blind," believe they "treat all children the same," and believe in the importance of individual differences over group characteristics.

Efforts to increase the educational opportunities and successes of race, ethnic, and female minority students have been met with some hostility, suspicion, and irritation by teachers who subscribe to such strong individualism in their philosophical approach to everyday life. To say that, "It is exactly this kind of question (e.g., on race and ethnic classroom demographics) which prevent cultural unity!!" is to make a clear accusation of anti-pluralistic/anti-democratic, divisive political maneuvering. This accusation has come across clearly during a few teacher training sessions I have participated. Some teachers say that multi-cultural education is "going too far," although one rarely hears complaints from teachers that the current Eurocentric education is going too far. I will return to explore in depth the

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issue of individualism in both the West and particularily in the socialization of teachers in Chapter VI.

Martin Luther King, Jr. was by far the most referenced by New Hampshire teachers when asked to describe multi-cultural components which were an important part of their curriculum. It seems for many New Hampshire teachers, discussion is just limited to "famous" or "first to" people of color and women. Even this tokenism is limited, by some classroom teachers, to talking a bit about one African-American leader and one civil rights movement one day of the year. There exists a wide variety to the answers here, illustrating both how local control leads to widely different curricula and "required topics" to address as well as the sentiment that multi-culturalism is something, simply, which is "not needed here."

Although a handful of teachers disclosed that they teach entire units of instruction on multi-cultural topics in a cross- or inter-disciplinary fashion, many more respondents said they did not address multi-cultural issues at all. Only one respondent volunteered that she felt she should do more in this area. Following Martin Luther King, Jr., specific multi-cultural topics most mentioned were (in order of decreasing frequency): the discussion of cultural differences around the holidays centering on different holiday customs, the study of Native Americans, discussion of Civil rights Day in general, and Black History Month. No respondent mentioned Women's History Month, Women's Equality Day, or any other specific topic related to either the recognition of women's social, political, economic and scientific contributions to our culture or related to the status of females in any aspect of their life.

With regards to multi-cultural education, 54% of teachers responded that they would "include more multi-cultural components in (their) lesson

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plans if the appropriate multi-cultural material were readily available and easy to use." Only 3% said they would not integrate multi-cultural material any more in their curriculum even if it were user-friendly and accessible, and 41% "perhaps" might use more if under these conditions.

One respondent noted, "We have such little exposure to multiple cultures, young children are not able to understand the abstract information." This is not just a problem of understanding for the students. This is also a problem insofar as we have difficulty getting teachers to see how multi-cultural education provides practical value in their lives by enhancing their understanding of relationships -- their own and others -- in the world. One way I have tried to address this very real problem in the predominantly White landscape of New Hampshire is to center on methods that develop the children's recognition of their own background. These strategies focus on developing the understanding that all individual children, including the white majority, also have an ethnic-national origin and that their own ancestors experienced many of the same biases and discrimination as people of color and recent immigrants do now.

Teaching the exploration of personal ethnicity is a potential growth area for those who work to reduce prejudice: it is only the first hurdle to convince Anglo teachers that Anglo students need to be able to get along in the shrinking "global village," yet quite another step to develop and implement multi-cultural curricula and pedagogy. Making multi-cultural education practical and relevant (in the vogue of learning theory) is to make it "hands-on," experiential, real life application of concepts to conduct and action: how do we create the "teachable moment" in an Anglo vacuum? Another teacher echoed the sentiments expressed here. She added that multi-

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cultural education was a "big, important component" of her school's curriculum. Yet, even though they have "on-going discussion during (the) year (through) literature, etc...," she adds that *it is all talk....very few minorities here to interact with* (emphasis added)." Another teacher handled it an easy way: multi-cultural education is not an important topic and the teacher "(does not) specifically teach multiculturalism except within the context of the student's experiences. Both personal experience plus school experiences." However, most New Hampshire teachers cannot create a laboratory for experiential multi-cultural learning even if they get the best of readers, books, films and other resource materials. Many schools in New Hampshire have yet to house their very first student of la différence in terms of either or both skin color or language other than English (or, perhaps, French up near the Canadian border).

Still, many more teachers who were survey respondents and who come to civil rights workshops feel, as one put it, that they would include more multi-cultural material "...if it were necessary -- (after all) I've only had one P.R. (Puerto Rican) child in 15 years." Another teacher stated that the reason why multi-cultural education is not an important component of her school's curriculum is because "the population of minority children is under 5 (years of age)." Yet another asserted that multi-cultural education was not an important topic to them because "...at our location...this is not an issue that the kids (relate) to well or understand" (emphasis added). Two other respondents made similar comments about multi-cultural education not really relating to the lives of their students. It is difficult to decipher exact meaning from teachers' statements, but it seems quite clear that teachers feel that if and only if there were a significant number of "multi-cultural" students (e.g., people of

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color and those enrolled in English as a Second Language classes) would multi-cultural education be necessary. In responding negatively to the question about the importance of multi-cultural education in their curriculum, one respondent added her view that "This is NH - we don't have many that can stand the COLD!"

Many teachers would not readily include more multi-cultural material if it were available and easy to use. Once again, many teachers feel they would (and would feel compelled to, meaning that it would be more "necessary") if they "had more students from diverse cultural backgrounds." Recall that just talking about race and ethnic differences can be perceived as over-emphasizing such differences. Another teacher wrote, "Respect and tolerance for all -- enhancing (and) instilling that basic value is more important than emphasizing 'differences' in various cultures." If only it were that easy.

This neutral attitude towards race and ethnicity speaks to me most strongly of the ability of some classroom teachers to create (and believe in) a myth of the classroom as not socially influenced, and not viewed as a microcosm of the greater society. Teachers' classrooms, of course, reflect all the social ills of the world. However, not all teachers can tolerate that knowledge. Some teachers appear to view the school, and particularly their own classroom, as a protected and closed society where only individuals exist and achievement is only individual. Following this, teacher to student motivation and attention is only metered out on the basis of individual merit and individual need because that is all that exists in the fantasy. Racism, sexism, classism or any other discrimination is miraculously absent from their classrooms. In this world, attention to group differences and group identities -- be they of ethnicity or gender -- is something alien and forced upon the

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cloister from outside. "Since (multi-cultural education) is not pertinent," one teacher remarks, "it could wait."

The denial of racism and other forms of prejudice can be overwhelming. One teacher insisted that multi-cultural education is only needed "for the sake of enlightenment. It is not needed because of any prejudice among the students and/or faculty of my building." Further, since there are so few obvious minority students, one New Hampshire teacher believes that there are "more relevant issues in their lives." Again this brings us back to the question: how to do we get predominately Anglo/White teachers to teach from a multi-cultural perspective to predominately Anglo/White students? Precious few responses were like the following: "We are a 'global society' and people (children) of our future need to be taught the appropriate philosophy of a multicultural world," and statements like "children even in White New Hampshire need to learn how prejudice can affect lives." This is the point and the task, it would seem.

Several responses have noted something to the effect that "young kids do not notice differences" and do not judge others on the basis of skin color or sex. This is not so, according to studies recently replicated from the 1970s (Pitcher, 1974) whereby children as young as three years old make value judgements based on the skin color or sex of dolls. Dolls of color are those most often identified as having "done bad things" and girl dolls are characterized as more passive and with less intelligent characteristics than boy dolls.[2]

I will examine to what extent the schooling of females is considered a part of multi-cultural education in Chapter 5. Here, however, I will note that few teachers (19%) who responded to the survey felt that their personal experiences and perceptions (bore out the research claim that) "...high-

achieving females get the least classroom attention." Although this piece of research was given as part of the previous survey question, 65% of respondents still did not feel that high-achieving females got the least amount of teacher attention and 14% "could not tell." In this later section, I will present evidence from the research literature on sex-bias in teacher-student interaction patterns.

Sixty-eight percent of teachers surveyed thought that it was "very important" for them to "spend time on activities involving an acceptance of differences, be they social, cultural, (or) physical." This begins to get at one of the differences in the way teachers understand versus how they use multi-cultural education. As yet, recognition of the importance of multi-cultural education is not equated with educational efforts centered on accepting differences.

The survey inquired as to the percentage of "...instructional time...(spent) on activities which have a component of multicultural understanding, awareness of cultural differences, and/or tolerance, respect, and empathy for others." The greatest number of teachers (19%) indicated that they spent "from 20-30%" on such activities. However, responses spanned the spectrum of available answers almost equally, with very similar numbers of teachers answering that they spent "from 5-10%" and those who answered that they spent "40-50%" of instructional time on such activities. As an "other" option was provided, it is interesting to note that 5% of respondents claimed to spend 90% of their time on such activities. The comments these teachers made suggest they believe that multi-culturalism in infused across both the curriculum and the pedagogy used in their classrooms.

Not one respondent believed that "...bias and prejudice on account of

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racial or ethnic differences in your school" were "a very serious problem," and only two out of 209 respondents felt that such bias and prejudice constituted "a serious problem." The majority of respondents (62%) felt that racial and ethnic bias and prejudice was "not a problem" at all, while 34% believed that it was "an existing but not that serious problem."

Regarding gender bias, 58% of teachers believed that is was "not a problem," 30% believed that it was "an existing but not that serious problem," 9% felt it "a serious problem," and only 1% (2 out of 209) felt that gender bias was "a very serious problem."

Regarding class-based bias in the school, or "bias and prejudice on account of socio-economic status in the school," 28% of teachers believed that is was "not a problem," 51% believed that it was "an existing but not that serious problem," 17% felt it "a serious problem," and only 2% (5 out of 209) felt that class-based bias was "a very serious problem."

In regard to the types of teacher training that respondents would find most useful for these issues, the areas seemingly of the most interest are conflict resolution, crisis intervention, behavior modification, self-esteem and interpersonal skills development for both teacher and student to assist with the increase of emotional needs and psychological problems brought into the school. Teachers seem to be considerably more interested in activities that can be integrated with (rather than added to) the existing curriculum. New Hampshire teachers often complain that they have too many "required" areas to address in the course of the average day. Even if they strongly believe that working on race and ethnic relations and sexism is vital to our society's future, they are not interested in being asked to "deal with" yet one more social problem in the classroom. Sometimes, teachers seem even hostile

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towards the suggestion. Such effort would cut even deeper into their limited instructional time spent with students.

Only three respondents made specific reference to cultural diversity or multi-cultural education (e.g., "respect of cultural differences," or teaching for the shrinking "global society") when asked what teacher training they would find most useful. However, I will argue later that many of the topics on which they did desire training (as listed above) could be considered to be part of the broadly-defined multi-cultural orientation towards which our educational system is necessarily directed. It is interesting that only one respondent mentioned gender (e.g., "girl/boy issues") as a desired teacher training topic. Although several questions about parents might have swayed respondents' thinking, four respondents did specifically mention a desire for training to be provided to parents in these areas or training for parents and teachers together.

The Here's Looking at You 2000 curriculum, the Duso puppet guidance program, and the Magic Circle were the three most common "pedagogical methods and curriculum materials" used in the areas of self-esteem, cultural diversity, and respect for self and others. The Duso puppets are used in a role-playing program that provide a safe detachment for children in learning about issues such as child abuse. The puppets and the Here's Looking at You 2000 curriculum are also concerned with self-awareness, including body awareness, and self-esteem issues. Self-esteem is largely incorporated in health and anti-drug curricula. None of the three methods or curricula named here deal specifically with cultural diversity, although they could be adapted. We will review curricular materials with a specific focus on multi-cultural issues in Chapter III.

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A large number of respondents left blank the question asking what methods or curriculum they incorporated to deal with gender issues. Additionally, many either said "no," they did not use any specific classroom tools to address gender issues or said something to the effect that gender is "not a problem" or "not an issue." A third category of answers which indicated that they did address gender issues centered almost exclusively on classroom discussions of careers. A last group, few but pointed in their responses, seemed to say that they addressed gender by not addressing it -- by "not alluding to gender differences" was one answer to the question of what methods and curriculum were used to address gender issues.

In totality, there was little said about work on gender issues taking place in the elementary classroom. This was the case although the survey was interspersed with gender-related questions. This suggests a serious shortcoming at a developmental time when many of the ideas are crystallizing which we will carry around with us for life about what gender means and what difference being male or female makes in our lives. Sadly, one common answer about gender-related education among the few answers forthcoming was about "good touch/bad touch" training and other child abuse issues.

One last comment by a respondent addressed the relation between self-esteem and tolerance towards others: "The children with the most fragile shells as well as the children with the chip on their shoulders are the least tolerant of others which makes for a double edge problem." In what is seemingly a very progressive school, a teacher adds "...however, what I also observe within my own classroom is a multitude of biases and prejudices that constantly interfere with development of a sense of equality, tolerance for others and understanding of cultural diversity. Children seem to have

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inherited these unfounded biases." Inherited from swimming in the stream of our culture, of course, several teachers laid the blame not too subtly on parents. "Children bring biases and prejudicial feelings from home," says another, but then she reassures me that there is at least one school I can scratch off my list for multi-cultural teacher training because "(these biases) are met from the first moment they enter school. Appropriate action is taken. Discussion takes place. Positive action is reinforced." I am not sure if totalitarian-like control is an effective method for cultivating respect and tolerance for cultural diversity, and I wonder if all problems are so neatly taken care of with their procedure.

In summary, let me address the main points raised in the survey. Self-esteem appears to be an important concern for most teachers. However, neither the self-esteem of racial and ethnic minority students nor of females was identified as a particular problem. Teachers overwhelmingly believed that "social or emotional problems" or "low socio-economic status" were the greatest contributors to low self-esteem.

This seems to be contradictory to the later comments which generally claimed that the racial and ethnic minorities have "a hard time of it" in New Hampshire. It is also interesting that self-esteem was not connected to the minority status of students since the majority of teachers have heard racially and sexually motivated "derogatory language." The questions about language heard in the classroom also speaks to the negative salience of race, since in a state of only a few percent people of color, approximately one-third of the teachers had heard derogatory remarks about both race and gender. I also should note that the presence of just two written comments about homophobic remarks -- both unsolicited -- still seems significant when I consider that this

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survey dealt strictly with elementary age children. (The general rule is that children start to "gay-bash" in the middle school years. This is true for boys especially, according to many educators who have expressed concern about this to me.)

About two-thirds of teachers thought that both students and parents had a fairly good "understanding and tolerance" of cultural diversity, although over 10% also thought that students and parents had a poor understanding and tolerance of such issues. This viewpoint of teachers with regard to parents is important since teachers also identified "parents/family" as the strongest socialization source for learning prejudices. Teachers ranked themselves as the least important socialization source for prejudice, after "peers" and "media."

The questions asking teachers about the racial and ethnic make-up of their classes purposefully let the teachers define who they consider to be a racial or ethnic minority. In spite of the Franco-American influence in New Hampshire, "Canadians" or "French-Canadians" were not identified as a racial or ethnic minority group, yet Greeks and Jews were. I do not consider it "politically incorrect" to use words like "colored," "Negro," or "mulatto" to describe African-American students. Nonetheless, this has to be pointed out as profoundly out-dated and potentially bigoted behavior. I was quite taken back by the use of such words (which were also used in the interviews, as I shall show later.) Using words that were in common usage both before the abolition of slavery and one-hundred years later before major Civil Rights legislation in the 1950s and 1960s indicates to me a nonchalant and even defiant view of equal rights for race minorities.

There were other fascinating aspects of who teachers defined as

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minorities in their classes. Of note is the generalization of all Asian-Pacific Islander nationalities as "Oriental." Given that the Department of Education records show that there are well over one-hundred of both Vietnamese and Laotian students in New Hampshire, I assume that the specific cultural origin of many of these were not known or otherwise mis-identified. Lastly, it was odd that so few teachers identified students as "Hispanic" or "Latino" since this is the largest ethnic group in New Hampshire according to the census and school registry categories.

The next series of questions asked teachers specifically about their views of multi-cultural education and about how important multi-cultural education was in their classroom. Overall, they do not believe it is that important. That is not to say that teachers admit they avoided multi-cultural education. In fact, about one-fifth of the teachers said they spent from "20-30%" of their instructional time on such issues. Nonetheless, what teachers said in the qualitative, open-ended questions tended to express a common view that multi-cultural education was not really needed yet in New Hampshire. Although Civil Rights consultants are called into increasing numbers of schools to deal with the effects of racism, not one of the 209 respondent thought racial bias was a "very serious problem." Gender issues seemed best ignored as well. These responses tell me that something is occurring in the lives of teachers that encourages and allows for such social blindness. As I noted, even after being presented with research on the gender bias in teacher-student interaction patterns, most teachers chose simply not to even entertain the notion.

After I present and analyze the interview data, I will return to some of these issues raised in the survey.

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<u>Interview Data on Multi-culturalism and Multi-cultural Education</u>

Appendix B contains a copy of the interview guide with the 25 questions I asked of 12 respondents. I grouped the interview questions into several categories. These categories include: 1) "Demographics," 2) "Conceptual Understandings," 3) "Related Social Factors," 4) "Multi-cultural Education in New Hampshire," 5) "Educational Policy and Multi-Cultural Education," and, 6) "Additional Information." In order to present a cohesive and holistic image of each respondent as an individual "case study," I have provided a narrative of the transcriptions of the interviews in Appendix C. Although I analyze the interviews according to the pre-set categories here, I believe that a different, and perhaps fuller, picture of multi-cultural education in New Hampshire can be gleaned from a reading of the narrative of the transcriptions. The interviews were conducted to gather illustrative material about the views of teachers. Because the number of interviews was small, I will be able to cull interesting individual responses to the questions. After each category, I will summarize the findings.

<u>Demographics</u>. Analysis of the this initial category shows that the teachers I interviewed had between four months and forty years teaching experience. Most had between eight and twenty years teaching experience. Their teaching experience was mostly in New Hampshire, although two were relatively new to the area. Only five were New Hampshire natives, and only two others were from elsewhere in New England. One interesting commonality was that four educators commented that they were more sensitive and/or understanding of multi-cultural issues because they originated from other areas of the country that were more diverse. For example, one noted that she is working on an M.Ed. at the University of New Hampshire and has been

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surprised by how much multi-culturalism and diversity are left out but that other graduate students do not share her perception. She attributed her own perception as influenced from her background in California, including undergraduate school in Southern California. Another teacher likewise claimed she perceived the racism of New Hampshire more acutely because she had gone to a "big city college" in New York City.

I interviewed twelve educators in all levels of K-12 public education, with a few more from the elementary school grade range than the middle and high school grade range. As one main source of potential interviewees, I contacted teachers who had revealed their name on the survey on self-esteem and multi-cultural education issues. This survey was conducted exclusively with elementary school teachers in the primary (K-3) grades. I approached other educators recommended to me because they were doing "advanced" multi-cultural work, and two were teachers I had met previously in the course of my work conducted teacher training workshops.

The respondents were primarily classroom teachers, with one art teacher, one counselor, and one administrator. The middle and high school teachers belonged to English and Social Studies departments, except for the art teacher who was also in a high school setting. I unfortunately did not interview any math or science teachers, although their input and perspective would have been interesting.

I attempted to interview educators from all geographic quadrants of the state: the seacoast, the north or "lakes region," as well as what is called the southern tier and the western part of the state. I had a good mix of both urban and rural schools represented. No teacher admitted that she or he did not integrate at least some multi-cultural elements in their teaching. Respondents

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came from schools from both wealthy and poor districts in New Hampshire. Their responses supported my earlier observation that the wealthiest schools, most often with the lowest racial and ethnic minority demographics, were ironically the ones doing the most multi-cultural education. (We will return to discuss this more fully in Chapter 5 when I show how multi-cultural education is related to the structure of educational financing.)

Almost half of the teachers considered themselves what I might call "multi-cultural teachers," by whom multi-cultural related issues have been thought through, experimented with, and implemented in curricula and pedagogy as much as possible. Others were just starting on this journey, with varying degrees of trepidation. The teachers' background knowledge on multi-cultural education ran the gamut from virtually none to very little to -- in the case of the guidance counselor -- experience with writing grants for multi-cultural education projects for her school. The counselor was unusually knowledgeable and thoughtful about this as she is just starting on a doctoral dissertation in educational psychology on whether or not one can actually create a multi-cultural consciousness or worldview where only a mono-cultural consciousness existed before. There were four males and eight females interviewed, ranging in age, I estimate, from early 20s to early 60s. I believe most were in their late 30s and early 40s.

I had removed the question asking about the teachers' own cultural background, but in the course of the interview three self-identified themselves: one as "part African-American and part Native-American" and two as "French Canadian." Except for the African-American male kindergarten teacher, they all appeared to be White. Most said they had no racial and ethnic minority in their class. The exceptions were: 1) a high

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school English teacher who had a total of seven racial-ethnic minorities in her current five classes; 2) the art teacher who said she has approximately one-fifth racial and ethnic minority students in her class; one that said that her current classes had "10 - 15%" racial and ethnic minorities; 3) another has five to "well over a dozen" students of racial and ethnic minority status in each of her seven classes she teaches each day.

When asked about their estimation of how many racial and ethnic minority students attended their school, one respondent claimed there were four: "one Sioux, one Black, and two adopted South American children," a second said there was about a 20% non-White student population, a third school had approximately 11% non-White population, a fourth, the guidance counselor, said her "clientele" including one-hundred ESL students (a rather large percentage given the school's total enrollment of 2600); a fifth said the racial and ethnic population is "approximately 2- 3%"; a sixth answer was unusual, given without the usual hesitation and mental calculation, was the teacher who said that there are fourteen racial and ethnic minority students including "three African-Americans, a Japanese-American, an Iranian-American, (and) one Saudi Arabian-American student." He also noted that "we also have a part Abenaki Indian, on the boy's father's side." A seventh respondent said that her current classes had "10 - 15%" racial and ethnic minorities, an eighth one said there were 10% racial and ethnic minorities in their school, and a ninth one estimates that his school has approximately 20% racial and ethnic minority students. The tenth teacher believes that there are only two racial and ethnic students in his entire school.

Two teachers claimed there were no racial and ethnic minorities in their school, at least not yet. An interesting disparity was between the two

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educators interviewed at the same school where one estimated there to be "2-3%" racial and ethnic minority students in the school with a population of approximately 600, while the colleague though there were only "two" minorities altogether in the school. Given that these were true and honest perceptions, it shows how variable definitions of race and ethnicity categories are.

In summary, the demographics reflect a fairly typical selection of average New Hampshire teachers. Teaching for a long time or just beginning a teaching career, a New Hampshire native or a "transplant," a multi-culturalist through and through or skeptical of the idea and questioning the need: what cuts across these differences is that they are educators working in a remarkably homogeneous state. I believe this work could have benefitted from more educators from the older grades, as that is where many of the more explicit racism and other various prejudices are most evident.

With the exception of, perhaps, four respondents out of twelve total, the teachers did not seem to clearly express a commitment to integrate a multi-cultural perspective in their classes. (This is true even though most claimed they were supporters of multi-cultural education.) Most interviewed respondents, like many of the survey-takers, expressed the common attitude that multi-culturalism exists in a world far away from New Hampshire and multi-cultural education is just not needed here -- yet.

The questions about classroom demographics show how arbitrary our assessments of "diversity" is and how quickly we are to (mis)label. When I asked educators to describe the diversity in their classrooms and in their schools, I received a odd collection of words and names for racial groups, for

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various ethnicities, as well as for various nationalities and language-groups. Confusion was also evident in that teachers interviewed from the same school estimated the extent of racial and ethnic diversity with considerably different numbers. The free mixing of the names for different racial groups, nationalities, ethnicities, and languages together in describing the "racial and ethnic" composition of their classes and their schools shows, I believe, the hypothetical unity and amalgamation of ethnicity, nationalism, and language in the U.S. consciousness at large.

Conceptual Understandings. Moving to the substantive interview questions, the next set of questions were posed under this category of "conceptual understandings" of multi-cultural issues. These included questions about how an educator differentiated between multi-culturalism and the multi-cultural education movement. I asked general questions such as "What do you think of multi-cultural issues?" to see from the beginning what the respondents included under the banner. That is, did multi-cultural issues include just race issues or were gender issues also included? (I later ask separately about race issues and gender issues). I also asked what current school programs did they believe had a multi-cultural focus, and what was emphasized in these programs (for instance race relations and other learning concepts). This section also included a question about their understanding of global education and multi-cultural education.

In answer to the question on what the respondents thought about multi-cultural education, they gave a multitude of definitions, problems, and rationales. The guidance counselor views multi-culturalism as both "a process and as a continuum; on one end is an ethnocentric perspective and on the other end a pluralistic perspective." Another respondent said that multi-

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culturalism is a "given state of being" in the U.S. now with the increased immigration and the presence of diversity. He says that multi-cultural education needs to be addressed because "the world is becoming smaller as our students will be interacting with many cultures, especially in the business world. We need to learn to appreciate better the multitude of differences within our own country as well." He feels we need to start "tolerance education" at much younger ages as "It's really too late by the time students are here (at the Middle School)."

One distinction between multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education is that multi-culturalism "is the recognition that America is made up of many cultural and ethnic groups" while multi-cultural education "makes sure to include the histories of these groups." One respondent said the prototype of multi-cultural education programs is the California Framework of Social Studies that is set up to be numerically representative: if 17% of a California city's school students are Chicano, then 17% of the social studies curriculum should be devoted to Chicano issues, and likewise for other racially and/or culturally diverse populations. Multi-cultural education is defined as the classroom where a teacher has "a mixture of different cultures (and where) the teacher is absorbing all equally and building an appreciation of each culture."

A multi-cultural classroom could study and "understand why Hispanics like certain music or not. Regardless of language problems, we need to reach all students. It is a big challenge because we have to understand where they are coming from -- a place not like your own background." Generally, all the respondents indicated a favorable view of multi-cultural education, and many have worked out their own definition of what multi-cultural education means

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for them -- both personally and in practice.

My oldest respondent believed that there was definitely a push for multi-cultural education "because in the (teacher supply) catalogs there is now a big money-maker with multi-cultural education. To be really 'with it' you need to buy a lot of multi-cultural materials." Perhaps this is true in her school, but it contradicts my experience that many teachers, when asked, cannot point to any specific multi-cultural materials in their classroom.

The African-American kindergarten teacher said that:

> While I think the intent of multiculturalism programs are good
> (however) I think quite often the methods leave much to be
> desired. For example, too often multi-cultural education
> programs represent tokenism -- one time a year schools mention
> Native Americans, usually around Thanksgiving, and not quite in
> the right role but as some kind of appendage to the Great White
> Europeans who had come to live with them...there was a recent
> issue of Utne Reader which had a section on Thanksgiving
> (which attempted) to show the Native American in a good light
> but it wasn't very sensitive. One picture from a school textbook
> showed a Native American and a Pilgrim bending over planting
> corn and the caption said that the Native American was 'helping
> the Pilgrim plant a seed' -- like they were a slave -- instead of
> telling the truth that the Native American taught the Pilgrim
> how to grow corn.

The art teacher said that multi-culturalism is "the process of acknowledging basic respect for all people" by "looking at the art of all cultures and coming at it from a respect focus" which is "beyond simple nationalistic recognition." She continued that "we try to personally get in touch with our own individual heritages and do acknowledge differences but we focus on the similarities." Her philosophy is that the multi-cultural movement is about "recognizing the error of complete assimilation" where "we have realized we cannot be the melting pot...it is a great idea but we were all melting into one big, homogeneous Anglo." She states that

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People of color should not feel that they have to assimilate White culture and can feel good about their own culture and therefore feel good about themselves. The generation we have now demands multi-cultural education and sees that the melting pot does not work and does not overcome oppression.

She believes that much of multi-cultural education "comes down to social class issues." Another respondent, an English teacher, seems to equate the term multi-cultural education solely with educational issues for the English as Second Language (ESL) students automatically unless I specifically ask about race, sex, or some other specific topic.

We need multi-cultural education because "it is good thing I try to promote" and "in this part of the country because we haven't been accustomed to it and so we can get more of a global scope (and) so we aren't so prejudiced. I was shocked in 1965 when (William) Loeb (editor of The Union Leader) said in a front-page editorial 'Blacks should stay out of NH, there were 3000 in New Hampshire and we don't need any more'." Another respondent said that multi-culturalism is "an awareness of different customs, traditions, etc....(like) the old golden-rule that they teach you in church." Multi-culturalism is important "due to our growing diverse population in the U.S."

Any level of exposure to multi-cultural education, particularly in the primary grades "should create some tolerance even if attitudes do not change." Yet this respondent added that the "the biggest problem and challenge of multi-culturalism is to do something (about) stereotyping," for example when elementary students in her school innocently asking Native American speakers if "their feathers were at home." Except for the couple of classes where multi-cultural education is a focus in her school, it was very hard for her colleagues' students to get beyond the most general stereotypes. She feels that news stories are very slanted. She confessed that the negative stereotypes

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about Blacks she absorbed through media have affected her behavior and described "embarrassing" incidents of being frightened by Blacks where she feels she would not have been frightened by Whites. She said, "maybe it would be different in we were talking about a urban area," but she lives in a very White small town in northwest New Hampshire.

Gender issues were raised throughout the interviews with four mentioning gender as a part of multi-cultural education. As one said, "A lot of how gender affects our lives as teachers has affected my feeling about the need for multi-cultural education." The same teacher shared that

> it is hard to know what to do with Asian students. I'd like to know better how to pronounce their names. It's embarrassing because I can't pronounce many names. ESL students are mainstreamed in classes and I don't feel I feel very competent to teach them. Particularly with the Asians it's hard to identity where they are from exactly. Hispanics are the same way. With the EH (Emotionally Handicapped) or SPED (Special Education) kids I get a whole bunch of information in their IEP (Individual Education Plan) on their strengths and weaknesses at the beginning of class and get support throughout the year. I get nothing with the ESL kids that are mainstreamed into my class...I feel very detached and impersonal when I'm teaching ESL kids. I could be more friendly and warm and better meet their needs if I knew more about them. I know if a kid has asthma or epilepsy, but not the country of origin of ESL kids. Mainstreaming (hasn't worked as well for all students).

Another educator believes that multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education are "...not stagnant, monolithic sets of specific attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors." Her point here is to note that "...some of us are more pluralistic with some people at some times than with others." Although she believes the multi-cultural education movement is necessary, she does not think schools can adequately address the movement if teachers have not been trained and taught a multi-cultural perspective. Thus, for her, a school has to start with the faculty and their own biases and prejudices, those that they picked up

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from media and from their own upbringing.

Her faculty have just "woken up to the fact that we have to start teaching more multi-culturally if our students are going to succeed out in the world." She added:

> If you are only going to talk about only African-Americans or any other ethnic group only once month or one week out of the year, that gives an impression to the kids that they (racial and ethnic groups) are not to be taken that seriously. (Students) need to have multi-cultural education integrated completely into one's curriculum and teaching.

The next question inquired about what programs in the school might come under the banner of multi-cultural education. Two respondents gave the example of their reading program as a multi-cultural education program. One said that their reading program "really takes us around the world so we're hoping to give children a broader range of experiences from other cultures. Our art and music programs are also tied into this theme."

A "programmatic change" which has inspired a core of teachers to promote additional multi-cultural understanding was the new primary grade reading program, called the "Open Court Reading Program." One respondent said that teachers were expecting the new readers to stress the "whole language approach to reading," but were surprised when the new books came in that there was such an "obvious change in multi-cultural content. There was much more representation of African-, Hispanic-, Asian-, and Native-Americans in the new books." He mentioned that several teachers said they had not realized how "White" the books they had been using for years were until they had the comparison forced upon them with the arrival of the new books.

Also noticed was that "women of color and (White) females participating

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in all activities -- like riding on a fire truck -- were more represented." The teacher's guide to the new reading program stressed that a major goal of the program was to "expose students to other cultures through reading...(and)...to show how similar our culture is to others around the world." This same respondent said that as a relatively new teacher he has adjusted to the program more quickly than some of the "old-timers...who still deny that this picture-postcard New Hampshire town is quickly becoming a bedroom community for Boston." He defended the teachers, though, because "until very recently multi-cultural materials were not available for elementary schools," but focused mostly on the older grades.

Several other respondents could cite no specific programs. One of these teachers observed that "in my school, unfortunately, we have a lot of bigots. I'm still new but I've been shocked to find out that I've already been labelled some kind of mush-brained liberal because I teach from a multi-cultural perspective wherever I can."

Another elementary school teacher expressed a similar thought as the teachers with the new reading programs did. She said that the biggest programmatic change in teaching associated with multi-culturalism is the "current focus on thematic units as the main pedagogical units." She said that "we teach in a much more unified and less fragmented way now, particularly in the Elementary grades. The teachers I know at that level take a theme, like racial diversity, and use that as the example for teaching about history, about biology, reading -- everything." She notes that many times multi-cultural awareness is only discussed around the holidays, but even that "can broaden awareness, heighten interest, and lead to increased respect for differences between cultures." She believes the new theme of her school -- "school for all

children" -- has been influenced by multi-cultural education and its influence can also be seen in the way special education has changed. "There is a major attempt to de-label all the children we have locked into boxes due to their differences." Her district also have a new foreign language program at the Middle School, but remarks that in poorer districts some high schools have cut out what foreign language instruction they did once offer.

In response to the question about multi-cultural initiatives, one more skeptical teacher said that she is afraid that multi-cultural initiatives and programs

> seem to be moving us away from the traditional kind of education, to learn ABCs. (The attempt at multi-cultural education) is weaving something into curriculum which many people don't think is basic. It's important because you are developing a better world where everybody gets along (yet) the curriculum is already overloaded with drug and sex curriculum.

This would suggest another challenge for multi-cultural education. Multi-cultural education is not going to be adopted and implemented with much continuity or enthusiasm if teachers do not attach the same crucial importance to it that they do, say, to drug education.

Others gave specific examples of programs and initiatives. At the art teacher's high school in a urban area of southern New Hampshire there was a fledgling group called the Cultural Sensitivity Group, but she is not sure if it is still functioning as it lacked leadership and focus. Also, some "verbally ugly arguments occurred during some of the group's meetings over topics of racially-sensitive language and affirmative action." Another after-school group which has been more successful called Panacea, which is a "total inclusion group emphasizing the integration of physically challenged people into the school as well as issues of racial tensions, sexism, and related topics."

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She talks quite a bit about the high level of racial tension at the school. She was annoyed that a faculty group had been charged with doing something to deal with the racism and racial tension in the school, yet there was not any follow-through as far as she knows. She adds that many students are concerned with the level of violence in the schools and "many feel that the violence is fostered by racism and sexism."

The counselor's school has just begun a Multi-cultural Committee that will plan activities, lead curriculum discussion groups, and beef up their provision of appropriate and effective education for the increasing numbers of culturally and linguistically diverse students. The have just started an International Club as well, which is mostly for students. Also, one faculty member is preparing to teach their first course on women's studies at this private school. A third elementary school teacher mentioned another new "whole-language" reading program that seems, to her, to be influenced by multi-cultural education. She has also noticed "many more immigrant stories in the latest second grade readers." Multi-cultural education in her school is "in music in particular, our music teacher will do Spanish or Negro culture (and) in physical education (the teacher) talked about different exercises in different lands." She has observed that multi-cultural education is still mostly in the arts and music in the primary grades but is mostly in social studies and English in the upper grades.

Multi-cultural issues are addressed programmatically only in English as Second Language (ESL) classes, claims an English teacher from a large, urban school in central New Hampshire. As an extracurricular matter, it is an issue in both the International Club and Students for Social Justice organizations. The administrator of a middle school I interviewed said that multi-cultural

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issues are included in "Unified Arts -- in music, dance, art -- in science with food and nutrition and health information that is cross-cultural and in math using multi-cultural games involving money, computation, or the metric system."

What is emphasized in these programs is described as the sense of "...enjoying our differences, yet seeing our similarities in human feelings and values," "...a respect for cultural differences," and "diversity and acceptance" Tolerance was the learning concept which is most stressed in multi-cultural education work wherein exposure to cultural differences is the method of achieving tolerance. "I think if the kids understand why a culture is like it is then their attitudes may change, or, we may prevent negative attitudes from forming," explained one respondent. The learning concepts that one school have wanted to stress since I conducted an in-service workshop on diversity and equity issues include "...respect, understanding, individuality, group differences, cooperation and learning from each other." Others say that "very little is being done" in terms of initiatives and programs, and another also said that there are no set initiatives on multi-cultural education but "his whole approach to teaching is multi-cultural."

I asked if race relations specifically were emphasized in any multi-cultural education at their schools. One said that race relations are not emphasized in any programmatic way although the school "has its share" of racial issues. Another one said that

> race relations are not emphasized...and are way too rarely mentioned. This school has so few minorities...it's so White. Unfortunately, these children have so little exposure to other races that when children of different color enroll it's hard for them to be easily accepted.

The art teacher said that race relations are emphasized to some extent in

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the school's curriculum, although there are few resources. For example, she was angry to find that the Black Entertainment Television channel was not broadcast "to any area North of Boston" when she wanted to order a telecommunications program on race issues through them. She wrote a proposal to the principal and got the funds secured to have to program broadcast into the school, then had to tell both students and colleagues that it was not available. She was "...angry to think of the close-mindedness which would lead anyone to think that racism was not a problem in states with as few racial minority students as New Hampshire."

Another high school teacher said that race relations are not emphasized at his school or district adding "that we don't have a whole hell of a lot of diversity here -- it's pretty White." Since the school is close to the Maine border and since Maine "has a sizable Native American population," he himself "does a little dab on their culture" in some of his classes. He believes that "the number one problem of ethnic origins in this country is the Black-White issue. It's nice to know about other cultures and that does broaden our awareness...(but) I think that race relations are central." The same was true for another respondent, who said that "the most vital issue in American is in the struggle between Whites and Blacks."

Unfortunately, most teachers only mention Martin Luther King, Jr. during Black History Month, but the African-American kindergarten teacher talks about King and the Civil Rights Movement all the time. He added that race relations are stressed more in his school than other schools in the area and that the focus is on "treating everyone with dignity and respect."

The last question in this category was on global education, which one respondent defined as "an awareness of other cultures in the world...and their

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similarities and differences to ours. We are trying to make children globally aware." Only two teachers did not venture even to guess what global education was all about, and almost all responses smacked of the "global village" and inter-dependent worldview. Several educators felt that global education and multi-cultural education are synonymous since both concepts "stress when we have in common with other cultures not just what is different." Global education is especially important to social studies, says a social studies teacher, because they can "...benefit from the increased number of teaching aids which emphasize cultural pluralism in geography, history of war and the contributions to our history from 'ordinary citizens'."

Another teacher replied that

when I think of global education I think of the rain forests and how we are talking about ecology now and how all the systems work together: how the ecology is affected by the political system, the connection between the social and the political systems. We have tried to make our days here at school less fragmented. We try to teach more in a global way and a thematic way and try to immerse everybody in it. Like if we are discussing a Native-American culture in reading I will try to integrate it into the other subject matter for the day. Global education is a part of multi-cultural education, according to another teacher, which is a "given way the world has to be seen now.

The art teacher defined global education as "humanistic education" which stressed "the individual's relationship to society and what our contributions to society are." She notes that a challenge is to keep kids from getting skeptical about "how can I make a difference?" This teacher added that art education has changed and has becomes more multi-cultural, both locally and globally, since World War II. "We (art teachers) have talked less about the difference between the East and the West in art and talk more now about North/South differences." Instructionally, this means that in class she covers art from Africa, South America and Central America before she covers

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European and North American art.

The counselor was cautious about endorsing global education, which was unusual given her enthusiasm and commitment to issues that she feels are multi-cultural. I realized after such a statement as "...global education is fine as long as it's not at the expense of cultural difference....each culture needs to retain its own cultural richness, not just one homogenous global culture," that her conception of the One-Worldness aspect of what she understood as global education was an Orwellian Big Brother view where cultural differences would disappear. A elementary school teacher said:

> Planet Earth is the only home we've got, I think that the main message of global education. Global education is similar to multi-cultural education in that is tries to connect -- and show the interconnections -- between all countries, cultures, tradition, etc.

The kindergarten teacher said that global education is to emphasize service to others and the joy in doing things for others.

> My kids are proud when they can come tell me that they helped a classmate out with something... I tell my kids you will learn to read better anywhere, but the most important thing is for you to be loving, caring, and really honest and truthful. If you are that, it doesn't really matter if you cannot read or write very well. The academics come secondarily in my classroom, but of course in kindergarten you can get away with that.

A social studies teacher said that global education is

> one of the most important parts of multi-cultural education because today we are connecting with the world, not just with our own country. The business world is global and through technology we are able to reach countries in seconds.

In summary of the set of questions under the heading of "conceptual understandings," we see that such understandings are not at all consistent or in harmony with each other. Following the debates in the literature over multi-cultural education, some teachers felt it "could be divisive" and others felt it is "about bringing people together." Some see multi-cultural education

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as a "process" while others see it as a "given state of being." Other teachers had a narrow conception of multi-culturalism having to do mostly with the language-learning issues of English as a Second Language (ESL) students.

Most viewed multi-culturalism as giving recognition and voice to different cultural perspectives and viewed multi-cultural education as a strategy to increase tolerance and understanding of such different perspectives. This overall distinction seems in line with what commentators on multi-cultural issues write. What educators disagreed on was how to implement multi-cultural education, where in the curriculum it belonged, and whether an infusion model was sufficient or if complete new curricula were needed. Another point of disagreement was over what exactly multi-cultural education was supposed to do for themselves and their students although several teachers agreed on "tolerance" as an over arching goal.

Some educators understand multi-cultural education as the "three F's" of Fun, Food, and Festival with more superficial recognition and celebration of differences in cultural customs. Other educators use it as a launch pad to teach about prejudice and discrimination -- both personal and institutional. The most developed ideologies of multi-cultural education, for me, became the "little blue ball" folks who use multi-cultural education as a kind of awareness tool about global interconnectness and as a method of creating in students a higher consciousness around social, environmental, and political issues.

Most multi-culturalism appears in social studies and reading. Of particular note is that many of the elementary school teachers commented about "relatively new" reading curricula that reflect much more cultural diversity than the older curricula did. This is another fringe benefit of encouraging schools and teachers to use the best multi-cultural curricula they

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can find. Several teachers noted that among their peers who were beginning to teach from the new texts, that they were then coming to a personal decision that multi-cultural education was important and that they needed to learn more about multi-culturalism.

One last overall impression of the answers here was that the vast majority of schools in New Hampshire are not implementing multi-cultural education is any systematic or systemic fashion. Only four of the twelve respondents were able to name a single program of multi-cultural education at their school. No one said that racism or race relations were emphasized in any programs at their school, whether or not they personally did work in their own classroom on race issues. There is something comical yet also sad and even infuriating that "Martin Luther King, Jr." was the only name or phrase that almost ever came to mind when asked about what race issues were discussed, even during Black History Month. I quickly became to expect to hear his name.

Another impression was how, in the most enthusiastic embracing of multi-culturalism, that it can so completely change an educator's philosophy and practice of education. The two examples that come to mind are the art teacher and the kindergarden teacher. These two gave up to twice as much information during the interview as did the other ten. The art teacher said that she views her own M.A. level of education in Art and Art History with some contempt now that she had constructed and taught an entire course on female artists. In her own years of training and education, Mary Cassatt and Georgia O'Keefe were the only female artists ever mentioned. The kindergarden teacher, as well, has turned his own dissatisfaction with the limited historical perspective of his education into a conviction that he was

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going to teach differently -- more completely -- by emphasizing race and sex issues.

Let us turn to see what educators said about the "related social factors" of political correctness, the debate over the Canon, relativism, and Afrocentric education.

Related Social Factors. This category included the social and political topics presumed to influence multi-cultural views. These "related social factors" include questions on educators' views of political correctness, affirmative action (including the issues of reverse discrimination), Afrocentric education (including the Black Athena thesis), U.S. race relations, and relativism. These are the social factors, the social issues, that will be addressed in depth in Chapter 4.

On political correctness, one teacher was "not sure she knew what political correctness was," and two other teachers had not heard or read about the concept of "political correctness." Another one has, but confesses he really doesn't understand what the debate is about. A fifth gave an answer that seemed to illustrate that she was confusing it with something else. Eight others had full and spirited responses.

"I know it's a big political thing right now," one respondent says, and that the

> ....issue makes teaching multi-culturalism very difficult. I try to make sure I know all the politically correct names and terms but you never know when you may be offending someone. Some people get frustrated at this but I find it a growth experience. I came from an actively racist and bigoted family, so I'm all for learning about tolerance and how to respect all differences not just racial ones.

He also thought it was useful to include an up-front discussion of political correctness in the work I do on multi-cultural education and advised me to do

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so.

The middle school administrator feels that "teachers need to be models of political correctness...(and)...not fearful of receiving such a stupid and narrow-minded label." Another teacher said that coincidentally she had just been talking about political correctness: "...we were just talking today about an issue and were laughing if we were making the 'politically correct' decision. People want to be socially correct and want to be accepted by others around you and we want to do the right thing so that we will fit in. To me, that is political correctness." Another teacher said: "When I think of political correctness I think of all the 'isms'."

The art teacher said the issue bothered her and that she "...had a hard time thinking about things fashionable." However, she strives to remain above what she considers a meaningless debate over political correctness. She said, "When we are dealing with political correctness, I believe in the importance of certain issues not because they are 'PC,' but because I believe intuitively that they are the right things to be concerned about." She does think that the debate around political correctness is making some students see the world from more multi-cultural eyes, and sift out from the pro- and anti-PC arguments that the world is seen more clearly from more of the perspective of females and people of color, who have "historically been left out of the dominant worldview."

Another respondent's understanding of the politically correct debate is that it consists of

> the desire to use correct terminology, what is politically correct
> and non-offensive to say and how to say it. Is African-American
> or Black more politically correct? It's a language thing for me,
> which includes gender issues. It's very difficult to know what it
> is... Is someone in the multi-cultural movement because you only

want to be politically correct, or are you really involved in the process of celebrating differences?

A high school social studies teacher meekly offered that the political correctness debate is "a crock of shit...the whole idea that the ethos of understanding people is demonstrated that only Blacks can understand what Blacks have gone through and only Blacks can teach Blacks is nonsense."

The African-American kindergarten teacher noted,

> I know there are some people who are isolationists and teach the old American stuff. In a changing world where White privilege and conferred White male dominance are being challenged, thanks to Peggy MacIntosh of Wellesley and others, White people feel that the country is opening up to non-White immigrants and that they are going to lose their advantage. White people are scared about losing their privileges based on skin color. Again, I think a lot of it is unconscious. It is against equality and justice for all -- the values our country was supposedly founded on -- to even worry about losing an advantage.

Another respondent linked the political correctness debate with the "... insecurity and fear (that) runs high in many White people and many think that Blacks -- like the Blacks who beat up Reginald Denny in the L.A. riots -- get off easy because the 'politically correct' thing to do is to excuse Blacks from the responsibility of crimes committed." She disagrees with this tactic, however, and says, "In my own experiences, I haven't known people of color who whine that they are victims and therefore are not accountable for their actions. But that's the stereotype portrayed by those that criticize how 'politically correct' we've supposedly become...the anti-political correctness crowd (attempting) to silence those who desire fairer treatment."

The next question dealt with affirmative action, which a respondent defined "as an attempt to balance the playing field. I think that if we lived in a just word, or were actually working towards a just and fair world, that we would get to the place where we don't need affirmative action, because then

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justice was the norm." Our kindergarten teacher implored us to

> look at Ivy-League education if you want to understand
> affirmative action...(it is) full of dumb, rich kids that are in
> school just because their last name was Rockefeller. Kids get into
> these schools because of family. There has always been
> favoritism shown in some dimension. Our society acts
> affirmatively to boost up the dominant class (yet) we don't
> complain enough about that kind of unfair 'affirmative action.'

He adds,

> The corporation I was with before going into teaching had hired
> their token first person of color within the legal department, and
> got 'two-in-one' by hiring a women of color, who was also the
> first female in the law department. She was so resented by the
> White male lawyers, most of whom had much less academic
> achievement in law school than she had. She was really one of
> the only sharp ones there....(but) she had to do the ol' 'twice as
> well to be thought half as good' stuff...

A social studies teacher said that affirmative action "...is where a business or institution because of past prejudices and discrimination is going out of its way to recruit and utilize ethnic groups as part of their service systems." He seemed generally supportive of the principles involved, but noted: "affirmative action has had as much negative backlash associated with it as it has given benefits to racial minorities. It has alienated a certain section of White folks and probably has turned off some White teachers from teaching about cultural diversity."

The guidance counselor said that affirmative action from an employment perspective is "to actively seek out minority employees including people of color and women. I think its absolutely necessary to recruit. I'd love it if my school would do that. We very much have a White, Anglo-Saxon teacher population. Affirmative action is good for multi-cultural education because (the minorities that are hired) can bring a different perspective." Another classroom teacher said she "believes in affirmative action and that

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"we need to continue it until it is not needed anymore." To this teacher, affirmative action "means that if you are qualified for a job you can have it without being discriminated against on basis of sex, race, etc. You have an equal chance of getting the job under affirmative action laws." She also added, "We keep reading that quotas are a part of affirmative action laws, but since this is such a White community without a lot of affirmative action going on, I haven't had a lot of exposure to it."

Another respondent said that affirmative action is "how companies have to hire certain numbers of Blacks for certain jobs so they don't get into trouble with the government." She does think that someone's view on affirmative action would affect their view of multi-cultural education "as some people are really against (affirmative action)." Another respondent said that she understands that "affirmative action is under attack" and worries that "the gains from the past will be lost (if we undo affirmative action laws any further)."

Other questions attempted to determine views on Afrocentric curriculum in general and the Black Athena thesis specifically. There were only two completely unqualified endorsements of Afrocentric education: many worried that it "might go too far." With regard to Afrocentric education, five had no idea what the term referred to. One respondent viewed Afrocentric curriculum as an "affirmative action or corrective type of curriculum" but also believes that "African or African-American curriculum should not come to dominate the curriculum as Eurocentric curriculum does now." She added that she would not want to stress Afrocentric education because that would leave out other cultures. This reminded me of teachers who remark in workshops that the study of "others" cultures was "going too far." These same

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teachers were sometimes not willing to criticize the Eurocentric education they learned and now taught as "going too far."

One of the two enthusiasts on Afrocentric education, the art teacher, said that "it's not here (in her school) although we could use some" and adds that she wonders "how can Blacks and women learn anything at all if all the history that is presented to them is about White males?" She described that during a survey she conducted in order to assess the need and interest in multi-cultural art classes she asked students whether they thought of a male or a female when they thought of an artist, and whether they thought of a White person or a person of color. Only one in 500 said they thought of a female and no one said they thought of a person of color. She also asked "if you could be anybody in history-- who and why?" and the responses revealed that only "3-6% of all students gave the name of a female -- usually Susan B. Anthony or Joan of Arc."

Another cautious teacher understood the idea of Afrocentric education and supported it because she thinks that "a lot of little Black children don't have any good role models. Their families are so broken up: they are mostly living with mothers and grandparents." She added that she does

> worry about them (Blacks) developing very revengeful and negative feelings towards others: they need to be taught that this (country) is a melting pot, as they say, and everybody needs to live together equally. I think (Afro-centric education) is a good idea in moderation but it shouldn't go too far.

A social studies teacher was familiar with the ideas and goals of Afrocentric curriculum which he defined as

> a Black reaction to the fact that most of the history books and social studies books have been written by White Anglo-Saxon males and with an European outlook on America's settlement and development. They see it as turning the curriculum on its head...(the) problem is that there is not many good history books

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written by Blacks. After all, White males have been writing those history books for years. There are some Black intellectuals who have written good scholarly books, but few if any have written textbooks for us in the public schools.

One respondent asked in reply to the question about Afrocentric education if I was referring to "...the kind of curriculum taught by the guy in New York who was fired because of hateful things he said about Jews and Whites?" (We discussed Lionel Jeffries and his successful case to be re-instated at New York University.) She also said that she is worried that Afrocentric education efforts might be "going too far" especially when they "promote hatred and antagonism between groups instead of increasing tolerance and compassion for differences." She said that

> no curriculum should be any type of 'centric.' We need to focus on race relations and multi-cultural education, but it should all be encompassing of everybody's experiences. I don't want a biased Afro-centric education to replace a biased Euro-centric education. Why would Whites who are racist anyway support Afrocentric education even if it does improve the self-esteem of Blacks?...African-Americans and others who are oppressed might gain more political power....

No respondents had heard of the Black Athena thesis, although two had knowledge of the research on the question of the African influence on early Greek and European civilization. After I had briefly explained the assertions of this research, one elementary school teacher asked if it was "proven." "If it is," she said, "we need to change the textbooks and curriculum to include facts on just how the roots of European culture are found in Africa."

A social studies teacher believed that the Black Athena thesis, as an issue of importance, is "...a pimple on a gnat's ass...there might be something there but it's kind of like asking where humans first got up on their hind legs - - Africa? Asia? -- it doesn't really matter." He added that

> ...any good history written by any good historian, White or Black,

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is going to recognize that there are many strands and roots included in what we call the American experience. Any good historian has to talk about what ethnic groups have contributed.... (but) if you're going to stick with military, politics, and economics as the things that have guided the American way, those areas have been controlled by Anglo-Saxon whites. Right or not, that's the way our world was spun....

The kindergarten teacher was not explicitly familiar with the Black Athena thesis as well, but had plenty of knowledge about the influence of Africa on the rest of the world. "There are more contributions from the African continent that were given credit for," he said,

The historian J.R. Rogers could not get his books published in this country. He used to write for the <u>Pittsburgh Courier,</u> and wrote <u>Your History</u> on African history that has pictures of the Great-Great-Grandmother of George VI, Charlotte Sophia, Queen of England, who looked obviously African and had many, many other examples of racial mixing and the influence of Africans on Palestine and miscegenation in Belgium, Holland, and other European countries...this is the real honest history that should be the underpinning of any multi-cultural education...people used to say -- and still say too often -- that Blacks never had any history so they made up one. This was strong as a denouncement when Black History started to be spoken about and written about in the 1960s. Besides George Washington Carver, who was a very docile man and didn't stand in protest and he didn't offend White people so he was the only, I repeat the only, person of color I ever read about all through my education through high school. How many people talk about revisionist history as a negative thing? Yet we have such a long way to go to correct the historical record -- of telling the stories and the contributions of all people. (Henry Steele) Commanger in his history books used derogatory names like Sambo to describe Black people. I'm into history to make it more factual, but not into revision simply to make things look better. There were always cultures which produced talented people and all cultures have their rich and varied stories of their existence. I saw an huge abacus 10,000 years old in Africa, so I suppose Africans must have had some pretty spectacular intelligence....we just aren't taught it...

He also shared a story about the "Black poet Dunbar (who) could only get his poems published in America if they were in Black slave dialect and sounded fairly simple-minded, (while) his other, serious poems had to be published in

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France."

The situation with the respondents' knowledge base about cultural relativism was equally dismal. Most educators did not seem to be particularly concerned that they had no exposure to the concept of relativism, although for some reason one was noticeably embarrassed. One respondent asked if it was a concept from biology or philosophy. The only person who seemed to know what the concept and debate was about gave a good reply, but was not very confident. He said, "I guess (relativism means that)...there are no permanent, all-encompassing rules and regulations that guide cultures. We think it's normal to rape and pillage the environment where a Native American thinks we're crazy."

Closely related to affirmative action is the question of so-called reverse discrimination. I asked respondents if they believed there was such a thing as reverse racism and reverse sexism. Only one respondent connected this issue clearly with affirmative action: "Many people have a mis-perception of reverse racism and reverse sexism" and adds that "when you look at the number of minorities and females and see what positions of power many more of them need to be in order to achieve equality of representation" then the reason for affirmative action is clear. She acknowledges that people feel more threatened by affirmative action when the economy is sour and are more likely to complain about reverse discrimination. Only one person, the African-American, strongly stated that reverse racism existed. Two females also did not believe that reverse sexism existed, although one said "God, I hope so."

Almost all respondents believed that there is reverse racism and sexism, and several said something to the effect of "of course it exists..." However, one respondent believed that reverse discrimination existed but "...that (it) is less

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of a problem than racism and sexism themselves -- some people don't even acknowledge racism and sexism to begin with." There is reverse racism "especially in instances of employment hiring when a certain percentage of minorities must be hired and sometimes the more qualified candidate is overlooked....the same thing can be said in regards to reverse sexism...when an employer is pressured to hire a woman." Five respondents indicated a belief that reverse discrimination occurs because affirmative action laws require quota system where unqualified females and people of color are hired over qualified white males. (We will address this issue in Chapter 4.)

One respondent believed that reverse racism occurs but "is not prevalent." Reverse sexism, however, is very common and he is "...very offended by the current trend of male bashing on television...shows like The Mommies are nothing but a half hour of putting down men. Some men may be pigs but not all of us are." Another elementary school teacher also believes reverse racism does exist, and comments that "we could be too tolerant of Blacks and forgive them for, say, crimes they have committed. We could forgive a loner type of Black because we feel their people have been discriminated against. I wouldn't think that is right: all children should be treated equally and punished equally if necessary."

One teacher quickly exclaimed that there is such a thing as reverse racism and immediately gave the example of her thirteen-year old son. The son supposedly doesn't want to go to school because he's embarrassed by all his friends' dressing as "wiggers." ("Wiggers" is a phenomenon commonly referred to as an attempt by Anglo kids to "act Black," especially to take on the physical accoutrements of the stereotypical image of the low socio-economic status urban Black male youth.)

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As an aside, she added that "we have a lot more problems with anti-hick sentiment than with racism anyway." When asked with 'anti-hick' meant, she said that her elementary students go to the village store before school and watch the loggers and other back-woods types. Then the students come to school and will chew up raisins and spit them out to imitate the loggers with their chewing tobacco and will made fun of their talking. "That's a real prejudice thing," she adds.

The oldest respondent, who also used the words "Negro" and "colored" during the interview, said very emphatically that reverse sexism exists and comments: "Some women go overboard to show their strength, their muscles, wanting to feel they can do everything a man can do but they need to realize that they can't do some of the same things that men can do physically." Another teacher breezed over the issue of reverse racism but was interested to talk about reverse sexism. She reports that "someone cut out this page entitled 'Dumb Men Jokes' out of some magazine and blew it up on the xerox machine and put it up in the teachers' lounge. Another woman has a coffee cup with the 'evolution of authority' saying on it with footsteps leading from those of a monkey to a gorilla to those of a man and then to a women. A lot of this goes on."

An English teacher said that she had "never been in a situation to experience it, (but does) believe there is reverse racism." With regards to the existence of reverse sexism, the one that said, "God I hope so!" later commented: "I believe in getting rid of sexism against women... I've been fighting so hard for it. The women's movement has made a dent in sexism, and in spite of the backlash (caused by both men and women) things are still a bit better for women."

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A social studies teacher conceded that reverse racism "probably exists...(and will exist) as long as races aren't getting along and things like color and the shape of eyes trigger certain things in people and these reactions trigger other reactions." The same teacher did not answer the question about reverse sexism but did give his opinion on the capacities of female leadership. He said: "There must be some good female bosses out there, I've just never had the pleasure (of working with one). Most female bosses I've had wouldn't lead a Girl Scout to a bake sale. Females micro-manage worse then men do and over-react. Maybe the next generation will be better..."

The kindergarten teacher believed that

> in the U.S., there is no such thing (as reverse racism), although I understand the misunderstanding. So many people equate racism with prejudice, or a doctrine of prejudice against one group because of color. Societal, political, and economic dominance over another group is what racism is all about, not simply prejudice. Do Black, Hispanics, or Native-Americans have any of this power?

It was made clear that he certainly does not think so. He continued:

> So, Hispanics and Blacks can be prejudiced as all get out, but that doesn't mean that racism, as something embedded in society, can be so-called 'reverse.' I think about all that Black-Americans have had to do--- all these laws and pronouncements and amendments and policies -- to get their civil rights. White didn't have to have this kind of paperwork to ensure that they were going to be treated well. Many white people have the 'poor me' syndrome when for years qualified people of color and women were being turned down for jobs and (the) white males didn't stand up against such injustice. Now the white male is feeling a little of the turn-about..."

The last question in this category asks whether race relations have worsened or improved in the last two decades. One respondent quickly said she was sure that "...race relations have definitely worsened, who doesn't (think so)?" She was surprised that I reported that several people I had already

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interviewed believed race relations had gotten better in general. This same respondent shook her head and noted, "You see so many young people polarizing around racial issues...I've noticed a big increase in the last four to five years on TV reports of racially-motivated violence -- both White to Black and Black to White."

The social studies teacher feels that race relations "...have improved through the legal system but have overall worsened (and that) negative feelings have increased." Although race relations have improved somewhat, "there are still problems which exist in large cities as well as small towns. There have been increases in racist violence." With regard to U.S. race relations an elementary school teacher's comment was on the politics of international race relations: he "thinks how our country relates or deals with other countries, especially Third World countries, can sometimes make multi-culturalism difficult. Kids often think that our country can do no wrong. I have third graders who are thrilled with waging war....overall I think they have worsened, a bit better for middle-class Blacks but worse for Hispanics." He also connected U.S. race relations to multi-cultural education: "you really can't underestimate racism here -- living places other than New Hampshire makes you realize how racist so many people are here....there are people out there who couldn't care less about Black rights or multi-culturalism."

The art teacher said that race relations are being talked about more than before in her classes. "Students don't buy into the melting pot ideology anymore," she claims. One respondent believed that race relations have improved

> ...especially on the surface... (I) still felt that there is still a
> vicious undercurrent of a backlash against Blacks like there is a
> backlash against women. Neo-Nazi-type skinheads are in New

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Hampshire. I resent our freedoms being jeopardized in order to (allow others to) oppress. We have freedom of speech so we can screw this group of people, is how the feeling goes. Our basic rights should not be used for or are they intended to be used to oppress anyone. This goes all the way from the Klan and Neo-Nazi groups to the 'shock jocks' today like (Rush) Limbaugh and (Howard) Stern.

The administrator believed that race relations have worsened, but quickly added that "its a hard question. I immediately think of gangs in high schools and the Los Angeles riots."

A high school teacher thought that U.S. race relation are "in poor shape." He added:

Thirty years ago with the Kennedy administration and LBJ's voting rights there were a lot of hope and a lot of progress was made. Public schools and higher education were desegregated. Blacks did get voted into public office in the South. Many people thought that would never happen. Recent crime in the urban areas has set race relations back considerable. The race riots of 1992 remind me of riots of 1964...I think we have made legal progress but not that much people progress. I suppose there is some guilt on the part of many Whites that it ought to be better for Blacks and that we ought to understand Blacks better so that may encourage them to do more of their own history. When Whites stop feeling guilty and when Blacks stop crying about discrimination then race relations will be better.

One respondent, the kindergarten teacher, did not believe race relations had gotten any better even though "there have been some increased opportunities for some minorities and women." Yet, he asks us to

look at the hatred spawned around the misunderstanding of affirmative action. Race relations have worsened because people deny things. I remember a time when there were plenty of old Black people in Indiana who were in their 80s and 90s and who had never been taught to read or white, had never been allowed to vote. The Black people I knew growing up were all custodians. I remember seeing a statue called 'the good old darkie' with a Black person bend down with his cap in his hands. Ba'hai teaches us that the unity of humanity is inevitable. Old world orders are crumbling...I wonder if that statue is still there.

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In summary of this section, there appears to be a considerable amount of cognitive dissonance with regard to multi-cultural issues: a couple of the educators -- particularly the boisterous high school social studies teacher -- seemed to simultaneously enthuse about the benefits of correcting the curriculum and bemoan the state of race relations, yet also kept returning to a defense of the current White male Canon. I was prepared to begin hearing examples of covert prejudice and discrimination, as well as examples from the educators' viewpoint of institutional discrimination. I was surprised how many explicit examples of overt discriminatory behaviors the educators' gave about their peers, the school administrators, as well as the students. I frequently come across educators who insist New Hampshire does not have a "problem" with racism. This is disheartening on one level, yet is also useful, as it convinces me that racism, in particular, is alive and well in New Hampshire.

Teachers just do not know what to make of political correctness. Those that understand it most clearly, from my perspective, were also so frustrated with the idea that it was difficult to talk about it. I had the feeling that some of the teachers I interviewed had perhaps been openly criticized for "politically correct behavior," and now have become defensive. It shows how silencing the phrase can be towards those normally brave enough to name social issues and stand up for what seems wrong-headed. I see that some teachers have amalgamated all the "isms" -- the systems of oppression and discrimination -- into one big pie of indignities. Political correctness has served to divide and conquer. Those who would normally stand up for others now can barely stand up for themselves: a female who names "racist" behavior is a lock-step politically correct type, and the same for, say, a heterosexual person of color to

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name and stand up against heterosexism (a.k.a. homophobia).

Lastly, an unexpected observation is that the descriptions of political correctness seem to be related to views of affirmative action. Several sentiments expressed about political correctness smacked of the "awareness" of "reverse discrimination." The notion of political correctness is getting tied up with the belief that we excuse and protect females and people of color to such an extent as to cause "reverse discrimination." Real status quo political correctness mandates a belief in "reverse discrimination," and further, in those that are already convinced that such reverse discrimination is a major social problem, a blind allegiance to "liberal" political correctness is seen as the culprit. Recall, too, that almost all respondents believed that affirmative action laws were quota laws.

About half of the respondents had no idea what Afrocentric education was. I assume that in other, more diverse parts of the country that an average teacher would have at least heard of the term if not understand some of the debate. Even in New Hampshire, though, the mainstream press like the Boston Globe has had at least a dozen articles on Afrocentric education in the last several years. Even fewer teachers (a total of two) had heard of the Black Athena thesis, although many had strong convictions about the prevalence of reverse discrimination. Relativism, as a concept and a worldview, is generally not known to educators. I was also surprised that five of the twelve educators believed that race relations had improved in the last two decades. I will return to these issues in the conclusions of the analysis of the interviews.

Multi-cultural Education in New Hampshire. The next category consists of a set of questions designed to hone in on the more specific issues of "Multi-cultural Education in New Hampshire." Some respondents had already given

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answers which were more "New Hampshire-specific" in the first section in response to the general questions on what they thought about multi-cultural education. These questions gave educators another chance to talk about the situation in their own school with multi-cultural education and to share more of their views on these issues in general.

Five of the twelve respondents took the first question about whether multi-cultural education and global education was needed in New Hampshire as a place to espouse their views on global education in general. (Perhaps this was because there was a previous question related to global education, and they had more time to think about it before a similar question came up.)

One respondent said she supports global education in order "...to stress that we all on the same world: that's the connection of multi-cultural education with global education." The high school social studies teacher told me, flatly, that "global education has a lot more relevance than a lot of the other topics (that I had included in the interview)... the globe literally is shrinking due to communication, satellites and the like. We have found out in the environmental movement that we're all in one greenhouse, if you pollute in one country it's going to affect the whole world. Trade has grown and people need to communicate across cultures. Another thing that has pulled the world together is that the Iron Curtain is pretty much gone."

On the direct issue whether New Hampshire needs multi-cultural education, all twelve respondents agreed that it was needed. One respondent notes: "New Hampshire is changing especially in the Southern areas....our students will grow and work with many others outside of the New Hampshire profile. Business stresses the need to work cooperatively and to get along with fellow workers." Another agreed that multi-cultural education is needed

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"because of the changing demographics" and believes that even a mostly White student population needs such awareness "because (schools) are not going to produce decent citizens who can live and work in a diverse setting... schools are by nature a very sheltered environment, which has its good and bad points... ."

An elementary school teacher claims that we need multi-cultural education because children are getting a very stilted perspective as to what life is like. She claims that in science, for example, teachers need to be able to identify the cultural background of an inventor. "The kids' view is that the only people who did anything in science were White and blonde-haired. We need to be able to expose the children to different cultures." Multi-cultural education is also needed in New Hampshire "because we aren't used to having people of different cultures in New Hampshire." She commented on how few minorities there were in New Hampshire, and noted that "a large percentage of college graduates and high school graduates will be seeking employment in urban areas outside of New Hampshire....they need to be prepared for dealing with people of multi-cultural backgrounds." However, she adds that "many people think that multi-cultural education is something not applicable to New Hampshire...I think more teachers will integrate more of this stuff when (the minority numbers increase)."

White students in New Hampshire especially need multi-cultural education, because "they need to be able to work together in a global nation. (Students) may not stay in New Hampshire all of their lives. The only way we will ever have world peace is through continual attempts to make education more multi-cultural." Another respondent said that "much more needs to be done in New Hampshire in the area of multi-cultural education" and it needs to

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be "taught throughout every grade and in every home." In her social studies classes, she has relied on what she calls "the best kept secret in New Hampshire" to keep infusing new approaches to cross-cultural knowledge: the video collection maintained by the EEO Office.

An elementary teacher said there was a "serious need for multi-cultural education in New Hampshire, "...although I am careful not to overload them. When you are shaking them free of a biased socialization, you have to do it gradually over the course of a year. A teacher who teaches from a multi-cultural perspective has to realize that they are affecting personal belief systems." She thought that multi-cultural education was related to global education in that "if we are educating them globally then each culture has a part in it: we can't study one culture without studying as many cultures as possible. We need to provide a cultural background for students." A middle-school teacher noted that New Hampshire needs multi-cultural education "...because there is a very significant influx of people from foreign countries into the larger cities of New Hampshire, specifically into Manchester and the Southern part of the state." Even a student body that is primarily White or Caucasian needs multi-cultural education "because it is learning about differences. The more they know the more tolerant they should be."

The next question built on the last and asked whether the respondents felt that New Hampshire is doing a good enough job in educating youth to live in an increasingly diverse world. One respondent said she did not want to be "too hard" on New Hampshire: "People grow up believing certain things and sometimes it's hard for them to change -- not that it's right...(but) we have to admit how close-minded many New Hampshire residents are." New Hampshire needs multi-cultural education and she feels that teachers should teach

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"anything (one) can to show the good deeds and contributions of any human being...(then) we're all enriched."

The African-American kindergarten teacher said to

look at the American people, where even if you just study the White people we have every country in Europe represented. Why wouldn't we want to know about people of color and women doing great things? Why wouldn't we want to know about the tribes where the men are the nurturers, the child-rearers?...our history has always been about mainly the male European experiences in the New World. We have romanticized war (in our teachings) and our national holidays, for the most part, are all centered on the actions of White males. You can read Indian Givers (written by Jack Weatherford, and his new book Native Roots) about the Native American foods that Europeans learned to eat. (The early European settlers) didn't really bring much new food with them. It was a Native-American version of beans that evolved into what we now call Boston Baked Beans. Why wouldn't we want to know that? Why haven't we, as children, been taught a full history? This book (Indian Givers) is about how Native Americans contributed to life in the New World, and how they were thanked with disease, prejudice, and genocide.

On the same question of how New Hampshire is doing in preparing students to live in a multi-cultural world, he said: "My guess is -- given that I live in the largest city in the state which has made some inroads through not enough -- (that) I still would have to conclude that to the North we aren't teaching New Hampshire kids to live in any kind of a diverse world." In terms of how well New Hampshire is doing towards educating students to live and work in a diverse society, another respondent is not sure how "...the whole state (is doing)...Southern New Hampshire is responding but I'm not sure about the other parts of the state. I would hope Southern New Hampshire is doing better addressing multi-cultural education since they have the changing demographics." Yet another respondent believes her school is doing above average in preparing youth to live and work in culturally diverse world "...but I'm not sure about other parts of New Hampshire."

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The art teacher is quite sure that our schools are doing "poorly" in this regard (with encouraging multi-cultural understanding) and "...we pay the price as adults by carrying around unjustified hatreds and suspicions." Another says, "I am assuming that other New Hampshire schools don't have a clue about all this.....New Hampshire tends to isolate itself off as a state from the rest of the country (and) I'd guess other areas of the country are doing much better. I hope so." A last reply to this question was that "my teaching colleague and I are trying to work very hard on Afro-Americans and Native-Americans here. I'm not sure how effective we've been."

With regard to the changing of instructional method, one respondent said that on the issue of sex equity that she tries "very hard to treat girls and boys the same. I call on each equally -- I try to help them equally." She was emphatic and defensive about this, which is common to hear and has come to be a expected response in those schools where I had conducted a workshop on gender equity. My workshops include a large chunk of research on inequitable teacher-student interaction patterns. Multi-cultural materials are common in the classes of respondents with more diverse populations. One said "We read Alice Walker's The Color Purple in all my classes, and read Toni Morrison's Beloved and Richard Wright's Native Son in my advanced American Literature class."

Another noted that her instructional methodology was "...strongly shaped by education classes in California which stressed cooperative learning techniques. A couple of colleagues are interested in cooperative learning methods but there's not much that goes on." She later adds the observation that "it's a very traditional high school in a lot of ways -- many of them not

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good!" Two other respondents note that they had experienced more ·

instructional change over an increased awareness of gender issues than for

race issues. A high school teacher said that neither she nor any of her

colleagues whom she knows about have changed their instructional methods

in reaction to an increased number LEP (Limited English Proficiency)

students, although she says, "I would like for my instructional methods to

change for the students that I have but we get no training." The same teacher

said her instructional methods have not changed either in reaction to

increasing racial awareness, although they have changed with regards to the

"personal growth she has done around gender issues."

