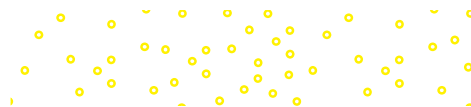# Human Diversity in Education
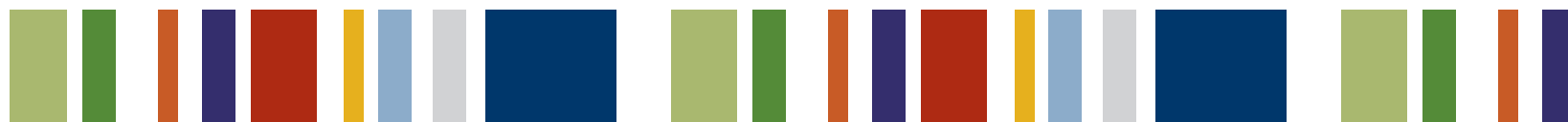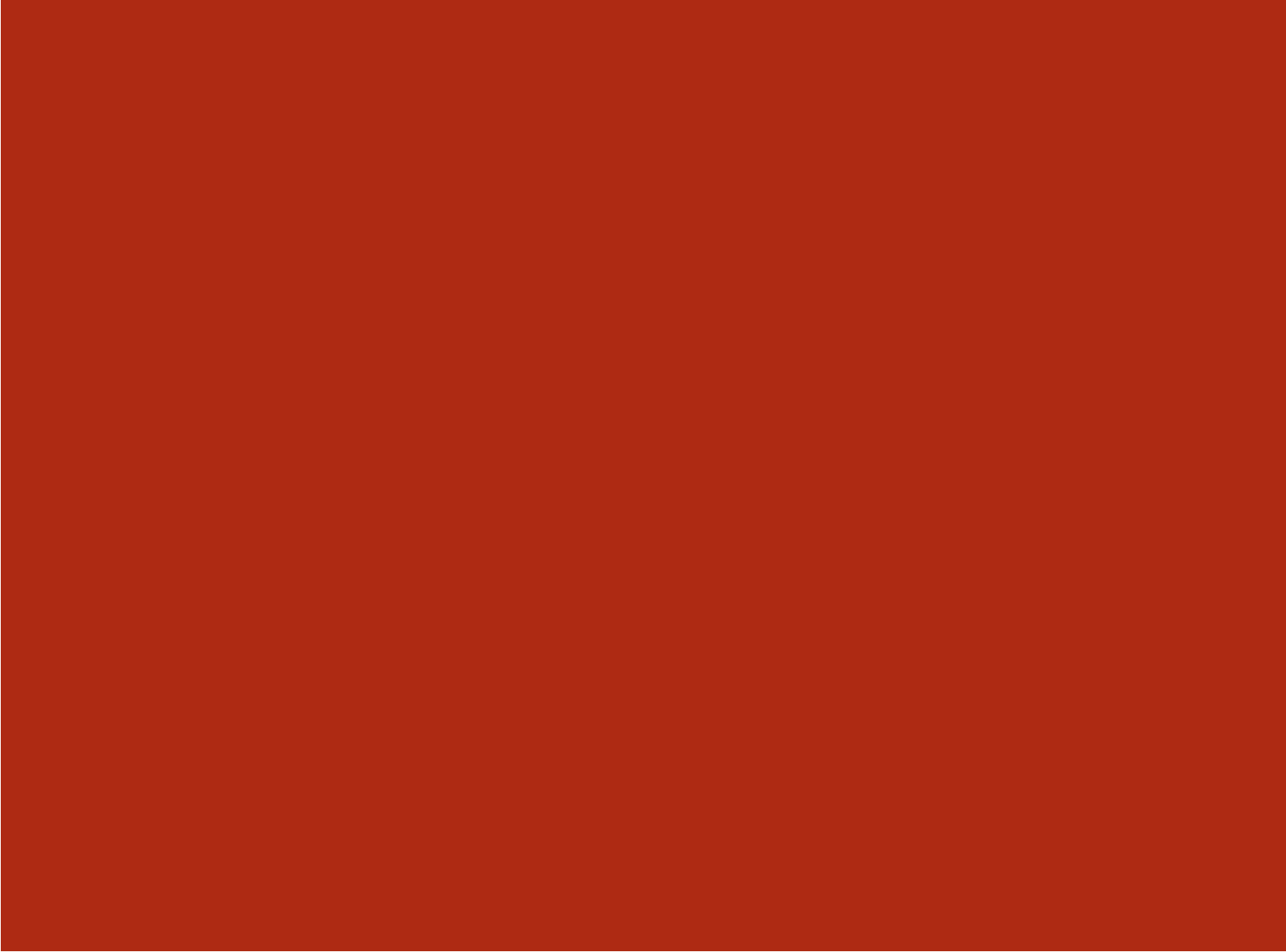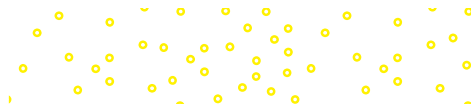
An Intercultural Approach

