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Edited by
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Multicultural Education
ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

TENTH EDITION

WILEY

Edited by

James A. Banks | Cherry A. McGee Banks

Multicultural Education

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ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

Tenth Edition

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Preface

Since the publication of the ninth edition of this book, a number of events in nations around the world have stimulated the rise of anti-globalist movements and the quest for social cohesion and hyper-nationalism. In 2016, these events included the populist revolts that resulted in the passage of the Brexit referendum requiring Britain to leave the European Union and the election of a United States president who expressed anti-immigrant opinions and issued an executive order banning immigrants from five predominantly Muslim nations from entering the United States. The rise in the popularity of conservative and reactionary politicians in a number of European nations was also a manifestation of the resurgence of neoliberalism, xenophobia, and the pushback on social justice, globalization, and educational equality in many different nations (Banks, 2017).

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (1999) stated that cycles of liberalism and quests for equality are followed by cycles of retrenchment and conservatism in the United States. Schlesinger's analysis might help to explain the conservative populist revolts that have arisen in many different nations. In these challenging times, it is important for schools and other institutions within society to help the public understand the benefits of diversity as a source of population rejuvenation, innovation, and economic vitality within a nation. Educators in multicultural nation-states in the 21st century need to construct creative and novel ways to balance unity and diversity. Unity without diversity leads to cultural and linguistic hegemony; diversity without unity results in a fractured and polarized nation.

Racial, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity—which has increased in the United States as well as in other nations since the ninth edition of this book was published—presents both opportunities and challenges to educators. Diversity continues to increase in the United States. The U.S. Census population projections for 2020 to 2060 indicate that the United States is becoming increasingly non-White because the population of people of color is growing while the aging non-Hispanic White population is predicted to shrink by 19 million people by 2060 (Vespa, Armstrong, & Medina, 2018). People who are two or more races are the fastest-growing group—it is projected to increase 200 percent by 2060, from 2.6 percent of the population to 6.2 percent. The population of Asian and Hispanic groups is projected to nearly double in the next 40 years. Whites will remain the largest racial group, with Hispanics continuing to be the second largest racial or ethnic group. The Hispanic population is expected to increase from 17.8 percent to 27.5 percent of the U.S. population. The Asian population is expected to grow from 5.7 percent to 9.1 percent. The African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander populations are predicted to increase only slightly. The U.S. Census Bureau projects that ethnic minorities will increase from 38.7 percent of the nation's population in 2016 to 55.7 percent in 2060. In 2016, ethnic minorities made up 125 million of the total U.S. population of 323 million.

Students who speak a language other than English at home are the fastest-growing segment of the U.S. student population; they made up approximately 22 percent of the school-age population in 2016 (Camarota & Zeigler, 2017). A significant percentage of these students have undocumented parents or are themselves undocumented (Peréz, 2011; Yoshikawa, 2011; Yoshikawa, Wuermli, & Aber, 2019). While the nation's student population continues to become more racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse, most of the nation's teachers are White, female, middle-class (or aspiring to the middle class), and monolingual. There is a wide and growing ethnic, cultural, social-class, and linguistic gap between most of the nation's teachers and their students. Teachers are faced with both the challenges and opportunities of dealing with diversity creatively and constructively in their classrooms and schools.

The social-class divide within U.S. society is widening, and the percentage of students who are poor in the nation's schools is increasing (Murray, 2012; Stiglitz, 2012). A report by the National Center for Education Statistics (2017) indicates that 52 percent of students in U.S. public schools were eligible for free or reduced-price lunches during the 2014–2015 school year, which means that they lived in low-income families. Consequently, in designing effective instructional programs and interventions, teachers and other educators must also respond effectively to the ways in which race, class, gender, and social class interact to influence student behavior and learning.

Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives, tenth edition, is designed to help current and future educators acquire the concepts, paradigms, and explanations needed to become effective practitioners in culturally, racially, linguistically, and social-class diverse classrooms and schools. An important goal of this book is to help teachers attain a sophisticated understanding of the concept of culture and to view race, class, gender, social class, and exceptionality as interacting concepts rather than as separate and distinct. Consequently, *intersectionality*—or how race, class, gender, and exceptionality are fluid variables that interact in complex ways—is an overarching concept in this book (Caruthers & Carter, 2012; Crenshaw, 1991; Grant & Zwier, 2012).

Teacher education programs should help teachers attain the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to work effectively with students from diverse groups as well as help students from mainstream groups develop cross-cultural knowledge, values, and competencies. The tenth edition of this book—which can help teachers to attain these goals—has been revised to reflect current and emerging research, theories, and practices related to the education of students from different cultural, racial, ethnic, language, gender, religious, and social-class groups. Exceptionality is part of our concept of diversity because there are exceptional students in each group discussed in this book.

The chapters from the previous edition have been revised to reflect new research, theories, census data, statistics, interpretations, and developments. The Multicultural Resources in the Appendix have been substantially revised and updated. Chapter 11 is new to this tenth edition. The Glossary has been revised to incorporate 2017 statistical data from the United States Census American Community Survey as well as new developments in the field.

This book consists of six parts. The chapters in Part 1 discuss how race, gender, class, and exceptionality interact to influence student behavior. Social class and religion and their effects on education are discussed in Part 2. Part 3 describes how educational opportunity differs for female and male students and how schools can foster gender equity as well as create safe educational environments for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning/queer (LGBTQ) students. The issues, problems, and opportunities for educating students of color, students with language differences, and civic education for diverse groups of students are discussed in Part 4. A significant number of students who are children of immigrant parents are non-citizens. Chapter 11 discusses civic education for non-citizen and citizen students.

Part 5 focuses on exceptionality, describing the issues involved in creating equal educational opportunity for students with disabilities. The final part—Part 6—discusses multicultural education as a process of school reform, ways to increase student academic achievement by working effectively with parents, and classroom assessment and diversity. The Appendix consists of a list of books for further reading. The Glossary defines many of the key concepts and terms used throughout this book.

Acknowledgments

We are grateful to a number of colleagues who helped with the preparation of this tenth edition. First, we would like to thank the authors, who revised their chapters in a timely and professional way. We would like to thank the following individuals who helped us revise the list of Multicultural Resources that is included in the Appendix:

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James A. Banks
Cherry A. McGee Banks

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part

1

Issues and Concepts

The two chapters in Part 1 define the major concepts and issues in multicultural education, describe the diverse meanings of culture, and describe the ways in which such variables as race, class, gender, and exceptionality influence student behavior. Various aspects and definitions of culture are discussed. Culture is conceptualized as a dynamic and complex process of construction; its invisible and implicit characteristics are emphasized. The problems that result when culture is essentialized are described.

Multicultural education is an idea, an educational reform movement, and a process whose major goal is to change the structure of educational institutions so that male and female students, exceptional students, and students who are members of diverse racial, ethnic, language, cultural, gender, and religious groups will have an equal opportunity to achieve academically in school. It is necessary to conceptualize the school as a social system in order to implement multicultural education successfully. Each major variable in the school—such as its culture, its power relationships, the curriculum and materials, and the attitudes and beliefs of the staff—must be changed in ways that will allow the school to promote educational equality for students from diverse groups.

To transform the schools, educators must be knowledgeable about the influence of particular groups on student behavior. The chapters in this part of the book describe the nature of culture and the ways in which it influences the behavior of students from diverse groups.

chapter

1

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Multicultural Education: Characteristics and Goals

James A. Banks

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Name the three major components of multicultural education.
2. List the characteristics of the macroculture and microcultures in the United States.
3. Explain how race, class, and gender interact to influence student behavior.
4. Name and describe the five dimensions of multicultural education.

1.1 The Nature of Multicultural Education

Multicultural education is at least three things: (1) an idea or concept; (2) an educational reform movement; and (3) a process. Multicultural education incorporates the idea that all students—regardless of their gender, sexual orientation, social class, and ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics—should have an equal opportunity to learn in school. Another important idea in multicultural education is that some students, because of these characteristics, have a better chance to learn in schools as they are currently structured than do students who belong to other groups or who have different cultural characteristics.

Some institutional characteristics of schools systematically deny some groups of students equal educational opportunities. For example, in the early grades, girls and boys achieve equally in mathematics and science. However, at advanced levels of mathematics, boys score higher on tests such as the SAT college entrance examination (Schwery, Hulac, & Schweinle, 2016). Girls are less likely than boys to participate in class discussions and to be encouraged by teachers to participate. Girls are more likely than boys to be silent in the classroom. However, not all school

practices favor males. As Sadker, Zittleman, and Koch point out in Chapter 5, boys are more likely to be disciplined than girls, even when their behavior does not differ from that of girls. They are also more likely than girls to be classified as learning disabled (Cortiella & Horowitz, 2014). Males of color, especially African American males, experience a highly disproportionate rate of disciplinary actions and suspensions in school. Scholars, such as Howard (2014), and Nasir, Givens, and Chatmon (2019), have described the serious problems that African American males experience in school and in the wider society. Women outpace men in graduation rates both from high school and from colleges and universities. The percentage of bachelor's degrees earned by women increased from 24 percent in 1950 to 57 percent in 2015 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2016).

In the early grades, the academic achievement of students of color, such as African Americans, Latinxs, and American Indians, is close to parity with the achievement of White mainstream students (Steele, 2010). However, the longer these students of color remain in school, the more their achievement lags behind that of White mainstream students. Social-class status is also strongly related to academic achievement. Weis, Won Han, and Jo in Chapter 3—as well as Knapp and Yoon (2012)—describe the powerful ways in which social class influences students' opportunities to learn.

Exceptional students, whether they are physically or mentally disabled or gifted and talented, often find that they do not experience equal educational opportunities in the schools. The chapters in Part 5 describe the problems that exceptional students experience in schools and suggest ways that teachers and other educators can increase their chances for educational success.

Multicultural education is also a reform movement that is trying to change the schools and other educational institutions so that students from all social-class, gender, racial, language, and cultural groups will have equal opportunities to learn. Multicultural education involves changes in the total school or educational environment; it is not limited to curricular changes (Banks, 2016; Banks & Banks, 2004). The variables in the school environment that multicultural education tries to transform are discussed later in this chapter and illustrated in Figure 1.5. Multicultural education is also a process whose goals will never be fully realized.

Educational equality, such as liberty and justice, is an ideal toward which human beings work but which they never fully attain. Racism, sexism, heterosexism, and ableism (disability discrimination) will exist to some extent, no matter how hard we work to eliminate these problems. When prejudice and discrimination are reduced toward one group, they are usually directed toward another group or take new forms. Whenever groups are identified and labeled, *categorization* occurs. When categorization occurs, members of in-groups favor in-group members and discriminate against out-groups (Bigler & Hughes, 2009). This process can occur without groups having a history of conflict, animosity, or competition, and without having physical differences or any other kind of important difference. Social psychologists call this process *social identity theory* or the *minimal group paradigm* (Rothbart & John, 1993). Because the goals of multicultural education can never be fully attained, we should work continuously to increase educational equality for all students. Multicultural education must be viewed as an ongoing process, not as something that we "do" and thereby solve the problems that are the targets of multicultural educational reform.

1.2 The Historical Development of Multicultural Education

Multicultural education grew out of the ferment of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. During this decade, African Americans embarked on a quest for their rights that was unprecedented in the United States. A major goal of this movement was to eliminate discrimination in public accommodations, housing, employment, and education. Its consequences had a significant

influence on educational institutions as ethnic groups—first, African Americans and then other groups—demanded that the schools and other educational institutions reform curricula to reflect their experiences, histories, cultures, and perspectives. Ethnic groups also demanded that the schools hire more Black and Brown teachers and administrators so that their children would have more successful role models. Ethnic groups pushed for community control of schools in their neighborhoods and for the revision of textbooks to make them reflect the diversity of peoples in the United States.