The kindergarten teacher said his instructional methods were always

very multi-cultural:

> I base everything on the oneness of humankind, whether we are
> doing science, making Indian pudding, reading, whatever. I
> teach about how the Iroquois affected the early government of
> the new world, particularly Federalism. In classrooms where
> there are mostly white kids I overdo it with pictures around the
> wall of people of color. We ask what a true human being is, and
> ask children when resolving conflicts 'how would a human
> being deal with that?' I talk about the limits of the body and the
> moral capabilities of the soul. You don't have to lecture children
> when you ask them how a true human being would resolve the
> conflict of, say, sharing a toy two kids want to play with. I over-
> react -- and this is the only time I let my voice get loud -- to any
> cruel or insensitive remarks about race, sex, somebody's
> appearance, calling people stupid, etc. I don't let any of that stuff
> go. I always try to use 'I' statements like 'I feel really angry
> when I hear you say something like that about another human
> being.' I harp on the human virtues of fairness and justice.

An elementary school teacher said that his instructional methods have

changed with regards to gender since he read How Schools Shortchange Girls

(the research report published in 1992 by the American Association of

University Women). He said he first heard of this report in a workshop I had

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done on gender equity. He notes that "he has become more personally aware of how demanding boys are of my time in the classroom (and) I am trying to equal things out but it's hard to keep it in the forefront of your consciousness while teaching." The kindergarten teacher talked about gender issues as well, and claimed, "Anything about sexism I am adamant about not tolerating. I hate to see other teachers give all the active jobs to the boys...I know it's mostly unconscious but it's frustrating to see how much teachers perpetrate gender stereotypes..."

An obvious point I had not previously considered was made by the art teacher who noted that it was pedagogically easier in art education to adjust to Limited English Proficient (LEP) students because the teacher can greatly expand her instruction towards visual learning. A teacher in a school along the Southern tier of the state noted the growth in their bilingual program and has observed

> a few more Spanish and Vietnamese speaking kids every year. Our schools have tried to give those kids a speeded-up education in English as well as try to reinforce the native language. The historical past was that we had forced kids into English. The ethos was that you will learn English to get by and to get a job. Now, we're saying that there is some value in not forcing the English so quickly. Still, kids have to learn English, like kids have to learn computers, to excel in this society.

In a turnabout, one English teacher said that her instruction was changing with the increase in multi-cultural populations at her school away from some classic texts that discuss race relations if they use derogatory words. With regard to discussing race issues in the classroom, she claims that "its a sticky wicket: I don't feel as confident of teaching The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn as I used to, although I always defended the book on the grounds that it's one of the strongest statements against racism. Because of

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the sensitivity to the use of the word 'nigger' throughout the book, once it's read or heard, people just recoil. *Racism is much more painful now"* (emphasis added).

The last question in this section was on school climate, which, as one respondent said, is a "hot topic." Two respondents noted new conduct codes for teachers that stressed how "teachers are expected to model and teach appropriate inter-personal behaviors based on cross-cultural respect." Another said that there was also language addressing sex equity and sexual harassment added to the conduct codes of both teachers and students. Another disagreed with the tactics taken by her school, ostensibly to improve the school climate: the district had reinstituted a severe 1950s-style dress code.

However, most of the respondents said that school climate is discussed "a bit" but not very much about race equity issues, and even less on gender issues. One that said discussion of school climate involved very little mention of gender equity issues also added that "we still have a very traditional Home Economics department (and) there is a lot of violence and fights due to racism in the school."

In the private school where the counselor works, school climate is discussed "fairly often" and "...is pretty decent, we've had gender workshops and title IX (sex discrimination) trainings. There is an overall air of respect here, after all, it's a pretty ritzy school. The climate is changing in terms of being even more visually representative to provide constant reminders of the real diversity of the world." When asked about school climate the classroom teacher who denounced female leaders remarked that "we have more violence in our schools than we used to...I'm not sure it's racial but it does seem that there is more sexual harassment happening to females, like it's a 'cool' thing

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for senior males to do to go about harassing younger females."

School climate is rarely discussed in the school of a new high school teacher and the respondent said she was already branded a "trouble-maker" after she surveyed her classes on sexual harassment and found that a significant number of females were cutting school, were considering quitting school, and were experiencing "emotional and psychological side-effects" from the sexual harassment they received at school.

Although all respondents agreed that multi-cultural education was needed in New Hampshire, they often qualified their statements by noting that multi-cultural education was, presumably, only needed because "New Hampshire demographics are changing." The replies to the question of whether White children in New Hampshire needed multi-cultural education regardless of local diversity were less enthusiastic. There were exceptions to this, three respondents (most articulately, the kindergarden teacher) noted that New Hampshire was not doing well enough educating primarily White students to live and function in a very diverse world.

Similar to the New Hampshire superintendent who excused racial name calling of a third-grade student by an adult teacher, several respondents also wanted to defend New Hampshire from accusations of racism and bigotry by noting to the effect that, "You know, this is a new kind of thing for us here, dealing with diversity..." I find this kind of defense inexcusable.

Only one administrator who dealt with ESL teaching said that his instructional methods were specifically changed due to racial concerns. Surprisingly, since an awareness of gender equity issues was not apparent in the survey, in the interview several teachers said they had changed their teaching in line with research on gender equity in schools. This might have

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been influenced by my own workshops on gender equity that were hosted by three of the respondents' schools during the last couple years.

Mentioning school climate hits a few buttons in most teachers. Although two teachers claimed their schools had not held discussions and work in school climate issues, many teachers implied that school climate was a major topic. Implementing new sexual harassment policies and procedures was the most frequently mentioned item. Some schools in the Southern tier of New Hampshire with increasing diversity have also expanding the harassment policy to include racial harassment.

Now I will review the last major category of questions relating to "educational policy and multi-cultural education," then I will summarize.

Educational Policy and Multi-cultural Education. This section of the interview consisted of a set of questions inquiring whether their district or school had "any written resolutions, policy statements, or guidelines" on multi-cultural education or other issues of educational equity. No respondent said that their school had any written statements or guidelines on multi-cultural education. One, however, believed that "the school and/or the district must have some guidelines or policies on multi-cultural education" but she does not know about them. (I checked with her district, the biggest in the state with the largest diversity demographics, and found there was nothing in writing, according to an assistant superintendent.)

The question also had a second part which further inquired about written policies or guidelines on "race, sex, and national origin equal opportunity and educational equity." Interestingly, three respondents said something to the effect that neither their school nor district has any anti-discrimination or pro-equity policies or statements "except for the notice of

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non-discrimination policy which we have to put on all forms." This standard notice of non-discrimination policy is the statement that almost all public and private entities use which gives the relevant laundry list of protected categories: "The (school district or business) does not discriminate on the basis of race, sex, national origin, age, etc." I had not previously considered this fairly mechanical and often meaningless statement to constitute an anti-discrimination or educational equity statement. Although about one-third of New Hampshire schools at this point have updated and disseminated a more adequate policy and procedure on sexual harassment, only one respondent associated the question of anti-discrimination with the school's new sexual harassment policy.

One respondent gave her opinion on how best to implement multi-cultural education through school policy. She said, "If you make a packaged program I think it will be resented. There are so many packaged programs now: on drug and AIDS awareness. There is a lot of literature to draw from now, but the individual teacher has to want to do it. A packaged program down their throats would be resented."

The next question was whether they would be in favor of including multi-cultural awareness training in teacher education requirements. One replied that it's "a long way off" although she strongly supports the requirement. Nine respondents said that they supported the notion of requiring pre-service teachers to get some level of multi-cultural training. Only one respondent was strongly opposed to it. One who favored it explained why: "because I think in an area that is so White like ours, if teachers don't individually think it's important to make kids aware of other cultures and make sure it is in their teaching, then it just doesn't get done at all." She also

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added that probably teachers would resent it because "they are dumped on a lot to be responsible for so much more than just teaching."

Other respondents who were in favor of it explained that "too many New Hampshire teachers have such narrow and parochial views of the world... (it) is necessary to prepare students for the future world and to make students good citizens -- non-violent citizens." Another said multi-cultural education was needed in teacher training "because in New Hampshire many areas are not exposed to children of different cultures. This way teachers would be more prepared and perhaps prejudice would not be built up," and, "teachers need to develop skills in this area by learning and practicing activities and using (the) resources available."

In addition, only two teachers did not believe federal civil rights monies for school-related issues should be spent on multi-cultural education. One who disagreed, a high school social studies teacher, said that he "...doesn't know if the government should be actively supporting it...for one thing multi-cultural is not well understood and is being mis-used."

Surprisingly, only one teacher included students of Franco-Canadian descent in their definition of ethnic minorities. This is more important when we consider that French bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism was the first multi-cultural issue for New Hampshire in the modern era after the Native Americans. We will discuss this issue fully in Chapter IV. One teacher who said she does "not really" consider Franco-Canadian students part of New Hampshire's ethnic minority, explained that it was because she uses "race as the main criteria" in establishing whether someone constitutes an ethnic minority or not. I neglected to ask a follow-up question which might have made her reasoning more clear. Another who did not include this group

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among New Hampshire's ethnic diversity explained that "New Hampshire has always been mostly French-Canadian." This answer is also not clear about distinguishing race from ethnicity.

The one respondent who did include students of Franco-Canadian descent as part of New Hampshire's ethnic population said that "the Franco-Canadians bring with them a wealth of culture and had to face difficulties like immigrants do now when they first came to the U.S. Though they are 'blended' more as time has gone on, there are still those who make derogatory remarks about the 'dumb French'." The same respondent, the art teacher, also disclosed her own background when she speaks of her parents being told when they were young: "don't be French," "don't act French," and, most importantly, "don't talk French outside the home."

There were very few responses to the questions in the wrap-up category of "Additional Information," perhaps due to the length of the survey and the depth of the questions. Several respondents made the complaint that they were emotionally and intellectually drained after completing the interview and felt it was "too much." In accordance with the comments on the field tested version, I had shortened the questionnaire considerably, though perhaps not enough.

One respondent had added she was "glad I was asked these questions because its made me realize how frustrated I've been and ineffective I've felt in teaching the ESL kids." Another returned to a discussion of political correctness and how the debate annoys her. She believed that "good teaching cannot avoid teaching what is morally correct and too many kids do not get such training....we have to create good people...(and) students will not learn unless they are being human to each other." If that attitude makes her

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politically correct, she claims she will not mind the label. A third additional response reiterated that attention to multi-cultural thinking and teaching in the classroom is crucial in New Hampshire. This training includes an emphasis on discovering and celebrating cultural heritages, so "we don't become a void where the media dictate cultural norms...if we don't acknowledge cultural heritage we become enculturated by the media alone."

To summarize, the last category of questions showed that teachers who tried to teach from a multi-cultural perspective did not have much institutional support in the way of written statements or guidelines on multi-cultural education in their schools or school districts. They generally had to go at it alone. It is interesting that many educators mentioned sexual harassment when asked about school climate, yet only one associated anti-discrimination policies or statements with sexual harassment. Most teachers said that federal Civil Rights monies could legitimately be spend on multi-cultural education. As well, most teachers believed multi-cultural education should be a part of teacher training, and only one was strongly opposed to the idea.

From the interview process, I take with me a vague inkling that educators were nervous about answering these questions. To be sure, there were a lot of questions and they were not simple ones. People that were not nervous seemed to be really "psyched up" during the interview. Basically, I wanted to point out that teachers do not respond to discussions of things multi-cultural in a calm or neutral way: I think every one of the respondents got excited or aggravated over at least one of the many issues we discussed.

In the next section, I summarize the overall main points of both the survey and the interviews, paint a picture of what multi-cultural education in

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New Hampshire looks like at its best, and draw some conclusions about how educators' views of the multi-faceted issues of multi-culturalism affect their use of multi-cultural education in the classroom.

The Effect of Perception and Belief on the Implementation of Multi-cultural Education in New Hampshire

Here I will collect the summaries of both the survey and the sections of the interview questions and present some concluding comments. In both the survey and the interviews, one item sets New Hampshire apart from other parts of the U.S. The visible lack of racial and ethnic diversity has created its own justification for a rejection of multi-cultural education: the "it just isn't needed here yet" sentiment. This is not to say that most respondents did not support multi-cultural education. Most enthusiastically and without reservation supported it, while others supported it with some skepticism. This skepticism is primarily reserved for the questioning the intent of Afrocentric education and the effect of the perception of the unfairness of affirmative action and the belief that affirmative action laws require quotas.

Generally, all respondents approved of multi-culturalism as a mind-opening philosophy and approved of multi-cultural education as a necessary preparation for living in an increasingly interdependent global world. However, a number of answers from both the survey and the interviews indicated a caution or a caveat: that multi-cultural education efforts should "not go too far." This sentiment is also expressed fairly frequently at teacher training workshops on multi-cultural education I have conducted or attended.

This sentiment contains an irony, which I referred to before and usually point out in teacher workshops. White-Europeans hardly ever express

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a similar view: that Eurocentric education efforts are "going too far." It is only because it is the cultures of the Other (read: non-White and female) that teachers become nervous and say that multi-cultural education needs to be conducted "in moderation." Other issues which have emerged from the survey and interview data will be addressed throughout the rest of this work. Now, I will summarize what multi-cultural education "looks like" in New Hampshire by describing some of the best efforts which have come to my attention.

In the Southern tier of New Hampshire, each student in the middle school takes a 10-week course in human rights, focusing on global, national, local, and personal issues. Three area studies courses (African Studies, Asian Studies, American Neighbors) at the high school in a nearby school district introduce students to detailed views of cultures and ethnic groups in select parts of the world. Geography course includes both human and economic-political geography. A 7th and 8th grade literature teacher from the "North Country" of New Hampshire (above Lake Winneapesauke) heard about a California Junior High school which bases the entire eighth-grade core English curriculum on readings related to issues of prejudice and has written up a similar proposal for the superintendent and school board to consider. Another school's world literature requirement for seniors is designed to enhance global awareness. These are things I learned during interviews; activities either undertaken by the respondents' schools or else a program they have heard about in New Hampshire.

I am aware that a number of private schools in New Hampshire work hard towards encouraging students to take third- and fourth-year foreign language courses as a mechanism for deepening cultural understanding. A civil rights counterpart in Rhode Island told me that ESL (English as Second

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Language) students participate with other eighth-graders in integrated language arts, social studies, and reading units leading to further specialized training in mixed culture groupings to explore individual heritages, which is called Heritage Panel Training.

An art teacher at Nashua High School designed a course for the purpose of exposing students to diverse ideas. Her students in <u>Multi-cultural Art</u> are immersed in the art works of other cultures. Also, many New Hampshire schools that lack any multi-cultural type courses or specific curriculum do try to bring special guest lecturers into the school or into individual classes to talk about multi-cultural issues, mostly African- or Native-Americans. Central High School in Manchester has a Students for Social Justice club which maintains close contact with cultural and ethnic groups in the community and sponsors guest speakers who promote tolerance and understanding of cultural diversity. Another student group at Portsmouth High School tries to provide an annual speaker series covering topics such as anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, changes in Eastern Europe including the current resurgence of neo-Nazi hatred among youth, and some biographical reconstructions of the lives of Black slaves serving rich Portsmouth mariners in the nineteenth century.

Although several high schools offer women's studies or gender issues courses, I have been impressed by how few school overall make any attempt to address gender equity concerns on any level or in any fashion. One exemplary course is "Herstory" which emphasizes the role of women in history and is taught by a extraordinary social studies teacher at Concord High School. Other schools had previously offered such courses in the 1970s and sometimes into the 1980s but have dropped them due to low enrollment, teacher harassment by other educators, and/or funding constraints.

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Although my evidence for this is strictly anecdotal, I have been strongly impressed by the irony that the schools in New Hampshire that do the most multi-cultural teaching are those schools with some of the lowest racial/ethnic minority populations. Also, it seems that wealthier schools (often the same schools with low minority populations) do a better job with respect to multi-cultural education. Educators at the wealthier schools also seem more likely to mention how much they value their cultural exchange programs, sometimes citing both the high proportion of students participating in international travel as well as the contributions made by foreign exchange students to the cultural climate of the school. For all schools, however, I have noticed an increase in the requests for planning assistance for day-long, week-long, and even month-long events called something like "Appreciating Diversity Day" or "Cultural Awareness Month." These requests, although increasing, still represent only a handful of New Hampshire schools.

Some schools have also organized task forces to work on equity and school climate issues. However, even in schools with high levels of sexual and racial violence, school administrators are often not too interested in spending staff development hours on multi-cultural issues like race and/or sex equity. Although appreciative of any efforts, I winced when hearing the message that I was asked to come and address a newly formed "School Violence and Ethnic Diversity Committee" at a major Manchester high school. The automatic association of violence with racial and ethnic minorities happens too often even with well-intentioned educators.

Some of these committees have developed long-range plans to prepare students for a pluralistic and increasingly culturally diverse society. Many of these plans, however, are "pie in the sky" because the efforts are so often shot

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down when approaching cash-strapped administrators for some funding of these programs and activities. Other committees, especially student-led groups with faculty advisors who can produce and direct multi-cultural activities with little or no funding, are more successful. Some of these groups existing in New Hampshire schools are Amnesty International, "Earth day committee" or other versions of groups focused on environmental concerns, foreign language clubs, peer counseling groups, and anti-drug and alcohol groups like DARE. These are the existing groups I know of in New Hampshire that have addressed multi-cultural and/or gender issues, often in the context of "can't we all get along?" or in the context of decreasing school violence and dropout prevention.

Let us see how some sociological theories of race relations shed light on our data. We will use a summary of writings on race and ethnicity issues that serve as a "socio-cultural framework" through which we can understand more about the relationship of race to schooling (Khleif, 1878).

The ways teachers criticize yet also defend both current educational practices and multi-cultural practices reminds me of Myrdal's dilemma over the "Negro problem" (Myrdal, 1944, p. xxiv). The dilemma is between the good-hearted Judeo-Christian virtues that Americans believe they emulate and the dual reality of racism and the nonchalance towards racism. Teachers are generally quick to endorse multi-cultural education and confirm its virtues, yet are still sometimes reluctant to "take it on" as a programme and believe that it might "go too far" and that "it's not needed here yet." As Myrdal observed fifty years ago, in American culture we have difficulty placing racism in the center of the socio-cultural analysis of ourselves. Perhaps since denial serves as a sort of social Prozac, we tend to not view race as a major

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defining concept for the U.S. collective consciousness as well as for domestic and foreign policy. Rather, race issues are often seen as isolated and peripheral in the lives of average White middle-class America.

In the survey and interviews, few respondents expressed an understanding that they might be teaching from a biased, Eurocentric perspective. The learned kindergarden teacher knew this, and another teacher said that the new reading program with much more cultural diversity made her question her own teaching and the same had happened with some of her colleagues. This is a major obstacle for multi-cultural education to overcome: teachers are not going to change what they are teaching unless they are convinced that they should re-examine their curricula. Few mainstream teachers understand their role in the reproduction of a false worldview that supports the class structure. As Khleif (1978) says:

> Teachers, be they teachers of Whites or non-Whites, present an idealized false picture of American history to pupils. They are 'perpetrators of history' as myths and falsehood. As cutural transmitters, they act as an old-fashioned RCA phonograph trademark, transmitting their masters' voice. This is what prompted Waller, in his Sociology of Teaching, to say that school teachers are paid to tell little lies to young children (p. 66).

The anthropologist, Gerald Berreman, studied caste systems and observed how similar they were to race relations in the U.S. Berreman (1960, also see Khleif, 1978) argued that the closed system with little chance of social mobility that characterized caste societies such as India and Sri Lanka bear a striking resemblance to the system of race relations in the U.S. The "pollution barriers" (Khleif, 1978, p. 60) over the color line are evident in New Hampshire. The Massachusetts-New Hampshire border serves as a kind of "pollution barrier," where the high property taxes, high user fees, and

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diminished social services act to help keep out the undesired racial and ethnic "untouchables." People in New Hampshire are nervous about the inevitable breaking down of the "pollution barrier" in the Southern tier of the state. Recall that teachers in some Southern tier schools report that their peers talk about how wonderful their communities were before "they" (people of color) started "invading."

Most all teachers interviewed said that they did not consider Franco-American students a part of cultural diversity. This is surprising given the large impact that French-Canadians have had on New Hampshire. This might be explained by the overall lack of knowledge about and attention paid to the Canadian culture as a whole. Cross-cultural knowledge is not a priority in the U.S. educational system, and often other cultures know much more about us than we do about them. How can we explain the overall disinterestedness expressed by teachers towards the idea of the Franco-Americans as a part of culture diversity? Khleif (1978, p. 67) notes: "...Americans are bithely uninformed about Canada, whereas Canadians are mischievously well-informed about the U.S."

Of note, too, is how educators accept race as a biologically defining and anthropologically significant concept. It shows how little views of race and race relations have changed over the decades of this century, that some of us still talk about how "they" are. The stereotyping and generalizing about race, as well as about gender, are still rampant. Educators' views remind me of Stone's analysis of the concept of race in the study of race relations and how we need to analyze "race relations without race" (Stone, 1985, p. 33), meaning without viewing race as a socio-biological or anthropological concept of any great importance. We still have a long way to go in reaching Stone's

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analytical ideal.

In this chapter the views of New Hampshire teachers concerning multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education are reported, based primarily on a 1992 survey with responses from 209 teachers and a subsequent series of 12 in-depth interviews with New Hampshire teachers. A brief survey of the beginning and increased frequency of use of the word "multi-culturalism" and related terms based on the Social Science Citation Index is first presented.

Next, the responses to the survey and interviews are summarized. The most notable features of these responses are that most teachers do not believe that multi-cultural education is needed in New Hampshire. As well, most teachers do not conceptualize gender issues as part of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. A consensus of many is that racism and sexism are not that much of a problem and that equity training for teachers is not necessary, yet this contradicts the fact that many report incidents of race-hate speech, sexual harassment speech and even (unsolicited) gay-bashing speech, which would seem to show a need for education in tolerance and equity. There is a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding in the identification of who counts as a racial, or ethnic minority. Terminology used by the teachers for racial groups is sometimes archaic and would now be considered offensive by many. Few teachers understood what relativism is (despite the denunciations of it by the Christian right and some popular media) and few knew much about Afrocentrism. Many felt that there was a danger of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education, and particularly Afrocentric education of "going too far" and simply replacing one bias or bigotry with another. Most accepted the notion that affirmative action equals quotas and reverse discrimination. Many agreed with the criticisms of political correctness in the media, although some

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thought the debate was narrow in focus and even silly. In addition, two seemed so worn down by accusations that they were politically correct that they did not want to discuss the issue.

Despite the relative lack of knowledge about or interest in multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education among the respondents in general, some were doing work in multi-cultural education of various sorts. Several interviewees had interesting opinions and knowledge concerning global education and "one world" values, Afrocentric education, and education for tolerance and diversity. However those educators who are doing multi-cultural education not are receiving any sort of systematic support from their schools or school administrators. Some excellent and effective multi-cultural education is occurring in New Hampshire, but mainly by teachers who have to "go it alone."

In the next chapter, I will continue with the project of illustrating the social construction of multi-culturalism by expanding the lens beyond New Hampshire to include the national viewpoints of both educators and the lay community towards multi-cultural issues.

End Notes to Chapter II

1. The Philbrook Foundation is a non-profit philanthropic organization funded by the estate of Anna Philbrook, the first female psychologist in New Hampshire.

2. For a broader discussion of sex-role stereotyping and the role education plays in perpetrating gender stereotypes see Evelyn Goodenough Pitcher, "Male and Female," in Stacey, Judith, et al., And Jill Came Tumbling After: Sexism in American Education, Dell Publishing, New York, 1974, pp. 79-90.

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CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MULTI-CULTURALISM II: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SOME SELECTED MAGAZINES, JOURNALS, NEWSPAPERS, AND CURRICULA

In the last chapter, I dealt with issues of multi-culturalism as indicated by a questionnaire given to New Hampshire educators and in depth interviews of some New Hampshire educators. In this chapter, I continue the exploration of how educators and the general public come to view multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. Here, I draw back from the particulars of New Hampshire, and want to show some of the messages that are received by the public at large. Messages are sent to consumers both explicitly and more subliminally through the media and other mass-marketed material, such as curricula.

First, I will review for content and for message 35 articles selected from educational trade magazines and journals, as well as popular press articles that deal with some aspect of multi-culturalism or multi-cultural education issues. I am interested in seeing what publications do and do not have articles of multi-cultural relevance as well as what messages are conveyed by the articles that are on multi-cultural issues. Next, I will review ten sets of multi-cultural education curricula available from the New Hampshire Department of Education. Lastly, I want to use what I found from the content analysis and the review of curricula to paint a picture of how the national community seems to understand multi-cultural issues. I am concerned with exploring the ways multi-cultural issues and debates are framed that may affect our collective consciousness about these issues. I use categories of "favorable," "oppositional," and "skeptical/cautious" in the content analysis, and focus

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more on the latent content than the manifest content of the writings and materials on multi-cultural education. I am interested in pointing out some overall major themes and orientations.

Content Analysis of Educational Trade Magazines and Popular Press on Multi-culturalism and Multi-cultural Education

The study of educational materials is useful in identifying the "hegemonic process" (Griffen and Marciano, 1979) originating from its corresponding institution, public education. The idea of hegemony originally referred to domination, as in one nation's domination over another. However, a second meaning, developed out of Antonio Gramsci's Marxism, has come to refer to the "system of alliances" -- both structural and ideological -- that together work to maintain the status quo for the ruling class by helping to reproduce appropriate beliefs and behaviors (Gramsci, 1978, p. 433). Hegemony is a extremely useful concept in examining the taken-for-granted beliefs, the cultural conditioning, the control of consciousness -- the overall ideological sway that a nation-state holds over its citizens. Hence, hegemony can be defined as ideological domination.

I am interested in the ideological way that the particular belief system concerning multi-culturalism is construed for and utilized by the politico-economic interests of a social structure as a justification for and maintenance of that structure. Put another way, I propose that a particular ideology which stands in opposition to multi-culturalism exists to maintain a particular status quo. I am particularly interested in examining the role that public education plays as a socialization agent in the reproduction of anti-multi-cultural ideologies. Sumner (1979, p. 234) discusses methods such as content analysis as

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a way to illuminate the "transference and maintenance of ideologies" or hegemonies necessary to reproduce a mystification of social reality. The key or central ideologies or hegemonies, according to Sumner, are those which "...are necessary pre-conditions for the successful operation of structural mystification" (1979, p. 235). I will return to this notion of social reproduction, or the defense of privledge, in Chapter VII. Now, I will review the articles and writings concerning multi-cultural issues that I found.

Content analysis of selected publications. Here, I am drawing a sample randomly from publications and other forms of mass media which reflect a broad spectrum of possible social and political views on the topics of study. I am concerned to find out what are some of the prevalent themes linked with certain publications. For the educational publications The School Administrator, Educational Leadership, Education Week, School Law News, and Phi Delta Kappan, I analyze from six to eight issues from 1985 to the present. For other publications, such as Fair Test Examiner and Concerns, I review only one or two articles that seem to be particularly relevant to our topic. I am also reviewing single copies of some education trade magazines directed towards special interest segments (like for school personnel who work in Student Assistance Programs on drug and alcohol issues) if such magazines have had a article on multi-culturalism. Altogether, 35 articles from both education trade magazines and from the popular press are reviewed here, followed by a review of ten multi-cultural education curricula.

First, the articles from educational trade magazines will be reviewed and commented upon. Secondly, articles from the popular press will be reviewed and commented upon. Thirdly, all education and popular press articles along with multi-cultural curricula will be analyzed together. In the last section of

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this chapter, I will categorize the articles and curricula using a nominal measure of attitude and behavior in terms of "favorable," "oppositional," or "skeptical/cautious." I will be concerned to deduce the sentiments expressed about multi-culturalism, multi-cultural education, and related issues, in the writings. The classifying done in the content analysis will strive mainly to come to grips with the "latent content" or the underlying meaning of the responses given. To a lesser extent, I shall also be concerned with some aspects of the "manifest content," particularly as I search for the prevalence of certain key words and phrases in a response which indicate possible sentiment or belief about a multi-culturally related issue (Babbie, pp.. 239-240). The goal of this analysis will be to present a comprehensive summary of the national consciousness towards multi-cultural education and related issues.

The first newsmagazine that I reviewed is Education Week. Education Week is the Times magazine of the K-12 public education establishment, and is particularly popular with administrators and education bureaucrats, as articles are generally brief and relatively jargon-free.

The first article I found of multi-cutural issues was a front-page article trying to show how Black students -- themselves -- did not worry about prejudice. Peter Schmidt, in "58 Percent of Black Students Do Not View Prejudice as an Obstacle, New Survey Finds" (Education Week, September 29, 1993, p. 8), reviews a study entitled "High Hopes, Long Odds." The Lilly Endowment commissioned this study in which 5000 students in Indiana were surveyed. Fifty-eight percent did not think prejudice will reduce their chances for success. Fifteen percent view prejudice as a "major stumbling block," and 27% as a minor hindrance. Seventy percent of African-American students believe their life will be better than that of their parents.

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The October 3, 1990 issue of _Education Week_ contains an article entitled "Math Courses are Identified as 'Gatekeepers' to College." The article summarized a national study by the College Board on the relationship between high school courses taken by students and their college achievement. For "poor and minority students who take high school algebra and geometry courses" the rate of college attendence, college success in all courses, and college graduation is much higher. The article notes the ten to fifteen point spread between the college attendance rate of White versus Black and Hispanic youth, but does not elaborate on the social reasons why such a spread exists. The difference in college attendance rates "disappears" when Black and Hispanic students take high school algebra and geometry, according to the College Board study. The _Education Week_ article ends by noting that "in this age of multicultural education and the growing awareness of the demographics of the next generation of workers" we should work to resolve this problem.

Lynn Olson penned the lengthy, feature story entitled "Howard's Third Movement" in _Education Week_ (12/8/93) on Jeff Howard, African-American social psychologist turned educator and founder of the Efficacy Institute of Lexington, Massachusetts. Howard has the reputation, as a neo-conservative, for blaming the plight of Blacks solely on Blacks: due to their "retreat from competition" in the classroom, the result is the "intellectual performance gap" between Whites and Blacks. Although he does criticize Whites for creating many of the problems Black-Americans face, he firmly believes that there is something "wrong with the (Black) culture" as well which has seriously contributed to and maintained the problems.

Howard's work with schools to increase academic performance through

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the Efficacy Institute is based on a rejection of the "innate-ability paradigm": the belief that more people are _born_ intelligent than _become_ intelligent. Schools have erred by sorting students according to educators' perception of the student's learning capacity. Howard argues that this system is damaging for all students, but particularily for students of color since unconscious racism makes educators rank the learning capacity of non-Whites lower than for Whites. He feels that Blacks have internalized the deep-rooted social messages of I.Q. and race and accordingly live down to the expectations. Howard advocates a self-help program for Black-Americans and criticizes Black America for not doing more for "their own community." Although there is always a long, feature article in _Education Week_, this is the only one on the specific multi-cultural issue of African-Americans in the educational system.

An article on the changing racial and ethnic demographics and changing immigration policy was found in the November 14, 1990 edition of _Education Week_. The article briefly mentions the attempt in California to re-vamp the curriculum to include more multi-cultural voices. Demographers predict, as quoted in the article, that by the year 2020 46% of the nation's school age children will be children of color. The demographics are already over the projected national figures in California, where over half of the students are students of color. The article details the new immigration act recently signed into being by President Bush, which ostensibly allows for easier re-uniting of families by allowing distant family relatives to immigrate if they have relatives here who are U.S. citizens.

While there was an occasional article which mentioned race issues in _Education Week_, my sample resulted in only two articles specifically on multi-

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cultural education. The articles were sequential in the same edition, and both centered in on the issue of Afrocentric education. The frontpage feature story in Education Week (Vol. X, No. 13, November 28, 1990) is entitled "Battle Over Multicultural Education Rises in Intensity: Issue is What Kind, Not Whether" by Debra Viadero. Diane Ravitch, James Banks, Asa Hilliard III, and Molefi Asante are all quoted regarding their perspective on the political and social ramifications of multi-cultural education, particularily Afrocentric education, "two decades after educators and politicians began calling on schools to teach more about the contributions of...ethnic and racial groups long absent from the curriculum...."

Viadero notes that the debate has gotten "bitter," and notes that there are strong arguments over whether the recently multi-culturalized California and New York curricula did not go far enough, or else that it went too far, in substituting multi-cultural histories for the current focus on Western Civilization. Some have argued that these curricula have "reduced history to ethnic cheerleading on the demand of pressure groups." Viadero claims that Afrocentric education is needed to counter the legacy and effect of Eurocentric education which "reinforc(es) racial insensitivity among Whites and leav(es) Black children feeling inferior and disconnected from their studies," Diane Ravitch argues in reply that "Ethnocentrism is not multicultural education. It's the opposite." Molefi Asante says it more bluntly: "in a sense Eurocentric curriculum commonly used in schools is killing our children, killing their minds."

According to this same article, James Banks disapproves of the "tepees and chitlins" approach to multi-cultural education which focuses on ethnic holidays and customs. Banks says that "students see ethnic issues and events

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primarily as an addition to the curriculum, and consequently as an appendage to the main story of the development of the nation and to the core curriculum." What others have suggested "is to weave multicultural perspectives into the entire fabric of the American story."

The article mentions a general agreement that changes in the curriculum need to "provide students with a fuller, more balanced truth about their own history and culture than they have had up to now." Beyond that, says Viadero, "opinions diverge sharply." Viadero quotes education officials as noting that "...America has become unclear about what our common interests are...we've become less secure about ourselves as a common culture." Viadero also notes the struggle between the melting pot ideology and cultural pluralism and distinguishes both these approaches from "the separatist" approach: namely Afrocentricism.

In considering the justification for Afrocentric education, Viadero quotes research showing that although "...Black children begin school only slightly behind their White classmates...by the third grade they have slipped six months behind. By the sixth grade, they are a full year behind. And, by the twelfth grade they have fallen more than three years behind."

In her conclusions, she quotes Asa Hilliard III on the new African-American scholarship including the "Black Athena thesis" and the African influence on Western Civilization, then quotes an Egyptologist who dismisses the total research effort of writers such as Bernal, Diop, and Hilliard. The last words are given to Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Leonard Jeffries. Schlesinger criticizes a curriculum orientation that suggests that "...Africa was the source of everything good and Europe was the source of everything evil..." Leonard Jeffries' characterization of Europeans as the "ice people," who contributed

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"domination, destruction, and death" to the world, is also quoted.

The second article (Education Week, November 28, 1990, p. 12-13) centers on an analysis of one attempt at Afrocentric education, the "Base Line Essays" of Portland, Oregon's school district. Viadero notes that the six essays are called baselines because they provide the historical foundation for teachers to discuss African and African-American contributions to society. The essays are to be used to supplement existing curricula with a focus of race and issues of African-Americans, and are criticized for being anecdotal, inaccurate, over-stated, and lacking in strong evidence. Supporters of the essays claim that most errors have already been corrected and point to scheduled public debates over some of the more contentious parts of the essays.

Viadero notes that the Portland African-American Base Line Essays were first implemented in 1987, and were one of the first attempts to infuse a multi-cultural focus into an city-wide curriculum. There are six essays, including ones on African and African-American contributions to language arts, science, art, music, math and social studies. The essays are required reading for all Portland public school teachers from kindergarten through fifth grade. Viadero quotes both teachers who resented having to read the materials and parents who feared the essays were to promote a "radical Black agenda."

In summary, the Education Week articles I read dealt with articles on the following themes: 1) on prejudice and discrimination (without the articles talking directly about racism), 2) on minority demographics and multi-cultural education (without the articles talking about the politics of immigration and the social usage of xenophobia), 3) on programs to help minority students help themselves, and, 4) on multi-cultural education (and

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particularily Afrocentric education) as expounding its own form of ethnocentricism.

Now we will turn from <u>Education Week</u> to look at another, somewhat different, educational publication. The magazine <u>Educational Leadership</u> turns out to be a relatively progressive magazine in that it includes at least a small number of issues and articles which are dedicated to social issues like multi-culturalism, race relations in the schools, school violence, and sex bias in education settings. <u>Educational Leadership</u> is the Journal of the Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development, probably the major organization concerned with curriculum and pedagogy in the U.S. I reviewed the issues of May, 1992, April, 1992, September, 1992, October, 1992, December, 1992 and January, 1993.

The topical issue of the December 1992 edition of <u>Educational Leadership</u> (Vol. 50, No. 4) was "students at risk," focusing heavily on drugs, crime, and HIV/AIDS issues in school. No article mentioned gender issues. Issues of class and race (with emphasis on the former) were found in one interview with Jonathan Kozol on his work, <u>Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools</u> (Crown Publishers, Inc., 1991). The living conditions and the schools in East St. Louis, "virtually 100 percent black, a monument to apartheid in America," were so dismal that Kozol referred to the city as "the saddest place in the world." In the school system one could find "...great teachers and often very courageous administrators struggling against formidable odds..." (p. 5).

Although, here as elsewhere in his publications, Kozol describes America's schools in terms of their political economy, specific reference to race was made only twice: 1) "It was the spring of 1964...(and) I signed up as a

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teacher in the Boston public schools. Although I wasn't certified, I was told that if I did not mind teaching black children, I could go into the classroom. That was a quick introduction to American racism..."; and later, 2) "I chose that title (Savage Inequalities) because I was sick of powerful people suggesting that there was some kind of essential savagery in poor black children in America....I agree it's a tough title, and some people tried to talk me out of it..." (p. 9).

The theme of the September 1992 issue (Vol. 50, No. 1) is "Building a Community for Learning," and although there are three faces of color among the eight on the cover, there are no articles on race-related issues in education. This is true even for the series of articles on issues related to conflict resolution, peer mediation, school violence, and peace studies programs. None of these articles make reference to gender issues. Later we will look more closely at this peculiar omission of the epidemic problem of violence against girls and women in the conflict resolution-type of educational research in vogue today.

The October 1992 issue of Educational Leadership had "Untracking for Equity" as its theme. Tracking has come back with full vengeance in public schooling today, even though the term "tracking" is usually not used. (Softer and more ambiguous terms like "homogeneous grouping" are more the norm.) Neither race nor gender is mentioned in any of the articles, which cover the more apolitical "equity" approaches of today: cooperative learning, learning styles, theories of multiple intelligences and alternative assessment. Although there are no questions raised about students who are poor learners because they have the misfortune of living in poor towns with poor schools, there are two articles covering "equity" concerns for so-called gifted and talented

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students.

The next magazine I reviewed was The School Administrator. This magazine is published 11 times a year by the American Association of School Administrators, based in Arlington, Virginia. I randomly selected copies and reviewed the August 1989, November 1989, May 1990, August 1992, September 1992, October 1992, November 1992, February 1993 and the April 1993 issues. Compared to Educational Leadership, which given the title would led one to believe they were similarly focused, The School Administrator makes an impression that it is not at all a progressive magazine willing to take on social issues. In these eight issues, there was only one article which was related to multi-cultural education concerns found in the last issue. Catherine Doane, in "Global Issues in 6th Grade? Yes!" (School Administrator, April 1993), shows how one teacher relies heavily on in-depth research and presentation of possible solutions to the world's most global problems. Hunger, poverty, pollution, crime, homelessness, endangered species overpopulation, etc., were included in the topics studied. These topics, as Doane, points out, are not typical of curricula at this age.

Doane and some of her colleagues in Glenview, Illinois created a global education unit called "World Problems: A Look at the Issues and Their Solutions." The students who selected to study homelessness were guided through research, which included talking with a bureaucrat who worked with the homeless, and volunteering in a soup kitchen. The goal was to integrate disciplines and allow for meaningful understanding to occur as students studied self-selected topics in depth and in cooperative groups. This short article is interesting, as the token article among our sample of issues of the School Administrator, because it dealt with the multi-cultural issue of global

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education almost as an aside. The overall emphasis in the article was not to implore school administrators to take multi-cultural education seriously, but was rather on the benefits of experiential and student-directed learning.

Overall, the School Administrator is not in the same top echelon of education magazines as is Educational Leadership. The School Administrator almost completely avoids dealing with any educational inequity issues, and focuses on short, watered-down articles with a lot of "pros" and "cons" columns that describe current educational administration trends: like site-based management and outcomes-based assessment.

The best overall magazine that deals with the reality of educational inequity is Phi Delta Kappan. This magazine is published ten times a year, and is quite popular with both classroom teachers, educational specialists, and administrators. Phi Delta Kappan is the central neo-liberal tract of the educational establishment. I reviewed the January, 1992, April, 1992, December, 1992, February, 1993, March, 1993, April, 1993, and September, 1993 issues and found more articles than in any other magazine on multi-cultural education concerns as well as on the social issues of schooling. That does not mean, however, that Phi Delta Kappan had very many articles on multi-cultural education and related topics. I would estimate that only about 5% of the articles in Phi Delta Kappan are on multi-cultural education topics and other social issues combined.

Since I consider gender to be part of multi-cultural issues, I reviewed the March, 1993 issue of Phi Delta Kappan, which includes an article on "teen" pregnancy, that quotes the U.S. Public Health Service estimates that motherhood rate among teenage girls at 2.7 times the fatherhood rate among teenage boys. The obvious conculsion to this is that many male, non-teenage

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adults are getting teenage and even preadolescent females pregnant. This implication is not drawn out. Also not mentioned is that 40% of females are pregnant by the age of 19 in this country. (Other comparable countries have far lower numbers.)[1] The PDK article is mostly devoted to criticizing the current "values education" approach to sex education.

The April, 1993 edition of Phi Delta Kappan (Vol. 74, No.8) is dedicated to articles analyzing the changes in the educational system which have occurred ten years after Terrel Bell's widely-publicized study, "A Nation At Risk." Of note is that, although every major article referenced the problems with those students in the "bottom half" of America's educational system, female and non-white minority issues were not mentioned at all. Perhaps this should come as no surprise: "A Nation At Risk" also made scant mention of the hindrances for female education, nor did the report mention how race relations affect the schooling of non-white minorities.

The most radical article I found was penned by Kimberly R. Vann and Jawanza Kunjufu for PDK. I knew of Kunjufu because he produced several videos and curricula that had been purchased in the Equal Educational Opportunity Office on Afrocentric education. In "The Importance of an Afrocentric, Multi-cultural Curriculum" (Phi Delta Kappan, (February 1993, Vol. 74, No. 6, pp. 490 - 491) the message is similar to curriculum materials I have seen and used written by Kunjufu: that Afrocentric curriculum greatly improves the self-esteem, identity, confidence and motivation for African-American students. Without the experiences and contributions of African-American culture being portrayed by educators as equally valid and legitimate, African-American students internalize the messages of the larger society: that they are "less than," peripheral, non-achieving, and perhaps

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inferior. Further, Afrocentric education is required in the education of Anglo students as well to prepare them to live, work and function in the increasingly multi-cultural world. A "strictly Eurocentric perspective" will not do this, because children of all racial backgrounds will read stories solely about the heroism and achievements of European ancestors.

The authors note that cultural diversity should "not just (be taught) during the shortest month of the year," meaning (presumably) the attention to cross-cultural differences during the holidays, but needs to be continual. Even when African-American history and culture are taught, often it is from an "Eurocentric frame of reference," where the history of African-Americans begins "in textbooks with American slavery, instead of with the genesis of civilization in Africa. Therefore, African-Americans are considered as descendants only of slaves, not of kings and queens" (p. 490-1). Vann and Kunjufu also criticize the token way African-American life is integrated in contemporary texts, usually consisting of a page of the Civil Rights movement and "perhaps one paragraph (summarizing) the life and works of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr."

Another article that deals more directly with educational equity issues -- this time on school choice -- is Larry Hayes' article, "A Simple Matter of Humanity: An Interview with Jonathan Kozol" (Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 74, No. 4, December 1992, pp. 334-337). Hayes mentions in a discussion about the illusion and deception behind the school "choice" (or vouchers) movement that racial segregation would return to pre-1954 (Brown v. Board, Topeka, Kansas) levels if a voucher system went into place in many of the largest metropolitan areas. (Not that segregation ever left us, and not that it hasn't already returned. The Office of Civil Rights has cited Hartford, Connecticut for

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having essentially re-segregated their schools.) Unfortunately, this article does not draw out the implications for a critique of race and racism in education. A euphemism like "largest metropolitan areas" is used as a codeword for communities of people of color. This tendency will be pointed out in other writings as well, although in the next article by Stanley Eitzen institutional racism is directed mentioned. This is the only time in the educational trade magazines and journals where the phrase "institutional racism" was used.

D. Stanley Eitzen, in "Problem Students: The Sociocultural Roots" (Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 73, No. 8, April 1992) argues that "problem students" are made, not born. Many of the problems that individual students have in school (prone to violence, anti-motivational and alienated, dis-interested and apathetic, etc.) are directly traceable to underlying social problems, like the excesses and banalities of the television-directed consumer culture and the lack of stability in home life, according to Eitzen.

These social problems also include the falling hourly wages (in constant dollars), and the subsequent decline in the economy and rise of poverty. There is also the "falling rate of profit" in the last twenty years (as discussed in William Nordhaus' "The Falling Rate of Profit," Vol. 1, 1974, pp. 169 and 204-5). Children in poverty are especially hard hit as their poor physical health and impoverished environments often leads to problems with their psycho-emotional and intellectual development. Poor children are exposed to chemical toxins at much higher rates than other children. This exposure often leads to permanent learning disabilities. Eitzen notes that, "children suffering from exposure to lead have an average I.Q. four to eight points lower than unexposed children and they run four times the risk of having an I.Q.

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below 80" (p. 587). These social problems also include the changes in the "racial landscape," particularly due to the large increase in legal and illegal immigration during the 1980s and the rise in hate crimes sparked by racial hatred.

Eitzen notes that racial/ethnic minorities students also suffer from "institutional racism, which keeps them disadvantaged. (Minorities) do not fare as well in schools as white children, their performance on so-called objective tests is lower, the jobs they obtain and their chances for advancement are less good, and so on. They are negatively stereotyped and stigmatized. Their opportunities in this 'land of opportunity' are drastically limited. They are blamed for their failures, even when the causes are structural. It is any wonder that a disproportionate number of them are 'problem' people?" (pp. 587).

Another article that makes some eye-opening connections about race and education between South Africa and the U.S. is Jerome T. Murphy's article, "Apartheid's Legacy to Black Children" (Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 73, No. 5, January 1992). Murphy describes the character of South Africa's curriculum. The school curriculum is South Africa, Murphy maintains, is almost completely Eurocentric so that, by comparison, U.S. curriculum looks quite multi-cultural. The South African curriculum is driven by a much more strictly structured system of examinations then is the curriculum in U.S. society. These exams help to exclude Black students in terms of educational achievement beginning as early as the first grade, the age at which a mind-boggling 26% of Black children dropped out of school entirely in 1989 (pp. 371). Although Murphy is off to a good start, direct comparisons of the parallel between South Africa and the U.S. on the role that testing and assessment play

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in maintaining racial, gender, and class inequality in both societies were completely (and obviously) lacking. The cross-cultural comparison might not have been required (given that the issue was dedicated to "international education"). Yet, the cross-cultural analogies and comparisons are made in several of the other major articles. These included articles on Russian, Japanese, New Zealand, British and East German education.

A fairly long piece on one of the central multi-cultural issues -- bilingualism -- is Charles Glenn's article, "Educating the Children of Immigrants" (Phi Delta Kappan, January 1992, pp. 404-408). Glenn discusses bilingual educational experiences in other societies as well as in the U.S. Two models find use in other countries. One provides instruction in the dominant language to achieve assimilation in the dominant culture as soon as possible. The other justifies bilingual education as necessary to maintain the cultural heritage associated with the primary language. Glenn argues that in the U.S., we "unreflectively" merge the two goals and do not really achieve either effectively (pp. 407). English as a Second Language (ESL) is a particular kind of bilingual education which has its own set of problems. We shall discuss in the next chapter how second language acquisition theory is poorly understood by many (unqualified) ESL teachers and tutors. With mainstreaming and the inclusion movement, mainstream teachers often have Limited English Proficient (LEP) students in the classroom. Mainstream teachers receive little instruction in basic cultural differences but especially are often uneducated in matters of bilingualism and second language acquisition.

Now I turn to other, less well-known, less regularly published and less widely distributed newsmagazines and journals dealing with educational issues. Concerns, the monthly news-magazine of the Council of Chief State

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School Officers, is published in conjunction with the Council's Resource Center on Equity. In the November 1993 edition (Issue XII, p. 1), an article on gender equity in the achievement of college degrees specifically addresses the low number of females in educational administration. The article notes that although females receive proportionately a fair amount of B.A. and M.A. degrees, that Ph.D.s and other professional degrees are awarded to females only 36% of the time. In the sciences, females receive only 12% of the degrees. Regarding educational administration positions, the Council reports that in 1990 only 7.5% of superintendents were female, 25% of assistant superintendents were female, and 24% of principals were female.[2] In high school courses, females have caught up in math, but still trail considerably behind in the sciences. Although many more females major in math in college than twenty years ago, they generally major in mathematics education -- pure math and applied math are still primarily the domain of males.

A different sort of publication is School Law News. What separates this publication from the rest is that it is read not only by educational administration personnel and educational burearucrats, but is also read by lawyers who work with education-related legal issues. I do not know of any classroom teachers who read School Law News, which is unfortunate as it is easily accessible and understandable and gives good summaries of both national and state level court decisions and briefly speculates on the rulings' impact on education. I selected for review at least ten copies of School Law News from each year from 1990 through 1993.

In an article entitled "Racial Harassment Complaints Surge" (School Law News, 4/6/93) the new Education Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights, Norma Cantu, believes that the incidence of racist occurences has remained

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either level or slightly increased but that the formal complaints have greatly increased. The article reports that racial harassment complaints in educational institutions have increased from 154 in 1990 to 276 in 1992. Cantu maintains that there has been an "increased awareness of civil rights implications" of harassment. It is not mentioned that this increase is due in part to a spillover effect from the increased recognition of sexual harassment complaints, the numbers of which have risen even more quickly than those of complaints about racial harassment.

Another, subsequent, issue of School Law News (Vol. 21, No. 24, 11/19/93, p. 1) reports that the Education Department's Office of Civil Rights (OCR) has released statistics showing that racial harassment complaints filed by or on behalf of race and national origin minority students have "dramatically increased" (as noted in the previous article). OCR finds violations in about 20% of all complaints it investigates, and it is unknown what proportion of complaints which OCR refuses to accept before they get to the investigative stage. Overall, Civil Rights complaints on the basis of sex, race, and national origin account for a very small fraction of complaints filed and/or investigated. By comparison, OCR received "2646 disability-related complaints in FY 1992" (p. 5).

This same issue of School Law News (Vol. 21, No. 24, 11/19/93, p. 6) reports that Oakland, California risks losing federal funds if it does not immediately improve educational services for Limited English Proficient students. This is the fifth time since 1976 where Oakland School District has been deemed out of compliance by the Office of Civil Rights with Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race or national origin). In each of the five cases, district officials agreed to a

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corrective action plan but never followed through. Oakland has a student population of 50,000, where 45,000 are minorities and 13,500 are labelled Limited English Proficient. The charges have always addressed the same points: that instructors for English as a Second Language classes are without appropriate training in second language acquisition theory and practices, that Limited English Proficient (LEP) students are allowed to cluster in the back of classrooms and not encouraged to participate, and that Oakland provides only beginning English language instruction at some high schools.

That Oakland has put itself at risk of losing $17.2 million dollars in federal aid to education illustrates the extent to which school districts have called the Office of Civil Rights' bluff: they know that OCR has actually pulled federal funds only a few times for a short amount of time. It is still not clear if the funds will really be pulled, but if they are -- even for a year -- it will be a message to school districts and school boards to take compliance with federal Civil Rights laws a bit more seriously.

The November 1993 copy of School Law News also had a story about illegal "tracking" practices in schools where racial minorities are heavily disproportionate in lower-ability groups and are assigned to "slow-track, low-achievement classes." The Illinois Federal Court has accused Rockland, Illinois school district of greatly violating the Brown v. Board mandates on desegregation. In the same issue there was also a very short brief of three lines on Title IX (the federal law prohibiting sex discrimination in schools) and athletics.

Although Civil Rights issues related to multi-culturalism might seem to be a major issue for a magazine that reviews court decisions and their impact on schools and schooling, School Law News had only four articles on such

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topics out of over 30 issues I reviewed. There were two articles in the past several years noting an increase in racial harassment complaints and increased enforcement efforts in response to such complaints. Case law on racial harassment is following in the path and mimicking almost identically case law on sexual harassment, yet there were no articles on sexual harassment.

The Fair Test Examiner is a fairly new publication for educators which is concerned with the validity, reliability, and equity considerations of testing in U.S. schools and post-secondary institutions. In the Fall 1993 issue (Vol. 7, No. 3, pg. 1,5) Fair Test reports that the so-called "gender gap" is growing between the scores of males and females on the SAT test. In 1993, males scored 53 points higher than females, one point higher than in 1992. The Educational Testing Service (ETS) and the College Board has been criticized for years for not addressing gender bias inherent in the tests.

Fair Test reports that for years research has pointed out that the multiple-choice format hurts females because guessing, a common and encouraged practice for SAT test takers, is rewarded. Guessing is a "risk males are more likely to take" than females. Females often need more information to make a decision about the correctness of possible test answers. The "new SAT" is due out, but even Education Testing Service (ETS) research reports claims only "negligible" to a "modest" reduction in gender bias. One of the outcomes of gender bias on the SAT is that college admissions often use SAT scores as tie-breakers in determining entrance eligibility between otherwise equal candidates. Although colleges are relying less on SAT scores as important criteria, this problem persists. In addition, the National Academy for Science, Space and Technology uses the SAT scores for the same tie-breaking purposes.

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The gender bias and resultant lower test scores for females explain why, according to Fair Test, that "three-fourths of (their) 2.2 million dollar (scholarship) awards go to boys" (p. 5).

In the NEA Today, a newsmagazine for National Education Association members, provided a cover story entitled "The Fight Against Racism: We Can Win" in its December 1990 issue. The message is that: 1) in the 1990s "racism is back" after lying fairly dormant through the 1970s then building up steam during the 1980s; 2) that children are affected by racism at younger and younger ages, and, 3) that white children are increasingly affected by alienation and racial hatred and believing that "they have nothing going for them but their white ancestors...." The coverage includes Harris Poll data which claim that "...57% of teenagers say they've seen a racially motivated attack...(and)...47% of the Black kids say they themselves have been the victims of episodes of bias."

The tone of the NEA article is positive and "up-beat" and focuses on what educators and schools have successfully done programmatically to decrease racial tension and intolerance of differences, like the toney Connecticut high school class on "peace and protest" issues. Students studied literature and research on school desegregation and racism, and then were taken to the primarily Black high schools of the inner-cities and asked to measure their preconceived stereotypes with what they actually observed. On the down side, one would expect an article longer than two pages, since the cover page seemed to indicate to me that the entire magazine was going to focus primarily on issues of racism in the schools. The Connecticut program was the sole focus of the article without mentioning that Connecticut, along with Rhode Island, have both been formally charged by the Office of Civil

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Rights with once again maintaining segregated schools.

The entire October 1990 issue of _Education and Urban Society_ was dedicated to topics around school desegregation and how desegregation has been affected by federal policy. The first article by Charles Vergon (No. 294, pp. 3-21)) traced the role of the federal government in desegregation from the 1960s through the 1980s. The second article, also by Vergon (No. 295, pp. 22-49)) enumerated and analyzed the key decisions and implementation policies which have impacted on desegregation. Throughout the seven articles on desegregation, the authors seem in general agreement that positive federal impact of desegregation reached its peak from 1968 to 1972, with strong federal enforcement of desegregation laws and rulings.

During the latter part of the 1970s, however, the federal policies became increasingly fragmented and inconsistent. Three different authors mention the 1974 _Milliken v. Bradley_ decision as illustrative of the backing off by the federal government on desegregation issues. This Supreme Court decision held that federal courts did not have the authority to order inter-district relief regarding segregation unless there was evidence of purposeful governmental actions that had contributed to the segregation. This trend continued through the 1980s, where the processes and problems of local school desegregation were generally ignored by the federal government.

Virtually none of the authors in this issue of _Education and Urban Society_ suggested a still lesser role by the federal government in desegregation: they all called for the federal education bureaucracy to attack anew the problems with the implementation and success of the 1964 Civil Rights Act desegregation mandate. Checkoway in particular (in "Equity in the Schools: From Policy to Practice," pp. 93-108) indicates that the central focus

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should be on the "substantial gap" between the stated policy goals of desegregation and equal educational opportunities and the implementation of these goals through specific and sustained program development and evaluation.

Lastly, I reviewed six editions of the NASSP Bulletin (the bi-monthly magazine of the National Association of School Superintendents and Principals) from June, 1986 to October 1993. There was only one article on multi-cultural education and related topics. The October 1990 issue of the NASSP Bulletin had an article by Sheldon Varney and Kenneth Cushner entitled "Understanding Cultural Diversity Can Improve Intercultural Interactions" (pp. 89-94). The article starts by noting the rapidly changing demographics of increased cultural diversity and argues that educators need training in cross-cultural issues to adequately address the needs of students from various cultural backgrounds.

The authors delineate two basic approaches to cross-cultural training: the "culture-specific" and the "culture-general" approaches. They argue that too often cross-cultural instruction for teachers have focused on the "culture-specific" which tends to provide volume of cultural "facts" without a framework through which to understand them.

Varney and Cushner are advocates of the "culture-general" approaches which stress general principles that can be applied to students from many different cultural backgrounds. The authors implore school administrators to implement for their teachers "culture-general" training programs that include examination of personal prejudices and expectations as well as anxiety responses to cultural difference. This type of training will also provide specific instruction in the social psychological bases of cultural difference

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such as in-group/out-group distinctions and individual and cultural differences in perception and learning styles.

Besides the amount of historical data this series of articles on desegregation and Civil Rights issues provides, the strategies advocated for by Varney and Cushner in the NASSP Bulletin are commendable as they are steeped in research from social psychology and other areas interested in interpersonal dynamics. It is not just an editorial advocation of this or that position or method, but goes through the positive and negative attributes of both the "culture-specific" and the "culture-general" approaches.

Now I want to move from publications designed for educators and introduce some selections from the mass media. This will include a cross-section of selections from various newspapers that argue for a particular position on multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. The papers include The Los Angeles Times, The Boston Globe, and the Manchester Union Leader. I also have found two articles from national magazines, one from In These Times and another from Science magazine, that say some important things about aspects of multi-cuturalism.

Content Analysis of Some Selected Newspapers. One can find commentators on foreign policy like William Pfaff of The New Yorker who talk about the perils of non-European immigration, implying that all European immigrants were only too happy to rid themselves of (inferior) cultural particulars and to completely assimilate into the "American Dream." It was only once those "others" starting coming here that immigration and assimilation did not go quite as smoothly: "Each step away from the original north-European Protestant stock provoked trouble" (Pfaff in "The Price of Multiculturalism," Los Angeles Times, March 21, 1991). Pfaff talks about how

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well America was able to assimilate immigrants but notes: "The machinery of American cultural assimilation no longer is what it was. The American public school system for generations took in little immigrants, set them to their English lessons, told them of their Pilgrim Fathers and taught them to pledge allegiance to the flag...(today) assimilation is no longer the fashion."

Those who support the assimilation model are called "reactionary American chauvinists, or risk the worse accusations of racism, cultural imperialism, or cultural 'genocide'," according to Pfaff. He goes on to note, however, that assimilation will still occur through "on the job" experiences and through the "omnipresent American commercial television and the pressures of American consumerism" even though the public school system has failed in its duty. It is clear that Pfaff thinks that the New Immigrants, largely from South America, Mexico, and Asia, are less worthy stock and less industrious, as well as less appreciative of the United States, than the European immigrants. He does not mention the extent to which the opportunities which were so readily available to the Europeans immigrants have largely disappeared for the immigrant of the late Twentieth Century.

Besides being the major paper for much of northern New England, the views concerning multi-culturalism expressed in the _Boston Globe_ are useful to study since there is probably no more racially and ethnically divisive a large city in this country. Thick and pervasive racism can be quite well camoflaged, yet just beneath the thin veil of intellectualism and civility lies a remarkably segregated city. Boston has even maintained its community segregation and resultant inter-group hostility of "White ethics" such as the Irish and Italian. An article in the _Boston Globe_ (5/8/93) reported that, although 80% of Boston's public school students are race/ethnic minorities,

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the school system has yet to implement a multi-cultural curriculum that provides both a fuller picture of the contributions of minorities to the world's societies and strategies to decrease racism through increasing the cross-cultural knowledge base. If a culturally diverse city such as Boston has not embraced multi-cultural and anti-racist education, perhaps we can understand (though not defend) the place of denial from which conservative New Hampshire speaks on issues of racism and confronting cultural diversity.

On November 5, 1993 there was a national teleconference entitled Healing Racism: Education's Role. (Teleconferences are an increasingly popular technique to bring training sessions with "big names" into individual schools and districts in a relatively cost-effective way.) The $200.00 cost of Healing Racism including copying priviledges and district-wide access to the two-hour program over an unlimited number of television monitors within the school district.) I called and found that not a single school or district in New Hampshire had signed up for the teleconference.

The program featured Nathan Rutstein, a White, anti-racism trainer from Massachusetts who has done some previous work in New Hampshire at the Institute for Racial Healing located in Exeter. According to the brochure for the teleconference, Rubstein focuses on the manners in which we avoid confronting racism and naming it as a major social problem or "social disease...woven into the moral and spiritual fabric of society" and passed from generation to generation. He discusses how the "disease" of racism started in the U.S., the "pathology of the disease," how "European Americans are infected by the disease and people of color are wounded by it," "how to identify the infection and the wounds and heal them" through the "vaccine" of education and self-examination.

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Any story about New Hampshire would be amiss not to mention The Union Leader. The paper published a scathing attack on the program written by a Howard News Service reporter, Clifford May. May's article attacked Rutstein as a racist himself because the underlying message seemed to be that "only people of certain races can be racist" (Union Leader, 11/26/93). He quotes the definition of racism from Webster's Dictionary and claims that racism can work in any direction, from Black to White as well as visa versa. Rutstein, however, "insisted upon a new, more 'politically correct' definition" which focuses on power. Thus, "Black people can be prejudiced but not racist. It's incorrect to call Black people racist."

May continues to argue that "this implies that if a White slugs a Black because he hates Blacks, he is a racist. But if a Black slugs a White because he hates Whites he is only exhibiting a little understandable prejudice." He concludes by saying that "he does not have the space to debunk here" Rutstein's "noveau-racist pop-sociology" as a "pseudo-scholarly and reflexively anti-American mini-history on racism..."

An example of a strong defense for multi-culturalism comes not from mainstream press, but from a leftist weekly ("Multicultural Movement Faces Reactionary Assault," by Salim Muwakkil, In These Times, May 1-7, 1991, p. 7). Muwakkil argues that critics of multi-cultural education have "successfully manipulated public distaste for 'overzealous protectors' of minority rights...(those) who are derisvely labeled 'politically correct'." Muwakkil quotes from an editorial in the moderately liberal The New Republic which claims that multi-cultural education and Black studies in particular "seeks to replace pluralist thought 'with one of the most destructive and demeaning orthodoxies of our time. Its objective is a unanimity of thought on campus

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that, if successful, would effectively end open exchange.'"

Muwakkil had recently attended a conference at the University of Wisconsin over the future of Black studies and quoted Princeton historian Nell Painter speaking about how the Right views Black and Women's studies: "We may see ourselves as marginal people, fighting a losing battle over powerful forces of racism and sexism, but they (the Right) see us a potent enforcers of an ironclad orthodoxy. It's as if racism has not worked actual evil in American life."

Another media defense of multi-culturalism is found in the Boston Globe's article by Derrick Jackson entitled "An Unjust Academy" (8/8/93, p. 75). Jackson complained about a recent first-page Globe story on how academia is becoming full of "fluff": multi-cultural courses which are "distressingly faddish" and "quixotic mishmash of courses that has drifted far from the basics." The hallmark of these courses are "inflated grades and loose standards...all for $25,000 a year." He said that he "waited in vain" for the "details about the alleged horrors of multiculturalism."

Instead, the article praised the anti-political correctness and freshness of the new American Academy for Liberal Studies, whose members include sociobiologist Edward O. Wilson and ultra-conservative Black, Shelby Steele. The academy, which has received funding from the right wing Olin Foundation, will "rate colleges on the basis of how much emphasis they place on studying Western civilization and American society." (Jackson reminds us that the Olin Foundation contributed nearly $300,000 during the 1980s to the Dartmouth Review, during which time they "took sledge-hammers to shanties built on the green by apartheid protesters" and "insulted African-American students' literacy with a piece called 'Dis Sho Ain't No Jive, Bro.'" The review

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also published an inflammatory cover photograph of a Black being lynched, (for which a black model was paid to hang from a tree.) Jackson concludes the article that noting that "debate is to be expected when nearly four centuries of assumptions abut European and European-American intellectual and cultural superiority are challenged."

The last article on multi-culturalism that will be reviewed here comes from Science (Vol. 262, November 12, 1993). An article by John Travis entitled "Schools Stumble On an Afrocentric Science Essay" denounces a part of the Portland African-American Baseline Essays which was called "African and African-American Contributions to Science and Technology." (Recall that a negative review of the baseline essays from Education Week was presented earlier.) Travis combs through the essay on science and finds a total of eight "unsubstantiated assertions" which are individually listed.

For example, the Baseline Essay on science (p. S-19) asserts that "Egyptians had a theory of species evolution at least 2,000 years before Charles Darwin." How this claim was inadequately substantiated, according to Travis, was by quoting from the a Egyptian book of religious myth, the Book of Knowing the Evolutions of Ra, where a ruler had stated that he had evolved...under the form of god Khepra (scarab beetle)." "Allusions to Egyptian drawings" was the substantiation criticized by the author upon which the assertion was based that "Egyptians knew...the properties of light (such) as diffraction...and the particle/wave nature of light." Obviously, the baseline essays have some difficulties. Nonetheless, it is interesting that, given the work of Diop, Bernal, Hilliard, and others (see Chapter 4), how far the author went to sneer at the very idea that African peoples might be the "wellspring of creativity and knowledge on which the foundation of all

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science, technology, and engineering rests" (<u>Science</u>, Vol. 262, 11/12/93, p. 1121).

Travis and other critics of the Baseline Essays ridicule the claim that the African Dogon tribe correctly claimed that there is a tiny, invisible companion star to the the very large and visible Dog Star or Sirius, a fact only recently confirmed by the most powerful telescopes of modern astronomy. In fact it is true that the Dogon hold this belief, and that the belief has turned out to be correct. The Dogon also call this star "made of the heaviest substance," and in fact the tiny companion star is made of highly condensed, very heavy nuclear matter, indeed the heaviest matter known (the collapsed nuclear remains of the atoms of what was millions of years ago a large star.)

The modern skeptic must say that this is just an amazing coincidence, like Jonathan Swift's accurate description of the sizes and periods of revolution of the tiny satellites of Mars in <u>Gulliver's Travels</u>, almost two centuries before these were discovered and measured. However, it shows the biases of the critics of the Baseline Essays that they simply assume that the story about the Dogon's religious claims about the companion star to Sirius must be made up by the author of the essay. As Zaiuddin Sardar asks, without knowing the answer, in a review dealing with non-Western science which recounts the Dogon beliefs, "Did the Dogon invent some sort of telescope? Or did they have extraordinary eyesight?"[3] It is notable that the Dogon religious beliefs are not crude, but have a strong resemblance to the theories of the universe of the Greek Pre-Socratics, such as the Pythagorean number theorists, according to the anthropologist Marcel Griaule in his <u>Conversations with Ogotemmeli</u>. (See Diop, <u>Civilization or Barbarism</u>, pp. 313 - 318, which contains further information and documentation on "The Sirius Mystery.")

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Overall, my limited review suggests that multi-cultural issues --
including the "hot" topics like racism and race relations -- are spoken about
more pointedly in the popular press. This would appear to be true whether the
position held is for or against multi-cuturalism and/or multi-cultural
education. One theme I notice is the threat of race and race-related issues such
as immigration. Race threatens all of us, whether we in turn are making
threatening remarks about the "price" of multi-culturalism through
immigration, or if we refrain from making such projections. A concern with
the anti-multi-culturalists' position is that it is often unclear if the elitism,
racism, and xenophobia that underlie some of these positions is conscious
(deliberate) or unconscious (not deliberate). That does make a difference, at
least in terms of both uncovering hidden smugness and is establishing
responsibility.

Next we will review multi-cultural curricula and then analyze that
together with the material from trade magazines and other media in order to
paint a picture of the national consciousness on multi-cultural education.

Multi-cultural Education Curriculum Review

To understand multi-cultural education is to understand how it is
practiced. In this section, we will survey multi-cultural education materials:
teacher's guides, workbooks, activity guides, audio-visual materials, and other
parts of curriculum which the Equal Educational Opportunity Office has
ordered to have available for loan to New Hampshire educators without charge.
All of these materials have been developed since the late 1970s. These
materials are on racism and race relations, on cultural diversity, on themes of
the melting pot in the U.S., and on the New History (which studies family

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genealogy and the history of the common folk rather than focus almost entirely on the history of the White Male Warrior and the White Male Inventor.)

The Office's materials on racism and race relations proper are the least borrowed materials. Still of the mind that New Hampshire does not need multi-cultural/anti-racist education "yet," many New Hampshire educators are just not that comfortable using curriculum materials which focus on race. The materials which are most borrowed by teachers are those that blur and soften the racial grounding of multi-cultural education materials in favor of more loosely-defined conceptions and goals of "respect for all," "tolerance for cultural diversity," and knowledge of the American melting pot mosaic.

I will review ten multi-cultural curricula that appear to be the most well-known and most widely used by teachers in the classroom. Most of these curricula attempt to infuse multi-cultural concepts into everyday instruction through the use of structured activities. Besides the teacher's guides and activity books that will be reviewed here, there are also many books on multi-cultural subjects, such as Prejudice Reduction in Adolescence, which are more theoretical than practical. There are also many videos on multi-cultural topics.

Videos, for better or worse, are an ever increasingly popular instructional method for classroom teachers. Many old cassette and film strip curricula have been copied into the VHS video format. The Equal Educational Opportunity Office has several thousands of dollars worth of videos that are lent out free of charge to teachers and other groups. There was a serious lack of materials on multi-cultural education topics for the elementary grades. This problem has been addressed over the last few years and the office now has

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many videos appropriate for the elementary ages. The videos are on topics of tolerance, anti-racism, cross-cultural understanding and friendship, sex equity and career options for females, sexual and racial harassment, ethnic studies, and teacher training videos on instructional methods for integrating Limited English Proficient (LEP) students in the mainstream classroom.

The curricula to be reviewed include:

1) America's Civil Rights Movement: Complete Teaching Package in Text and Video, by the Teaching Tolerance Project (Klanwatch, Southern Poverty Law Center, Atlanta, Georgia, 1991);

2) Fair Play in the Gym: Race and Sex Equity in Physical Education, by Judith Placek and Pat Griffin (Women's Equity Program, University of Massachusetts, 1983);

3) The United States: A Cultural Mosaic: Teacher Handbook for the Primary-Grade Multidiscipline, Multicultural Program by Jimmie Martinez, et al. (The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, 1979);

4) America's Women of Color: Integrating Cultural Diversity Into Non-Sex-Biased Curricula, Elementary Curriculum Guide by Gloria L. Kumagai (Women's Educational Equity Act Program, U.S. Department of Education, Washington D.C., 1980);

5) America's Women of Color: Integrating Cultural Diversity Into Non-Sex-Biased Curricula, Secondary Curriculum Guide by Gloria L. Kumagai (Women's Educational Equity Act Program, U.S. Department of Education, Washington D.C., 1980);

6) The Culture Puzzle: Cross-Cultural Communication for English as a Second Language, by Deena Levine, et al. (Prentice Hall Regents, New

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Jersey, 1987);

7) Americans All for intermediate grades, published by Instructional Fair, Inc. (Social Studies Series, Instructional Fair, Inc., Grand Rapids, MI, 1978);

8) Anti-Bias Curriculum: Tools for Empowering Young Children, by Louise Derman-Sparks (A.B.C. Task Force, National Association of the Education of Young Children, Washington, D.C., 1989) ;

9) My Backyard History Book, by David Weitzman (Brown Paper School Series, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1985) ; and,

10) Open Minds to Equality: A Sourcebook of Learning Activities to Promote Race, Sex, Class and Age Equity, by Nancy Schniedewind and Ellen Davidson (Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1983).

The first curriculum selected to review is called America's Civil Rights Movement: Complete Teaching Package in Text and Video. This is produced and distributed free of charge by the Teaching Tolerance Project of Klanwatch, an organization based at the Center for Democratic Renewal to serve as a watchdog for organized racist activities. This curriculum is rare in that it is distributed free of charge to any school on request, and includes a video, a 108 page text for students and a teacher's guide complete with daily lesson plans. The video chronicles the Civil Rights movement as remembered by participants today with a great deal of historical footage provided as background over the reminiscing voices.

The learning objectives, as outlined in the teacher's guide, include students' knowing what were the goals of the movement and what were the strategies of movement participants (including knowing in what ways nonviolent resistance, or civil disobedience, was particularly successful in

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gaining sympathy for the movement). Students are also expected to know why the movement succeeded and what the spectrum of views are of both Whites and Blacks about the legacy of the movement and the existence of continued racial discrimination.

The second curriculum to be looked at is called _Fair Play in the Gym: Race and Sex Equity in Physical Education_, by Judith Placek and Pat Griffin, developed through a U.S. Department of Education's Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA) grant in 1983. The curriculum comes out of the University of Massachusetts' Project TEAM, which designed and taught the first experimental undergraduate equity class. Most of the activities in the curriculum have been field tested through inservice work with Massachusetts teachers.