Human Diversity in Education

An Intercultural Approach
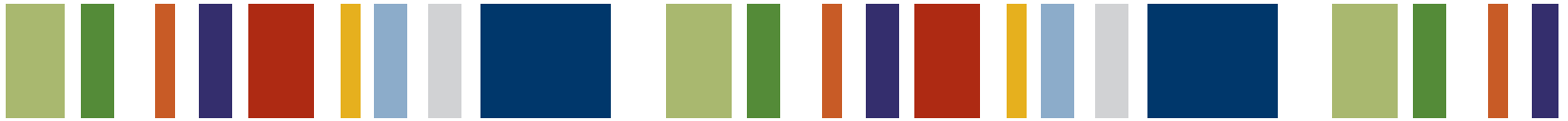
Kenneth H. Cushner, Averil McClelland

Kent State University

Philip Safford

Case Western Reserve University

Hyla Cushner

County of Summit Board of Developmental Disabilities

10

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HUMAN DIVERSITY IN EDUCATION: AN INTERCULTURAL APPROACH, TENTH EDITION

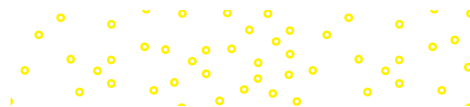**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

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Dedication

To Phil Safford, friend, colleague, teacher, mentor to many,
and coauthor of editions 1–9.
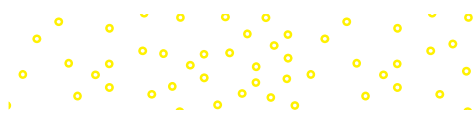
About the Authors

Kenneth Cushner is an Emeritus Professor of International and Intercultural Teacher Education at Kent State University (1987–2015) where he also served as Executive Director of International Affairs and Associate Dean. Prior to his university appointment, he taught in schools in Switzerland, Australia, and the United States, and completed his doctoral studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa while a degree scholar at the East-West Center. Dr. Cushner is a Founding Fellow, Past-President, and current Executive Director of the International Academy for Intercultural Research. He has twice been a Fulbright Scholar (Sweden, 2008 and Poland, 2016); has been a visiting professor at Shanghai International Studies University, the College of the Bahamas, University of Newcastle (Australia), Stenden University (the Netherlands), and twice at the University of Nis (Serbia). He has coordinated Semester at Sea's Teachers at Sea program (summers 2010 and 2011), served as Intercultural Specialist for the Fall 2017 and Spring 2019 around the world voyages and Global Studies director on the Spring 2022 voyage; and twice served as director of COST—the Consortium for Overseas Student Teaching. In addition to this text, he is author or editor of several books and articles in the field of intercultural education, including: *Teacher as Traveler: Enhancing the Intercultural Development of Teacher and Students, Intercultural Student Teaching: A Bridge to Global Competence, International Perspectives on Intercultural Education,* and *Intercultural Interactions: A Practical Guide*. He has traveled with young people and teachers on all seven continents. Since retiring from Kent State University, Dr. Cushner has consulted with ECIS, a network of 400+ international schools in 90 countries; with NAFSA: Association of Intercultural Educators; and has instituted a professional development program for teachers at the Orkeeswa School, a Massai community school in northern Tanzania. In his spare time, Dr. Cushner enjoys playing music (guitar and percussion), travel, and photography.

Averil McClelland is retired from her position as Associate Professor and Coordinator of the Cultural Foundations of Education program in the College and Graduate School at Kent State University, from which she received her Ph.D. Dr. McClelland has had extensive experience in curriculum design and program evaluation, as well as experience with addressing issues of gender and education and cultural diversity in education. In addition to this text, she is the author of *The Education of Women in the United States: A Guide to Theory, Teaching, and Research* (Garland, 1992), as well as a number of articles in scholarly journals. She received the Distinguish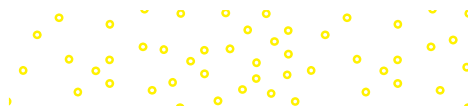ed Teaching Award from Kent State University in 1996, and for many years helped the National First Ladies Library develop an online curriculum based on the lives of the nation's 45 First Ladies. Her special interests are the history, sociology, and politics of education, the reconstruction of teacher education, and internationalizing the college curriculum for preservice and practicing teachers.

Hyla Cushner retired from a 30-year career teaching and advocating for children with special needs at all levels of K-12 education. She holds a M.ED. in Special Education from Kent State University. Her career was quite varied, from teaching in public schools, working with families and community service agencies while advocating for
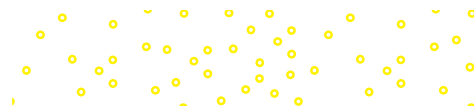
individuals with special needs, as well as teaching special education teachers (Intervention Specialists) through a grant-funded program at the University of Hawaii. She has also taught English as a Second Language to incoming international students at Case Western Reserve University. After she retired, Hyla consulted with the Autism Society of Greater Akron where she was responsible for coordinating support groups for families with children who have Autism and other disabilities as well as organizing peer-support groups for adults on the Autism Spectrum. She also has acted as a liaison between families, schools, and other community agencies. Since 2017 she has served as Instructional Coordinator on three voyages with Semester at Sea.