The first responses of schools and educators to the ethnic movements of the 1960s were hurried (Banks, 2006, 2016). Courses and programs were developed without the thought and careful planning needed to make them educationally sound or to institutionalize them within the educational system. Holidays and other special days, ethnic celebrations, and courses that focused on one ethnic group were the dominant characteristics of school reforms related to ethnic and cultural diversity during the 1960s and early 1970s. Grant and Sleeter (2013) call this approach "single-group studies." The ethnic studies courses developed and implemented during this period were usually electives and were taken primarily by students who were members of the group that was the subject of the course.

The visible success of the civil rights movement, plus growing rage and a liberal national atmosphere, stimulated other marginalized groups to take actions to eliminate discrimination against them and to demand that the educational system respond to their needs, aspirations, cultures, and histories. The women's rights movement emerged as one of the most significant social reform movements of the 20th century (Brewer, 2012). During the 1960s and the 1970s, discrimination against women in employment, income, and education was widespread and often blatant. The women's rights movement articulated and publicized how discrimination and institutionalized sexism limited the opportunities of women and adversely affected the nation. The leaders of this movement, such as Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem (2015), demanded that political, social, economic, and educational institutions act to eliminate sex discrimination and provide opportunities for women to actualize their talents and realize their ambitions. Major goals of the women's rights movement included offering equal pay for equal work, eliminating laws that discriminated against women and made them second-class citizens, hiring more women in leadership positions, and increasing the participation of men in household work and child rearing.

When *feminists* (people who work for the political, social, and economic equalities of the sexes) looked at educational institutions, they noted problems similar to those identified by ethnic groups of color. Textbooks and curricula were dominated by men; women were largely invisible. Feminists pointed out that history textbooks were dominated by political and military history—areas in which men had been the main participants (Trecker, 1973). Social and family history and the history of labor and ordinary people were largely ignored. Feminists pushed for the revision of textbooks to include more history about the important roles of women in the development of the United States and the world. They also demanded that more women be hired for administrative positions in the schools. Although most teachers in the elementary schools were women, most administrators were men.

Other marginalized groups, stimulated by the social ferment and the quest for human rights during the 1970s, articulated their grievances and demanded that institutions be reformed so they would face less discrimination and acquire more human rights. People with disabilities, senior citizens, and LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Questioning) people formed groups that organized politically during this period and made significant inroads in changing institutions and laws. Advocates for citizens with disabilities attained significant legal victories during the 1970s. The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 (PL. 94-142)—which required that students with disabilities be educated in the least restricted environment and institutionalized the word *mainstreaming* in education—was perhaps the most significant legal victory of the movement for the rights of students with disabilities in education (see Chapters 12 and 13).

1.2.1 How Multicultural Education Developed

Multicultural education emerged from the diverse courses, programs, and practices that educational institutions devised to respond to the demands, needs, and aspirations of the various groups. Consequently, multicultural education in actual practice is not one identifiable course or educational program. Rather, practicing educators use the term *multicultural education* to describe a wide variety of programs and practices related to educational equity, women, ethnic groups, language minorities, low-income groups, LGBTQ people, and people with disabilities. In one school district, multicultural education may mean a curriculum that incorporates the experiences of ethnic groups of color; in another, a program may include the experiences of both ethnic groups and women. In a third school district, this term may be used the way I do and by other authors, such as Nieto and Bode (2018) and Grant and Sleeter (2013)—that is, to mean a total school reform effort designed to increase educational equity for a range of cultural, ethnic, and income groups. This broader and more comprehensive notion of multicultural education is discussed in the last part of this chapter. It differs from the limited concept of multicultural education in which it is viewed as curriculum reform.

1.3 The Nature of Culture in the United States

The United States, like other Western nation-states such as the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada, is a multicultural society. The United States consists of a shared core culture as well as many subcultures. In this book, we call the larger shared core culture the *macroculture*; the smaller cultures, which are a part of the core culture, are called *microcultures*. It is important to distinguish the macroculture from the various microcultures because the values, norms, and characteristics of the mainstream (macroculture) are frequently mediated by, as well as interpreted and expressed differently within, various microcultures. These differences often lead to cultural misunderstandings, conflicts, and institutionalized discrimination.

Students who are members of certain cultural, religious, and ethnic groups are sometimes socialized to act and think in certain ways at home but differently at school (Au, 2011). In her studies of African American students and families in Trackton, a working-class community in the Piedmont Carolinas, Heath (1983, 2012) found that the pattern of language use in school was very different from the pattern used at home. At home, most of the children's interaction with adults consisted of imperatives or commands. At school, questions were the dominant form of interaction between teachers and students. A challenge that multicultural education faces is how to help students from diverse groups mediate between their home and community cultures and the school culture. Students should acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function effectively in each cultural setting. They should also be competent to function within and across other microcultures in their society, within the national macroculture, and within the global community (Banks, 2016).

1.3.1 The Meaning of Culture

Bullivant (1993) defines *culture* as a group's program for survival in and adaptation to its environment. The cultural program consists of knowledge, concepts, and values shared by group members through systems of communication. Culture also consists of the shared beliefs, symbols, and interpretations within a human group. Most social scientists today view culture as consisting primarily of the symbolic, ideational, and intangible aspects of human societies. The essence of a culture is not its artifacts, tools, or other tangible cultural elements but how

the members of the group interpret, use, and perceive them. It is the values, symbols, interpretations, and perspectives that distinguish one person from another in modernized societies; it is not material objects and other tangible aspects of human societies (Erickson, 2012). People in a culture usually interpret the meanings of symbols, artifacts, and behaviors in the same or in similar ways.

1.3.2 Identification and Description of the U.S. Core Culture

The United States, like other nation-states, has a shared set of values, ideations, and symbols that constitute the core or overarching culture. This culture is shared to some extent by all of the diverse cultural and ethnic groups that make up the nation-state. It is difficult to identify and describe the overarching culture in the United States because it is such a diverse and complex nation. It is easier to identify the core culture within an isolated premodern society, such as the Maoris before the Europeans came to New Zealand, than within highly pluralistic, modernized societies, such as the United States, Canada, and Australia (Penetito, 2010).

When trying to identify the distinguishing characteristics of U.S. culture, one should realize that the political institutions in the United States, which reflect some of the nation's core values, were heavily influenced by the British. U.S. political ideals and institutions were also influenced by Native American political institutions and practices, especially those related to making group decisions, such as in the League of the Iroquois (Weatherford, 1988).

1.3.3 Equality

A key component in the U.S. core culture is the idea, expressed in the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." When this idea was expressed by the nation's founding fathers in 1776, it was considered radical. A common belief in the 18th century was that human beings were not born with equal rights—that some people had few rights and others, such as kings, had divine rights given by God. When considering the idea that "all men are created equal" is a key component of U.S. culture, one should remember to distinguish between a nation's ideals and its actual practices, as well as between the meaning of the idea when it was expressed in 1776 and its meaning today. When the nation's founding fathers expressed this idea, their conception of men was limited to White males who owned property (Foner, 1998). White men without property, White women, and all African Americans and Indians were not included in their notion of people who were equal or who had "certain unalienable rights" (Delbanco, 2018).

Although the idea of equality expressed by the founding fathers in 1776 had a very limited meaning at that time, it has proved to be a powerful and important idea in the quest for human rights in the United States. Throughout the nation's history since 1776, marginalized and excluded groups, such as women, African Americans, Native Americans, and other cultural and ethnic groups, have used this idea to justify and defend the extension of human rights to them and to end institutional discrimination, such as sexism, racism, and discrimination against people with disabilities (Branch, 2006). As a result, human rights have gradually been extended to various groups throughout U.S. history. The extension of these rights has been neither constant nor linear. Rather, periods of the extension of rights have often been followed by periods of retrenchment and conservatism. Schlesinger (1986) calls these patterns "cycles of American history." The United States is still a long way from realizing the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence. However, these ideals remain an important part of U.S. culture and are still used by marginalized groups to justify their struggles for human rights and equality.

1.3.4 Individualism and Individual Opportunity

Two other important ideas in the common overarching U.S. culture are individualism and individual social mobility (Gorski, 2018; Stiglitz, 2012). Individualism as an ideal is extreme in the U.S. core culture. Individual success is more important than commitment to family, community, and nation-state. Individuals are expected to achieve success solely by their own efforts. Many people in the United States believe that a person can go from rags to riches within a generation and that every American-born boy or girl can, but not necessarily will, become president. Individuals are expected to achieve success by hard work and pull themselves up by their bootstraps. This idea was epitomized by fictional characters such as Ragged Dick, one of the heroes created by the popular writer Horatio Alger. Ragged Dick attained success by valiantly overcoming poverty and adversity. A related belief is that if a person does not succeed, it is because of his or her own shortcomings, such as being lazy or unambitious; failure is consequently the person's own fault. These beliefs are taught in the schools with success stories and myths about such U.S. heroes as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln.

The beliefs about individualism in U.S. culture are related to the Protestant work ethic (Weber, 2002). This is the belief that hard work by the individual is morally good and that laziness is sinful. This belief is a legacy of the British Puritan settlers in colonial New England. It has had a powerful and significant influence on U.S. culture.

The belief in individual opportunity has proven tenacious in U.S. society. It remains strong in American culture despite the fact that individuals' chances for upward social, economic, and educational mobility in the United States are highly related to the social-class, ethnic, gender, and other ascribed groups to which they belong (Allen, 2019; Knapp & Yoon, 2012; Stiglitz, 2012). The findings of social science research, as well as the chapters in this book, document the extent of social-class stratification in the United States and the ways in which people's opportunities in life are strongly influenced by the groups to which they belong (Jenkins, Cipollone, & Weis, 2014), yet the belief in individual opportunity remains strong in the United States.

1.3.5 Individualism and Groupism

Although the groups to which people belong have a major influence on their life chances in the United States, Americans—particularly those in the mainstream—are highly *individualistic* in their value orientations and behaviors. The nuclear family reinforces individualism in U.S. culture. One result of this strong individualism is that married children usually expect their older parents to live independently or in homes for senior citizens rather than with them. The strong individualism in U.S. culture contrasts sharply with the groupism and group commitment found in Asian nations, such as China and Japan (Butterfield, 1982; Reischauer, 1981). Individualism is viewed rather negatively in these societies. One is expected to be committed first to the family and group and then to oneself. Some U.S. social scientists, such as Lasch (1978) and Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton (1985), lament the extent of individualism in U.S. society. They believe it is harmful to the common national culture. Some observers believe that groupism is too strong in China and Japan and that individualism should be more valued in those nations. Perhaps modernized, pluralistic nation-states can best benefit from a balance between individualism and groupism, with neither characteristic dominating.

1.3.6 Expansionism and Manifest Destiny

Other overarching U.S. values that social scientists have identified include the desire to conquer or exploit the natural environment, the focus on materialism and consumption, and the belief in the nation's inherent superiority, which is often referred to as "American exceptionalism." These

beliefs justified Manifest Destiny and U.S. expansion to the West and into other nations and the annexation of one-third of Mexico's territory in 1848. These observations, which reveal the less positive side of U.S. national values, have been developed by social scientists interested in understanding the complex nature of U.S. society (Appleby, Hunt, & Jacob, 1994).