It is the only curriculum of its kind of which I am aware that focuses on race and sex equity issues solely in physical education classes and interscholastic athletics. Some of the questions which provided the impetus for writing _Fair Play in the Gym_ are included in the introduction. They include: what a physical education teacher can do when boys won't pass the ball to girls in a class basketball game; how a coach should respond to racial name calling and a potential fist fight in the locker room, and, what the strategies are which can help a physical education teacher meet the diverse needs of a class which includes highly skilled athletes and reluctant beginners.

The activities in _Fair Play in the Gym_ include physical games which are generally non-competitive and focus on form and technique rather than on the potential raw power in a physical move or athletic ability. The activities tend to avoid pitting individuals against each other, but rather structure

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opportunities to assess your own ability in a physical activity or a sport and compete against yourself, in a sense, by trying to continually improve no matter what your ability level might be. The second focus is on brainstorming and other exercises which are designed to help the inservice or preservice physical education teachers examine and reduce their own racism and sexism. For example, there are lists of phrases employing sexist language (like "Laurie is such a little tomboy" and "John is such a sissy") where potential teachers are asked to develop alternative phrases which do not promote or reinforce sex stereotypes. One of the typical remarks that a teacher might make to students, "I expect you girls to act like ladies in this class and you boys had better by gentlemen" is re-written as "I expect all students to be respectful of each other."

Another example of such an activity is to have potential teachers brainstorm and analyze the stereotypical physical education teacher. There are also sections of reproducible handouts which teach both teacher and students about anti-discrimination laws, especially on Title IX (prohibiting sex discrimination in schools). An extra lengthy chapter is on teacher-student interaction patterns that summarizes the literature and provides strategies to help equalize teacher-student interactions. (We will review the issues and the research on teacher-student interaction patterns with regards to gender in Chapter VI.)

The third curriculum is called The United States: A Cultural Mosaic, a "multicultural program for primary grades" that is distributed by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in 1977. The introduction notes that while "most research indicates attitudes are formed at a very early age and that many attitudes may be well-established by the time the child completes the

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primary grades," the available multi-cultural curricula were targeted for upper elementary and secondary school children.

A stated objective in this curriculum is to move away from examining diversity through "heroes and holidays" exclusively towards a "larger" framework of human similarities and differences. The author's foreward warns teachers that they must find a balance between the "whitewashing" of cultural differences with the rhetoric of "we're all the same" and the portrayal of homogeneous cultural difference, as when educators have well-meaning programs on Native-Americans that ignore substantial differences among Native-American tribes and individuals. This curriculum also benefits from a focus on classroom climate issues rather than compiling a set of classroom exercises for teachers to do with their students without examining the attitude towards cultural difference in the school and classroom climate.

There are many excellent student exercises and projects in the Anti-Defamation League's curriculum, although it lacks more structured lesson plans. One of my favorite exercises from this curriculum that has been quite well-received in teacher training workshops I have conducted is the "Lemon exercise." The goal of this "thought exercise" is to increase awareness of stereotyping as well as to increase the appreciation of individual differences. The activity begins with asking young students separated in small groups to concentrate on a bowl of lemons and think about how to describe a lemon to someone who has never seen one. A list is then generated on the common characteristics of the lemons, then one lemon is given to each group and the groups are asked to "get to know their individual lemon." Each group generates its own list of characteristics of its particular lemon. A comparison of the list of general group characteristics with the lists of individual

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characteristics is conducted. (Even primary grade students by this point will often start to comment in some manner on how groups are defined differently from individuals of the group.)

The last part of the activity is to collect all the lemons and ask that just one person from each group come up and identify their "own" lemon. (Without exception, even very young children can identify their group's lemon.) After the lemons are selected from the pool, the discussion can move easily into an age-appropriate analysis of stereotyping and how when we get to know an individual the supposed group stereotypes are less significant. This is an interesting exercise to conduct because at first all participants are in a mindset of looking for common, group characteristics of a bowl of lemons that look all the same then they switch to examining and naming individual characteristics and suddenly all the lemons are fairly easily distinguishable from each other.

The fourth and fifth curricula I had reviewed are the elementary and secondary versions (with accompanying teacher training guides) of America's Women of Color: Integrating Cultural Diversity Into Non-Sex-Biased Curricula. Like Fair Play in the Gym, the curriculum was developed through a Department of Education grant from the Women's Educational Act Program. For both the elementary and secondary versions, the contents are split into three categories: Similarities and Differences, Stereotyping, and Discrimination.

The section entitled Similarities and Differences in the elementary curriculum, for example, has subsections which review how White American females are both alike and different from Asian-, Black-, and American Indian females. An example from the section on Black American females is a short

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story called <u>Sunflower for Tina</u> which describes the events of one day in the like of an African-American female. The story is followed by questions to be asked of the students. The questions which are intended to emphasize similarities include: Do all Black girls enjoy planting a garden? Do you enjoy planting a garden? Do all Black girls daydream? Do you daydream? Questions which help to explore differences include items like: How is Tina's daily life different from your own?

The evaluation procedure is about the same for the sections on Asian-, Black-, and American Indian females: a main learning objective in each section is for students to demonstrate increased knowledge of the similarities and differences by listing three ways in which she/he is similar to and different from females of color. There is also more general exercises which do not explore culturally different artifacts and habits of daily life but focus on understanding prejudice and the harm that can occur from stereotyping as well as ways to avoid stereotyping.

The secondary curriculum is very similar to the elementary one. It, too, relies mostly on age-appropriate short stories followed by a series of discussion questions for each story which explore similarities and differences. The secondary curriculum also explores prejudice and stereotyping, but at greater length and in more detail. One lesson plan involves stereotyping in television programs. The first day, students are led through a discussion on why we stereotype, of the harm of stereotyping, and a brainstorming session on what the most common stereotypes are for Asian-, Black-, and American Indian women.

Next, the homework assignment given for the next week is to evaluate three television programs and ten television commercials using a guide which

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is provided to students as part of the curriculum. The guide has blank spaces to note how many males and how many females were in the program or commercial, in what activities the males and the females were engaged, whether the main character was a male or female. This was followed with questions on how many Black, Asian, Native America and Hispanic males and females were in each show. (I am unable to explain why, but it is interesting that Hispanics are occasionally included in particular activities but that they did not warrant their own subsection in either curriculum.)

The final activity is a post-test in which students define stereotyping, list three ways stereotyping can be harmful, list two stereotypes for both males and females of different race/ethnic groups, and lists harmful effects of television stereotyping. Activities similar to the activity just described are also interspersed throughout the curriculum and include analyses of textbooks, novels, and newspapers.

The teacher training manuals included in these curricula begin with the affective domain of the teacher. They provide discussions and activities for teachers, for example, to take their own "personal inventory" on racism and sexism. This is a strategy I have also picked up as a way to plan and facilitate the most effective teacher workshops: begin with the affective, move into the intellectual-academic (where social histories and economics of racism and sexism are covered), and end with the interventions (or strategies for dealing with racism and sexism in the classroom).

The sixth curriculum is The Culture Puzzle: Cross-Cultural Communication for English as a Second Language, by Deena Levine, et al. This curriculum focuses on classroom strategies and exercises which foster positive self-esteem for Limited English Proficient (LEP) students as well as

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encouraging tolerance and understanding among all students working in a classroom environment with LEP students. There is a teacher's guide to using the curriculum. The curriculum covers topics such as cross-cultural communication, including how interpersonal interactions, complimenting, gift-giving, and expressing emotions are often culture-bound and vary widely between cultures. The intent is to supply examples of real, plausible situations where one might offend another person from another culture unintentionally because one is not aware of cultural differences. On some level, this curriculum seem to serve as a "survival guide" for new immigrant children and adults to the U.S.

The Culture Puzzle has a second section on interacting in English which covers the cross-cultural dimensions of the acts of showing that you understand someone, giving feedback and interrupting, and guiding the conversation and holding your turn. A third section explores the cross-cultural dimensions of making contact in another culture, including the protocol for greetings and farewells, on avoiding certain topics and discussing common topics, on extending invitations and visiting. The last section of The Culture Puzzle focuses on cultural learning with units on how to learn from miscommunication, on observing cultural behavior, on asking without judging and on examining your own experiences.

The Culture Puzzle is interspersed with "Cross-cultural Notes" in small boxes. One, for example, notes that Vietnamese people often use special forms of address. Thus, when someone calls his older brother or sister, instead of using a proper name this sibling is called "older brother" or "older sister." Another box notes the common Japanese perception that Americans give so many compliments that it seems insincere. They quote a Japanese woman

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saying she gives one compliment a week while an American woman says she gives at least one compliment a day. Work of this sort has been done before. In particular, see Sakamoto and Naotsuka (1982) for a description of the difference in cross-cultural greetings, stylized conversation, and the hidden assumptions in Japanese and American culture codes.

Another of these boxes noted a conversational difference between Saudi Arabians and Americans. The American thought the person from Saudi Arabia always took too long to get to the point of the conversation because they started the interaction with a litany of polite questions such as "how is your spouse?," "how are your children?," "how are your parents?," etc. It is noted that people need to work hard not to get upset at cultural differences and realize that there are different standards of proper behavior and politeness.

Of particular value for the new immigrant, I would imagine, is the section on inappropriate and appropriate topics of conservation for many Americans. Among the topics which many may consider to be too personal are money, age (particularly for older people), religion, and physical appearance. (Another "cross-cultural note" box here says that among some Chinese it is a sign of interest and respect to ask one how much they weigh!) There is a discussion about how Americans like to make "small talk," followed by a list of the "safe" or common topics of conservation including the weather, sports, possessions, your job, school, weekend and vacation activities. There are amusing anecdotes about how bewildered some cultural groups are to hear how much Americans talk about the weather.

This curriculum avoids the obvious sandtrap of over-generalizing cultural differences. The text makes clear that everybody is different and not all people belonging to a cultural group -- including all-purpose Americans --

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arc going to act and react in the same way. This message is consistently integrated into the activities.

The seventh curriculum is Americans All, which is designed for intermediate grades, published by Instructional Fair, Inc.. Americans All uses a cultural pluralism model (as the name suggests) to "help students understand the richness of the ethnic heritage of their country, the areas from where the early immigrants came and why they came." The student-led activities in this book are self-contained and can thus be used to reinforce basic reading comprehension skills. The drawback to this curriculum is that the activities are all on masters to be used in a duplicating machine. Although the book says that the exercises can be copied by standard copiers (the more preferred method today) they don't really copy that cleanly.

The difference in Americans All is that the contents are much more focused on the "White ethnics" and other European nationalities than any other multi-cultural curriculum I have seen. Various cultures of the Pacific Islands, the Middle East, and Central and South America are covered, but the bulk of cultures addressed are European: Scandinavians, Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Greeks, Italians, Irish, French, English, and German. All of these nationalities have their own section which describes some of the assimilation experiences for these immigrants in American. This curriculum carefully avoids, in my estimation, any smack of radicalism or critical thought about the immigrant experience. At first glance, I believed there not to be a section on American Blacks or African immigrants. There is a section, very short compared to the others and somewhat odd in that it is embedded in the midst of various European immigrants and separated from other cultures of people of color.

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Before the sections specific to cultural groups, there are activities (mostly worksheets with blanks for written answers) that work with vocabulary and definitions. Among the vocabulary words to learn are "alien," "emigrant" and "immigrant," "ethnic," "race," "assimilate," "descendant," and "citizen." This section is followed by other worksheets on topics such as "What Nationality Are You?," "Borrowed Words," and "What's Cooking?"

One example of a worksheet for students in the intermediate grades is called "Italians in America." This used a crossword puzzle using words describing Italian cuisine, and shows a drawing of an Italian male with a long, black mustache and big, white chef hat serving what appears to be spaghetti to two Anglos. The text credits Christopher Columbus with discovering America and notes that "one could say if it were not for the Italians there might not be an America." The flagrant racism here -- the belittling and the caricature -- makes the page shocking to look at. In the next chapter I will present a case study on how the educational community has reacted enthusiastically to the multi-culturalist call of "revisiting" Columbus.

Another example is a worksheet called "Arab-Americans." This worksheet has a map of the Middle East and Northern Africa with the names of the countries "scrambled." Students are asked to unscramble the names of the countries then list them under three geographic categories: Middle East, Arabian Peninsula, and Northern Africa. The two paragraph text states that "The term Arab-American is a cultural one....Most Arab-Americans are third and fourth generation Americans and are *free of the old world customs*. It is difficult for Arabs to enter the United States now because the number allowed is small. This is because not many immigrants had come from Arab-speaking countries before quotas, based on previous numbers of immigrants, were set

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by the United States Government (my emphasis)." I was struck by the implication that Arab-Americans are "free" from the presumably barbarian customs of the "old world." The discussion on immigration restrictions -- like other discussions about other cultural groups -- is pointedly apolitical.

The statement concerning quotas shows a profound ignorance of American history let alone incredible small-mindedness. The 1924 Immigration Act was based on a quota system, designed to keep non-Western Europeans and non-Protestants (Catholics, Jews, etc.) out of the U.S. This curriculum was produced almost fifteen years after the abolition of that quota system in 1965. Since 1965, there is no specifically-fixed quota or restriction on Arabs or anyone else wishing to come to the U.S. The numbers "allowed" are not "small," since under new immigration policy, 20,000 people can immigrate to the U.S. from any given country per year. Hence, it is difficult to justify the curriculum writers' need to single out Arabs in this regard.

The short amount of attention to African-Americans comes in the form of a timeline (from 1492 to 1967) that noted different historical events involving African-Americans. Students read the timeline, then use it to answer true or false to a series of questions which simply verify the information in the timeline. Much has been written the last few decades on the annoying and limiting way that race/ethnic groups like African-Americans are described by those who were "firsts": the first Black graduating from Harvard, the first Black to sing with the Metropolitan Opera, etc. Of the fourteen events listed in the timeline, seven of then were describing some of these "firsts."

The eighth curriculum is Anti-Bias Curriculum: Tools for Empowering Young Children, by Louise Derman-Sparks of the National Association of the

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Education of Young Children. This curriculum is one often seen on display at Civil Rights and multi-cultural conferences. It has the corner on the market, so to speak, among those few curricula devoted to primary grades because Anti-Bias Curriculum begins with activities for two-year olds. It makes sense to develop multi-cultural activities which promote understanding of differences at such a young age as that is when much of our concept formation is occurring and children are already deciding that the White doll is the "good and pretty" doll and the Black doll is the "bad and dirty" one.

The Anti-Bias Curriculum begins by justifying the need for such a curriculum and discusses how to create an anti-bias environment focusing on the visual and aesthetic effect and messages in an environment and the toys and educational materials that one selects for children. It also has a section on teachers working with parents on anti-bias issues, which is unusual in a educator's curriculum. Other sections include "Activism with Young Children," "Learning About Racial Differences and Similarities," "Learning about Gender Identity," and "Learning to Resist Stereotyping and Discriminatory Behavior."

In the section on advice and strategies for teachers in the Anti-Bias Curriculum, the author provides a three-page piece entitled "Ten Quick Ways to Analyze Children's Books for Sexism and Racism," reprinted from materials produced by the now defunct Council on Interracial Books for Children. The ten tips for analyzing children's books include methods for looking for stereotypes, looking for tokenism, looking for who is doing what ("Do the illustrations depict minorities in subservient and passive roles or in leadership and action roles? Are males the active "doers" and females the inactive observers?"), and determining the standard for success ("Does it take

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'white' behavior standards for a minority person to 'get ahead'?"). Other suggestions include checking out the author's perspective ("No author can be entirely objective. All authors write from a cultural as well as form a personal context") and trying to consider the effects a particular book might have on a child's self-image.[4]

The ninth curriculum is <u>My Backyard History Book</u>, by David Weitzman for the Brown Paper School series, is part of a new breed of K-12 tools to teach the "new social history"; history which focuses on the Everyperson and the contributions to history made by ordinary people rather than just the warring and ruling history made by White Males. Two of my favorite activities to share with teachers are from this curriculum, and both of them share the goal of encouraging children to explore their own family histories. These exercises, I believe, are of upmost importance for multi-cultural education in a relatively homogeneous place like New Hampshire. Educators have been telling me for almost four years that they are concerned with the apparent rise in White Supremacy and Neo-Nazi groups in New Hampshire high schools. Exercises like "Families Come in All Shapes and Sizes" and "A Test!" can focus all-purpose White students who are largely ignorant of their cultural background to explore issues of "White ethnicity." If students realize that most all White Ethnic immigrants experienced discrimination, including their own ancestors, then perhaps it will be harder for them to buy into the beliefs of White Supremacy groups.

"Families Come in All Shapes and Sizes," which is age-appropriate for upper elementary school students, presses into service the standard anthropological symbols for kin "trees" and encourages students to draw their own kinship charts using circles for females and triangles for males. There

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are also spaces to write in known anecdotes or "stories" about particular relatives and their country of origin. "Families Come in All Shapes and Sizes" and "A Test!" are both valuable because they encourage students to talk to their parents, grandparents, and any other relatives or friends of the family to find out cultural and personal details. This richer knowledge of cultural background will hopefully go some distance to dampen the harmful misperception of the monolithic and generic White society.

"A Test!" starts out by stating that this is the students "very own personal history test. See how much you know about your own past!" It is written in a light-hearted and comical style with funny drawings and places to fill in the answers to questions such as "From which country did your father's family come originally? (Unless you are an Native American, they came from somewhere else!)," and "When did your ancestors (on both sides) first come to this country?" Under this question there is a picture of a child with a balloon caption answering "Oh, about 12 O'Clock."

My Backyard History Book also has structured activities to begin to get students interested in their own genealogy and to build a family archive. There are many interesting old photographs of many different types of people coming from many different countries throughout the book which serve to encourage the learners to explore their own cultural history.

The tenth curriculum is Open Minds to Equality: A Sourcebook of Learning Activities to Promote Race, Sex, Class and Age Equity, by Nancy Schniedewind and Ellen Davidson. Open Minds to Equality focuses on the social-psychological and interpersonal dimensions of multi-cultural education. Topics include learning creative cooperative skills, building trust and open communication between individuals and as part of group process, the "isms"

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and prejudice and stereotypes, recognizing roadblocks to equal education and empathy and understanding towards others' situations as a way to broaden ones' own perspectives.

Open Minds is structured so that a teacher can choose learning activities appropriate for the age of their students within the sequential chapters and with varying subject matter. Before potential learning activities are presented, there is a lengthy chapter for teachers summarizing research on racism and sexism in education and a review of the federal anti-discrimination laws such as Title IX (the 1972 sex discrimination law). An example of the research the authors reviewed was a study by Susan Hall[5] which examined children's books published by major publishing houses in 1977. Only eighteen of these books were about Africa, and only two of the eighteen were without factual and historical errors, blatant ethnocentrism and racism, or language which was demeaning or patronizing.

One of the activities in Open Minds uses concentric circles. the objectives are "to have students get to know each other at the beginning of the school year, to encourage students to share information about themselves with others..., (and) to begin to think about experiences in which inequality or discrimination has affected them." Half the children form an internal circle with their chairs facing out, while the other half form an external circle with their chairs facing inwards. The chairs must be lined up so that a two people are sitting across from each other. The teacher then directs the pairs to discuss certain questions and after several minutes students rotate so that they have a new partner. They then discuss answers to new questions. Some of the questions are relatively unthreatening like "If you could have one wish granted, what would it be?" to questions that focus on feelings or experiences

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of inequality such as "Can you describe a time you couldn't get to do something because you were a boy/girl?"

Overall, the activities in <u>Open Minds to Equality</u> focus on the processing of experiences rather than on learning factual information. I was impressed by the length of the list of discussion questions after each activity which the authors claim are crucial for the processing and integrating of the lessons learned into one's psyche and sense of the world.

I have culled exercises and lesson plans from several of these curricula in teacher training workshops. I am very familiar with some of these curricula and others I had not examined previously at all. Having been positively impressed by the quality and nature of this sample of multi-cultural curricula, the most important information to convey about them is that they are hardly ever used -- at least not in New Hampshire. This is the case even though all the videos, resource guides, and all the curricula we have available for loan free of charge from the Equal Educational Opportunity Office are listed and described in our annually updated <u>Civil Rights Resource Catalog</u>. This catalog is sent to all 600 public school principals and librarians. While the EEO Office has a pool of steady "customers" wishing to borrow videos, especially newer ones on prejudice reduction and sexual harassment, I can recall only a handful of times during my four-year tenure at the Department of Education when a teacher has borrowed one of these curricula. It is unfortunate that they are almost exclusively used by Civil Rights staff in teacher training workshops. Usually, the curricula gets pressed into service by members of the Civil Rights staff, like myself, in teacher workshops where I bring sample packets of various classroom activities, projects, and discussion questions to let the classroom teachers decide with what approaches to multi-

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cultural education they feel most comfortable.

Now, yet us assess the collected information gleaned from the presentation of information from various publications, education trade journals, newspapers, and curricula that deal with multi-cultural topics. The goal here is to paint a picture of how the national community understands multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. I will also attempt to ascertain what has influenced this national understanding, so I note what aspects of the debates over multi-culturalism are the most prevalent in the larger discussions of multi-culturalism.

How the National Community Understands Multi-culturalism and Multi-cultural Education

What are the parameters of the national consciousness on multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education? Here, I am concerned to synthesize and analyze the way multi-cultural issues were framed in educational trade magazines, popular press, and curriculum materials in the first two sections of this chapter by categorizing my findings using a nominal measure of attitude and behavior in terms of Favorable, Oppositional, or Skeptical/Cautious sentiments expressed about multi-culturalism, multi-cultural education, and related issues. The primary goal here is to pinpoint the latent content or the underlying meanings in the magazines, media, and curricula.

Before I categorize the readings in terms of the views towards the subjects at hand, let me list the major themes and topics found: 1) prejudice and discrimination; 2) minority demographics and immigration, with their relationship to multi-cultural education either provided or left out; 3) related to #2 were the images of the "shrinking global village" as a justification for

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multi-culturalism; 4) assertions that multi-culturalism was "righting the record" and has presented a healthier, fuller worldview to students, and, 5) denouncements of multi-cuturalism as false revisionism or even as reverse ethnocentrism. My overall impression was that, one one hand, there were more articles than I expected on multi-cultural issues. On the other hand, the articles largely avoided centering directly on any of the structural dimensions of power related to the facts of oppression and prejudice. Lastly, I was struck concerning how much gender is left out of multi-cultural discussions -- and left out of many broader educational discussions in general.

Among the articles which seemed clearly favorable is the 10/3/90 Education Week article on how math functions as the "gatekeeper" to college for minority students. The article explicitly recommends multi-cultural education. Within the article, there is a mild chastising of the educational community who have not focused on this issue even "in this age of multicultural education" and changing demographics. Although not particularly enthusiastic, the 11/14/90 Education Week article on the changing racial/ethnic demographics among school-age children does mention curricular changes towards multi-cultural education.

Viadero's Education Week article on multi-cultural education is, on balance, a favorable recommendation. This is the most impressive attempt at reviewing both multi-cultural education's critics and supporters, and she seems very careful to answer each point made with a counter-point by someone else. Although she seems skeptical of Afrocentric education, the title of the article summarizes her overall conclusions: the "issue is what kind, not whether."

The shortest article I reviewed in the educational trade magazines was a

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one page discussion of a global education project in School Administrator. This was the only article on multi-cultural related topics in the nine issues I reviewed. Although the title and content were favorable -- "Global Education...? Yes!," the article did not state any direct benefits of multi-cultural education. Rather, Doane turned from a quick enthusiastic paragraph on global education to an analysis of the benefits of experiential learning for the rest of the article. I would conclude that this article, nonetheless, was a "favorable" one.

The Vann and Kunjufu article on Afrocentric curriculum in Phi Delta Kappan was the most strongly favorable article of those I reviewed. It is also the only article that explicitly criticizes a narrow "Eurocentric frame of reference." (Even the Viadero article, which argued that the Portland Baseline Essays were justified as righting the Eurocentric record, did not use the word "Eurocentric.") Van and Kunjufu argue forcefully for all the reasons we should be teaching multi-culturally: self-esteem and identity issues, the raising of social and political consciousness, and turning education into a weapon against social ills like racism.

A rare, concrete example of the damage done by the Eurocentric curriculum and the need for multi-cultural education is provided in Murphy's Phi Delta Kappan article comparing South African school curriculum with that in the U.S. I rate this as strongly "favorable," since many of the positive views presented on multi-cultural education in the articles surveyed rely more on personal feelings and perceptions stemming from humaneness. Murphy goes further than this by using a detailed cross-cultural analysis to justify his positive position on non-Eurocentric curriculum.

Although not explicit, School Law News from 1990 to 1993 has had

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several articles speaking to the need for "appropriate educational services" for females and Limited English Proficient (LEP) students. Although the multi-cultural curriculum itself is not named, top officials in the Office for Civil Rights are quoted at least three times speaking of the need to maintain compliance with Civil Rights laws through "appropriate" curriculum and pedagogy.

The Fair Test Examiner article is a rarity as it does not shy away from speaking directly to race and sex inequity issues, at least insofar as how these issues impact testing. The NEA Today magazine story on the status of racism in schools also dealt with the issues explicitly, research-based, and focused on analysis of current programming that worked to reduce racism. This article shared a characteristic with several other articles categorized as "favorable" towards multi-culturalism, that being very short in length.

Turning to positive views of multi-culturalism in the popular press, the Boston Globe has printed a number of articles of note. For example, the 5/8/93 Globe article made it clear that multi-cultural education was needed and asked why it has not yet been fully implemented, since 80% of public school students in the city are race/ethnic minorities. Derrick Jackson of the Globe always makes a reasoned defense of multi-culturalism, as he did in "An Unjust Academy" (8/8/93). This article is similar to others he has penned that stress how the "alleged horrors of multiculturalism" are in large part unsubstantiated yet often repeated. Jackson is not afraid to confront the financial underpinnings of Right-wing think tanks. Elsewhere, Jackson has compared the relatively high salaries for young academic Right-wingers in conservative think tanks with the much lower salaries of "tenured radicals" who have to really work (by teaching undergraduates) for a living.

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I did not find as many articles that were clearly oppositional to multi-cultural education. Viadero's earlier piece was the most comprehensive and ultimately favorable treatment of multi-cultural education. Perhaps to rehabilitate herself as an objective moderate, she was compelled to give a strong criticism of one multi-cultural education attempt, the Portland African-American Baseline Essays (Education Week, 11/28/90). Viadero's analysis focuses completely on the small fraction of the assertions within the Essays which have questionable evidence. Although she mentions one teacher who was favorable, she gave eight examples of negative reviews including parents who feared the "radical Black agenda" inherent in multi-cultural education.

We have to turn to popular press for more overt opposition to multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. Pfaff's "The Price of Multiculturalism" is honest in his denunciation of multi-culturalism, and only thinly veils his racism. He rejects the label of racism, while in the immediately preceding breath talks about how much worse the U.S. has become with each immigration wave further "away from the original north-European Protestant stock." The clear assumption is that the inferior "stock" of non-European others is the root cause of U.S. social woes, rather than the falling rate of profit and subsequent, continual loss of job opportunities for both old and new immigrants.

One can count on a denunciation of multi-culturalism by the usual cast of writers in New Hampshire's Union Leader. In my file on political correctness, I have twenty-eight articles denouncing political correctness from the Union Reader from November 1991 to January 1994. Nine of the articles specifically mention multi-culturalism and/or multi-cultural education (for example, "Multiculturalism: the Enforcement Arm of Political

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Correctness") and political correctness has been blamed for many social problems, from treatment of Nazi war criminals to the decay of moral character to the "silencing" of theories about biological innate differences. Even the University of New Hampshire bells from Thompson Hall were a victim of political correctness after some complained at the prevalence of Christian hymns over all other songs. The Union Leader can be counted on to give knee-jerk accusations of "reverse racism" and "reverse sexism" whenever mentioning Affirmative Action or any other social or educational attempts at dismantling racism or sexism.

Travis provides another explicitly negative review of multi-culturalism in Science magazine. Like Viadero's article above, this article is also a criticism of the African-American Portland Base Essays but focuses on the science essay only. With a handful of assertions without evidence, Travis is ready to dump the whole package. I assume that other science curricula have errors, especially in their first editions. I also assume that these errors are fixed and that the curricula are salvaged rather than entire curricula being rejected.

I categorized the following articles as illustrating a skeptical or cautious view of multi-cultural education. Schmidt's article seems to imply that multi-cultural education which reduces prejudice does not make much difference since most "Black students do not view prejudice as an obstacle." This was in no way an overt attack on multi-cultural education, but the matter in which it was portrayed left the reader wondering whether there was a hidden agenda. After all, it is unusual for a national magazine like Education Week to relay corporate research involving a localized study which is not directly related to education. Usually they report on national research studies from education-

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based research groups.

Olson's article on Jeff Howard in <u>Education Week</u> also teeters on the line between embracing and rejecting multi-cultural education. On one hand, Howard does believe that Black-Americans have been and are still oppressed through discrimination, and he rejects the claims of racial inferiority by scientists and social scientists. On the other hand, like Henry Lewis Gates, Jr., he rejects self-esteem as a rationale for multi-cultural education, and appears to make blanket denouncements of all Afrocentric education.

Stanley Eitzen's article on the "sociocultural roots" of "problem students" focuses mostly on structural and institutional factors which influence poor academic achievement. He does, however, mention the role that curriculum plays in stereotyping and stigmatizing racial minorities. He is weary of multi-cultural education and chooses not to bring his concerns about Eurocentric curriculum (he does not name it this) into his conclusions and recommendations.

Another vein of caution is found in Glenn's article on immigrant education in <u>Phi Delta Kappan</u>. Here, an analysis of bilingual educational models is undertaken, where no connection is made explicitly between bilingual education and multi-cultural education. Not only is the connection between the two not drawn out, but Glenn notes that one of the things wrong with bilingual education is that it is often held symonyous with multi-cultural education. He sees multi-cultural education as ineffective, at least for his own concerns with immigrant education.

Varney and Cushner's <u>NASSP Bulletin</u> article on multi-culturalism and cultural diversity also was a mixed bag: while on one hand they argue that cross-cultural communication must be improved to coincide with our rapidly

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changing race/ethnic demographics, they also argue against current multi-cultural education practices which are too "culture-specific" and tourist-like. Unfortunately, while they work out a philosophy that supports their favored alternative -- the "culture-general" approach -- they do not suggest any instructional methods or materials which could put their approach into practice.

It is notable that Education Week choose to publish an article (Schmidt, 9/29/93, p. 8) that directly spoke to issues of racism and the centrality of race in our educational theories, yet chose to report on its front page about a survey that seems concerned to make the case that young Black students are not that concerned about prejudice. Likewise, the 10/3/90 Education Week article on math as the "gatekeeper" to academic success for minorities makes the same subtle omissions. One issue of concern about this article was that educational researchers have been pointing to the connection of high school math and college success for decades. This was not mentioned. As well, gender was not mentioned in the article, although the idea of math courses as the "gatekeeper" for increased college attendance (and success) for female students has been documented since the 1970s.

The Education Week article by Olson on Jeff Howard (12/8/93) is one that paints the best possible face on issues of race and education -- in part by overtly blaming Blacks for their own plight. Although it is clearly on target to name the anti-intellectualism in the Black community, Howard often sounds like a classic example of "blaming the victim," much as Henry Lewis Gates, Jr. often does. Both men have upper-middle class backgrounds and Ivy League educations. Howard was determined to prove that the performance gap was due to the "self-fulfilling prophecy" of lowered expectations living within the

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Black collective psyche ever since being stunned by the racism of Arthur Jensen's "How Much Can We Book I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?" in 1969 in Harvard Educational Review. Jensen argued that 80 percent of intelligence was determined by genetic inheritance: it was as if "100 (Black) kids had been lined up...at Harvard...and thrown a single spear through everybody's heart." According to the article Howard's own theories on self-motivation were strongly influenced by his work under David McClelland, the guru of achievement motivation theory. However, Howard seems to have taken McClelland's work in another direction. In Howard's version mere individual motivation supercedes economic and social constraints.

Even Booker T. Washington argued that Blacks had to help Blacks. There is nothing new about this argument, and it is based on all the revered and desired qualities of self-motivation. The U.S. has a long-term love affair with the idea of "pulling yourself up by your own bootstraps," and an equally long relationship with denying that many folks do not have the bootstraps to grab. Beyond Howard, Henry Lewis Gates, Jr. and Shelby Steele, Rothenberg (1992) shows how William Julius Wilson also bolsters the neo-conservative approach by de-emphasizing race, indirectly helping in ascription of moral deficiency to his own people, African-Americans. Thomas Sowell, the Black-American economist does the same. These represent a sort of ethnic or racial "comprador class" within the U.S., denying the all-pervasiveness of institutional racism, of racism as a system that masks economic and other privledges.

The Education Week article of 11/14/90 on changing demographics and multi-cultural curriculum reform in California does not seem to directly connect the curricular changes mentioned with the changing demographics

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and the discussion on immigration policy. The article does not mention that the immigration act is obviously an attempt to increase the labor market with the cheapest wage costs. The article also smacks of the "they're coming to get us" paranoia and xenophobia. It sounds an alarm that says to the reader to watch out for these newcomers, they are forcing us to change our educational system -- both its theories and practices.

The influence of the history of scientific racism in enforcing the belief that this difference is biological rather than social is not mentioned in Viadero's Education Week (11/28/90) sympathetic review of self-esteem and academic success as justifications for Afrocentric education. The reader is left to wonder if this is a "natural" difference. Although many curricula have glaring errors when first published, that fact was not presented as a defense in Viadero's denouncement of the Portland Baseline Essays on Afrocentric education.

A major theme in the writings is the fear that multi-cultural education is replacing one biased view with another. This is quite important as the language of racism can turn the guns around on the oppressed. The concept of ethnocentricism has come to be generally thought of as relating to Eurocentricism, yet Ravitch and others use it to complain about what we might call reverse ethnocentrism. The concept of "centricism" implies a relationship of power whereby one group has the authority of creating history for all other groups. There is currently a belief in the U.S. that "reverse" discrimination is even worse than discrimination itself. This idea of "reverse" discrimination -- applied to the notion that the Canon needs to be changed from a Eurocentric perspective to a more inclusive one -- is what I call reverse ethnocentrism. Therefore it is odd to cast Afrocentrism as a

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movement legitimized by social power. This is similar to the thinking involved in claims of "reverse discrimination."

The new, tiny, and under-developed program of the African-American Portland Baseline Essays is held up as a serious threat to objectivity and a case of this reverse ethnocentricism. Although In These Times has an article praising the early and pro-active efforts of the Portland group, there were no favorable comments in the Viadero piece, except for those of one "African-American teacher" who thought they were needed to help "correct the historical record." Likewise there was no mention that first attempts at drafting a curriculum often have errors that are debated and corrected quickly. That the baseline essays have any contentious arguments at all renders it an untrue "radical Black agenda."

Altogether, Educational Leadership was a surprise in terms of its having the most complete coverage on multi-cultural education and its having by far the most critical pieces on inequality in education. It is interesting that Educational Leadership, a magazine directed at the educational aristocracy, has more obvious veins of truly critical and progressive analysis than do publications like Education Week that are aimed at the masses -- the classroom teachers. Although Educational Leadership also steered away from some obvious opportunities for direct confrontation with issues of educational inequity (like in the "Untracking for Equity" issue), Education Week avoided the topics of real class, race, and sex inequity much more thoroughly.

Eitzen's April 1992 article on the "socio-cultural roots" of problems with today's students in Phi Delta Kappan can be commended for the directness is takes on race issues. Along with Junjufu's and Murphy's articles, also in Phi Delta Kappan, these were the extent of articles dealing directly with race.

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I noted that females have "caught up" in math but still trail substantially far behind in science. It is notable how few articles mention this long-lived descrepancy between the sexes. This has made for an interesting and ironic situation in some New Hampshire high schools -- I know of two schools (and presumably there are more) where every single math teacher is a female except for the Department Chair -- the lone male. We should consider what message that situation gives to all students with regards to power and control, even if the situation is explainable because the "lone male" Chair has the greatest seniority.

In the School Law News articles, besides for the mentioning of sex equity and Title IX in a couple articles, there exists an obvious lack of attention to Civil Rights issues affecting female students, even more so than for racial and ethnic minority students. This is notable because there is considerably more recent research on gender inequality in the schools than on racial inequality, from what I can tell. Lastly, of note is the tone of the lead article on the Oakland Schools and how the Office of Civil Rights is threatening to pull federal funds. If I were an educator, I would possibly be led to the belief that schools did not have to worry about their federal funds being pulled due to Civil Rights violations. A ridiculously long list of reprimands, informal and formal (from the courts), and going back decades, was given in the School Law News article. Even with serious, systemic, and persistent violations, the Office of Civil Rights is only now publically threatening to pull their federal funds.

An appreciated change from the lack of gender issues mentioned in these writings comes with Fair Test. It is the only publications I am aware of for educators that consistently focus on issues of gender biases. It is unfortunate that the magazine deals solely with testing and assessment topics,

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for there are many other pressing issues of gender inequality -- like teacher-student interaction patterns -- that a wealth of research exists yet the word does not get out very far.

Popular press has played a role in increasing the nonchalance towards racism and other forms of prejudice as well as in keeping Americans xenophobic. This was evident in my content analysis, yet overall multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education appear to be more common topics in the popular press than in educational materials.

Ravitch (1990), a former Leftist activist who later defended the status quo in Bush's Department of Education, is mentioned in Pfaff's article. She likewise bemoans the loss of the assimilationist goal. Pfaff's article is very similar to her collection of re-printed essays (such as those of Thomas Jefferson) that are intended to show the breadth of cultural diversity which assimilated into the American amalgamation. However, just as with a Chinese menu, when we pick category A of assimilation we also risk getting the baggage of elitism, Eurocentricism, and xenophobia of category B. In her broad defense of assimilation, Ravitch also defends the notions of how to make (New and Improved) Americans out of raw and uncivilized immigrants.

The attack on Rutstein was notably vicious. Dr. Rutstein has argued for his position in a research-based manner in four books on racism and numerous scholarly papers. He also produced a television documentary of racism, co-founded the 150 Institutes for the Healing of Racism, and has lectured at over 100 colleges, universities and government institutions on racism, according to his resume on file in the Equal Educational Opportunity Office.

Besides the attack on anti-racism work, The Union Leader has, on

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average, a monthly attack on affirmative action, reverse discrimination, and on how Blacks need to just work it out themselves. These attacks are always penned by the only Black face one ever sees in The Union Leader, that of ultra-conservative Thomas Sowell of the Hoover Institute. Sowell's vituperations are sometimes totally self-contradictory. He opposes "bleeding heart" White liberals and Black nationalists who oppose the adoption of Black babies by white couples. However, Sowell attributes this opposition to the liberal attempt to treat all individuals as identical and to force everyone into an identical mold. But, obviously, those who oppose cross-racial adoption must be doing so on the basis of making a distinction between White and Black babies and between White and Black communities as a basis for treating them differently. For truly pointed justifications for multi-culturalism focusing on anti-racist and anti-sexist work one cannot rely on the mainstream press.

In all, there were nine educational and popular articles that I categorized as clearly "favorable," four that I categorized as clearly "oppositional," and five that I categorized as "skeptical/cautious."

I did not expect that so many of the articles I reviewed were not able to be categorized with any degree of certainty. In some, I found it impossible to detect a viewpoint of multi-cultural education at all: there was no discernable orientation. Articles reviewed were often not easily categorized as "favorable," "oppositional," or "skeptical/cautious." This suggests that a fourth category, that of "ambiguous" or "avoiding," would be a fuller way to explain much of the writing around multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education.

After all, what is most striking is that the majority of articles that did not take a explicit stand. I was left to try to weed out implicit views that were

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harder to name and categorize in what I believed was on valid criteria. This ambivalence and reluctance to take a position either "pro" or "con" and argue for it, is seems, is the main lesson to be drawn here. This tendency is most present among the writings for and by educators. I was struck as well by the number of articles which presented a topic which seemed naturally connected with some aspect of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education, yet there would be no or little specific mention of race/ethnic minorities or females.

An example includes the long, focus article on "students at risk" in Educational Leadership, which did not mention females at all and only mentioned race twice (and not in a central context). Another striking example was the Educational Leadership cover art that illustrated approximately 40% faces of color among the students pictured. This issue focused on community-building, conflict resolution, peer mediation, and school violence, yet the issue contained no articles on race or gender issues nor any mention of such issues in the articles. This subliminally suggested that the influx of students of color was the source of the problems discussed.

Yet another example of how the core issues in multi-cultural educational are being left out of discussion is the issue of Phi Delta Kappan which was dedicated to analyses of the federal report on education, "A Nation at Risk." Issues of race and gender, in particular, are completely absent from the articles on this issue. A last example of this ambiguity and lack of willingness to directly confront the "ism" issues of multi-cultural education is seen in the Education and Urban Society and School Law News articles that decried our attempts at race desegregation and the persistence of racism. None of these articles suggest multi-culturalism as an antidote.

Overall, the writings on multi-cultural education issues seldom focus on

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the issues of race, and focus even less on issues of gender. What "sells" to teachers, obviously, are curricula that are not either controversial or on topics hotly debated in the U.S., such as race and gender. Yet, our interview data (and to a lesser extent, the survey data) show that teaching and learning about explicit race and gender issues does happen in New Hampshire classrooms more often that one might expect. This leads me to conclude that for the sake of appearance to the anti-diversity and anti-multi-cultural elements in the community (and most certainly in the school boards), administrators and teachers are more reluctant to purchase and use materials that explicitly focus on systems of oppression involving race and gender.

An example of this orientation, which strives at all costs to not engage in political discussion, is the October 1992 issue of <u>Educational Leadership</u> which claimed to focus entirely on "equity" issues (this word was on the front cover) yet there was no mention -- even as an aside -- of race or gender. It seems that educators prefer the more generic and less threatening "valuing differences" and "cultural pluralism" materials, even if these materials are used as springboards for more realistic discussions focused on social problems like racism and sexism.

A drawback of this attempt to analyze articles on multi-cultural education is that surprisingly few articles specifically address multi-cultural education, even if the issues that are addressed seem multi-cultural in nature. Further, it is noteworthy that this content analysis resulted in finding only two educational trade articles with the word "multi-cultural" in their titles. The phrase appears somewhat more common in popular press articles. Even curricula seem to steer away from the term. Having to dig so hard to find usage of the term is interesting in light of how the Right argues that we are

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all inundated with multi-culturalism. For whatever constellation of reasons, it seems that educators are much more likely to shy away from the term. One main reason might be the desire to avoid the association between being an advocate for multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education and being labelled a lock-step "politically correct" type. Although I was surprised by how little the terminology of multi-culturalism was used in print, my expectations were met with regard to actual mention of race and sex issues. I looked in vain for even one specific reference using the term "sexism," and I only found two mentions (one in a title, one in a text) of the term "racism."

The ten curriculum packages I reviewed were all generally favorable towards multi-cultural education. Of course, this would be assumed, as I picked curricula out of the selection that the Equal Educational Opportunity Office has purchased for educator use in the areas of sex, race, and national origin desegregation. Nonetheless, some curricula were more favorable than others. America's Civil Rights Movement from Klanwatch, Fair Play in the Gym, the Anti-Bias Curriculum, and Open Minds to Equality all presented strong social justifications and historical background in making the case for the need of that particular curriculum. Other curricula launched right in to activities and suggested lesson plans without background or justification. An example of this type is The Culture Puzzle. This curriculum focuses on English as a Second Language (ESL), so perhaps the authors felt explanation and historical background was not necessary since ESL teachers would already know the importance of multi-cultural education. Another example of this type is My Backyard History Book, whose excellent exercises for classroom use seem to beg for a context in which reasons are given why this is important and useful, what effect such self-examination and cultural examination has on child

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development, etc..

Still others focused extensively on a criticism of how multi-cultural education is practiced currently and then suggested new approaches. The United States: A Cultural Mosaic spends almost as much time criticizing current approaches focusing on "food, fun, and festival" as it does providing alternatives. This too, however, has a place, particularly for those teachers who have been using multi-cultural approaches and wish to evaluate their classroom teaching and learning. However, this curriculum does present some of the best activities to use with students to increase cultural awareness and sensitivity.

The two curricula on America's Women of Color symbolized precisely that for which other curricula (like A Cultural Mosaic) criticized multi-cultural education: over-generalization and a teaching of the stereotypes instead of teaching to break down the stereotypes. These curricula made repeated blanket statements about how "Black women are..." and "Asian women are..." Indeed, the goal of many of the exercises simply seemed to confirm stereotypes.

The curriculum Americans All is also not entirely favorable to multi-cultural education, or at least that part of multi-cultural education concerned with celebrating cultural differences. Instead, histories of White ethnics and racial minority groups are given with an eye towards celebration their amalgamation into all-purpose Americans. In addition, this curriculum has a share of insults, such as saying with some relief that modern Arab-Americans are "free of the old world customs." To be fair, Americans All was the oldest curriculum of all of the ten I reviewed, published in 1978. Reading it makes me realize how far multi-cultural education has come just in the last decade.

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In terms of the literature and curricula reviewed here, I return to an earlier recommendation. Further work in this area would be benefitted by the addition of two other categories, "avoiding," and "ambiguous," to the current categories of "favorable," "unfavorable," and "skeptical/cautious." This last category was what I envisioned for all of the "middle of the road" views. However, even "lukewarm" positions in multi-cultural education were hard to find. Rather, writers writing on multi-culturalism often "avoid" the tough questions, like race, sex, and class, or else present an "ambiguous" picture of a mélange of muddled views.

The major impression garnered by closely reading a variety of articles on multi-cultural topics is how often the writers of the articles "avoid" and refuse to mention racism and sexism while at the same time focusing on problems caused, in part, by such prejudice and discrimination. I would conclude that this must be very confusing to the average-intelligence public school teacher.

In this chapter content analyses of three sorts of materials dealing with multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education were undertaken.

The first content analysis surveyed thirty-five articles from educational trade magazines and journals. These articles were initially classified as favorable, oppositional or skeptical/cautious with respect to multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. After the analysis it was noted that two other categories, those of "avoiding" and "ambiguous," would have been appropriate. Although the journals differed in the extent to which they covered and the degree to which they were favorable or unfavorable to multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education, it was surprising how many evaded or avoided the obvious connections (sometimes indirectly or subliminally

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suggested in the magazines) between changing demographics, fear of crime or disruption by minorities in the schools, and treatment of females in the schools in the discussion of multi-cultural education issues and developments.

The next content analysis consists of coverage of clippings from a number of popular newspapers, such as the Boston Globe, and the Manchester Union Leader, and magazines over the last few years. A third content analysis evaluates ten of the most popular multi-cultural curricula. These vary considerably in quality. Although one was surprisingly bigoted and stereotyping, a number of others contained extremely creative and informative exercises in topics such as backyard history.

All together, it is remarkable how the most notable feature of the three content analyses was the avoidance of direct dealing with issues of race and racism, sex and sexism. This avoidance, striking in even those articles supposedly addressing multi-cultural topics, shows how difficult it is for many people -- educators included -- to handle the emotionally laden issues of race and sex. Perhaps as a defense mechanism for the writer, writings on multi-cultural topics are overwhelmingly generalized and stripped of most the most profound political and social significance. As well, class issues are also noticably absent from the discussions of multi-cultural topics. There was no mention anywhere in the writings on multi-cultural topics I reviewed of the connection between race and class or sex and class issues.

End Notes to Chapter III

1. The U.S. has up to six times more teen pregnancies than in countries like England, France, and the Netherlands. Important to note is that these non-U.S. teens are no more sexually active than those in the U.S. Comprehensive and thorough sex education is much more common in European countries, as it is in other places as well.

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2. This data was from the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Educational Statistics, 1990.

3. See "Logic and Laws", Nature, Vol. 368, No. 6469, 24 March 1994, p.378.

4. A Hispanic high-school female was shocked during a "teen workshop" I conducted on racism at the Teen Institute summer camp (1992) when she suddenly realized that she dreamt of White people only. She commented that she had never realized how reading mostly about White people affected her self-image and psychology.

5. Hall's'research is from in the journal, Bulletin, published by the Council for Interracial Books For Children, Volume 9, Number 1, 1978

CHAPTER IV

HOW THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IS AFFECTED BY SOME

MULTI-CULTURAL ISSUES: TWO CASE STUDIES

In this chapter, I want to provide two, short summaries of some striking examples of multi-culturalism at work. The first is bilingual education, with specific reference to how bilingualism was the first multi-cultural issue for New Hampshire, arising from the Franco-American immigration. Bilingualism has been a hotly debated topic on the national scene as well, as an analysis of movements to ban bilingual education -- such as English First and English Only -- will show.

The second case study will synthesize some of the recent writings on Christopher Columbus and the "revisiting" of the historical, social, and political significance of his "voyage of discovery" in 1492. As I will show in the next chapter, many of the debates around multi-culturalism are in the esoteric realm of academia. I highlight the rise and fall of Christopher Columbus as an example of immediate relevance and impact to educators, especially elementary school educators. I also choose to study this issue of the teaching of Columbus as it serves as a optimistic reminder to us all that change does not have to always come slowly.

I do not think that many political pundits or educators themselves would have figured, even ten years ago, that the majority of middle-class and mainstream teachers would so quickly become compelled to "revisit" the hero status of Columbus and his "discovery" of America. Even in politically conservative communities all over the country, teachers are pausing to think

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about the significance of the destruction of Native American culture through the European contact.

A Predecessor of Multi-cultural Education: The Case of
Bilingualism and Bilingual Education

In Chapter 5 we will show how bilingual or English as a Second Language education does not result in action which is affirmative enough to ensure equal outcomes, even if we argue that it provides equal opportunities. In this section, we will take a socio-historical look at the development of bilingual education with special reference to its development and status in New Hampshire as a case study of one of the main predecessors of all that we now call multi-cultural education.

An article in The Economist, of July 24, 1993, entitled "They're Coming" is on the increasing controversy over immigrant policy in the U.S. Many people (65% in one Gallop Poll) want tighter restrictions over immigration to this country. This sentiment, combined with the huge increase of new immigrants in the 1980s, has created an aura of suspicion, resentment, and xenophobia--the "new nativism." Right-wingers claim that it is the successful labelling of sensible and patriotic "immigration reform advocates" as xenophobes that has created a situation in which huge numbers of non-English speakers take low-status jobs away from "real" Americans and live off "our" welfare system.[1] There will be no change in policy, toward the sorts of policies supposedly desired by middle-class and working-class African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and other minorities, "as long as wealthy Americans are free to exploit immigrants" as cheap labor. Hardaway, an

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economist, quotes a 1982 report by the Center for Immigration Studies which concluded that the overall plight of African-Americans has not improved significantly since the 1964 Civil Rights Act as the 1965 Immigration Act provided such a steady stream of cheap labor that no employer had to hire American Blacks. One county in California, also noted by Hardaway, claims that 40% of welfare recipients are recent immigrants.

The struggle over Bilingual education goes hand in hand with the struggle over foreign language requirements and the decline of the importance of foreign languages in public schools and on college campuses. One campus, the State University of New York at Stony Brook, is debating over continuing the policy that a course in American Sign Language can fulfill the foreign language requirement. Among the arguments for ending the policy is that more than 60% of students receive an A grade in the course, and that sign language did not "fulfill the purpose" of the requirement because sign language was not "foreign." It is interesting that an argument against the policy based on broadening intellectual and cultural knowledge was not given ("Sign Language: Foreign or Merely an Easy A?", in Campus Life section of The New York Times, Sunday, May 26, 1991). A similar controversy happened in the University of New Hampshire Faculty Senate, in which it was claimed that the presence of numerous students from the American Sign Language program at the Manchester campus intimidated faculty into voting positively on sign language counting as a foreign language.

According to a U.S. Census Bureau report analyzed in Education Week (Oct. 6, 1993) people who live in the U.S. but were born in another country often, but not always, have markedly less educational attainment and less social and economic well-being. For example, the Bureau reports that in 1990,

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88% of African-born adult residents had a high school education or better, compared with 77% of the native-born, 76% of Asian-born and 46% of Central American-born adults. The data also show that the more recent immigrants are even more likely than earlier ones to speak a language other than English at home and to acknowledge that they do not speak English well.

By far the largest language minority group -- both nationally and in New Hampshire -- consists of the Spanish-speaking. A recent study published by the American Council on Education shows that although Hispanic enrollment in U.S. colleges rose 84% during the 1980s their enrollment is still among the lowest of minority groups, and, in fact, although more Hispanics in absolute numbers go to college, many more college-age Hispanics are not enrolling in post-secondary institutions. The study noted also that the national average of high school graduation is 79% while the Hispanic rate of graduation is only 51% (The New Hampshire, Tues., Oct. 9, 1993).

The English First movement is an ultranationalistic movement with xenophobic and even racist underpinnings that wants to force everyone to speak English only by passing state laws which prohibit governmental business from being conducted in any other language than English and which seeks to limit federal funding for bilingual education. The confused sentiments of the movement are best illustrated by a former governor of Texas who was alleged to have said in favor of English First legislation that, "If English was good enough for Jesus, it's good enough for me." The logic goes that if persons want to be an American, then they should only speak the national language, English. It is by mastering English as quickly as possible that immigrants have their best chance at assimilation. This logic flies in the face of what we know about learning other languages, or what is called the

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theory of second language acquisition.

Second language acquisition theorists (Cummins 1980; Genesee 1987; Ramirez, et al. 1991) hold that the most effective way of learning for English as Second Language (ESL) students is to continue instruction in their native language along with instruction in English. Although the non-English speaking child of average intelligence will acquire the Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills, or BICS, within a year or so it takes the child of average intelligence up to 7 or 8 years (revised recently up from 6 to 7 years) to acquire the CALPS, or the Cognitive-Academic Language Proficiency Skills. What this means is that within a year non- or limited-English proficient children can converse easily and communicate simple ideas like "Let's order a pizza" but that it can take, naturally and normally, up to 7 to 8 years for that student to be able to conduct higher-order abstract thinking in the second language, English. In Chapter 5 we will examine in more depth the consequences of this with regard to the inappropriate placement of LEP students in special education.

Widger-Alire, et al. (1993) reviews the basic premises for English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction. ESL is language development for Limited and Transitional English Proficient (TEP) students with planned, daily instruction in both the native and the second language. The strategies employed include Whole Language and communication-based approaches instead of grammar-based, phonetic approaches. ESL is not about special or remedial education; it is just about being in an all-English environment where non- or limited-English speaking students have to compete with fluent English speakers. Also, while ESL may include multi-cultural perspectives and aspects, it is not simply a program in multi-cultural or cross-cultural education.

Ideally, ESL instruction is not an isolated language learning program or the responsibility of para-professional personnel, but is coordinated with and reinforced by the classroom teacher -- with oversight responsibility by certified personnel with ESL training.[2]

One of the unfortunate consequences of both English First philosophy and educators who do not understand the processes of second language acquisition is that LEPs (Limited English Proficient students -- already a labelling term that reminds one of lepers) are often inappropriately placed in special education. (Quite a remarkable message, really -- if you do not know the language you must be mentally deficient.) This inappropriate special education placement occurs between the time when non- or limited-English proficient students master the lower-cognition, basic interpersonal communication skills within a year or so and the time when students, being educated in both their native language as well as English, master the higher-cognition intellectual skills.

School districts are often reluctant to hire a full-time, Master's level expert in English as Second Language (ESL) and try to get by with educators who, for example, had been in the Peace Corp and have a couple of years' college-level foreign language instruction. These well-meaning educators are often delighted with the rapid progress of students in conversational English; then, when their intellectual capacities are not expressed in English, the student is blamed, in a sense, as the educator thinks there must be something wrong with the child and labels her or him "learning disabled."

Jeannie Rennie shares the "Myths and Misconceptions about Second Language Learning" in the October/November 1993 issue of TESOL Matters, a magazine about bilingual education. She states that since the number of LEP

or Limited English Proficient students is increasing in U.S. school, all teachers need to "...realize that second language learning by school-aged children takes longer, is harder, and involves more effort than they may have realized" (p. 19). She says it is a myth that children pick up languages more quickly than adults. In fact, children may well have more difficulty learning languages "because they do not have access to the memory techniques and other strategies that more experienced learners use in acquiring vocabulary and learning grammar." So-called language minority students have a rough time in school because "...they have to master English quickly while learning subject-matter content, but because second language acquisition takes time, they also need the support of their first language, where possible, to avoid falling behind in content learning" (p. 19).

S. B. Heath (1983) disposes of another myth that holds that all children learn a second language in approximately the same way. Heath knows that different people have a different "way with words;" English-speaking families and families from language minority backgrounds have different ways of expressing themselves. According to Heath, English-speaking children are accustomed to a deductive, analytic style (which U.S. schools emphasize) where many non-English speaking children are used to an inductive style. In the former style, language is used to convey meanings and information and for problem solving. Children who use language differently are often frustrated by their experiences in school.[3]

We have to admit that native cultural habits, values, and customs including first languages are not being given up as quickly as they have in the past. Contrary to the claims of _English First_ proponents, this might be socially beneficial. One study co-authored by a sociologist at John Hopkins

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University, Alejandro Portes, "...found evidence that those who do retain strong cultural and family identity often outpace others in school, because their native society reinforces the values of hard work and academic achievement." The study interviewed 5000 students in San Diego and South Florida and found that "the children of recent immigrants are not as eager to melt into mainstream American culture as their largely white predecessors traditionally have been....instead....many second-generation youngsters -- mostly non-Europeans from Latin American, Asia and the Caribbean -- are learning English and developing skills needed to do well in the larger society but at the same time they are holding on to the language and customs of their native lands." Portes says that they "did not see much evidence of a desperate search for getting lost in the mainstream of America" (Boston Globe, 9/8/93, p. 4).

The English First and English Only movement is still going strong, with legislation being proposed to Congress every year which would ban the use of languages other than English in the conducting of federal business and in other institutional arenas such as limiting the publications by the Department of Education to be in English only. In 1992 an English-only federal House Resolution, known as the English as the Language of Government Act, was "politically popular" and had "over 100 co-sponsors in the House of Representatives...(and) its supporters, including U.S. English, have committed over a million dollars (towards) enacting the bill..."[4] The co-sponsors of this federal legislation included New Hampshire's Dick Swett and Bill Zeliff. In New Hampshire as well, a similar bill has been submitted several times by legislators who live, ironically and sadly predictably, in the areas of the state there the greatest number of non- or limited-English speaking people could

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best be served by bilingual publications and services.[5]

"English Only: The Language of Discrimination," an article appearing in the March 1990 edition of Hispanic magazine, quotes from a letter to Linda Chavez from John Tanton, the co-founder (along with S.I. Hayakawa, linguist and former Republican U.S. senator) of U.S. English, that "suggested a fear of immigrants -- particularly Hispanics" and which was racist and insulting as well. Tanton asked U.S. English members including Chavez: "Will Latin American migrants bring with them the tradition of the *mordida* (bribe), the lack of involvement in public affairs? Will the present majority peaceably hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile?...perhaps this is the first instance in which those with their pants up are going to get caught by those with their pants down!" The Hispanic article also disclosed the racist inclinations of some of the funders of U.S. English, including one who "had paid for the distribution of a book whose cover described it as a 'chilling novel about the end of the white world,' taken over by 'hordes' of Third World immigrants" (p. 28).

In 1983 only three states had passed English-only laws, but by 1990 sixteen states had passed similar legislation. Under the populist-sounding slogan that "a common language benefits our nation and its people," state politicians who support U.S. English and English First have tried "...to restrict foreign-language books in public libraries and (to ban) street signs in foreign languages" (p. 29). English Only has "an annual budget of over $6 million and a high profile board of advisors, including former U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater, actor Arnold Schwarzenegger, and television presenter Alistair Cooke..." Some well-known supporters have resigned from the boards of these organizations, such as former CBS anchorperson Walter Cronkite. He wrote in

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his resignation letter that "despite remaining firmly opposed to bilingualism in the Canadian pattern...I also cannot favor legislation that could even remotely be interpreted to restrict the civil rights or the educational opportunities of our minority population" (p. 29).

Movements to make English the first and only "official" language claim to be helping new immigrants by forcing them to learn English quickly so as to hasten their assimilation. However, only 5% of the group's budget went for English literacy classes for new immigrants. This is not much of an effort from an organization that touts as a first priority the goal to get non-English-speaking Americans out of their "linguistic ghetto," as one public relations letter from English First stated. Much more of their budget went into anti-immigrant and anti-bilingual education efforts.

The major opposing organization, out of Washington, D.C. and with a Massachusetts chapter but not one in New Hampshire, is call English Plus which is "dedicated to promoting the values of our multi-lingual, multi-cultural society." Their slogan is printed in large type across their materials: "Official English = Official Bigotry." English Plus distributes literature which claims U.S. English "aims to eliminate the multi-lingual ballot" and that English Only has ties to "The Pioneer Fund, which was established to popularize and support Adolph Hitler's forced sterilization programs."6

In New Hampshire, the first multi-cultural issue was the bilingual community created as French-Canadian immigrants poured down to the U.S. for mill jobs around the turn of the century.7 In a place like New Hampshire, away from the U.S. southern border's hysteria over Hispanic-speaking immigrants, one can still hear French spoken in some businesses and restaurants in Manchester. However, the younger Franco-Americans today

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are either bilingual or have lost their ability to speak French. Any community is all the poorer for the loss of a bilingual, bicultural aspect of its population.

John Rassias of Dartmouth College speaks often on the importance of encouraging bilingual and foreign language education and at a speaking engagement at a New Hampshire school held that "the parochialism that isolates us from the rest of the world is unpardonable...area studies in English alone cannot lead to awareness: cultural understanding occurs when people view culture through language." He later remarked that "it is ironic that school boards throughout this country have spent millions of dollars to destroy ethnic languages in children who were born speaking them, while at the same time they were spending added millions to teach the same languages in high school and college to children who know none at all and were already too old to learn them easily."[8]

The half million French-speaking people who immigrated into New Hampshire from Canada are now largely (but still not exclusively) English-speaking and represent approximately one-quarter to one-third of New Hampshire's population. Doane (1979) has noted that little attention has been paid to French-Canadians by sociologists and historians in our state, and that a survey (conducted by Doane) revealed that Franco-Americans were entirely absent from textbooks in common usage in New Hampshire.[9] Doane also notes that, despite the cultural pressures to assimilate, the Franco-Americans have succeeded in resisting total assimilation over the last one-hundred and fifty years.

Franco-Americans, with the exception of Native Americans, were the first ethnic group excluded from full participation in New Hampshire's

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economic and educational institutions," according to Doane (1979, p. 2). Doane quotes an unpublished state Department of Education study by Andy Stewart in 1975 which claims to show a "high correlation between school districts with a high percentage of French-surnamed students and towns having a high percentage of adults with less than an eighth grade education" (Doane, 1979, p. 3). Franco-Americans, even in the 1970s, occupied a great deal of the sector of low-paying, un- or semi-skilled work force.

Not all of this is explainable by the Anglo aristocracy: the French-Catholic church also played a part, according to Dr. Robert Brunelle, ex-Commissioner of Education for the state of New Hampshire. Brunelle has publicly commented how the clergy of the Protestant and Irish-Catholic churches have praised educational achievement as a worthy goal for its parishioners. Brunelle confronted his own French-Catholic priest and chastised him for never once mentioning the importance of education in all the years he attended church.

John Demado, in a plenary address at the April 3, 1993 Northern New England TESOL (Teachers of English Speakers and Other Languages) Conference noted that ESL teachers and researchers are on the cutting edge regarding the use of cognitive awareness strategies in teaching for language proficiency. The strategies employed by ESL teachers are now being picked up by foreign language and mainstream teachers. Demado believes that the English language is devolving and questions how we can teach a second or foreign language if native English speakers are "somewhere to the left of monolingual." He blames the situation partially on technology (walkman radios, TV, Nintendo, etc.) and partially on social changes such as the loss of family interaction time. Mostly, however, he blames the situation on the

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"pedagogy of teaching for mastery", an out-growth of Skinnerian behavior modification which he also referred to as "drill and kill." Teaching for mastery, according to Demado, is "a pedagogy of correct answers, learning of facts, dependent on short-term factual recall and developing knowledge from part to whole which is teacher-centered rather than student-centered..." He says that this method is "proven to be language disabling" and has been rejected earliest by ESL teachers followed by foreign language teachers.

Contemporary New Hampshire speakers of a language other than English have as difficult a time as did the French-speaking immigrants who came to work the mills. Consider the following lament by a high school ESL student from Milford, New Hampshire about the "dream place":

> "The Hardest Problem About Living in the U.S.A."
> "I think my hardest problem about living in the USA is friendship. In _____, most people care about you grade very much. So I am very popular in my country. I go out with my friends. We work together. We play together. We eat together. We have a very good time. Even there is very heavy study in (my country). At that time, when I watch American programs or movies, I always feel that it is a dream place. But after I come to America, my heart is broken. I become very lonely. It is impossible to happen to me, a proud and smart young man. TV is my only friend. There is not a perfect bus system. During the holiday, I am like in a jail. So I hope I can get more friends by time to live in this dream place" (as printed in the New Hampshire Bilingual/ESL Resource Center Newsletter, May/June, 1993).

Now let us see how quickly social change can occur by looking at the turn of affairs -- unfortunate for some, welcomed by others -- of Christopher Columbus.

A Case Study of Multi-cultural Education: Columbus and the Revisiting of 1492

An important story to tell in the history of multi-cultural education is

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about what has happened to Christopher Columbus. Once a revered hero in virtually everyone's education, he now seems like a shady character indeed. Several new textbooks and biographies for young students have been recently publicized in educator's catalogs that are trying to quickly rehabilitate Columbus before too many schoolchildren lose the belief that Columbus was a great hero and statesman.

Critics of the re-evaluation of Columbus in the context of colonialism and "ethnic cleansing" blame Native Americans who wield revisionist history and have convinced many that Columbus was directly responsible for everything bad that ever happened to them. The pro-Columbus crowd accuse radical and liberal academics of mangling traditional history and placing greater emphasis on political or social correctness than on factual history itself.

One of the areas in which multi-culturalism came into conflict with traditional Eurocentric portrayals of American history and values was in the controversy over the Columbus quintecentennial in 1992. Originally this was scheduled as an enormous worldwide celebration. Ships were constructed in Spain, the U.S. and elsewhere. The Barcelona Olympics were to be in honor of Columbus. There was a movement for the Vatican to make Queen Isabella a Saint. However, the United States' celebration of the 500 year anniversary was considerably less elaborate and was more muted and controversial than originally expected by its planners.

Soon after the celebration planning got under way, a number of groups representing or supporting Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, ecology and rain forest protection groups and others began to plan a counter-celebration emphasizing racism, slavery, colonialism and imperialism and

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ecological devastation following Columbus' discovery. Jewish groups successfully objected to the move to make Queen Isabella a Saint because of her expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and the Spanish Inquisition. Some of the corporate funders of the quintecentennial got cold feet and lessened their support for the festivities upon realizing that the anniversary was controversial. Although a number of exhibitions and celebrations took place in various cities and a number of books celebrating Columbus were issued or reissued for the occasion, there were also counter-demonstrations and books critical of Columbus.

Foremost of the "revisionist" books was Kirkpatrick Sale's The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy, New York: Albert A. Knopf, 1990. Sale was a member of the New Left who wrote a large history of SDS (Students for a Democratic Society). He also wrote Power Shift, concerning the shift of power from the East Coast to the "Southern Rim" with some reference to the Kennedy Assassination. More recently he has been active in the Green Party and in the bioregionalism movement, emphasizing ecology and decentralization. Sale's book portrays Columbus in a negative light and emphasizes the consequences of his "discovery" in terms of extermination of the Native Americans and of ecological destruction of the Americas. Sale's book established him as a public spokesperson for the revisionist view on CNN's coverage of Columbus Day 1992 and the quintecentennial celebrations.

An older book influenced by New Left and Third World Revolutionary influence book is by Hans Konig. Konig's Columbus: His Enterprise: Exploding the Myth (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1991, originally 1976) was reissued for the anniversary, with a postscript on teaching Columbus by a

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radical high school teacher, Bill Bigelow, active in an educators' group called Columbus in Context.

The PBS Special series on Columbus and its companion volume Columbus and the Age of Discovery, by Zvi Dor-Ner with William J. Scheller (New York, Morrow, 1992) appeared. However funding for the television series was cut because of objections from William Bennett and others of the National Endowment for the Humanities that it looked too multi-cultural and insufficiently respectful of Columbus. The series was hardly a radical debunking, but did have a last show on contemporary legacies of Columbus which showed opposition to Columbus and the celebration by Native Americans, although the show also included favorable views by Mexican Mestizos seeing Columbus as originator of the "Cosmic Race" in Mexico (the cross between Spaniards and Indians). The PBS series consisted mainly of the sailing of a replica boat across the Atlantic and lacked the dramatized scenes originally planned.

In Washington, the National Gallery exhibited Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration which consisted of art from all parts of the world, including the Americas and Asia around 1492. It also included the first European paintings of the Near East and of Native Americans as well as Near Eastern portrayals of the Chinese, and the early scientific instruments of astronomy and navigation. This exhibit was lavishly funded by corporate sponsors.[10] Interestingly, Kirkpatrick Sale, in a review of Columbus literature in The Nation (that appeared to be an attempt to build bridges through compliments to orthodox Columbus scholars) dismissed this impressive and rich exhibit by saying this showed that multi-culturalism is "boring." He gave no justification or explanation for this subjective claim.

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The National Museum of Natural History in Washington also put on an exhibit _Seeds of Change_, emphasizing the exchange of animals and plants (including diseases). Its accompanying book, _Seeds of Change: Five Hundred Years Since Columbus_, (Herman J. Viola and Carolyn Margolis, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) contains more critical essays by a number of its fifteen authors. It was issued in an abbreviated and rewritten form by different authors as a "Columbus Special Issue" of _Newsweek_, Fall/Winter 1991. The _New York Time Book Review_ (Oct. 6, 1991, p. 29) noted of the original version: "Especially striking are essays about Africans enslaved on Caribbean plantations, one on the corruption of Hispanic history in the United States, and two eloquent, chilling pieces on conquest and ecology." This somewhat more critical and political tone perhaps in part accounts for the much less lavish funding the exhibit received and its relatively shabby physical presentation in comparison to that of the corporate funded art exhibit. Nevertheless more radical critics found the essays on slavery and other topics less "chilling."

Hans Konig claimed that the book encouraged a class unity notion with cooperation of slaves and masters, and jokes: "My favorite passage in _Seeds of Change_ is where we are told how slaves only had their Sundays off for their family problems -- the first of which would presumably be if their family had been sold in the preceding week." Others criticized the equating of Native American gifts such as potatoes, tomatoes, and corn with the European contribution to the "exchange" of microbes of smallpox and chicken pox, among other diseases. Nonetheless, the exhibit did portray graphically the massive death Native Americans, some 90 - 95% in some areas as these diseases spread, and the role of disease in explaining the easy success of Cortez and

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Pizarro with their small armies when the enemy was devastated by diseases brought by the Europeans.

In a number of cities including Columbus, Ohio and Denver, Colorado there were demonstrations against the Columbus anniversary festivities and counter-demonstrations on Columbus Day. There was not, however, any unified organization of all the different native American groups that were supporting the counter demonstrations.[11] This apparently was due in part to distrust of the White groups involved in the counter-demonstrations, and in part to splits in the politics of Native American communities. In Columbus, Ohio, the mayor had pushed for a "Ameriflora" flower exhibit. The state invested $30 million of tax money in his non-profit Ameriflora, Inc. organization while cutting general welfare relief. A local T.V. station owner founded another corporation, Columbus/Santa Maria, Inc., to build a replica ship. This too received state and city money. For the exhibits a park in a Black neighborhood was taken over and fenced off from the residents. After the exhibit a liquor store was to be left in the park. Antioch and Ohio State students, American Indian Movement leaders and neighborhood activists held a number of demonstrations against the opening of the exhibit and the Bushes' visit to it. In Denver, American Indian Movement leaders and a number of native Americans and other protestors demonstrated against Columbus Day. The local paper played down the presence of people other than the well-known American Indian Movement figures (possibly because these could be dismissed as expected trouble-makers) and, interestingly, cropped from any photos the female leaders of the demonstration.[12]

It was appropriate that this demonstration was held in Denver as Denver was where Columbus Day began. Angelo Noce of Denver, an Italian-American

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ethnic activist pushed for Columbus Day since 1892 and got the state to agree to it in 1905, and enact in State Law in 1907. By 1910, 15 states celebrated it, and 34 states celebrated it by 1938. F. D. Roosevelt had made it a Federal Holiday in 1934. Italian-American immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century helped make Columbus a national hero as an inspiration to their ethnic group. The Roman Catholics instituted the Knights of Columbus in 1884 (Sale, p. 359-60).

Interestingly, in the United States Columbus did not become a major figure in American myth and legend until the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Compared to the Founding Fathers he was a very minor figure. The celebration of Columbus' tercentenary in 1792 was very minor in the U.S. The writer Washington Irving wrote a popular biography of Columbus in 1828 which included all the myths, such as that people believed his ship would fall off the edge of the earth (sailors were familiar with ships disappearing over the horizon and returning, and all literate people believed that the earth was round by then), Columbus' egg (the story of his wowing a dinner party of nobility by making the egg stand up by crushing one end was told of many heroes for the century previous to him). With the westward expansion of the U.S. and the interest in the Spanish colonies and Spanish American War at the end of the century Columbus became a major figure. The Columbian Exposition in Chicago which opened (delayed) in May 1893 was an enormous fair. Thus, the new imperial interests of the U.S. and the ethnic interests of Italian-Americans produced the hero and the day which is now being objected to by Native Americans and ecologists.