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Preface

We hesitate to rehash this overused statement, but as we prepare this tenth edition of *Human Diversity in Education: An Intercultural Approach,* we can say with certainty that we are living in very challenging times. Challenge and change have really been the essence of this book since the first edition that appeared in 1992, some 30 years ago. We continue our work to prepare new teachers for the certainty of change as well as the challenge of new thinking that is required for young people to take their place as responsible, reflective, and active citizens in an increasingly interdependent society. And this has only accelerated and increased in a multitude of ways in the past three years since the last edition.

Longtime users of this book will notice the addition of a new coauthor with this edition. Dr. Philip Safford, our longtime friend, colleague and coauthor, passed away at the age of 84 as we began working on this edition. We dedicate this edition to his memory with sincere appreciation and gratitude for his many years of collaboration and guidance, not only on this book, but in the lives of many students and peers which he influenced over the years. We are pleased that Hyla Cushner embraced the challenge to work with Phil's portion of the book that focused on special education and developmentally appropriate practice. Hyla brings her expertise as a special educator, a Case Manager with a county-wide system of developmental disabilities, and extensive work with families and community resources to this task. Readers will welcome her fresh perspective and dedication to this work.

Today's students are living in a time that military and business leaders have labeled VUCA—a world that is volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous—again, hallmarks of what this book has been about since its inception. On a global level, this includes unpredictable elections with the growing threats of interference from abroad; the rise of 'fake news' and conspiracy theories that are easily spread through a variety of social media outlets that are designed to sway, and oftentimes poison, public opinion; the global challenges prompted by the Covid-19 pandemic; the introduction of new technologies; and the unpredictable climactic changes wreaking havoc across the planet; to name just a few. On an individual and family level, students struggle to understand, absorb, and respond to the global challenges identified above, especially with regard to how the Covid-19 pandemic and other public health crises such as the opioid crisis or lead-contaminated water impacts families and communities; to the surge in hate crimes that target a range of individuals' religion, race, or sexual identity; the anxiety and uncertainty of school shootings; and growing fears of many that their parents or loved ones will be incarcerated or deported at any time.

Our world has faced global challenges as well as pandemics in the past. But never before has the global community had the awareness, skills, and ability to communicate across the planet at a moment's notice in the face of such challenges. Having the ability to effectively address such global as well as local concerns requires an education that reaches all students and across multiple domains—at the cognitive level as the knowledge generated continues to expand exponentially; at the socio-emotional level as we learn how the physical and mental stress associated with these challenges can negatively impact learning; as well as the behavioral domain as it become increasingly evident that people need enhanced abilities to communicate and interact effectively with people different from themselves.

We welcome you to this tenth edition with all of this, and more, in the background, as we continue to focus on the preparation of teachers and other human-service providers who can interact effectively with the greater diversity of people they are certain to encounter while considering how to transfer this knowledge and skill to the individuals in their charge.

New to This Edition

This book continues to receive overwhelmingly positive feedback from users around the world. Because of this we have maintained much of the familiar format. Regular users, however, will notice some changes in this edition. The book continues to provide a broad treatment of the various forms of diversity common in today's schools and communities, including nationality, ethnicity, race, religion, gender, social class, language acquisition and use, sexual orientation, health concerns, and disability. We also maintain its research-based approach, with an increased cross-cultural and intercultural emphasis.

We continue to stress that it is both at the level of the individual teacher and the organizational structure of the school where significant change must occur with regard to how diversity and cultural difference is understood and accommodated. Little institutional or systematic change will occur until individuals fully understand the role that culture plays in determining their own thoughts and actions and how they can go about managing and altering its powerful influence. Culture learning of both teacher and student, along with intercultural interaction, remain central to this book.

We also recognize that today's generation of young people continue to be exposed to greater diversity, both global and domestic, through the influence of global media, demographic changes that have occurred in many communities, as well as through the increased use of technology by both individuals and schools. This edition, thus, continues to pay greater attention to both the challenges and the role that technology plays in teaching and learning as well as the international socialization of young people.

This edition continues its attention to the international and intercultural aspects of curriculum and the important role that firsthand experience plays in helping people to enhance their intercultural sensitivity and competence. With that in mind, the opening Case Studies that introduce major concepts and set the stage for each chapter, as well as many of the Critical Incidents at the end of the chapters, have been rewritten to feature the growing range of international experiences and opportunities students and teachers can avail themselves to as they work to develop their own global perspective and exposure. We hope you enjoy engaging with the students in these Case Studies as they engage with the world in ways that you, too, may wish to pursue.