In his discussion of the nature of values in U.S. society, Myrdal contends that a major ethical inconsistency exists in U.S. society (Myrdal, Sterner, & Rose, 1944/1962). He calls this inconsistency "the American dilemma." He states that American creed values, such as *equality* and *human dignity*, exist in U.S. society as ideals. However, they exist alongside the institutionalized discriminatory treatment of African Americans and other ethnic and cultural groups in U.S. society. This variance creates a dilemma in the American mind because Americans try to reconcile their democratic ideals with their treatment of marginalized groups. Myrdal states that this dilemma has been an important factor that has enabled ethnic groups to fight discrimination effectively. In their efforts to resolve their dilemma when the inconsistencies between their ideals and actions are pointed out to them by human rights advocates, Americans, according to Myrdal, often support the elimination of practices that are inconsistent with their democratic ideals or the American creed. Some writers have refuted Myrdal's hypothesis and contend that most individuals in the United States do not experience such a dilemma related to the gap between American ideals and racial discrimination (Ellison, 1995).

1.3.7 Microcultures in the United States

A nation as culturally diverse as the United States consists of a common overarching culture as well as a series of microcultures (see Figure 1.1). These microcultures share most of the core values of the nation-state, but these values are often mediated by the various microcultures and are interpreted differently within them. Microcultures sometimes have values that are somewhat alien to the national core culture. Also, some of the core national values and behaviors may seem somewhat alien in certain microcultures or may take different forms.

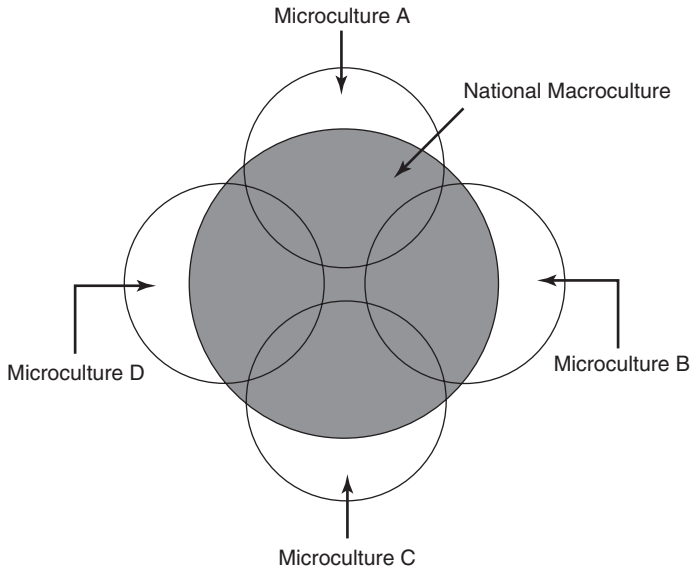

FIGURE 1.1
Microcultures and the National Macroculture
The shaded area represents the national macroculture. A, B, C, and D represent microcultures that consist of unique institutions, values, and cultural elements that are nonuniversalized and are shared primarily by members of specific cultural groups. A major goal of the school should be to help students acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to function effectively within the national macroculture, within their own microcultures, and within and across other microcultures.

Source: James A. Banks. (2015). *Cultural Diversity and Education: Foundations, Curriculum and Teaching*, 6th ed. (Boston: Pearson), p. 75. Used with the permission of the author.

The strong belief in individuality and individualism that exists within the national macroculture is often much less endorsed by some ethnic communities and is somewhat alien within them. Most African Americans and Latinxs who have not experienced high levels of cultural assimilation into the mainstream culture are much more group oriented than are mainstream Americans. Schools in the United States are highly individualistic in their learning and teaching styles, evaluation procedures, and norms. Many students, particularly African Americans, Latinxs, Native Americans, and Hawaiian Americans, are group oriented (Au, 2011; Lee, 2006). These students experience problems in the school's highly individualistic learning environment. Teachers can enhance the learning opportunities of these students, who are also called field dependent or field sensitive, by using cooperative teaching strategies that have been developed and field-tested by researchers such as Slavin (2012) and Cohen and Lotan (2014).

Some theories and research indicate that female students may have preferred ways of knowing, thinking, and learning that differ to some extent from those most often preferred by males (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Halpern, 1986; Taylor, Gilligan, & Sullivan, 1995). Maher (1987) describes the dominant inquiry model used in social science as male constructed and dominated. She contends that the model strives for objectivity: "Personal feelings, biases, and prejudices are considered inevitable limitations" (p. 186). Feminist pedagogy is based on different assumptions about the nature of knowledge and results in a different teaching method. According to Maher and Tetreault (1994), feminist pedagogy enhances the learning of females and deepens the insight of males. In Chapter 6, Tetreault describes the feminist pedagogy techniques she uses to motivate students and enhance their understandings.

After completing a major research study on women's ways of knowing, Belenky and colleagues (1986) concluded that conceptions of knowledge and truth in the core culture and in educational institutions "have been shaped throughout history by the male-dominated majority culture. Drawing on their own perspectives and visions, men have constructed the prevailing theories, written history, and set values that have become the guiding principles for men and women alike" (p. 5).

These researchers also found an inconsistency between the kind of knowledge most appealing to women and the kind that was emphasized in most educational institutions. Most of the women interviewed in the study by Belenky and her colleagues (1986) considered personalized knowledge and knowledge that resulted from firsthand observation most appealing. However, most educational institutions emphasize abstract, "out-of-context" knowledge. Ramírez and Castañeda (1974) found that Mexican American students who were socialized within traditional cultures also considered personalized and humanized knowledge more appealing than abstract knowledge. They also responded positively to knowledge that was presented in a humanized or story format.

Research by Gilligan (1982) provides some clues that help us better understand the findings by Belenky and her colleagues (1986) about the kind of knowledge women find most appealing. Gilligan describes caring, interconnection, and sensitivity to the needs of other people as dominant values among women and the female microculture in the United States. By contrast, she found that the values of men were more characterized by separation and individualism.

A major goal of multicultural education is to change teaching and learning approaches so that students of both genders and from diverse cultural, ethnic, and language groups will have equal opportunities to learn in educational institutions. This goal suggests that major changes should be made in the ways that educational programs are conceptualized, organized, and taught. Educational approaches need to be transformed in order to create effective multicultural classrooms and schools.

In her research on identifying and labeling students with disabilities, Mercer (1973) found that a disproportionate number of African American and Mexican American students were

labeled mentally retarded because the testing procedures used in intelligence tests "reflect the abilities and skills valued by the American core culture" (p. 32), which Mercer describes as predominantly White, Anglo-Saxon, and middle- and upper-class. She also points out that measures of general intelligence consist primarily of items related to verbal skills and knowledge. Most African American and Latinx students are socialized within microcultures that differ in significant ways from the U.S. core culture. These students often have not had an equal opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills that are measured in mental ability tests. Consequently, a disproportionate number of African American and Latinx students are identified as students with disabilities and are placed in classes for slow learners (Richman, 2012). Disability, as Mercer points out, is a socially determined status. When students are placed in classes for the students with disabilities, the self-fulfilling prophecy develops. Students begin to act and think as though they have disabilities.

1.3.8 Groups and Group Identification

Thus far, this chapter has discussed the various microcultures that make up U.S. society. Individuals learn the values, symbols, and other components of their culture from their social group. The group is the social system that carries a culture. People belong to and live in social groups (Bullivant, 1993). A group is a collectivity of persons who share an identity, a feeling of unity. A group is also a social system that has a social structure of interrelated roles (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969). The group's program for survival, values, ideations, and shared symbols constitutes its culture (Erickson, 2012).

The study of groups is the major focus in sociology. Sociologists believe that the group has a strong influence on the behavior of individuals, that behavior is shaped by group norms, and that the group equips individuals with the behavior patterns needed to adapt to their physical, social, and metaphysical environments. Sociologists also assume that groups have independent characteristics; they are more than aggregates of individuals. Groups possess a continuity that transcends the lives of individuals.

Sociologists also assume that knowledge about groups to which an individual belongs provides important clues to and explanations for the individual's behavior. Goodman and Marx (1982) write, "Such factors as shared religion, nationality, age, sex, marital status, and education have proved to be important determinants of what people believe, feel, and do" (p. 7). Although membership in a gender, racial, ethnic, social-class, or religious group can provide us with important clues about individuals' behavior, it cannot enable us to predict behavior. Knowing one's group affiliation can enable us to state that a certain type of behavior is probable. Membership in a particular group does not determine behavior, but makes certain types of behavior more probable.

There are several important reasons why knowledge of group characteristics and modalities can enable us to predict the probability of an individual's behavior but not the precise behavior. This is, in part, because each individual belongs to several groups at the same time (see Figure 1.2). An individual may be White, Catholic, female, and middle class, all at the same time. That individual might have a strong identification with one of these groups and a very weak or almost nonexistent identification with another. A person can be a member of a particular group, such as the Catholic Church, and have a weak identification with the group and a weak commitment to the tenets of the Catholic faith. Religious identification might be another individual's strongest group identification. Identification with and attachments to different groups may also conflict. A woman who has a strong Catholic identification but is also a feminist might find it difficult to reconcile her beliefs about equality for women with some positions of the Catholic Church, such as its prohibiting women from being ordained as priests.

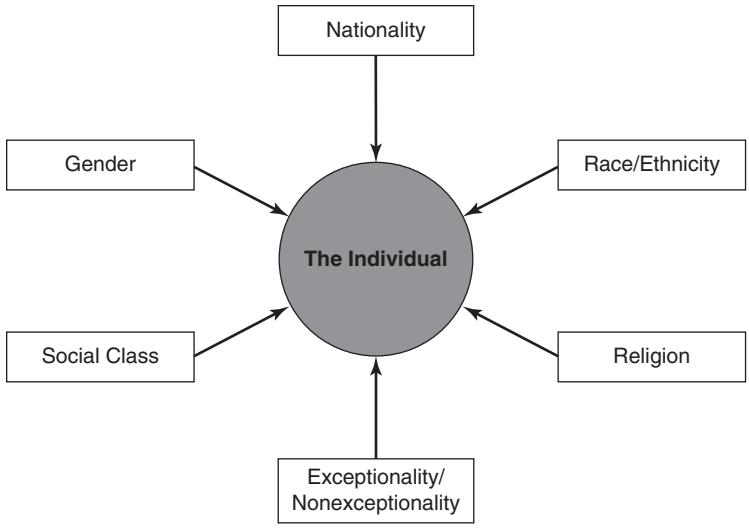

FIGURE 1.2
Multiple Group Memberships
An individual belongs to several different groups at the same time. This figure shows the major groups discussed in this book.

The more we know about a student's level of identification with a particular group and the extent to which socialization has taken place within that group, the more accurately we can predict, explain, and understand the student's behavior in the classroom. Knowledge of the importance of a group to a student at a particular time of life and within a particular social context will also help us understand the student's behavior. Ethnic identity may become more important to individuals who become part of an ethnic minority when they previously belonged to the majority. Many Whites who have moved from the U.S. mainland to Hawaii have commented on how their sense of ethnic identity increased and they began to feel marginalized. Group identity may also increase when the group feels threatened, when a social movement arises to promote its rights, or when the group attempts to revitalize its culture.

1.3.9 The Teaching Implications of Group Identification

What are the implications of group membership and group identity for teaching? As you read the chapters in this book that describe the characteristics of gender, social-class, racial, ethnic, religious, language, LGBTQ, and exceptional groups, bear in mind that individuals within these groups manifest these behaviors to various degrees. Also remember that individual students are members of several of these groups at the same time. The core U.S. culture was described earlier as having highly individualistic values and beliefs. However, research by Gilligan (1982) indicates that the values of women—as compared with those of men—are more often characterized by caring, interconnection, and sensitivity to the needs of others. This observation indicates how core values within the macroculture are often mediated by microcultures within various gender, ethnic, and cultural groups.