There have been some minor victories of multi-culturalism. The second edition of Hirsch's Cultural Literacy now contains multi-cultural entries and is

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advertised as such. Dean Kagan of Yale, who was vociferous and aggressive in his opposition to multi-culturalism and whose efforts in part were financed by a grant from the Bass Brothers, was recently eased out as Dean and replaced by a new Dean, Richard H. Brodhead. Dean Brodhead's inaugural address, "An Anatomy of Multiculturalism," attempts to strike a balance between traditional classics and new multi-cultural materials in education.[13]

Among these victories, the re-evaluation of Columbus is certainly the most rapid transition with the most widespread impact of the triumphs of revisionist multi-cultural accounts over traditional accounts. This change does not affect small numbers of undergraduates, which is the extent of the impact over the debate on the Canon in academia. Rather, we are talking about changing a damaged and damaging worldview in the minds of millions of school children.

To summarize, in this chapter I showed how an understanding of bilingualism and bilingual education is crucial to an understanding of multi-cultural education in New Hampshire. I also made the connections clearer between the anti-bilingualism movement and the political agendas of racial hatred and xenophobia. Bilingualism is still the major multi-cultural education issue for many parts of the U.S., and will likely continue as a hotly debated topic.

In this chapter I have also illustrated how the story of Columbus' voyage to the New World -- constructed over centuries and deconstructed within a generation -- is an example of how radical and rapid change can occur when we study history from a multi-cultural perspective. Portrayals of explicit racism like the picture and description of Italian-Americans in the curriculum, _Americans All_, that was reviewed in Chapter III seem destined to

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fade away as more and more as teachers -- even elementary ones -- are using Columbus Day to talk about pilgrims and Native American culture, as usual, but also as a place to talk about genocide and racist imperialism.

In the next chapter, the social influences on educators' perception of multi-cultural issues will be explored.

End Notes to Chapter IV

1. See Hardaway, Robert, San Francisco Examiner, "Little Change in Immigration Debate", August 30, 1993.

2. Basic premises for ESL instruction developed by L. Widger-Alire, et. al., in The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students, Volume 12, Special Issue, Boise State University, Boise, ID, Summer 1993.

3. See Cummins, J., "The Cross-lingual Dimensions of Language Proficiency: Implications for Bilingual Education and the Optimal Age Issue", TESOL Quarterly, 14, pp. 175-187, 1980; Ramirez, J.D., et al., "Longitudinal study of structured English Immersion Strategy for Language Minority Children", Final Report, ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Wash. D.C., Dec. 1992; and Genesee, F., Learning Through Two Languages: Studies of Immersion and Bilingual Education, Newbury House, New York, 1987.

4. According to a January 8, 1992 press release by the National Council for Languages and International Studies, Washington, D.C., who strongly opposed "this chauvinistic English-only legislation...(which is) xenophobic, divisive and probably discriminatory." They note that the language of the bill seems innocent enough -- "to protect, preserve, and enhance the role of English as the official language of the United States" -- but warns that bilingual education programs, cultural exchange programs, translations, and even foreign-language study could all be targeted.

5. New Hampshire House Bill 1219 requiring that all state publications of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government be written and printed in English was submitted during the 1994 session (as well as previous sessions) by representatives of Rockingham County. Rockingham County has the greatest population of non- and limited-English speaking peoples in the state. A few exceptions were made, such as for the use of "commonly used Latin or other foreign phrases in law." Presumably phrases like "quid pro quo" and perhaps even "c'est la vie" would be permissible should the bill become state law.

6. The Pioneer Fund, besides contributing to English Only, also continues to fund eugenical and sociobiological work, like the twin research of Thomas

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Bouchard of the University of Minnesota, that professes to show that nature is much stronger than nurture in determining personality, intelligence, and behavior. In the Cambridge, MA. based Science for the People study group on genetic screening, we have found that the new recombinant DNA research has heralded a age of neo-eugenics which justifies race, sex, sexual orientation, and class oppression.

7. Interestingly, the former Commissioner of Education of New Hampshire, Dr. Bob Brunelle, was the first French-Canadian in the country to achieve the top educational position as Chief State School Officer. His grandfather walked down the railroad tracks from Canada to a mill job in Somersworth, New Hampshire, a town to which Dr. Brunelle would return to act as School Superintendent.

8. John Rassias is Dartmouth College's Kenan professor of Romance languages. His comments were from notes from a talk, "The Importance of Foreign Languages," given at Rye Junior High School, Rye, New Hampshire, October 30, 1990.

9. According to "Occupational and Educational Patterns for new Hampshire's Franco-Americans", a Franco-American Research Project funded by New Hampshire Civil Liberties Union conducted in 1979 by Ashley W. Doane, Jr.

10. See Jay Levenson, ed. Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration , Yale University Press/ National Gallery, 1991.

11. For a discussion on anti-Columbus demonstrations see Robert Allen Warrior, "Forget 1492: What About 1992", Z Magazine, March 1992, p. 18.

12. See Ann Filemyr, "Confronting Columbus in Columbus," Z Magazine, Oct. '92, p. 38- 39.

13. See "An Anatomy of Multiculturalism," by Richard H. Brodhead, in Yale Alumni Magazine, April 1994, pp. 45-49.

CHAPTER V

MULTI-CULTURALISM AND POLITICAL CORRECTNESS: SOCIAL INFLUENCES ON EDUCATORS' PERCEPTION OF MULTI-CULTURALISM

In this chapter, I will illustrate the range of information the public receives on political issues that helps shape their views towards multi-culturalism. The polemics around multi-cultural issues are steeped in the differing views of concepts such as free speech, affirmative action, relativism, the struggle over the Canon, race relations, and, most strongly, the political correctness debate. Treatment of the status of these debates is crucial in understanding multi-cultural education.

In this age of "infotainment" (news reports affected by marketing and advertising) and the "advertorial" (the amalgamation of advertising with editorializing), thinking clearly about important social issues is difficult. The merger of mass marketing, television and advanced communications with politics has made it difficult to cut the wheat from the chaff, so to speak. People are suspicious and skeptical about anything that seems tainted with political agendas, and multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education are no exceptions. Multi-cultural issues are surrounded by a high level of ambiguity and contestation. Recall how Pat Buchanan at the 1992 GOP Convention equated multi-culturalism with all of the evils in the world.

In the next chapter, I will explore the dimensions of the belief-system of the average educator in terms of individualism, group rights, and the way we are taught to believe that public education functions in a democracy. I have attempted to define and sort out what multi-culturalism means -- both philosophically and practically -- and my research suggests that many

educators are confused about the myriad of social and political issues connected to things multi-cultural.

In this chapter I am concerned to analyze those contemporary social and political struggles currently grappled over in the U.S. Specifically, I am interested in those issues that are referenced or alluded to in the literature on issues of multi-culturalism. This analysis will consist of an exploration of how our collective understanding of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education is related to the issues of free speech, "hate crimes", the inclusionary movement in education towards broadening the Canon, and race relations and affirmative action. These are the social issues which I believe are most connected to an individual's perception of and stance toward multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education in particular.

During the interviews described in Chapter II, I had asked teachers about their views on these subjects. They generally thought that political correctness was a negative thing which might limit people's naming of racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination. Except for one, they all believed in the existence of "reverse racism" and "reverse sexism" and thought them a serious social problem on equal par with racism and sexism. No one understood relativism, even after probing and discussing some of the issues in the cultural relativism debate. Most respondents also thought that race relations have improved over the last twenty years, but they agreed that the state of race relations had an impact upon their own views of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education.

The Political Correctness Debate: Issues of Free Speech and "Hate Crimes"

Here I will show how the debates over politically correct behavior

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versus free speech have been raging anew since the late 1980s and early 1990s in the work of Allan Bloom, Dinesh d'Souza, Richard Bernstein, and others. The phrase "Political Correctness" was pressed into service recently in Richard Bernstein's article, "The Rising Hegemony of the Politically Correct," in the New York Times on October 28, 1990. About the same time, he wrote "The New Tribalism in Art" where he denounces the art world for cheapening Western art by the inclusion of works by women and people of color. There is a strong, critical exposé of Bernstein's implicit racism in Lies of our Times magazine.[1]

Robert Hughes in The Culture of Complaint (1993) manages to take to task cultural studies of all political hues and orientations. Hughes writes: "the obsessive subject of our sterile confrontation between the two PCs--the politically and the patriotically correct--is clumsily called 'multiculturalism'" (p. 83). He criticizes both the censorship qualities of some Politically Correct rhetoric as well as the "family values" rhetoric of the right. Besides the "obsessive subject" of multi-culturalism, both left and right politics and social theory suffer from the twin legacies of American puritanism and the war mentality of "Them" against "Us." In a way similar to Schlesinger's view of a positive multi-culturalism, Hughes defends a non-politically correct, in fact apolitical, version of multi-culturalism -- a concept which Hughes generally holds synonymous with a model of cultural pluralism. He notes, for example, that a flaw in the thinking of the right is the immediate and static association of multi-culturalism to a model of cultural separatism.

President George Bush mentioned political correctness in a commencement address televised on network news on May 26, 1991. He said that politically correct behavior was "limiting intellectual inquiry," and that

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college campuses do not need "thought police trying to get people to conform" to a liberal agenda. Another report came from Thomas Palmer of the Boston Globe (4/11/91) who described Harvard's President Bok and law professor Alan Dershowitz clashing during an interview on Political Correctness on campus with "a couple hundred American newspaper editors." First, Bok tried to argue that reporters were spending too much time trying to uncover incidents of political correctness rather than deal with the real economic and political issues of academe. Dershowitz then advised the editors to ignore Bok, and claimed that "we are producing a generation of students who do believe in political correctness...this is the most serious issue that faces universities today. We are tolerating and teaching intolerance and hypocrisy."

The darling of the conservative polemicists is undoubtedly Dinesh D'Souza. D'Souza uses six case studies to make his points in Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus (1991) about the lock-step absurdities of the heavily leftist academy. He sounds an alarm that White male authors are being bounced off of reading lists of the "classic" texts to make room for mediocre women and people of color. He also stresses how speech codes prohibiting hate speech on campus violate the most basic civil liberties. D'Souza provides a very second-hand treatment (which he called "research") of the issues with predictable analysis. For example, a claim that Affirmative Action lowers the self-esteem of Black students is supported by newspaper articles, rather than on a research synthesis or first-hand interviews. A particularly touching example of how he has carried the anti-Political Correctness torch is his proud touting of his confrontation with a Black female student at Stanford. In response to her views on the legacy of slavery in contemporary racism, he gave a very scholarly and pedantic lecture about the

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complicity of African rulers in the slave trade. The student was quiet and "now (seems) aware of the implications of the term *slave trade.*"

L.K. Billingsley's "Sensitivity Police Brutality" (in Heterodoxy, September 1992, a publication of the right-wing Center for the Study of Popular Culture in Los Angeles) defends the media critics who accuse their opponents of political correctness. Billingsley disputes the claim that Dinesh D'Souza, John Leo of the U.S. News and World Report, and the Wall Street Journal all have a practice of exaggerating acts of "political correctness." These critics of "PC" have been accused of arguing with sketchy anecdotal evidence as proof that campuses and the public school system are run by lock-step radicals who insist that everyone think as they do. Billingsley also contends that as more and more acts of political correctness are uncovered, so rise the claims by liberals and radicals that "PC" does not exist at all.

Hate crimes, spurred by the sour economy and need for scapegoats, skyrocketed in 1990-1991 and have stayed high. Hate crimes are commonly defined as those motivated by race, religion, or sexual orientation. It is interesting that crimes against women, such as domestic violence at epidemic proportions, are not usually considered part of this new language of "hate crimes." One Boston Globe article entitled "Hate Crimes May Threaten America's Melting Pot Image" begins to get at the real issues beneath the "hate speech"/hate behavior ("crimes") versus free speech.

In "There's No Such Thing as Free Speech and It's a Good Thing, Too" (Beckwith and Bauman, 1993) Stanley Fish gives a thorough, historical view on how the legal system has ruled on issues of free speech. He shows that free speech has always been limited by and for a multitude of special interests, and that it is a continuous political struggle which determines who get to wrap

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themselves up in the mantle of free speech. Fish also discusses how America came to develop such a strong value of free speech. Free speech is, for many, such an over-arching virtue that anyone declaring "Free speech!" in a courtroom will usually win the case. He continues to outline the consequences of how powerful the concept of free speech is in our legal system. He concludes with examples of how free speech is now being (successfully) appealed to by Holocaust revisionists (who claim to prove the Holocaust never happened) as well as by those one would expect, like pornographers and those who use "hate speech."

Fish clearly does not believe that free speech is under heavy attack in any of our social institutions. Rather, he argues that the rhetoric for the protection of free speech is so powerful that, for example, it confused college students all over the country who ran school newspapers to believe that they had to run the advertisements for a major organization of Holocaust disclaimers and refuters. If they failed to do so, the newspaper editors believed, they would be violating the organization's First Amendment right to free speech. They neglected to note that they often refuse to run advertisements, because of obscenity, apparently dishonest product claims, or alleged lack of space.

C. Vann Woodward's article on "Freedom in the Universities" (Aufderheide, 1992) gives a considerably changed version of his review of D'Souza which appeared in The New York Review of Books, July 18, 1991. The original review took all D'Souza's claims at face value. Woodward, although still sympathetic to some of the criticisms of affirmative action for under-qualified Black students who feel condescended to by university administrators, now says he realizes many of D'Souza's anecdotes are false or

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inaccurate. "When I first wrote on this book I accepted its purely factual statements as true....Unfortunately the book turned out to contain some serious and irresponsible errors." In the revised version Woodward accepts Searle's and others' description of the Stanford curriculum as much more tepid than D'Souza portrayed it.

Woodward said, agreeing with Jon Weiner's account in The Nation, that Stephen Therstrom (a professor of history) at Harvard suffered no administrative sanctions, but just some student criticisms for his treatment of race, etc. Woodward admits to "being misled by D'Souza's account" (p. 43) on the "Therstrom incident." Woodward believed that Harvard Professor Therstrom was sanctioned and censored by the administration when apparently all that had happened was that several students approached Therstrom after class and expressed some objections to his treatment of race. This was then blown up by Harvard conservatives as a administration-led attack on free speech motivated by a blind allegiance to political correctness.

However, Woodward does not completely recant: this once progressive-liberal, racial integrationist maintains his turn to the conservative right. Woodward objects to the competitive bidding for the very few Black professors in various fields and the sense of condescension engendered if they realize they were specially hired to be a Black token. He also claims that under-qualified Black students admitted to universities withdraw from difficult courses and the alien environment on campus into Black studies courses and Black cultural houses, segregating themselves from the university intellectual offerings. He also criticizes purely self-esteem-oriented Afrocentric writings.

The book, Are You Politically Correct?: Debating America's Cultural Standards (Beckwith and Bauman, 1993) contains a few leftist pieces, but is

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clearly anti-P.C. and gives the last word to D'Souza. The introduction ends with a criticisms of the use of the word "homophobia" for opponents of homosexuality. The editors say that if someone judges homosexuality immoral, it is irrelevant whether they fear homosexuals. Beckwith and Bauman say pacifists ought to be called "hemophobic" (phobic of blood) on the same grounds (p. 12, note 1). The last words of the introduction tell us that "...it is time to return to those enduring and resilient ideals upon which our educational foundation has rested for two millennia: "The unexamined life is not worth living," and "The truth shall set you free" (p. 12).

John Taylor's "Are you Politically Correct?" (Beckwith and Bauman, 1993, originally from New York Magazine) is a diatribe including most of the usual denunciations. It opens with a fantasy (presented as fact) of Prof. Therstrom of Harvard being "haunted" by denunciations of "racist" as he walks across Harvard campus. The next article in the anthology, Rosa Ehrenreich, "What Campus Radicals? The P.C. Undergrad as a Useful Specter", points out that, in fact, Therstrom never was so denounced, as C. Vann Woodward now realizes as well.

The Taylor article contains both a debunking of date rape and of Afrocentric education. He quotes various anti-PC people such as Diane Ravitch, who claims she has received phone threats, and won't say where she lives (p. 29), and Christina Sommers, who claims some of her feminist students are "like Moonies"(p. 30). Taylor reports that Ravitch claims that at an Afrocentrism conference in Atlanta she was spoken of as "Miss Daisy" (p. 29), and Taylor himself claims the new scholarship is like Christian Fundamentalism (p. 17).

Rosa Ehrenreich, in "What Campus Radicals? The P.C. Undergrad as a

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Useful Specter" (Beckwith and Bauman, 1993) begins by showing the exaggeration of the story about Therstrom at Harvard. She then notes how conservatives claim that "Western Civ." courses are not taught at Harvard. She then shows how the Harvard course catalog shows that the vast majority of courses are Western, with only one non-Western topic (Confucius) in the philosophy department. Neo-conservatives such as Huntington in Political Science and Pipes in Russian Studies teach very large courses. She describes the student body as largely apathetic, but with active right wing organizations and a new anti-abortion magazine. She notes how her microphone was cut off at Harvard when she spoke to oppose the Gulf War, but claims that incidents like that are never covered in the press. She debunks the idea of the liberal press and illustrates how the popular press, funded by proponents of the status quo, often claims that conservatives are silenced by militant radical masses of politically-correct students.

We will also give the last word to the Right on political correctness. Miro Todorovich, in the monthly right-wing newsmagazine Measure (June 1993, p. 4) says "freedom of speech is a right of every citizen to formulate and express his or her views unimpeded by the judgments or sentiments of other fellow citizens. Academic freedom, however, is not a general right; it is a privilege bestowed on peer-reviewed scholars to present freely their views and conclusions only *within the area of their scholarly competency.* Academic freedom is not a protected right to tell a student body whatever is on one's mind, nor is it a license for student indoctrination by the one-sided presentation of biased-views (let alone for the propaganda of political activism)." This was stated at the end of an article complaining that the masses of "tenured radicals" in the academy were using their pulpit to steep

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students in leftist and radical ideology. Although she makes her case for the limitation of academic freedom for the Left, it is unclear whether the Right has to play by the same standards.

The political correctness debate on the university concerns itself mostly with the free speech debate again raging on campuses. The target of its proponents are campus groups and academic majors and minors involved with issues of race and gender. Further targeted are campus administrators who support or curry the favor of such groups. These denouncements are directed at administrators who chastise conservative student papers for racist comments or by implementing speech codes banning derogatory remarks or acts based on race, gender, religion, and sometimes including sexual preference.

Issues of political correctness, oddly enough, have never been raised where they seem to count most, namely, where military, national security, foreign or economic policy are concerned (Said, 1993, p. 14). A more thorough examination of what could be called "status quo political correctness" in needed.

Instead of economic decline and crimes rooted in racism or sexism, political correctness is considered one of the major social problems. The naming of injustices and work on real social problems becomes stifled by the fear that such concern is superficial and lock-step politically correct behavior. Most striking in our review is how the arguments warning against the perils of political correctness are made with examples that are either not substantiated or else which are later shown to be greatly exaggerated. This was common practice in the arguments of D'Souza and Taylor and in the misunderstandings of C. Vann Woodward. It is impressive how a scholar of

Vann Woodward's stature was annoyed enough by the shoddy scholarship of D'Souza to publicly repudiate him. In the next section, I will explore the relationship between the relativism-absolutism debate and the multi-culturalism movement.

Relativism Reframed by Multi-cultural Education: The Rise of "Victim Studies" and "Tourist Curriculum"

Debates on relativism have long histories in philosophy and anthropology. Whether the arguments "for" or "against" relativism are theoretically or morally based, a clear-cut practical application has been difficult to find -- until multi-culturalism and the debate over the Canon. Suddenly, the question of the commensurability of common standards has been re-framed into a practical debate: does "the best that has been thought or said," the Canon, really reflect the most significant literature ever produced? Or, has the exclusion of womens' voices and voices from people of color and non-European cultures made the Canon quite a piece of relativistic work itself? Or, are the demands for the inclusion of Others' voices "cheapening the currency" of the Canon? Are the most important works being replaced by less important works by advocates of a kind of "victim studies," (as John Leo of U.S. News and World Report is fond of calling women's studies and Black studies)? Are superficial "tourist curricula" on Third World philosophy and social analyses diluting the Canon or is the Canon becoming more complete, more real and therefore more valid?

A review of the history of relativism in scholarly work and its application to current debates is needed, starting with noting that there are several kinds of relativism. The issue of cultural relativism most central to an

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analysis of multi-culturalism includes both belief and ethics, so we shall start with a brief exposition of the problem of both epistemological relativism and ethical relativism.

Epistemological relativism is relativism concerning knowledge and truth. Some of the issues here concern the incommensurability of paradigms. Thomas Kuhn in the Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1970, 2nd edition, pp. 101-102) is among those who have claimed that because the meanings of words depend upon the whole network of concepts and all the other words in the text or belief system, the "same" words or symbols which appear in two different symbol systems really don't mean the same thing, and that proponents of the two world views "talk past one another." Recently, in a short article in Academe entitled "Teaching Multiculturalism in Science," Allan Brooks mentioned the epistemological relativism in one of the most important scientific theories of our century: Einstein's Special Theory of Relativity. The Special Theory of Relativity is not clearly linked to notions of cultural relativism around in contemporary anthropology of Einstein's time, but the theory did help formalize the notion of possible bias in perception. Indeed, Lewis Feuer in Einstein and the Generations of Science (Basic Books, NY,1974), has argued that Einstein really did borrow the term "relativity" from its social context as used by anarchists with whom he associated, such as Friedrich Adler (who was jailed for attempting to assassinate a politician of the day). Beyond exposing potential bias, the Theory of Relativity introduced

> ...the concept of relativism of viewing perspective and frame of reference; this implies that if you consider your own vantage point to be absolute, you will be biased against the view of the person, thing, or situation you are observing. This can affect your premises or methods for obtaining data in an investigation" (Academe, Sept.-Oct. 1993, p. 63).

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This notion is also applied to belief systems in different cultural systems. Writers such as Clifford Geertz or Paul Rabinow in anthropology use incommensurability to deny the possibility of common standards. Kuhn (1970) argued that different scientific systems in different periods of history used different standards for the evaluation of theories, and thus each evaluated its own theory as correct or good and its opponents' theories as false or bad.

Closely related to the issue of epistemological relativism is the consensus theory of truth. If truth is simply the consensus of belief of a community, then different communities will have different "truths." This issue arose out of the anthropological relativism of Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict, but it also appears in American pragmatism. The educator John Dewey went so far as to propose that we drop the word "truth" and use "warranted assertability" instead. Then absolute Truth as correspondence with the facts or with ultimate reality is unattainable, and all we can have are contextually successful beliefs. William James had gone even further and relativized truths to the extent of what "works, in almost any sense" for the individual, and justified the truth of religious beliefs this way. Emile Durkheim, in Sociology and Pragmatism, attempted to deal with epistemological relativism of truths relative to different cultures by calling on the work of the pragmatists.

Boas, the "father of anthropology," is considered one of the earliest discussants and proponents of cultural relativism. His views were largely determined by his work with the Kwakiutl community of the American Northwest. In 1897, Boas, then curator of ethnography at the American Museum of Natural History, wrote a letter to the Kwakiutl (Native American) community expressing his dismay at the attempts by politicians and missionaries who criticized and finally made illegal the Kwakiutl potlatch

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ceremony.   The potlatch was the most important ceremony of the Kwakiutl people where wealth was re-distributed and social status was verified through lavish gift-giving.   Boas' attempt to honor the Kwakiutl ceremony on its own terms was clear:

> ...it is difficult for you to show the white man in Victoria (capital of British Columbia) that your feasts and your potlatches are good, and I have tried to show them that they are good...(and)...are not bad ways...the ways of the Indian were made differently from the ways of the white man at the beginning of the world, and it is good that we remember the old ways.   Your laws will not be forgotten...[2]

The sociologists of knowledge such as Lukacs, Mannheim, Pareto, and Weber, also raise the problem of relativism of knowledge.   Marx in both The German Ideology and Capital contrasted ideology as distorted thought, or what Engels called "false consciousness," with scientific truth.   There was no such thing as proletarian ideology for Marx.   Ideology was false thought.   However, Lenin and others contrasted "bourgeois ideology" with "proletarian ideology."   The latter was true but the former was false.   But now ideology means something like "view of the world."   The contrast between truth and ideology disappears.   Everything is ideology, but some ideologies are true and good, others are false and bad.   Writers such as Lukacs and Mannheim go even further.   Now all there are are world-views.   Lukacs gets out of relativism by pulling himself up by his own mustache, rather like Baron Munchausen, the protagonist in the movie Baron Munchausen[3]

Lukacs argues that the proletarian ideology is true because the proletariat will make the new world of communism, and in its subject-object identity human's ideas and the world will be one.   However this can slide into a "might makes right" view that proletarian ideology is true because the proletariat will win, and bourgeois ideology is false because the bourgeoisie

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will lose. But if one appeals to Marx's scientific economics to prove why one will win and the other will lose we are claiming truth for Marxist economics in an objective sense, and have stepped out of the realm of ideologies as world-views. Mannheim drops Lukacs' political radicalism and confidence in the victory or the workers and replaces Lukacs solution with two moves. First, the intelligentsia as "free floating" are less socially interested than other classes. Zeitlin (1968)[4] denies that Mannheim really claimed that intellectuals are more disinterested than other groups, but most commentators assert that he did claim that intellectuals are detached and more objective. The other solution of Mannheim's is his "relationism." Supposedly relationism can compensate for relativism by comparing and balancing different biased and interested viewpoints and correcting for them.

Mannheim exempted the sciences, especially mathematics, from epistemological relativism. But the recent sociology of scientific knowledge of the Edinburgh School such as that of David Bloor (1976)[5] and the French sociology of science from Bruno Latour, claim that physical science, and even mathematics, is prone to anthropological relativism. Bloor, following Spengler's Decline of the West, claims that Greek mathematics is different from modern mathematics, that "one," and "two," for example, literally don't mean the same thing. The ancient Pythagorean Greek numbers had connotations of religious and social meaning and symbolism (even for Greek mathematicians) which modern numbers lack. Latour claims that the "truths" in a biology lab are the result of power and negotiations. Other writers, following Foucault and others, including Stanley Aronowitz, claim that science itself is a manifestation of power.[6]

Cultural conservatives react very strongly to these suggestions. The

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conservative Dean Kagan of Yale (receiving money from the Bass brothers to construct a conservative humanities curriculum) claims that humanists are biased and "queer" but that scientists are objective.[7] Little does he suspect. The problem of relativism of knowledge, or epistemological relativism, underlies the debates about what is good and worthy in the Canon and what is not as good and less worthy.

The second major area of cultural relativism is ethical relativism. The most obvious kind of ethical relativism is descriptive relativism (or _de facto_ relativism). This simply claims that different cultures have different ethical norms and approve of different behaviors. This is a largely empirical claim. However, theoretical issues enter, in that interpretation of seemingly different ethical behaviors in terms of less obvious higher level principles may lead to discovery of common high-level ethical principles. Some social scientists have claimed that although very different particular behaviors are approved of in different societies, all societies have a principle of justice or fairness, value a family of some sort, etc., while others disagree and do not allow much universalism. I do not hold the position that cultural relativism, as a necessary sieve through which we need to pour our perceptions to weed out some cultural bias, is incompatible with absolutism. I think that through inter-subjective verification we can reach consensus on behaviors that are absolutely right or wrong and still hold firm to a belief in the desirability of cultural relativism.

Many social scientists (as well as laypersons) have mistakenly thought that from the truth of descriptive relativism, other kinds of relativism follow. However this is not so. The ethicist Richard Brandt (1959) distinguishes between descriptive relativism, meta-ethical relativism, and normative

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relativism.   Meta-ethical relativism is relativism about the high level principles of ethics (such as the Golden Rule, utilitarianism, good will, etc.). One could be a descriptive relativist, agree that different cultures have different ethical values, but claim that all but one of those cultures (usually our own) are wrong.   Only one has the correct ethical standards or high-level evaluational principles.   Also, since meta- ethics deals with the meanings or definitions of ethical terms such as "good," "right," etc., it could be claimed that these definitions are arbitrary, undetermined, etc. and this could lead into the issues of epistemological relativism.

Pure meta-ethics is a exclusively theoretical discipline of definitions and logic and deductions.   Thus meta-ethical relativism in its purist form doesn't have any consequences for actual ethical judgements or actions.   This is how Brandt distinguishes normative relativism from the other two.   In normative relativism, the actual, specific directives are relative.   That is, not merely is it a fact 1.) that different cultures have different mores, approve of different behaviors, etc. (descriptive relativism), and that 2.) the higher order principles or definitions in ethics are up for grabs (meta-ethical relativism) but that 3.) actual normative directives are relative.   For example, in traditional Eskimo society one ought to put one's old grandmother out on an ice floe to freeze to death, but in 20th Century European Caucasian society one ought not put out one's grandmother on an ice floe (although it is acceptable to send her to a nursing home).   The politically and morally significant conflicts concerning cultural relativism and how relativism plays out in multi-culturalism really involve normative relativism.

The usual argument against normative relativism is that it is contradictory.   For example, two conflicting ethical claims, "leaving old people

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to die is good" and "leaving old people to die is bad" contradict each other at face value. However one can always qualify the sentences so that they don't contradict. One replaces "good" with "good for" a certain group. "Leaving old people to die is good for Eskimos" and "leaving old people to die is not good for suburban U.S.A. residents" no longer contradict as they apply to different groups. This is a move that can be made in any case of conflicting cultural directives. However, the term "good for" is now ambiguous. It could mean "believed to be good by", which would collapse it into descriptive relativism. Clearly different cultures, for instance Eskimo and mainstream American cultures believe different things. But "good for" could also mean "objectively good for this social group." Here the contradiction may return if "good" is claimed to be universal. If one gives a functional analysis of "good" in terms of Parsons or anthropological functionalism, then it is no longer contradictory. In our example, sending old people out into the night to die might benefit certain Eskimo groups, but inflict some harm to us in the U.S. However, if one means some sort of objective goodness, the contradictory status may return.

Critics of multi-cultural education claim that it is essentially tied to a vicious, self-destructive relativism. Writers such as Bloom and D'Souza claim that the multi-culturalist must approve or at least tolerate all the diverse systems of ethics and worldviews one teaches. At the same time, critics such as Bloom and D'Souza claim that the "politically correct" educators condemn various forms of bigotry and intolerance. Thus, the relativist is claimed to both approve Indian wife burning as a multi-culturalist and disapprove it as a sensitive feminist.

Bloom (1987) claims that he puts his students in a bind by pointing out

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that they condemn the Islamic fundamentalism of the Ayatollah Khomeini for its intolerance and punishment of alternative views and yet ought to approve the same by virtue of their cultural tolerance. Similarly, defenders of the heroism of Columbus claim that multi-culturalists, since they are relativists, have no right to condemn Columbus' genocide and slave-trading.

The arguments of the National Association of Scholars and other conservative academics set up their opponents in a self-contradictory position of absolute relativism. However, there are many recent attempts to mediate between a nihilistic relativism and a dogmatic absolutism. For instance, Richard Bernstein in Beyond Objectivity and Relativism (1983) thoroughly reviewed attempts to avoid these opposite extremes of analytic philosophers such as Hillary Putnam. Interestingly, Allen Bloom does not ever mention or ever refer to any of these recent attempts to deal with the relativism issue. Am I to assume that he and other learned cultural conservatives are totally ignorant of them?

The political and religious right argue that the situational ethics and baseless moral relativism, which are inherent in neo-liberalism, the real culprit of society's malaise, are the major cause for the decline of Western Civilization. The beliefs of indigenous people present a dilemma for cultural relativists and progressive discourses. Progressive discourse needs to stop viewing the Other as exotic, but needs to accept the Others' view as a given and taken as seriously as we move to correct the record of the European-centered views of the world.

The idea of the allegedly growing and dangerous "victimology" in America is based on the idea that secular, hedonistic, relativistic society allows people not to take responsibility for their own behavior -- amoral, criminal, or

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otherwise, according to Sykes (1992). This view holds that social institutions including education have dropped from their agenda teaching children right from wrong, and instead has embraced "victim studies." Sykes criticizes this view as appealing to a Lockean view of the innate goodness of human nature wherein people are not held accountable for their actions and which holds that everybody is a victim. This view would reject out of hand the notion, say, that poverty is the major cause of crime in America. This view would argue against that "cop-out": even desperately poor people living desperately alienated and futureless lives are no less culpable for criminal behavior than one of the blessedly endowed.

Critics of multi-culturalism hold that unexamined cultural relativism leads one to equate the literature, music and art of women and people of color on an equal par of excellence with Anglo-male-European culture. Anglo-male-European culture becomes the standard by which all else is judged. The notion that the delineation between the high-brow artifacts that constitute the Canon and all lesser cultural production is an elitist, false, and undefensible position is completely rejected by cultural conservatives. The position of cultural conservatives such as Allen Bloom is that political pressure from radical, leftist, women's and Black liberation groups has made college campuses a bevy of disintegrating relativism where "anything goes" and critical analysis is not "politically correct." Next we need to examine the debates over the Canon more closely.

The "Tawana Brawley Theory of History": The Construction and Deconstruction of the Canon

In 1988, Tawana Brawley, a teenage African-American girl, was found

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semi-conscious in a garbage bag. She said she had been sexually assaulted and had excrement spread over her body. Spray paint said "nigger" on the outside of the garbage bag. She alleged that several White males had done that to her. The event made national news and both Black and White politicians made outraged denunciations of such a violent, racist act. After the police investigated, it was revealed that Tawana Brawley probably had lied and that it was perhaps some Black men she had known who had committed such acts. She did not give the names of her attackers, and it was unclear if she was trying to protect someone she knew or was just too scared of revenge. Some claimed she had done the spreading of excrement and spray painting herself to make an excuse to her family for her late-night absence.

George Will has said that the revisionists working to change the Canon are using a "Tawana Brawley Theory of History," by falsifying and exaggerating events and ideas to create a more glorious historical record for people of color and women in order to force themselves into the Canon. At the same time, revisionists are trying to blame White males for everything bad that has ever happened to women and people of color.

It should be clearly understood that arguments over the validity of the Canon have existed as long as scholars have made lists of the Great Books. The intensified debate over the Canon has not occurred solely in the few decades of pop deconstruction and post-modernism in the academy, but the literary "silences" of sex, class, race have been increasingly recognized and noted since the 1960s.[8] Author Margaret Atwood, in a recent keynote address,[9] discussed how the word "Canon" is used to describe the list of works accepted as central to academia: "it no accident... 'Canon' is a ecclesiatical term...to be Canonized is to be sainted (and) ready for celebration at the hands of the male

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priesthood."

The Canon was constructed through the interplay of the hallmarks of Western imperialism: power, authority, status, and control. The Canon can likewise be "deconstructed" by questioning all that we take for granted in the natural and social world orders through the lens of these same hallmarks. Through deconstruction, the subjectivity and arbitrary nature of the Canon may be exposed. Christopher Norris (1982) analyzes both the theory and practice of academic deconstruction. He writes that deconstruction has been criticized as both a meaningless academic game and as a weapon of terrorism. Norris' analysis focuses on the writings of Derrida, who argues that deconstruction provides a tool for unmasking structural mystifications and separating politics and ideology from texts (1982, pp. 76-77), sort of a "creative destruction" that can reveal power relations and supporting ideologies that determine the content of the accepted Canon at any given time.

George Will, in his article on "Literary Politics" (Aufderheide, 1992) stands in respect before the war effort to protect the Canon. "In this low visibility, high intensity war, Lynne Cheney (then head of the National Endowment for the Arts) is secretary of domestic defense", says Will, "The foreign adversaries her husband, Dick, must keep at bay are less dangerous, in the long run, than the domestic forces with which she must deal" (p. 25). Will's article is mostly on the nomination of Carol Iannone to the National Council for the Humanities, which was opposed by the Modern Language Association (MLA) on scholarly grounds. (Only an adjunct professor, she had published political articles in the Commentary and worked for the founder of the National Association of Scholars in his campaign as conservative candidate for office in New York City.) Will attacked the MLA for opposing her on

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political grounds, while at the same time he denied that her appointment was on political grounds. Will also discusses and ridicules feminist interpretation of literature, which is "supplanting aesthetic with political responses" (p. 27).

Will is particularly distressed at how race and sexual politics have disrupted the smooth cultural transmission of knowledge about our country's past resulting in social amnesia and "deculturation." He is also concerned that so many "tenured radicals" seem to congregate in English and literature departments, and that they all start with the premise (presumably wrong and immoral, in Will's view) that "culture is oppressive and a literary Canon is an instrument of domination" (p. 24).

As shown above, Dinesh D'Souza's widely praised best seller (1991), claims that attempts to revise the Canon and to prevent racist and sexist harassment on campus are undermining the values of liberal education. D'Souza claims that the undoubted classics which used to constitute the idyllic liberal arts education have been replaced by ephemeral works by racial and feminist propaganda.

D'Souza is unaware that the list of "classics" varied widely in the past. Levine (1988) argues that Shakespeare was rejected as barbarious vulgarity in the Eighteenth Century Enlightenment and was only revived in the early Nineteenth Century by Romantics such as Coleridge. Others, like Taylor (1989), argued that what changed from century to century was the consensus on what were Shakespeare's best works, and Shakespeare was not rejected totally but his popularity waxed and waned.[10] The Canon, "the best that has been thought and said" (Matthew Arnold, cited in Kimball, pp. 58), is the supposedly eternal list of great works taught in traditional liberal education. Some have called it "the outcome of the vote of history," neglecting that only White males could

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vote for years. The traditionalists contrast the Canon with vulgar "pop" culture.

Matthew Arnold, the nineteenth century British literary critic, whom neo-conservatives love to quote concerning the Canon, himself wrote Culture and Anarchy in horrified reaction to British workingmen's demonstration for shorter hours in Hyde Park, London.[11] However, Levine (1988) illustrates how high culture and pop culture were not separate in mid-nineteenth century America. Concerts often included a movement from Beethoven and a popular song. Similarly, a scene from Shakespeare and a popular villain melodrama were often performed on the same program. It was only in the late nineteenth century that the Upper and Upper Middle Class successfully separated high culture from pop culture in the U.S. as a form of Veblen's "conspicuous consumption." Even after this separation, both who and what was included in the Canon has widely varied over the centuries and even decades. American literature was considered not a proper topic for literary investigation: English departments in both American and England read British literature.

The point is that the Canon has changed fundamentally over time, and that it simply continues to change. Increased capitalist industrialization and specialization creates new and more restricted and specified categories for consumption. The distinctions between the "high culture" of the Canon and "vulgar popular culture" for the "unlearned masses" becomes both more marked yet also more interchangeable.

Another example of this phenomenon is found with impressionist art. The French Beaux Arts or fine arts were taught at a special academy. Although many impressionists originally studied academic art there with the now forgotten classical master Gerome, they found their own works would not

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be accepted by the official exhibits. They formed their own exhibitions. The word "impressionism" was originally an insult coined by art critics (Leroy, and Cardon) to say the new paintings were unfinished and sloppy. Within four years the impressionists themselves accepted this name for themselves. Now their art is the epitome of "fine art" and part of the Canon of painting in college art courses, but it was originally considered outside of fine art, and unworthy of exhibition with high art.[12] Similarly in music certain works such as the ballet and music for Igor Stravinsky's "The Rite of Spring" were considered so vulgar as to cause a riot on its first performance.[13] Now the work is a classic.

Critics of opening the Canon to multi-cultural readings, such as selections from non-Western writers or women, claim that this "lowers the standards" of the old Canon. Writers such as D'Souza and Kimball often sneer at and misrepresent these new works, just as they eternalize the supposedly ideal old works. Sometimes sheer prejudice is evident, as when Mortimer Adler (the editor of the University of Chicago, Encyclopedia Britannica Great Books) said that no Afro-Americans are represented on the selection committee, because everyone knows that no Afro-American ever wrote a Great Book.[14] He defends the Great Books series he edits in "Multiculturalism, Transculturalism, and the Great Books" (Aufderheide, 1992). He notes that the new edition contains some twentieth century authors and no Blacks. He defends this omission by writing that the Synopticon guide to ideas recommends hundreds of "good books," many by Blacks and women that do not qualify as "great books." He notes that the Great Books does not contain any Asian classics as well, and ends by criticizing the subjectivism of multi-culturalists.

At other times, works by non-Whites and/or women are simply

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misdescribed by the self-proclaimed defenders of the Canon. D' Souza claims that I, Rigoberta Menchú, a book by a Guatemalan woman, is by a woman who rejected Catholicism and the family and embraced Marxism. This is simply false as well as inexcusable as the book was out in translation in the U.S.[15] The author won a Nobel Prize for 1993, thereby rebutting D'Souza's claim that the author is an unknown figure not worthy of attention. Similarly D'Souza has falsely claimed that St. Augustine was an Egyptian (in a televised debate on PBS with Bill Buckley, Stan Fish, etc.) and that a 1948 text by René Wellek (a traditional literary critic) is the source of radical post-modern deconstruction. D'Souza also confuses Marcus Garvey with Malcolm X in discussing the latter's back-to-Africa movement.[16]

The image which popular media coverage of the dispute over the Canon presents is that of Jesse Jackson leading a student demonstration at Stanford shouting "Hey, Hey, Ho, Ho, Western Civ. has got to go." The reader of Time, Newsweek, etc. is confronted with the image of the non-White barbarian at the gate. The very ambiguity of the chant plays into the conservative agenda of the suppliers of the media anecdotes. Does the chant refer to eliminating or revising the course Western Civilization, or, horrors, is Western Civilization itself what the Black politician and the students wish to eliminate? All news magazines present virtually identical anecdotes supplied to them by the National Association of Scholars.

Gerald Graff (1992) shows us how we can move Beyond the Culture Wars with his book that analyzes the Canon debate and proposes that the teaching of the explicit controversies about various texts is both a way to revitalize education and help students learn. Graff summarizes the claims about the decline of the classics. One notorious quote from Christopher Clausen (an

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English Professor at Stanford) was the claim that The Color Purple was more frequently used in English courses than all the works of Shakespeare combined. This remark appeared first in the Chronicle of Higher Education, then was picked by the Wall Street Journal, then was quoted by William Bennett when he was with the U.S. Department of Education, then by the conservative cultural journal, the New Criterion, then by D' Souza and by Lynn Cheney in Humanities in America (pp 16-22). Graff notes that at Northwestern University, Shakespeare is read 83 times as frequently as The Color Purple, and that Duke's English Department (the supposed center of degenerate new trends and home of Stanley Fish) requires of all majors a course of classics by major traditional writers. He also noted other exaggerations of the decline of the classics claimed by d' Souza, Bennett, Bloom, and by Searle in December 6, 1990 article from New York Review of Books.

Graff writes that to the average student, the traditionalist and modern critic seem more similar than opposed. Both are intellectuals who speak in strange vocabulary and find hidden meanings in difficult texts. Often students approach all literature assuming there is a message or moral. He notes that more disorienting than the disagreement among the literary teachers is the difference between departments and specialties. Students respond to this by simply learning how to write anti-objective papers in art history, and objectivist papers in political science. Graff claims relativism is produced more by this divergence of the standards and approaches of different subjects and departments than it is by conflicts over literary interpretation.

He notes how the content of the curriculum has changed and what counts as classics has changed. In the 19th century a Christian, male,

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consensus in small religious liberal arts schools knew what to teach. Research universities and state universities changed this. A 19th century battle pitted use of the Greek and Latin classics against the use of English literature. The latter was considered too easy to read. A similar conflict occurred once English literature had been accepted, with the introduction of American literature such as Hemingway and Faulkner. Traditional English teachers were considered almost pornographic as well as not truly high literature and the introduction of popular culture, film, and television has yielded similar conflict.

Graff points out that the difficulty of reading and interpreting literature may remain constant even with the introduction of popular novels, films, etc. For example, male gay subculture appropriated and reinterpreted classic female movie stars in ways very different from the intended reception (since the romances of gay males were not in popular films). Graff says for the average (presumably straight) student this interpretation could be more difficult to work out than a traditional literary criticism of classical literature. Similarly, application of high-powered theories to popular culture artifacts can make the course more difficult for students than a traditional course in the classics.

It is argued by Graff that conflict between different disciplines and specialties has been solved in the twentieth century university by cordoning off and separating the different departments. Graff sees this as more of a problem than conflicts in approaches within departments. He also notes that decades ago different approaches to criticism coexisted in the same departments and students such as himself often went from class to class without noticing the conflict.

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He also discusses the fact that the supposed hard-working students of the past probably worked less hard than students today. College novels of the early 1900s (such as _Stover at Yale_) portrayed students who studied hard as ostracized and considered outsiders. Wealthy sons of alumni received "gentleman's C's" and teachers did not expect that most of their students had read assignments.

Graff considers the issue of what is political, and notes that faculty such as Allan Bloom or Harvey Mansfield receive grants from the right-wing Olin foundation, as does Harvard Law School to encourage Law and Economics (the cost-benefit interpretation of law) yet the recipients claim to be apolitical. For example, Mansfield claims he must use politics to get rid of politics. To do this he will use "the West Point approach" and "sound the guns" against those who reject the classics (pp. 149-163). Graff argues how disingenuous it is for cultural conservatives, like John Searle, to argue against any politicization in education while ignoring and denying their own politicization. What is really being criticized is left-wing views. In general, conservative call their conservative politics "apolitical" and claim radicals are "political".

Robert Kuttner is quoted by Graff to the effect that economics is far more politically orthodox in the conservative direction, and far more uniform than other disciplines. This is not mentioned, however, by the conservative critics of ideological uniformity. Conservative funding of institutes and professorships gets hardly any news coverage compared with attacks on "political correctness". Graff quotes the works of 19th-century English professors, Brander Matthews and John Collins, who see teaching English literature as furthering the greatness shown by the "English speaking race" and as an "instrument of political education."[17] However, these views are

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looked back to as apolitical by the conservative opponents of deconstruction or race, class, and gender approaches to literature. In World War I, American Literature courses and Western Civilization courses were used to present the superiority of the English to the Germans and later to the Russian Communists. One scholar called the American Literature courses of the time "a kind of educational Monroe doctrine"(p. 153). The pilot Western Civilization courses actually bore the title "War issues" (p. 153) and the founder of Columbia University's famous Western Civilization course in 1925 claimed the course was to silence "the destructive element in our society" by teaching how to "meet the opponents of decency and sound government" and making "a citizen who shall be safe for democracy".(p. 154).

A particularly valuable part of Beyond the Culture Wars is the discussion of the different levels or meaning of "political" in teaching. He notes that John Searle, a linguistic philosopher confuses them in his often cited New York Review of Books piece, "A Storm over the University."[18] First, there is the discussion of politics or political topics in the classroom; second, there is discussion of the teachers' political views which are presented but in a way leaving open for disagreement by the students, and third is political indoctrination by the teacher.

Graff proposes, in a hopeful mode, that we can turn "conflict into community" by naming and confronting ideological differences while teaching. He notes that "the best way to prevent students from being bullied by their teachers' political views is to bring them into the debates between those views." He prescribes teaching the traditional and famous texts along with articles discussing colonialist or gender-based explanations of the texts, and discussing these issues in class as openly as possible. Everyone has

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political views, and professors should not try to hide their own views behind cloaks of objectivity. This is supremely unfair to the students and a violation of their trust. Graff's major point is that discussion and analysis of important issues are hindered when the political orientation of certain viewpoints are not explicitly "put out on the table," so to speak. His second major argument is that conservatives are guilty hiding their political orientations just as much as liberals and leftists are, if not more so. The exposure of this dishonesty on both the left and the right is crucial to a useful analysis of the Canon and the academic arguments over relativism.

The dispute is less grand than one over the abolition of Western Civilization itself (although the defenders of the Canon claim that is what is ultimately at stake). Should the standard list of readings be supplemented (generally not replaced, although that is what the National Association of Scholars and other cultural conservatives claim) with works by women, and people of color? (Works by gays already belong to the Canon, such as those by Shakespeare, Plato, Leonardo, and Michelangelo, but are usually not identified as such.) Similarly some figures from North Africa, possibly Black, such as Plotinus, St. Augustine, Tertulian, and other early Christian "Fathers of the Church" presently inhabit the Canon, but they would probably not satisfy the demand for representation of people of color. Students and radicals reject the figures in the Canon as "dead White males," thereby reinforcing the accusation by the conservatives that the critics of the Canon wish to eliminate history as such for trendy contemporary ephemera.

It is true that often figures used by English teachers such as Alice Walker, include both a Black and a woman for the price of one in James Watt style. (Recall that Reagan's secretary of Interior Watt was fired for ham-

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handedly defending the diversity of one committee by noting that it had "two Jews, a Black and a cripple." This caused his removal. This is somewhat ironic given that Watt's advocacy of the destruction of the national forests on the basis of the immanence of the Last Judgment and final conflagration, or his claim that "some of my best friends are liberals" or even the censoring of the Beach Boys for Wayne Newton, that great patriot and traditionalist, were all insufficient to remove him from his post.)

One example of a shallow presentism which, surprisingly, the conservatives have not seized upon, was the popularity of Eldridge Cleaver's Soul on Ice as a "liberated" reading in the 1960s. Cleaver claimed at length to have redeemed his Black manhood and improved his self-esteem by raping White women. Many young, radical, White female, English instructors taught this book without qualms as truly "radical" thought. With the rise of feminism, this work is hardly acceptable, let alone considered "emancipatory" today. In addition, at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst the Black students in the radical political theory program have objected to the required course which covered Marx, Weber, and Freud, because these were "Dead Germans" without recognizing that these figures might aid radical social analysis more than a live Thomas Sowell, Judge Clarence Thomas, or a Camile Paglia.

Nonetheless, the conservatives assume that the opening of the Canon is solely a matter of replacing the great thinkers of the past with superficial contemporary women and Blacks. In fact, the Canon has varied vastly over the centuries or even decades, and figures sneered at as vulgar in the past are now considered "Past Masters" (See the section on historical relativity of the Canon). Some conservatives have even warned against discussing the Canon

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at all, for fear this will raise the obvious questions about its inconsistency and mortality.

Despite its critics, the growing acceptance and desirability of multi-culturalist views have pressured the Canon into opening up. Some have "reloaded the Canon" by adding some "respectable" dead women to it. For instance, Columbia University's famous Western Civilization course, the model for similar courses all over the nation from the 1950s to the present, has admitted with great fanfare -- Jane Austin! The <u>Great Books</u>, whose editor, Mortimer Adler, has prejudged the issue, by declaring that "no Afro-American has ever written a great book," has allowed that some women have done so. They supplemented their series with the ever-popular Jane Austin, as well as with George Sand. Perhaps the fact that the latter took a man's name makes her seem safer. Even William Bennett included one Black, Martin Luther King, in his list of forty great works. Bennett taught in a Black college in the south before assuming his trajectory to the right at Harvard Law School. He is mainly triggered by fear of women's liberation ("What are they going to have next? Animal liberation?," he asked rhetorically after the shock of seeing two women wearing lesbian liberation buttons in 1970). Bennett included King as a token, because King has been made into a plaster saint of pacifism and conservatism, an interpretation misrepresenting the stands he took shortly before his assassination in supporting the Memphis garbage workers' strike. Of course, even this, is too much for some conservatives. Researchers at the Heritage Foundation exposed King's supposed plagiarism of his Boston University doctoral dissertation in theology in an attempt to discredit him. William Loeb, memorialized King the morning after his assassination, wrote "he who lives by the sword, dies by the sword"-- an odd obituary for a pacifist

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by a supporter of nuclear war.

Of course these weak concessions do not satisfy the diversifiers of the Canon, who wish to have works by indigenous peoples (they can no longer be called "primitive" or "tribal" both of which have derogatory connotations.) The new Canon would also contain works by little-known women writers and artists of the past. The conservatives claim that these figures are insufficiently "great" to be included, while the diversifiers claim that these figures are as good as the standard figures, but were excluded from the curriculum because of their race or sex. During the Stanford curriculum debate, William Bennett declared that the inclusion of the other figures was ridiculous.

Saul Bellow wrote "Who is the Tolstoy of the Zulus? The Proust of the Papuans? I'd be glad to read him (sic)."[19] (Apparently, the idea of a female Zulu Tolstoy was even more ridiculous to Bellow.) Bellow, who has become increasingly racist in his late novels, ironically complained (considering that he is an assimilated Jew) about the fact that New York is full of Turks and other non-Europeans. Since Bellow was persecuted by this tainted environment as a young writer, he can define the Royal We of Western Culture. The liberal Stanford professor, John Perry, replied that he himself had not read enough Bantu literature to know what was available, but that we ought not dismiss it out of ignorance. As John Searle (1990) and others have pointed out, only one "track" of the half dozen available in the Stanford revised civilization course emphasizes third world literature.[20] Yet this fraction of one sixth of the entire menu is what made the conservatives apoplectic.

One of the issues concerning the new, broadened Canon is that of multi-culturalism. Certainly non-European cultures have contributed much to world

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civilization. Islamic culture contributed much to Western science, the chivalric romance (via the crusades), the version of Aristotle which stimulated medieval European scholasticism and theology, etc. Martin Bernal has noted in Black Athena (1987) that China contributed the inventions which Europeans prided themselves as having made. Frances Bacon appealed to these inventions to show "moderns" superior, for the first time to the "ancients." These inventions included printing, gunpowder and the compass, as well as hundreds of others. Babylonia, India and the Arabs contributed algebra and number theory to Europe, as well as much literature and themes of myth, etc.

To coopt the diversity movement within the curriculum, arch-reactionaries have compromised by suggesting a "multi-cultural" curriculum which includes the ancient and medieval classics of India, China, etc., but meanwhile rejecting the contemporary, less classical works of twentieth century Third World, women and gay writers. Thus Dinesh d' Souza of Illiberal Education and Dartmouth Review fame has suggested an "ultimate multicultural Canon" which includes Confucius, Lao Tzu, the Koran, etc. (We realize that D'Souza is less knowledgeable about medieval Islamic literature, science, philosophy, art, etc., after he said on a PBS debate that Islamic material is valuable to "understand Muslim fundamentalism", not because of its cultural or artistic value.) The ultra-conservative University of Texas Professor Bonevac has actually edited an "multi-cultural" text which includes the classic ancient writings of the East as well as the West.

Many educators who wish to broaden the Canon to include contemporary multi-cultural and women's interests and issues wish, of course, to go beyond the ancient classics, East or West. Obviously native American writings, women's writings, and most sub-Sahara African as well as Afro-

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American literature and art would not be included in a "classic" non-western curriculum advocated as a stop-gap holding action by D'Souza and Bonevac.

One justification for the inclusion of third world, women's and American minority writings is the motivation and involvement of non-Whites and women in their studies. Justifications include role models, self-esteem and relevance. In our survey about half the teachers felt that their students were affected by low self-esteem. Even though we have so few race-ethnic minorities, one-third of them have heard students use derogatory racial language and name calling. One-third of the teachers as well had heard students make derogatory remarks about females. It is hard to estimate how much damage occurs to students of color and to females by such behavior. Nonetheless, the alleged damage done to self-esteems is the rationale for doing work in schools on racism and sexism.

Educators might prove to be a hard lot to convince that we need multi-cultural education to boost the self-esteem of females and students of color, as very few of them identified either gender or race-ethnicity as a variable in low self-esteem. There were much more likely to believe that low-esteem resulted from "social or emotional problems" or "low socio-economic status." Self-esteem curriculum was identified as one of the most desired areas of teacher training wanted. Such a curriculum is currently incorporated in health and anti-drug curriculum, usually with no reference to issues specific to the self-esteem of students of color and females. Recall also from the multi-cultural education survey the remark that "The children with the most fragile shells as well as the children with the chip on their shoulders are the least tolerant of others which makes for a double edge problem." This makes a strong case for attending to the self-esteem of all students.

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Kunjufu (1990) and Banks (1988) both identify attention to the self-esteem of racial-ethnic minority students as an enhancer of academic achievement. Kunjufu argues that the main point of multi-cultural/multi-racial education is about improving the self-esteem of Blacks, that the improvement of self-esteem is a major building block for racial/ethnic empowerment. The opposite argument is made (without a research base) by D'Souza (1991) who claimed that affirmative action and Black studies programs hurt the self-esteem of Blacks.

Self-esteem has been an influential movement in psychotherapy, culminating in the California State Commission on Self-Esteem. More recently Gloria Steinem in Revolution from Within has attempted to integrate the self-esteem movement in the women's liberation movement. Some, such as the Harvard Head of Black studies Department and Literary Critic Henry Louis Gates, although sympathetic to multi-culturalism have disparaged the role of self-esteem curricula for Blacks. Gates has noted that the academic success of Chinese and Vietnamese students in recent U.S. education has not depended on their having Asian teachers or Asian role models in their science textbooks. Gates, however, is unusual for an Afro-American. He was raised as an Episcopalian, and has gone to Yale for undergraduate education and to Paris after graduation. He himself received the standard upper class white education, in an elite and supportive environment. Gates has not become completely Eurocentric however, as evidenced by his attempt to describe the rising "African-American Canon" in his latest work, Loose Canons. Here, he concedes that "cultural pluralism is not, of course everyone's cup of tea. Vulgar cultural nationalists -- like Allan Bloom or Leonard Jeffries -- correctly identify it as the enemy."[21]

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Political theorist Allan Bloom, as one of Gates' "vulgar cultural nationalists," follows the political theorist Leo Strauss. A German-Jewish emigré, Strauss has written on classical political theorists such as Plato, Xenophon, Machiavelli, Spinoza, and Maimonides. Strauss was (with the exception of the even more conservative Erich Voegelin) the only major alternative to behavioral political science in the 1950s. (The profession changed their name to behavioral science, because social science smacked too much of socialism to yahoo congressmen during the McCarthy era.) This pseudo-scientific "Political Science," whose pretensions to rigorous natural science were even less justified than those of sociology (if that be possible), alienated a minority of students. Leo Strauss studied the great political thinkers and denounced the "relativism" of contemporary political science as well as the "Marxism" (which it wasn't really) of the economic interest historian Beard, who derived the constitution from the narrow economic self-interest of the founding fathers.

Strauss's views consist of several components. One is the worship of the great past thinkers such as Plato and Shakespeare. Another is the close "hermeneutic" reading of classic texts. Strauss, mousey as he was, must have been a charismatic teacher who produced dozens of devoted disciples, who in turn produced hundreds more. Strauss claims in his "Persecution and the Art of Writing" that since the great thinkers were prone to religious persecution, they spoke with double meanings in a secret code. At one level they wrote such that the masses would think them orthodox. At another level they wrote for those "in the know" their true and daring views, suitable only for the elite. One of the attractions of the teaching of Strauss and Bloom is that students are made to think they are one of the secret elite who are privy to secret

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knowledge withheld from the unknowing masses. Another part of Strauss's doctrine is the rejection of relativism. There are absolute moral values which exist independent of people, and the social scientists and analytic philosophers are evil and nihilistic relativists who deny absolute values. This teaching has had an attraction for Christian fundamentalists in the 1980s, and Straussians have tailored the presentation of their views to appeal to the Born Again Christians of the new right. This is ironic, because the Straussians themselves are anti-religious.

In fact, behind the appeals to absolute values, there seems to be a secret nihilistic belief that science has destroyed all value in the universe (they buy the logical positivist view of science) and that the elite must appeal to religion to keep the masses quiet and orderly. For instance, Straussians believe that Plato, Dante, Descartes, Kant and many other great thinkers were secret materialists and did not believe in God or immortality, despite their apparent surface claims to do so. A similar move seems to be made by Bloom with respect to the doctrine of natural rights. Bloom almost says as much in his book. Since the doctrine of natural rights is the closest Americans can get to the classic tradition of politics, Straussians must appeal to it, although Locke and Jefferson etc. are a big come-down from Plato and Aristotle. Bloom follows Strauss in saying that the moderns "built low, but on firm ground."

Until the 1980s Straussianism was a minor current of a few score eccentrics in Political Science and Philosophy departments. But with the turn to neo-Conservatism, Straussianism began to be big business. Harold Jaffa gave an interpretation of Shakespeare's play Measure for Measure, in which the story was basically only of the Moral Majority and Ronald Reagan cleaning up an immoral and homosexual society through stern punishments.

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Straussians began to work for the Heritage Foundation, funded by Coors Beer. Carne Ross on the cover of his translation of Aristotle's Politics, has it noted that he is an advisor to the National Security Council. Newsweek ran an article on the new power of the Straussians in 1987 which concluded tongue in cheek that Ollie North is a Straussian, because he holds secret interpretations of the U.S. Constitution. Indeed Straussians have been influential on a Borkish interpretation of the constitution. The "original intent" is how Straussians interpret the classics. They have no conception of false consciousness, the unconscious, or ideology, and assume that since the Great Figures are great they must have made no mistakes, and any mistakes made are intentional to deceive the masses. Thus no past Greats could really have believed in God and all fallacious arguments presented by Plato, Descartes, Kant, etc. must be there to mislead the vulgar.

The Scaiff Richardson foundation and the Olin foundation have started an institute of Straussians. Allan Bloom, who died in 1992, was a Fellow of the ultra-reactionary Olin Center for Democracy as are several other Straussians, who don't have to teach.

One of the great coups of the Straussians has been Allan Bloom's book. It occupied the best seller list for at least eight months, much to the amazement of Bloom himself. Bloom wrote the book primarily to influence the parents of contemporary college students. It appears to be full of concern for the immoral atmosphere in which college students live. The book is phrased in such a way that Christian fundamentalists will think that its Absolute values are based on Fundamentalist Christianity. This is ironic since Bloom was Jewish, a non-believer, and a homosexual. The homophobic parents who are outraged at the immorality on campus that Bloom exposes, and endeared by his

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affectionate Socratic concern for his (male) students (women students are nowhere mentioned as positive objects of education) would be shocked to know that Bloom took the Socratic seduction model of the education of his male students far more seriously than they realize. This is evident in the erotic undertone of the Bloom's discussions of education, which were picked up, as far as I know, only by one satirist who perfectly parodied Bloom's style in an essay "The Decline of the American Game," claiming that the lowering of the pitcher's mound in baseball was a product of democratic leveling, and how the old baseball pitchers were virgins in a bond with the catcher "crouching, shrimp-like behind home plate." The influence of Nietzsche and relativism on the designated hitter rule is evident, Levin concluded.[22]

The Straussians are very literary. They concentrate on concrete topics of interest to the public such as love, friendship, and the struggle against carnal urges. They write well, emulating their heroes Shakespeare and Plato, as well as their devil-figure Nietzsche. In the first part of his book Bloom accurately describes the ills of the present campus: the administrators unconcerned with teaching, and primarily fund-raisers and bureaucrats, producing meaningless mission statements and programs; the campus overemphasizing research; the superficial and unexamined relativism of many literature and social science teachers and their compromises to pop culture; the students' own alienation, lack of motivation, and unconcern for others.

However, Bloom blames none of this on consumer capitalism. He never mentions that capitalism and advertising have had a big impact on the couch-potato, passive consumer, self-absorbed "me generation" yuppie, concerned only with immediate gratification or escape through popular music, drugs or

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sex.   To Bloom all this is the fault of the sixties and the radical professorate that the sixties produced.   To him the wallowing in pop culture and MTV is a product of sixties radicalism and Marxism.   This is odd, since most orthodox Marxists have been rather puritanical in their Norman Rockwell or socialist realist, or WPA tastes, while the continental Critical Theorists such as Marcuse or Adorno were appreciators of classical high culture and philosophy or else esoteric abstract modem art.

Bloom himself denies "finding a German intellectual under every bed." He blames the counter-culture and rock culture on the influence of Nietzsche and Heidegger brought to this country by such figures as Hannah Arendt and Erich Fromm, and popularized by figures such as Fritz Perls and Woodie Allen. To read Bloom, one would think that the ex-Nazi Heidegger was out running naked in the streets with Allen Ginzburg and Jerry Rubin.

In the last section of the book, Bloom tells his own personal experience with the sixties.   He was traumatized by Blacks at Cornell who carried rifles. What he neglects to mention is that those famous front page media shots of Black students with rifles were a product of death threats from the Klan and the unwillingness of the Cornell administration to support the Black students when they appealed for protection.   Also the "frats" had armed themselves and had tried to break into the Willard Straight Hall (one of the three student unions at Cornell) while Blacks were having a sit-in there and "the police didn't stop them."[23]   To Bloom, the president of Cornell is the paradigm of a sell-out insofar as he compromised to Black student demands.

Bloom is very contemptuous concerning women students.   No reviewer to my knowledge, even feminist ones such as Martha Nussbaum in the New York Review of Books, has noticed that only male students illustrated all the

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positive accounts of education which Bloom presents. His only remarks about female students are to denounce feminism and to claim that female students suffer no discrimination, as evidenced by high admission rates to Law School and Medical School. He neglects to note that the surge of women into medicine took place precisely during a period in which the prestige of medicine as a profession and the trust in doctors was declining rapidly.

Bloom is very vicious about the demands of female and Black students. He implicitly claims that studies of non-European culture are worthless. He is much less critical of gay student groups, surprisingly given his stereotypical right wing responses on other topics, but understandable given his own sexual orientation. Bloom also ridicules the nuclear freeze movement which he classifies under "entertainments." He claims that women get divorced because they wish to join anti-nuclear and anti-smoking campaigns. This is one group that he does show great sympathy for -- the poor (male) smokers -- who are berated by divorcees about their habit (Bloom, 1987, p. 121). Perhaps this too is from a personal experience. He also objects to those women who oppose hunting and nuclear war yet are in favor of abortions, evidently spying a contradiction there.

Bloom goes on at great length about the evils of rock music, in which he discerns Herbert Marcuse's polymorphous perversity and pleasure principle. He seems to neglect that Marcuse's tastes were classical and the Chuck Berry and Elvis were probably not that familiar with the early German articles of Marcuse in the Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung.

Lastly, we turn to historian Daniel Boorstin, who in The Creators: A History of Heroes of the Imagination (1992), provides a conservative argument to reestablish the primacy of the cast of almost exclusively Western, White,

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male "heroes." Claude Monet is the primary artist he honors, although he acknowledges the existence of some great Chinese artists but claimed that their "legacy is not easy for Western minds to understand" (p. 81), so I assume we do not have to worry our pretty little heads about them. The historical oppression of women was not a reason why there were so few published women writers as compared to men. Without explaining the cause for the supposed "narrowness," Boorstin explained that the discrepancy "reflected the narrowness of women's lives" (p. 93). Most obvious in the discussion of Homer and the primal Greek influence on the Western world is Boorstin's complete ignorance of the scholarship on the African influence on the development of Western (Greek) Civilization. All these White males must have been straight as well, for even Leonardo, who is widely known to have been gay, was characterized simply as a "loner" (p. 81). Another gap in the history of creative heroes was made by Boorstin who declined to mention Melville's homosexuality, although he does briefly mention Melville's "personal" relationship with Nathaniel Hawthorne (p. 96-97).

Recall from the previous discussion of Graff (1992) his research claims and anecdotes about how the right makes it seem that they are apolitical. Contemporary pundits like William Bennett and John Silber appeal to Strauss and Bloom to justify their positions defending the Canon against the multi-culturalists. The secrecy of the ultra-conservative funding for scholarship such as Strauss', Bloom's, and D'Souza's needs further exposure in order to understand their defense of the Canon and their accusations of political correctness and extreme relativism. Very respectable scholars like Boorstin are driven to protect the White male-dominated Canon from further contamination.

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Race Relations and Affirmative Action: The Politics of Equal Opportunity

In this section, I will show how the anger, fear, and frustration felt over contemporary U.S. race relations and views about racism and "reverse" racism impact our collective conception of "equal opportunity." This will include a survey of views on race relations and racism, notions of Whiteness, the language of racism and race relations and how we package race-related debates, and the connection of racism with genocide. Beyond that, we will review the ongoing legacy of biological reductionism in the sociobiological justification of racism by reviewing a current drug therapy program for potentially violent children. Lastly, I will review the legal standing of affirmative action as well as popular misconceptions and political uses of affirmative action.

Arthur Levine, from the Harvard Graduate School of Education and is also chair of the Institute for Educational Management, discussed his research on the contemporary consciousness of today's college students and how that consciousness has changed with an interview with Kim Billings in the University of New Hampshire's college newspaper, The New Hampshire.[24] He noted that multi-culturalism was the only topic which gave student's pause. "They talked easily about their sex lives, but there was silence when we asked them about race relations on campus," said Levine, "Students separated themselves first by race, then by gender, and finally by sexual orientation...there have to be ways for students to find a common ground among themselves." He also notes that multi-cultural education has to be instilled in the curriculum for it to really be effective, not just packaged as token "diversity weeks and months." Students need a concerted and

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continuous effort made on their behalf to bring students of difference together on a daily basis. He also noted that hate crimes, based on race, gender and sexual orientation, have increased on college campuses.

We live in a world where White supremacists execute plastic surgeons and hairdressers who are "feeding off Aryan beauty" by making non-Aryans look more "White" through cosmetic surgery and hair-styling and hair-bleaching (as reported in the Boston Globe, August 11, 1993). One confessed killer said he would "consider it an honor to give his life for the Aryan cause." Intense racist hatred led some African-American servicepeople in the Gulf War to write home that they did fear getting shot -- not by Iraqis -- but by the so-called "friendly fire" of their racist comrades. Black GIs were openly called niggers and "the people in charge tolerated the racism...(and even) accused us of undermining the morale if we complained." Troops and their commanders openly joked about coming to the Middle East to "smoke a camel jockey" and called both Iraqis and Arab allies "sand niggers." Sentiments like this from Black GIs had not appeared in the mainstream press at all.[25] One soldier interviewed said that most nights during the war the Black American troops would get together and talk about "the hypocrisy of this country that had sent us over to fight to restore democracy in the rich kingdom of Kuwait while we didn't even enjoy full democratic rights at home...we talked about how much the Arabs of that region looked like people we knew in Black communities back home, and how the U.S. was using us to fight other Black people for the benefit of White people...."

Joy James (1993) is developing a language which would be adequate to analyze racism and neocolonialization in the U.S. and the world. She argues that we need to be concerned with how language helps mystify racial violence

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in the U.S.   Language is used to cover this violence from its logical end with genocide.   The notion of and the language about concepts such as White victimization, institutionalized with the Bakke case on "reverse" racism, is not only in reactionary and conservative parties. Increasing, it is also in liberal and progressive ones.   Reformist policies such as affirmative action are seen as reverse racism, or as a loss of "White Civil Rights."   The language of White victimization obscures power relations between Whites and Blacks.   Bush and Reagan also used the language of White victimization: they both were fond of saying that we needed to go beyond race.   What this really meant was that we need to go beyond racism, to, in effect, ignore racism.

James notes that one progressive/liberal magazine, New York's Village Voice, had a special issue on Whiteness.   In the ten articles on Whiteness, the word White Supremacy appeared only once in one article and in others the issue of race was only one of identity and civility.   The editor of Tikkun, a progressive/liberal Jewish magazine which is usually pro-Palestinian, wrote that multi-culturalism is now a tool of a minority elite, and this tool is pushing out other groups from their place at the table of multi-culturalism.   Multi-culturalism is a liberal attempt in the academy to include those who have been excluded.   Whites are open to argue that they are being victimized by politically correct multi-culturalism and Blacks are seen as being divisive if they argue on the necessity for a multi-cultural perspective.

Since the majority of people teaching about people of color in the academy are White, there is a tendency to focus on relativism or how oppression is shared by all.   This is what James calls a kind of "bastardized post-modernism"[26] that focuses on contemporary pluralism rather than on the history of organized racial hatred and genocide.

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What is needed is a organization which can re-connect racism with genocide in the public consciousness, one which would also demystify the language of White victimization. Back in 1951 the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, which was African-American-led at the time, submitted a document to the United Nations regarding the genocide of Black people in the U.S. Following a move like that today, we could argue that if constitutional law does not meet the needs of Black-Americans (since it is largely White elitists who interpret these laws) they should perhaps try to appeal again to international law.

During the 1980s, economic standards of living decreased for most White Americans (although, ironically, the percentage of millionaires and billionaires exploded during the same decade). The right wing took the feelings of fear and frustration of White workers in the middle class and, relying on the historical precedents of racism, directed these feelings at all things progressive like gender and racial equality and Civil Rights in general. David Duke, head of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, was mostly supported by middle class, rather than upper class Whites. The main argument which finally was Duke's downfall in his attempt to win the gubernatorial seat in Louisiana was the cry from upper-middle and upper class Whites that Duke as governor would hurt the tourism economy of the state. The main argument, starkly, had nothing to do with the racial hatred Duke espoused.

The economic order of the global community is infused with racism. It is based on conquests based on race and ethnicity: a world order based on White supremacy and racism. Joy James also posed the question: why don't Black churches have schools affiliated with them like many White (Catholic)

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churches?   Her answer was an explanation for why parochial schools have remained successful.   Parochial schools (and the school "choice" movement to fund private and parochial schools with public money) are still so popular because of racism and Whites not wanting their children to go to school with Blacks.   Parochial schools, James argued, have just as much to do with race as religion.

Much of Black history education which does find its way into some school curricula focuses on the "first to's", the first to become, say, a doctor or a senator or a Supreme Court Justice or a President's Chief of Staff for the armed forces.   This raises some troubling issues for people: even though some Blacks are surely happy to see Black men elevated like Colin Powell and Clarence Thomas, men like these two are essentially paid to carry out racist imperial policies.