This edition also reflects some of the significant growth that we have witnessed in the teaching profession on the whole over the years. We have replaced significant portions of Chapters 6–13 that in previous editions were designed to juxtapose more teacher-centered, 'old school' approaches to teaching and learning with more student-centered approaches that have, fortunately, become more commonplace. Thus, the sections Pedagogies: Old and New; Roles: Old and New; Place of Content Knowledge: Old and New; and, Assessment: Old and New that existed in the previous nine editions have been replaced with Teaching in the 21st Century: Who Are the Students?; The Work of Teachers and Students; Knowledge as a Tool in the Classroom; and Evaluating the Results of Teaching and Learning.

We have maintained the inclusion of the Active Exercises and Classroom Activities at the end of each chapter, while links to the Online Learning Center continue to provide students with additional activities and active exercises. A teacher's guide and other online learning resources are also available that provide directions for instructors as well as classroom activities and test questions.

The general format of this edition remains similar to the previous one with a few modifications. Part One provides background to the broad social, cultural, and economic changes that confront society today (Chapter 1), with a historical overview of past multicultural and global education efforts (Chapter 2). We place particular emphasis on culture learning and intercultural interaction in Chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 5 explores the development of intercultural competence while providing a model that teachers can use to gauge their own growth as well as that of their students.

Part Two continues to examine what teachers can do to make their classrooms and schools more responsive to diversity and more effective learning communities; that is, how to structure classrooms that are collaborative, inclusive, developmentally appropriate, globally oriented, and religiously pluralistic. Each of the chapters in Part Two centers on a major aspect of diversity: race and ethnicity (Chapter 6), global understanding (Chapter 7), language learning (Chapter 8), religious pluralism (Chapter 9), gender and sexual orientation (Chapter 10), age and development (Chapter 11), exceptionality and ability (Chapter 12), and social class and social status (Chapter 13).

Acknowledgments

We hope you continue to find benefit from this edition, and we welcome feedback from you.

Kenneth Cushner
Averil McClelland
Hyla Cushner

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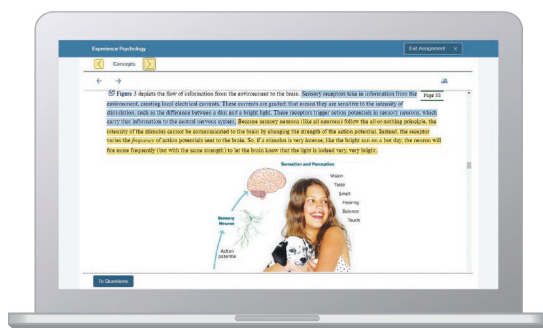
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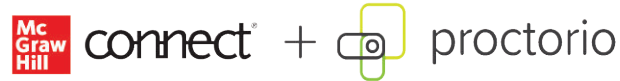
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Foundations for Teaching in an Increasingly Intercultural Context

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Education in a Changing Society

Focus Questions

1. What is the rationale for increased attention to diversity and intercultural competence in education?

2. What are some of the fundamental changes influencing American society and the world, including issues such as globalization, our changing demographics, rapidly expanding technologies, environmental pressures, and consequent changing experiences, attitudes, and values among the generations? How do these changes impact teaching and learning?

3. What are some differences between schools designed to prepare students for an industrial age and schools designed to prepare students for an informational, global age?

4. Why do you think real, substantial change is so difficult? Or do you?

" Don't limit a child to your own learning, for he was born in another time. "

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Case Study

Samantha Carter's Diversity Class

Samantha Carter, or "Sam" as she is called by her family and friends, along with many of her friends, has wanted to be a teacher for as long as she can remember. Most of her friends have worked in a variety of local recreation programs, summer camps, and in neighborhood parks, sometimes coaching younger kids in a range of sports. Although encouraged by their teachers throughout high school, they have all heard from their parents, and increasingly society in general, the arguments against teaching as a career: it's a difficult, and sometimes even dangerous job; it's only moderately well paid; they could do more with their skills and abilities. But regardless, they really all want to be a teacher, and that's all there is to it.

Sam is a volleyball player and has been playing the sport competitively since she started high school. She now is on a full athletic scholarship at the university and hopes to coach volleyball in a high school like the one that she has already begun for some of her field class assignments. She made a good transition to the university last year, has maintained friendships with many of her former friends who are attending her present university and studying to be teachers while managing to remain in touch with others who are at different colleges and universities around the state; with one who even ventured to a school more than 1,000 miles from home. Although she still has a few years to go until she graduates, her heart is set on finding a teaching position in a suburban school system just far enough from her parents' home to give her a real sense of independence. American history . . . World history . . . Economics . . . Government . . . and, of course, volleyball! She really can hardly wait!

Except, here she is with some of her friends sitting in a diversity course that is required of all second-year teacher education students, all wondering why in the world everyone is making such a fuss about all this "diversity stuff." Haven't we gotten past all that? On the Internet, after all, no one knows your color, your religion, or your gender. Indeed, she and her friends have all used "alternate" personalities while surfing the Net at one time or another, and clearly, people on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and other social media often give themselves "other" faces and personalities. The important thing is what people have to say, not what they look like!