Also as stated previously, researchers have found that some students of color, such as African Americans and Mexican Americans, often have field-sensitive learning styles and therefore prefer more personalized learning approaches (Ramírez & Castañeda, 1974). Think about what this means. This research describes a group characteristic of these students, not the behavior of a particular African American or Mexican American student. It suggests that there is a higher probability that these students will have field-sensitive learning styles than will middle-class Anglo American students. However, students within all ethnic, racial, and social-class groups have different learning styles and characteristics. Gutiérrez and Rogoff (2003) have discussed why describing ethnic groups in stereotypic and essentialized ways is problematic. The groups to which students belong influence their behavior interactively and in complex ways because they are members of several groups at the same time. Knowledge of the characteristics of groups to

which students belong, of the importance of each of these groups to them, and of the extent to which individuals have been socialized within each group will give the teacher important clues to students' behavior.

1.3.10 The Interaction of Race, Class, and Gender

When using our knowledge of groups to understand student behavior, we should also consider the ways in which such variables as class, race, and gender interact and intersect to influence student behavior. Middle-class and highly assimilated Mexican American students tend to be more field independent than do lower-class and less-assimilated Mexican American students. African American students tend to be more field dependent (group oriented) than White students; females tend to be more field dependent than male students. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that African American females would be the most field dependent when compared to African American and White males and White females. This finding was made by Perney (1976).

Figure 1.3 illustrates how the major groupings discussed in this book—gender, race or ethnicity, social class, religion, and exceptionality—influence student behavior, both singly and interactively. The figure also shows that other variables, such as geographic region and age, also influence an individual's behavior. The ways in which these variables influence selected student behaviors are described in Table 1.1.

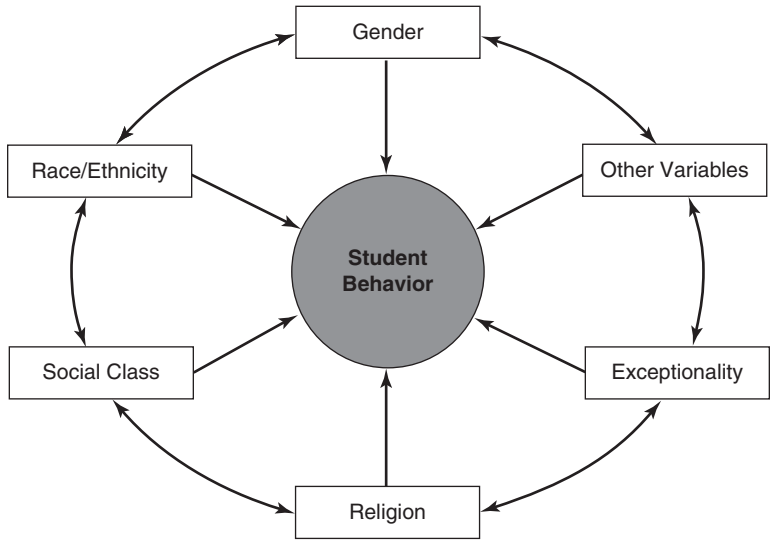

FIGURE 1.3
The Intersection of Variables
The major variables of gender, race or ethnicity, social class, religion, and exceptionality influence student behavior, both singly and interactively. Other variables, such as region and age, also influence student behavior.

■ TABLE 1.1 **Singular and Combined Effects of Variables**

Student Behavior	Gender Effects	Race/Ethnicity Effects	Social-Class Effects	Religious Effects	Combined Effects
Learning styles (field = independent/ field = dependent)	X*	X			X
Internality/externality			X		
Fear of success	X	X			?
Self-esteem	X	X			?
Individual vs. group orientation	X	X	X		?

*An X indicates that the variable influences the student behavior that is described in the far-left column. An X in the far-right column means that research indicates that two or more variables combine to influence the described behavior. A question mark indicates that the research is unclear about the effects of the variables.

1.4 The Social Construction of Categories

The major variables and categories discussed in this book—such as gender, race or ethnicity, class, and exceptionality—are social categories (Berger & Luckman, 1967; Mannheim, 1936). The criteria for whether an individual belongs to one of these categories are determined by human beings and consequently are socially constructed. Religion is also a social category. Religious institutions, symbols, and artifacts are created by human beings to satisfy their metaphysical needs.

These categories are usually related to individuals' physical characteristics. In some cases, as when they are individuals with severe or obvious physical disabilities, the relationship between the labels given to individuals and their physical characteristics is direct and would be made in almost any culture or social system. The relationship between categories that are used to classify individuals and their physical characteristics, however, is usually indirect and complex. Even though one's sex is determined primarily by physical characteristics (genitalia, chromosome patterns, etc.), gender is a social construction created and shaped by the society in which individuals and groups function.

1.4.1 Gender

Gender consists of the socially and psychologically appropriate behavior for males and females sanctioned by and expected within a society. Gender-role expectations vary across cultures and at different times in a society and within microcultures in the same society. Traditionally, normative behavior for males and females has varied among mainstream Americans, African Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanic Americans. Gender-role expectations also vary somewhat across social classes within the same society. In the White mainstream society in the 1940s and 1950s, upper-middle-class women often received negative sanctions when they worked outside the home, whereas women in working-class families were frequently expected to become wage earners.

1.4.2 Sexual Orientation

The discussion of gender roles provides an appropriate context for the examination of issues related to sexual orientation (see Chapter 7). The quest by gays and lesbians for human and civil rights has been an important development within the United States and throughout the Western world in the last several decades. Sexual orientation deserves examination when human rights and social justice are discussed because it is an important identity for some individuals and groups and because many gay youths are victims of discrimination and hate crimes (Kavanagh, 2012; Mayo, 2014). Sexual orientation is often a difficult issue for classroom discussion for both teachers and students. However, if done sensitively, it can help empower gay and lesbian students and enable them to experience social equality in the classroom. Recognition is one important manifestation of social equality (Gutmann, 2004).

1.4.3 Race

Race is a socially determined category that is related to physical characteristics in a complex way (Jacobson, 1998; Leonardo, 2013). Two individuals with nearly identical physical characteristics, or phenotypes, can be classified as members of different races in two different societies. In the United States, where racial categories are well defined and highly inflexible, an individual with any acknowledged or publicly known African ancestry is considered Black (Painter, 2010).

One who looks completely Caucasian, but who acknowledges some African ancestry is classified as Black. Such an individual would be considered White in Puerto Rico, where hair texture, social status, and degree of eminence in the community are often as important as—if not more important—than physical characteristics in determining an individual's racial group or category. There is a saying in Puerto Rico that "money lightens," which means that upward social mobility considerably enhances an individual's opportunity to be classified as White. There is a strong relationship between race and social class in Puerto Rico and in most other Caribbean and Latin American nations.

Our discussion of race as a social category indicates that the criteria for determining the characteristics of a particular race vary across cultures, that an individual considered Black in one society may be considered White in another, and that racial categories reflect the social, economic, and political characteristics of a society.

1.4.4 Social Class

Social scientists find it difficult to agree on criteria for determining social class. The problem is complicated by the fact that societies are constantly in the throes of change. During the 1950s, social scientists often attributed characteristics to the lower class that are found in the middle class today, such as single-parent and female-headed households, high divorce rates, and substance abuse. Today, these characteristics are no longer rare among the middle class, even though their frequency is still higher among lower-class families (Murray, 2012). Variables such as income, education, occupation, lifestyle, and values are among the most frequently used indices to determine social-class status in the United States (Warner, Meeker, & Eells, 1949/1960). However, there is considerable disagreement among social scientists about which variables are the most important in determining the social-class status of an individual or family.

Social-class criteria also vary somewhat among various ethnic and racial groups in the United States. Teachers, preachers, and other service professionals were considered upper class in many rural African American communities in the South in the 1950s and 1960s but middle class by mainstream White society. The systems of social stratification that exist in the mainstream society and in various microcultures are not necessarily identical.

1.4.5 Exceptionality

Exceptionality is also a social category. Whether a person is considered disabled or gifted is determined by criteria developed by society. As Shaver and Curtis (1981) point out, *disabilities* are not necessarily *handicaps*, and the two should be distinguished. They write, "A disability or combination of disabilities becomes a handicap only when the condition limits or impedes the person's ability to function normally" (p. 1). A person with a particular disability, such as having one arm, might have a successful college career, experience no barriers to achievements in college, and graduate with honors. However, this person may find that when trying to enter the job market, the opportunities are severely limited because potential employers view this individual as unable to perform well in some situations in which, in fact, this individual could perform effectively (Shaver & Curtis, 1981). This individual has a disability but is viewed as handicapped in one situation (the job market) but not in another (the university).

Mercer (1973) has extensively studied the social process by which individuals become labeled as persons with disabilities. She points out that even though their physical characteristics may increase their chance of being labeled persons with disabilities, the two are not perfectly

correlated. Two people with the same biological characteristics may be considered persons with disabilities in one social system but not in another one. An individual may be considered a person with a disability at school but not at home. Mercer writes, "Mental [disability] is not a characteristic of the individual, nor a meaning inherent in behavior, but a socially determined status, which [people] may occupy in some social systems and not in others" (p. 31). She states that people can change their role by changing their social group.

The highly disproportionate number of African Americans, Latinxs, and particularly males classified as learning disabled by the school indicates the extent to which exceptionality is a social category (Richman, 2012). Mercer (1973) found that schools identified more people with disabilities than did any other institution. Many African American and Latinx students who are identified with disabilities function normally and are considered normal in their homes and communities. More boys are classified as having mental disabilities than girls. Schools, as Mercer and other researchers have pointed out, use criteria to determine the mental ability of students of color that conflict with their home and community cultures. *Some students in all ethnic and cultural groups have mental disabilities and deserve special instruction, programs, and services, as the authors in Part 5 of this book suggest*. However, the percentage of students of color in these programs is too high because it greatly exceeds their percentage in the school population. The percentage of students in each ethnic group identified with disabilities should be about the same as the total percentage of that group in school.

Giftedness is also a social category (Ford, 2012; Sapon-Shevin, 1994). Important results of the socially constructed nature of giftedness are the considerable disagreement among experts about how the concept should be defined and the often inconsistent views about how to identify gifted students (Ford, 2012). The highly disproportionate percentage of middle- and upper-middle-class mainstream students categorized as gifted compared to low-income students and students of color, such as African Americans, Latinxs, and Native Americans, is also evidence of the social origin of the category.

Many students who are classified as gifted do have special talents and abilities and need special instruction. However, some students who are classified as gifted by school districts merely have parents with the knowledge, political skills, and power to force the school to classify their children as gifted, a classification that will provide them with special instruction and educational enrichment (Sapon-Shevin, 1994).

Schools should try to satisfy the needs of students with special gifts and talents; however, they should also make sure that students from all social-class, cultural, language, ethnic, and gender groups have an equal opportunity to participate in programs for academically and creatively talented students. If schools or districts do not have in their gifted programs a population that represents their various cultural, racial, language, gender, and ethnic groups, steps should be taken to examine the criteria used to identify gifted students and develop procedures to correct the disproportion. Both excellence and equality should be major goals of education in a pluralistic society.

1.5 The Dimensions of Multicultural Education

When many teachers think of multicultural education, they think only or primarily of content related to ethnic, racial, and cultural groups. Conceptualizing multicultural education exclusively as content related to various ethnic and cultural groups is problematic for several reasons. Teachers who cannot easily see how their content is related to cultural issues will easily dismiss multicultural education with the argument that it is not relevant to their disciplines. This is done frequently by secondary math and science teachers.