Perhaps the idea of Blacks integrating into U.S. White society is not such a healthy goal for Blacks.   After all, not only are African-Americans oppressed as victims of economic and political imperialism, they are also victims of cultural imperialism with an educational system that is Eurocentric and racist. African-Americans need to associate with something other than the American Dream and the trappings of consumerism.   The American Dream is a nightmare for many people of color who see the result being Black kids killing other Black kids for their specialized Nike sneakers.   This might ultimately be the strongest argument for Afrocentric education, at least for children of color.   A different focus of history and a different lens with which to view the present world (both currently based on Eurocentrism) would go some ways in re-connecting Blacks with African and other Black heritages.

Reading contemporary African-American writers like Toni Morrison

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and Bell Hooks shows the struggle for a vision of the future for Black America. Reagan once said in a press conference that the extreme popularity of the Cosby Show illustrates that racism does not exist. White and Black Americans alike believe the myths of the movies and television shows like Bill Cosby's. A newspaper article by Derrick Jackson in the Boston Globe noted that the words "Civil Rights" had never been mentioned in all the episodes of the Cosby Show, much less a focus or theme for an entire show.

How is it that Blacks can be called racist and accused of so-called reverse racism? The desire of Blacks to learn about African culture, some sectors of society perceive this as racism. We are taught that race issues are just a matter of personal identity. In the worldview taught to us, race and racism is not clearly associated with the structure of inequality. Therefore, we create the stage where there is equal opportunity for everyone to be called a racist, including all people of color who are too "uppity."

At the end of the 19th century, a White male Supreme Court continues to eliminate Civil Rights laws. African-Americans had to fight to regain them in 1964, and they are again being dismantled. The political right views Afrocentric education as a powerful and growing movement with dubious intellectual grounding yet with divisive radical ideological and political ramifications. This movement is not so powerful after all. The social backlash against affirmative action and the fear of being called "PC" or politically correct have created a new nonchalance towards racism and a disinterest in race studies. Muwakkil (1991) notes that the monolithic Black studies industry has resulting in but one doctoral program in Black studies in the nation, that at Temple University chaired by Molefi Kete Asante, the "movement's major theorist."[27]

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Anyone who periodically stoops to watch television news can readily ascertain that pretty much all of the drug users and criminals are Black. Although national, government-funded studies show that Whites use drugs at higher rates than Blacks, these results do not get presented on the television screen at night.

The status, culture, and history of African-Americans are taught from the point of view of White Americans. Similarily, much of African history is taught from the point of view of the Egyptian pharaohs and is uncritical of colonialism. In a sense, it seems that African history is similar to European history in that they are both strongly class biased, writing out any theory of oppression through colonialism in the written history of human life in Africa. The latter likewise focuses on the kings and queens rather than on the proletariat: I never remember reading much about lives of the people who actually built the pyramids.

Recently it was announced that the federal government was starting a new anti-violence initiative where schools will be asked to identify genetically-determined potential criminals based on a checklist of potential behavioral and psycho-emotional attributes. Clearly, those identified will be mostly Black children in poor areas. These children will be given special drug treatments and made to go to day camps where techniques to counter the innate criminal element will be utilized. There has been surprisingly little outcry about the proposed plan, although the few descriptions of the plan are quite shocking.

The title of the lead article was "Biological Determinism Justifies Fascist Repression: Oppose Racist 'Violence Initiative'" in a February 1993 position paper produced and distributed by INCAR, the International Committee Against

Racism. (Interestingly, this is the same group that poured water over E.O. Wilson's head in protest of the justifications for racial inequality believed inherent in Wilson's sociobiology.) The paper notes how the cover of an issue (November 1992) of the Journal for NIH (National Institute for Health Research linked and compared monkeys to inner-city youth by illustrating a "howling rhesus monkey clinging to a tree" while the written parts of the journal "were not about monkeys....(but instead)...dealt with the 'Violence Initiative'...a $400 million dollar programs designed to apply biological psychiatry to potentially criminal youth, with a focus on young Black men." They quote Dr. Frederick K. Goodwin, a psychiatrist whom Dr. Louis Sullivan (former Secretary of Health and Human Services) named as Director of the National Institute for Mental Health after he weakly apologized and defended the following remarks comparing inner-city youth to monkeys:

> If you look at other primates in nature -- male primates in nature -- you find that even with our violent society we are doing very well.   If you look, for example, at male monkeys, especially in the wild, roughly half of them survive to adulthood.   The other half die by violence.   That is the natural way of life for males, to knock each other off....(and) the same hyper-aggressive monkeys who kill each other are also hyper-sexual, so they copulate more and therefore they reproduce more to offset the fact that half of them are dying.   Now, one could say that if some of the loss of social structure in this society, and particularly within the high impact inner city areas, has removed some of the civilizing evolutionary things that we have built up and that maybe it isn't just the careless use of the word when people call certain areas of certain cities jungles, that we may have gone back to what might be more natural....   (INCAR, February 1993, p. 1).

The NIMH project does not require parental permission for children, who have been defined as potentially criminal or violent, to receive "treatments" including drug therapies since the children themselves are seen as the public health threat which justifies governmental intervention.   The

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project will target "violence-prone" children who are from " 'high risk areas,' 'the inner city,' 'female headed households' -- all easily recognizable code words for 'poor Black families'."

INCAR shows that contrary to the notion that this project builds on "new findings in genetics, biology and neurobiology," as was reported in the New York Times (11/13/92), but rather the project builds on the long history of biological justification for racial inequality and the tenacious though completely unfounded belief that the potential for violence and criminality is coded in our genes. Throughout the last century, scientific racism has offered theories of biological inferiority and biologically-based degeneracy and every time other scientists have uncovered and exposed the shoddy methodology, poor or non-existing data, and wild speculations of such "science."

It is no small coincidence that no less than three books have been released over the last few years trying to rehabilitate even Arthur Jensen. Today's theorizing about psycho-biology and race are not much removed from the Tuskegee experiments where hundreds of Black men were allowed to die from untreated syphilis from the early and middle parts of this century or even back in the 1850s when, as INCAR notes, "the Louisiana physician Dr. Samuel Cartwright described a mental disease of slaves he called 'drapetomania', which caused its victims to run away from their masters. The cure, he wrote in articles for medical journals, was a good whipping."

Biological reductionism is the ultimate "blaming the victim" where the correlation, or co-existence, of the variables of inner-city Blacks and violence is confused with causation, or the assertion that the two variables are inter-linked in such a way as one causes the other. Such is a common error in social science and other research fields, though not often with as devastating

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consequences as when causation is asserted with Blacks and violence, or women and low math ability.

The longevity of Blacks has gone down 1/10th a percentage point, while the longevity of Whites has gone up the same extent (69.5 to 69.4 years for Blacks versus 75.3 to 75.4 for Whites), according to the 1990 U.S. Census Bureau report. The infant mortality of Blacks is still double that of Whites in the U.S., and the average White man lives five years longer than the average Black man in the U.S. Millions of years of life are lost due to racism if we multiply the number of Black women and men by the five year difference in life expectancy (which, by the way, does not exist in other countries with socialized medicine).

Growth of neo-Nazi and White Supremacy groups documented and tracked by the Southern Poverty Law Center which distributes a monthly newsletter, the Intelligence Report, where they provide cover stories as well as a chilling monthly list of racist incidents and other Hate Crimes from their Klanwatch database. For example, the remarkable details of August "events" are summarized for the September 1993 issue including three murders, four arson incidents, 33 physical assaults, nine cross burnings, eight incidents of criminal threatening, 54 acts of vandalism, four clashes or fights, 19 incidents of harassment and intimidation, 16 marches, rallies, and demonstrations, and 34 reported incidents of leafletting. Most of the activities are KKK or neo-Nazi White Supremacy related, although they also include some anti-Semitic and "gay bashing" episodes. Klanwatch relies on local newspaper reports of Hate Crimes and other incidents of a racially biased nature.

The dismal state of race relations, the weak economy, and affirmative action laws dovetail over the issue of quotas. The belief that a less-qualified

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person of color (or a woman) would normally, under some imaginary guidelines of federal Affirmative Action laws, by selected for a job over a more-qualified White (male). There is a huge amount of misunderstanding about affirmative action principles and laws, the most glaring in the belief that quotas are part of such laws. This misunderstanding had been consciously spread by proponents of the status quo as well as racist organizations. For instance, members of the Bush administration and numerous mainstream Republicans as well as blatant racists such as David Duke, have claimed that affirmative action is identical with a quota system that mandates for the hiring of unqualified Blacks. The backlash against affirmative action has surely heightened during the last decade, and conservative Blacks willing to denounce affirmative action can name their price at right-wing think tanks (where they do not have to teach undergraduates, as the supposed droves of "tenured radicals" do). Like Judge Clarence Thomas, who now wishes to pull up the rungs of opportunity he climbed himself, conservative Blacks like Shelby Steele and Stephen Carter have written popular books denouncing affirmative action. Carter, in Reflections of an Affirmative Action Baby (Basic Books, 1991), discusses how humiliated he was to attend college through affirmative action programs, how his self-esteem was lowered as a result, and how he and all Blacks are convinced that they cannot "stand proudly on our own achievements" (Carter, 1991, p. 215).

Affirmative action does not require that a employer give a less-qualified person a job over a more-qualified person on the basis of some immutable characteristic. Rather, an employer who acts affirmatively will attempt to choose the qualified female or person of color over the equally qualified White male to the degree that these efforts result in a modest increase in the

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representation of females and people of color in the workforce. Affirmative action means actively recruiting from a wide pool of diverse applicants that includes females and people of color. Then, all applicants are judged against an array of appropriate, job-related criteria and ranked. After those who are best and equally qualified are identified, and if persons of color or women are in this top group, then they should probably be selected.

There are no federal laws which require that a best qualified White male be passed over. The government's legal definition of affirmative action is found in the U.S. Department of Labor regulations (41 CFR 60-2.10) reads that affirmative action is "...a set of specific and result-oriented procedures to which a contractor commits itself to apply every good-faith effort." The "good-faith" here, applying both in the workplace and the Office for Civil Right's concern with affirmative action in education, means to make the serious and successful effort at recruiting a pool of applicants including fair representation of racial minorities and females. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's stated objective of affirmative action is simply "...to achieve prompt and full utilization of minorities and women, at all levels and in all segments of the workforce..."

However, just because quotas are not required by law does not mean that some companies and public entities like cities have instituted them. Also, there is a difference between numerical goals and quotas, according to Gertrude Ezorsky in Racism and Justice: The Case for Affirmative Action (1991). Ezorsky argues that self-imposed numerical remedies and so-called "set asides" (a percentage of federal contracts ear-marked for minorities) are not quotas. The new concepts of numerical goals are not like the quotas against, for example, Jews, as the goal of those quotas was to exclude Jews from the

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workplace, while affirmative action numerical goals are intended to integrate groups into the workplace. Ezorsky defends numerical goal-setting in affirmative action plans. She distinguishes between "unspecific" affirmative action where "good faith" effort in expected (which is all that is required by federal law) and "specific" affirmative action which has numerical goals and dates by which those goals should be achieved (p. 35).

Ezorsky argues that "unspecific" affirmative action plans are vague and inadequate without set goals. For instance, she notes that after eight years of the city of Philadelphia's commitment to a "good faith" effort at hiring more racial and sex minorities there was no improvement at all, until the city specified certain numbers of race and sex minorities who would be hired by a certain date (Ezorsky, 1991, p. 36). She also makes the point that while we accept the low standard of "good faith" for affirmative action, in the case of collective bargaining agreements unions never just ask companies for "good faith" efforts at raising wages, for example, but insist on numerical goals and timelines (e.g., that wages will go up a set amount by a set time) (p. 35).

Joseph Hogan wrote on affirmative action in the Women in Technology Newsletter (February 1994) that "if affirmative action had not transformed the American workplace, it would not be a target of the fear-mongers of the right. It is becoming clear that opposition to affirmative action will be a rallying cry of the political right for the rest of the decade...but it is important to realize that persons who directly benefit, minorities and women, are not a 'special interest' but constitute a solid majority of the workforce...over 60 percent..."

What is the general understanding of affirmative action held by educators? Our interviews with New Hampshire teachers show that most of the interviewees believed that affirmative action laws required quotas to be filled.

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In addition, all but two of the interviews expressed a belief in the existence of reverse racism and reverse sexism. Christopher Jencks[28] has argued that the rationale behind opposing affirmative action policies and practices is that it increases the prejudice of Whites against Blacks because they resent the preferential treatment. Jencks misses the point that capitalists have always pitted workers against themselves -- by the category of race or others distinctions -- and the anger of Whites should be directed at the system that mandates a steady level of un- and under-employment to maintain profit margins. As usual, we tend to "blame down" to those that are historically disenfranchised instead of "blaming up."

As I show, violent and powerful racism continues to flourish in the U.S., as seen in both deeds and thought. Our interviews showed a strong persistence of negative views towards affirmative action and some strong beliefs about the problem of "reverse" discrimination. Multi-cultural education has been criticized for diverting attention away from the very real issues of racism. (I would also add sexism. In my own workshops for the Department of Education, I have realized that if I do not start with racism and sexism directly, I might not get to them.)

In the U.S., we have a long history of denying the history as well as the perseverance of racism. "Upfront" discussions of racism are often left out of textbooks and curricula. Multi-cultural education is instead often practiced as a mushy and ill-defined programme of "valuing differences" and "mutual respect," without a political economy or a psychology of power and oppression. The proponents of so-called Afrocentric education have argued the strongest against the more mild and generic versions of multi-cultural education. Let us now review Afrocentric education fully.

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Afrocentric Education and the Black Athena Thesis

Afrocentric education is a social movement that aims to shift education from a Eurocentric central focus to one that acknowledges the centrality of Africa as a generator of civilization and literacy. According to Kunjufu (1990) Afrocentric education is particularly important in the U.S. as an antidote to the legacy of slavery and the continuation of racial discrimination. Kunjufu makes a case for the importance of drawing out the hidden and ignored positive contributions of African-Americans to counter the destruction -- first of the identity, then of the body -- of young, Black males in U.S. society. According to Kunjufu, the destruction of Black youth in our society is perpetrated by an educational system that systematically undervalues the histories of Africa and Black America.

The centerpiece of efforts in Afrocentrism is Martin Bernal's work on "Black Athena," the contributions of Northern (now Islamic-influenced) Africa to the alleged birthplace of Western civilization -- early Greek society. Diop is another figure who has attempted to provide an "authentic anthropology" where the African influence on the rest of the world is exposed. I will review Bernal and Diop extensively because of the complex relations to this vein of scholarly inquiry among Whites in general and historians and classicists in particular.

Hughes (1993, pp. 140-151) criticizes modern attempts at Afrocentric education in the U.S. on several points: he contends that it too often consists of revisionist history that is inaccurate in that it attempts to paint the history of Africa in a more positive light. Hughes also makes fun of and dismisses as silly the claims that an Afrocentric curriculum is imperative to combat deep issues

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of diminished self-esteem. Henry Lewis Gates, Jr., in "The Weaning of America" (The New Yorker, April 19, 1993) made a similar point and made a joke about "Black Busaglias" who are obsessed with self-esteem and poor intra- and inter-personal relationships.

The debate over Afrocentric education and its relationship to self-esteem, identity development, and the group affiliation continues with strong polemics both for and against such curricular revision. Bernal is attempting to reconstruct history -- our "official mythology" -- that is negotiated in society as a "peace treaty between unequals" (Khleif, 1971, pp. 144-155). Bernal is seeking to re-establish African cultural and intellectual ancestry through pressing into service the often glorious history of ancient Egypt.

Black Athena, Volume 1, surveys the history of views of the origin of Greek culture. The "Ancient Model" which the Ancient Greeks themselves believed, claimed that the Greeks came from Egypt. Thebes in Greece was associated with Thebes in Egypt (Oedipus myth cycle about Thebes). The Egyptians were claimed to have colonized Greece. Many Greek myths were claimed to have been based on Egyptian myths. This "Ancient Model" was held by Europeans up until the early modern era. The prestige of Egyptian civilization was very high up until the 1700s, when European colonial interests in Egypt led to a downgrading of Egypt. In the early 1800s with the conquest of Egypt by Napoleon, etc., the status of Egypt dropped. At the same time, in the Romantic era, the status of Greece rose, as figures such as Byron fought in the Greek wars of liberation, and German nationalists founded the Greek letter fraternity system.

During the nineteenth century the "Ancient Model" was replaced by the "Aryan Model". In this German model, the center of Indo-European

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languages and civilization was that of the Aryans located north of India, who conquered India, and spread west to conquer Greece. This fascination with the Aryans later found its place in Nazi mythology. The Phoenician as well as the Egyptian influence on Greece had to be discredited. The Phoenicians, the Greek name given the Northern Canaanites, the able military and commercial colonists of the ancient world, lived in Lebanon and Northern Palestine. Their old towns still exist, including even Beirut. They colonized Sicily, Spain, and North Africa. The Phoenicians also named Malta, the island, and Mount Etna, the volcano in Sicily.

One chapter in Bernal is called "The Final Solution to the Phoenician Problem." He shows that this attempted discrediting of the Phoenicians as teachers of the Greeks was somewhat convoluted as the Phoenician alphabet was obviously the basis of the Greek alphabet, and Thales and other early Greek philosopher-scientists were sometimes said to be Phoenician influenced. However the Phoenicians were presented as "traders," not as thinkers -- typical Semitic business acumen.

Egyptian religion also had to be discredited. The Greeks themselves thought that Egypt was full of profound wisdom. Herodotus the historian gives early evidence of this. The greatest Greek mathematician of the classical Hellenic era, Eudoxus (who almost discovered calculus with his method of exhaustion, and offered a challenge in influence in ethics to the late Plato through a kind of quantitative ethics of pleasure) is said to have shaved his head and served in training with the Egyptian priests for years. Nowadays, claims to great early Egyptian mathematical knowledge are dismissed as "Pyramidology" and classed with the occult and superstitious. Egyptian geometry is said to be crude and empirical in comparison with Greek geometry

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(although Aristotle gives credit to the Egyptians for discovering geometry).

Similarly Egyptian religion is nowadays usually dismissed as a crude and jumbled confusion of bizarre gods. In his work on the Memphite theology, James Henry Breasted argued that they had a sophisticated theological system. Certainly it is true that the young King Ikhnaton introduced monotheism to the world. His making of Ra the sun God the only true god was dismantled by the traditional priests soon after his death. But his ideas may have influenced Hebrew monotheism. (Freud following some earlier scholars, suggests in Moses and Monotheism that Moses was an Egyptian.)

Ironically, Bernal does not note this because of his use of J. H. Breasted as a "good guy," but in his introductory text, Ancient Times: A History of the Early World, Breasted held that Egyptians were not Blacks, but a separate "race" from either Blacks or whites. Breasted's book was a widely read textbook by school children through the 1940s and 1950s. Also, Breasted defines civilization as including both writing and the wheel (!) which excludes both Black Africa and the Amer-Indian civilizations such as the Aztecs and Incas from civilization.

Bernal notes that the great classicists, who were mostly German and racist, formed the image of Greece as purely Western European, totally uninfluenced by Near Eastern, Palestinian Semitic, or African Egyptian culture. British classicists also pursued the romantic idealization of Greece as the birth of Europe, and dismissed alternative theories as "unGreek, and therefore unthinkable" as one classicist is quoted by Bernal.

Bernal notes that not only did Egypt influence early Greek religion and science, but later Hellenistic culture after Alexander the Great's conquests, was centered in Alexandria, Egypt. The average educated person today does not

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realize that most of what we know as "Greek" science, mathematics, and grammatical scholarship was from Greek Alexandria, not in Athens. The museum (temple of the Muses) was where the female mathematician Hypatia worked until she was torn apart by a Christian mob in order to confirm that women cannot do math. (The curator of the museum was the high priest of the Muses.) The great, later Greek scientists and Mathematicians such as Ptolemy and others were living and working in Egypt, not in Greece. Earlier figures such as Eudoxus visited Egypt (and Democritus the atomist was said to have visited Somalia).

The area of what is now Tunisia and Algeria earlier had a powerful empire, that of Carthage. The city of Carthage was literally, physically destroyed, down to the foundations of its buildings by the Romans. Carthage was "Punic," that is Phoenician and had Black Africans as well as Phoenicians among its people. Not a single work in Punic language survives, although there were huge libraries in Carthage. Later, Romans rebuilt Carthage and was perhaps the second most important city in the Roman empire, a center of trade run by the original Phoenician and African inhabitants of the empire of Carthage. The history we have of Carthage is solely that written by the Greeks and Romans, their enemies and is totally unflattering. The nineteenth century French writer Gustave Flaubert wrote his Sallambô, a total fantasy of decadence and sadistic sacrifice, from which many modern readers learn all they know about Carthage. Thus another non-European, African civilization which had great influence on Europe, from Greece to Spain, is largely ignored. (The Smithsonian, March/April, 1994.)

North Africa after the decline of Egypt and during the Christian era continued to be an important center of culture, especially for Christian

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religion and philosophy. Bernal does not discuss this, but the great Egyptian neo-Platonist, Plotinus is referred to as a "Negro" by Lawrence Durrell. St. Augustine was from Algeria and had an Algerian mother. Other "Fathers of the Church" such as Tertulian were North African. Donatist heresy was a movement of African Christians. The African Christian church, the Coptic Church in Egypt and Ethiopia, was the largest Christian community in early centuries of the Christian era.

During the Renaissance there was a revival of interest in Egypt, especially through the works of Hermes Trismegistos. Hermes Trismegistos is the name of the supposed author of a series of works known as the "Hermetic" writings. Hermes was thought to be a contemporary of Moses, related to the Greek god Mercury and the Egyptian god Toth. Copies of some of the Hermetic writings were later found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Many Renaissance and early modern philosophers of scientists called themselves followers of Hermes and the Hermetic writings. Bruno with his idea of the infinite universe, and Campanella with his utopia "the city of the sun," were influenced by Egyptian sun worship as an alternative to Christianity. Copernicus may have been influenced by this in putting the sun in the center of the universe. Newton considered the hermetic material to be part of the ancient wisdom which he followed.

Other Western philosophies were likewise influenced by Egyptian religion and philosophy. Thus, the hermetic texts inspired a great deal of early modern European thought. Much of alchemy was inspired by the Egyptian hermetic writings. We still use the term "hermetically sealed" in modern chemistry. In the 1600s Casaubon convinced historians that the hermetic writings were not by a contemporary of Moses and forerunner of

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Plato, but a forgery in the early Christian era. This led to the discrediting of the hermetic material. However Bernal and a number of contemporary scholars point out that the hermetic material, although partly Greek forgery, contains large sections which probably are authentically ancient Egyptian (for instance they have now been found in Coptic versions). If this is so, then Egypt -- and Africa-- not only influenced the earliest Greeks, but religiously and philosophically inspired the founders of Renaissance and early modern science, from Copernicus and Bruno, through the alchemists to Isaac Newton!

Martin Bernal himself was the son of the brilliant physicist and Marxist John Desmond Bernal. The latter was author of The Social Function of Science (M.I.T. Press, 1967) and other works of Marxist sociology and history of science. Martin Bernal became interested in the issue of the relation of ancient Egypt and Palestine to Greece while he was in Asian studies and was involved in the opposition to the Vietnam War. After the end of the war and the Cambodian "holocaust" he turned to an interest in his Jewish roots, as did many disillusioned Jewish radicals (such as Bob Dylan) and began to study Hebrew. When he studied Greek, he noticed that many Greek words were the same or similar to Hebrew and that many of the rest were similar to Egyptian. He learned that centuries earlier the similarity of Greek and Hebrew was recognized, but that this was rejected in the 19th Century. Bernal was also interested in the Black Power movement of the 60's and became interested in the claims that Egyptian civilization was Black. On linguistic and other grounds he came to the conclusion that Greek civilization was Black Egyptian and Palestinian. He hoped that this would also help overcome conflict between Blacks and Jews.

Bernal makes us question what the "classical" in "Classical civilization"

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means. In both volumes of <u>Black Athena</u>, in spite of criticism of rejection of some of his points, Bernal provides a huge amount of data to suggest that the Afroasiatic influences on "classical" Western civilization had gone underground. Bernal accuses academic -- specifically racist classicists and Egyptologists -- for the long lasting attempts to ignore and suppress the "Black Athena" connection. Asa Hilliard III is a Black sociologist at Georgia State University who was influenced by the historian Cheikh Diop. Like Bernal, Hilliard also uses a historical sociology approach to explain the history of racism and its impact on the historical record.

Asa Hilliard III (1984, p. 115) says with regard to African history and "scholarship" that the general view is that "...Africans had no past and that they never created a major civilization. A historian John Henrik Clarke has said that to account for the ancient and great civilization of Egypt in Africa, Egypt is 'removed' from the continent of Africa. Then, Black people are 'removed' from Egypt, in spite of data to the contrary." He then provides some examples of how, as Bernal later argues, there has existed a deliberate and desperate attempt to erase the evidence of not only "Black Athena" but also of the roots of Western Civilization lying in Africa rather than Europe. He quotes Homer from the <u>Iliad</u> to show how impressed the Greeks were with Africans:

> For Zeus had yesterday's to ocean's bounds
>
> Set Forth to feast with Ethiop's faultless men,
>
> And he was followed there by all the gods.

Also, from Herodotus he quotes statements that attest to the fact that most of the names for the Greek gods came from Egypt and saying that "there can be no doubt that the Colchians are an Egyptian race...they are Black skinned and have wooly hair...."[29]

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Hilliard quotes an "European scholar of great consciousness," C.F. Volney, who wrote in The Ruins (1793) that:

> There a people, now forgotten, discovered, while others were yet barbarians, the elements of the arts and sciences. A race of men (sic) now rejected from society for their sable skin and frizzled hair, founded on the study of the laws of nature, those civil and religious systems which still govern the universe (Hilliard, 1984, p. 116).

Much credible science, including the new genetics, agrees that race is not a useful biological or anthropological concept. Hilliard's work underscores how important the concept of race is to Western imperialism to justify oppression and the unequal distribution of resources.

Hilliard says that anthropology could play a major role in educational theory by providing a model of education that focuses on the structure and system of oppression. (p. 118) He also sees phrases such as multi-culturalism and pluralism as "euphemisms (which) are used to provide for an indirect, camouflaged approach to the problem" (p. 118). There is a need to focus on the various forms of oppression, centering on but not limited to oppression by race and the general prevalence and effects of racism. The focus on multi-culturalism dilutes the "attack on racism and on other forms of oppression" and therefore "no attention is paid to the dynamics of racism...and to the design of interventions to prevent racist behavior since racism is not recognized consciously as part of the problem (of equal educational opportunity)" (p. 120).

This is Hilliard's "hidden problem" that is revealed only by a close examination of the destructive manner in which the concept of race has played out in education including the attempts to limit the use of African languages, the destruction of historical records and the de-valuing and

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destruction of African culture, and the attempts "to substitute European culture for (African culture) and to convince African people that European culture was superior to all other cultures in every way" (p. 121-122).

Hilliard's work is important for understanding racism because he goes right to the sources of the academic justification of racism by "objective" science and social science. One does not have to look at the fringe of academia for racism. Hilliard shows how central racism assumptions are to the work of the classical scholarship, as in his example of Hegel. Lastly, Hilliard's greatest contribution is his analysis of what ails educational theory. Educational theory will remain skewed and biased until a concept of oppression and discrimination is made central. Hilliard notes the influence of Cheikh Diop on his own work, and, since Diop seems to be a lesser-known predecessor to Bernal's work, I will review him here.

Cheikh Diop's The African Origin of Civilization (1974) and Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology (1991) provide yet more evidence of the African influence on all aspects of European intellectual culture and religion and the immensity of Africa as the center of higher education and intellectual achievement which did not begin to decline, in spite of attempts to destroy it, until slavery and European colonialism. Diop is a physicist who turned to radioactive dating for archaeology. The back cover of his most recent work contains a blurb by Leonard Jeffries: "Diop's Civilization or Barbarism is truly an extraordinary scientific and scholarly masterpiece....It will undoubtedly become a classic of Afrocentric scholarship." Unfortunately, as few people seem to be familiar with Diop, I doubt that his work will achieve that prominence.

The first part of Civilization or Barbarism discusses the origins of

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humans.   It discusses the African origin of the various hominid species and argues for an African origin of Homo sapiens.   Diop also argues that the earliest Homo sapiens who moved into Europe were Black.   He names the "Grimaldi Black man" as the first inhabitant of Europe (p. 13) and several other southern European sites, in which skulls were found which have what he argues are negroid features, such as at Combe-Chapelle, originally described as a Negroid type (p. 42).   Interestingly, a number of the researches he cites are by Soviet paleoanthropologists.(p. 50 - 51).   He claims that Africans who migrated into Europe evolved White skin and that Oriental race is a crossbreed of Black and White stock (p. 55) and claims Chinese and Semites evolved only   6,000 and 5,000 yrs ago respectively (p. 54).   (It is unclear yet suggestive that perhaps Diop is attempting to show that Chinese and Semites as less fundamental even than Anglo-Europeans!)

Diop's position on race is a bit odd.   "Race does not exist!   Is it to say that nothing allows me to distinguish myself from a Swede, and that a Zulu can prove that Botha (Prime Minister of the White minority government of South Africa) are of the same genetic stock (as the Zulu), and that consequently, at the genotypical level, they are almost twins, even if accidentally their phenotypes, meaning their physical appearances, are different?....

> Why does a certain physical anthropology use this scholarly manner to duck the questions? Is it loathe to rigorously derive all the implications of the monogenetic origin of humanity and, in the same vein, to take into consideration the real development of the races? But an avant -garde West has already begun to courageously spread these ideas: and it was a White American who wrote: 'I proceeded to explain that the first human beings were Black, and that light-skinned people developed later, by natural selection, to survive in temperate climates; it made us all feel much closer.'" (p. 17)[30]

Diop notes that the most ancient mine in the world is in Swaziland,

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30,000 years old (p.12) and notes that Blacks were found on Caspian sea in Asia (p. 33). He also claims that the ancient Neanderthals found in Palestine are dead ends and that Homo sapiens in Palestine are as recent 10,000 B.C. and Black. Diop seems to go out of his way here to downgrade the "primitive, almost bestial" later Neanderthals of Palestine (p. 34) which might be some sort of anti-Semitism on his part.

Diop notes the racism at an anthropology conference in Paris 1969 which attempted to claim that the Australians were a subhuman species doomed to disappear (p. 36). Diop spends much time on the Black nature of the ancient Egyptians. He says he attempted to get a millimeter of skin from Rhamses II to analyze the percentage of melanin, but was refused. However, he did get some skin from some other mummies (p. 65). After a long discussion he writes: "Rhamses II was Black. May he rest in peace in his Black skin for eternity" (p. 67). He also notes that nicotine was found in the stomach of Rhamses II and suggests that there was an ancient Egyptian trade with America, as tobacco is American (p. 67).

Diop argues for the Black origin of Egyptian civilization on the basis of the matrilinearity of pharaohs, by the fact that royalty means those "who comes from the South" and by references to terrible rain-storms in early Egyptian prayers, with thunder as the voice of heaven, believed to be in Senegal. There are almost no rainstorms in Egypt, let alone thunderstorms and torrential rains, says Diop (p. 108).

Interestingly, Diop accepts a good part of the researches of Marija Gimbutas on the notion that there existed an early "Ancient Europe" civilization which was agricultural with a mother earth goddess, matriarchal and peaceful, and that this society was destroyed by nomadic proto-Indo-

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Europeans who worshipped the male sky god and the horse and were warlike and heavily armed (p. 19 -20). Diop differs from Gimbutas in suggesting that the invaded area (the Balkans) was home to negroid Grimaldi type.[31] He also denies that the early "Ancient Europeans" had writing which he reserves for the Egyptians.

Diop argues that Cretan civilization was an Egyptian outpost and that a "Linear B" language was invented to transliterate Greek words as Crete colonized Greece. Diop argues that the myth of Atlantis arose from the eruption of a volcano on the island of Sanorini (as big as the Krakatoa eruption of 1883 A.D.) around 1420 BC. A thirty meter thick layer of ash lies on Thera and other islands where culture was wiped out by the blast (p. 71). Historical references to tidal waves flooding towns on the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean such as Ugarit occurred during this period (p. 82) and Diop claims various Biblical references to these flooding and migrations (Amos, 9.7, Zephaniah 1.15, 17 and 2.5, and Jeremiah, 47.2, 4, cited on p. 83). There was a period of backwardness in Greece from 3000 to 1400 B.C. followed by Cretan refugees settling in Greece and introduced so-called linear B writing and civilization (p. 72).

Much of this history resembles Bernal's in Black Athena (especially in Volume II, see pp. 274-319). However, Bernal tends to identify the eruption as on the Island of Thera itself, although says it could be on either Thera or Santorini. Also, Bernal shifts the date to an earlier one, from 1450 to 1628 B.C. Bernal defends the redating by Pomerance, who he claims was marginalized in the classical archaeology community because he was a Jew, and linked the eruption to events in the Bible (Black Athena, Volume II, p. 277). In Volume II, Bernal also links the date of the explosion to ancient meteorological records in

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China (Bernal pp, 281 -284).

Diop notes that this eruption which affected the whole Eastern
Mediterranean area occurred around the time of the reign of Thutmose III,
who had extended the Egyptian empire to its greatest extent. Thutmose erected
stellae depicting female sexual organs in areas which he annexed or
conquered to say "these people had no bravery" (according to Herodotus, cited,
p. 98, Diop). Diop criticizes modern scholars who claim the female genitalia
monuments were Hittite. The extent of Egyptian influence is also shown by
the finding of a Sphinx in Southern Russia (p. 99).

Diop reviews theories of social formations in 100 page detail. He is most
intrigued in the Asiatic Mode of Production (AMP) and the rise of Greece. He
credits the AMP's origin to Egypt. He notes that all races have developed AMP
wherever great public works are needed. He claims that the special conditions
of the Greek city states in which democracy developed were unstable and
contradictory. The takeover of property by an immigrating group and the
dispossession of the original inhabitants seems to be central for him. The
Greek city-states rapidly fell into the AMP with Alexander and according to
Diop it was Alexander's conquest that turned it back into an Asiatic empire.
Diop notes that the Oriental Mode makes revolution impossible. Diop supports
this claim with examples from China uprisings. Diop claims that the spread of
literacy and religious revolt made possible the revival of revolution in early
modern Europe, but that modern states are largely like AMP states, which
accounts for the difficulty of revolution in the 20th Century era and thus for
the rise of thinkers like Marcuse.

A short, central section in Diop's work discusses Cultural Identity. Diop
claims it involves an historical factor, a linguistic factor, and a psychological

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factor (p. 211). He notes how the Egyptians regressed once conquered by the Persians, Greeks, and Romans (p. 213). He notes that African linguistic disunity has often been cited as cause of Africa's troubles. However, in fact Europe has more than 360 languages and dialects (p. 214). Most of the separate French dialects were subordinated to the Ile-de-France (Paris) one with the French monarchy. Nineteenth century linguists formed a theoretical unity of European languages with the Indo-European language notion. But recent researches show similar unification of African languages into large linguistic families which could similarly be used to develop an ideology of unity. He claims connections of African languages to Egyptian-Nubian languages should be researched but that this has been played down by African Studies (p. 215).

On the psychological factor of cultural identity, Diop criticizes the "negritude" concept of the poet and politician Aimé Césaire and Leopold Senghor. Senghor said "Emotion is Negro and reason is Greek" (p. 218, and p. 224). This notion, popular in Afro-centric circles in the middle of the twentieth century, attributes to Africans precisely the non-intellectuality and emotionality which supports the racist stereotypes of White writers. (I notice here that his critique is similar to the critique of the "mother goddess" or "female psychology" currents in feminism that can reinforce irrational, non-assertive woman stereotypes.)

Towards the end of the book, Diop has a chapter entitled "Toward a Method for an Approach to Intercultural Relations." Here, Diop discusses African poetry, art, and music. He notes the special qualities of each language that can be exploited in poetry, and quotes Sartre on the bad effect of French on African poets (pp. 223 - 224).

He discusses the role of African sculpture in freeing the Western artist

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from the classical Canon of anatomical rigor. He notes that Andre Malraux (a French novelist, politician and art historian) went "so far as to purely and simply deny the existence of a Negro art"(p. 226). He notes how African or Indian music is often not appreciated by Westerners (p. 227), although that seems to be changing somewhat with the current generation of young music enthusiasts.

The last part of Diop's book is on "Africa's contribution to the Sciences and Philosophy." Chapter sixteen on science discusses Egyptian science and argues for its advanced nature. He starts by noting that Archimedes, who presents his work as pure theoretical mathematics, got initial estimates of areas and volumes by weighing geometrical figures, but then "covered his tracks" (pp. 231 -232). The usual contrast is made between Egyptian mathematics which is empirical and uses measurements or approximations, and Greek mathematics which is rigorous. Diop's mentioning of Archimedes weighing figures shows this contrast not so absolute. Diop goes into considerably more detail than Bernal on Egyptian mathematics as a source of Greek mathematics. Diop notes that the Egyptians had formulas for the volume of the cylinder and of a truncated pyramid and a value for pi as 3.16 (p. 236) and the surface of a sphere, although he notes in the latter case scholars have twisted the texts to deny it (p. 251- 255).

Diop claims that Plato and Eudoxus were former pupils of the priests at Heliopolis (p. 237). There is "a Greek tradition of plagiarism (from Egypt) that went back to Thales, Pythagoras, Plato, Eudoxus, Oenopides, Aristotle, etc., which the testimonies of Herodotus and Diodorus of Sicily reveal to us in part" (p. 242). Diop mentions the Egyptian invention of the scale (lever) and ancient Egyptian use of water screws in mines (p. 244) and notes that the

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Egyptians were the first to identify the brain in anatomy (p. 248). Diop cites Herodotus that "Pythagoras was a simple plagiarist of the Egyptians" (p. 256). The Greek, neo-platonist Iamblichus claims Pythagoras spent twenty-two years in Egypt to learn geometry and astronomy.

Having given a sympathetic exposition and elaboration of the positions of Bernal and Diop, I now wish to survey the scholarly and popular reception of the book Black Athena as well as of the Afrocentric thesis concerning Black Egypt generally. Afrocentric claims by American Blacks began very early. Freed slaves wrote about their African identity before the Civil War. Nineteenth century Black nationalists made reference to Egyptian civilization as Black.[32] The major mid-twentieth century work claiming that ancient Greek culture was derivative from Egypt was Stolen Legacy by George G. M. James (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957). This book was virtually unread outside Black nationalist circles. The Cornell University library refused to shelve this book during the seventies and eighties because of its content (Bernal, vol. I, p. 435).

According to the preface of volume two (p. xvii), it was difficult to publish the first volume of Black Athena. It was first published in Britain by the radical Free Association Press. The editor of Rutgers University Press happened to read the book and exercised his right to publish without peer review one book per year of his own choice by selecting Black Athena.

The major establishment newspaper book reviews, The Times (including Times Literary Supplement) and the New York Times have never reviewed Bernal, although a number of other papers, such as the Guardian and Christian Science Monitor have. The New York Times refused several requests to review it by academics such as Henry Lewis Gates. The National Review did

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review the work, claiming erroneously that Bernal was Black and that Herodotus had claimed that the Greeks were blond (Bernal, Vol. II, p. xxi).

Although many classicists dismissed the book while refusing to read it, as had publishers' reviewers earlier, the American Philological Association held a large session on the work.[33] The session was surprisingly favorable.

In evaluating the professional and the more general educated lay public's response to Black Athena and related Afrocentric views about the ancient world I will distinguish several theses which are now becoming widely accepted and other theses which are strongly rejected by majorities in the relevant academic specialties.

First, there is the thesis of Volume I that nineteenth century classicists and Egyptologists (both German and British) were for the most part racist, anti-Semitic, and imperialist, with anti-Semitism more virulent in Germany, and imperialistic attitudes toward Egypt more central in Britain. Anti-Semitism is claimed to have led to rejection of Phoenician and other middle eastern influences on ancient Greek language and thought. Imperialist attitudes toward Egypt are claimed to have motivated rejection of Egyptian influence on Greek language and thought. Racism is said to have influenced the rejection of non-European roots of Greek thought (especially African roots). This thesis of Bernal's is well documented with damning quotes from the scholars' own writings. It has met with considerable acceptance among intellectual historians.[34]

Second, there is the claim that the Middle East and the Phoenicians in particular (but including such groups as Canaanites and Philistines) had strong influences upon and relations to Greek culture and language. This claim is more widely rejected by classicists. However, a number of

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archaeologists are supportive of it.[35] Among the classicists some major scholars such as Wilhelm Burkert have gone quite a distance in that direction.[36]

Third, there is the much more controversial claim that Egypt is the major source of early Greek culture. Most classicists are highly critical of this claim. However some classicists and more archaeologists are willing to be more open-minded toward the claim. G.W. Bowerstock of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton was one of those who made early favorable reviewer's comments.

Fourth, there is the most explosive claim that Egypt was a Black civilization. Because this claim is made to oppose the common claim that Blacks never created a civilization, cities, or writing, sides are more polarized concerning it. Part of it that is accepted by Egyptologists is that Nubia, the Black kingdom south of Egypt was a powerful civilization in the seventeenth century B. C. and ruled Egypt in the eighth century B.C.[37]

Southern Egypt had on average darker inhabitants than northern Egypt, and those pharaohs who came from southern Egypt often had negroid features. Thus it is likely that Egypt from time to time had Black rulers. Tomb murals show Blacks in positions of authority, accepting tribute from Whites, and accompanied by lighter skinned spouses. It is likely that Egypt was a mixture of Black and White populations. Some claims, such as that of Afrocentrists that Cleopatra was Black, are denied by Egyptologists. However, the influence of Black individuals in Egypt cannot be denied.[38]

The last major claim of Bernal is widely dismissed without argument by classicists. This one is considered the most intellectually rejected one in Bernal's work, but it is also the most esoteric one. This is Bernal's claim that

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the etymology of a good proportion of ancient Greek words is Egyptian and Phoenician. Almost none of Bernal's classicist detractors are unable to intellectually rebut him case by case, since they lack deep technical knowledge of Egyptian hieroglyphs or Semitic languages. Similarly Egyptologists for the most part lack deep knowledge of Greek linguistics. Bernal possesses all of these skills, plus knowledge of African languages and knowledge of early Far Eastern languages. One of the few articles to discuss the detailed etymological claims in print is critical on certain details, but surprisingly supportive.[39]

Neither Bernal, Hilliard, or Diop explicitly appeal to the self-esteem of African-Americans as the reason to study the possibilities and extent of the African-Egyptian influence on the development of Western Civilization. They all contend that the Eurocentric and racist history needs to be corrected because it is false and inaccurate. This revision and correction is not to simply replace a set of biased assumptions and social facts with another erroneous set of assumptions and facts, as the critics (such as D'Souza, Schlesinger, Woodward and Bloom contend) but is to stop the denial of the effect of racism and colonialism on matters of the historical record. This was exactly the position extolled by the African-American kindergarten teacher in the interviews.

In comparing Diop to Bernal, I notice that they both use a combination of linguistics, political geography and history, and anthropology extensively. Diop further appeals to the methods (particularly the dating methods) and the theory of archaeology and paleoanthropology to make his points rooting human origins in and from Africa. Diop, like Bernal, has done his homework and presents a rich array of data. Unlike Bernal, Diop's arguments suffer

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from an overtly-noticeable political agenda and unsubstantiated claims and conclusions. Perhaps an analysis of the legacy of racism in modern day society with direct anecdotal descriptions will supply a more objective picture of the importance of race and racism in society. A recently published book by Ellis Cose looks at how middle-class Black American still experiences racism everyday.

Have you wondered how economically successful Blacks feel they are treated now that legal discrimination and the obstacles for social advancement are presumably over and removed? Ellis Cose, in _The Rage of a Privileged Class: Why are Middle-class Blacks Angry? Why Should America Care?_ (1993) wrote that the anger of Blacks who have "made it" to middle-class America is a phenomenon unknown to Whites but known well to Blacks. Middle-class Blacks, Cose argues, have all the luxuries of class privilege but are not happy. He talks about the "broken covenant" between our country and Blacks: the promise implied in Civil Rights laws and politicians' rhetoric that if they work hard enough they will achieve to the best of their abilities.

Blacks have gone to Harvard and have strived to become law-abiding and productive members of society yet are still commonly viewed as potential criminals in the public sphere. Blacks are stuck with powerful, derogatory stereotypes and are pigeon-holed into "Black jobs": Directors of Communications, Directors of Personnel, Affirmative Action/Equal Employment jobs, public relations, and the like: those positions which are less powerful and do not often lead to any advancement. In addition, these "Black jobs" are considered less crucial to the running of an organization and are easy to cut. Cose quotes a study by Sharon Collins of Black executives in Fortune 500 companies and found that fully one-half of them were in these

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"Black jobs."

Cose shares a story about a Black lawyer who, by all outside appearances, appears to be "making it" quite well but was seething with rage inside. The lawyer explained his anger as stemming, in part, from a recent event and a recent revelation. He had rode up the elevator in a prestigious office building with a White man. When they reached the floor of the lawyer's office, the White man blocked the path of the Black lawyer and asked, "May I help you?" and questioned why he was on the floor. It was infuriating to the lawyer that his skin color was what allowed the White man challenge him. Insult added to injury when it was revealed that his compensation package was worse than those of comparative White colleagues in the law firm. Cose argues that middle-class Blacks experience their rage by living lives of "quiet desperation": if they do not, silence the voice of their experiences they risk being stigmatized as a trouble-making malcontent who is "obsessed by race."

This is the sting of prejudice even among Blacks "no matter how well prepared people (are)... A young woman who graduated from Harvard Law School in her twenties and has won more than her share of honors says she feels ambushed whenever she hears a cutting racial remark. 'Oddly, I still don't expect it'" (p. 139). Denial is a beautiful gift we give ourselves. Cose gives so many powerful examples of actual acts of racism and their consequences that reading Cose should be a requirement for all those still choosing to not see the extent to which racism -- subtle, unconscious, vicious and violent -- conditions the lives of all Americans but particularly the people of color.

In my conclusions, I want to deal with the contemporary situation as

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well as the history of racism. No matter how research on the social history of racism and research exposing the biases and intent of scientific racism helps us perceive the world more acutely, the problem today is convincing youth that racism is real and pertinent to their lives. Today, many students believe that the struggles against all forms of discrimination and oppression -- including racism -- were fought in the past. Visual media have taken control of the collective consciousness of youth, and reality is that which you can see. We are in a face-paced world where "news" is "history" -- literally dead and gone -- quicker than ever. However little the current generation is taught about racism and race relations, such education is without a context of the struggles for Civil Rights within their lifetimes. The immediacy of racism is diminishing in White culture, leading to an increased nonchalance towards racism. Political correctness has only compounded the problem.

Over three decades ago, on February 1st, 1960, four Black college freshmen made history by initiating the first sit-in at a Woolworth's in Greensboro, North Carolina after being denied service because of their color. The sit-in inspired Blacks to stage their own sit-ins in communities all over the country and was a real beginning for the Civil Rights Movement. The lunch counter has been a living reminder of the struggles to receive and maintain Civil Rights. This month Woolworth's announced that the store will be closed as part of corporate down-sizing even though they are "certainly sensitive to the historical significance of (the) building" (Boston Globe, October 30, 1993, p. 1).

What does this mean for the teaching about Civil Rights? What are the ramifications for the recollection of the struggle and the knowledge that the struggle entails perpetual vigilance and continued struggling to maintain

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gains? Every year on the day of the anniversary of the sit-in the February One Society has held television and radio broadcasts with prominent speakers from the Woolworth's' lunch counter. Just as we are losing the generation of the actual Holocaust participants and observers, we are losing the direct contact with the symbols and connections to the Civil Rights Movement. Experiential teaching moments are disappearing as well as the chance to comprehend events like the Civil Rights Movement occurring within one's lifetime.

I have maintained a strong interest in Civil Rights issues since high school. Even though I had read several books on the topic, I recall the exact moment of some horror when, during a Black History class in Cheyenne, Wyoming in 1977, I watched a movie on the Civil Rights struggle showing people being flung around by strong water hoses and beaten with cops' sticks. When the date of 1964 flashed under the pictures I suddenly realized that I was not watching some "ancient" history disconnected to my life but an event within my lifetime. This fact made all the difference. I remember thinking "My God, I was alive when that was happening!!"

Students today do not have that teaching aid available. Far too many of my students think that the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, as well as the liberatory struggles which women's undertook a few years later, are all squarely "events in the past," the struggles successfully dismantled racism and sexism. All future institutionalized racism and sexism is prevented. The danger of this tendency is heightened as fair-minded individuals are increasingly reluctant to be labelled "politically correct" for naming social wrongs and standing up against them.

Critics generally argue that a standard of "political correctness" is

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demanded in thought and deed. This standard rests simultaneously on a hyper-sensitized vigilance again intolerance on one hand, and on a foundation of complete relativism on the other. Common sense has been replaced by political correctness. The attempt has succeeded to throw the criticism of being narrow-minded and reactionary from the shoulders of the right-wing to the left-wing in U.S. politics. The triumph of the accusation of political correctness undermines the argument, increasingly supported by educational research of the last thirty years, that sensitivity to ethnicity and gender in the educational arena will not only help students learn but will help educators diagnose problems students may have with learning. (For example, a student's trouble with reading standard English may stem from the internal inconsistency with the structure of English language as compared to another language or dialect which may be spoken in the home.) In addition, books about White middle-class families might not be comprehensible to urban minority children and may further hinder their interest in reading. One educator I interviewed noted that "literacy begins in the heart, not the head", and worries that the turn away from the development of multi-cultural curricula due to criticisms of political correctness may result in a resurgence of incidence where minority children just cannot relate to the "White bread" literature they are asked to read.

What about the political correctness in the growing "slow process at the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) of granting the far right ideological veto power" whereby Lynne V. Cheney and her staff "weeded out proposals they consider too liberal, too feminist, or too full of what conservatives deride as 'political correctness'"?[40] Although NEH staff publicly denied the charge, former NEH staff members acknowledge that "as many as

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one in 10 applications may be 'flagged' for political content..." The NEH is the most monied funder for the humanities (some $150 million last year). Some of the examples of this version of 'political correctness' include: 1) a public television series illustrating the gamut of different interpretations of Columbus' voyage which was given planning funds then denied funding for production. Cheney publicly called the project one of "European-bashing and Columbus-bashing", 2) a Dartmouth English professor's travel grant application on Shakespeare was rejected and she was told by a NEH staff members that the project had "a feminist tinge," and, 3) a series of seminars on the Great Books at Boston College was rejected, although four of the five reviewers ranked the proposal "excellent," because one reviewer thought that some of the critics who were to be invited to the seminars were "liberal." One council member of NEH supported the censorship of liberal scholarship and stated: "If a particular piece presents a political ideology, that's not scholarship in the humanities."

I do not believe that neo-liberals and other leftists are now embracing censorship under the banner of political correctness. However, if I am wrong, they certainly learned their lessons from the far-right and/or the Religious right. According to People for the American Way's tenth annual report, "Attacks on the Freedom to Learn 1991-1992", there were 376 incidents in 44 states where attempts were made to censor from the public school curriculum certain books and certain themes. School boards have quickly been stacked with the Religious Right in every state of the union, but the bulk of censorship incidents are focused in the Bible Belt of the Midwest. The success at limiting or concealing access to medical knowledge about sexuality issues, including sexually transmitted diseases, is well know. Hundreds of health

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curricula have been banned through often-anonymous telephone and mail campaigns launched proudly by Religious Right school board members.

Other Right-wing led controls on book content have occurred as well, where the compromise to throwing out a book like Steinbeck's _Of Mice and Men_ or Bradbury's _Fahrenheit 451_ is to blacken out certain words, phrases, or sections of the books that do not appeal to the _real_ politically correct whim of the self-imposing righteous of the right. As one parent said after seeing her child's book with black Magic Marker streaks, "it's hard to tell a child that education is open...and (then) they get a book and it's all blacked out." After school board members in Hamilton, Ohio had a book burning ceremony of newly "outlawed" works, one parent said _Of Mice and Men_ that "it's not fit for a heathen to read" as she threw a box of copies onto the flames. Eight other school districts in Ohio banned the same list as Hamilton, Ohio did before the end of the 1992 school year. People for the American Way also reported that censorship efforts aimed at library books (which presumably no person or child is forced to read) "more than doubled over (the 1991) rate." The innocuous-sounding phrase "traditional family values" has it's own lock-step code of right-wing political correctness. Under the umbrella of "traditional family values" often comes an allegiance to a set of politically correct ideas and behaviors that Liberals have not yet begun to master, including the belief that domestic violence is a private "family matter."

Dinesh D'Souza said in a _Boston Globe_ article ("The Interview", 5/24/92 that "the PC debate should (not) focus on liberalism but instead on intolerance." Yet, it is his intolerance of liberalism that makes him narrow-minded and bigoted -- forget about his "incorrectness" politically. He chooses to make a case instead for the "irrelevance of racism." He appeals to the usual

characterization of "pc" as a fear of speaking "freely" lest one's language immediately categorizes them as sexist, racist, ethnocentrist, sizeist, speciesist, or any other "ist" or "ism" related to prejudice.

In Miro Todorovich's "A Tale of Two Professors" in the monthly newsletter Measure: In Defense of Academic Freedom and Integrity (June 1993)[41] it is stated that Leonard Jeffries, "fresh from his thesis work at Columbia...was immediately offered by CCNY Administration what others needed years of hard work to obtain: full professorship and chairmanship of (the Black Studies Department)." He used his position to "shape his Black Studies Department into a political base, while using his teaching forum to spread socio-political theories and anti-White propaganda." Jeffries proclamations of the brutal White "ice people" and the gentle Black "sun people" have been widely cited, as well as his denouncements of Blacks who "act White" and date Whites and his claims that "possession of melanin made Black biological superior to Whites." However, less known is the breadth of his scholarship on the Black Athena questions of the denial and repression of Africa's influence on European culture. Also, his criticism of the value system of Whites was often reported as criticism of White people themselves.

The Measure article juxtaposes the anti-White sentiments of Jeffries who was tolerated by CCNY Administration with the denouncements of a White philosophy professor, Michael Levin, who struggled through the ranks of academia by publishing diligently (unlike Jeffries) but was ostracized and "academically damaged" after he made "research-based" statements such as the desirability to have racially-segregated subways (with sealed trains for Black student commuters) in New York City to lessen Black on White crime, the futility of affirmative action, and took part of the rehabilitation of Arthur

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Jensen's assertion of Blacks' low inherited intelligence (based on data of Cyril Burt now acknowledged to be fraudulent), and ridiculed measures to increase the accessibility to museums for the physically disabled. (He asked rhetorically whether art museums ought to have painting captions in braille.) Typically, the Measure article blamed Levin's woes on the politically correct climate of the campus where racism just is not as tolerated as it used to be. Jeffries was picked by the New York State Commission of Education, Thomas Sobol, to be a member of the task force to create the Curriculum of Inclusion, often referred to as the" Rainbow Curriculum." Both Levin and Jeffries sued the University for diminishing their status based on the violation of their freedom of speech rights. Both plaintiffs won: Levin's full teaching load was restored and Jeffries was re-instated as Chairperson. Levin, it is argued, based his teachings on "fair and unbiased scholarship" rather than on Jeffries' "political opinion," so only his rights to free speech had been properly violated.

Books such as The Official Politically Correct Dictionary and Handbook (Beard and Cerf, 1992) make one think that the halls of the overly-sensitized academia are overrun with people talking about the "melanin-deprived" White people and the "waistline-challenged" fat people and the "sexually focused chronologically gifted individual" as the familiar dirty old man or the crook and/or politician as the "ethically challenged." Who are these people who talk only using politically correct language? Where do they work? Given that the strides made during the 1970s and 1980s in sensitizing our written language so as not to assume that "she" is implied if only "he" is said have substantially been lost, it is difficult to see political correctness -- the liberal-left version at least -- as hard at work.

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Unfortunately, the label of "politically correct" has stifled the sensibilities of fair-minded folks who now bite their tongue before they speak out against social wrongs like racism, sexism, and other prejudices and discriminations. People who were only partially committed to fighting the good fight are now silenced by fear of a label: as "politically correct," as interested in "victim studies" and "tourist curriculum," and as utilizing a "Tawana Brawley theory of history."

Political correctness has co-opted the traditionally liberal values of freedom, tolerance, and equality to try and make the left seem associated with the politics of intolerance. "PC" is a phenomenon that, as far as I can ascertain, has been taken up and successfully implemented by the right to denounce anyone who is not racist or sexist. A poignant book of real-life and contemporary scenarios of racism like Cose's can be dismissed as politically correct victimology.

The academic works exposing the bias and elitism of the history of academic racism are of great significance and usefulness. However, in these "politically correct" times, the conservative swing in the national consciousness away from the traditionally bedrock liberal concern for social ills has coupled with the need for scapegoats in an era of failing economic opportunities. This creates an "hostile environment" for both people of color and Whites who are active anti-racists.

In this chapter, I have reviewed the major debates in the scholarly and popular media which may have impacts on how teachers view and construe multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. These are: 1) the political correctness debate, 2) relativism, 3) the Canon debate concerning which books to include as "classics" in humanities education, 4) race relations and

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affirmative action, and, 5) Afrocentric education.

The "political correctness" debate criticizes euphemistic (or even non-abusive) words for ethnic groups and sexual orientations. It also criticizes diversity and multi-cultural efforts. The Christian right and the Straussians in the relativism debate accuses multi-culturalists of rejecting all values and standards of any sort. However, this confuses several senses of relativism, which are distinguished in this chapter. In the Canon debate, traditionalists accuse multi-culturalists of eliminating "Great Works" to include works by women and non-White authors.

Affirmative action is commonly identified by its critics with reverse discrimination and quotas. This misrepresentation has been popularly successful. Afrocentric education attempts to raise the self-esteem of Black students by presenting the achievements of Blacks and African cultures in past history. Critics of Afrocentrism object to the claims that Egypt was a Black civilization and that Egyptians rather than Aryans were the primary influence early Greek civilization (Black Athena thesis). Critics also object to the claim that later Egyptian-Hellenistic civilization and Roman north Africa had a large Black component in their civilized scientific and religious achievements.

The way these debates are framed in the media were reflected in some of the reactions that New Hampshire teachers had to multi-culturalism in general. This was especially true of affirmative action issues, but was seen also in frustrated attitudes to political correctness accusations as well as some reactions to Afrocentrism.

In the next chapter another set of influences on educators' attitudes toward multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education will be examined. These

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influences concern the socialization of teachers, especially with respect to philosophies of individualism and equal opportunity. I will also explore strategies to allow multi-cultural education to advance around both these roadblocks and the individualistic socialization of educators by focusing on the status of civil rights issues in education and the political economy of education.

End Notes to Chapter V

1. Richard Bernstein's most recent notoriety comes from his denunciation of the University of New Hampshire's Chris Burns-DiBiasio and her one-person anti-sexual harassment establishment and his sympathetic and indignant defense of alleged sexual harasser J. Donald Silva in "Guilty If Charged", The New York Review of Books, January 13, 1994.

2. Letter printed on poster at the Chiefly Feasts: The Enduring Kwakiutl Potlatch exhibit, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, December 1993.

1. See Runciman, Steve, Social Science and Political Theory, Cambridge U. P., 1963, pg. 165.

4. See Irving Zeitlin's discussion of Mannheim in Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory , 1968.

5. See David Bloor, Knowledge and Social Imagery, Chicago U.P., 1976, pg. 84-106.

6. See Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar, Laboratory Life, and Bruno Latour, Science in Action, Cambridge: Harvard U P , 1988, and Stanley Aronowitz, Science and Power, University of Minnesota Press, 1988.

7. As reported in the cover story on Kagan in the Moonie magazine, Insight on the News, November, 1991.

1. See Tillie Olsen's Silences (Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence, 1965) for a clear exposition on how sex, class, generational stage and other social conditions affect how literature is written and selected for prestige and recognition. Olsen's own major silencing was through the negativity associated with motherhood and child-rearing in the literary world.

9. From notes reviewing The Women's Review of Books Tenth Anniversary Conference, Wellesley Center for Research on Women, November 6, 1993.

10. See Gary Taylor, Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History, from the Restoration to the Present, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, New York, 1989, and Laurence Levine, Highbrow, Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1988.

11. See "Culture and Anarchy" by J. Lambrose [pseudonym], a review of Kimball, Tenured Radicals, in The Nation, Vol. 250, No. 22, June 4 1990, p. 791-795.

12. According to captions on paintings at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA., in an exhibit entitled "Crosscurrents: European and American Impressionism", on May 17, 1992.

13. See Acocella, Joan , "After the Ball was Over", a review of books on the ballet dancer, Nijinsky, in The New Yorker, May, 18, 1992, p.   91.

14. See "Not So Great", by Eric Alterman, an editorial in The Nation, Vol. 251, November 19, 1992, p. 584-585.

15. See C. van Woodward's "Freedom in the Universities" original article in New York Review of Books (July 18, 1991) or the reprint in Aufderheide, 1992.

16. See the negative review of D' Souza in New Yorker, Vol. 67, No. 13, May 20, 1991, pp. 101-107. The review also includes antics of the Dartmouth Review during D-Souza's tenure as editor, including printing "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" on its back cover and printed the names of presumably gay students who did not wish to be "outed" from documents stolen from the office of the Gay Student Alliance.

17. See Graff, p. 151, for the quotes from Matthews' 1896 textbook and Collin's 1891 work.

18. See John Searle's "Storm Over the University" in the New York Review of Books, December 6, 1990, p. 39.

19. This remark, quoted elsewhere as well, was recently found cited in "Personal History: Jews", by Alfred Kazin, in The New Yorker, March 7, 1994, p. 68.

20. Searle, op. cit.

21. See Henry Lewis Gates, Jr., Loose Canons: Notes on the Culture Wars, Oxford University press, Oxford, 1992, p. xvi.

22. See Edmund Levin's "The Closing of the American Game," in The Nation, Vol. 245, No. 13, October 24, 1987, p. 437-438, 452.

23. According to Susan Berman description of Cornell University in The Underground Guide to the College of Your Choice, Signet classics, New York,

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1971, p. 317-318.

24. Billings, Kim, "Visiting Scholar Paints Portrait of Today's College Student", interview with Arthur Levine in The New Hampshire, (UNH college newspaper), September 2, 1993, pg. 3.

25. According to Salim Muwakkil, "Religious Bullying, Racism Corrode Troop Relations", In These Times, February 20-26, 1991.

26. Quote from notes from an unpublished paper on contemporary conceptions of racism, read in a workshop by Joy James in Havana, Cuba, June 1993, at the North- American and Cuban Conference for Philosophers and Social Scientists.

27. See Salim Muwakkil, "Multicultural Movement Faces Reactionary Assault" in In These Times, May 1-7, 1991, p. 7).

28. See Christopher Jencks article on affirmative action in The New York Review of Books, March 17, 1983, p. 14.

29. Herodotus in Komroff, 1928, quoted by Hilliard, 1984, p. 115.

30. A footnote here by Diop cites "Kim Marshall, "Desegregation in a Boston Classroom," in Learning, August-September, 1975, p. 382.

31. Gimbutas' archaeology and theory is used by feminist writers as well, such as in The Chalice and the Blade.

32. See Wilson J. Moses, "In Fairness to Afrocentrism," in Alternatives to Afrocentrism, New York: Manhattan Institute, 1994.

33. The session is published in Arethusa, vol. 22, 1989, Special Number. Arethusa is a relatively radical journal of classical studies.

34. Oddly the article in the generally sympathetic Arethusa symposium on this thesis is more critical than the others. See S. J. Thompson, "Black Athena : a Dissent," Arethusa, vol. 22, 1989, Special Number, pp. 80 - 96.

35. See the comments by George Bass and by Patricia M. Bikai, Arethusa, vol. 22, 1989, Special Number, pp. 97 - 106.

36. See Wilhelm Burkert, The Orientalizing Revolution, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

37. See Joyce L. Haynes, Nubia: Ancient Kingdoms of Africa, Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992, pp. 20 - 28.

38. See, for instance, Frank Yurco, "How to Teach About Ancient History: A Multicultural Approach," in Alternatives to Afrocentrism, op. cit. pp. 70 -79.

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39. See Gary A. Rendsberg, "Black Athena: The Etymological Response," Arethusa, op. cit., pp. 67 - 80.

40. See John Milne, "Politicizing of Humanities Grants Alleged," Boston Globe, 8/10/92.

41. Measure is a monthly newsletter published by the University Centers for Rational Alternatives which was founded by Sidney Hook, a left-wing Communist in the late 1920s who later became anti-Communist due to Stalin. Hook wrote Marxism: A Revolutionary Interpretation, which attempted to interpret Marx through Dewey's pragmatism. Hook was in debates with Trotsky in the late 1930s and considered himself a socialist throughout his life although he supported McCarthyism, Reagan and worked in the ultra-conservative, anti-Communist Hoover Institute in the last years of his life.

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CHAPTER VI

INCLUSION AND INDIVIDUALISM IN THE EDUCATION OF EDUCATORS:

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY VERSUS EQUAL OUTCOMES

In this chapter I will explore further some of my findings and observations concerning the obstacles to multi-cultural work. These obstacles include the ideology of individualism and how that ideology stifles the concern and blinds us from the examples of educational inequity and civil rights non-compliance. For educators, this individualistic socialization steers them away from a commitment to multi-cultural education, and a lack of knowledge about the intent and status of civil rights laws relating to education and their coinciding educational practices. After dealing with the effect of individualism in American education, I will point to some areas of concern over educational inequities with specific references to the case in some New Hampshire communities.

Let us explore how teachers are educated in a way that can create a "chilly climate" towards multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. This starts with an exposition of cross-cultural (East versus West) conceptions of the individual and individualism, including some modern day social and philosophical writings on the subjects. This review is used to support my assertion that individualism has a chokehold on the West, in general, and on the worldviews of school teachers in particular. I am going to discuss individualism as an ideology, as justification for a socio-economic system, a market system, as a supreme ethos among school teachers.

Individualism, and especially the overemphasis of individual differences in the education of educators, contributes to some educators'

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difficulty in seeing the value of multi-cultural education. Likewise, individualism can cloud the perceptions of teachers that should be paying attention to factors such as gender, race, and other differences between children in the classroom. Individualism also hinders the full development and implementation of a parallel movement related to multi-cultural education: the inclusion movement.

Individualism as a Reigning Ideology in Teacher Education

Teachers are socialized to believe that individualism is the supreme educational philosophy: many teachers who attend civil rights workshops will claim that they are "color-blind" or "sex-blind" and "treat all children the same" with complete disregard to race, ethnicity, gender, etc. Recall the comments in the survey data particularly that indicated a distaste towards question asking about cultural diversity or gender differences in the classroom. Due to this individualistic socialization, which may prove beneficial in a number of other ways in the educational setting, teachers seem to be quicker than the general public to default to this "blind" individualism. Even when confronted with research that show that characteristics like race and sex do play a role in determining the nature and effectiveness of the teacher-student relationship, teachers still will often prefer to see these biases as isolated pedagogical mistakes or curricular oversights. Teachers often insist that, for the most part, "good teachers" do not allow their perceptions or behaviors in the classroom to be influenced by those variables -- ever. Teachers' pre-occupation with individualism and individual differences blinds them to structural elements, to how the "system" works and how institutions are controlled.

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Inclusivity is a new buzz word in education, whose roots stem back to Brown v. Board of Education and Civil Rights legislation of the 1960s to Public Law 94-142 of 1975 which requires "special education" students to be educated in the "least restrictive environment." This last law issued in the age of mainstreaming, where academically deficient students (educable retarded, learning-, emotionally-, or physically-disabled) were mainstreamed into "regular" classrooms as much as possible and were "pulled-out" for special and appropriate remedial work. Although some groups like to put the best face on a difficult issue[1], others see it as a way to scale down the specialists' budget in cash-strapped school districts since special needs children will spend less and less time out of the regular classroom.

However, inclusionary thinking among educators does not come easily. The reasons for this difficulty is that both educators' socialization as "Americans" and their training as teachers are steeped in individualism. Teachers under the disguise of local control (i.e., the immediate supervision by local conservative forces in the community, forces that directly determine the year-by-year pay of teachers) seem to need to receive a steady dose of the ideology of individualism in order to be able, not fully knowingly, to carry out their national function in social reproduction, that is, in helping to recreate the approximately same class system from generation to generation. By this I am referring to the important role education plays in the creation of identity: the identity of the individual in relation to the Western capitalistic market. I shall look at how individualism is a philosophy particularly Western in nature, how individualism defines and shapes Western life, and how individualism has a particular hold on the educational institution.

Edward Said's new book, Culture and Imperialism (Knopf, 1993), explores

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how Western imperialism is ingrained throughout the history of social and cultural thought which creates and reflects the Western imagination. The Western imagination is that of the "Westward, Ho," rugged individualism. It is difficult to see that which is so close to us, so I will attempt to show how strong individualism is in the West by comparing it with the non- or anti-individualism on the East.

Certainly individualism is a particularly Western concept, although it appears that the average educator is unaware of this. One can show the Western connection to individualism by a contrast with Eastern societies such as the Chinese and the culture areas influenced by China (Japan, Korea, Vietnam, etc.) as well as by tracing individualism in Greek thought and Western philosophy. After we look at this issue, we will examine what impact the focus on individualism and individual competition versus the focus on group cooperation has on educational achievement in the comparable Eastern (Japan) and Western (U.S.) classroom.

The classical Chinese word closest to individualism is _ssu_, which has the negative connotations of selfish, secret, illicit, as well as private. In conversation in Chinese one avoids the word "I." The word "I" in classical Chinese had negative connotations of egotism also. Confucius was said to have no "I" and Mencius and others say that the sage (wise person) has "no self." In conversation one either leaves out the subject or object "I" or refers to oneself as "humble person" and to the other as "gentleperson." It is amusing to reflect on the fact that English happens to be the only Western language that capitalizes the pronoun "I". Of note as well is that self-portraits and autobiographies are quite rare in China, and even portraits are rare in comparison to the West (Bodde, 1991, pp. 285-290). In comparison, in the West,

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Plato wrote a biography of Socrates and St. Augustine wrote an autobiography in 400A.D. Many writers have noted the very strongly competitive or "agonistic" nature of Greek culture.[2] This shows up everywhere from competitive sports (in the Olympics and elsewhere) to philosophical and political modes of discourse. This competitive individualism is still a strong force in the modern consciousness.

In China members of an extended family were punished for the crime of any member of the family. According to Weber[3], the head of a peasant nuclear family did not own the land but leased it from the larger clan which owned it. In this way individual legal responsibility and property ownership were deemphasized. Individual legal responsibility is strongly emphasized in every aspect of the modern West, especially in the ethos of the U.S. (Weber, 1964, p. 89).

There are many sources of the Western concepts of individualism. One major source of individualism is in the Western concept of a mind or soul. Stevenson (1974), in his succinct yet thorough review of theories of human nature,[4] noted that in Christianity Saint Paul described individual bodily resurrection of the "spiritual body," whatever that might be. He combined the idea of the resurrection with Plato's concept of an individual spiritual soul which was immortal (Stevenson, 1974, pp. 27-41), yielding the concept of a non-material, individual soul which is immortal. In Buddhism, by contrast, the individual gets reincarnated as a lower animal or higher human depending on deeds in life. Here the goal is to escape from individuality and the wheel of reincarnation and to dissolve or annihilate the self in nirvana. In the West, Descartes took over the Platonic-Christian notion of an individual, immortal soul and combined this with modern mechanical science.

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C. B. Mac Pherson is useful in illustrating the role individualism has come to play in the justification of capitalism. In Mac Pherson's _The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: From Hobbes to Locke_ (1962), delineates a model shared by the early modern political theorists of the social contract. Hobbes starts with an atomistic, materialist, mechanical account of the physical world influenced by early modern science. This view is still evident in how science is taught and conducted today.

Locke watered down and made more morally acceptable Hobbes's ruthlessly logical and cynical portrayal of competitive individualism. Locke also denied that the "state of nature" was a "state of war" by building in this earlier, preliminary social contract. However Locke retained the conception of the individual and his possessive pursuit of economic property, the "possessive individualism" of McPherson's ideal type or model. In fact by defining the individual in terms of a spiritual mind, not a physical body, as did Hobbes, Locke strengthens theoretically the purity of the individualism even while morally soothing those shocked by Hobbes's open portrayal of competitive individualism as human nature. Locke then had great influence on the _Declaration of Independence_ and on the thoughts of the Founding Fathers.

The American philosopher Elijah Jordan in his _Forms of Individuality_ describes several different notions of individuality. His analysis is summarized in an elementary form in _Corporate Society and Education_ by George Barnett and Jack Otis. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961, pp. 50 - 82). Jordan distinguishes three concepts of individuality. These are: 1) individuality as distinctness, 2) individuality as content, and, 3) individuality as intent. The first and simplest conception of individuality as distinctness is

perhaps the commonest, and most inadequate one. This notion of distinctness is based on atomism and reductionism. The individual is thought of as a kind of "bare particular", bare in the sense of being a featureless individual without qualities or relationships. The individual is a sort of atom. This notion goes according to Jordan with a notion of brute facts or atomic facts. The world for Descartes, Locke, Newton, and many other major progressive thinkers of the of the seventeenth century is a system of individual atoms and souls. This has greatly influenced the contemporary consciousness about individuality and individualism.