Still, Sam recalls that when the class first visited their field site, the principal told them that the district, as well as most others, is changing rapidly in terms of race, ethnicity, and social class. She often wondered if he mentioned that to them because he thought that it might be a challenge for them as they spent more and more time in the school. Regardless of his reason, even though all of her friends are like her in many ways, it isn't as if they have never spent any time with people who are different from them. Her high school volleyball team looked like the United Nations, and they all got along fine. And it certainly isn't as if she doesn't already know that some groups of people still suffer from discrimination—some of her college community service credits were spent working with kids in a low-income urban neighborhood, and she and some of her friends spent one whole summer volunteering in a community development project in Appalachia. They really did like the people they worked with and wished they could have done more to help them.

Why, Sam thinks to herself, she could probably teach this course! And anyway, teaching social studies will give her plenty of opportunities to introduce her students to many issues of difference. Yet, she recalls with a little pang of doubt, that some of the kids she worked with last year in her urban education field classes had zero interest in history, and that some of the people in Appalachia spoke with such an accent she could hardly understand them. And she doesn't feel too well prepared to deal with children with disabilities either, and no doubt, there will be students with both medical and developmental disabilities in her classes.

Sam and her friends are learning that society is changing—in lots of ways. If there is one thing people keep telling them, it is that schools aren't like they used to be, even from just a few years ago. Susan, one of Sam's friends, has a brother who teaches sixth-, seventh-, and eighth-grade social studies in a school not too far from where they study. He once told them that close to half of the students in his classes live in families headed by a single parent (some of them, fathers), one third are reading below grade level, and two thirds are eligible for free
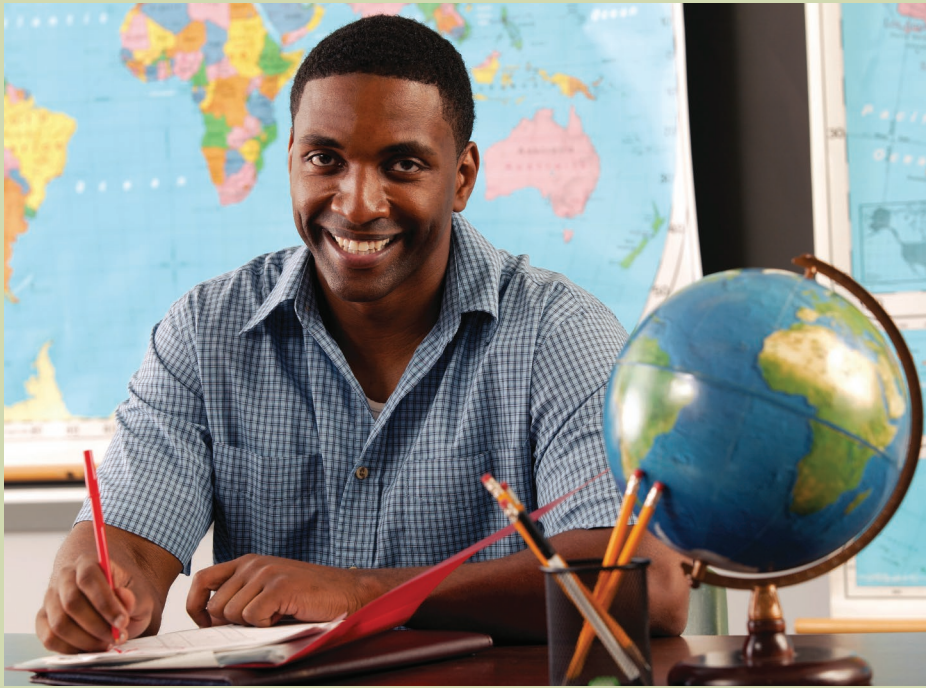
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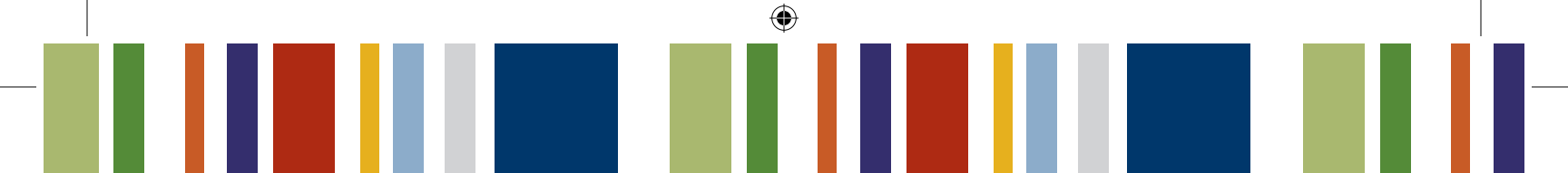
lunches. His classes, too, are far from being all white or even all native-born: he has African American students, East Indian, Vietnamese, and Central American students, as well as an increasing number who are new immigrants or refugees from various countries in the Middle East and Africa. His students practice a number of different religions—a couple of them are fundamentalist Christian, some are Catholic, a growing number are Muslims, a few are Jewish, one is a Jehovah's Witness, and many are not affiliated with any organized faith. He has one student in a wheelchair as a result of a bad automobile accident, one student with a breathing apparatuses because of asthma, and at least six who are waiting to be tested to determine their eligibility for the newly created severe behavior disorders program which is to be housed in a separate school on the other side of town.