The irrelevant-of-content argument can become a legitimized form of resistance to multicultural education when it is conceptualized primarily or exclusively as content. Math and science teachers often state that multicultural education is fine for social studies and literature teachers but that it has nothing to do with their subjects. Furthermore, they say, math and science are the same regardless of the culture or the kids. Multicultural education needs to be more broadly defined and understood so that teachers from a wide range of disciplines can respond to it in appropriate ways and resistance to it can be minimized.

Multicultural education is a broad concept with several different and important dimensions (Banks, 2004). Practicing educators can use the dimensions as a guide to school reform when trying to implement multicultural education. The dimensions are (1) content integration, (2) the knowledge construction process, (3) prejudice reduction, (4) an equity pedagogy, and (5) an empowering school culture and social structure. Each dimension is defined and illustrated in the next section of this chapter.

1.5.1 Content Integration

Content integration deals with the extent to which teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories in their subject area or discipline. The infusion of ethnic and cultural content into the subject area should be logical, not contrived.

More opportunities exist for the integration of ethnic and cultural content in some subject areas than in others. In the social studies, the language arts, and music, frequent and ample opportunities exist for teachers to use ethnic and cultural content to illustrate concepts, themes, and principles. There are also opportunities to integrate multicultural content into math and science. However, the opportunities are not as ample as they are in the social studies, the language arts (Paris & Alim, 2017), and music (Campbell, 2018).

1.5.2 The Knowledge Construction Process

The knowledge construction process relates to the extent to which teachers help students to understand, investigate, and determine how the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed within it (Banks, 1996).

Students can analyze the knowledge construction process in science by studying how racism has been perpetuated in science by genetic theories of intelligence, Darwinism, and eugenics. In his important book, *The Mismeasure of Man*, Gould (1996) describes how scientific racism developed and was influential in the 19th and 20th centuries. Scientific racism has had and continues to have a significant influence on the interpretations of mental ability tests in the United States.

The publication of *The Bell Curve* (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994), its widespread and enthusiastic public reception, and the social context out of which it emerged provide an excellent case study for discussion and analysis by students who are studying knowledge construction (Kincheloe, Steinberg, & Gresson, 1996). Herrnstein and Murray contend that low-income groups and African Americans have fewer intellectual abilities than do other groups and that these differences are inherited. Students can examine the arguments made by the authors, their major assumptions, and how their conclusions relate to the social and political context.

Gould (1994) contends that Herrnstein and Murray's arguments reflect the social context of the times, "a historical moment of unprecedented ungenerosity, when a mood for slashing social programs can be powerfully abetted by an argument that beneficiaries cannot be helped, owing

to inborn cognitive limits expressed as low I.Q. scores" (p. 139). Students should also study counterarguments to *The Bell Curve* made by respected scientists. Two good sources are *The Bell Curve Debate: History, Documents, Opinions*, edited by Jacoby and Glauberman (1995), and *Measured Lies: The Bell Curve Examined*, edited by Kincheloe and colleagues (1996).

Students can examine the knowledge construction process in the social studies when they study such units and topics as the European discovery of America and the westward movement. The teacher can ask the students the latent meanings of concepts such as the "European discovery of America" and the "New World." The students can discuss what these concepts imply or suggest about the Native American cultures that had existed in the Americas for about 40,000 years before the Europeans arrived. When studying the westward movement, the teacher can ask students these questions: Whose point of view or perspective does this concept reflect, that of the European Americans or the Lakota Sioux? Who was moving west? How might a Lakota Sioux historian describe this period in U.S. history? What are other ways of thinking about and describing the westward movement? *Teaching What Really Happened: How to Avoid the Tyranny of Textbooks and Get Students Excited about Doing History*, by James W. Loewen (2018) contains excellent examples of lessons that teachers can use to help students understand the ways in which the perspectives and points of view of authors influence the writing and construction of history.

1.5.3 Prejudice Reduction

Prejudice reduction describes lessons and activities teachers use to help students develop positive attitudes toward different racial, ethnic, and cultural groups. Research indicates that children come to school with many negative attitudes toward and misconceptions about different racial and ethnic groups (Aboud, 2009; Levy & Killen, 2008). Research also indicates that lessons, units, and teaching materials that include content about different racial and ethnic groups can help students to develop more positive intergroup attitudes if certain conditions exist in the teaching situation (Bigler & Hughes, 2009). These conditions include positive images of the ethnic groups in the materials and the use of multiethnic materials in a consistent and sequential way.

Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis provides several useful guidelines for helping students to develop positive interracial attitudes and actions in contact situations. He states that contact between groups will improve intergroup relations when the contact is characterized by these four conditions: (1) equal status, (2) common goals, (3) intergroup cooperation, and (4) support of authorities such as teachers and administrators (Schofield, 2012).

1.5.4 An Equity Pedagogy

Teachers in each discipline can analyze their teaching procedures and styles to determine the extent to which they reflect multicultural issues and concerns. An equity pedagogy exists when teachers modify their teaching in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, gender, and social-class groups. This includes using a variety of teaching styles and approaches that are consistent with the wide range of learning styles within various cultural and ethnic groups, being demanding but highly personalized when working with groups such as Native American and Alaskan students, and using cooperative learning techniques in math and science instruction in order to enhance the academic achievement of students of color (Cohen & Lotan, 2014; Slavin, 2012).

Several chapters in this book discuss ways in which teachers can modify their instruction in order to increase the academic achievement of students from gender groups (Part 3) and different racial, cultural, and linguistic groups (Part 4).

1.5.5 An Empowering School Culture and Social Structure

Another important dimension of multicultural education is a school culture and organization that promote gender, racial, and social-class equity. The culture and organization of the school must be examined by all members of the school staff. They all must also participate in restructuring it. Grouping and labeling practices, sports participation, disproportionality in achievement, disproportionality in enrollment in gifted and special education programs, and the interaction of the staff and the students across ethnic and racial lines are important variables that need to be examined in order to create a school culture that empowers students from different racial, ethnic, language, and gender groups.

Figure 1.4 summarizes the dimensions of multicultural education. The next section identifies the major variables of the school that must be changed in order to institutionalize a school culture that empowers students from diverse cultural, racial, ethnic, gender, and social-class groups.

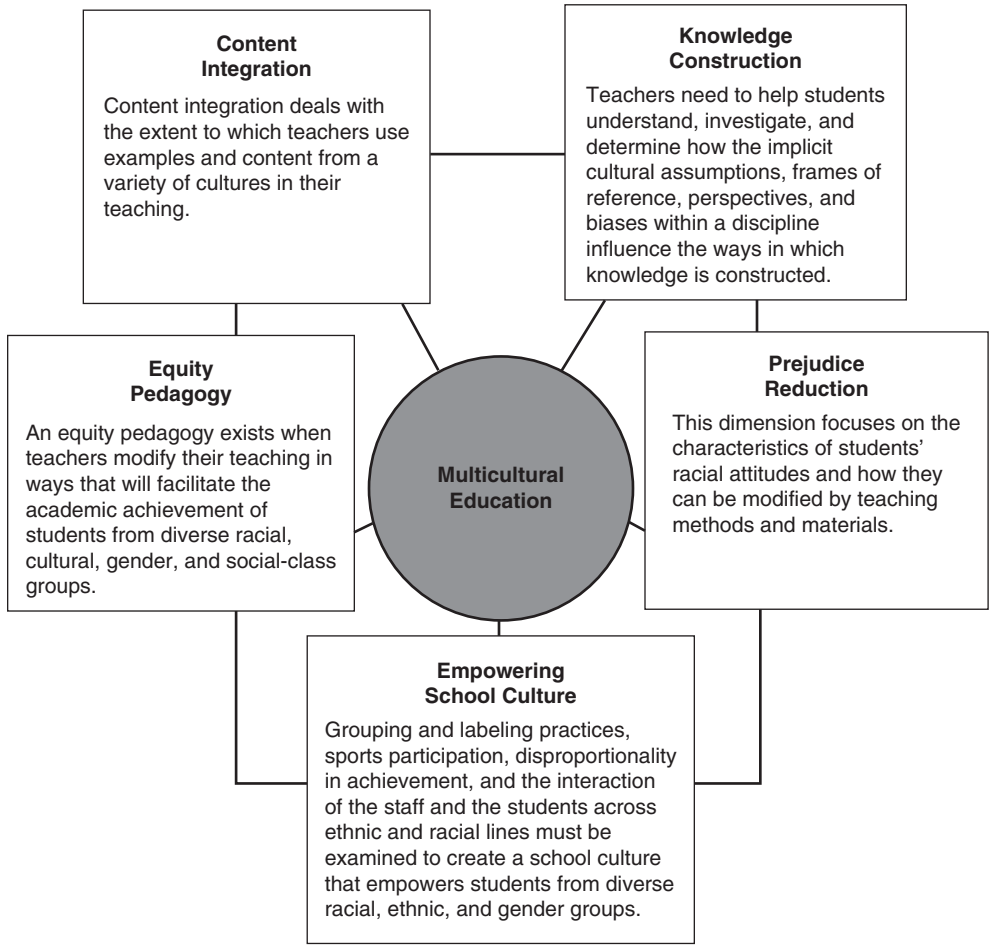

FIGURE 1.4 The Dimensions of Multicultural Education

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1.6 The School as a Social System

To implement multicultural education successfully, we must think of the school as a social system in which all of its major variables are closely interrelated. Thinking of the school as a social system suggests that educators must formulate and initiate a change strategy that reforms the total school environment to implement multicultural education. The major school variables that must be reformed are presented in Figure 1.5.

Reforming any one of the variables in Figure 1.5, such as the formalized curriculum or curricular materials, is necessary but not sufficient. Multicultural and sensitive teaching materials are ineffective in the hands of teachers who have negative attitudes toward different racial, ethnic, language, and cultural groups. Such teachers are rarely likely to use multicultural materials or are likely to use them detrimentally. Thus, helping teachers and other members of the school staff to gain knowledge about diverse groups and democratic attitudes and values is essential when implementing multicultural programs.

To implement multicultural education in a school, we must reform its power relationships, verbal interaction between teachers and students, culture, curriculum, extracurricular activities, attitudes toward minority languages (Romaine, 2009), testing and assessment practices (see Chapter 16 in this book), and grouping practices. The school's institutional norms, social structures, cause-belief statements, values, and goals must be transformed and reconstructed.

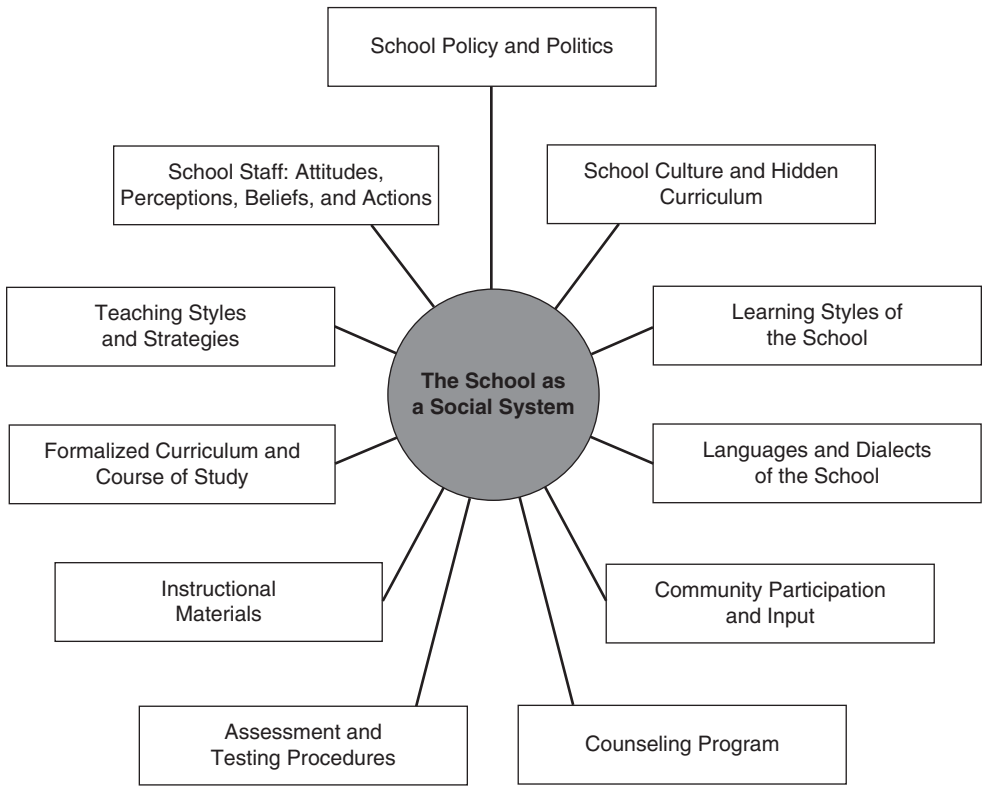

FIGURE 1.5 The School as a Social System
The total school environment is a system consisting of a number of major identifiable variables and factors, such as a school culture, school policy and politics, and the formalized curriculum and course of study. Any of these factors may be the focus of initial school reform, but changes must take place in each of them to create and sustain an effective multicultural school environment.