Elijah Jordan is quite explicit in linking his conception of individual as distinctness to the Christian conception of the soul, and because of his opposition to this conception of the individual, he is contemptuous of Christianity's function, not on building institutions or collectivities but of saving souls one at a time. (p. 54). Jordan also notes and criticizes Herbert Spencer's use of the later 18th and 19th century conception of the atom as the point center of force in his development of a theory of the psychological self to correspond to the atomistic conception (p. 56).

Jordan notes that the featureless, contentless, individuals are all the same, since they do include their qualities or relations, which are external additions (p. 57). Each individual is a "law unto itself" and is exalted as of "infinite worth" by Christianity and philosophy. This Lockean conception of the individual fits well with the American liberal educational emphasis on treating all students as the same and being (or more likely pretending to be) blind to the race, gender, physical challenge or whatever of the particular student as irrelevant to "treating them as individuals not members of a group." Educators have taken on this concept of the individual: a student is defined not

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by generally immutable characteristics like sex, race, or class, but rather by the individuality of the intellect and the personality.

The American ideology of individualism confuses self-absorption, self-centeredness, and selfishness, with _individuality_ as uniqueness to be respected. This is a distinction made by de Tocqueville, and the confusion is key to American political culture (Khleif, 1992). In contemporary consciousness, individualism is linked with separateness, privatization, and isolation, even as it provides the backdrop of our educational views and practices. Individualism may be viewed as a distracting ideology that helps allow us to continue to avoid the examination of the structural considerations of inequality.

Now let us move back to the educational arena and see how teachers -- particularly elementary teachers -- are so indoctrinated with the ideology of individualism. Their suspicion of educational theory and practice that focuses on difference makes them reject the structural approach in multi-cultural analysis. The reader may recall from the educator survey and from some of the interviews how often the claim of "we treat 'em all the same" was heard in response to racial, ethnic, and gender differences, and how these differences were manifest in teacher-student interactions, in school climate, and in achievement outcomes. Recall particularly the angry teacher who responded to my questioning racial-ethnic demographics in the classroom with the statement: "It is exactly this kind of question which prevents cultural unity!!"

By contrast, Japanese education encourages group work with collective effort, where the ultimate outcome is the high degree of sociability of the child. There is less emphasis on correct answers and individual recognition, individual self-esteem, and ego development. Parental involvement in not just

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a buzz word in Japan: the "education mom" stays home to oversee the children's nightly homework assignment and guides them through "test hell." Note that in spite of the traditional role of the mother in Japanese society, Japan produces over twice as high a percentage of females with Ph.D.s in the sciences as does the U.S. Japanese parents have direct and frequent communication through weekly if not daily notes from and to themselves and their children's teachers.

This discussion leads us to the phenomenon of the "color-blinded" or "gender-blinded" educator who, by ignoring and avoiding any analysis about the way sex and race structure our lives, is able to believe that these differences are of so little significance in the classroom that the educator does a service for children by being "blind" to differences. Jane Roland Martin in The Schoolhome (1992, pp. 116-117) notes that the myth of "gender blindness" makes us not focus on gender in educational initiatives and reforms. The same case can be made for "race neutrality" and the triumph of absolutist individualism in the classroom.

Robert Bellah, et al., discusses in Habits of the Heart (1987) the anti-democratic and anti-civility consequences of the evaluation of individualism as the archetypical American virtue: why we have "so 'withdrawn into the circle of family and friends' that we have finally become 'shut up in the solitude of (our) own heart(s)'"? In other words, has the individualism that Tocqueville observed with anxiety become so all-pervasive that we are no longer citizens?"[5] Bellah et al. distinguishes between "genuine pluralism" and "spurious pluralism": the latter essentially involves the expressing of individualism. Bellah et al. recognize that the "belief that we are all unique....is a basic tenet of American individualism." The authors continue

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(1987, pp. 6-7):

> The assertion of pluralism therefore can be merely an expression of our basic individualism rather than the recognition of genuine cultural difference, concerning, among other things, individualism itself. Differences arising from gender, skin color...or language cannot automatically be assumed to correlate with a tangible pluralism. If persons different in these respects share the attitudes and practices of the white middle class, then no genuine pluralism is involved.

This confusion of individualism with pluralism causes some teachers, so steeped in individualism as to be blind to the consequences of cultural difference, to be antagonistic and suspicious of multi-cultural education efforts. Sociologists need to pay renewed attention to the "culture of professionalism"[6] where the education and training of the careered teacher honors individualism -- for themselves as well as their "clients" (students) -- above all else.

In this section, I have made a case for the notion that a strongly developed sense of individualism is most evident in teachers. This comes from the Western theories of human nature and the scientific worldview of mechanism: both of these are part of the socialization of the teacher. Although this sense of individualism might be beneficial in some regards in the classroom, it also can lead to teachers ignoring the impact of multi-cultural issues like race and sex in the educational process. Teachers so steeped in Western individualism can become not just nonchalant towards structural considerations, but also antagonistic. This is one result of employing individualism as a justification for capitalism, for a competitive market economy.

Teachers, like other average U.S. citizens, are sometimes unaware that civil rights protections in education only guarantee equal opportunity. These

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laws do not concern themselves with equal outcomes. A review of the state of affairs for the three areas of civil rights protection, for sex, race, and national origin minority students, will show that there are many persistent areas of unequal, educational outcomes, or results. This casts the focus on equal educational opportunity only in a somewhat superficial light.

I will start first with an overview of the concerns of civil rights laws and their effects in the educational arena, then cover some of the issues of race equity, sex equity, then national origin equity.

Equal Opportunity versus Equal Outcomes in Education: Race Equity

Here I will undertake a brief socio-historical analysis of the civil rights legislation on education and how it came to be that federal tax-payer funds are financing multi-cultural education in spite of controversy. In turn, I will also review the state of affairs for each part of the Holy Trinity of the 1964 Civil Rights Act: race, sex, and national origin. I will specifically address the status of compliance with civil rights laws in each area and give some examples of multi-cultural instructional methods and curricular issues associated with each area. This section will explore the intersections between the goals of equal opportunity, the status of equal outcomes, and the strange, ironic dualism in education attempting to embody cultural pluralism while still largely ignoring the nature of oppression.

The main civil rights legislation this century was the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This coalesced some of the notions in Supreme Court decisions such as Brown v. Board of Education in Topeka, Kansas in 1954, and in other laws such as the Equal Pay Act of 1963. The overarching principle was that of the virtue of segregation. Whether related to sex, race, or national origin, the issue was

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to overturn the "separate but equal" ideology in effect since the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson decision. The Plessy decision was about the right for Blacks to ride on the railroad, especially since the railroad was federally subsidized. The idea of having "separate but equal" railroad cars was applied to the educational system as well, thus justifying "separate" schooling for Black and White students that was presumably "equal" although in practice it fell far short of that goal. For 58 long years, "separate but equal" was accepted as a just, American principle until it was challenged by Brown v. Board of Education. It is hard to imagine what effect that had on American consciousness, and what effect it still has.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act had provisions for both the workplace and educational settings. Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act is the administrative piece that allows Congress to fund a newly formed federal Office for Civil Rights and mandates that state educational agencies (usually State Departments of Education) set up an office to be federally funded to help schools stay in compliance with civil rights laws pertaining to education. (In New Hampshire, this office is the Equal Educational Opportunity Office.) This law also allowed for the establishment of the Equal Educational Opportunity Commission (the federal office previously chaired by Supreme Court Justice Thomas Clarence) and state level agencies (called the Human Rights Commission for New Hampshire) to enforce civil rights laws in the workplace and to investigate allegations of discrimination.

Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act specifically prohibits discrimination in education on the basis of race and national origin, but did not include sex. Title VII specifically prohibits discrimination in the workplace on the basis of sex, race, and national origin. Although "sex" was listed in the preamble of

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Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, it was not acknowledged as a protected category for students.[7] The Educational Amendments of 1972 included Title IX that, finally, specifically prohibited sex discrimination in educational institutions that received federal funds.

It is important in this discussion for the reader to remember that civil rights protection in schools for students of color had an eight year headstart over such protection on the basis of gender. It is also important to realize how underfunded civil rights enforcement efforts are: a total of $14 million dollars is allocated annually for the entire country, including all federal and state agencies and offices, for supplying technical assistance and training to help schools stay in compliance with civil rights laws and for the investigation and enforcement of such laws by the Office of Civil Rights. Consider, in comparison, that we spend $300 billion on defense annually. Also, know that in 1980 Reagan eliminated 90% of the jobs in the Office of Civil Rights, and the "skeleton crew" has not been fleshed back out since. There is a three-year backlog in the Office of Civil Rights for cases they are already deemed worthy of investigation.

How are these civil rights laws related to multi-culturalism and what is the status of the compliance with such laws, both nationally and in New Hampshire? These are the issues for the remainder of this chapter.

Serow (1983, pp. 93-94) argues that the move towards cultural pluralism has been determined in no small part by federal law policies relating to education, specifically the authorization of federal funds for bilingual education, Indian education, desegregation assistance (such as 1964 Civil Rights Act and 1972 Elementary and Secondary Education Act). Serow notes the trend has been determined as well by crucial Supreme Court decisions such as

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Lau v. Nichols in 1974, which requires states to provide an extra and appropriate educational curriculum and instructional strategies to ensure equal education for non-English speaking students. To some degree, state departments of education have been providing some kind of multi-cultural education since the mid-1970s in response to federal law and Supreme Court decisions (p. 94).

There have been some gains. Mullis[8] notes that from 1970 through the 1980s the achievement gap between African-American students and Whites closed by half. However, this accomplishment was measured solely on proficiency of basic thinking skills, not advanced thinking skills. In addition, since the late 1980s even this gap has started to widen again. Nevertheless, even with the dismantling of the Office for Civil Rights by Reagan and the increase of alienation and disillusionment during the decade of the 1980s and the increase of racial tension, the numbers of African-Americans who were enrolled in college increased by 10% and, for Hispanics, by 61%. However, there is still a huge gap in the academic achievement between White students and students of color, and an ideology that persists of sociobiological racism that always keeps the question of inferior intelligence between the races an open one.

"The problems of educational inequity are not problems which arise as a consequence of some defect in a particular population," according to sociologist Asa Hilliard III (1984, p. 114). Educational inequity is inextricably linked to the structure of oppression, which is justified by the naming of some cultural, racial, or other "marker" to distinguish and explain away the differences between those who receive quality education and those who receive less than that. He says, "once oppression commences, an elaborate

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system of 'coding' usually develops which enables an oppressor to hide motivations, to deny feelings, and to divert attention and energies from a solution to real human problems. Entire populations may be deluded and misled for years. For example, the history and culture of colonized or dominated people is usually destroyed or distorted. This enables an oppressor to hold a view of the oppressed which will justify self-serving interventions by the oppressor. It also serves the function of confusing the oppressed group regarding its own identity and resources, thus limiting its ability to respond to oppression. The world view and cultural information of the oppressed group is manipulated, and truth becomes a scarce commodity" (p. 114).

There has never been a theory of oppression central in any educational theory. Hilliard sees this as the greatest drawback to educational theory at large. It is suggested by him that this absence serves to hide the oppression itself.

According to a publication called Civil Rights Update published by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (May/June 1993 issue) the Commission held public hearings for three days in June on increased racial and ethnic tensions in the city of Los Angeles. Interestingly, no educators were listed among the speakers and no educational issues, directly, were on the agenda. The hearings focused on community relations, on minority business development, and on the influence of television and news media portrayal of L.A. during the Rodney King riots.

However, a majority of the public feels that educational equity is a worthy goal. In 1987, 80% of Gallup Poll respondents backed the U.S. government's "(promotion of) educational programs intended to help solve such social problems as poverty and unequal opportunities for minorities,

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women, and the handicapped." (Phi Delta Kappan, September 1987, pp. 23, "The 19th Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools") Interestingly, this same question was not asked on later Phi Delta Kappan annual polls that I checked, so we cannot see how the worsening economy since 1987 might have changed people's minds. In general, I have noticed that educational equity is supported in theory as a worthy concept and social goal but the practices are often largely suspect.

Court decisions have systematically weakened the protections against discrimination given by the Civil Rights laws passed in the 1960s. The 1989 Supreme Court decision Wards Cove v. Antonio has made it much harder for employees to prove job discrimination and has discouraged lawyers from litigating job discrimination cases, by giving in to business concerns on the contention that some forms of "unintentional discrimination" are for "business necessity" and are therefore not culpable as violations of Civil Rights laws.[9] This trend is evident in school-related enforcement of anti-discrimination laws as well: according to OCR officials from Washington, D.C., the Office of Civil Rights has only one-tenth the number of employees that it did in 1980. This has resulted in a three-year average backlog of cases to be investigated, and increasingly students, teachers, and school officials have complained that "OCR doesn't do anything."

Another strategy to facilitate desegregation -- the magnet school -- has not lived up to expectations[10] yet they continue to be funded at a relatively high rate. The magnet school concept was developed in response to the difficulties of the busing strategy to desegregate schools. Magnet schools were to help and encourage desegregation by drawing on a variety (read: racial-, cultural-, and linguistic-minorities) of students from across the geographical

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region of a district into a specialized school. The specialization -- such as that in the arts or in the sciences -- was to act as a "magnet" to entice White students into Black neighborhood schools and vice versa. Part of the current congressional debates over the re-authorization of the Elementary and Secondary school Act (EASA) is a move to require magnet school applicants to show how they will avoid "(creating) another kind of segregation within a school" due to research that shows the racial isolation and racial tracking which occurs even within a school designed to avoid segregation.[11]

Gary Orfield, a Harvard professor with a long history in Civil Rights issues back to Brown v. Board of Education, has recently released a study showing that racial segregation is worse than it has been in thirty years: more Blacks and Hispanics attend schools with predominately students of color than at any time since the mid-1960s.[12] This raises the question: have school desegregation laws worked? Obviously not, says George Will speaking on Washington Week in Review. Obviously they have, according to rebuttals to Will where the irony (and the evidence) is pointed out that schools are now the least segregated in the South where racial hatred and legally enforced segregation was the strongest. In 1993, segregation is worse in the Northeast, followed by the West and Mid-west parts of the country.

Orfield calls for increased enforcement of Civil Rights laws and believes that the 1972 Emergency School Aid Act (abolished by Reagan in 1981) which authorized federal funding to aid districts implement their desegregation plans should be revived. He notes correctly (in School Law News, December 17, 1993, p. 4) that Title IV Civil Rights technical assistance funds, magnet schools funds, and funding for the Office of Civil Rights together are much smaller and less effective than was the Emergency School Aid Act. Orfield calls for

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adequate funding of Chapter 1 for the economically disadvantaged since students of color are disproportionately represented among the ranks of Chapter 1 eligible students.

Yet, the current schema for the re-authorization of Chapter 1 calls for relaxed restriction in Chapter 1 eligibility determination which would steer funds away from poor, urban school. This is "blaming the victim", according to Michael Casserly, the Director of the School Boards Association. This is interesting, since the federales of the Education Department stress that the goals of the re-authorization of EASA are exactly to "promote equality...and equity issues" (School Law News, December 17, 199, p. 4). Indeed, one of the proposed amendments to EASA is to require applicants for federal funding to show how they plan to "overcome barriers for minorities, women, disabled students and others in danger is being discriminated against." Yet another goal of the re-authorization is to "help schools avoid costly Civil Rights legislation." It is unclear whether the latter goal in different from the former goals which assure equity.

Consider the recent report from the American Bar Association's Presidential Working Group on the Unmet Legal Needs of Children and their Families called "America's Children at Risk: A National Agenda for Legal Action" (A.B.A., July 1993, pp. 31). The report recommends the elimination of racial and gender discrimination. The report notes that "children of color often suffer the double indignities of poor quality schools and blatant racial discrimination. Studies and court cases reveal that teachers and other school personnel are more likely to discipline, expel, or suspend minority students. Courts have specifically found that minority students were treated more harshly than whites when accused of similar misconduct." Further, a 1986

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study by the Department of Education is quoted in the A.B.A. report showed that though African-Americans comprised 16% of the national public school enrollment, they constituted 30% of suspended students and 31% of students subjected to corporal punishment at school. Further, teachers consistently expect less from minority students, disproportionately assign them to special education classes, and they unnecessarily steer them toward vocational education."

The most telling anecdote about the state of race relations in New Hampshire comes from the attempts at anti-racist training by one of the largest cities (and largest school districts) along the Southern tier. During a meeting with the superintendent and his three assistant superintendents (all four white males, of course) to discuss the increase of racial hostility noted among both students and teachers in their schools, they decided to devote some substantial monies towards anti-racism work. I suggested a trainer from Massachusetts by whom I had been trained and who had worked in two other New Hampshire communities -- mostly all White and wealthy.

As expected from my experience with her, this trainer had received the highest evaluations from the two previous teacher workshops that my office had ever seen. Comments were, for example (paraphrased), "I am a twenty-year teaching veteran and this is the best workshop I have ever attended," and like, "I would go anywhere to hear (this trainer) lecture on any topic." The school district in question took me up on my recommendation and secured the trainer for two days of training: one for all middle-school teachers and another for all high-school teachers. Her daily fee of $600.00 was quite reasonable considering the quality and the effect she had on people towards examining their own racism and in encouraging Whites to become allies with

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Blacks against racism.

This trainer spent the day with the middle-school teachers, and sent the check back for the high-school teacher training. With the check, she enclosed a letter to the superintendent with a letter copied to me at the EEO Office. In it, she noted that she had been doing professional anti-racist work for ten years and had conducted over 3000 workshops yet she had never had anywhere near as negative and hostile an experience as she had in New Hampshire. She suggested, given the animosity and hatred expressed at her from almost her first words, that if the district still wished to conduct this kind of training to find a qualified White male. The other descriptions of the workshop she later told me over the phone were all horrifying: New Hampshire teachers said things that, as the trainer said, she had not heard since she listened to White KKK members talk and spit at her in Mississippi in the early 1960s when she worked for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

This, unfortunately, typifies the state of race relations in New Hampshire more than it does not. Last year, a third grade Black student, adopted in an all-White community in central New Hampshire, was called a "dumb nigger" by the elementary music teacher after he misbehaved in class. Although it was said quietly to his face in the hall, two other passing students were witnesses who heard it, one asking her parents at the dinner table that night if "it is nice to called somebody a 'nigger'?"

According to the parent of the boy, the teacher was caught in a lie told in her denial of the incident in a meeting with the principal. The principal, who reportedly took copious notes, has claimed not to remember the meeting very well and at first said he did not take any notes of the confrontational

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meeting then told my office (and the Office for Civil Rights) that they notes had inadvertently been thrown away. The superintendent has supported the principal's "investigation" which showed no evidence that the incident had taken place. The two student witnesses have never been questioned, and the superintendent told me that although it was "horrible" if the teacher had called the boy that name that it needed to be understood that this particular community was "traditional" and "not very used to people of color yet." It was difficult to be very sympathetic.

Today there are approximately 13,000 African-Americans living in New Hampshire, with the heaviest populations being in Manchester, Nashua, and Portsmouth respectively. The state began keeping such statistics in 1990, one of the last states in the nation to try to determine how many racial and ethnic minorities it had. Through my work, I continue to hear horror stories from people of color, Blacks especially, about their experiences of living in the "Deep North" of New Hampshire. I like to hope that New Hampshire is moving away from the sentiments of William Loeb (of The Union Leader), shared by one of the teachers I interviewed, to "keep them out -- New Hampshire has enough of them." Unfortunately, however, incidents such as those experienced by Nashua in their attempt to address virulent racism show that the backlash might indeed increase as New Hampshire demographics continue to change and the state continues to be economically depressed.

Now let us turn to the contentious issue of sex equity in the schools.

Equal Opportunity versus Equal Outcomes in Education: Sex Equity

The American Bar Association's Presidential Working Group on the Unmet Legal Needs of Children and their Families issued a report (named above

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in the discussion on race equity) that also mentions some gender issues from a 1986 study by the Department of Education (A.B.A., July 1993, pp. 32-33). "Studies show that teachers frequently have lower expectations of girls than boys, particularly in science and math classes, that schools do not provide equal opportunities to girls, and that girls suffer sexual abuse by students and faculty alike." "Existing federal laws and regulations require states to ensure school districts do not subject students to discrimination. But the Department of Education, which enforces these laws at the federal level, has been notably lax in doing so."

The schooling as well as the context for schooling (the school climate) regarding females makes another area where ostensible equal opportunity does not result in equal outcomes. Parrot (1991) says that "based on studies around the country -- the largest involving 6,000 students -- it looks like roughly 20-25% of college students have been victims of attempted or completed sexual assault." Rape and sexual harassment crisis centers, security lighting, mandatory Freshman training in acquaintance or "date" rape...all are new to college campuses during the last 10-15 years.

Roiphe, a 25 year old Princeton graduate student, says that the problem is exaggerated. In a negative critique of contemporary feminism, she claims that contrary to belief that a "rape crisis" exists on campus, the real crisis is that the emphasis on date rape and sexual assault has created a "culture of fear and mutual suspicion between the sexes" where the harmless "typical males" are all depicted as potential rapists. Although her work has received wide acclaim, upon examination it is clear how superficial her knowledge of women's issues (including sexual assault) are: she mainly relies on newspaper reports and anecdotes to refute the peer-reviewed findings of large, national

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studies on issues of date- or acquaintance-rape on college campuses.

As much as racism is skirted as an issue to reckon with in educational magazines, sexism is even more ignored. What seems to be most avoided is the association of racism with sexism as sharing some underlying principles and social effects. Amott[13] believes the economic issues for women in the workforce and their demands for equal educational opportunity are even more inflammatory than the state of race relations. Amott reviews the literature on the resistance by White males to the encroachment of Blacks and women upon the White male labor market privilege. Amott argues that this privilege has been fought for harder and harder since the reappearance of the falling rate of profit in the early 1970s.

Nineteen ninety-three was the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Equal Pay Act, which required equal pay for equal work. Nonetheless, "women have little to celebrate", according to The Wall Street Journal (June 9, 1993), as they still make only 70 cents for every dollar that men make, according the 1991 median annual wage data from the Census Bureau. That figure is up only a dime from 1963, which at that rate will take over another one-hundred years to achieve pay parity. The disparity between men and women's incomes increases with the average pay, so that while female secretaries make over 90% of what male secretaries do, female doctors and lawyers make about 70% of what men do and female financial managers make about 60% of what their male counterparts do (Bureau of Labor Statistics).

Although the critics of political correctness like to argue that mere words and images do not matter (or hurt) and quickly run to an absolutist defense of free speech, a study by Malcolm Ritter shows that perhaps we need a few more "language police" in educational institutions. Ritter reports on

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research by graduate students in psychology at Boston University where sexist jokes before college classes changed students' perceptions of female teachers. College students (both male and female) who had watched videos of comedians making sex stereotyped jokes about women before going to a college lecture given by a female instructor were more likely to rate the instructor stereotypically and as less competent than did students who had seen videos without the sex stereotyped jokes.[14]

George Will has editorialized about the "recently radicalized" American Association of University Women (AAUW). (Note that the AAUW annual conference crowd was <u>overwhelmingly</u> white, upper-middle class, moderately liberal-conservative). Will criticizes the myths of "gothic feminism" which presents all men as predators and all women as prey, and blames for AAUW for perpetrating this myth. Will's denouncement appears largely an attempt to discredit the AAUW's latest research findings. In 1992, The American Association of University Women released a major research report on issues of gender and education entitled <u>How Schools Shortchange Girls</u>, which focused much more on how females and issues important to the lives of females are ignored in the classroom as well as in the overall school climate. There was nothing to be found on the topic of "all men as predators" in the text of this report.

Although the AAUW was monied enough to publish and widely distribute a glossy report with fancy charts which garnered press attention from most major newspapers and network television, the most important thing about the report is not to be found within its covers. There was essentially nothing new about the data: educational and social science research for upwards of twenty years have showed the same patterns of educational

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inequality in the educational experiences of females. For instance, research on sex equity in education had published results decades ago (such as Sadker's work on sexism in schools in 1973) which showed that classroom teachers systematically were less encouraging to girls in the classroom than to boys. Filmed, and now videotaped, observations of classroom interaction patterns used in teacher training programs such as Gender Expectations and Student Achievement (G.E.S.A., developed by Dee Gray) since the mid-1970s have confirmed such research. The findings by G.E.S.A. have consistently supported their initial observations that more attention, both positive and negative, was given to boys, that boys were called on an average of eight times more often than girls, and when boys needed help more detailed instruction and motivational efforts were employed but when girls needed help the answer was provided for them by the teacher much more often than boys, etc.

Sex equity research (like that of the Sadkers, 1994) has all found that high-achieving females get the least amount of classroom attention from the teacher, with increasingly more attention paid to low-achieving girls, low-achieving boys, and the most amount of attention paid, on average, to high-achieving boys. This, as the philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce would say, has the "ring of truth" for me. As a high-achieving female in K-12 schools, I, along with similar females, were rewarded for sitting quietly and not causing trouble for the teacher by disrupting classroom disruption and demanding attention. This finding that high-achieving females are ignored the most, and that the most attention is paid to high-achieving males, is particularly sobering, even shocking, to many teachers. While girls are praised for being quiet and docile "good workers" and for "looking pretty," boys are more likely to be praised for their intelligence.

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Given the recent publication and press attention given to How Schools Shortchange Girls, I was interested in what classroom teachers thought and asked questions about it on the survey. Although the Equal Educational Opportunity Office had experienced an increase in requests for technical assistance and training on the issues of gender and classroom teacher-student interaction patterns, most teachers (approximately 80%) in the survey either fail or refuse to acknowledge the ways in which girls are "shortchanged" by education. The experiences and culture of females are conceptualized as "the Other" as much as are the experiences and culture of racial and ethnic populations. In this sense, I advocate the inclusion of gender-fair or gender-balanced educational efforts within the umbrella of multi-cultural educational efforts.

However, all hope for sex equity is not lost, even in these times of tightening budgets, when addressing equity issues is all too often seen as a luxury. According to the National Coalition for Sex Equity in Education (NCSEE) newsletter (Vol. 92-93, No. 4, June) on April 21, 1993 the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues (CCWI), among other legislative groups, joined forces to introduce the Gender Equity in Education Act (HR 1793). Responding largely to the (at last) indisputable facts on sex inequity in schooling synthesized by the AAUW report,, the set of bills which comprise this act are intended to put federal resources into eliminating gender bias in schools. However, the AAUW report does not ask the crucial question: why is none of this data new? Why has gender equity been ignored or glossed over? It appears that the AAUW report is a liberal attempt to provide some gentle, apolitical appeal to mainstream politicians and federal education officials to encouragement legislation. Certainly if the current Gender Equity Bill is passed by Congress,

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the AAUW group can take a considerable measure of the credit for bringing this issue to the forefront.

The bills include requests to re-build and expand the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA) and to establish an Office of Women's Equity in the Department of Education. Since the passage of WEEA in 1974, its funding has shrunk from $10 Million down to $500,000 a year during the Reagan regime, until Bush cut all funding of WEEA programming except for the continuance of a clearinghouse. Susan Faludi in Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women (1991, pp. 259-263) discusses how WEEA staff were eliminated in the early 1980s and the office re-staffed by Reagan who put ultra-Right Phyllis Schlafly in charge. Later, Bush cut all funding of WEEA, the only federal program designed specifically to increase gender equity in education (through small grants to teacher-directed and field-tested projects). Faludi notes that the Association of American Colleges said WEEA was "one of the most cost-effective programs in government." It was a top target for the Heritage Foundation and other Right-wing organizations.

Other gender equity bills pending involve the development of strategies to eliminate sexual harassment in the schools, to provide for equity training for teachers and other school personnel by permitting schools to use school improvement funds for such training, reserving 25% of the funding of dropout prevention programs to target pregnant and parenting teens, efforts to increase girls' achievement and participation in science and math, and a bill requiring colleges and universities to disclose their expenditures on men's and women's athletics. This legislation is necessary, as American Association of University Women Executive Director Anne Bryant wrote, "The education reform debate has had a major vacuum, and that vacuum has been the issues of

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women and girls" (<u>School Law News</u>, September 24, 1993, p. 2).

This legislation was inspired, in great part, by the AAUW report. However, many school officials have either never heard of the findings, dispute the historically-proven reliability and validity of the findings, and take personal offense that they and their teachers might be giving less intellectual encouragement to girls than boys; or they are simply not interested. What would be the response if reliable and valid research could be illustrated that within our corporation structure we were losing over 50% of its work force or that 50% of the employees were performing with far less with far less than their potential? That's what is undeniably happening in schools today, with a fairly nonchalant response. There is little mention in the literature about the change in the standard story of boys being good in math and girls being the good readers. Now, boys are better in girls in <u>both</u> math and reading, according to standardized test scores.

As I mentioned, Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 prohibits sex discrimination in programs receiving federal funds. Its history has been checkered and challenged and is generally poorly understood by educators and poorly monitored by the enforcement wing of the U.S. Department of Education, the Office for Civil Rights. There has been a recent exception to this lack of monitoring in the area of sexual harassment primarily due to changes occurred by the 1991 Civil Rights Restoration Act and Supreme Court Decisions. Throughout the 1980s Title IX was rendered almost useless due to a 1982 Supreme Court decision, <u>Grove City versus Bell</u>, that held that private and parochial schools did not have to comply with Title IX in all their programs if the only programs that received federal funds were in school lunch and special education.

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This decision was overturn when President George Bush signed the 1991 Civil Rights Restoration Act, reaffirming that all schools had to comply with Title IX in all its programs and confirming that school districts could be held legally liable under Title IX for sex discrimination. As well, the Civil Rights Restoration Act changed specific dimensions of sexual harassment cases, allowing for the first time the awarding of punitive and compensatory damages and jury trials.

Nineteen ninety-two was the first year that there were any large, national, and statistically-significant studies on the issue of sexual harassment in schools. There were two such reports in 1992. First was Secrets in Public: Sexual Harassment in Public (and Private) Schools, authored by Nan Stein of the Wellesley Center for Research on Women and funded by both the Center and Seventeen Magazine. This report was criticized by George Will as irrelevant since it was conducted by feminists who surely manipulated the data to produce a large amount of reported sexual harassment in schools. The American Association of University Women (AAUW), probably taking the criticisms of George Will and others to heart, decided to have the Louis Harris pollsters conduct the research for Hostile Hallways, the second report on sexual harassment in the schools. Even though you cannot get much more White Male than Louis Harris, George Will again dismissed the findings because the research was funded by feminists!

Among the findings from Hostile Hallways is that 81% of students (both male and female) report some experience of sexual harassment in school. The reported rate for females of variously described sexual behaviors that might constitute sexual harassment is consistently higher than for males, but only from about 5% to 20% more. The research from Secrets in Public was more

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qualitative. The data consisted of 3000 females (and 20 males), ages 11 to 19, who answered by mail a survey on sexual harassment in the schools in Seventeen Magazine. The behaviors, scrawled in often still childish handwriting with pleas to "help them" and "open immediately" written on the envelopes, are horrific. When confronted with just a small sample of what these students wrote, even the most sexist of superintendents or principals become contemplative, at least, if not supportive.

The survey responses from Secrets in Public include: a 15 year old from Illinois who described how she felt when a teacher asked her to sit in the front row because she made "such a nice ornament" with her "pretty legs;" an 11 year old from California who described headaches and psychological troubles after several boys would not stop sending her "disgusting, perverted notes;" a 16 year old from Georgia who described how she had been pulled into the boys' bathrooms...and ordered to (perform oral sex on them); a 14 year old from Hawaii who said she has been called "slut" and a "ho" (for whore) "every day for the past two years...condoms have been thrown at me...I don't know what I did to deserve this...I felt sad, mad, hurt, dirty and cheap..., and, a 14 year old from New Hampshire who vividly described being groped sexually (including in the genitals) in school by the same male for "three years now, and it really hurts me, and it makes me feel like I'm a bad person, or that I'm no good and deserve what I get." This New Hampshire respondent wrote that "it shouldn't be happening to anyone, it breaks your soul and brings you down mentally and physically." Although most of these reports were student-to-student, many sickening stories were told about teacher-to-student sexual harassment as well as behaviors which seem more like sexual assault. Time and time again, the respondents stated to the effect that "a teacher was right there and saw it

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all and did not do anything."

Part of the controversy over the issue of sexual harassment has to do with contentions over how it is defined: exactly what are the behaviors that might constitute sexual harassment? The official federal definition, from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission[15] is twofold: first, there is quid pro quo sexual harassment, which literally means "this for that." Quid pro quo harassment was the only kind acknowledged by the federal government until 1980. This form of harassment is generally considered the worst sort. It is where one (usually a male supervisor) holds out job security, a job promotion, a raise, or other clear economic benefits, in exchange for sexual favors or in exchange for the allowance of sexual behavior.

It is the second level of sexual harassment definition that has stirred so much controversy: the so-called "hostile environment" clause. This clause was added in 1980 by the EEOC. The EEOC defines it as "conduct that has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work (or school) performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work (or school) environment." Sexual behavior has to meet several criteria for it to be considered sexual harassment for both the quid pro quo type as well as the "hostile environment" type. The behavior must be unwelcome, sexual in nature, and, particularly in the case of "hostile environment", repeated.

Neither the EEOC, the state-level Human Rights Commission, nor the Office of Civil Rights (which investigates such complaints in schools) will entertain accusations of hostile environment sexual harassment unless it is repeated. This fact -- largely unknown to the many men who believe that a woman can slap a federal lawsuit against him for the slightest infraction -- goes some ways in protecting the due process rights of the accused. This

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definition has been fleshed out through Supreme Court decisions on the subject that sexual behavior which is repeated to a degree that a reasonable person would find it offensive.

Some state courts, including New Hampshire, have followed the precedent set up the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in California who now use the "reasonable woman" standard. As recently as 1993, in deciding in the favor of the complainant in a work-based sexual harassment case, the New Hampshire Supreme Court in their decision wrote that they were also following the "reasonable woman" precedent. This is impressive if one considers how the New Hampshire Supreme Court has never been known as a great supporter of civil rights.

The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals argued that the "reasonable person" standard was too often interpreted as the "reasonable man" standard, and the court believed that since females were disproportionately the targets of the whole gamut of sexual crimes: child sexual abuse, date rape, domestic violence, etc., that it was understandable that females would fear even minor sexual harassment more than a man would, as it might escalate to sexual assault. It has also been reaffirmed by several Supreme Court decisions that sexual harassment is viewed from the eyes of the receiver of the behavior, not the giver. Although there is a sizable sector of the U.S. population that either does not understand the laws around sexual harassment or else disagree with them, those are the current facts of the matter.

Schools are finally waking up to the issue of sexual harassment since the ignoring of it now has powerful legal (read: economic) consequences. School districts can be held legally culpable for sexual harassment, even if they did not know about it, if a student or employee can prove that they wanted

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to complain about sexual harassment, but did not know who to go to or how to file a grievance. Basically, schools are "sitting ducks" if they do not have a user-friendly and widely publicized sexual harassment policy and grievance procedures. The Franklin decision was heralded by School Law News as the first successful test case of the 1991 Civil Rights Restoration Act that confirmed that that students are protected against sexual harassment, as a form of sex discrimination, under Title IX, and that school districts could be held liable.

In Georgia, the student Christine Franklin, in Franklin v. Gwinnett City Public School, won a $300,000 settlement by the U.S. Supreme Court in March of 1992. The student had notified school authorities that the coach was trying to entice her into sexual activity. The principal interviewed the coach once (who denied it, of course) and decided the student had falsified the report. By the next year, the coach had successfully talked the student into entering into a sexual relationship with him, and had sex several times on and off school grounds before being caught by another teacher. The decision verified that schools can be held liable if they "knew or should have know" of sexual harassment and did not take proper corrective action.

In another case in Minneapolis, Jill Olson v. Independent School District #112, the plaintiff, a student, was awarded $40,000, since school officials took a nonchalant attitude towards sexual explicit graffiti written about her in the school's bathroom and her complaint (joined by those of other females) about a circulating list of female names ranked in order of "f--k ability." Although Olson had documentation which showed she complained several times, school officials failed to act and/or their actions were ineffective.

Whether it is $40,000 or $300,000, that is a great deal of money for cash-strapped school districts to come up with. Hence, even those administrators

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who feel that "boys will be boys" and girls should just "live with it" are dusting off old and ineffective policies on sexual harassment and making them accessible and publicized. They also conduct more regular training for staff and students on the topic. Unfortunately, too often sexual harassment issues are considered only as female's or, worse, as feminist issues. In the approximately 40 sexual harassment trainings I conducted just in the last year alone, I am quick to point out that many boys (and their parents) at any given time just in New Hampshire who are very happy that sexual harassment laws have been tightened up. Sex discrimination laws protect both males and females in the schools, although the great percentage of cases (95% according to the EEOC) are from male to female.

Lastly, I try to help dispel any anti-male or anti-sex sentiments in my trainings. If we understanding sexual harassment to be about power -- the inappropriate abuse of power, that is -- and not about sex, and we take into account that almost all positions of power are still held by men in our society, we can argue that discussions about sexual harassment with either teachers or students is not about naming "bad" men and "good" women. To prove this point, I have both Equal Employment Opportunity Commission research, Department of Labor's Women's Bureau research, and anecdotal evidence from New Hampshire showing that as a few more token females break through the glass ceiling and obtain positions of authority and leadership, they are increasingly named as sexual harassment perpetrators in the workplace!

Beyond sexual harassment, two of the other central issues for females' academic achievement and occupational success are the interlinked goals of increasing female leadership and the overall number of female role models. There have been recent attempts, such as the LEADership Project, to increase

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the numbers of women in educational leadership. In general, these efforts have not been very successful, at least in New Hampshire. (Our own LEADership Project, jointly sponsored by the state Department of Education and the University of New Hampshire, succeeded in providing a support group for female school administrators but did not increase the numbers of females in such positions.)

Lewis[16] argues that the answer is to encourage women to view educational management as "nurturance." Again, this falls into the trap of believing that women are "naturally" more nurturing than men due to reproductive (gestational) function. Ironically, so many people would prefer male to female bosses. It is part of Roland's "double-bind" that women who strive for success in the male world become "more male than male" and are most afraid of looking like weak bosses. Women bosses seem more likely to develop strong, hierarchical relations of dominance with the people with whom they work. Men, on the other hand, can relax in leadership roles, encourage a non-hierarchical work situation, take extraneous, personal matters into account in judging a worker's performance, and generally can be more nurturing that can women bosses.

The most pressing sex equity concern, besides sexual harassment, appears to be the mostly unconscious discrimination against females in the classroom and the persistence of damaging sex-role stereotyping and lowered expectations. According to the 1992 report, How Schools Shortchange Girls, by the American Association of University Women, a cross-section of studies indicate that girls are twice as likely to be depressed as boys, almost three times as likely than boys to have negative body images, attempt adolescent suicide at rates higher than boys, and report dropping out of school for

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"family-related problems" at more than seven times the rate of adolescent boys (AAUW report, pp. 14-24).

How Schools Shortchange Girls is nothing new: most of the research it synthesizes is spread out over the last twenty to twenty-five years. Consistently, research has shown that girls are both praised as well as criticized less than boys in the classroom, that the answer is much more likely to be provided to girls while boys receive higher-order instruction and encouragement to reach the right answer themselves, and that while "high-achieving" boys get the most classroom attention, "high-achieving" girls get the least amount. Female students of color, the report argues, ask for the most amount of attention (with an amount of hand-raising to give answers comparable to males) yet receive the least amount of teacher attention cutting across both race and sex variables.

Carol Gilligan conducted research in the Harvard Project on the Psychology of Women and the Development of Girls and illustrates how the self-esteem falls among pre-adolescent females in our society. Girls, especially high-achieving girls, learn they will be rewarded for sitting quietly and doing their work: the epitome of the "good girl." Girls are more likely to be chastised for calling out answers impulsively in class than are boys. As Gilligan says, "The wind of tradition blowing through women is a chill wind because it brings a message of exclusion...subordination and objectification. The message to girls is: keep quiet and notice the absence of women and say nothing."[17]

The hope here is that the long tradition of research in education and in social and behavior sciences that show how "girls are shortchanged" in school is finally getting more social recognition. Failing at Fairness: How America's

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<u>Schools Cheat Girls</u> by Myra and David Sadker (1994) summarize the research on gender issues in education and in development. The Sadkers have research gender inequity in schooling for over twenty-years. Their findings that are confirmed by others doing similar research include: 1) that teachers interact with boys eight times more frequently than with girls, 2) girls are rewarded by the teacher for being pretty, neat, compliant, and nice while boys are rewarded for being smart, and, 3) girls are given less time to answer questions while boys are encouraged and helped to think their answer through (Sadker and Sadker, 1994, pp. 42-77). In a public talk, I heard David Sadker soberly remark after reviewing the literature on gender bias in teacher-student interactions and the pervasiveness of sex-role stereotypes that if the cure for cancer is in the mind of a young girl, chances are we will never get it out. Then Myra Sadker took the podium, shared more research, and said that attention to severe gender inequality in schools in not an issue of political correctness, but of "educational correctness."

Now, I will review the issues of national origin equity in American schools in general and New Hampshire schools in particular.

<u>Equal Opportunity versus Equal Outcomes: The Case of National Origin Equity</u>

National origin, as the third piece of the Holy Trinity of civil rights protection accorded to sex, race, and national origin minority students, generally deals with issues of language. Obviously, race equity and national origin equity overlap quite a deal, but what separates the national origin aspect is the issue of whether schools are delivering the appropriate educational services to students that have a language other than English as

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their first language.

According to the Census Bureau (_Education Week_ (11/3/93, p. 3),
although the overall Hispanic dropout rate has declined the last decade or so,
the rate as which Hispanics drop is still higher than Blacks and much higher
than Whites. In 1991 the dropout rate was 4.4% overall while for Hispanics the
figure was almost double that -- 8.2%. Moreover, one-half of all Hispanic drop-
outs do so before the 10th grade and there are many more females than males.
More and more educators are re-framing the way we think about drop-outs --
on the basis of school climate data including racial and sexual violence, it is
now wondered if drop-outs should not be more often referred to as "push-
outs." Interestingly enough, the term "push-outs" has gained a fair degree of
popularity in academic, educational journals, but I have not noticed it in
educational trade magazines, and have been surprised when teachers have
often told me that they had not heard the term before.

There has been one recent, classic example of cultural mis-
understanding between White, New Hampshire teachers and the influx of
Hispanic (largely Puerto Rican) families into Manchester and Nashua.
Parental involvement has become a popular buzzword in school reform efforts
again. (There are, of course, economic and class issues which the parental
involvement efforts largely ignore: many parents cannot be very involved in
their child's schooling because almost everyone needs to work outside the
home and many work second and third shifts, a fact that precludes their
attending school night events.) Nonetheless, teachers are increasingly hostile
at parents who apparently are reluctant to come to the school.

In Manchester in 1991, a principal called the civil rights office to
express concern about a group of elementary school teachers who were

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making derogatory remarks about Hispanics. It turns out that teachers were disgusted with a set of recent, Puerto Rican immigrants because they "refused" to participate in their children's schooling. This escalated into making stereotypical generalizations in the teacher's lounge about Hispanic promiscuity, drug use, and lack of parental interest in children, in this case. Upon investigation, our office determined that the situation was caused by a cultural mis-understanding which led and fed into prejudices the teachers held. Teachers were sending notes home with children asking that their parents come to school which were seemingly ignored.

Thanks to information from the Latin American Center of Manchester, New Hampshire, we learned that in Puerto Rico parents show educators respect by staying out of the school. The child is the responsibility of the parent at home and the responsibility of the educators while at school. Puerto Rican parents were reluctant to come to the school -- even after being asked -- because it might appear that they did not trust the teachers to do their job adequately. With an English-Spanish translator, we facilitated a meeting between parents, administrators, and teachers, and the situation seems to be improving.

For English- and Spanish-speaking Hispanic students as well as other students of color the educational system fails to provide many positive role models. U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Educational Statistics reports that race/ethnic minority populations now make up approximately 30% of total school enrollment, while the average minority rate for urban schools is greater than 50%. Nonetheless, we have a serious shortcoming when it comes to providing role models for our students of color: minority educators represent only 13% of the teaching body while in 49% of

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the schools there are no minority teachers.

There exist many potential violations of Civil Rights Laws right in New Hampshire involving national origin issues. In the history of the state, national origin issues have spawned the greatest number of lawsuits and Office of Civil Rights investigations in the state. Supreme Court Decision Lau v. Nichols 1974 verified that under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (which prohibits discrimination in educational institutions on the basis of race and national origin) that school districts had a legal responsibility to provide adequate services for Limited English Proficiency (LEP). The Supreme Court decision also clarified what it meant by services which are "adequate": namely that LEP students are not to be provided a lowest common denominator of services but provided with whatever necessary and appropriate extra instructional assistance so as to overcome the potential limitation on equal educational opportunity and success due to English being their second language.

As we saw in Chapter 3, bilingual education and English as a Second Language instruction were some of the original multi-cultural issues for New Hampshire educators due to the French-Canadian immigration. Inadequate provision of services for Limited English Proficient students continues across the country, and ironically is sometimes worse in those districts with the lowest population of LEP students. New Hampshire school districts are quite reluctant to pay for a Master's level linguist or ESL expert if they have only a handful of students needing the service. Instead, districts try to get by on tutors whose experience includes no coursework in theories and methods of second language acquisition but who, perhaps, learned to speak Spanish in the Peace Corps.

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In New Hampshire, students who have a first language other than English represent less that 1% of the 'total school population. Even here, however, due to the threat of civil rights violations, the state department of education has had to increase the attention to the educational problems most typically evidenced by those learners as they attempt to adjust to an educational and cultural environment largely dominated by English language and customs. Attention to bilingual and ESL issues is funded through both the National Origin piece of the 1964 Civil Rights Office as well as from Title VII (bilingual education) of the 1972 Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

According to the 1993 New Hampshire Limited English Proficient Student Identification Project. Of the some 1000 LEP students in New Hampshire, approximately 28% are Spanish-speaking, 10% are Vietnamese-speaking, 9% are Chinese-speaking, and there are 6% of LEP students who primarily speak French and 6% who primarily speak Korean. There are 140 language groups represented in New Hampshire overall, include a handful of students who speak primarily Russian, Hmong, Haitian, Greek, Japanese, Khmer, and Portuguese. Twenty percent of LEP students in New Hampshire are listed in the "Other" category of languages not listed here.

Some of the problems identified in the LEP survey, identified above, include: 1) lack of shared understanding among school staff on Limited English Proficient (LEP) student cultural issues; 2) lack of understanding of legal responsibilities by the district administrators; 3) lack of knowledge of LEP identification procedures and/or inadequate testing and identification procedures; 4) fear of regulation by the local district and subsequent underreporting of numbers of LEP students, and, 5) perhaps the most major problem, the misclassification of LEP students as "special needs" (as special

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education and/or Chapter 1 students.)

This last problem -- the placement of LEP students into special education -- is particularly symbolic and still occurs too often in New Hampshire, according to reports we receive. Since so many New Hampshire district refuse to hire a $30,000 a year, Master's level ESL expert and rely on tutors without a proper understanding of the issues, in districts with a "low-incidence population" of LEP students there is a tendency to funnel them into special education. What a message this is: if a student does not know English well enough, they must be mentally deficient. This occurs because LEP students quickly pick up the basic communication skills in English but it often takes years for the student of average intelligence to master higher-order thinking skills in a second language. In the interim, and with a undereducated teacher or tutor, the students are blamed if they seem not to be excelling fast enough academically.

To attack this problem, the Title VII (Bilingual) Office and the National Origin Project of the Equal Educational Opportunity Office have developed and disseminated to all schools and districts a series of five modules covering all the relevant issues. These include: second language acquisition theory and method, appropriate testing and placement, cross-cultural understanding, and local legal responsibilities, which include having a written plan indicating how services will be provided for LEP students and how they will use some type of home language survey to assess the language background of students when they register. According to the state department's annual survey, one-third of all New Hampshire schools "are not prepared to serve these students" in view of their lack of written plans and awareness and acceptance of legal responsibility (p. 19, 1993 New Hampshire Limited English Proficient Student

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<u>Identification Project</u>).

The last category protected from discrimination in schools by Civil Rights laws in that of race. Denial is a beautiful gift we give ourselves, and even though there were already 10,000 African-Americans living in New Hampshire, as recently as 1990 there was no one as the New Hampshire Department of Education providing technical assistance and training to districts and schools on how to maintain compliance with Civil Rights laws on race. I was the first such consultant hired late in 1990, and supposedly the only way that the Race Desegregation portion of federal Civil Rights monies was finally requested was if the subsequent consultant hired did not have the word "race" in his or her title. (I am that consultant -- the Minority Affairs Consultant.)

To conclude, clearly having a system of increasingly rigorous anti-discrimination laws in practice has not resulted in an increase of equal outcomes. Herbert Gans, past president of the American Sociological Association, said in his 1974 work, <u>More Equality</u> that he was mostly concerned with exploring "how the U.S. can reduce inequalities of income, wealth, and political power." The overriding problem that must be overcome, Gans says, is the equating of equality with "opportunity" only, regardless of the "results." It is the end results or "outcomes" of educational success that show whether or not inequality is actually being reduced, regardless of the amount of "opportunity" afforded by law. For Gans, for notion of the "land of opportunity" is so much a fundamental part of American belief systems, and is indoctrinated at such an early age, that this in itself could undermine, or at least misdirect, serious consideration of inequality (1984, p. xi).

In this chapter I have noted that the ideology of individualism

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inherent in the Western worldview impacts teachers -- unknowingly -- in such as way that results in them ignoring structural constraints like race and sex in the classroom. In this chapter we reviewed two major concepts inculcated in teachers through their training which influence teachers' attitudes toward multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. These concepts are 1) the concept of individualism and 2) the concepts of equal opportunity and equal outcomes in education. These concepts are part of the American worldview. However, very specific concepts of individuality and equality are prevalent in American society.

The peculiarly Western emphasis on the notion of individuality was discussed and contrasted to the more communal sense of identify and responsibility in Eastern and traditional societies. Several different philosophical concepts of the individual within the Western tradition were described. Their difficulties were noted, as was were the philosophical origins of the American emphasis on "possessive individualism" and the isolated individual.

The conception of equality was also examined and a brief exposition of civil rights laws related to education was provided. It was noted that the traditional emphasis in American culture and government has been on equal opportunity as opposed to equal outcomes. Only relatively recently have some as American legal thinkers and social movements emphasized equal outcomes as primary.

The issue of equal opportunity as opposed to equal outcomes was examined in this chapter with respect to 1) race equity and civil rights law 2) sex equity and sexual harassment law 2) national origin equity and civil rights law especially with respect to English as Second Language policy.

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In the next chapter, I will review social reproduction theories as a way to illuminate both the function of education and the reception to multi-cultural education. This will include a focus on the structure of educational financing and contemporary issues that may impact educational equity such as the school "choice" movement. Lastly, Chapter VII will follow up the multi-cultural curricular review of Chapter III with a review of some recent pedagogical methods and ideologies that also have come out of, in part, the movement towards multi-culturalism in the schools.

End Notes to Chapter VI

1. See the presentation in the article "'Inclusive' Education Gains Adherents", in Update, the newsletter for the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Volume 35, No. 9, Nov. 1993.

2. See Jean-Pierre Vernant, Myth and Society in Ancient Greece, London: Methuen, 1974, pp. 81 - 91.

3. See Max Weber, The Religion of China, Macmillan, New York, 1964, p. 86.

4. See Chapter 4 of Leslie Stevenson's Seven Theories of Human Nature, Oxford University Press, 1974.

5. Robert N. Bellah quoting himself from Habits of the Heart in the companion book, Individualism and Commitment in American Life: Readings of the Themes of Habits of the Heart, edited by Bellah, et. al., Harper and Row, New York, 1987, p. 3.

6. See Burton Bledstein's excerpt from The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher education in America, W.W. Norton, New York, 1976 in Bellah's Individualism and Commitment in American Life, pp. 286-296.

7. It is common knowledge now that racist Southern Democratic congressman who wished to block the passage of the civil rights law extending protection to Blacks had inserted "sex" as a joke, believing that the law would get shot down for ridiculously including sex as a protected category. The very idea of sexual equality! The joke backfired and indeed helped the women's liberation

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movement get on its feet.

1. Mullis, I., et.al., Trends in Academic Progress, National Center for Educational Statistics, D.C., 1991.

9. See "Debate Over Civil Right Bill Raises Questions About the Law and Job Bias", New York Times, May 26, 1991.

10. Magnet schools have not considerably reduced between school or within school segregation of race and ethnic minority children, according to a panel of Civil Rights lawyers speaking at the December 8, 1993 Title IV and Magnet Schools Conference held in Washington, D.C.

11. According to Thomas Payzant, the Education Department's Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education, speaking at the Title IV and Magnet School Conference on December 9, 1993, in Washington, D.C..

12. According to Orfield's 1993 report, "The Growth of Segregation in American Schools: Changing Patterns of Separation and Poverty since 1968", commissioned by the National School Boards Association.

13. Teresa Amott, Caught in the Crisis: Women and the US Economy Today, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1993.

14. Ritter, Malcolm, Boston Globe, August 24, 1993, "Jokes Held to Alter How Women are Seen."

15. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is the federal agency which enforces federal anti-discrimination laws in the workplace. The EEOC definition on sexual harassment comes from the New Hampshire Commission for Human Rights, the state-level agency which conducts investigations and negotiates settlements over discrimination complaints in New Hampshire.

1. See A. Lewis' Leadership Styles, American Association of School Administration, Arlington VA, 1993 for more discussion on male versus female forms of educational leadership.

17. Carol Gilligan, as quoted in the Ms. magazine's report, Take Our Daughters to Work: Synopsis of Research, April 28, 1994.

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CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL REPRODUCTION IN A MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETY

In this chapter I recommend centering the case for the value of multi-cultural education on an analysis of the political economy of education, so I summarize useful research on social reproduction and its relationship to educational inequity. Issues of educational equity that I find most crucial to understand include the structure of educational finance and the school "choice" movement. After an overview of the dismal state of affairs concerning the political economy of education, I will end on a hopeful note by showing how multi-cultural pedagogy might be blazing the trail for multi-cultural and critical education.

Social Reproduction and the Political Economy of Education

Carl Rogers in Freedom to Learn (2nd Ed., 1983, p. 1) said that schooling "(fails) to meet the real needs of our society," as schooling does not provide for creative expression and the development of what are called critical thinking skills. I disagree. I also strongly object to Rogers' elitist view of education and to his blind allegiance to the possibilities of individual achievement against social odds. Schools do indeed meet the real needs of a society insofar as they produce non-provocative and unquestioning students, and a critical political economy of education has been informing us about that for some time. As Harry Kelly wrote in 1925 that "...the public school system is a powerful instrument for the perpetuation of the present social order...habits of mind are formed which in adult life are all to the advantage of the ruling

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class" (from "The Modern School in Retrospect," forward in Carnoy's Education as Cultural Imperialism, 1974).

How does the system of public schooling function in the social reproduction of structural inequalities and their accompanying biases and prejudices? That is the question we must take up here as we explore how the phenomenon of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education is played out on the contested terrain within both the macro-physics and micro-physics of power, authority, and agency. The structure of educational financing and the school "choice" movement will serve as case studies. We will examine whether multi-cultural education hurts or hinders the social reproduction of relations and ideologies which support inequality and discrimination. We will also examine whether multi-cultural education provides "cultural capital." This will include an analysis of the structure of educational financing and its relationship to maintaining social inequality and segregation.

The contradictory forces within multi-cultural education are conducted in the context of an interaction with forces, structures, and individuals who are working for the reproduction of structures that preserve hegemonic cultural and social power in the hands of a particular ethnic group and class. These conflicting tendencies co-exist within institutions, within specific practices, and often are embodied in the same individuals. Nonetheless, social reproduction theory largely refuses to dismiss the notion of economic determinism "in the last instance" and shows how a system of educational inequality (with the exclusion of females and people of color from consideration in schooling practices) reproduces itself generationally.

Social reproduction theory provides, I believe, the theoretical framework with the most power to explain as many of the facets of education

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as we know exist -- economic, political, social, psychological. Sometimes, its explanatory potential is seemingly brutal, but nothing else I know of has such a capacity for the emancipation of consciousness and recognition of indoctrination as well as for the empowerment to change. A thorough review of the contributors to social reproduction theory and the political economy of education leads one to the ideas of Marx, Mannheim, Durkheim, Gramsci, Carnoy, Bowles and Gintis, Bourdieu, Willis, Apple, Abercrombie, Freire, Castells, Kozol, and McLeod.

At the outset, let us be clear that Marxist-inspired theorists of education -- those with some resilience and durability -- have all turned away from an ideology that suggests an automatic reproduction of dominant ideology which an earlier, more mechanical, Marxian analysis might imply. I would like to rehabilitate even Bowles and Gintis (as the most deterministic of the crowd) who also early on knew that the terrain of the educational landscape is far from smooth. In their work (1976, p. 13) they also argue that education does not exist just to serve the interests of the ruling class: diverse goals exist which are "often diametrically oppressed...to those of capital."

Foucault had got to the heart of this matter in his discussion of the production of truth and the production of beliefs whereby he addresses the question of how people determine what truth is and how we try to find it. He said that "it's not a matter of emancipating truth from every system of power...but of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony...within which it operates at the present time."[1] Bourdieu (1967, p. 34) wondered as well whether "...the sociology of the institutionalized transmission of culture," or social reproduction, is a "major way to grasp a sociology of knowledge." I argue that social reproduction provides the best

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interdisciplinary focus and potential for intellectual activism as it comes closest to determining in which contexts those "powers of truth" about race, sex, and class may be "detached," at first conceptually, then perhaps physically, from those "forms of hegemony," for example, from current Eurocentric academic discourse and educational materials.

Social reproduction theorists attempt to explain how and in what manner institutions perpetuate the relations of inequality and exploitation with the relations of capitalist production. Social reproduction theorists have borrowed largely from Marx as well as contemporary thinkers such as Bourdieu , but have borrowed also from Weber and Durkheim.

Durkheim's discussion of the "inner life" of educational institutions in The Sociology of Education (1956) can help us explain what motivating factors affect the processes that take place and what goals educational institutions seek to achieve in choosing to embrace or reject multi-cultural education. For example, Durkheim (1956) holds that a functionalist analysis of educational institutions would center on a discussion of how these institutions channel individuals into the hierarchy of roles needed in a society's division of labor. Multi-cultural education, by portraying as obtainable goals positions of power and authority for females and people of color, works against this categorizing and sorting function of education.

Pierre Bourdieu's emphasis is on the social production of meaning through interaction. Although he concedes the importance of the family as a socializing agent, the most fundamental reproduction of culture is a primary function of the educational system. Bourdieu maintains that "it is primarily through the cultural unconscious, which he/she (the social actor) owes to his/her intellectual training and more particularly to his (sic) scholastic

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training, that a thinker belongs to his (sic) society and age" (1967, p. 343). The school in literate society functions to transmit culture at two levels, the conscious and the un- (or sub-) conscious. This transmission, in both cases, is affected by the social structure and cultural ideals of the ruling class. Thus, this transmission limits curriculum to those types and models which justify the position of the ruling class. Bourdieu argues (1967, p. 351) that "...we can see that just as the differentiation of schooling threatens the cultural integration of the educated class, so...(we also can see that) the segregation which tends to reserve education...to economically and above all culturally, (that) most favored class, tends to create a cultural rift."

Bourdieu sheds light on the dilemma of the educators' lack of willingness to examine their own individualistic and Eurocentric education and teacher training. He stresses the point that the more deeply ingrained a thought pattern or a way of thinking is, the more difficult it is to "apply conscious thought" to these patterns in an introspective way. During this self-analysis of thought, or thinking about one's thinking, the realization can be quite slow that these thought patterns are not genetic or innately natural, but are social -- "generally explicit and explicitly taught." Bourdieu believes that these thought patterns are "acquired through the systematically organized learning process of the school" (1967, p. 339).

Bourdieu's and Bourdieu and Passeron's use of concepts such as "symbolic and cultural capital to trace the reproduction of class relations in educational systems and politics as well as in 'cultural consumption' in a narrower sense" has been criticized for its concern regarding the capacities of such "superstructural phenomena" as the educational system.[2] Bourdieu (1977) argued that the real economic and political power of the ruling class

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must be concealed in order to give the appearance of legitimacy. This process of concealment, or structural mystification, is essential because authority is thus not seen as deriving directly from the holdings of economic power. Bourdieu asks us to examine under what conditions does a "pedagogic communication," or a relationship or subject and object within an educational institution, "(conceal) the power relations which make (the educational institution) possible..." (1977, p. 12). In other words, the economic elite reinforces its legitimacy by the imposition of those cultural components in the process of education -- such as Eurocentric and androcentric curriculum -- which embody ruling class values.

I believe this is very important. Other social reproduction theorists, such as Jay MacLeod in Ain't No Makin' It (1987, p. 12), maintain that "Bourdieu's most important contribution to reproduction theory is the concept of cultural capital, which he defines as the general cultural background, knowledge, disposition and skills that are passed from one generation to the next. Cultural capital is the centerpiece of Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction." This process works to bolster the academic confidence and achievement of White, upper- and upper-middle class students who possess large amounts of cultural capital and at the same time "promotes a belief among working class students that they are unlikely to achieve academic success" (MacLeod, 1987, p. 13).

Apple (1982) uses political economy to explain the dynamics of an educational system whose methods and content are lastly and most fundamentally determined by the ideology of the dominant, even as those methods and content of education are created, maintained, and altered by a wide range of other interests, wishes, and agendas: essentially other

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ideologies. The contemporary social reproduction theorist knows that the terrain of the educational landscape is far from smooth: played out upon it are the "contested" agendas which prevent the automatic reproduction of dominant ideology which an earlier, more mechanical, Marxian analysis might imply.

Apple (1982, p. ix) criticizes the "...remarkable business offensive, one in which our educational system is slowly being more and more drawn into the ideological orbit of the corporation and its needs." Educators have little time to ponder over "...the relationship between educational practices and discourse and the reproduction of inequality" (1982, p. 6). Although I reject, theoretically and politically, the concept of running public education like a business and for the business world (which is how it is indeed run), it needs to be pointed out that, ironically, the growing connection between our system of education and the "corporation and its needs" is one of the main justifications for multi-cultural education. Here, multi-cultural education proponents take their very cue from the business world that is demanding schools to produce workers competent in cross-cultural communication and understanding in order to compete in the "shrinking global village."

Apple notes that we often forget that education is "through and through a political enterprise" (1982, p. 12), with the emphasis on effective, "neutral" method and curriculum. He makes the point, identical to that made by Freire (1986), that no educational method of instruction is neutral: they all arise out of the particular socio-political climate and reflect the changing, varied interests of groups within a social structure. A major concern is that those that are most involved in the reproduction of systems of inequality and ideas about inequality, namely, educators, are not aware of their actions on that

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level (1982, p. 13). Hence, it can be argued that it serves the maintenance of the status quo for classroom teachers to be ignorant of the Eurocentricity of the curriculum that they teach.

However, teachers do become aware, and either do or not seek to change their ways -- to seek salvation for their sins. Hence, both the educational system at large and the controversy over multi-cultural education within Eurocentric education needs to be viewed as a complex arena of conflicting goals and agendas, not as an avenue of direct and simple social reproduction. As Apple says, we cannot interpret the hegemonic process within schools with a "simple, one-way, conflict free, base/superstructure model" (1982, p. 15). Among the newer trends in the sociology of education is an increased awareness that "schools produce both people and knowledge" (p. 22). Schools are producers **and** reproducers as "culture (is) preserved, transmitted, and rejected within the institution" (p. 21).

Apple discusses the weaknesses and inadequacies of popular theoretical frameworks used to explain the educational process, starting with allocation theory. Allocation theory holds that education functions to allocate students to their places in life, to the board room or the factory floor. He criticizes Bowles and Gintis' reliance on the idea that ideological hegemony in schooling is a process of conspiracy through a "hidden curriculum." Rather than the more deterministic positions in social reproduction theory that over-emphasize a passive enculturation, Apple maintains that, "social reproduction is by its very nature a contradictory process, not something that simply happens without a struggle" (p. 91).

Louis Dupré (1983), a Marxist cultural theorist, notes how Marx's concept of ideology comes out through his evaluation of bourgeois

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superstructure. Dupré claims that Marx's critique of ideology has "profoundly affected the modern mind" more than any other aspect of his work, and his conception of the uses of ideology has remained strong in spite of economic projections which did not materialize. Dupré says that Marx decided that "ideas are ideological when, in a seemingly universal and disinterested matter, they actually represent the interests of a particular segment of society" (p. 220). With Eurocentric curricula, those things that Gramsci says are transformed from the "specific" to the "universal" are seen by students and teachers as apolitical facts of life: genocide, imperialism, colonialism, racism and sexism. Gramsci (1947) noted that the extent to which a Nation-State holds ideological sway over its citizenry is the extent to which social institutions such as education can transform "specific crimes against humanity" into "universal aspects of humanity" and render inescapable and even natural things such as war, poverty, and racial or sexist genocide.

Abercrombie (1980) analyzes the issues and problems underlying the school of thought called sociology of knowledge. He defines the "Marx-Mannheim" conventional position on the sociology of knowledge that "...utilizes the concept of interest as an explanatory mechanism; social classes adopt sets of beliefs and those beliefs further the interests of that class." Perhaps this sheds some light on the peculiar situation of multi-cultural education in a location such as New Hampshire.

Multi-cultural education programs seem to be much more successfully integrated into the most wealthy of districts, while the poorest districts only have a teacher or two, at most, trying to teach from a more multi-cultural perspective. If, following Abercrombie, one can argue that the upper classes see the class "interest" in a multi-cultural consciousness then perhaps it is

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less ironic that those schools that have the least problems with racism and sexism (the wealthier ones) are the very ones who have embraced multi-cultural education the most. Carnoy (1974) has a similar analysis: schools act as "colonialistic" institutions which support the capitalist class structure in a manner which allows "...powerful economic and social groups acting in their common self-interest" to "influence...schooling to further their own ends." Herein lies the rationale for the "hegemonic process" (pp. 13-24).

Similar to Gramsci's conception of how capitalism maintains ideological control by making the "specific" seem "universal," Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972) analyses of education centers on a framework of oppression and domination which indoctrinates individuals into an unquestioning acceptance of social reality. Although allowing for the revolutionary potential of liberatory education, Freire's work teaches more about the manipulation of the educational process to maintain the power of the dominant class. The role of multi-cultural curricula in undermining such power seems threatening. Imagine producing masses of students who critically question the larger political goals of the educational system, once made aware of the historical connections between our nation-state and systematic oppression.

To summarize, the main point here is that schools sort and mold students to fit -- as unquestioning lackeys -- into the social structure. Although students can and do resist, it remains the purpose of education to create a population uncritical and loyal to the nation-state. Multi-cultural education, at its best, will examine the unequal power relationships among groups. Students can come to understanding what difference variables such as race, sex, and class make in the social reproduction processes, such as in public education.

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This is undeniably a threat to the protectors of the status quo.

In the next section, I will put some flesh on the largely theoretical discussion of social reproduction by reviewing a prime example within the reproduction of current power relationships. It is amazing how few people really understand the structure of educational financing and the implications of some of the newest strategies to maintain private schools at the expense of public ones.

The Structure of Educational Financing and the School "Choice" Movement

The structure of educational financing in the U.S. is the most glaringly obvious and most often overlooked destroyer of the myth of opportunity and individual achievement. Upon this myth rests the structural mystification necessary to keep consumer capitalism going: the belief that the existence of an economic underclass is unavoidable and insurmountable, and that poverty results primarily from lack of individual motivation and will. Manuel Castells (1980) and other political economists make no bones about it: as a mode of production capitalism depends upon the availability and use of a permanent economic sub-stratum. These individuals are willing to work for below subsistence-adequate wages for whatever temporary time as capitalism needs the cheap labor for until they are again dropped down into the world of the unemployed, evicted, homeless. The link between forms of oppression, such as racism and sexism, and economic necessity is undeniable. Women and Blacks still are, after all, the cheapest of laborers.

Castells' argument is that capitalist relations of production define class position, which in turn determines the level of social inequality. Social inequality is measured by the "access to goods and services" that a particular

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level of income provides (1980, p. 197). This level of income is related primarily to occupation, which is "closely associated" with educational attainment, yet because "educational opportunities are largely determined by family background...the structure of inequality is...largely but not entirely self-reproducing" (1980, p. 198).

Castells (pp. 199-200) argues that "the so-called vicious cycle of poverty in the United States is the direct expression of the functioning of the system of social stratification under the conditions of uneven development." He cites studies that claim the number of people living in poverty is on the rise "as a consequence of the evolution of unemployment and underemployment by discrimination by race and sex in a fragmented labor market that is self-reproducing under the pattern of accumulation..."

The structure of educational financing can be viewed as the system (which is really a meso-level system that is derived from the macro-level system that creates systematic maldistribution of wealth) whereby we have rich communities with rich (and effective) schools and poor communities with poor (and ineffective) schools. This system is the greatest revealer of the lie of equal educational opportunities and the truth of social reproduction. It is a travesty to read about another study which trumps up a handful of schools who are "doing so much more with so much less -- see, education isn't about money." You can always find incredible educators doing incredible teaching under incredibly dismal conditions. To emphasize this, just because many teachers are destined for sainthood, seems to be missing the point.

If one really wants to see what the very real structure of educational inequality looks like, drive the 20 miles between two New Hampshire towns of Portsmouth and Farmington and examine the two high schools.. The twenty

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miles might as well be a million miles. Average starting teacher's salaries, class sizes, extracurricular, current textbooks versus outdated or, even, no textbooks, a school with a half dozen broken-down microscopes to a school with a high-tech science lab: the comparison is startling. The difference in educational achievement, which we always like to pin on the individual achiever, is startling as well in terms of the difference in average SAT scores, the drop-out rate and teenage pregnancy rate, the percentage of graduates who attend college or another form of post-secondary education or training -- the list goes on.

The structure of educational financing in New Hampshire is hard to understand for many people because national figures show that New Hampshire spends an average of $5653.00 per pupil expenditure, with an average teacher salary on $33,931 and SAT average scores of 923. All three of these measures rank New Hampshire very near the middle of the national averages. The last decade has seen a rollback of hundreds of millions of federal dollars for education (which totalled $400 billion last year) so that the federal government is responsibly for only 7% of the expense of public education rather than close to 9% as it had been in the late 1970s.[3]

However, both property-rich and property-poor communities have a major reliance on property taxes to pay for local schooling in New Hampshire. Some states (Tennessee and Texas are two) have gone to court when the percentage of schooling that the local community has to bear has reached 50%. In New Hampshire local communities pay for 90% of school costs, and until the March 1994 New Hampshire Supreme Court decision stating that the state does have an obligation to provide adequate education to all students, one could not get many people riled up about it. Thus, although indicators such as

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per pupil expenditures make a very rich state such as New Hampshire (with 20,000 estimated millionaires) appear to be at least doing an "average" job of education, the difference between New Hampshire communities' per pupil expenditure is one of the widest in the country.

The annual Gallup Poll on education showed that 68% surveyed said they "would be willing to pay more taxes to improve schools in poor states and communities" (1993 Phi Delta Kappa poll, Education Week,Vol. XIII, No. 5, October 6, 1993). In addition, 38% of respondents said that the amount of money spent affects a child's education "a great deal," 30% thought that money affects education "quite a lot," and only 5% said money affects education "not at all."

The same poll presented results that showed that three-quarters of the American public opposes sending children to private schools at public expense when respondents were asked, "Do you favor or oppose allowing students and parents to choose a private school to attend at public expense?" However, the article reports that a Gallup Poll a year earlier sponsored by the National Catholic Education Association gave nearly opposite findings. Almost three-quarters of the American public replied in the affirmative to the question, "In some nations, the government allots a certain amount of money for...parents (to send their) child to any public, parochial, or private school they choose. Would you like to see such an idea adopted in this country?" Obviously, it's how one asks the question that counts. This is a good transition into the issue of school "choice."

The school choice movement is closely related to the educational issues of race because it will led to increased segregation as the White middle-class will be able to educate their children away from the poorer people of color.

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The central point in opposition to the school choice movement is that poor children do not have any choice. Iowa is the only state so far with an existing open enrollment bill where any student can go to any school[4], but the real damage will come when choice plans are enacted in states with substantial minority populations. The school choice movement is a raid on the public schools. The U.S. already has a choice system anyway -- private schools. Has choice among private schools created all excellent private schools? There are good and not so good private schools. The recommended amount of money offered to parents -- via a voucher for $2000.00 or so -- to send their child to a school of their choice is only enough for the middle-class to be able to remove their children from the public school system. Two thousand dollars a year does not get a child into a private school costing $15,000 or more a year. Poor children still have to go to a school within walking distance that they can afford.

Another main point that I have yet to see in print is the obvious question of what public schooling would be like if the U.S. spent the kind of money per child in public schools as is spent in private schools. We likely would be able to educate all our children better. The movement towards using federal tax dollars to subsidize segregation -- on at least the bases of race and class -- is frightening and growing. Just like the political correctness pundits, the school choice movement also successfully twists issues of choice and freedom to its own reactionary agenda.

The school choice movement is not an attempt to improve schools and education but a way to get tax money to bolster private schooling, particularly the parochial schools, and a way to keep the "have-nots" and the excluded away from the privileged.

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Civil Rights and Multi-cultural Education: The Rush Towards Multi-cultural Pedagogy

This part of the multi-cultural movement (and aspects of the inclusion movement) involves educational reform in the areas of instructional techniques such as: 1) cooperative learning and heterogeneous student groupings, 2) a move away from more obvious forms of tracking, 3) attention to learning styles and "multiple intelligences" theories (following Gardner), and, 4) the pedagogical techniques of "whole language" approaches to teaching and learning to read versus phonetic approaches, and attention to the "writing process." I will explain each of these areas more fully.