Other changes are taking place as well. Sam recalls the principal proudly announcing that every teacher in the school will now have a Smart Board or SMART Board this year, and that all are using more and more technology in their teaching. The fact that technology is so ubiquitous in the lives of the students, he went on to say, seems to have dramatic changes on the attention span of children as more and more appear to become easily bored, have shorter attention spans, want things done quickly, and don't like to read long assignments, even if they are good readers. What's going on here, Sam wonders?

In addition, since the No Child Left Behind Act was replaced with the Every Student Succeeds Act in 2015, the performance of students, teachers, and school districts is being measured as never before. "The good news," says her professor, "is that the proponents of accountability really want all children to learn and all teachers to teach well. The bad news is that we have never before really tried to educate all children to the same standard, and we are still not altogether sure how to do that—nor, it seems, can we all agree on what it means to be a good teacher! Nor are we sure that testing so often is the way to do this."

Another one of Sam's classmates, David, raises his hand. "What," he asks, "about kids with really bad family problems, kids whose parents aren't there for them, or the growing number who are homeless? What about kids with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), or

(continued)

kids who just hate school? What about kids who are working 20 hours a week, or kids who just can't 'get it'? What about kids who don't speak English? What about kids who are victims of violence, sexual abuse, or who act out in violent ways?"

Another student, Joanne, raised her hand, asking, "How can teachers really go about preparing young students for a globally connected future if they, themselves, have little knowledge or experience of the broader world in which we exist?"

She went on, "Last summer I was lucky enough to spend 4 weeks in Australia on a study abroad program designed especially for future teachers. This is something most teacher education students don't do, by the way, which I highly recommend! We spent a day with a group of Australian high school students who were part of a Global Futures Club in their school. One student in particular, a 15-year-old girl named Felicity, stood up and challenged us with some ideas I'd never thought about before. This really got me thinking. I was so impressed with what she had to say that I asked her if she could write it down. She had already done that as part of her club's activity, so she gave me a copy. I still carry it around with me, and if you don't mind, I'd like to read it as I think there are some really important messages for us."
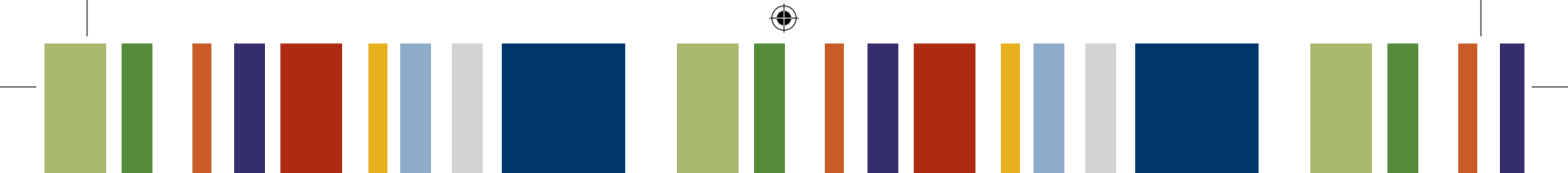
"Go ahead," said the professor.

"Here's what she said . . . I want you to understand how I think about my future and my world. Wherever I live and work, I will certainly be mixing in a multinational, multifaith, and multicultural setting. During my lifetime, a planet-wide economic system is likely to operate, controlled not so much by big nations as by big business networks and regional centers of trade like Singapore, Los Angeles, London, Tokyo, and Sydney. By the time my classmates and I are 35 years old, it is thought that more people will live in Shanghai, just one city in China, than in the whole of Australia. Most people will be working across national borders and cultures, speaking more than one language—that probably includes an Asian language. That's the kind of job for which I need to be prepared. Because I am growing up in Australia, the Asia-Pacific area will be a strong focus of my world. There are three billion people in Asia alone—and that number will certainly continue to grow, with the Asian continent (from India to Japan) already accounting for half the world's population. And, the world's largest Muslim country, Indonesia, is in this region too, just north of Australia, with a population of over 220 million—larger than that of Japan and Russia. People, the world over, will have to learn about Islam and to respect Muslims—even in the face of all the challenges present today."

"But change is not only happening to those of us in Australia. More than half of the population in many of the world's developing countries is under the age of 25—think about the consequences of that! These are all potential partners and competitors of all of us young people around the world and they'll all want the good things they see that life has to offer. It will not matter what nationality any of us have, because our world is smaller, people move about, and most workplaces will be internationalized. Our world is likely to be borderless. We are more than likely to be employed in an internationally owned firm, and it is likely that in our homes someone will speak Japanese, Korean, Spanish, or Chinese."