Major attention should be focused on the school's hidden curriculum and its implicit norms and values. A school has both a manifest and a hidden curriculum. The manifest curriculum consists of such factors as guides, textbooks, bulletin boards, and lesson plans. These aspects of the school environment are important and must be reformed to create a school culture that promotes positive attitudes toward diverse cultural groups and helps students from these groups experience academic success. However, the school's hidden, or latent, curriculum is often more important than its manifest or overt curriculum. *The latent curriculum* has been defined as the one that no teacher explicitly teaches but that all students learn. It is that powerful part of the school culture that communicates to students the school's attitudes toward a range of issues and problems, including how the school views them as human beings, as exceptional students, as students from various religious, cultural, racial, and ethnic groups, and as individuals with different sexual orientations and identities (Mayo, 2014). Jackson (1992) calls the latent curriculum the "untaught lessons."

When formulating plans for multicultural education, educators should conceptualize the school as a microculture that has norms, values, statuses, and goals like other social systems. The school has a dominant culture and a variety of microcultures. Almost all classrooms in the United States are multicultural because White students as well as Black and Brown students are socialized within diverse cultures. Teachers also come from many different groups. As Erickson (2012) points out, all individuals—including students and teachers—are also *multicultural* because components of more than one culture or group influence their behavior. Each individual belongs to an ethnic or culture group; has a sexual orientation and identity; and is religious or nonreligious.

Many teachers were socialized in cultures other than the Anglo mainstream, although these may be forgotten and repressed. Teachers can get in touch with their own cultures and use the perspectives and insights they acquired as vehicles for helping them relate to and understand the diverse cultures of their students.

SUMMARY

Multicultural education is an idea stating that all students, regardless of the groups to which they belong, such as those related to gender, ethnicity, race, culture, language, social class, religion, sexual orientation, or exceptionality, should experience educational equality in the schools. Some students, because of their particular characteristics, have a better chance to succeed in school as it is currently structured than students from other groups. Multicultural education is also a reform movement designed to bring about a transformation of the school so that students from different genders and from diverse cultural, language, and ethnic groups will have an equal chance to experience school success. Multicultural education views the school as a social system that consists of highly interrelated parts and variables. Therefore, in order to transform the school to bring about educational equality, all major components of the school must be substantially changed. A focus on any one variable in the school, such as the formalized curriculum, will not implement multicultural education.

Multicultural education is a continuing process because the idealized goals it tries to actualize—such as educational equality and the eradication of all forms of discrimination—can never be fully achieved in human society. Multicultural education, which was born during the social protest of the 1960s and 1970s, is an international movement that exists in nations throughout the world (Banks, 2009). A major goal of multicultural education is to help students develop the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function within their own microcultures, the U.S. macroculture, other microcultures, and the global community.

QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1.1 What are the three components or elements of multicultural education?

1.2 How does Banks define *multicultural education*?

1.3 Find other definitions of multicultural education in several books listed under the category "Issues and Concepts" in the Appendix to this book. How are the definitions of multicultural education in these books similar to and different from the one presented in this chapter?

1.4 In what ways did the Civil Rights and Women's Rights Movements of the 1960s and 1970s influence the development of multicultural education?

1.5 Ask several teachers and other practicing educators to give you their views and definitions of multicultural education. What generalizations can you make about their responses?

1.6 Visit a local school and, by observing several classes as well as by interviewing several teachers and the principal, describe what curricular and other practices related to multicultural education have been implemented in the school. Share your report with your classmates or workshop colleagues.

1.7 Define *macroculture* and *microculture*.

1.8 How is *culture* defined? What are the most important components of culture in a modernized society?

1.9 List and define several core or overarching values and characteristics that make up the macroculture in the United States. To what extent are these values and characteristics consistent with practices in U.S. society? To what extent are they ideals that are inconsistent with realities in U.S. society?

1.10 How is individualism viewed differently in the United States and in nations such as China and Japan? Why? What are the behavioral consequences of these varying notions of individualism?

1.11 What is the American dilemma defined by Myrdal? To what extent is this concept an accurate description of values in U.S. society? Explain.

1.12 How do the preferred ways of learning and knowing among women and students of color often influence their experiences in the schools as they are currently structured? In what ways can school reform help make the school environment more consistent with the learning and cognitive styles of women and students of color?

1.13 In what ways does the process of identifying and labeling students with disabilities discriminate against groups such as African Americans and Latinxs?

1.14 In what ways can the characteristics of a group help us understand an individual's behavior? In what ways are group characteristics limited in explaining an individual's behavior?

1.15 How do such variables as race, class, and gender interact to influence the behavior of students? Give examples to support your response.

1.16 What is meant by the "social construction of categories"? In what ways are concepts such as gender, race, social class, and exceptionality social categories?

1.17 List and define the five dimensions of multicultural education. How can these dimensions be used to facilitate school reform?

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chapter

2

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Culture, Teaching, and Learning

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I think the best way to learn about a multicultural society is to study many cultures. If during class we studied one culture a day, we might scratch the surface on what it would be like to be informed of and about numerous cultures.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Define and give examples of the different meanings and uses for the concept of culture.
2. Explain how culture and learning are inextricably connected.
3. Discuss changes to the construct of culture.
4. Discuss the relationship between culture and educational achievement.
5. Identify and discuss the ways that cultural processes and cultural traditions can influence learning.
6. Describe the ways that an understanding of culture can help educators make effective connections between their students' social lives and their learning in schools.

The statement at the beginning of this chapter represents one preservice student's ideas about what is meant by a "multicultural society" and about how educators can best prepare themselves to teach in multicultural schools. His understanding of the relationship between culture and multicultural education follows the *tossed salad* or *mosaic theory:* the idea that many distinct cultures comprise a multicultural society. From his perspective, *culture* represents a set of characteristics (e.g., language, customs, food, and holidays) attributable to clearly identifiable, distinct, and

bounded groups of people; therefore, his suggestion to study one culture per day seems like an efficient and logical way for teachers to learn about the overwhelming number of cultures within a multicultural society.

This particular approach to understanding culture, also known as the *tourist-based* or *transmission approach*, is fairly common, especially in teacher training. It typically involves a single course session about the presumed traits of entire social groups. Yet in spite of the prevalence of a tourist-based understanding of culture in schools, this approach does not offer to educators an accurate or adequate view of culture. In fact, the idea of culture as a set of inherent and fixed traits attributable to a social group—*cultural essentialism*—contributes to simplistic generalizations and harmful stereotypes that flatten the actual complexity of each individual person as well as the extensive variation among people in any given cultural or social group.

If culture, then, is not a set of identifiable characteristics, what is it, and what significance should it have for educators, students, and learning? If tourist-based understandings of culture are counterproductive, why are they so popular? One of the main goals of this chapter is to answer these questions in order to provide educators with a better understanding of the concept of culture and enable them to put such understanding to work. Specifically, this chapter examines culture as a complex and layered construct rather than a list of traits attributable to different, usually "exotic," social groups; such a complex construct cannot be learned in one day.

What we refer to in this chapter as *getting to know culture* means actually grappling with the complexity that surrounds the different meanings and uses of the culture concept. Accordingly, *getting to know culture* means asking questions like: Where does the concept come from? How has the concept changed over time? Why has it changed? What is the usefulness of the concept? What are the limitations of the concept? What other concepts are connected to culture? For what purposes has it been used in education? Taken together, these questions point to the multiple layers that make up the concept of culture; all are necessary for educators to understand how culture is implicated and reflected in teaching and learning.

The other overarching goal of this chapter is to provide educators with an understanding of culture that will help them to make more effective connections between their students' social lives and their learning in schools. *Putting culture to work* depends on *knowing culture* in all of the previously mentioned ways so that it can be applied effectively and appropriately in teaching and learning. More specifically, in the latter part of this chapter we discuss how 21st-century educators can *put culture to work* in classrooms by understanding how culture and learning are inextricably connected—in ways that go beyond superficial understandings of culture as a set of group traits and characteristics, or of learning as a simple matter of their transmission and acquisition.

2.1 Getting to Know Culture

As in a complex labyrinth, no single or direct pathway leads to a meaningful understanding of culture. In fact, although *culture* is one of those seemingly commonsense words that gets used on a daily basis, few people can clearly define it. Depending on the circumstances, *culture* might refer to the idea of "capital C" Culture: what is often described as high culture, invoking associations with certain refined tastes and habits typified by the classical arts, like a Bach overture or the *Mona Lisa*. In this sense, some people have "more" culture, while others have much less. In other circumstances, such as the example at the outset of this chapter, someone might use *culture* as a catchall term for the beliefs and practices that differentiate groups of people, such as traditional Japanese food, dress, and decorum. In this sense, everyone "has" culture in equal measure, but the *substance* of culture is different. In the context of schools and classrooms, *culture* is often something that the "other" has, and it is often viewed as a "problem" to be solved. This trend frequently surfaces in teacher education courses, where White preservice teachers consistently

claim that they have no "culture" and are therefore genuinely concerned about how they will teach "culturally diverse" students in their classrooms.

In reality, differences in the meanings and uses of *culture* are actually not new, but rather reflect the challenge of defining a seemingly commonsense concept. Even anthropologists, for whom culture has been the central focus of their study, have struggled and often failed to reach consensus on a singular definition of *culture* (Kuper, 1999), in large part because of the complexity of the concept as well as the different ways in which the concept gets used to explain human life. Moreover, the concept of culture continues to change in keeping with broader social, economic, and political shifts, such as industrialization and, more recently, globalization.

For educators, the question of what culture is can be particularly challenging, since most teacher training programs increasingly emphasize the importance of culture to learning but rarely provide enough examples or experience to aid teachers in understanding the concept. The majority of educators are introduced to the culture concept through discussion of and coursework on multicultural education, where the primary focus is often on student identity and a representation of ethnic groups across the curriculum. In other words, "*culture*, for multiculturalists, refers primarily to collective social identities engaged in struggles for social equality" (Turner, 1993, p. 412). By contrast, "anthropology and its various concepts of culture are not primarily oriented towards programs of social change, political mobilization, or cultural transformation" (Turner, 1993, p. 412), and yet anthropological understandings of culture and its relationship to learning are frequently absent in teacher education courses.