First, however, I should point out one aspect that is shared by all these approaches. That is the move away from segregated teaching and restructuring the learning environment so that learning is much more student-led. The move towards heterogeneous groups has meant that classrooms do not as often divide students by ability groups anymore, such as into the accelerated "Bluebirds" reading or math group or the low achieving "Crows." Like the increased focus on teacher-student interaction patterns, these approaches often focus on student-student interaction patterns and how to create the most effective learning environments. Heterogeneous groups are not entirely met with enthusiasm. Particularly in the high school, where grades start to be coveted as entrance points into the best colleges, parents of middle- and high-achieving students complain that heterogeneous groups hold their child back. Worse, some parents complain that their high-achieving offspring was doing all the work for the group. I will show how cooperative learning strategies attempt to deal with that a bit later.

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New methods of assessment, such as the use of portfolios, accompany many of these pedagogical changes influenced by the multi-cultural and inclusion movements. These movements have largely risen from bilingual and English as a Second Language instruction which attempts to provide appropriate education for National Origin minority students. The critical skills movement and attention to subjective knowing and learning (ala " women's ways of knowing" philosophy, influenced by the book with that title) have also been taken up under the banner of multi-cultural education.

These pedagogical changes have to be discussed in two contexts: first, with regards to the status of intelligence ("I.Q.") and aptitude testing and its role in educational psychology and, secondly, to the demands of "inclusionary" education stemming from both the "least restrictive environment" legislation applying to handicapped and special education and the teaching of students for whom English is a second language.

The biggest challenge to our traditional conceptions of intelligence has been the work of Howard Gardner (1983). Gardner's theories of multiple intelligences include seven types or kinds of intelligences: verbal, logico-mathematical, musical, visual, kinetic, personal and social. He argues that formal public schooling promotes and "tests" only two of the multiple ways human intelligence is expressed: verbal and logico-mathematical. Children should not be rank-ordered according to this limited and narrow definition of intelligence, says Gardner (1986).[5] Educators should rather cultivate their "natural competencies." As it is now, "...if you succeed (in our educational system), you will be best suited to be a college professor. And we evaluate everyone according to whether they meet that narrow standard of success."

The new phrase "intellectual diversity" has come about from theorizing

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and researching this notion of "multiple intelligences." Walters (1992)[6] argues that the implication of the theory of multiple intelligences in education is that it provides for this concept of human intellectual diversity, which he contrasts from the older, less beneficial, traditional notions of intelligence related to I.Q. Portfolio assessment involves active participation by students in their own evaluation, including deciding what samples of their work should be included in a portfolio for both the teacher and sometimes other students to assess, as well as deciding why it is important to include certain samples.

Portfolio assessment is an increasingly preferred method of assessment, one which dovetails nicely into the critical skills classroom where the focus is on deep understanding and problem-solving rather than on getting (or remembering) the correct answer. French (1992)[7] believes that the development of authentic assessments, such as portfolio assessment, is one of the major contemporary educational issues to which movements such as Outcome-Based Education (OBE) will direct national attention among education policy makers and researchers. French argues that the complexity of competition in the global market has rendered standardized testing a "dinosaur" as they do not measure what students need to know and be able to do.

"Whole language" approaches to the reading and writing process focus on learning vocabulary in a context of the written word, in the context of a story, for example. Some readers might be shocked to learn that spelling tests, where you spell given words on those long, narrow sheets of paper, are a thing of the past in many schools. Like it or not, spelling tests are being replaced by a much more nonchalant attitude towards spelling: if in the course

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of a class that is reading and writing about a certain selection it comes to the teacher's attention that students are mis-spelling certain words then the class will stop and review the proper spelling. Educators believe this is a more holistic way to teach that does not "turn off" students as much as traditional methods. Other educators think it is creating horrible spellers.

"Whole language" is diametrically opposed to the phonics-based approach that teaches words in little bits. Whole language integrates reading and writing and rejects the notion that the direction of the learning process for all students is always linear and progressive. This is based on research that reviews socio-cultural differences in learning styles, including those directions that are more curvilinear and cyclical, and sometimes even regressive, turning back on themselves and spiraling out again. A strong defense of the method of instruction called the "writing process" as well as whole language approaches to teaching and learning is found in the work of University of New Hampshire's own Donald Graves (1983).

Cooperative learning is nothing new, but it has become an increasingly popular strategy in recent times. Cooperative learning revolves around structuring learning situations where students rely and help each other cooperatively to reach a given learning objective. There are several major cooperative learning models (Slavin, 1990; Johnson, et al., 1991). This is not just what is called "group work": most cooperative learning strategies involve careful planning and structuring of the learning situation. According to Lyman and Foyle (1991) cooperative learning techniques are hampered when student groups are asked to work together without group-building activities. They must learn the value of working in a team first. In addition, "individual accountability," a concern of parents of high achieving students in

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particular, is taken care of by avoiding giving group grades. The contribution and accomplishments of each individual must be assessed, only then can the group as assessed as a group (p. 16-23).

Besides individual accountability, the Johnson model (1991) other "essential components of cooperative learning" include "positive interdependence," the belief inculcated in students that they "sink or swim" together where "each group member's efforts are required and indispensable for group success (i.e., there can be no 'free-riders')" and each member has a "unique contribution" to the group effort because of their role or task assignments or their own resources. Another component is "face-to-face interaction," where student groups of no more than five students sit closely together in a circle and process information in a structured way (Johnson, pp. 10-11). Although I am a late comer to cooperative learning, because I felt that such a competitive society was not ready for it, after working through some of the strategies in a five-day cooperative learning institute I see that it is an ideal vehicle through which to teach multi-culturally. It can bring down barriers and help turn the classroom environment into a less hierarchical environment.

The critical skills movement has picked up on some aspects of cooperative learning, although members of the movement refer to their approach as collaborative learning: the difference is that while cooperative learning rests on the assumption that students will work together, collaborative learning rests on the assumption that students will see the benefit of working together. The critical skills approach began in the early 1980s out of frustration with traditional learning approaches. The skills the developers of the program (in collaboration with community organizations)

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decided that students needed were: problem solving, decision making, critical thinking, creative thinking, organization, communication, cooperation, collaboration, management, leadership, independent learning, and documentation.[8]

These are not so different from Dewey's experiential learning. Indeed, the critical skills approach is an attempt to apply theories of experiential learning in such as way as to create students capable of critical thought and judgement. Through a process called "learning by real problems" students work out solutions to real problems, not simulations, and present their finding to a panel of experts in the field they are studying. Visiting critical skills classrooms has been a transformative experience for me, never having seen students so actively involved in their own learning. The critical skills approach is a natural fit with multi-cultural education.

Culturally-responsive pedagogy requires culturally-responsive assessment. The New Hampshire chapter of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) in its December 1993 newsletter quotes from a report from a meeting it sponsored of the New Hampshire Business Roundtable on educational issues. Parts of a "successful educational system" include "...assessment as strong and rich as the outcomes." The report advocates a move away from standardized testing. One new, yet rapidly growing, area of assessment includes those strategies which fall under the banner of "authentic" assessment, such as portfolios. The goal here is to move away from the norm-referenced standardized tests which measure memory, at best, rather than mastery of knowledge and application of knowledge through critical skills.

The focus on "authentic" assessment is one part of what is called

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"alternative assessment" strategies, such as portfolios, and has grown out of learning theory such as Gardner's view of multiple intelligences. The focus is to link instruction with assessment: mastery is demonstrated not through detached "pencil and paper" tests, but rather through the active application of new knowledge and skills. In A Practical Guide to Alternative Assessment (Herman, et al., 1992) it is argued that the "assessment task" also needs to be linked to the desired "outcomes (the knowledge, skills, and dispositions...)" that need to be determined before a teacher plans the assessment strategy (p. 33). Authentic assessment debates in education often seem to have evolved out of criticism for the traditional "teaching to the test" approach, and incorporates other criticism of standard testing and assessment approaches as well.

In the Fall 1993 issue of Fair Test Examiner (Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 1) the editor claims that the current re-authorization of Chapter 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 (EASA) will likely "drop the requirement to use almost exclusively norm-references, standardized tests." These types of texts have been required to determine eligibility for Chapter 1 (Disadvantaged) assistance. Fair Test also claims that the new EASA will require the setting of performance standards (outcomes) by states with the development of assessment strategies "aligned to the standards" (p. 9). Each states' plan will require approval of the Secretary of Education starting in 1995, at least in the content areas of math and reading.

This is a double-edged sword: on one hand, the proposed re-authorization is criticized as being too "test-driven and outcomes-based," and there is a sizable bulk of research that criticizes both "teaching to the test" educational methods and how standardized testing discriminates against females and students of color. On the other hand, the delivery of educational

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services to populations such as those of students with disabilities and LEP (Limited English Proficient) students could potentially improve as the legislation will require assessments to determine eligibility for Chapter 1 for both these groups of students. Critics against test-driven instruction agree, according to Fair Test, that the move goes against what we know about learning and assessment: that it needs to be "instructionally-useful" and "classroom-based," and the curriculum needs to be as much integrated with the assessment as much as possible. We will take up the issues of the outcome-based education (OBE) movement in the last section of this chapter.

The research on gender-bias in standardized tests commonly used in the U.S. has a twenty-year history of evidence. This includes the imbalance in teacher-student interaction patterns in research on sex inequity in the classroom. Gender-bias in standardized testing has for as long been denied (without good research evidence) by both school officials, education bureaucrats, and, of course, the Educational Testing Service (ETS) which produces and distributes tests such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT).

The Spring 1993 edition of Fair Test Examiner notes the filing of yet another lawsuit against ETS for the sex-bias in the test used to pick National Merit Scholarship winners. The suit alleges that females have lost out on "millions of dollars" in awards because of test bias against them. The Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test (PSAT) is used to "screen 16,000 semifinalists out of 1 million students annually who take the exam...6,500 are picked -- using those scores and grades, recommendations and other achievements," according to the Fair Test Examiner newsletter. About 60% of semifinalists and finalists are boys, even though girls earn better grades in both high school and college courses.

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The lawsuit alleges that the tests "put a premium of speed and guessing, strategies in which boys excel." "Essentially, (the tests) help stock the National Merit Scholarship pool with male fish," says Cinthia Schuman, Fair Test executive director. The suit, filed by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of Fair Test, charges the producers and distributors of the SAT who receive federal funds cannot violate Title IX, the education law prohibiting sex discrimination. ETS, as usual, has categorically denied any bias.

Attention to learning styles has also become quite popular among educators and also has grown out of the space where the issues of multi-cultural education and the inclusion movement converge. The workshops the Equal Educational Opportunity Office offers on the topic are always well attended. A good share of educators are skeptical or dismissive of what an increasing knowledge of variation in learning styles might do to assist teaching and learning in the classroom. Nonetheless, even these educators are often curious about learning styles if for no other reason than an interest in determining what their own learning style might be. The two major types of learning styles assessment tools seem to be the most-popular Myers-Briggs and the Gregoric method.[9] Both consist of first determining one's own learning style, usually conducted before the actual workshop or longer institute, through answering a series of questions about yourself.

A strong criticism of research and attention to different learning styles is provided from the Right in Lawrence Nannery's "The New Jersey Project: An Exercise in Multicult" (in Measure, June 1993). Nannery ridicules the first comprehensive state-wide curriculum reform focusing on "integrating women and issues of gender race/ethnicity, class, and sexuality into the curriculum." Attention to learning styles, particularly the Myers-Briggs

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model, is increasing throughout the country. Nannery argues that "differences in learning style cut equally across all groups. There is not black learning style or white learning style, no female learning style or male learning style. It is the rankest racist and sexist nonsense to assert that there is."

Nannery criticizes the concept of cognitive diversity (out of which attention to learning styles has grown) and says it is confused with ethnic diversity "which has no relation to (learning styles)." He criticizes professors who do not teach "real courses...(like) mathematics..." but rather "pseudo-courses on nonexistent entities" such as Introduction to Gay and Lesbian Literature. A conference on New Jersey's new multi-cultural curriculum featured Catherine Stimpson, well-known member and ex-president of the Modern Language Association, who "began with the improbable conceit that the Information Age is coterminous with the inclusive curriculum movement." Nannery says that "Stimpson's speech was interesting because she admitted, in strong confessional tones, that the intersection of race class and gender is a can of worms. For example, Nazi women approved of the extermination of their Jewish sisters. White women owned and persecuted black women and men in the ante-bellum South. It seems to have taken Stimpson twenty years to recognize this."

Nannery said that an observer at the conference "could not escape the conclusion that curriculum inclusion and culturally-responsive pedagogy is an issue currently fostered mostly by lesbians, who cover over their naked loneliness with the rhetoric of MULTICULT. Blacks and poor people are included only as tokens...(who) will be left high and dry by their lesbian allies of convenience, who are, after all, almost entirely white and from the upper-

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middle class." Nannery's uncanny perceptual abilities led him to realize, from socializing during a cocktail party, that multi-culturalists are "for the most part into one category: lesbian Ed.D's who teach at the Junior College level. In a previous time these women would have been High School teachers, but there they would have had real subjects to teach, like Biology or English, and so would have been less harmful to society. Now, they teach pseudo-courses like gender studies, and spend all their energies poisoning public policy and the relations between the sexes."

Clearly, having a system of increasingly rigorous anti-discrimination laws in practice have not resulted in an increase of equal outcomes. Herbert Gans, past president of the American Sociological Association, said in his 1974 work, More Equality that he was mostly concerned with exploring "how the U.S. can reduce inequalities of income, wealth, and political power" (p. x). The overriding problem that must be overcome, Gans says, is the equating of equality with only "opportunity," regardless of the "results." It is the end results or "outcomes" of educational success that show whether or not inequality is actually being reduced, regardless of the amount of "opportunity" afforded by law. For Gans, for notion of the "land of opportunity" is so much a fundamental part of American belief systems, and is indoctrinated at such an early age, that this in itself could undermine, or at least misdirect, serious consideration of inequality (1984, p. xi).

To summarize, this chapter has presented a theoretical framework in which the education of teachers and the development of teachers' attitudes toward and schools' policies with respect to multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education can be understood. This theoretical framework is social reproduction theory. I have argued that social reproduction theory is the best

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illuminator of the structure of power relations in society, including in the institution of education. Multi-cultural education can fight against the structural mystification of these power relations.

The central theoretical insights of social reproduction theory as exposited by Pierre Bourdieu are summarized. Applications of social reproduction theory to American schools by writers such as Jay Mac Leod are discussed. Other relevant insights from Marxist theories of education and culture, such as Antonio Gramsci's concept of "hegemony" and the account of Marxist cultural theory by Louis Dupré, are presented.

Manuel Castells' account of the present economic problems of America is given as a theoretical framework for a more specific account of the "school choice" movement and the inequities of educational financing in New Hampshire. The structure of educational financing and a current restructuring attempt, the school choice movement, are presented as example situations in education that, if more well known, could also shed light on the reproduction of unequal social relations.

Movements toward an alternative to the results of present social reproduction as found in multi-cultural pedagogy and related educational reforms are described. These include Howard Gardner's work on "multiple intelligences" and its implications for teaching, portfolio assessment and Outcome-Based Education (OBE), "whole language" approaches to literacy, cooperative learning, the critical skills movement. Some criticisms of attention to learning styles theory are noted. Educators who resist the traditional role of education and who wish to create students who are not "comfortably numb," as one critical skills teacher said, now have a widening variety of alternative pedagogical techniques to use. Many of these

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techniques have grown out of one or another variety of multi-culturalism, such as instructional practices in bilingual education.

In Chapter VIII, the last chapter, I shall summarize this work, discuss the role of textbooks in reproducing ideologies and social relations, and shall provides some descriptions of and justifications for multi-cultural, gender-fair, global education.

End Notes to Chapter VII

1. See Michael Foucault in Paul Rabinow's The Foucault Reader, Pantheon Books, New York, 1984, pp. 74-75.

2. See Tom Bottomore's discussion of Bourdieu in A Dictionary of Marxist Thought, Harvard University press, Cambridge, 1983, p. 112.

3. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, NAEP, College Entrance Examination Board, National Education Association data compiled and reported in the Washington Post, September 10, 1993, pg. A4.

4. Coincidentally or not, Iowa is the only state I know of where the Board of Education banned the use of words like "multi-cultural," "tolerance," and "diversity" in any publications produced by the State Department of Education. New Hampshire educators should be worried about similar moves: University of New Hampshire Humanities Professor Warren Brown sits on the Professional Standards Board (PSB) of the NH Department of Education. In the PSB minutes of 11/17/93 is says that Brown "expressed grave misgivings about the content (of a PSB position paper). He was concerned that is was not specific and words such as flexibility, change, growth, (and) multicultural were used. He also indicated that the embrace of cultural diversity was an attack on what is enduring in our cultural traditions. He further indicated that (cultural diversity) undermined the responsibility of teaching enduring fundamentals such as the Federalist Papers, Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution." There is surely more to come as Brown volunteered to head the subcommittee to re-write the position paper.

5. As quoted in Daniel Goleman, "Rethinking the Value of Intelligence Tests", Education Life, special supplement, New York Times, November 9, 1986),

6. See Joseph Waters' "Application of Multiple Intelligences Research in Alternative Assessment" in Focus on Evaluation and Measurement, Volume 1, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Bilingual Education and Minority

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Languages Affairs, August 1992, pp. 1-19.

7. See Russell French's "Portfolio Assessment and LEP Students" in Focus on Evaluation and Measurement, Volume 1, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs, August 1992, pp. 249-272 .

8. Notes from a presentation and a manual of the Critical Skills Institute, Antioch New England Graduate School, Keene, New Hampshire, March 4, 1994.

9. The Myers-Briggs model of assessing learning styles was developed by Carl Jung's daughter. Jung himself refused to be assessed by the instrument they developed.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In this chapter, I will summarize the main points of this work, then
suggest where to go from here with the implementation of multi-cultural
education. An analysis of the role textbooks play in social reproduction serves
as a strong rationale for improving the curricula in public schools. Although
there are the examples of revamping the curriculum towards a more multi-
cultural emphasis in places like New York and California, and although more
elementary grade readers are stressing multi-cultural concepts, most upper
grade textbooks that I see in New Hampshire are overwhelmingly Eurocentric
and Androcentric.

I want to provide educators and other interested people with some
strategies for how to encourage multi-cultural education by presenting points
of justification for it. This leads into our final section of this chapter where I
sketch out a vision of what global education might look like and examine the
relevance of current educational practices -- such as Outcome Based Education
and the restructuring movement -- for multi-cultural and equity concerns.

A Summary of this Project

In this work, I have attempted to explore instances of how teachers'
understanding of multi-culturalism affects their position on multi-cultural
education. I examine the phenomenon of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural
education within the role played by the educational system in the process of
social reproduction in education. The relationship of racism, sexism, and
discrimination in general to education have also been central to my

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understanding of positions on multi-culturalism. I have also tried to show the multifarious nature of the conceptual and operational understandings of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education, and I have traced the "career" of multi-cultural education as a social movement. I intend for this work to contribute to our understanding of the socio-historical and theoretical construction of multi-culturalism and the social movement towards multi-cultural education, as well to show how it is manifest in the classroom.

Returning to my original hypotheses and assumptions, let me reexamine each of them in turn:

1. The desire for multi-cultural education is associated with teachers' perception of broader multi-cultural issues. Although my own experience still bears this out, I could not find many direct connections between the view of and the use of multi-culturalism. One negative correlation, however, is between the belief that that multi-culturalism is anti-individual and the unwillingness to incorporate multi-cultural educational materials in the classrooms. Also, teachers suspect multi-culturalism of radical revisionism, and fear that their teaching will be less objective, less of the "truth," if they re-consider their current curricula and pedagogy. Lastly, one of the strongest findings was that of how pervasively gender was left out of multi-cultural debates. Gender is generally not considered part of "multi-cultural issues" by educators.

2. Views on contemporary politically-charged topics will influence the view and use of multi-culturalism. These issues include the political correctness debate, cultural relativism, debates over the Canon, affirmative action and race relations, and the emphases of Afrocentric education. As shown by both the in depth interviews and analyses of educator trade journals, these issues are not

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well known. There are exceptions: the implementation of newly multi-culturalized reading program led a group of teachers to study Afrocentricism and other multi-cultural debates on their own. This convinced many of them that their own curriculum was narrow and biased.

Although great knowledge of the particulars of these social debates does not guarantee multi-cultural enlightenment, it might help teachers work through some of their feelings and thoughts on these issues and even could lead to an examination of their own socialization.

3. <u>Multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education are not trusted</u>. My observations suggested that this is indeed true: the bedrock multi-cultural issues of racism, sexism, and the structure of oppression are not directly discussed and analyzed in many of the articles in educational trade magazines and in the popular press. Hence, it is hard to blame educators for their suspicion about the intent and agenda of multi-cultural education. Almost all the respondents in the interviews believed that affirmative action laws were quota laws. This in itself would discourage educators from conducting anti-racist and anti-sexist work. It someone thinks that "reverse" discrimination is as big a social concern as discrimination against disempowered groups, then one might as well avoid dealing with the issues altogether. Although there was an undercurrent of uneasiness about race relations in the U.S. among educators with whom I spoke, at the same time the question of reverse racism and the accusations of allegiance to a blind political correctness can take the urgency out of engaging in debate about the dismal state of race relations and other forms of institutional discrimination.

4. <u>The history of racial and ethnic groups in not stressed in multi-cultural education</u>. Although prejudice reduction is a vitally important part of multi-

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cultural awareness, it is really only the first step. Teachers sometimes think that multi-culturalism is only about eliminating prejudice and providing remedial attention to the issues of students of color (and to females, I might add). Many articles on multi-cultural education, as well as the answers to questions about what multi-cultural education means to educators, implied a lack of focus on actual writings by people of color. Overall, multi-cultural education has to be placed in socio-historical context, including analysis of the relationships between racial and ethnic groups and the unequal distribution of social power and economic resources, as well as by hearing the actual voices of the Other.

5. Educators are fearful of and angry towards multi-cultural education. Although many are suspicious and skeptical, as noted in #3 above, I did not find educators who were explicitly fearful of multi-cultural education, although some worried about its "going too far." However, the content analysis of writings on multi-culturalism did occasionally suggest a backdrop of xenophobia, especially in reference to the changing demographics and also in some of the reaction to Portland, Oregon's essays on Afrocentric education. In a location like New Hampshire, educators fear what the changing demographics will bring much more than any potential negative effects of multi-cultural education.

Anger towards multi-culturalism is another matter. Unexpectedly, a number of educators expressed similar strong sentiments that all seemed to converge on one point: multi-culturalism was (or could) undermine the teacher's virtuous attention to the individual. This led me to provide a detailed analysis of the role individualism plays in the consciousness and behavior of educators. The reader needs to remember these sentiments came from New

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Hampshire teachers. Perhaps in more diverse parts of the U.S. the pressing need for multi-cultural education might somewhat diminish this focus on individualism.

6. **The lack of familiarity with multi-cultural materials creates misunderstandings and limited use of multi-cultural education**. In New Hampshire, this is especially true. This is not a state that has developed and centrally distributed or endorsed any multi-cultural curriculum packages, as have states like New Jersey, California, and others. Teachers are left to find their own multi-cultural materials. Although the materials are publicized as available for loan, few teachers borrow specific multi-cultural curriculum materials from the resource library in the EEO Office. This, however, might be explained by the belief that multi-cultural education is "just not needed here yet." And, the last assumption:

7. **The nature of the criticisms against multi-culturalism come from a political basis**. Conducting this work has convinced me that I am dealing with some of the most volatile and threatening issues in contemporary society. The major criticism of any work in a rationalistic society is to question objectivity. It is upon this questioning of objectivity that the majority of criticisms against multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education rest. In the case of the new addendum to the Portland curriculum, we see that a few, still debated mistakes are "just cause" to throw out the entire curriculum as unfounded "political correctness." There is an immediate assumption that multi-cultural education has a hidden agenda, while at the same time there are immediate defenses of the traditional curriculum as representing apolitical, objective "facts."

Change never comes easy, it always involves a struggle between those that are members of the "in" and the "out" groups at any given time. As Park

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(The Marginal Man, 1937, pp. xiii-xviii, in Parsons, et al., 1961, p. 944)
describes, generation stability is always fleeting and temporary as groups "in
whiormal relation of each to every others is 'one of war and plunder, except so
far as agreements have modified it'." The entire paradigm of multi-
culturalism, although becoming the "vital sensibility" of our times as I
mentioned in Chapter I, also brings ideological, social, and economic turf
battles with it.

To summarize the main points in this work, I have argued that prejudice
and discrimination need to be kept in the center of multi-cultural debates,
while pointing out that specific reference to racism or sexism is often skirted
in multi-cultural writings. A major impact comes from the social changes in
racial and ethnic minority demographics and immigration and how they
affect multi-cultural education, in a place like New Hampshire. I have coined
a phrase for what is prevalent in the conceptualizations of multi-culturalism
as reverse ethnocentrism. This refers to the movement to discredit multi-
culturalism by first acknowledging -- reluctantly -- that the current Canon
might be too exclusive then claiming that the most serious problem is not with
the Canon, but with those who want to "replace" the Canon with biased and
exaggerated multi-cultural perspectives. This ideology was most appealed to,
for example, in the claims against Afrocentric education as substituting one
cultural emphasis for another. This claim avoids the power politics implied in
whatever might be called "centric," yet will probably be appealed to more
often as the debate over multi-cultural education becomes more heated.

This study is primarily exploratory, yet it provides suggestions for
further research in the form of listing the ideal dimensions for a prototype
multi-cultural/global education program. In addition, I view as the greatest

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contribution of this work -- the centerpiece -- the analysis in Chapter V of the potential social influences on the perception of multi-culturalism, including the political correctness debate, issues of race and racism, cultural relativism, and the larger debates over the Canon. I have examined in turn the strongly polemical and political dimensions of these social influences.

Through survey and interview data, as well as through a content analysis of multi-cultural writings and curricula and case studies on both bilingual education and our social practices of celebrating Christopher Columbus, we can see the effects of multi-culturalism both in New Hampshire and nationally. However, multi-culturalism remains a poorly defined concept, and the issues of multi-cultural education are still strongly contested. For example, educators have in general little knowledge of affirmative action, of the debates over inclusion and the Canon, or of the social histories of the usage of race and sex to justify oppression. Yet, attitudes against multi-cultural education are formed and expressed that reflect concern about reverse discrimination and the label of political correctness. Not that educators would find enlightenment in many of the multi-cultural writings they have at their disposal: the majority of articles analyzed here are not centered on specific racism or sexism, and generally do not indict the system for perpetrating such inequities. This is true even in writings presumably on the very topics of racism and sexism: the smoke and mirrors of euphemisms are used instead.

In New Hampshire, I have shown how teachers often express a sentiment that multi-cultural education is not needed here, at least not until there are greater numbers of racial and ethnic minorities. In addition, teachers question the overall aims of multi-culturalism and are sometimes skeptical about it because it contradicts their socialized belief in the ultimate

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individual devoid of structural constraints such as gender or race.

There is often a discrepancy between belief and behavior, as this study has illustrated. An educator can advocate multi-culturalism without deciding to practice multi-cultural education. Conversely, one can be an opponent of multi-culturalism yet practice fair and equitable treatment for all. Notions of equal educational opportunity and equal educational outcomes in American culture as well as the status of civil rights efforts to ensure equity in schools for sex, race, and national origin students have also been explored in this study. Lastly, I will look at the pivotal role played by textbooks and will provide justifications, suggestions and recommendations for multi-cultural education implementation.

How Textbooks Obfuscate

What is at stake over the battle over multi-cultural education is the chance to go back to the beginning and teach students the historical truth about the relationship between Western Civilization (especially that in the New World) and oppression and genocide. Mannheim, in his classic work *Ideology and Utopia,* says that his approach to the study of ideology is taken from the sociology of knowledge. He asserts: "The principal thesis of the sociology of knowledge is that there are modes of thought which cannot be adequately understood as long as their social origins are obscured" (1936, p. 2). It is the "social origins" of the assumptions and declarations within the pages of Eurocentric textbooks that need to be critically examined and written anew and accurately.

For example, the defense giant, Raytheon, now owns one of the biggest publishing houses of textbooks in the country. The textbook company owned

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by Raytheon is in Texas, which is the largest single customer for textbooks, since all schools in the state use the same textbook at each grade level. One can only imagine in textbooks produced by Raytheon, how war is likely to be presented as the inevitable result of history rather than acts of conscious warmongers serving their Nation-State. Textbooks have incorporated multi-culturalism in its most watered-down form, stripped of almost any mention of things controversial.[1] It is not that textbook writers and textbook publishers and school district officials are a part of a covert conspiracy to distort the truth, but at one level of decision-making it can be decided to paint a picture of racial, sexual, and class inequality that obscures the true origins and consequences of inequality.

The American Textbook Council recently issued a book entitled History Textbooks: A Standard and Guide (1994 by the ATC, New York). The American Textbook Council said that the need existed for a "clear, reasonable, and impartial guide." It notes that history textbooks especially

> are the object of intense criticism from diverse group. They are subject to ideological pressure and unfounded, sometimes strident claims. Textbook reviewers -- and publishers -- are confused...
> (p.vii).

Although they claim to be impartial, their descriptions of some of these "strident" groups are unfounded. For instance, they mention the efforts since the 1970s to "screen" textbooks for racial and sexual bias. The Council on Interracial Books for Children is mentioned as a "high-profile pressure group" that initiated "crusades" on textbook publishers and state department of education curriculum consultants (p. 23). The "high-profile" Council consisted of volunteer teachers and parents, whose efforts consisted of reviewing texts and alerting publishers and educators to their findings. The

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Council also published several pamphlets, one of which I still use, called "Ten Quick Ways to Analyze Children's Books for Racism and Sexism." The Council on Interracial Books for Children folded after less than a decade in operation. This is not mentioned by the American Textbook Council's report.

The American Textbook Council's work on history texts makes a fairer description about multi-culturalism and the canon. The council seems resigned to the fate of the Canon as they indicate that once one alternative picture of a certain group or culture has succeeded in being included in the "picture" of history, then other groups are sure to follow. The council claims:

> Interest in multiculturalism among educational publishers today is not hard to understand. An increasing number of U.S. schools, especially in metropolitan areas, have Black, Hispanic and Asian students. In a world linked by communications as never before, global awareness -- superimposed upon local and national perspectives -- makes any 'monocultural' curriculum or 'Euro-American canon' seem inherently provincial or narrow. 'Revisionism' has altered the interpretation of history and the humanities in research universities, schools of education, and indirectly, in schools. Some multicultural educators look to non-Western cultures to provide educational alternatives that may correct what they consider to be a Eurocentric curriculum... American histories reflect varying degrees of 'revisionist' pressure to emphasize race, class, and gender in historical analyses... (p. 24).

Postmodernism offers yet one more rifle in the arsenal aimed at uncovering the truth hidden and avoided throughout history. Classically critical scholarship has done the same. Griffen and Marciano (1979), in their study of how the Vietnam War was presented to students, believed that educational materials and writings such as textbooks, for example, were the ideal medium through which one can identify "...the influence that dominant classes or groups exercise by virtue of their control over ideological institutions...that shape perceptions on...vital issues..." (1979, p. 163, cf:

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"hegemony"). A basic premise that this work follows, patterned after Griffen and Marciano, is that socialization functions to maintain social structure. Whether socialization is an "act" or a "subordination" (Griffen and Marciano, 1979) the process consists of transferring appropriate behaviors and ideologies.

Griffen and Marciano (1974, p. vii) note that often school boards are "closely scrutinized by local politicians." I have noticed that local politicians (second only to Christian fundamentalists) hold the largest number of school board positions. Although these are not explicitly politicized positions, in the actual practice of carrying out duties they become supremely political. To maintain the status quo, school districts are driven to choose one curriculum and one text over another by whatever criteria best reflect their socio-economic interests. Many of these so-chosen texts, argue Griffen and Marciano, are the ones in which "the truth is mangled and a whole new generation deceived" (p. vii). The Griffen and Marciano study of textbook portrayals of the Vietnam War is hauntingly similar to what I would say about the Eurocentricity of texts. They found that, "almost without exception, self-righteous nationalism has been emphasized at the expense of objective, honest analyses of American policy" (p. xv).

This trend of avoiding controversial issues such as racism and sexism is ironically and diametrically opposed to some goals of multi-cultural education that stress the value of education as an arena for critical thinking. Textbooks are the place of convergence where economic forces, political controversies and educational philosophies combine. Multi-cultural texts could change this trend of watering-down texts so that they "please all and offend none." Even Diane Ravitch, former Leftist and educational historian at the Teachers College

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of Columbia University who now is a leader in the conservative attack against "separatist" multi-culturalism, had said as recently as 1987 that in the

> saccharine world (of textbooks), no one suffers unjustly, no one is evil, no one is poor or unemployed... This creates an unrealistic image of the society where all battles are in the past, where racism is history, and where women and minorities have nothing left to strive for. The only real problems, it seems, result from poor interpersonal relations (in "The Push for Smarter Textbooks," The New York Times, August 2, 1987).

To conclude, the reader should recall the discussion of social reproduction in the last chapter. Textbooks play a central part in the transference of ideologies -- the social reproduction of the existing power relations of society. However, it is not always automatic, as I have pointed out. Any discussion of the ideological role of texts in the educational structure would be amiss if it did not start with the premise that within the capitalist economic system that there are contradictions, primarily between the relations and forces of production. These contradictions are reproduced in state-controlled institutions, such as education. In addition, different factions of the ruling class may have competing interests. This all leads to a conception of social reproduction whereby in a school setting there is not at all a precise or static set of ideologies which are automatically being reproduced at any given time. This is another ray of hope for the promise of multi-culturalism: it is not a given that schools will always play the same sort of role in structural mystification.

This explains both the central thesis and the antithesis of this work. Multi-cultural education is a struggle to implement since it challenges or questions some of the core, traditional values that support the existing power structure. These values include individualism, equality, social mobility, Whiteness as the racial standard in the national consciousness, "manifest

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destiny," and the view that Europeans (primarily British men like Locke and Adam Smith) provided most all the basis for American society. However, it can be argued that if multi-culturalism was such a serious threat to social reproduction, that many more examples could be found of it being stymied and repressed.

This work, indeed, has shown that quality multi-cultural education takes place, both in the U.S. and even in a homogeneous state like New Hampshire. This contradiction illuminates another contradiction: that although the U.S. power structure has a vested interest in maintaining faith in the traditional values, international capitalism in the "shrinking global village" needs multi-cultural education and cross-cultural understanding in order to operate and expand.

This contradiction helps to explain how the data of this study did and did not support the theory of social reproduction. The theory is supported insofar as teachers' ignorance of and indifference towards multi-cultural issues shows the structural mystification of the existing power relations. As Ralph Milliband says, education is to "bind the intellect" rather than to cultivate it. Change towards a multi-cultural worldview, like any change, requires minds to be open. Resistance towards the underlying issues of race, sex, and class by educators show that contemplating a different view of the world and examining your own socialization is a scary endeavor.

How to Encourage and Justify Multi-cultural Education

What is it that we do to the students in the institutional setting of the ordinary school, and how can multi-cultural education make it better? Proponents of the critical skills model say that for most traditionally-taught

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classrooms, students look "comfortably numb." Schools train students to accept life unquestionably in a mindless bureaucracy, that dominant form of institutional life in our society. Students are rarely encouraged to question authority -- of either the teacher or the text. Teachers can blunt student's creativity, individuality, and interest in learning by lock-stepping students through a system designed for monotonous mass production. Teachers still often encourage competition, discourage the cooperative use of knowledge, and stress the selfish possession of it. The students repeat what teachers tell them, and the measure of success is a grade that can be "banked" (Freire, 1986).

Multi-culturalism can also provide an understanding for us of what Donna Haraway calls "situational knowledges": true comprehension of the lives of people who suffer at the hands of those with hegemonic power on account of race, ethnicity, sex, sexuality, and class. Multi-cultural education is another chance for us to examine and break the linkages between power, authority, and knowledge. It has been these linkages -- the structures of power and authority -- which hinder the quest for knowledge.

Another rationale for multi-cultural education is the increased immigration from Third World countries as well as a opening up of the import and export markets in Third World countries. These changes in the global economy have contributed to the increased importance of education for tolerance and diversity since once homogeneous populations are increasingly diverse. In large parts of London, I am told, it is very difficult to find any restaurants other than Indian. In other parts of London today, it is difficult to find any restaurants other than Asian of some sort, including Chinese, Burmese, and Thai. In the U.S., about the New Ethnicity, as it is called, or the

renewed interest in ethnic origins in the U.S. -- one can ask why has it occurred? Recall the art teacher who was interviewed for this project who said, in effect, that the "gig is up": today's students understand that the melting pot is an illusion and have rejected the assimilation model as coercive and rejected the pluralism model as unrealistic. Novak's description of the obduracy of the "unmeltable ethnics" began this story for White Ethnics. I believe that increased alienation in the consumer society is the explanation for the New Ethnicity.

Although the political and academic Left in the U.S. is skeptical about the political value of post-modernism, it does provides us with critical observations of everyday life in the capitalist world society. A study of the connection between post-modernism and multi-cultural education could be useful. The "end of history" thesis popularized by a politically conservative Japanese-American, Fukuyama, regarding the fall of communism and triumph of capitalism, also seems to hold true for the historical debate on race relations given the nonchalant and ambivalent view the average person has about race equity, race unity, civil rights protections and affirmative action requirements.

It is difficult to find oppositional consciousness unless one turns to the post-modern, post-structuralism of, say, Henry Lewis Gates who has used such a theoretical framework to legitimate Afro-American literary criticism as a academically sound aspect of Black studies.[2] Multi-cultural education can create oppositional consciousness in the bland and homogeneous world of the consumer society. The deconstructivist and relativistic tendency in post-modern theory will surely continue to justify multi-cultural inclusion and revision of the canon. Those concerned with dismantling racism and sexism

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through an exposure of the unequal relationships between groups have postmodern justification to confront the canon. As Aronowitz and Giroux (1991) have noted, "...a postmodern perspective...interrogates the priority of canonicity itself... (p. 17), and later notes

> The values that constitute postmodern education are those of empowerment in the most profound meaning of the term. Students can appropriate the canon of legitimate thought without a prior pledge of reverence... Postmodern educators grant the wisdom contained in such texts but suspend judgment as to their power of universal persuasion in our heterodox social environment. Freedom consists in the capacity of people and groups to transform knowledge in accordance with their own plans (p. 22).

More and more students in U.S. public schools are from diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds, a fact which means that they have differing cultural expectations. Further, many children in school are not functioning up to their grade level. This comes at a time when business and industry are in search of students with specific problem-solving skills. A number of strategies need to be further developed to meet these needs. First, there needs to be a renewed emphasis on using materials that reflect many cultures, a strategy that will hopefully allow minority students to feel more comfortable and give New Hampshire students and teachers a glimpse of what the "real world" looks like outside the state's borders. Gaining a new respect for cultural diversity is crucial.

Education for diversity and for a changing economy needs to become a priority not just for governmental bureaucrats in the federal and state Departments of Education. Everyone -- educators, parents, employers, state and local leaders including school boards, planning agencies, think tanks, and arts and letters community, religious denominations, the media, social and

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cultural organizations of many kinds -- must share the responsibility for better preparing our children, our communities and ourselves for the increasingly complex social, political, economic, and environmental challenges that lie ahead. Students can acquire an understanding of the concept of global interdependence and human interrelatedness via multi-cultural awareness. Attention to multi-cultural education by educators will produce an improved learning environment where equity and equal educational opportunity apply to all, and where everybody understands why acting affirmatively to assure equity is so important.

Multi-cultural education, in the best schools, permeates every aspect of the "formal" school curriculum as well as the "informal" curriculum, including teacher-student interaction patterns and school climate. In these schools, multi-cultural education is not tokenism or "add-ons", it is not teaching about various cultural groups in a few specialized courses by modifying courses and programs, nor is it blindly beating the drum for teachers to "treat everybody the same" in order to increase school harmony. The "melting pot" metaphor gets us only so far before there is a falling rate of return on the investment. Melting pot ideology has really become quite destructive and damaging: remember the interviewee who simply said her students "do not buy it" anymore. Lastly, multi-cultural education is not about focusing on sometimes vague concepts such as prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination, without a context of the real lives and experiences of people of color, linguistic minorities, and women.

What a True Global Education Looks Like

Here, I want to sketch out what issues a humanistic and active multi-

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cultural and global education might want to take under consideration. Prejudice is one of those issues, although it is just a first step, it is a critical one.

According to a recent study by the National Council for the Social Studies[3], prejudice begins early in life, grows in its level of ignorance over the years, and will persist throughout adulthood if not challenged. Young children, the report claims, are the most vulnerable to the unfounded fears and hatreds of prejudice. (The report also mentions that the word prejudice, incidentally, comes from the name of an ancient Roman practice, the "praejudicium" which was similar to a pre-trial hearing where the social status of the accused was determined. Based on the social status, the laws were applied differently in the trial, with those of less social status, not surprisingly, faring less well.)

The National Council for the Social Studies' report on prejudice points to a number of issues crucial for parents, teachers, and other concerned adults to be aware of in trying to block or limit the development of prejudice in children. These issues are summarized as follows: 1) children who have a stronger sense of self-esteem and feel good about themselves are less likely to exhibit prejudice; 2) caring for others -- both within the home or at school -- is a key part of an environment that prevents or defuses prejudice; 3) social influences such as the media and particularly television determine attitudes towards females and minorities more than does education; and, 4) formal learning alone does not typically undo deep-seated prejudices. It is this second issue, the caring for others, that I wish to use as a justification for a truly global education.

What does feminism offer to global education? One vein of feminist

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thought has been about the "ethics of care," primarily attributed to the work of Nell Noddings (1984; 1992). As a practical philosophy, the "ethics of care" moves beyond the detached and abstract ethics based on formalized moral reasoning. Schools, says Noddings, are in a "crisis of care" (1984, p. 181) where all sorts of violence, especially racial and gender violence, continues to escalate. A goal of multi-cultural education could be to create the "one-caring" individual, who does not reach a conclusion to care about another through rational steps and justifications, but is led to this conclusion by cultivating a feeling that one is obliged to care and care well.

Teachers, in particular, need to be "one-caring." Women more than men are generally socialized to be this way, but both women and men could use a globally interconnected "ethics of care" as a basis for a deeply humanistic multi-cultural and global education. In this global education, we create children who are "one-caring" in that they empathize and care for another without having to existentially project themselves into the shoes of another first. This education for sensitivity comes out of the private domain of the home, where parents often teach children to care, yet their is no "Care Curriculum" in the schools. In general, the role of socializing others to care about humanity has been ascribed to mothers. This strategy takes the level of care and concern rooted in the mother's care of her children and applies in the institutional setting of the school.

Noddings makes much sense when she notes that we reward education for producing students with high SAT scores who can reel off facts and use logic, yet we do not evaluate the school with respect to how well it is teaching children to care. She notes that instead of justifying why we should care, we should really have to justify not caring (1984, p. 95). The reader may recall

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the art teacher who made a point about the importance of "walking your talk" and opening expressing your concern over racism and sexism, for example. Noddings notes that it is crucial for teachers to act "real" and not to sugarcoat the harsh realities of prejudice and discrimination. The art teacher noted that young people quickly pick up on disparities between words and deeds, or words that are not followed through with related deeds. Noddings agrees, saying that "everything (teachers) do..has moral overtones" (p. 179).

Teachers, particularly the wealth of female teachers in elementary school, might feel more comfortable using the "ethics of care" as a basis for multi-cultural teaching. Although it stands the risk of missing some of the political dimensions of multi-cultural issues, teachers might find the "ethical ideal" of caring, the cultivation of relatedness, to be a worthy goal (p. 181). My position is not one of a multi-cultural essentialism: I do not profess to know the "truth" of multi-culturalism. However, I would recommend basing collective decisions about how we should cultivate "relatedness" in a global, multi-cultural sense through the framework of Nodding's "ethics of care."

Global education in school curriculum is located primarily in the social studies, such as the "new geography" and "backyard history" movements, and could likely benefit from this "ethics of care" perspective. Multi-cultural education is more psychological and emotional, yet sometimes not focused on interpersonal and intergroup relations. (We have already mentioned the superficial multi-culturalism which emphasizes the "three F's: Food, Fun, and Festival".) Multi-cultural education is growing in the arts, music, and literature components of school curriculum. Both global education and multi-cultural education stress "shrinking global village" ideology, but in different ways. I argue that currently what is called multi-cultural education is

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inherently less political (e.g., class-based, Nation-State analysis of ethnicity and la différence) than the global education movement. The global education curriculum also has a strong environmental awareness component in much of it: focusing on the "One World", "Spaceship Earth" and "Little Blue Ball" (e.g., the Earth as pictured from space), that would make a natural fit with the "ethics of care."

What can increased sociological understanding contribute to the social need for high quality, systemic multi-cultural education? Although it seems on the surface that multi-cultural education has more of its roots in people of color and non-Anglo ethnicity and women who are trying to find their own culture -- find themselves -- in their curriculum, today the popularity and incorporation of multi-cultural education in almost all disciplines has led to the interesting situation that multi-cultural education is most often taught by Whites. The vast majority of college teachers are White males, and, except for elementary school, where there are more female teachers, most K-12 teachers are also White males. It could be argued that multi-cultural education is not really controlled by race and ethnic minority faculty in any educational level. What does it matter if well-intentioned Whites are primary teachers of multi-cultural education? Some argue, for instance Kunjufu (1990), that the teaching of multi-culturalism is twisted to legitimize neo-liberal, middle and upper middle class White lifestyles and that, indeed, the school itself is a corporation with that function.

One need often expressed by school officials in New Hampshire is to be able to increase the number of role models for race/ethnic minority students by recruiting minority faculty members. This is a very difficult task in the Deep North of New England, and it is difficult to point those folks concerned in

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the right direction.   Those minority educators who do choose to live in New Hampshire often can acquire high-paying jobs at wealthy private schools. Many people of color purposively choose not to live in a place such as New Hampshire where the racism is more covert.   Two women of color informed me at a racism conference in North Conway, New Hampshire that they were moving back down South because at least there "Black folks know what parts of the town to stay out of and what streets the KKK people lived on" while in New Hampshire "you never know when it (a racial attack) is coming....I had a can of soup thrown at my head in a Shop and Save parking lot last month... (and) lots of times I hear people say 'nigger' to me under their breath...down South it's easier to avoid, believe it or not."

Parents, as well as academic scholars and educators, need to demand that school administration does a better job in preparing students to live and work in an increasingly diverse world.   Parents should not be satisfied with a token "diversity day" and a bulletin board devoted to Women's History Month in March, although I do encourage and help schools with these activities if nothing else.   We have to accept schools, school districts and boards, educators, parents, and students "where they are at": it likely will be years before some schools could hold even these token events or activities.   Again, the schools that are doing the best are the wealthier and/or the private schools who report that multi-cultural education in an integral part of the school's overall program, woven into the schools' descriptions of desired school climate and cited and enforced often in school policies, codes, and guidelines.   I have heard of too many students who go to New Hampshire schools where they are repeatedly called "nigger" or "spic" or "slut" on a daily basis and the administrators either do nothing to stop the behavior or, more commonly,

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doles out minor punishment to the perpetrator, then when the behavior continues shrug their shoulders and say "I've done all I can."

One guidepost philosophy, which seems to be more common in the schools where multi-cultural education is systemically valued, is a demonstrated belief that all students can learn, a philosophy such schools explicitly and implicitly extol by their efforts towards diversifying how instruction and learning take place, extending and adapting the curriculum, and offering nurturing and varied activities and support services. The very best of New Hampshire schools illustrate concerted attempts to integrate content related to racial, ethnic, linguistic, and sexual diversity across the curriculum thereby enhancing understanding and appreciation of self and others.

Simultaneously, these few schools are preparing students for responsible citizenship and productive and rewarding work and personal lives by empowering them with critical thinking skills and technology-related abilities, fostering a desire for lifelong learning and teaching other desirable affective traits such as motivation, cooperation, empathy, and curiosity. It is this model of schooling that serves well the intentions of federal funding for Civil Rights in education. It is within this comprehensive model of school improvement that social studies move from a White, male, military-oriented history to an inclusive program that emphasizes a multi-cultural and gender-inclusive curriculum.

The best pedagogy I have seen in New Hampshire schools offers a variety of exploratory programs aimed at providing students with real-life situations that will better prepare them for societal obligations and future economic challenges. One particular private preparatory school in the

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central Lakes Region of New Hampshire is a sociologist's dream. According to its headmaster, this school views sociology as a major culminating class which is required for all seniors. While the social institutions of the family, government, religion, economy and science have all been taught during students' first years, the required sociology course concentrates on a critical examination of the importance of these institutions in society. One objective of the course is self-discovery and self-acceptance through the examination of heredity, environment, and culture. This encourages students to begin to understand their own individual roles and to grapple with "nature/nurture" controversies. Another course objective requires students to focus on social issues and social change whereby each student must present a lecture of a social problem of her/his own choosing.

I know that university level, sociology courses do not always accomplish as much. The same private school has a formalized Diversity Committee whose members get excused from other duties in order to scrutinize the school's programs to ensure egalitarian treatment regardless of students' racial and economic backgrounds and to promote programs that celebrate the ethnically diverse backgrounds represented on campus. In 1992, this school conducted a series of assemblies entitled "We Dream A World" which addresses women of many cultures who have had a positive impact on the world.

It is a notable observation that the best multi-cultural education is occurring in private schools rather than in the public school system. Private schools are preparing wealthier students to assume roles of power and status in the social structure. Multi-cultural awareness, as pointed out earlier, is necessary for international capitalism. That is one reason offered as to why multi-cultural education is more evident in private schools. Another reason is

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that the threat multi-cultural education presents to social reproduction is less in wealthy, private schools than in public schools for the masses. A Nation-State can afford to have its' future rulers and business leaders question traditional core values, yet cannot afford the same open inquiry for the working and middle class students.

Probably few public schools come close to achieving the level of multi-cultural education in the country that I have described in this one private school in New Hampshire. Certainly I am not aware of any public schools in New Hampshire that have such a multi-culturally rich curriculum that addresses diversity issues such as class, race, sex, and sexuality. There is a considerable amount of interference and controversy around such efforts here. Even one recent event I helped plan at one of the few large urban high schools in New Hampshire was marred by student and teacher homophobia and led to public, verbal attacks on the teacher organizers as well as to the superintendent publicly stating in an interview with the school's newspaper that he would fire any teacher immediately who admitted to being gay or lesbian. The cause for such controversy was a Sensitivity Awareness Day which focused on a single issue: intolerance. The purpose of this day was to promote greater awareness among students about acts of insensitivity, hatred, discrimination, bigotry or violence towards minority group members. Speakers who talked about the political economy of racism and the history of the patriarchy and its current effect on girls' development and womens' psychology were just fine, but it was another story when an openly gay law professor at a local college was slated to speak about the contributions of gays and lesbians to contemporary culture.

Unfortunately, in many public schools self-discovery and tolerance for

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others has been victim to the Religious Right. Recall from Chapter Two how popular the educational play-acting program, the Duso puppets, are in elementary school curriculums in which conflict situations are played out and the children are asked questions such as "how can this situation be resolved without fighting?" and "how do you think (certain behavior) made the puppet characters feel?". Also recall from Chapter Four the limiting effect that Religious Right has on open inquiry in schools in spite of the accusation of "political correctness" which is directed primarily at Left/liberals.

These attempts at self-knowledge and tolerance and appreciation of differences are often found in conflict resolution education, self-esteem and self-identity education, sex and health education, and cultural diversity and "social issues" education. These positive trends are combatted by the increasingly heavy and persuasive presence of the Religious Right on local school boards. The Religious Right's loud voice talks about multi-cultural education as encouraging "relativism" and "amorality," and in the same breath demonizes the school as being concerned with the self-esteem of children. Self-esteem work sacrilegiously teaches that the locus of control is internal rather than solely by parents, divine power or social institutions.

One local school board (particularly packed with Religious Right members) has stopped a annual event called World Hunger Awareness Night because it was, among other things, "socialistic" and "relativistic," according to one educator who attends school board meetings mostly as a concerned parent. This event had begun in recent years at the high school where teachers, parents, and students gather for a communal meal representing the average allocation of food among the world's population. Although a small percentage of people drew a card which provided them with an elegantly-

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served gourmet meal featuring beef and heavy sauces at least three-fourths of the people drew cards which directed them to wait in long lines to receive either a scanty portion of beans and rice or just bread and water. The effect was reported to be dramatic and sobering. At the "open mike" closing activity after the meal many students (as well as teachers and parents) expressing outrage at the social injustice of the politics of food. The event was a popular way for teachers to share time with parents and students in a non-academic way and the ticket money was used to fund Cultural Awareness Committee activities including guest speakers, teacher training in conflict resolution, and multi-cultural assemblies. The validity and necessity of these activities were also strongly called into question by the school board, although a motion was dropped which would have prohibited future activities which did not promote undefined "traditionally American family values."

Philosophically and politically, these attacks continue to undermine the development, implementation, and success of humanistic education models, such as John Dewey's, which emphasizes scrutiny of belief systems (including one's own), experiential knowledge, and open inquiry. Increasing school violence is the most pressing problem for the U.S. educational system. However, the alarming rate of influence by the Religious Right on education is a close second to the return of an educational emphasis on memorization and rote learning, tracking and homogeneous groupings, and "traditional family values" which do not include multi-cultural appreciation.[4]

Teachers in all schools, not just the wealthy ones, need to be trained in cooperative learning techniques that research suggests may both aid students who have not been able to learn successfully in teacher-dominated classrooms and gives practice in the team approach. This team approach now being

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followed in the work world by Total Quality Management (TQM). Education has to respond better to this paradigm shift where in the classroom we are moving from the "sage on the stage" to the "guide on the side." All students, especially the 50% of the student population of the female persuasion, need to be directly told to prepare to take care of themselves financially. Then they should be assisted and encouraged to "get the skills that pay the bills."

Kozol (1991) elaborates his position that the only way to equalize school outcomes is to completely rid ourselves of the system of funding education through property taxes. This is a painful argument because it is to obviously true. He notes that "secondary issues" such as Total Quality Management (TQM) and Site-Based management are capturing the attention of school restructurers, but Kozol points out that without eradicating ourselves from the extreme inequalities between schools we will just end up with "restructured destitution...not a very significant gain."

Although Kozol's point is well taken about restructuring the same old inequalities, some of the principles of Total Quality Management (TQM) in education are quite relevant to the interests of multi-culturalism. Increased site-based management has the potential for local decisions made about the nature of a school's or district's curricula changing towards more multi-cultural approaches especially in areas where the racial and ethnic demographics are rapidly changing. Bonstingl (1992) notes that TQM in schools would also stress a cooperative team-approach that, if structured correctly, can be less hierarchical. Alternative assessment strategies are also recommended by TQM. Also, multi-cultural and other equity issues need to be at the forefront as teachers increasingly "teach across the curriculum," meaning that single discipline instruction is giving way to multi- and cross-

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discipline learning (pp. 83-85). One could use a thematic structuring of such an approach focused on issues of equity and inequality or prejudice and discrimination.

One often-mentioned challenge facing schools today is "restructuring." Here is a place for equity concerns to be heard loudly. Workers in civil rights and equity in education issues have a "teachable moment" of our own. To put it bluntly, we have to show schools how cheap it is to provide equitable education. Relatively easy changes in teacher-student interaction patterns, for example, can have an positive impact on the 50 point spread between the SAT scores of boys over those of girls. Federal funds for civil rights are additional resources to keep schools improving in a time of declining public financial support.

For all its controversy, outcome-based education (OBE) seems to be the umbrella under which restructuring is occurring. Everything in the traditional paradigm of educational systems has to be reviewed and challenged from staff development and student groupings to the 50-minute period, the 7-period day, and the 9-month school year. "Parental involvement" is a buzz word again and many schools are making some token efforts and a few are actually expanding the roles for parents (with their children) in planning their educational program and as active participants in the educational process. Schools are being forced to change to demonstrable graduation standards, and they should do it to themselves (the right and equitable way) rather than wait for loonies on the school board to make up the desired outcomes for them.

Assessment is the main issue on which school board members are suddenly "experts," sometimes making outcome standards and endorsing

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assessment techniques without much input from the educational community. We do need to identify what students "need to know" in order to become productive citizens in the twenty-first century, but there is no absolute (thus incomplete and inadequate) laundry list similar to that which Hirsch tried to come up with.[5]   Also, what students need to know needs to be assessed with a broader palette of available methods, those "alternative assessment" tools (such as, for example, the use of portfolios which we discussed earlier in this chapter) that will adequately and accurately measure what was learned. Education needs less reliance on standardized testing which measures memory rather than workable knowledge and skills.   Educators must be given greater flexibility to devise challenging and inspiring strategies to serve the needs of a increasingly diverse body of students: schools must be able to educate effectively all children when they arive at the schoolhouse door, regardless of variations in students' interest, capacities, or learning styles.   One teacher grumbled about the hyper-attention given to assessment currently and stated that the repeated testing and re-testing of a child is akin to pulling up a carrot to see how it's growing.

Outcome-based education (OBE) uses programs and techniques designed to determine what students are learning as they make their way through a state's education system.   New Hampshire is in the process of developing "core standards" or "performance standards" to "assess" in the third-, eighth-, and eleventh-grades in as many as eleven areas of academic knowledge.   It is unclear whether the ideology of local control in a state such as New Hampshire will result in the development of these standards as a resource which districts can decide to use or not use.   It would require a change in state rules to require districts to implement a certain set of standards and certain

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types of assessment to go along with them.

Additionally, most models of OBE also want schools to set performance standards for students in the areas of problem solving, computers, interpersonal communications, critical thinking, creativity, and life skills. According to an article on outcome-based education in Education Week (Sept. 22, 1993), such education has become a signal to the Religious Right that threatens to eliminate traditional values and rote academics and move towards an emphasis on goals for behavior and empty relativism. Some conservative Christians see OBE as a direct threat to their fundamentalist-based "back-to-basics" educational movement.

Gratefully, the African proverb that "it takes a whole community to raise a child" has rather rapidly become more and more well-known. Yet, that there is still a long way to go in addressing multi-cultural education, as it has been broadly defined here, is hardly a surprise. A real surprise was the modelling of effective and high-quality multi-cultural and gender-fair education which was going on, once one dug around for it, in a school here and a classroom there. The true measure for the effectiveness of multi-cultural education is not ultimately found in the school anyway, but in the workplace, the home, the street.

Academia needs to acknowledge the pivotal role it has played in germinating segregated, separatist, and racist thinking. Asa Hilliard III (1984) quotes from Hegel's 1831 The Philosophy of History where Hegel de-values Africa and Africans in order to make it "academically okay" to oppress. Hegel talked about that "peculiarly African character" which is difficult to grasp since the African consciousness has not evolved to the point of recognizing universal truths such as those of law or God. Hegel went on to paint a picture

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of Africans as wild and untamed without cultural continuity, history, or serious spirituality: what Hegel called the "underdeveloped spirit" of the Africans.

No one has cleaned up the textbooks of pseudo-intellectual and scientific racism and sexism, which needs desperately to be done if we are serious about creating a global and multi-cultural education that stresses equality in opportunities as well in outcomes. The biology books still use data which justifies eugenics, or the appearance on data, now known to be fraudulent, supplied by Cyril Burt on the inheritance of I.Q., still appearing in some introductory psychology texts. The Science for the People group I am a member in has found that a number of texts have added paragraphs to their new editions mentioning that Burt's work was exposed as fraud, but keep Burt's data and conclusions in other, unrevised, empirical sections of the text.

We need to remember the role of schooling in justifying and normalizing oppressing, just as in Nazi Germany where the public school became the vehicle of carrying out oppression after the National Socialists greatly changed the tenor of textbooks towards anti-democratic thought, eugenical thought, and the glorification of war. We need to teach our children how Hitler thanked the U.S. Cavalry for giving Nazi Germany the idea of stacking people in boxcars, which is what we did to the Native-Americans to ship them off to the reservations, and that Hitler got the policy of having separate benches and other facilities for Jews from the policies of segregated facilities in the U. S. South, as well as that German eugenics appealed to the authority of writings by respected early-twentieth-century U.S. biologists and psychologists on eugenics and racial inferiority of Eastern European immigrants, as well as to the "model" of the laws passed in twenty-six U.S.

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states mandating the sterilization of the "feeble-minded."

With all the indications that prejudice and discrimination are on the rise as part of the backlash against people of color and females (largely led by reactionary academics) there is still hope. That hope lies in the promise of programs and organizations focusing on multi-cultural issues. Two such programs are Educators for Social Responsibility and the Teaching Tolerance Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center (the Center who also spawned the Klanwatch Project). Both of their efforts are exemplary in working towards an ideal of critically-based global and multi-cultural education.

Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) is based in Boston with state coordinators. It focuses on providing teachers with the tools to develop social consciousness and a commitment to social responsibility in students. ESR's in-service teacher training programs and curricula include focuses on expanding perspectives of human diversity and global interdependence, conflict resolution and violence prevention, communication skills emphasizing cooperation including cross-cultural communication skills, and social problems such as environmental damage, war, racism, and sexism. ESR also provides support (in the way of school consultations and individual advice from trained facilitators) to extend the learning of teacher training to affect a positive change on overall school climate and the educational success of all students.

Unlike ESR, which charges for its services, the Teaching Tolerance Project provides a monthly magazine and kit including a video and teacher's guide free of charge for any schools or educators who request it. The material focuses on moral and ethical issues around hate crimes, and was reviewed in Chapter Three. The Southern Poverty Law Center has had considerably

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success in the legal arena against the perpetrators of hate crimes such as the KKK and neo-Nazi groups, but wants to branch out and focus on preventive education. The _Teaching Tolerance_ monthly magazine, which is separate from the curriculum of the same name, focuses on practical, teacher-tested ideas to promote understanding and tolerance, and usually provides at least one article on civil rights. A recent copy quoted Pulitzer Prize-winning author Taylor Branch who said: "If you're trying to teach people to be citizens, teach them about the Civil Rights Movement." The first video and text-teaching kit produced by the Project was on "America's Civil Rights Movement". Over 36,000 schools have ordered free copies of this teaching kids. Other kits under production deal with the history of hatred in America and ways young people can work to build understanding and respect in communities torn by hate violence and racial tensions.

Professional educational associations have also recently honed in on multi-cultural issues in schooling. The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) focused on global education in 1992, offering textbooks, teacher's aids such as exercises and fact sheets, and curriculums to its members who are mostly in educational administration. They also begun the ASCD Global Education Network and a newsletter entitled _Global Connection_. ASCD's materials include information on prejudice, but they mostly center on the "shrinking global village" in terms of global changes in communication, transportation, and business and trade issues. Their materials also deal with the consequences of increased interaction among cultures in the post-Cold War world. These include the potential for both increased misunderstanding as well as increased cooperation and sharing. They also include an overall increase in the debates about cultural identity, loyalty to

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nation, and the occasional rise of reactionary ultranationalism such as in Serbia and other East European countries. An example of one of their curricula for primary grades from the ASCD Global Education Network is Impact!, which is designed to help very young children discover how everything we do affects everything and everyone. It is divided into six sections which cover topics such as recycling, land degradation, population and conservation of resources.

Looking through some high school history textbooks show us how far we have to go. Ethnic groups, such as the Native Americans, are presented as obstacles to the advancement of the westward-looking "manifest destiny" of Anglo civilization. Nonetheless, the link between education and adult life in the shrinking "global village" is increasingly obvious and necessary to many dimensions of what we call survival of the species -- all species. Marshall McLuhan used the term "global village" in 1960 to refer to how all people's lives have become interconnected -- a concept more real than ever. Our children must be able to learn and function humanely in a pluralistic society as well as an inter-dependent world. This is the kind of character development and broad education for tolerance and compassion that multi-cultural education can provide. This is the development in the child that is ultimately the most important: as Einstein wrote, the development of a good character is much more important than the acquisition of abstract facts.

Educational policy must move beyond the prevailing rationale for multi-cultural education meant mostly for minority students who cannot relate to Euro-White curriculum. Educational leaders must be able to articulate to White school boards, White classroom teachers, White parents and their children the vital importance of multi-cultural education for all.

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One version of the relationship between education and tolerance is that education gradually broadens the worldview, makes the unknown increasingly known, and thus heightens the tolerance of differences. Therefore, in a multi-cultural world, the desirability to have highly educated people is due to the fact that increased cultural tolerance will come about from increased cross-cultural understanding. However, the opposite can be argued: that education must be forcibly directed at cultivating tolerance and that, in fact, much of modern education validates privilege and de-sensitizes and rationalizes crimes against humanity such as war, poverty, racism and sexism. Consider the plea make to teachers in the following poem written by Dr. Haim G. Ginnott, a Holocaust survivor, in Teacher and Child:

Dear Teacher:

I am a survivor of a concentration

camp. My eyes saw what no person should witness:

> Gas chambers built by learned engineers,
> Children poisoned by educated physicians,
> Infants killed by trained nurses,
> Women and babies shot and burned by high school and
> college graduates.

So, I am suspicious of education.

My request is: Help your students become human. Your efforts
must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths,
educated Eichmanns.
Reading, writing, arithmetic are important only if they serve to
make your children more humane.

We must prepare to sacrifice ethnocentric constructions of Western culture. We must get over any feelings that multi-cultural education negates the validity of Western culture. We must do so for the sake of teaching understanding and tolerance of cultural and linguistic minorities. Also we cannot neglect all females from whatever cultural background along with

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other minorities who need to be prepared for the diverse, team-oriented, and globally-linked workplace of the future. Educators can still teach children to appreciate European culture while making it clear that it is not the whole culture but rather a part of the multi-cultural experience. In fact, educators can turn this argument on its head by showing how European culture has played an important role in our understanding of democratic principles which are the basis for our dealing positively with cultural pluralism. Clearly, we know why and how to teach children and nurture them into responsible and tolerant adults, so it is not a matter of re-inventing the wheel. The wheel I have seen operating in New Hampshire just needs to be in more schools.

I agree with Kozol's analysis of recent school restructuring attempts. There is no "educational excellence" unless it is exactly for everybody. Desegregation, within and between schools, for females as well as students of color, is only the first step. Now we need to focus on integration through gender-fair, multi-cultural and global education, which is not just tacos on Tuesday and fried rice on Friday.

End Notes to Chapter VIII

1. For a quick review of how textbooks are increasingly stripped of matter which might invoke controversy, see "The Push for Smarter Schoolbooks" in The New York Times, August 2, 1987.

2. See Gates' work, The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literacy Criticism.

3. See the brief on the National Council for the Social Studies report on prejudice produced ERIC Digest: The Clearinghouse of Roman Education and Small Schools, ERIC/CRESS, Appalachia Educational Laboratory, Charleston, W. Virginia, 1993.

4. "Traditional family values" is commonly considered to refer to Commitment

to the nuclear family, community concern, and religious devotion. However these values can be understood other ways. A bumper sticker in Concord, NH claimed that the real "traditional family values" which we hide and deny and need to break the "tradition" with are "Abuse, Alcoholism, and Incest."

5. One instance of the incompleteness of such "laundry lists" of knowledge is found in Hirsch's Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know (1988). He mentions Ellis Island in the Appendix of "What Literate Americans Know" (p. 169), but fails to mention Angel Island, the West coast entry into America for many Asian immigrants.

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POSITIVE PEER INTERACTION--A NEEDS SURVEY

Dear Primary Grade Educator:
Please Indicate the best answer or response to the following questions or statements:
To what extent are your students: Strongly Moderately Weakly

1. effected by low self-esteem?   ____ ____ ____

2. having difficulty with interpersonal
relationships with peers?   ____ ____ ____

3. effected by negative peer influence?   ____ ____ ____

4. isolated socially and psychologically?   ____ ____ ____

5. holding unrealistic expectations of others?   ____ ____ ____

6. already developing a sense of personal worth?   ____ ____ ____

7. developing a sense of personal sense of
"right" and "wrong" behavior?   ____ ____ ____

8. guided by clear parental expectations?   ____ ____ ____

9. troubled by psychological problems?   ____ ____ ____

10. learning to defend their personal rights?   ____ ____ ____

11. modeling responsible behavior toward others? ____ ____ ____

12. lacking in clear senses of well-being?   ____ ____ ____

13. having difficulty empathizing with others?   ____ ____ ____

14. learning to negotiate with other students?   ____ ____ ____

15. having difficulty understanding the consequences
of irresponsible behavior towards others?   ____ ____ ____

16. For any of the above issues (or other related issues not yet mentioned), what kind of teacher training or activity development do you think would be most useful for us to pursue? Please describe in detail:

_____

_____

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_____
_____

17. If we conducted a teacher training on the issues referenced above, how likely is it that you would be interested in participating?
Very interested___   Somewhat interested___   Not very interested___

17A. If not very interested, why not? _____

_____

18. Have you heard your students use derogatory language (e.g., name-calling) with reference to racial or ethnic minorities?   Yes____ No____

19. ......with reference to female students? Yes____ No_____

19A. Comments: _____

_____

20. Which groups of students (for example: male, female, racial/ethnic minorities, children of low socio-economic status, children with social or emotional problems, etc.) appear to have the greatest self-esteem problems?   Please list two:
a._____   b._____

21. Is your school supportive of parental involvement? Yes____ No____
Somewhat____

22. To what extent do you view parents as partners in your efforts to educate their children?   As crucial partners____   As helpful but not crucial____   As not that helpful____

23. How important would it be to include a parental component in any training or workshops we conduct on the issues discussed? Very important____   Somewhat important____   Not that important____

24. In general, what is the level of understanding and tolerance of students towards socio-cultural diversity: High___ Average___ Poor___

25. In general, what in the level of understanding and tolerance of parents towards socio-cultural diversity: High___ Average___ Poor___

26. In general, what in the level of understanding and tolerance of teachers towards socio-cultural diversity: High___ Average___ Poor___

27. Please rank the following from strongest to weakest regarding how these variables play in the socialization of bias, prejudice, and stereotyping in your students ([1] strongest, [4] weakest):
a.____Parents/Family

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b.____Teachers/School
c.____Media
d.____Peers

28. Do you have racial or ethnic minorities in your classes? Yes__ No___
28A.If yes, please elaborate: _____
_____

29. Is multicultural education an important component of your curriculum? Yes____
Somewhat____ No_____

29A. Please explain: _____
_____

30. Would you include more multicultural components in your lesson plans if the
appropriate multicultural material were readily available and easy to use? Yes____
Perhaps____ No_____

30A. Please explain: _____
_____

31a-d. What pedagogical methods and curricular materials do you use which address the
following issues:
    tolerance/empathy of others_____
_____
cultural diversity/cultural pluralism_____
_____
self-esteem_____
_____
gender issues_____
_____

32. Research shows that high-achieving females get the least classroom attention. Do
your personal experiences and perceptions bear this research claim out? Yes____
No____ Can not tell_____

33. How important is it for you to spend time on activities involving an acceptance of
differences, be they social, cultural, physical? Very important____ Somewhat
important____ Not very important____

34. What percent of your instructional time would you estimate you spend on activities
which have a component of multicultural understanding, awareness of cultural
differences, and/or tolerance, respect, and empathy for others?
a.____less than 1%
b.____from 1-5%
c.____from 5-10%
d.____from 10-20%

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e._____from 20-30%
f._____from 30-40%
g._____from 40-50%
h._____other. Estimate_____ %

35. How serious a problem is bias and prejudice on account of racial or ethnic differences in your school?   A very serious problem____ A serious problem____ An existing but not that serious problem____ Not a problem__

36. How serious a problem is gender bias in your school? A very serious problem____ A serious problem____ An existing but not that serious problem____ Not a problem____

37. How serious a problem is bias and prejudice on account on socio-economic status in your school?   A very serious problem__ A serious problem__ An existing but not that serious problem__ Not a problem__

38. Any other comments or suggestions? Use back of survey, please!

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INTERVIEW CHECKLIST

<u>To be stated at the beginning of interview:</u>

Whatever answers you give and opinions you share will be strictly confidential: no one person or school will be identified or identifiable in any report. I am going to see many people, and what I am interested in is the overall picture. I will appreciate your frank and candor answers.

During this interview, I would like us to keep the broadest, most inclusive definition of multi-cultural education in mind, even as I ask you to cite and critique specific topics which might or might not be understood as multi-cultural.

This interview is completely voluntary. Do I have your consent to begin? Yes___ No___

<u>Demographics</u>

I would like to know a little bit about you so I can tell how different types of people living in different environments feel about these issues:

How long have you been teaching? ____ How long have you been at this school?____ How long have you been a resident of NH?_____ Where were you born?_____ Grade level_____ Position_____ How many race/ethnic minority students are in your current class(es)? ____ How many race/ethnic minority students, in your estimation, are in your school? _____

<u>Conceptual Understandings</u>

1. What do you think of multi-culturalism? Of the multi-cultural education movement?

2. What programs, if any, would come under the idea of multi-cultural education in your school?

3. What is emphasized in these programs?

4. What educational initiatives in your school seem to be related to multi-cultural education?

5. Are race relations emphasized in multi-cultural education used in your school? Are there other learning concepts stressed in multi-cultural education?

6. Sometimes the literature speaks of global education. What is your understanding of global education? Is global education part of multi-cultural education in your school?