"Our environment, too, will continue to be changed and challenged. In the 1950s, when my grandparents were born, only two cities in the world, London and New York, had more than 8 million inhabitants. In 2015, there were 42 such cities—more than half of them in Asia. Environmentally what happens within the border of one country is no longer solely that country's business, and environmental responsibilities will have to be enforced internationally. By the time I am 50, the world could be threatened by "green wars" or "water wars" unless my generation learns to do something to balance the unequal access to clean water, good soil, food distribution, and climate change. And recall the horribly devastating wildfires that only get worse and worse in Australia each year—how are we to continue to live in a country where this is a growing threat?"

Joanne continued, "The more I think about it, all of our future students are like Felicity in many ways. A lot of our schooling, from the way people look at things, and even many of the

textbooks used around the world, are Eurocentric in their thinking and orientation and really are out-of-date. Schooling today must teach young people about living comfortably and successfully in a multicultural world. What skills and understandings will people living and working in the near future need? Most schools today say that students need to be global citizens. But do they really know what that means? . . . Do teachers know what an international curriculum looks like, and how it can be taught? . . . Do they know what to teach? . . . Do they know how to teach?... And are they confident that they can design and deliver a curriculum that will equip today's young people to live in a complex, intercultural world?"*

"Yes," says Melissa, another classmate, "How are we supposed to teach everyone?"

Carl jumped in, "I'm not really comfortable with all that I'm hearing in this class right now. Do you all really think that we should teach for so many differences? Aren't we doing ourselves a disservice if we think we have to address everyone's needs and interests? Shouldn't we just teach what has proven in the past to be good education? Aren't there just too many external influences and different groups trying to tell us what's good and right?"

Another student, Susan, chimed in, "I don't know Carl. I agree that the world is changing quite a lot and we'd better be prepared for this, not only as teachers, but as citizens in this global world. I've got a friend who is studying abroad this semester. I'm going to reach out to her to learn what her experience is like. I'll let you all know later what I learn."

"You all have raised some good points," says Professor Adams, "Perhaps we're better off asking it another way: How are we to think about our practice of teaching so that everyone learns and that they learn what they need to learn given the times in which we live? The scene has shifted in schools today for sure, from an emphasis on teaching to an emphasis on learning. This change in focus makes it all the more important that we understand the differences among students—all kinds of differences, visible and invisible—because those differences may influence a student's learning, and our job is to create classrooms in which everyone learns. Perhaps we can all agree on that; even you Carl."

Sam sighs. She really does want to be a teacher, but it seems to be a lot more complicated than she thought it would be. As the world around her changes, perhaps she, too, will have to make some significant changes if she is going to be as effective an educator as she hopes to be.

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* (Modified from Tudball, 2012).

The Reality of Social Change

As we get used to living in the 21st century, Samantha, along with all of us, continues to witness changing circumstances in many areas of life that have widespread importance for the future of our country, our schools, and the world-at-large. Taken together, these changed circumstances are resulting in profound changes in the nature of some of our basic social institutions, such as the economy, politics, religion, the family, and, of course, education.

Institutions in Transition

The term **social institution** has been defined as a formal, recognized, established, and stabilized way of pursuing some activity in society (Bierstedt, 1974). Another way to define a social institution is to think of it as a set of rules, or **norms**, that enable us

to get through the day without having to figure out how to behave toward others, whether to brush our teeth or not, or if, in fact, we should go to school or to work. In this society, as in all societies, there are rules that pattern the way we interact with family members, friends, people we see often, such as neighbors, teachers, or doctors, and even strangers who fill certain roles—the bus driver, the clerk in the store, and the server in a restaurant. We know these rules because we have internalized them as children, and in a stable society we can depend on the rules staying relatively the same over time. All societies, including nonliterate ones, create social institutions—or sets of norms—that govern at least five basic areas of social need: *economics* (ways of exchanging goods and services), *politics* (ways of governing), *religion* (ways of worshipping one or more deities), *the family* (ways of ensuring the survival of children), and *education* (ways of bringing up and educating the younger generation so that the society will continue to exist).

In our society, and indeed in most of the world, people are encountering profound changes in the nature of these basic institutions; in other words, the rules—or norms— are changing, and more and more are feeling unsettled or unsure by what they are encountering. Many scholars who study the past as a way to understand the future assert that these changes are so fundamental as to constitute a shift in the very nature of our civilization. In his book *The Third Wave*, Alvin Toffler (1980) was among the first scholar-futurists to warn that our institutions (what is normative in society) are changing in specific and characteristic ways and to hint at the rise and the effect of globalization on us all. Many of today's changes, Toffler suggested, are neither random nor independent of one another. He identified a number of events that *seem* to be independent from one another—the "breakdown" of the nuclear family, the global energy crisis, the influence of cable television, the loss of manufacturing jobs in the United States, and the emergence of separatist movements within national borders of many nations. Today, we might add the ubiquitous use of new technologies, the Internet, and various social media that have dramatically changed the way we live our lives and interact across various boundaries—in many circumstances resulting in major social change. These and many other seemingly unrelated events are interconnected and may be part of a much larger phenomenon that Toffler described as the death of industrialism and the rise of a new civilization that he called "the Third Wave."