The fact that the connections between culture and learning are not made explicit, results in much of the confusion and the superficial representations of culture that characterize most teaching in schools today. It also explains why so many teachers tend to link culture to ethnic or racial identity and fail to understand that "every individual participates in *many* cultures" that are not necessarily tied to ethnic or racial group membership (Pollock, 2008, p. 370).

Because "[t]he manner in which culture manifests itself for students is frequently not understood in schools and is not used effectively to enhance teaching and learning for all students" (Howard, 2010, p. 51), teachers must cultivate deeper understandings of how culture is implicated in teaching and learning, moving beyond superficial tourist—or "holiday and hero"—approaches (Convertino, 2016). At the same time, teachers must also recognize that the *educational debt* (Ladson-Billings, 2006a), which refers to the long-term cumulative effects of inadequate education, housing, health care, government services and political representation on the educational lives of marginalized students and their communities, demands a view of culture aimed toward redressing and transforming such inequities. Educators are thus in the unique position of needing to cross intellectual borders between anthropology and multicultural education, to arrive at understandings of culture that are theoretically rich and in turn, pedagogically effective and equity-driven.

In this chapter, we focus primarily on anthropological approaches to understanding culture through a critical lens that can contribute to the multiple dimensions of multicultural education (Banks, 2016). In the following sections, we provide an overview of how anthropologists have developed culture as a set of ideas that have changed throughout history in response to broader socioeconomic and political shifts. We do not provide a comprehensive definition of the concept but rather focus on the development of those aspects of the culture concept that pertain most significantly to teaching and learning.

2.1.1 Some Early Origins of the Construct of Culture

Following the Industrial Revolution, the concept of culture went from meaning the growth of something, like *horticulture* or *agriculture*, to signifying the creative aspirations of the human mind. These early notions of culture, as a series of increasingly superior manifestations of human

creativity and intellect, were closely tied to other prevalent modes of thought at the time—Eurocentrism and evolutionism in particular. Consequently, dominant European explanations for differences in human behavior and beliefs were initially associated with the late 19th- and early 20th-century ideas about the progression of "evolutionary stages" that ranked racial groups in terms of intelligence or development. In this pseudoevolutionary view, the beliefs that genetic inheritance determined how different groups of people acted and that "civilized," European people were racially superior to "primitive" people served to justify Western imperialism.

Yet around the same time the term culture was posed as an alternative to the biogenetic explanation of human development; it was used to emphasize that humans learned, or more aptly *acquired* the knowledge and behaviors needed to participate in social life. One of the earliest, most comprehensive definitions of culture came from E.B. Tylor, an English anthropologist, who wrote that culture is the "complex whole, which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1873/1958, p. 1).

Following Tylor, at the turn of the 20th century, the American anthropologist, Franz Boas, sought to counter the idea of unilineal progression of evolutionary stages, and more importantly the racial implications of this argument. Through his extensive time in residence with various North American Indian groups, he argued for a *historical comparative method* that recognized the possibility of multiple historically conditioned cultures that often strategically borrowed from each other. This process of *cultural diffusion* was a challenge to key assumptions about evolutionary "stages" or "superiority." By arguing that human behavior could be conditioned by the historical circumstances in which it arises, Boas established that race and hierarchical racial classifications were scientifically indefensible (González, 2005) and that differences in patterns of human behavior are neither "superior" nor "inferior;" they are just different from one another. *Cultural relativism* is thus the idea that differences in human development and behavior are based on ways of knowing and traditions specific to the adaptation and reproduction of social groups, rather than on overall levels of progress or development. Later in this chapter, we will discuss subsequent changes to the culture concept. In the following section, however, we first highlight the foundational aspects of getting to know culture; in particular, we emphasize how culture is constantly invented and shared through teaching and learning.

2.1.2 Connecting Culture with Education

At this point in our discussion, we will define culture as the symbolic meanings by which the members of a group or society communicate with and understand themselves, each other, and the world around them. Human beings are, above all, great symbol-makers and manipulators. Unlike most other animals, our instinctual repertoire is quite limited. The behavior needed to survive, with which most other animals are genetically hard-wired, we must acquire through learning and knowledge acquisition. We are probably the only species to regularly use symbols in this learning process and the only species to systematically transmit the rules of symbol use to succeeding generations. In many respects, education represents what early anthropologists referred to as the process of *cultural transmission*; that is the transmission and acquisition of symbolic knowledge for "communicating meanings, all of which enabl[es] the coordination of the efforts of individuals in collective social action" (Erickson, 2011, p. 27).

Of course, education is much broader than *schooling*, which is an institution of more recent historical invention. Until the development of agriculture and the rise of city-states, tribal societies likely educated their children through complex and deliberate everyday practices characterizing a society's way of life. Only since the beginnings of the modern period some 200 years ago—a period characterized by the rise of capitalism, large-scale urbanization, the consolidation of the nation-state, and the ubiquity of the printing press—have mass school systems been

created and has much of human learning been assigned to schools. Especially since World War II, schools have become the dominant format for learning in most areas of the world. Still, schools are no less influenced by culture than are other informal means of education. In fact, contemporary schools and classrooms in the United States are replete with examples of cultural transmission, for example, raising hands for turn-taking.

Early on, the majority of children in U.S. classrooms are taught by a teacher to raise their hand prior to speaking, however, this process of *enculturation* is rarely if ever identified as an example of cultural transmission. Enculturation refers to the basic process of cultural transmission by which individuals come to acquire the crucial meanings and understandings of their primary culture, usually the local community, kin group, as well as their secondary culture, such as the school (cf. the related sociological term *socialization*). The processes by which we acquire culture, however, remain largely unrecognized. This is because much of what we do in our everyday lives that is cultural is also invisible, and often outside of our conscious awareness. By contrast, what we often think of as culture is more often associated with a set of visible traits, such as food, dress, language, and so on (Erickson, 2012). We will return to this distinction and its relevance to putting culture to work later in the chapter.

Whereas cultural transmission and enculturation emphasize the role of the "teacher," *cultural acquisition* shifts our focus onto the role of the "learner." Efforts to understand how relatively novice individuals acquire the basic cultural knowledge of a society spawned a tremendously fruitful collaboration between anthropology and psychology, giving rise to the field of *cultural psychology*. The work of the Soviet psychologist, Lev Vygotsky (1978), with its emphasis on the role of symbolic "tools of mediation" in the relation between individual and society, has become central to this field. Cultural historical activity theory, an outgrowth of cultural psychology, has been especially adept at showing how diversity in peer-group collaboration and tools of mediation, like multilingualism, can move students to higher and more complex forms of cognition (Convertino & Mein, 2017).

Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991) proposed a powerful theory of "situated learning," in which society is fundamentally composed of overlapping "communities of practice" that serve as the vehicles for cultural acquisition. Such an account places identity at the heart of cultural learning. As one moves from "legitimate peripheral participation" (p. 14) to a more central, expert role in a community of practice, one increasingly develops identities of mastery and their corresponding emotional investments.

An important overarching concept that has emerged to encompass the processes of both cultural continuity and cultural change is that of *cultural production*. In the process of acquiring transmitted cultural knowledge, individuals or subcultures can modify the knowledge, in effect, organizing the knowledge for themselves while producing and adding new knowledge to the common stock. For example, as a carpenter teaches an apprentice the techniques of stair-laying, as well as the cultural value of precision, the apprentice may discover a new cut that saves time without sacrificing much precision. Over time, most carpenters in the community may adopt the change, or some may resist and deem it too sloppy a compromise; in this way, "the transmission of knowledge is subject both to conservative forces and to tendencies toward continual redefinition" (Hansen, 1979, p. 26). In the following section, we further outline key processes through which cultures change and the effects thereof on changes to the concept of culture.

2.1.3 Culture Change and Changes to Culture

The standard view of culture as a stable and closed system oriented towards intergenerational sedimentation and reproduction dominated the social sciences well into the middle of the 20th century, at which point some social scientists recognized that rather than being homeostatic, cultures were replete with conflict and thus, subject to change. As will be shown, cultural change

occurs within and across cultures. In most but not all cases, culture change stems from conflict, which is often political, meaning it involves struggles over power.

The capacity for individuals to change culture is referred to as *agency*. Stated in a different way, agency represents how individuals actively appropriate certain elements of culture while discarding others. Because of the persistent reliance on tradition and cultural transmission in modern schools, *student agency* is less frequently recognized, valued, and implemented in ways that contribute to innovating school knowledge, curricula, and practices. In his book *Learning to Labour* (1977), Paul Willis describes student agency in an ethnographic study of working-class "lads" in England. Within this framework, students were seen as resisting the false bargain of social mobility proffered by their school. Their resistance constitutes a form of agency, but by opposing the middle-class ideologies of the school through cultural practices such as "having a laff," the lads ironically reproduce their lower working-class status. What Willis's work shows is how individuals need not be portrayed as "cultural dopes" doomed to endlessly reproduce a static and unyielding culture, but rather should be seen as actively manipulating and tinkering with cultural elements, although not always to their educational benefit.

Another factor that limits student agency is the fact that the dominant school culture in the United States reflects the dominant culture in U.S. society. Consequently, students who are enculturated in the dominant culture—White, middle to upper-middle class—possess greater *cultural capital*. Cultural capital represents dominant "views, standards and cultural forms" (Ferguson, 2001, p. 50) that hold greater prestige and status in a given society. Students with valued cultural capital have a significant advantage in terms of school success over those whose cultural capital does not match that of the schools (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Students who do not possess high-status cultural capital may experience "symbolic violence," wherein their cultural and social capital are devalued in schools such that they do not receive the necessary resources, validation, or opportunities from schools needed to alter their social positions.

Cultural capital is thus an important concept when thinking about culture change because it can help us to understand how power in the form of unequal access and distribution of social power influences cultural reproduction among dominant groups, rather than promoting cultural change for a pluralistic and multicultural society. In order to support the culture and learning of all students, educators and administrators must work diligently to change the dominant school culture to recognize, value, and make relevant the diverse forms of cultural capital that underrepresented students bring to schools (Yosso, 2005).

Cultural assimilation and *cultural acculturation* are two other concepts that highlight the role of conflict and uneven power relations in culture change. Assimilation—the process through which one culture becomes completely absorbed into the dominant culture—can occur through overt force, as in the forced removal and isolation of Native American children from their families into boarding schools (Spring, 2016). Acculturation refers to the typically asymmetrical process of culture change as a result of contact and intermingling between different social groups. *Dissonant acculturation* (Qin, 2006) represents one effect of acculturation as when the school-age children of recent immigrant families learn how to speak English and participate in U.S. culture more quickly than their parents.

In contrast to assimilation and acculturation, which assume static and essentialized views of culture and cultural groups, the phenomenon of *transculturation* has been receiving increased attention. In the 21st century, the concomitant expansion of technology with political and economic changes across the globe—globalization— contributes to an accelerated circulation and flow of peoples, ideas, and goods across national borders affording the formation of transcultural practices and the emergence of new kinds of *hybrid identities* (Appadurai, 1996; Burbules & Torres, 2000; González, 2016). Educational research illustrates that transfronterizx students, a subset of transnational students, who regularly cross the US-Mexico border to attend school, engage in transcultural and translanguaing practices (Convertino, 2018; de la Piedra, Araujo, & Esquinca, 2018).