<u>Related Social Factors</u>

7. I am going to ask you about your views on a number of issues that come up in discussions on multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. First, what is your understanding of the following issues? Second, how does the issue relate to multi-cultural education as you define it?

    a. The political correctness debate
    b. Affirmative Action
    c. Afrocentric curriculum
    d. U.S. race relations
    e. relativism

8. Is there such a thing as reverse racism to you? To others? How about reverse sexism? Why or why not?

9. Have race relations worsened or improved in the last two decades?

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10. Some scholars have claimed that the roots of Western civilization are in Black Egypt (the Black Athena thesis). Are you aware of this research? How might this affect multi-cultural education?

Multi-cultural Education in New Hampshire

11. Does New Hampshire need multi-cultural education? Why or why not? Is it important for New Hampshire students to be exposed to multi-cultural and/or global education even if the student body of a school is primarily "White" or Caucasian, meaning primarily of European or French-Canadian background? Why or why not?

12. Has it come to your attention that New Hampshire has a resolution signed and approved by Governor Sununu in 1988 in which he and the NH legislature supported and encouraged multi-cultural education in the schools?

13. People talk about the need to educate youth to live and work effectively in a culturally and ethnically diverse world, what is sometimes called the shrinking "global village"? How do you think New Hampshire is doing in this regard?

14. What kinds of multi-cultural education materials are in use at your school? In what content areas are these materials used? May I see any of these materials?

15. Have your instructional methods changed in response to increased numbers students with no or little proficiency in English? Have any of your colleagues changed methods of instruction?

16. Have instructional methods in your school changed due to increase awareness of gender and/or race equity issues in the classroom? If yes, how?

17. Is the school climate discussed in your school? Are issues of gender or race equity a part of any discussions on school climate?

Educational Policy and Multi-Cultural Education

18. Does your district or school have any written resolutions, policy statements, or guidelines on any aspects of multi-cultural education? On race, sex, and national origin equal opportunity and educational equity?

19. Are you aware that the state Department of Education provides pre-service or in-service training for multi-cultural education and related topics free of charge to schools and districts? Would you be interested in participating in such trainings? Why or why not?

20. Would you be in favor of including multi-cultural awareness training in teacher education requirements? Why or why not?

21. Should federal monies that Congress allocates for school related Civil Rights issues be spent on multi-cultural education in the schools? Why or why not?

22. Do you consider New Hampshire students of Franco-Canadian descent ethnic minorities?

Additional Information

23. Do you have any other comments or thoughts about any of the topics we discussed today?

24. May I see you again if I need to talk some more on this subject?

25. Who else do you recommend that I see?

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Interview on Multi-culturalism and Multi-cultural Education
Christy Hammer

<u>Field Test of Questionnaire</u>

1. Which questions seem the most important?

2. Which questions seem the least important?

3. Which questions do you like the best?

4. Which questions do you like the least?

5. Are there questions which are unclear or ambiguous?

6. Which questions would you delete, if any?

7. Which questions would you add, if any?

8. What is your assessment of the overall questionnaire?

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APPENDIX C

NARRATIVE OF THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TWELVE INTERVIEWS

Respondent #1 was with a 61 year old female first grade teacher of German descent who has taught for 40 years. She estimates that the elementary school (sited in a suburban area of a major city) is about 10% race/ethnic minorities, mostly Hispanic, and that she has two Hispanic children in her class currently.

She says we do need multi-cultural education in New Hampshire "because we aren't used to having people of different cultures in NH. When I moved here in 1965 there were relatively few Black, Hispanic, and Oriental people. Since the 1980, we have seen more in this neighborhood. We need (more multi-cultural education) because we haven't been accustomed to it and so we can get more of a global scope (and) so we aren't so prejudiced. I was shocked in 1965 when moving to New Hampshire with editorial of The Union Leader (Manchester paper) by (Editor) Loeb which said blacks should stay out of NH, there were 3000 in New Hampshire and we don't need any more."

The way this Respondent defined multi-cultural education is "to have a mixture of different cultures within the classroom (where) the teacher is absorbing all equally and building an appreciation of each culture." A multi-cultural classroom could study and "...understand why Hispanics like certain music or not. Regardless of language problems, we need to reach all students. It is a big challenge because we have to understand where they are coming from -- a place not like your own background."

She felt that there was definitely a push for multi-cultural education "because in the (teacher supply) catalogs there is now a big money-maker with multi-cultural education. To be really 'with it' you need to buy a lot of multi-cultural materials." She does wonder if maybe multi-cultural materials are not really needed because a good teacher can gain a multi-cultural perspective from children themselves in innovative ways. Soliciting information on race/ethnic heritage "could be a threat, too, because some children of multi-cultural backgrounds have a violent (family) background."

The problem with doing multi-cultural education is that it is too time-consuming to find out about (the ethnicity) each child and have the child share his or her experiences. She said, "We are going away from the traditional kind of education, to learn ABCs. (The attempt for multi-cultural education) is weaving something into curriculum which many people don't think is basic. It's important because you are developing a better world where everybody gets along (yet) the curriculum is already overloaded with drug and sex curriculum."

This Respondent believed she had an excellent background on diversity issues because she was from New York City because went to a "big city college" (Hunter) where she had many experiences with different cultural background and (ethnic) food festivals. She feels where she came from gave her a deeper appreciation of different cultures and religions. Going to public high school in New York City had supplied her with many inter-cultural experiences, and she said that "we were not segregated in any way and we seemed to all get along."

However, she began to discuss her recollections of when many

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Hispanics started coming into Queens (New York) in the 1960s. She says they would "come into Kennedy airport in droves in their pajamas sometimes and were renting apartments with sometimes up to 20 people together. Hispanic children which were from welfare families were counted as part of multiple families so that the families could collect more (welfare dollars) by passing children around. These perceptions colored my feelings, but I love (the two Hispanics) in my class now."

In terms of the social factors, I am not sure she knew what political correctness was, although she seemed to recognize the term. In answer to what her understanding of political correctness was, she replied that "individuals personally have to respect other humans regardless of background (and) we shouldn't have to be told to do that." She later said, however, that it seems to her that "multi-cultural education is getting more dogmatic."

She said that she would not want to stress Afrocentric education "because what about the Hispanic, about the Jewish culture, or the white culture?" She wondered if she would feel as comfortable saying that if the interviewer was a African-American. She admitted her ignorance of affirmative action, but then did share say that she thought Blacks were discriminated against in housing in the past: "When we moved here in 1965 we were looking for a house and my husband brought one of his co-workers, who happened to be Black, along house-hunting with us. Later, we found out the neighborhood had been buzzing about it. Ironically, this Black person ended up being an important community member after he moved to (the city) because he knew how to play up to being the "token black" in (the city's) social circles."

She believes reverse racism does exist, and comments that "we could be too tolerant of Blacks and forgive them for, say, crimes they have committed. We could forgive a loner type of Black because we feel their people have been discriminated against. I wouldn't think that is right: all children should be treated equally and punished equally if necessary."

She also believes reverse sexism exists, and comments: "Some women go overboard to show their strength, their muscles, wanting to feel they can do everything a man can do but they need to realize that they can't do some of the same things that men can do physically."

She supports global education and says that "somehow we need to know that the world is getting smaller with communication ability now, we reach each other so much faster. We are all God's people and we need to all get along. The children of the future will be working with people in other parts of the world, companies are international, people travel a lot more, (so) we need global education to understand that all people do not live the same. In our classrooms, we have to stress that we all on the same world: that's the connection of multi-cultural education with global education. I sometimes feel we don't do it unless there are people of other backgrounds in the class. Since I have two Hispanic girls, we have learned some Spanish words and study Cinco de Mayo, a South American liberation celebration. It is important."

She states that neither the school nor the district has any anti-discrimination or pro-equity policies or statements "except for the notice of non-discrimination policy which we have to put on all forms." She does not seem to remember hearing about New Hampshire's multi-cultural education resolution signed by Governor Sununu in 1988.

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She noted that "most of the Orientals I have had have been exceptionally bright, even from those from the project homes. Their parents insisted they put a lot of time in their studies." Although not aware of free training available from the Department of Education, she "would be interested (in participating) because of my own background, I should be a role model and on top of this, even when I don't have children of color in my class. I do sexist things myself in class sometimes: lining up the boys and girls separately and letting the boys go first. I find I have used pink and blue colors to mark boys and girls works. My principal told me that I shouldn't do that: I think I am so cosmopolitan but..."

Multi-cultural education in her school is "in music in particular, our music teacher will do Spanish or Negro culture (and) in physical education (the teacher) talked about different exercises in different lands. She has observed that multi-cultural education is mostly in the arts and music in the primary grades but is also in social studies in the upper grades.

She supports a certification requirement on multi-cultural education for New Hampshire teachers (which involves receiving a number of staff development hours on the topic) "because in New Hampshire many areas are not exposed to children of different cultures. This way teachers would be more prepared and perhaps prejudice would not be built up."

On how best to implement multi-cultural education in schools she informed me: "If you make a packaged program I think it will be resented. There are so many packaged programs now: on drug and AIDS awareness. It needs to come from teacher workshops. But, we shouldn't be preaching to others. I don't know how receptive people from small town New Hampshire would be to multi-cultural education, I would probably get too much of my religion into it, although most religions do stress the idea of accepting differences and getting along. There is a lot of literature to draw from now, but the individual teacher has to want to do it. A packaged program down their throats would be resented."

Respondent #2 was with a 40-ish woman of French Canadian ancestry who has taught second grade for eighteen years in the same rural school in North-Western New Hampshire. Although she has no race/ethnic minority children in her class, in the school she claimed there were one Sioux, one Black, and two adopted South American children.

She claims that we need multi-cultural education because "children are getting a very stilted perspective as to what life is like. There is some diversity here (in this town) because we are close to (a college town), but some families....I don't want to say they are in-bred.... but those families who have been here for generations have a very closed-minded view." She feels that multi-cultural education "is needed to be approached (within) different areas: (children) need to read books about different cultures. In science we need to be able to identify the cultural background of an inventor. The kids' view is that the only people who did anything in science were white and blonde-haired. We need to expand all aspects of the curriculum in a multi-cultural way (and) we need to be able to expose the children to different cultures. We have tried to do this: last year at Christmas we had a multi-cultural breakfast, using Kwanzaa (African), Spanish culture, and the Jewish celebration of Hannakah as examples of different cultures.

"Our new reading program is a whole-language program and that seems to be influenced by multi-cultural education. I have also noticed many more

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immigrant stories in the latest second grade readers." However, she notes that "the biggest problem is with the stereotyping." She spoke of a colleague who was awarded the Christa McAuliffe award (an excellence in teaching sabbatical award) and finished her M.A. in Dartmouth's Native American program. This colleague often brings Native American students from Dartmouth into the elementary school. Except for the couple of classes where multi-cultural education is a focus, it was very hard for the other teachers' students to get beyond the most general stereotypes. The Dartmouth students were asked by students if they had 'left their feathers at home', and other similar questions.

She feels that "so many of the news stories are very slanted. It seems like all we hear on the news is about Blacks and crime and drugs and about all the Black youth who will likely be in jail by the time they are adults. Even knowing better, these stereotypes get to me, too. Once a bunch of Black kids with New York plates on their car went by me and yelled, I was so scared I pulled into a driveway that wasn't ours. I later thought about if those kids had been White I probably would have thought that they were just being kids yelling like that and would not have been scared. A major problem is that kids today are influenced by television so much and then they don't know how to separate out the truth from the fiction."

She also added: "A lot of how gender affects our lives as teachers has affected my feeling about the need for multi-cultural education. Our principal is one of only three of the males in this school, and it is tough because we often find ourselves thinking that certain decisions would have been made differently...better...if a woman had been involved in the decision-making." She believes that new articles and news magazines affect her perception. "We talk about how we kind of take on other people's perceptions of the ways things are when we read about complex issues. We also tend to believe what we read even if we know it is only one's person opinion."

With regards to political correctness she commented that "...we were just talking today about an issue and were laughing if we were making the 'politically correct' decision. People want to be socially correct and want to be accepted by others around you and we want to do the right thing so that we will fit in. To me, that is political correctness."

She likes the idea of Afrocentric education because she thinks that " a lot of little Black children don't have any good role models. Their families are so broken up: they are mostly living with mothers and grandparents. I do worry about them (Blacks) developing very revengeful and negative feelings towards others: they need to be taught that this (country) is a melting pot, as they say, and everybody needs to live together equally. I think (Afro-centric education) is a good idea but it shouldn't go too far. Moderation!, I say."

She believes affirmative action "means that if you are qualified for a job you can have it without being discriminated against on basis of sex, race, etc. You have an equal chance of getting the job under affirmative action laws. We keep reading that quotas are a part of affirmative action laws, but since this is such a White community without a lot of affirmative action going on, I haven't had a lot of exposure to it."

She believes that there is much a thing as reverse racism, and says: "My son is thirteen years old and in junior high and we are having a terrible time with him. He doesn't want to go to school because he's embarrassed of all his friends dressing as "wiggers". [a phenomena commonly referred to as an

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attempt by Anglo kids to "act Black", or to take on the physical accoutrements of the low socio-economic status urban Black male youth.] " They listen to rap music, wears very baggy clothes and especially baggy jeans which hang down very low on the hip, wear caps that have the brims cut off, a flannel shirt tied around the waist, sneakers without shoe laces, etc. If you don't dress like this (as a "wigger") you are ostracized at school. I don't know why they do this: my husband is also an educator and we have tried to figure it out. I think it has to do with the kids feeling uncomfortable...its hard to know why kids do this."

She then volunteered that "we have a lot more problems with anti-hick sentiment." When asked with 'anti-hick' meant, she said: "With the local back-woods people, like the loggers especially, before school starts kids will go down to a store where the locals hang out and drink coffee in the morning. The kids come back and really make fun of the hicks...about how they talk and what they say. Kids will chew up raisins and spit them out to imitate the guys with their chewing tobacco. That's a real prejudice thing."

She also believes that reverse sexism exists. She reports that "someone cut out this page entitled 'Dumb Men Jokes' out of some magazine and blew it up on the xerox machine and put it up in the teachers' lounge. Another woman has a coffee cup with the 'evolution of authority' saying on it with footsteps leading from those of a monkey to a gorilla to those of a man and then to a women. A lot of this goes on."

She also knew about New Hampshire's resolution on multi-cultural education and believed it was written about in a short brief in a National Education Association (NEA) newsletter. She noted that the article "didn't tell us where to take it from there, but she thought the NEA wanted educators to hook multi-cultural education up with the new character and citizenship certification requirements.

On how well New Hampshire is doing preparing children to live in an increasingly multi-cultural world, she said that "my teaching colleague and I are trying to work very hard on Afro-Americans and Native-Americans here. I'm not sure how effective we've been. My husband in an Assistant Principal at the High School and also wishes we were doing more."

When asked about her understanding of global education, she replied that "when I think of global education I think of the rain forests and how we are talking about ecology now and how all the systems work together: how the ecology is affected by the political system, the connection between the social and the political systems. We have tried to make our days here at school less fragmented. We try to teach more in a global way and a thematic way and try to immerse everybody in it. Like if we are discussing a Native-American culture in reading I will try to integrate it into the other subject matter for the day. She thought that multi-cultural education was related to global education in that "if we are educating them globally then each culture has a part in it: we can't study one culture without studying as many cultures as possible. We need to provide a cultural background for students. It is important to kids to expand their little minds, so they are less close-minded and more willing to look at others' ideas and not laugh at them and be more accepting. They will (then) be more willing to try new things."

There are no policies or curricula on diversity or discrimination issues in the school or district, although "we have gone through four superintendents in six years. We have had so much trouble with sexual harassment here. There have been three teachers fired for harassing

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students in the last five years. Other teachers have been accused of knowing about it and covering it up. It has been really hard on the community. That has been the administrative focus here." She notes that they do have the notice of non-discrimination in their teacher's handbook. She did not know about training available from the Department of Education and would be interested in participating "because I think we need it. Even when I did my Master's degree multi-cultural information wasn't really a part of the graduate studies at all in New Hampshire even in the 1980s. I got my undergraduate degree in New Hampshire, too, and there was no focus on anything multi-cultural. The more I know (about multi-cultural education) the more I can give my children."

Multi-cultural education is primarily found in social studies, but also in reading, art and music. She also would support a certification requirement on multi-cultural education for teachers "because I think in an area that is so White like ours if teachers don't individually think its important to make kids aware of other cultures and make sure it is in their teaching then it just doesn't get done at all."

Respondent #3 is originally from Florida and has been teaching 9th to 12th grade English and living in New Hampshire for 23 years, 22 years at the same urban high school in Southern New Hampshire. In her five current classes, she has seven race/ethnic students, and thought that the school might have about a 20% non-White student population.

She believes that multi-culturalism is a "given way the world has to be seen now" and that multi-cultural education is "...great, the more diversity we have the broader an education the student can receive through subtle learning from living around and studying diverse peoples." In her high school, she said that multi-cultural issues are addressed programmatically only in English as Second Language (ESL) classes. As an extracurricular matter, it is an issue in both the International Club and Students for Social Justice organization. (I had planned a Diversity Week in conjunction with Students for Social Justice a year earlier.) She feels that "diversity and acceptance" are what is stressed in these programs.

In terms of educational initiatives on the subject, she says that "very little is being done. It is hard to know what to do with Asian students. I'd like to know better how to pronounce their names. It's embarrassing because I can't pronounce many names. ESL students are mainstreamed in classes and I don't feel I feel very competent to teach them. Particularly with the Asians it's hard to identity where they are from exactly. Hispanics are the same way. With the EH (Emotionally Handicapped) or SPED (Special Education) kids I get a whole bunch of information in their IEP (Individual Education Plan) on their strengths and weaknesses at the beginning of class and get support throughout the year. I get nothing with the ESL kids that are mainstreamed into my class...I feel very detached and impersonal when I'm teaching ESL kids. I could be more friendly and warm and better meet their needs if I knew more about them. I know if a kid has asthma or epilepsy, but not the country of origin of ESL kids. Mainstreaming isn't the crack anymore that kids used to fall into...now it's much worse."

She says that race relations are not emphasized in her school in any programmatic way although the school "has its share of racial issues." She says she does not understanding what global education is all about, although it sounds interesting to her. She believes that the political correctness debate " I

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is aimed towards tolerance. When I think of political correctness I think of all the 'isms'." Although she does not see how affirmative action is related to multi-cultural education, she does view it as a "protection of basic human rights." Afrocentric curriculum "doesn't exist in my school" yet with regards to race relations there is "pervasive prejudice (which is) very overt in the South and very covert in the Northeast: the racial prejudice here is vicious." She had no clear conception or opinions about relativism.

Even though she has "...never been in a situation to experience it, I do believe there is reverse racism. Others definitely think so, but not on a large scale. With regards to the existence of reverse sexism, she said, "God I hope so! I believe is getting rid of sexism against women...I've been fighting so hard for it. The women's movement has made a dent in sexism, and in spite of the backlash (caused by both men and women) things are still a bit better for women."

She believes that race relations have improved "especially on the surface. But there is still a vicious undercurrent of a backlash against Blacks like there is a backlash against women. Neo-Nazi-type skinheads are in New Hampshire. I resent our freedoms being jeaprodized in order to oppress. We have freedom of speech so we can screw this group of people, is how the feeling goes. Our basic rights should not be used for or are they intended to be used to oppress anyone. This goes all the way from the Klan and Neo-Nazi groups to the 'shock jocks' today like (Rush) Limbaugh and (Howard) Stern."

This Respondent has not heard of the Black Athena thesis nor did she have any comments to make on its possible influence on multi-cultural education.

She believes that New Hampshire needs multi-cultural education "...because there is a very significant influx of people from foreign countries into the larger cities of New Hampshire, specifically into Manchester and the Southern part of the state. Even a student body which is primarily White or Caucasian needs muiti-cultural education "because it is learning about differences. The more they know the more tolerant they should be." She was not aware of the multi-cultural resolution passed in the state. She thinks that New Hampshire "is holding its own, and may very well be ahead of some places like the Midwest or some other New England states like Maine and Vermont" in terms of how well the state is preparing students to live in a culturally diverse world.

Neither she nor her colleagues whom she knows about have changed their instructional methods in reaction to LEP (Limited English Proficiency) students although she says, "I would like for my instructional methods to change for the students that I have but we get no training." Her instructional methods have not changed as well in reaction to increasing racial awareness, although they have changed with regards to the "personal growth she has done around gender issues." With regards to discussing race issues in the classroom she claims that "its a sticky wicket: I don't feel as confident of teaching The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn as I used to. Although I always defended the book on the grounds that it's one of the strongest statements against racism. Because of the sensitivity to the use of the word 'nigger' throughout the book, once it's read or heard, people just recoil. Racism is much more painful now."

She says that school climate is discussed "a bit" in her school, but "...not so much with gender equity...we still have a very traditional Home Economics

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department (and) there is a lot of violence and fights due to racism in the school." She believes the school and/or the district must have some guidelines or policies on multi-cultural education but she does not know about them. She would be happy to attend teacher training workshops on multi-cultural issues "so I can better reach the kids and don't feel as distanced and impersonal with them. I look at (the ESL teacher) and see her as so competent, yet I wish regular teachers would learn about (ESL students) more."

She would support a requirement of multi-cultural education training as part of teacher preparation "so newer teachers won't feel as frustrated and detached from the ESL students as I feel, so they are better trained to work with that population. I feel my approach in completely depersonalized at this time. There is one Asian girl in my short story class and I don't think she's understood one word of anything I've assigned so far. She's so serious and trying so hard but I don't think she's getting anything." For some reason, this Respondent seems to equate the term multi-cultural education solely with educational issues for ESL students automatically unless I specifically ask about race, sex, or some other specific topic.

She believes it is appropriate for federal civil rights monies to be spent on multi-cultural education issues because "...maybe it would help fund some in-service training to help me deal with the multi-cultural population. It might help me find something to help them. Twenty years ago I considered civil rights to apply to Blacks, but they apply to me as a woman as much as anybody else. Civil rights should apply to everybody, really." One additional comment she added was that she was "glad I was asked these questions because its made me realize how frustrated I've been and ineffective I've felt in teaching the ESL kids."

The fourth respondent has been teaching eight years total, all at the same large high school in Southern New Hampshire. She is in her mid-thirties and is a New Hampshire native. She teaches 11th and 12th grade art and has approximately one-fifth race/ethnic minority students in her classes. It is estimated that the school overall has approximately 11% non-White population, which is about as close to the national average as New Hampshire gets. I have hired this teacher in the past to conduct teacher training workshop on multi-cultural art. She has taught a class called Women in Multi-cultural Art for three years now. She says that in that class she has found that it is easier to deal with race first, then gender, as students are more sympathetic towards and can more easily recognize the imbalances caused by racism rather than sexism.

Multi-culturalism, as approached in class, is "the process of acknowledging basic respect for all people" by "looking at the art of all cultures and coming at it from a respect focus" which is "beyond simple nationalistic recognition." She says that "we try to personally get in touch with our own individual heritages and do acknowledge differences but we focus on the similarities." The multi-cultural education movement is about "recognizing the error of complete assimilation" where "we have realized we cannot be the melting pot...it is a great idea but we were all melting into one big, homogeneous Anglo." "People of color", she adds, "should not feel that they have to assimilate White culture and can feel good about their own culture and therefore feel good about themselves. The generation we have now demands multi-cultural education and sees that the melting pot does not work and does not overcome oppression." So much of multi-cultural education

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"comes down to social class issues."

In her school there is (or was) a fledgling group called the Cultural Sensitivity Group, but she is not sure if it is still functioning as it lacked leadership and focus, in her opinion. Students got into arguments, some of which turned verbally ugly, during some of the group's meetings over topics of racially-sensitive language and affirmative action. There is another after-school group which has been successful and has a sizable student membership called Panacea, which is a "total inclusion group emphasizing the integration of physically challenged people into the school as well as issues of racial tensions, sexism, and related topics." The school has a lot of racial tension. There was a faculty group charged with doing something to deal with the racism and racial tension in the school, but there was not any follow-through as far as this teacher knows. She adds that many students are concerned with the level of violence in the schools and "many feel that the violence is fostered by racism and sexism."

Race relations are emphasized to some extent in the school's curriculum, although there are few resources. For example, this teacher wanted to take advantage of the educational cable television which is available in this high school's classroom. In particular, she had heard about a show on successful strategies in reducing racial tension called "A City at Peace" which was going to be broadcast over the Black Entertainment Television (BET). She had read in the Boston papers that this network channel was available on educational television, but when she inquired was told that the Black Entertainment Television channel was not broadcast "to any area North of Boston." She was angry to think of the close-mindedness which would lead anyone to think that racism was not a problem in states with as few racial minority students as New Hampshire.

She identified global education as synonymous with what she called "humanistic education" which stressed "the individual's relationship to society and what our contributions to society are." She notes that a challenge is to keep kids from getting skeptical about "how can I make a difference?" One change that she notices in art education as it becomes more multi-cultural is that in art, locally and globally since World War II, "we (art teachers) have talked less about the difference between the East and the West in art and talk more now about North/South differences." Instructionally, this means that in class she covers art from Africa, South America and Central America before she covers Europe and North American art.

On the topic of political correctness, she admits to having a "hard time thinking about things fashionable." However, she strives to remain above what she considers a meaningless debate over political correctness. She said, "When we are dealing with political correctness, I believe in the importance of certain issues not because they are "PC", but because I believe intuitively that they are the right things to be concerned about." She does think that the debate around political correctness is making some students see the world from more multi-cultural eyes, and sift out from the pro- and anti-PC arguments that the world is seen more clearly from more of the perspective of females and people of color, who have "historically been left out of the dominant worldview." Her students, she believes, are becoming more aware of what are good versus bad attitudes and behavior towards others of difference based on her observation that student's immediate responses are "filtered" with more awareness of cultural and sexual sensitivity now.

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Regarding affirmative action, her response indicated a well-versed knowledge of the law as well as the philosophy. She "believes in affirmative action and we need to continue it until it is not needed anymore." She believes that many people have a mis-perception of reverse racism and reverse sexism and adds "when you look at the number of minorities and females and see what positions of power many more of them need to be in in order to achieve equality of representation" that the reason for affirmative action is clear. She acknowledges that people feel more threatened by affirmative action when the economy is sour.

On Afrocentric education she claims with some dismay that "it's not here although we could use some" and adds that she wonders "how can Blacks and women learn anything at all if all the history that is presented to them is about White males?" During a survey which she conducted in order to assess the need and interest in multi-cultural art classes she asked students whether they thought of a male or a female when they thought of an artist, and whether they thought of a White person or a person of color. Only one in 500 said they thought of a female and no one said they thought of a person of color. She also asked "if you could be anybody in history-- who and why?" and the responses revealed that only "3-6% of all students gave the name of a female -- usually Susan B. Anthony or Joan of Arc." Regarding race relations and multi-cultural education, she feels that the media have so publicized the L.A. riots (of 1992) and racial unrest in the rest of the country that students in New Hampshire "...do not feel that racial hatred is limited to L.A., they know that it is a part of us here as well." Race relations are being talked about more than before in her classes. "Students don't buy into the melting pot ideology anymore", she claims.

She believes that relativism defines her "whole philosophy of life revolving around basic respect and teaching what we think are the 'golden rules'....the best teachers are teaching their personality, they are teaching morals and ethics by example -- by how they are dealing with issues in their lives -- even though some parents tell us not to teach morals and ethics and ask who are we to decide what is morally correct." Nonetheless, "good teaching cannot avoid teaching what is morally correct and too many kids do not get such training....we have to create good people...(and) students will not learn unless they are being human to each other." She also believes that multi-cultural education is necessary because we "have to educate kids for the world, not just for the local community." This is true "especially if the population is mostly White.... kids have to be taught to examine and change elitist attitudes..." Pedagogically, she notes that it is easier in art to adjust to Limited English Proficient students because the teacher can greatly expand their teaching towards visual learning. She thinks her perspective on these issues has been determined by two influences: her French-Canadian mother "who made her realize that what happened to the French-Canadian immigrants has happened to many others...we are told 'don't be French', 'don't act French', 'don't talk French outside the home'...", and her college education at Plymouth State College from 1980 - 1984 which "was surprisingly multi-cultural...I even student taught in an all-Black school in Mattapan (in the Boston area)." With strong and persistent attention to multi-cultural thinking and teaching in the classroom, which includes an emphasis on discovering and celebrating cultural heritages, "we don't become a void where the media dictate cultural norms...if we don't acknowledge cultural heritage we become

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enculturated by the media alone."

The fifth Respondent has been a school counsellor for the past ten years at a private school which also contracts with several surrounding communities to school their students as well. This saves the small communities from needing either their own post-elementary schools or to send them into the city. As such, this small, rural school a few towns away from a large city also acts as a public school. Before beginning counselling she spent seven years as a science classroom teacher in Winthrop, MA., and has lived in New England all her life. Her "clientele" are 9-12 graders including one-hundred ESL students, a rather large percentage given the school's total enrollment of 2600. She has successfully written for several small, local grants for multi-cultural education projects for her school and is just starting on a doctoral dissertation in educational psychology on whether or not one can actually create a multi-cultural consciousness or worldview where only a mono-cultural consciousness existed before.

She envisions multi-culturalism as both "a process and as a continuum; on one end is an ethnocentric perspective and on the other end a pluralistic perspective. The goal of multi-culturalism is to move towards the pluralistic. Multi-cultural education, she believes, is not a stagnant, monolithic set of specific multi-cultural attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Her point here is to note that "...some of us are more pluralistic with some people at some times than with others." The multi-cultural education movement is necessary but she does not think schools can adequately address the movement if teachers have not been trained and taught a multi-cultural perspective. Thus, for her, a school has to start with the faculty and their own biases and prejudices, those that they picked up from media and from their own upbringing. "Then and only then maybe school can take on a multi-cultural focus. It won't happen unless teachers can look inside themselves first. Given them multi-cultural curriculum materials and telling them they have to find a way to 'fit it in' will not really be effective unless teachers have started the process of wading through their own biases -- their own racism and sexism, for example."

Currently a multi-cultural focus is quite weak here so far, especially in relation to other private New Hampshire schools. The faculty have just "woken up to the fact that we have to start teaching more multi-culturally if our students are going to succeed out in the world." Towards this end, the administration has named faculty and students to a Multi-cultural Committee, to plan activities, lead curriculum discussion groups, and beef up their provision of appropriate and effective education for the increasing numbers of culturally/linguistically diverse students. The have · just started an International Club as well, which is mostly for students. Some teachers are trying to get specific courses that address multi-cultural issues into the curriculum, and she mentioned that one teacher is developing and planning on teaching a course about multi-cultural myths in art and another faculty member is preparing to teach their first course on women's studies. The focus of their Multi-cultural Committee is to "try to promote multi-cultural awareness in the school" where the "...ultimate goal is to have courses taught from different perspectives so we will have an impact on the overall curriculum."

I am not sure how much this respondent, coming from an educational psychology background, had· heard of global education. She was rather skeptical and cautious about endorsing global education, which was unusual

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given her enthusiasm and commitment to issues that she feels are multi-cultural. I realized after such statement as "...global education is fine as long as it's not at the expense of cultural differentness....each culture needs to retain its own cultural richness, not just one homogenous global culture", that she her conception of the One-Worldness aspect of what she understood as global education was an Orwellian Big Brother view where cultural differences would disappear.

Regarding the political correctness debate, her understanding is that it is "the desire to use correct terminology, what is politically correct and non-offensive to say and how to say it. Is African-American or Black more politically correct? It's a language thing for me, which includes gender issues. It's very difficult to know what it is. I understand the reason and the movement but it's so extreme that people don't know how to be politically correct anymore. Is someone in the multi-cultural movement because you only want to be politically correct or are you really involved in the process of celebrating differences?"

She believes that " affirmative action from an employment perspective is to actively seek out minority employees including people of color and women. I think its absolutely necessary to recruit. I'd love if my school would do that: we very much have a White, Anglo-Saxon teacher populations. We have to actively seek out qualified minority candidates. Affirmative action is good for multi-cultural education because (the minorities that are hired) can bring a different perspective." She also observes that "the kids are more worldly in their view than the faculty; they know they aren't living in the real world in New Hampshire." She believes that race relations have worsened, but quickly adds that "its a hard question. I immediately think of gangs in high schools and the Los Angeles riots. We have troubles here, although we used to say racial tensions would never be at (this private school). The demographics are changing (and) we are going to be experiencing the same racial tensions as other parts of the world. I don't think New Hampshire is going to be an all-white school forever."

She believes both reverse racism and reverse sexism exist and constitute "big problems...the majority is discriminated against on the basis of their minority status. Aren't white students sometimes not admitted because they have a quota of racial percentages to fill? Right or wrong that's the general understanding most people have." She was not familiar with the concept of relativism or the issues of the Black Athena thesis.

She believes New Hampshire does need multi-cultural education "because of the changing demographics" and believes that even a mostly White student population needs such awareness "because (schools) are not going to produce decent citizens who can live and work in a diverse setting... schools are by nature a very sheltered environment, which has its good and bad points..." She also was not aware of the state's multi-cultural education resolution. In terms of how well New Hampshire is doing towards educating students to live and work in a diverse society, she is not sure how "...the whole state (is doing)...Southern New Hampshire is responding but I'm not sure about the other parts of the state. I would hope Southern New Hampshire is doing better addressing multi-cultural education since they have the changing demographics."

School climate is discussed "fairly often" and "...is pretty decent, we've had gender workshops and title IX (sex discrimination) trainings. There is an

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overall air of respect here, after all, it's a pretty ritzy school. The climate is changing in terms of being even more visually representative to provide constant reminders of the real diversity of the world. We have kids serving on our multi-cultural committee."

Respondent #6 was with a White male social studies high school teacher who had been teaching 30 years (twenty in this Central-Lakes Region high school) who has a very developed sense of humor and several times used profanity and sexual innuendo during the interview but not in an offensive way (to me, at least). It was more interesting as to why he felt he had to put on such a blustering air with me. He guesses that in his school the race/ ethnic population is "approximately 2- 3%."

To him, multi-culturalism "is the recognition that American is made up of many cultural and ethnic groups" and multi-cultural education "makes sure to include the histories of these groups." He suggested that I review the "California Framework of Social Studies" to see what a multi-cultural curriculum looks like in practice. He says that it is set up to be numerically representative: if 17% of a California city's kids are Chicano, then 17% of the social studies curriculum should be devoted to Chicano issues, and likewise for other racially and/or culturally diverse populations. He says that race relations are not emphasized at his school or district adding "that we don't have a whole hell of a lot of diversity here -- pretty White." However, since they are so close to Maine, which has a sizable Native American population, he himself "does a little dab on their culture" in some of his classes.

Regarding the political correctness debate, he thought it was "a crock of shit...the whole idea that the ethos of understanding people is demonstrated that only Blacks can understand what Blacks have gone through and only Blacks can teach Blacks is nonsense. There is no such thing as political correctness really..." He mentioned that in the late 1960s as a doctoral student in a mid-Western U.S. college he taught the college's first Black History course and remembers how a few of the Black students asked him "how come he thinks a 'Honkie' can know enough about Black history to teach it." He said the class went well in spite of the initial suspicion.

He said that affirmative action "...is where a business or institution because of past prejudices and discrimination is going out of its way to recruit and utilize ethnic groups as part of their service systems." He seemed generally supported of the principles involved, but also noted: " affirmative action has had as much negative backlash associated with it as it has given benefits to racial minorities. It has alienated a certain section of white folks and probably has turned off some white teachers from teaching about cultural diversity."

He seemed to be familiar with the ideas and goals of Afrocentric curriculum which he defined as "a black reaction to the fact that most of the history books and social studies books have been written by White Anglo-Saxon males and with an European outlook on American's settlement and development. They see it as turning the curriculum on its head...(the) problem is that there is not many good history books written by Blacks. After all, White males have been writing those history books for years. There are some Black intellectuals who have written good scholarly books, but few if any have written textbooks for us in the public schools."

He thought that U.S. race relation are "in poor shape. Thirty years ago with the Kennedy administration and LBJ's voting rights there were a lot of

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hope and a lot of progress was made. Public schools and higher education were desegregated. Blacks did get voted into public office in the South. Many people thought that would never happen. Recent crime in the urban areas has set race relations back considerable. The race riots of 1992 remind me of riots of 1964...I think we have made legal progress but not that much people progress. I suppose there is some guilt on the part of many White that it ought to be better for Blacks and that we ought to understand Blacks better so that may encourage them to do more of their own history. There is a growing realization that race relations are still pretty poor....I suppose when Whites stop feeling guilty and when Blacks stop crying about discrimination then race relations will be better.

I did not think he was familiar with anthropological or philosophical relativism (encompassing the cultural relativism I had in mind) as he first asked the question: "Relativism is something Einstein discussed, right?" Then he said: "I guess...there are no permanent, all-encompassing rules and regulations that guide cultures. We think it's normal to rape and pillage the environment where a Native American thinks we're crazy."

Reverse racism "probably exists...(and) as long as races aren't getting along and things like color and the shape of eyes trigger certain things in people and these reactions trigger other reactions." In terms of reverse sexism he really did not answer the question but did give his opinion on the capacities of female leadership. He said: "There must be some good female bosses out there, I've just never had the pleasure (of working with one). Most female bosses I've had wouldn't lead a Girl Scout to a bake sale. Females micromanage worse then men do and over-react. Maybe the next generation will be better..."

This respondent was aware "a bit" of the Black Athena research but did comment that he believes as an issue of importance that "it's a pimple on a gnat's ass...there might be something there but it's kind of like asking where humans first got up on their hind legs -- Africa? Asia? -- it doesn't really matter."

He is wary about many of the approaches of multi-cultural education, although on some levels it was difficult to assess how much actually first-hand experience he had with the multitude of approaches. He said that he was "not sure that there is as much negative as there is positive (with multi-cultural education). Any good history written by any good historian, White or Black, is going to recognize that there are many strands and roots included in what we call the American experience. Any good historian has to talk about what ethnic groups have contributed....if you're going to stick with military, politics, and economics as the things that have guided the American way, those areas have been controlled by Anglo-Saxon whites. Right or not, that's the way our world was spun...." He thinks that "global education has a lot more relevance than a lot of the other topics (that have been mentioned in the interview)... the globe literally is shrinking due to communication, satellites and the like. We have found out in the environmental movement that we're all in one greenhouse, if you pollute in one country it's going to affect the whole world. Trade has grown and people need to communicate across cultures. Another thing that has pulled the world together is that the Iron Curtain is pretty much gone."

At his school they have a bilingual program and "a few Spanish and Vietnamese speaking kids. Our schools have tried to give those kids a speeded-

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up education in English as well as try to reinforce the native language. The historical past was that we had forced kids into English. The ethos was that you will learn English to get by and to get a job. Now, we're saying that there is some value in not forcing the English so quickly. Still, kids have to learn English, like kids have to learn computers, to excel in this society."

In terms of school climate he noted that "we have more violence in our schools than we used to...I'm not sure it's racial but it does seem that there is more sexual harassment happening to females, like it's a 'cool' thing for senior males to do to go about harassing younger females." He is not sure whether federal civil rights monies should be spend on multi-cultural education and added that he "doesn't know if the government should be actively supporting it...for one thing multi-cultural is not well understood and is being mis-used.

Respondent #7 was with an African-American and Native-American older middle-aged male who teaches pre-school and Kindergarten in a major New Hampshire city. He is originally from South Bend, Indiana and has "...been teaching African History, (although) not necessarily in a school situation, for about 30 years." This interview was by far my strongest experience, both personally and intellectually. He is a large, serious but very gentle man who is Ba'hai by faith, which explains part of his focus on the "oneness of humankind" and racism. Although most interviews look approximately one hour, we talked for almost three hours (although it seemed like a much shorter time.) He started teaching in adult education classes without teacher certification for about seven years and had given many talks to universities and churches over the years.

After retiring from a long career in corporate life with a Fortune 500 multi-national company he then went back to school and became an elementary school teacher. He has been a kindergarten elementary school teacher for five years now. Out of fifty-five students at the small, private school where he teaches (including students in an after-school program) there are fourteen race/ethnic minority students. These include three African-Americans, a Japanese-American, an Iranian-American, one Saudi Arabian-American student, and the rest White. (He quoted this information immediately without hesitation, while most Respondents had to think about it for a while.) He added that "quite a few children are from single parent homes...(and) we also have an part Abenaki Indian, on the boy's father's side."

Asked what he thinks of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education he said that "While I think the intent of multiculturalism programs is good (however) I think quite often the method leave much to be desired. For example, too often multi-cultural education programs represent tokenism -- one time a year schools mention Native Americans, usually around Thanksgiving, and not quite in the right role but as some kind of appendage to the Great White Europeans who had come to live with them...there was a recent issue of _Utne Reader_ which had a section of Thanksgiving (which attempted) to show the Native American in a good light but it wasn't very sensitive. One picture from a school textbook showed a Native American and a Pilgrim bending over planting corn and the caption said that the Native American was 'helping the Pilgrim plant a seed' -- like they were a slave -- instead of telling the truth that the Native American _taught_ the Pilgrim how to grow corn." He also noted that "multi-cultural education programs can be detrimental in that in the attempt to show diversity quite often they can enhance or create a

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stereotype.   I talk about what the real Thanksgiving was and why the Indians weren't really too happy about it...the Native Americans taught the Europeans how to survive, then they returned the favor with genocide.   The Utne Reader thought that more pictures like the Native American and Pilgrim ought to be infused in our curriculum..."

When asked about multi-cultural programs or programming at his school, he described the school.   "We have a small primary grade elementary school", he said, "(where) the two other teachers I teach with are really fine human beings, they are always very warm and kind to the kids.   Another teacher has made some subtle, insensitive remarks about people of color.   But even she has a good heart.   So we have the subtle and unconscious racism here.   But they are very traditional with regards to Christmas and the holidays."   With regards to his own multi-cultural teaching he said: "I base everything on the oneness of humankind, whether we are doing science, making Indian pudding, reading, whatever.   I teach about how the Iroquois affected the early government of the new world, particularly Federalism.   In classrooms where there are mostly white kids I overdo it with pictures around the wall of people of color.   We ask what a true human being is, and ask children when resolving conflicts 'how would a human being deal with that?'   I talk about the limits of the body and the moral capabilities of the soul.   You don't have to lecture children when you ask them how a true human being would resolve the conflict of, say, sharing a toy two kids want to play with.   I over-react -- and this is the only time I let my voice get loud -- to any cruel or insensitive remarks about race, sex, somebody's appearance, calling people stupid, etc.   I don't let any of that stuff go.   I always try to use 'I' statements like 'I feel really angry when I hear you say something like that about another human being.'   I harp on the human virtues of fairness and justice."

There are no set initiatives on multi-cultural education but his whole approach to teaching is multi-cultural.   He said: "I'm reading a book to my kindergardeners right now called They Led the Way about fourteen women who made important contributions to U.S. life, like Susan B. Anthony.   I read about one of the woman and then we talk about it.   Kids vicariously pick up the right signals if you talk about racial equality and racial harmony and sexual equality as much as you can.   I read The Color of Man on racial diversity.   The theme is how one can have unity in diversity." (I am shown the book which has beautiful pictures and simple, strong prose about what skin color is and what it means.   The book was written in 1968 by Robert Cohen, published by Random House.   He said it was out-of-print and extremely difficult to get.)

In terms of race relations being emphasized in any multi-cultural education at his school he said that he thinks "that the number one problem of ethnic origins in this country is the Black-White issue.   It's nice to know about other cultures and that does broaden our awareness...(but) I think that race relations are central.   It does no good to learn about the Eskimos without tying it in to something about the overall human conditions -- that we're all members of one human family.   I'm constantly talking about the human family.   One other teacher (at his school) has started to talk about human beings and what it means to be a human being, so that's wonderful."   He adds that "most teachers mention Martin Luther King, Jr. during Black History Month, but I do it all the time.   Anything about sexism I am adamant about not tolerating.   I harp on good manners especially between the sexes.   I jump quickly on boys who are not treating girls respectfully.   I also emphasize

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service to others and the joy in doing things for others. My kids are proud when then can come tell me that they helped a classmate out with something."

On global education he shares the following: "I tell my kids you will learn to read better anywhere, but the most important think is for you to be loving, caring, and really honest and truthful. If you are that, it doesn't really matter if you cannot read or write very well. The academics come secondarily in my classroom, but of course in kindergarten you can get away with that." He also adds that he stresses how "we are all one people, one species trying to co-exist with other species in this world that we have to take care of. The Color of Man book shows actually skin samples under the microscope, they see the characteristics of the skin cells look the same except that some have a bit more pigment in them than others. I hold up a piece of black and white paper and ask my students how many people they have ever seen whose skin looks like either the black or white paper. I get kids to see that race isn't that stagnant or even that real of a concept. They see there are so many differences as well as similarities."

One way he gets at discrimination and prejudice is by doing "the blue-eyes, brown-eyes experiment (and) its amazing how the kids get into it, even very loving kids would get vicious and the kids who are being discriminated against get very sensitive, despondent, and frustrated." On gender, which he sees as a completely valid part of multi-cultural education, he comments: "I do things to glorify femaleness while at the same time making sure that I don't treat the girls like delicate little things who can't carry things and stack chairs...I hate to see other teachers give all the active jobs to the boys...I know it's mostly unconscious but it's frustrating to see how much teachers perpetrate gender stereotypes..."

The interview continued into discussions on the related social factors, and he continued to supply a voluminous amount of opinion. On the political correctness debate, he had the following statement: " I know there are some people who are isolationists and teach the old American stuff. In a changing world where white privilege and conferred white male dominance are being challenged, thanks to Peggy MacIntosh of Wellesley, white people feel that the country is opening up to non-white immigrants and that they are going to lose their advantage. White people are scared about losing their privileges based on skin color. Again, I think a lot of it is unconscious. It is against equality and justice for all -- the values our country was supposedly founded on -- to even worry about losing an advantage. This just admits that the advantage exists and advantages given to a certain group are always advantages against other people. The corporation I was with before going into teaching had hired their token first person of color within the legal department, and got 'two-in-one' by hiring a women of color, who was also the first female in the law department. She was so resented by the white male lawyers, most of whom had much less academic achievement in law school than she had. She was really one of the only sharp ones there....(but) she had to do the ol' 'twice as well to be thought half as good' stuff..."

He does not think that "teachers even think about affirmative action unless their school was getting in trouble for not having enough staff of color. However, we know that there is so little enforcement of civil rights laws that schools don't really have to worry about their federal funds' being pulled." (This is true, I told him, but not a good thing to let out!) He thinks that White people are afraid of losing their privileges, so "...why would Whites who

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are racist anyway support Afrocentric education even if it does improve the
self-esteem of Blacks....(then) African-Americans and others who are
oppressed might gain more political power..."

On reverse racism, he feels that "in the U.S., there is no such thing,
although I understand the misunderstanding. So many people equate racism
with prejudice, or a doctrine of prejudice against one group because of color.
Societal, political, and economic dominance over another group is what racism
is all about, not simply prejudice. Do Black, Hispanics, or Native-Americans
have any of this power? (He does not think so.) So, Hispanics and Blacks can
be prejudice as all get out, but that doesn't mean that racism, as something
embedded in society, can be so-called 'reverse'. I think about all that Black-
Americans have had to do--- all these laws and pronouncements and
amendments and policies -- to get their civil rights. White didn't have to have
this kind of paperwork to ensure that they were going to be treated well. I
remember the days when I would go into an employment agency and there
were no decent jobs and a white friend would go in and get exactly the kind of
job I was looking for. This still goes on everyday. Back in the 1940s the
Pennsylvania Gasworks Company workers were drafted into WWII so they
needed replacement workers and hired a lot of poor, Black workers and found
them to be excellent and talented workers, even the ones that the educational
system had failed for them. This gave them jobs and opportunities and a real
paycheck, but then '...when Johnny came marching home again' and
hundreds of Blacks were fired to give the jobs back to Whites."

He elaborated further and implored us to "look at Ivy-League education
if you want to understand affirmative action...(it is) full of dumb, rich kids
that are in school just because their last name was Rockefeller. Kids get into
these schools because of family. There has always been favoritism shown in
some dimension. Our society acts affirmatively to boost up the dominant class
(yet) we don't complain enough about that kind of unfair ' affirmative
action'." He also added that: "Many white people have the 'poor me' syndrome
when for years qualified people of color and women were being turned down
for jobs and (the) white males didn't stand up against such injustice. Now the
white male is feeling a little of the turn-about..."

About the status of race relations he believed that "there have been
some increased opportunities for some minorities and women but that doesn't
mean that race relations are getting better. Look at the hatred spawn around
the misunderstanding of affirmative action. Race relations have worsened
because people deny things. Gunnar Myrdal (sociologist, author of A n
American Dilemma written in 1944) hit on a lot of these things. Overall society
is impeded when sections of the society aren't allow to progress. I remember a
time when there were plenty of old Black people in Indiana who were in their
80s and 90s and who had never been taught to read or white, had never been
allowed to vote. The Black people I knew growing up were all custodians. I
remember seeing a statue called 'the good old darkie' with a Black person bend
down with his cap in his hands. Ba'hai teaches us that the unity of humanity
is inevitable. Old world orders are crumbling...I wonder if that statue is still
there."

Although not explicitly familiar with the recent Black Athena thesis put
out by Martin Bernal, he had plenty of knowledge about the influence of
Africa on the rest of the world. "There are more contributions from the
African continent that were given credit for. The historian J.R. Rogers could

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not get his books published in this country. He used to write for the Pittsburgh Courier, and wrote Your History on African history that has pictures of the Great-Great-Grandmother of George VI, Carlotte Sophia, Queen of England, who looked obviously African and had many, many other examples of racial mixing and the influence of Africans on Palestine and miscegenation in Belgium, Holland, and other European countries...this is the real honest history that should be the underpinning of any multi-cultural education."

He continues: "People used to say -- and still say too often -- that Blacks never had any history so they made up one. This was strong as a denouncement when Black History started to be spoken about and written about in the 1960s. Besides George Washington Carver, who was a very docile man and didn't stand in protest and he didn't offend white people so he was the only, I repeat the only, person of color I ever read about all through my education through high school. How many people talk about revisionist history as a negative thing? Yet we have such a long way to go to correct the historical record -- of telling the stories and the contributions of all people. (Henry Steele) Commanger in his history books used derogatory names like Sambo to describe Black people. I'm into history to make it more factual, but not into revision simply to make things look better. There were always cultures which produced talented people and all cultures have their rich and varied stories of their existence. I saw an huge abacus 10,000 years old in Africa. so I suppose Africans must have had some pretty spectacular intelligence....we just aren't taught it..." He also shared a story about the "Black poet Dunbar (who) could only get his poems published in America if they were in Black slave dialect and sounded fairly simple-minded, his other serious poems had to be published in France."

He believes New Hampshire needs multi-cultural education and feels that teachers should teach "anything (one) can to show the good deeds and contributions of any human being...(then) we're all enriched. Look at the American people, where even if you just study the White people we have every country in Europe represented. If one had something good to contribute then their deeds should be equally and freely shared. Why wouldn't we want to know about people of color and women doing great things? Why wouldn't we want to know about the tribes where the men are the nurturers, the child-rearers?...our history has always been about mainly the male European experiences in the New World. We have romanticized war (in our teachings) and our national holidays, for the most part, are all centered on the actions of White males. You can read Indian Givers (written by Jack Weatherford, and his new book Native Roots) about the Native American foods that Europeans learned to eat. (The early European settlers) didn't really bring much new food with them. It was a Native-American version of beans that evolved into what we now call Boston Baked Beans. Why wouldn't we want to know that? Why haven't we, as children, been taught a full history?"

He again mentioned the misleading slant that the caption had on the picture of the Native American and the Pilgrim planting corn. "That is the Eurocentric slant -- justifying slavery and genocide while making non-Europeans look stupid and slave-like." He also had on his desk a copy of Indian Roots of American Democracy published by the NORTHEAST INDIAN Quarterly from the Cornell University American Indian Program. He has gotten several good themes to teach about from this book about how Native Americans contributed to life in the New World, and how they were thanked with disease,

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prejudice, and genocide.

About how New Hampshire is doing with preparing students to live in a multi-cultural world he said: "My guess is -- given that I live in the largest city in the state which has made some inroads through not enough -- (that) I still would have to conclude that to the North we aren't teaching New Hampshire kids to live in any kind of an diverse world. There is a great opportunity for the schools to counteract that, we are having an increase in racial tensions here that the schools could turn around if administrators thought it important enough." (At this point I decided to skip several questions about instructional methods and examples of curriculum since he had given me that kind of detail in response to earlier questions and because it was getting quite late in the evening and I was weary of typing on the laptop computer.) Lastly, I asked him about policies and statements on multi-cultural education and he said that "our school administration does publicly say she wants to get more kids of color in our school, and the kids of color are certainly made welcome, but we have nothing in policy, in writing."

The eighth respondent was with a brand new female English teacher (teaching for four months) in a rural high school in South-eastern New Hampshire near the Maine border and not far from the seacoast. She went to San Jose State College in California which was very multi-cultural, both in student and faculty cultural diversity and in coursework. Both her English and her Education classes had a "...fairly strong multi-cultural focus." She is now working on an M.Ed. at the University of New Hampshire and has been surprised by how much the "critical issues" of multi-culturalism and diversity are left out almost completely in the education courses taken at U.N.H. so far.

On multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education she said: "If you are only going to talk about only African-Americans or any other ethnic group only once month or one week out of the year that gives an impression to the kids that they (race/ethnic groups) are not to be taken that seriously. "(Students) need to have multi-cultural education integrated completely into one's curriculum and teaching", she added.

When asked about multi-cultural programs in her school she did not mention specific programs. She has observed that "in my school, unfortunately, we have a lot of bigots. I'm still new but I've been shocked to find out that I've already been labelled some kind of mush-brained liberal because I teach from a multi-cultural perspective wherever I can." With regards to multi-cultural initiative she said that "(her) own educational initiative is to make it all globally relevant."

The respondent believes that race relations "are generally not emphasized at all in my school, although I deal with them at least weekly. To me, the most vital issue in American is in the struggle between Whites and Blacks. We must get over it because the future of our society depends on these two groups getting along. It is one of the crucial issues." The next question on global education got the following answer: "Planet Earth is the only home we've got, I think that the main message of global education. Global education is similar to multi-cultural education in that is tries to connect -- and show the interconnections -- between all countries, cultures, tradition, etc."

On the political correctness debate she "(thinks that) insecurity and fear runs high in many White people and many think that Blacks -- like the Blacks who beat up Reginald Denny in the L.A. riots -- get off easy because the 'politically correct' thing to do is to excuse Blacks from the responsibility of

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crimes committed. In my own experiences, I haven't known people of color who whine that they are victims and therefore are not accountable for their actions. But that's the stereotype portrayed by those that criticize how 'politically correct' we've supposedly become...the anti-political correctness crowd attempts to silence those who desire fairer treatment."

She believes that " affirmative action is an attempt to balance the playing field. I think that if we lived in a just word, or were actually working towards a just and fair world, that we would get to the place where we don't need affirmative action, because then justice was the norm." On Afrocentric education she asked: "Do you mean like the kind of curriculum taught by the guy in New York who was fired because of hateful things he said about Jews and Whites?" (We discussed Lionel Jeffries and his successful case to be re-instated at NYU.) She is worried that Afrocentric education efforts might be "going too far" especially when they "promote hatred and antagonism between groups instead of increasing tolerance and compassion for differences." She said that "no curriculum should be any type of 'centric'. We need to focus on race relations and multi-cultural education, but it should all be encompassing of everybody's experiences. I don't want a biased Afro-centric education to replace a biased Euro-centric education." She has no knowledge of relativism and asked if it was a concept from biology or philosophy.

She says "of course there is" reverse racism and sexism but "...that is less of a problem than racism and sexism themselves -- some people don't even acknowledge racism and sexism to begin with." She thinks that "...race relations have definitely worsened, who doesn't?" (Note: I explained that several people interviewed so far were quite sure race relations were indeed better now.) She added: "You see so many young people polarizing around racial issues and you have to admit they are worsened. I've noticed a big increase in the last four to five years on TV reports of racially-motivated violence -- both White to Black and Black to White." She is "somewhat" familiar with the Black Athena Thesis and asked if it was "proven." "If it is", she said, "we need to change the textbooks and curriculum to include facts on just how the roots of European culture are found in Africa."

"Of course multi-cultural education is very important to White students", she says in response to the question about the need for multi-cultural education in New Hampshire, "...although I am careful not to overload them. When you are shaking them free of a biased socialization, you have to do it gradually over the course of a year. A teacher who teaches from a multi-cultural perspective has to realize that they are affecting personal belief systems."

When asked about how New Hampshire is doing in educating youth to live in an increasingly diverse world she did not want to be "too hard" on New Hampshire: "People grow up believing certain things and sometimes it's hard for them to change -- not that it's right...(but) we have to admit how close-minded many New Hampshire residents are. Our schools are doing poorly in this regard (encouraging multi-cultural understanding) and we pay the price as adults by carrying around unjustified hatreds and suspicions."

She claims that multi-cultural materials are common in her classes, and in the classrooms of a few of her colleagues. "We read Alice Walker's The Color Purple in all my classes, and read Toni Morrison's Beloved and Richard Wright's Native Son in my advanced American Literature class. My

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instructional methodology was strongly shaped by education classes in California which stressed cooperative learning techniques. A couple of colleagues are interested in cooperative learning methods but there's not much that got on." She later adds the observation that "it's a very traditional high school in a lot of ways -- many of them not good!" She feels it is "a long way off" for multi-cultural awareness training to be included in teacher education requirements although she strongly supports the requirement. She also added that probably teachers would resent it because "they are dumped on a lot to be responsible for so much more than just teaching."

"School climate is not discussed in any serious matter" in her school and she confided that she feels that "the (school) administration looks ridiculous when it claims that there are no problems at the school -- no drugs, no sexual harassment or sexual violence, no racism...why would they talk about school climate when the perception they put out is that it's not a problem." Meanwhile, she claims she was considered a "trouble-maker" when she brought up in a staff meeting the issue of how many "female students she knew who were skipping school or dropping out altogether because there was no effort to stop student-to-student sexual harassment." She would be in favor of requiring multi-cultural education is teacher preparation as "too many New Hampshire teachers have such narrow and parochial views of the world."

Respondent #9 is a male Middle School assistant principal. He is actually just the "acting" assistant principal who was previously the guidance counsellor at the same Southern-tier school very near the Massachusetts border, one which has experienced an increase in culturally diverse student population, mostly Puerto Ricans who are in need of LEP (Limited English Proficient) services. He has applied for the permanent position of assistant principal. He was born and raised in the Lawrence/Andover area of Massachusetts and went to school at the University of Connecticut. He estimates that the school has approximately 20% race/ethnic minority students.

He believes multi-culturalism is a "given state of being" in the U.S. now with the increased immigration and presence of diversity. He says that multi-cultural education needs to be addressed because "the world is becoming smaller as our students will be interacting with many cultures, especially in the business world. We need to learn to appreciate better the multitude of differences within our own country as well." In doing this, we need to "emphasize both our differences and our similarities in order to live in harmony....(also)....since the increase in violence and hate groups is so frightening we need to start tolerance education at much younger ages. It's really too late by the time students are here (at the Middle School)." He claims that many programs at the school incorporate multi-cultural issues, and not just in social studies. These issues are also included in "Unified Arts -- in music, dance, art -- in science with food and nutrition and health information that is cross-cultural and in math using multi-cultural games involving money, computation, or the metric system." What is emphasized is these programs in the sense of "...enjoying our differences, yet seeing our similarities in human feelings and values." One educational initiative relating to multi-cultural education was that "teacher teams wrote proposals and received a small incentive bonus to pursue (multi-cultural teaching). This idea was initiated by teachers."

He feels his school does stress race relations more than other schools in

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the area and that the learning concept of "treating everyone with dignity and respect" is emphasized most. He feels that global education is "one of the most important parts of multi-cultural education because today we are connecting with the world, not just with our own country. The business world is global and through technology we are able to reach countries in seconds." He feels that "teachers need to be models of political correctness...(and)...not fearful of receiving such a stupid and narrow-minded label." He believes in the importance of affirmative action as a way to "bring minorities and women up to the starting line with White males -- then they are judged equally with regards to capability and job-related knowledge." No educator is utilizing an explicit Afrocentric curriculum although again he noted how much race relations are emphasized at the school. He did not know what relativism or cultural relativism was and was noticeably embarrassed. Other educators did not seem to be particularly concerned that they had no exposure to the concept of relativism.

This respondent believes there is both reverse racism and sexism and "can understand why it would develop from resentment of perceived 'perks' to women and minorities." He feels that race relations "...have improved through the legal system but have overall worsened (and that) negative feelings have increased." He believes that New Hampshire needs multi-cultural education and notes: "New Hampshire is changing especially in the Southern areas....our students will grow and work with many others outside of the New Hampshire profile. Business stresses the need to work cooperatively and to get along with fellow workers." He is not sure about the extent to which New Hampshire is doing with regards to educating youth to live and work effectively in a culturally and ethnically diverse world. "In our school I would say we are doing way above average, which means that I am assuming that other New Hampshire schools don't have a clue about all this.....New Hampshire tends to isolate itself off as a state from the rest of the country (and) I'd guess other areas of the country are doing much better. I hope so."

His school has a full-time ESL (English as Second Language) teacher who is bilingual in Spanish. He says that even with a teacher's aide, she is very over-loaded and really needs either another full-time teacher or extra aides. "The school budget doesn't allow for this, and it worries me that we could be in trouble with your office for not providing appropriate services to ESL students." (I assured him that our job is to help schools stay in compliance with civil rights laws through technical assistance and that the Office of Civil rights is the enforcement agency who could come in and monitor for compliance if a parent, say, complained about inappropriate services.)

Although his school has a new sexual harassment policy and a policy on discrimination there are no policies or guidelines encouraging multi-cultural education. He would be in favor of requiring some level of multi-cultural education in teacher preparation schools. "This is necessary to prepare students for the future world and to make students good citizens -- non-violent citizens." He considers New Hampshire students of Franco-Canadian descent ethnic minorities and adds that "the Franco-Canadians bring with them a wealth of culture and had to face difficulties like immigrants do now when they first came to the U.S. Though they are 'blended' more as time has gone one, ther are still those who make derogatory remarks about the 'dumb French'."

The tenth respondent is a female social studies and health teacher from

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the same Southern-tier Middle School as the assistant principal above. She has been teaching for four years, three years at this school, and is a New Hampshire native. She has from five to "well over a dozen" students of race/ethnic minority status in each of her seven classes she teaches each day. What she thinks of multi-culturalism is that "due to our growing diverse population in the U.S. it is becoming an important area to learn about." There was little multi-cultural awareness in her college education in Maine although "she understands the multi-cultural education movement is growing faster in Maine than in New Hampshire." This she contributes to the progressive population of the Portland, Maine area and to the political conservatism of New Hampshire.

She thinks the biggest programmatic change in teaching associated with multi-culturalism is the current focus on thematic units as the main pedagogical units. "We teach in a much more unified and less fragmented way now, particularly in the Elementary grades. The teachers I know at that level take a theme, like racial diversity, and use that as the example for teaching about history, about biology, reading -- everything." She notes that many times multi-cultural awareness is only discussed around the holidays, but she is only mildly critical as even that "can broaden awareness, heighten interest, and lead to increased respect for differences between cultures." She believes the new theme of the school -- "school for all children" -- has been influenced by multi-cultural education and is seen in the way special education has changed. "There is a major attempt to de-label all the children we have locked into boxes due to their differences." They also have a new foreign language program at the Middle School, and she lamented about the decline in the importance of foreign languages and mentioned that very few junior or middle schools had such programs and that in the poorer districts some high schools have cut out what foreign language instruction they did offer.

The school has had an in-service training on infusing the curriculum with multi-cultural materials. (This training was conducted by myself, which is how I came to interview these two educators.) Since the training, she said that her colleagues have been generally quite enthused and have listed learning concepts they want to stress. These include "...respect, understanding, individuality, group differences, cooperation and learning from each other." Global education is especially important to social studies teachers who can "...benefit from the increased number of teaching aids which emphasize cultural pluralism in geography, history of war and the contributions to our history from 'ordinary citizens'."

She said she heard one teacher who "grumbled something about political correctness" after my in-service workshop but she heard many more positive comments. She thought it was useful to include an up-front discussion of political correctness in my work. On affirmative action, she understands that it is under attack and worries that "the gains from the past will be lost (if we undo affirmative action laws any further)." She sees Afrocentric curriculum as an " affirmative action or corrective type of curriculum" but believes that "African or African-American curriculum should not come to dominate the curriculum as Euro-centric curriculum does now....(and)...any decent and fair curriculum needs to be centered around a variety of cultural backgrounds in which students are given opportunities to experience this variety as strongly and as often as possible."

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This respondent says that she and others she knows do "think there is such a thing as reverse racism but that's not as important (and is more decisive) than to stress that all races and cultures need to learn and respect others. We need more mutual understanding around the globe and need to be beyond stereotyping people no matter what their background is." She feels that race relations have improved somewhat "(but) there are still problems which exist in large cities as well as small towns. There have been increases in racist violence." Even White students in New Hampshire need multi-cultural education because "they need to be able to work together in a global nation. (Students) may not stay in New Hampshire all of their lives. The only way we will ever have world peace is through continual attempts to make education more multi-cultural." She feels much more needs to be done in New Hampshire in the area of multi-cultural education and "taught throughout every grade and in every home."

In her social studies classes, she has relied on what she calls "the best kept secret in New Hampshire" to keep infusing new approaches to cross-cultural knowledge: the video collection maintained by the EEO Office. Although she laments about the over-use of videos by classroom teachers, nonetheless "kids are so video-oriented today" and videos on multi-cultural topics and perspectives are a way for teachers to incorporate multi-culturalism even if their own knowledge or background has not prepared them to feel comfortable or adequate in multi-cultural instruction. She also confirmed that school climate is a "hot topic" and that new conduct codes for teachers stress how "...teachers are expected to model and teach appropriate inter-personal behaviors based on cross-cultural respect." She added that there was also language addressing sex equity and sexual harassment added to the conduct codes of both teachers and students. She would be in favor of including multi-cultural education in teacher education requirements because "teachers need to develop skills in this area by learning and practicing activities and using resources available. Teachers in New Hampshire still need to feel more comfortable with the various topics in multi-cultural education." She does "not really" consider Franco-Canadian students part of New Hampshire's ethnic minority, as "race is the main criteria I use" in establishing whether someone constitutes an ethnic minority or not.

My last two interviews, the eleventh and twelfth, were conducted sequentially at an elementary school in the South-Central part of New Hampshire in a relatively wealthy, small town with many large colonial houses along its Main Street. The first Respondent here was a male third-grade teacher who was in his second year of teaching and had lived in New Hampshire all his life. He has no race/ethnic minority students in his class and believes that there are only two race/ethnic students in the entire school. He feels that multi-culturalism "is a good thing that he tries to promote." Any level of exposure to multi-cultural education, particularly at the primary grades, "should create some tolerance even if attitudes do not change." The programmatic change which has inspired a core of teachers to promote additional multi-cultural understanding was the new primary grade reading program, called the "Open Court Reading Program". He said that teachers were expecting the new readers to stress the "whole language approach to reading", but were surprised when the new books came in that there was such an "obvious change in multi-cultural content. There was much more representation of African-, Hispanic-, Asian-, and Native-Americans in the

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new books." He mentioned that several teachers said they had not realized how "White" the books they had been using for years were until they had the comparison forced upon them with the arrival of the new books. Also, "women in color and females participating in all activities -- like riding on a fire truck -- were more represented."

The teacher's guide to the new reading program stressed that a major goal of the program was to "expose students to other cultures through reading...(and)...to show how similar our culture is to others around the world." He said that as a relatively new teacher he has adjusted to the program more quickly than some of the "old-timers...who still deny that this picture-postcard New Hampshire town is quickly becoming a bedroom community for Boston (about an hour and fifteen minutes away)." He is sympathetic though as he notes that "until very recently, elementary teachers did not have the access to multi-cultural materials and curriculums....(multi-cultural education) was in the older grades." The most important learning concept is tolerance, according to this Respondent. and exposure to cultural differences is the method of achieving tolerance. "I think if the kids understand why a culture is like it is then their attitudes may change, or, we may prevent negative attitudes from forming." He believes global education and multi-cultural education are synonymous in that they both "stress when we haver in common with other cultures ot just what is different."

He believes the political correctness "....issue makes teaching multi-culturalism very difficult. I try to make sure I know all the politically correct names and terms but you never know when you may be offending someone. Some people get frustrated at this but I find it a growth experience. I came from an actively racist and bigoted family, so I'm all for learning about tolerance and how to respect all differences not just racial ones." He said "he didn't know much about what affirmative action was all about" and likewise declined comment on Afrocentric education and relativism. With regards to U.S. race relations as a social factor related to multi-culturalism, he said that he "thinks how our country relates or deals with other countries, especially Third World countries, can sometimes make multi-culturalism difficult. Kids often think that our country can do no wrong. I have third graders who are thrilled with waging war...."

He believes that reverse racism occurs but "is not prevalent." Reverse sexism, however, is very common and he is "...very offended by the current trend of male bashing on television...shows like The Mommies are nothing but a half hour of putting down men. Some men may be pigs but not all of us are." Regarding the state of U.S. race relations, he states that "he is only 25 (years old) so he doesn't remember much of the 1970s. I would have to say, though, that overall I think they have worsened. In some cases they may have gotten better. for instance, the African American population seems to be more accepted by middle-class White America but I think things have worsened for the Hispanic population." Multi-cultural education is important for New Hampshire because "New Hampshire is not always going to be primarily White. Right South of here there is already a huge increase in ethnic populations. Also, these kids are not all going to stay in New Hampshire. Many will move to areas with high ethnic populations."

Beyond the "Open Court Reading Program" discussed above, other multi-cultural education materials he uses are his "many trade books and videos. I buy many multi-cultural activity books myself because it's a pain trying to get

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the district to pay for them." His instructional methods has changed with regards to gender since he read How Schools Shortchange Girls (the research report published in 1992 by the American Association of University Women). He said he first heard of this report in a workshop I had done on gender equity. He notes that "he has become more personally aware of how demanding boys are of my time in the classroom (and) I am trying to equal things out but its hard to keep it in the forefront of your consciousness while teaching." He does not consider New Hampshire students of Franco-Canadian descent to be ethnic minorities since "New Hampshire has always been mostly French-Canadian."

The last interview was with the other third-grade teacher at the same elementary school as the previous teacher. This teacher is a female who had been teaching eighteen years at the same elementary school, moving downwards from 5th grade to 4th grade and finally to 3rd grade. (She says she enjoys the younger students more.) She is from the Boston area originally and went to New England College in New Hampshire. She has no minority students in her class, but, interestingly, estimated there to be "thirty" race/ethnic minority students in the school (as compared to the "two" estimated by her third-grade colleague!)

Her definition of multi-culturalism is of "an awareness of different customs, traditions, etc. I think children need to learn similarities and differences and they need to respect those differences in the same manner in which they want to be respecte.. (I am talking about) the old golden-rule that they teach you in church." She also mentions the reading program as an example of multi-cultural education in her school, and says that their reading program "really takes us around the world so we're hoping to give children a broader range of experiences from other cultures. Our art and music programs are also tied into this theme." What is also emphasized in these programs is "...a respect for cultural differences." She noted that their reading program is their main educational initiative dealing with these issues.

Interestingly since the third grade teachers at this school are obviously both teaching from a committed multi-cultural perspective, she says that "race relations are not emphasized (in multi-cultural education at the school) and are way too rarely mentioned. This school has so few minorities...it's so White. Unfortunately, these children have so little exposure to other races that when children of different color enroll it's hard for them to be easily accepted." She perceives global education as "an awareness of other cultures in the world...and their similarities and differences to ours. We are trying to make children globally aware."

She has heard and read about the term "political correctness" but confesses the really doesn't understand what the debate is about. "I know it's a big political thing right now", she says. Affirmative action is "how companies have to hire certain numbers of Blacks for certain jobs so they don't get into trouble with the government." She does think that someone's view on affirmative action would affect their view of multi-cultural education "but some people are really against (affirmative action)." She does not know what Afrocentric education or cultural relativism means, but she articulates a perception on the relationship of U.S. race relations to multi-cultural education. She says that "you really can't underestimate racism here -- living places other than New Hampshire makes you realize how racist so many people are here....there are people out there who couldn't care less about Black rights

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or multi-culturalism."

The respondent believes that there is reverse racism "especially in instances of employment hiring when a certain percentage of minorities must be hired and sometimes the more qualified candidate is overlooked....the same thing can be said in regards to reverse sexism...when an employer is pressured to hire a woman." She believes there seems to be an increase in violence "in the last decade...probably because of socio-economic differences and drug related problems."

She believes New Hampshire needs multi-cultural education because "a large percentage of college graduates and high school graduates will be seeking employment in urban areas outside of New Hampshire....they need to be prepared for dealing with people of multi-cultural backgrounds." However, she adds that "many people think that multi-cultural education is something not applicable to New Hampshire...I think more teachers will integrate more of this stuff when (the minority numbers increase)." She believes her school is doing above average in preparing youth to live and work in culturally diverse world "...but I'm not sure about other parts of New Hampshire. There are so many rural communities it's hard to say."

The reading program at the school plus "many of our own materials that we share have themes of children around the world." With regards to sex equity she says "I try very hard to treat girls and boys the same. I call on each equally -- I try to help them equally." I thought she was defensive about this, which is fairly common since I had recently conducted a workshop on gender equity at her school that included a large chunk of research on inequitable teacher-student interaction patterns.