At the same time, as cultural practices are "deterritorialized"— detached from local contexts—due to the migration of peoples and flows of culture, tensions over cultural maintenance, often expressed through xenophobic and racist nationalistic rhetoric and policies, are on the rise. Nevertheless, the once preeminent idea of culture as bounded, holistic, and static—a "laundry list of cultural traits" (Spindler, 1996), a set of contending "billiard balls" (Wolf, 1982)—remains untenable in the 21st century. Instead, culture is increasingly viewed as *dynamic*, *interactional*, *and emergent*. Often, new concepts of culture are tied to examining *borderlands* (Anzaldúa, 1987) that are composed of emergent practices and mixed conventions that do not conform to expectation. Gupta and Ferguson (1992), for example, note that

> *the fiction of cultures as discrete object-like phenomena occupying discrete spaces becomes implausible for those who inhabit the borderlands. Related to border inhabitants are those who live a life of border crossings—migrant workers, nomads, and members of transnational business and professional elite. What is "the culture" of farm workers who spend half a year in Mexico and half a year in the United States? (p. 7)*

Another theorist, Homi Bhabha (1995), in his provocative work *The Location of Culture*, argues for examining "border lives" as exemplars of moments "of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion" (p. 1). It is these "in-between" spaces, he argues, that

> *provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood—singular or communal—that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation in the act of defining the idea of society itself. (p. 1)*

But students do not need to live on or near borders to create new, complex cultural identities. Increasingly, through their participation in cross-cutting youth cultures, students draw from an intercultural and hybrid knowledge base (González, 2016).

Another critical theoretical turn in conceptualizations of culture was the rise of postmodernism and poststructuralism. Postmodernism questioned whether what had become known as the culture of the modern world was still viable in more fragmented and decentered economic and political conditions. From a postmodern perspective, the idea of general models and grand theories gave way to considering contradiction, ambiguity, and local and contingent ways of positioning knowledge. Michel Foucault (1969), a French social theorist, explored how knowledge was intimately connected with the conveyance of power. An increasing emphasis on textuality and *discourse* came to dominate discussions about culture. Discussions of culture gave way to the exploration of discourses that have the capacity to construct, rather than merely reflect, our realities. For example, educational policies and practices frequently represent broader discourses about what it means to be a "good" or "bad" student, or likewise to "fail" or "succeed" in school. As these discourses circulate in schools and within public education, they often serve to constitute certain "types" of students as *different*, *deviant*, *outcasts*, or *misfits* and, thus, constrain the educational opportunities and outcomes of these students who are viewed as "not fitting in" to school norms and practices (Convertino, 2015).

In response to the varied and multiple critiques of the culture concept, many anthropologists have moved from using the term culture to focusing on practices (González, 2005, 2016). In this view, a basic definition of culture "consists of the patterning of practices of 'doing being human' – in our routine actions, in our interpretations of meanings in those actions, and in the beliefs that underlie our meaning interpretations" (Erickson, 2012, p. 3). Later in this chapter, we will examine how thinking about culture as everyday practices involved in doing and being human can help educators move away from static, tourist-based approaches to culture and learning.

2.2 Culture and Educational Achievement

Up to this point, we have focused on varied and changing versions of the culture concept, particularly in terms of its connections with teaching, learning, and schooling. In this section, we explore how earlier understandings of the culture concept—as a set of bounded and static traits attributable to a social group—came to be a major focus in educational scholarship from the 1950s to today. Specifically, we examine both the contributions and drawbacks of major educational theories that posit culture as the preeminent concept for explaining differences in educational achievement.

2.2.1 Cultural Deficit Models

In the late 1950s, the anthropologist Oscar Lewis (1959) argued that membership in a group that has been poor for generations constituted a separate culture, a "culture of poverty." For Lewis, the culture of poverty model was meant to be a counterdiscourse to notions of supposed familial instability and disorganization as well as an alternative to racist biological notions of race and poverty. Unfortunately, the concept was taken up as a distortion of the complexity of the lives of the poor, and what emerged was a view that the "culture of poverty" was antithetical to school achievement and thus explained educational failure. This theory led to the development and expansion of *cultural deficit models* (Valencia, 2010) in schooling, according to which poor and minority students were viewed through a lens of deficiency and were considered substandard in their socialization practices, language habits, and familial orientation toward scholastic achievement.

Vestiges of the cultural deficit models continue to have a negative and harmful impact, particularly where minority and poor students are concerned. The widespread use of Ruby Payne's (1996) *Framework for Understanding Poverty* in teacher training is just one significant example of cultural deficit models that continue to influence teachers' thinking and understanding of culture. According to Payne's framework, since poverty is as much cultural as it is monetary, middle-class educators cannot relate to their poor students because they do not know the hidden rules of surviving poverty any better than poor students know the hidden rules of middle-class culture. For example, the teacher no more knows how to physically fight and defend him- or herself than the poor student knows how to reserve a table at a restaurant. According to Payne, in order for educators to be effective with poor students, they need to teach them the hidden rules of middle-class culture. Not unlike the tourist-based approach, Payne's framework is popular among educators and school administrators because it provides seemingly simple and quick solutions to very complex problems (see Gorski, 2013, for an incisive critique of Payne's theoretical framework).

The cultural deficit model in both its original and contemporary renderings illustrates two very important misunderstandings of culture that in turn lead to misuses of the concept of culture in education. First is the misunderstanding that culture is composed of a set of static and bounded traits and values evenly attributable to all members of the group. For example, all students from cultural group X are poor and consequently cannot learn to read, do not want to work, and have parents who do not care about education. Besides blatant stereotyping and eliminating group and individual diversity, this misunderstanding of culture can lead to extremely harmful educational practices that actually create the conditions for educational failure, i.e., "deficit talk" with and about poor and minority students (Convertino & Graboski-Bauer, 2017).

The other significant misunderstanding is the fact that the cultural deficit model is actually used to explain the educational failure of poor and/or minority students. In other words, the culture of these students is characterized as deficient in contrast to the culture of middle- and upper-middle-class nonminority students, which explains the latter groups' higher educational

achievement. This mode of thought and use of culture blame the individual and fail to account for the *structural* conditions that consistently characterize the schools that poor and minority students attend, including unequal resources, lack of qualified teachers, and greater use of heavy-handed discipline (Noguera, 2008; Oakes, 2005).

In addition, underlying the cultural deficit model are the old ideas of racial ranking that originally plagued 19th-century anthropologists; simply put, educators following the cultural deficit model are likely using culture as a stand-in concept to represent deep-seated notions about race. Ladson-Billings (2006b) refers to the phenomenon in teacher education of tying culture and race together, and then using culture as a catchall term for difference and deviance, as the "poverty of culture"—an intentional play on the concept of the "culture of poverty." She points to educators' reliance on "culture" to explain the misbehavior of students who are ethnically, racially, or linguistically different from themselves. She provides the following example from the field experiences of a teacher education program (Ladson-Billings, 2006b):

> *I listened as they described their students' misbehavior in terms of culture. "The black kids just talk so loud and don't listen," said one teacher education student. I asked her why she thought they spoke so loudly. "I don't know; I guess it's cultural." I then asked if she thought they were talking loudly because they were black or because they were kids. She paused a moment and then said, "I guess, I've never thought about that." This is an interesting response since so much of this student's teacher preparation includes a focus on development. Why don't more of our students say things like, "Since my students are eight years old I expect that they will behave in this particular way?" (p. 106)*

In another example, Valenzuela (1999) explores the academic achievement and educational affiliations of Mexican and Mexican American students attending a comprehensive inner-city high school in Texas. Although students in the study reported a positive attitude toward education in general, they expressed decreases in positive affiliations with school due to school-based policies and practices that were dismissive of their cultural and linguistic resources. Valenzuela uses the concept of *subtractive schooling* to describe how school policies and practices require the loss or subtraction of crucial aspects of students' cultural and linguistic identities in order for them to be academically successful. Mexican American students' cultural backgrounds are seen as *deficient*, and they are encouraged to *assimilate*. English-only legislation, as well as the passage of legislation (HB 2281), which banned ethnic studies from an Arizona school district, are examples of subtractive schooling policies that similarly hinder the social and academic achievement of diverse students.

2.2.2 Cultural Difference Model and Mismatch Hypothesis

Approximately a decade after sociologists introduced the cultural deficit model as a means to explain disparities in educational achievement and social mobility, the emphasis on culture took another turn in the fields of anthropology and education. Consistent with academic attention to the educational disparities of minority students, anthropologists during the 1970s and 1980s refuted the deficit-driven approach and posited that the consistent educational failure of certain groups of students was due to a *mismatch* between the culture of home and community and that of schools (Heath, 1983; Levinson, Foley, & Holland, 1996). In other words, poor and minority students' cultures were merely *different* from the prevailing beliefs and practices of school culture, not deficient. Here one can see the return of anthropological *relativism* working against a veiled form of evolutionist racism.

Heath's (1983) landmark study *Ways with Words* offers one of the more compelling examples of variance in student experiences and outcomes due to the mismatch between home and school culture. In her study, Heath looked at the home literacy practices of three different

communities in a South Carolina town: a working-class African American community, a working-class White community, and a middle-class White community. Each community demonstrated a distinct approach to literacy; however, only the literacy orientation and practices of the middle-class White (mainstream) community matched those of the school. The distinct but equally rich literacy practices of the two nonmainstream communities constituted a "mismatch" between home and school literacies that had progressively greater negative outcomes for the school-age children of these two communities (see also Valdés, 1996). According to the *cultural difference model* or *mismatch hypothesis* exemplified by Heath's study, since school culture is linguistically and/or materially a different cultural world for underrepresented students, educators should seek to know and appreciate the culture of their students by engaging with the community-based linguistic patterns of their communities and building pedagogically upon them.

Although these were powerful concepts that held sway for almost 30 years, the cultural difference paradigm nonetheless focused primarily on microinteractional processes—that is, on classroom and language practices—and generally assumed that all members of a particular group share a normative, bounded, and integrated culture. This approach tended to mask the underlying issues of political-economic and power relationships between dominant and minority populations, and sought answers instead through "fixing" teachers' interactional patterns.

2.2.3 Educational Achievement: Voluntary versus Involuntary Immigrant Students

Around the same time, the Nigerian-born anthropologist John Ogbu (1978, 1981) wondered, if cultural differences or "mismatches" could explain problems with school achievement, why do some students who are culturally and linguistically even more different from the mainstream culture of schooling tend to do well, while long-standing minority populations do not fare as well? For instance, why do the children of Chinese immigrants on average perform better than African American kids? After all, the latter may speak Black English Vernacular at home, but this would seem a more easily surmountable difference than Chinese culture and language? Rejecting facile racist or culturalist explanations (e.g., Chinese "culture" values formal education more highly; African American families have "deficient" educational environments), Ogbu sought the answer by turning to history, social structure, and the relations of power between minority groups and the dominant institution of schooling. He noted the crucial difference between those groups who had been incorporated into a national society through slavery, conquest, or colonization, whom he called "castelike" or "involuntary" minorities, and those rather more "voluntary" minorities who had arrived through immigration. Subject to segregation, forced assimilation, or other forms of harsh discrimination in their histories, involuntary minorities (in the United States, mostly African American, Native American, and some Latino groups) are much more likely to have developed alternative strategies of survival outside of schooling and forms of "oppositional identity" to the kinds of "success" that schools supposedly offer. Involuntary minorities, in other words, might see school success as "subtractive" to the forms of dignified identity they have constructed historically vis-à-vis a broader society that constantly denies them their full civil and human rights. They are justifiably wary of what schools have to offer. Voluntary minorities, on the other hand, often retain "dual frames of reference," comparing the harsh conditions of their homeland to the relative freedom and opportunity they witness in their new adopted home. No strangers to discrimination, they nonetheless view school success as "additive" to their overall way of life rather than subtractive, because they have not suffered multi-generational oppression.

In this way, John Ogbu urged educators to look more deeply at the full cultural and political ecology of schooling and the "cultural frames of reference" toward schooling that implicated historical conditions; he echoes in this way Boas's earlier admonition to look carefully at particular histories.