Toffler is not the only one to have perceived these changes before most people were aware of them. In the early 1980s, the book *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives* added a new word to the language. In this work John Naisbitt (1982) accurately predicted the move toward globalization, the shift from an industrial economy to an "information" economy, and the growth of networks as a way of managing information (although he didn't even mention the Internet or the World Wide Web!). Later Naisbitt and Patricia Aburdene (1990) wrote *Megatrends 2000: Ten New Directions for the 1990s*, in which they discussed the evolution of telecommunications, the rise of China as a competing power, and a growing need to "look below the surface" to find the meaning of these changes for real human beings and real organizations. More recently, *in The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* Thomas Friedman (2006) introduced the notion of the "flat world" in which people from all walks of life, almost regardless of their location, can engage in meaningful ways with one another. Indeed, Patricia Aburdene (2005) revealed in her book *Megatrends 2010: The Rise of Conscious Capitalism* that our society was reaching a new phase in which the ideas of social responsibility, environmental values, and a spiritual dimension were beginning to reshape capitalism in interesting ways. Although we cannot take all these predictions as absolute fact (predicting the future is a precarious occupation), it is

worth thinking about our changing circumstances and the impact these changes are having (and will continue to have) on the way we live, work, play, govern ourselves, worship, and learn.

The Impact of Specific Changes on Basic Institutions

It is useful to think in terms of four different sets of specific changes that, taken together, seem to be reshaping our basic institutions. These areas, suggested by Willard Daggett (2005) in *Successful Schools; From Research to Action Plans,* are globalization, demographics, technology, and changing values and attitudes among the generations. New circumstances in each of these areas are having an impact on the way we think about and accomplish our purposes as a society. Also each of these areas provides a rationale for greater intercultural knowledge and understanding. Let's take a closer look at how each of these areas may be changing the basic social institutions in our society.

Factors Influencing the Institution of Economics

1. From National to Global For much of our nation's history, the U.S. economy has been based on manufacturing done by companies whose production could be found within the borders of the country. Today, our economy is firmly global, and the acquisition of raw material, manufacturing processes, and distribution of goods by such giants as Ford Motor Company, General Motors, or General Electric is done worldwide. In large measure because of advances in computer technology and high-speed travel, we find ourselves looking more and more often beyond our own borders for goods, services, and sales. Indeed, the much-revered American corporation can hardly be said to exist any longer. In 2017, for instance, General Motors sold 32% more automobiles in China than it did in the United States. This represents the 7th year in a row that sales in China surpassed those in the United States.

The effects of globalization are now increasingly encountered by each and every individual. Call the help desk with a problem with your computer, or have a question about your cable TV, and it is likely that the person you are speaking with on the other end of the phone is in India or Costa Rica. In your daily interactions, whether on campus or in your local stores, hospitals, and community in general, you are almost certain to encounter people who have immigrated to the United States and who speak a language other than English.

Our recent experiences related to the COVID-19 global pandemic offer an example of the ways in which people across the globe can, and do, come together on the global level in response to a common threat (see Chapter 6 for more detailed discussion of the contact hypothesis and superordinate or common goals). Never before in human history have so many of the world's scientists and medical researchers focused so urgently on a single issue as they did in response to the coronavirus, putting aside national identities, individual recognition and profit, as well as most other research in which they were engaged (*New York Times*, April 1, 2020). Science, and mathematics, many would say, speak a global language rather than in terms of my nation or your nation; my language or your language; and my geographic location or your geographic location. Such nationalistic or ethnocentric thinking does not reflect the thinking and practice of most top-level scientists.

One morning, in the first weeks of the pandemic, for instance, scientists at the University of Pittsburgh discovered that a ferret exposed to COVID-19 particles had developed a high fever—a potential advance toward animal vaccine testing. Under

ordinary circumstances, they would have started work on an academic journal article. But realizing the potential they were dealing with, the reality that their own academic journal writing could take a back seat for the time being, and that this was not the time to be touting "America First" or other nationalistic ideologies, they quickly shared their findings with scientists around the world through the World Health Organization (WHO). Within a few days, the lab in Pittsburgh was collaborating with the Pasteur Institute in Paris and the Austrian drug company Themis Bioscience. This consortium then received funding from the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovation, a Norway-based organization financed by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and a group of governments, and was in talks with the Serum Institute of India, one of the largest vaccine manufacturers in the world. Vaccine researchers at Oxford made use of animal-testing results shared by the National Institutes of Health's Rocky Mountain Laboratory in Montana. And separately, the French public-health research center Inserm was sponsoring clinical trials on four drugs that showed promise in treating COVID-19 patients. The trials then were underway in France, with plans to expand quickly to other nations.

In many ways, the coronavirus response reflects the global reach of our medical communities. At Massachusetts General Hospital, a team of Harvard doctors was testing the effectiveness of inhaled nitric oxide on coronavirus patients. The research was being carried out in conjunction with Xijing Hospital in China and a pair of hospitals in northern Italy. Doctors in those centers had been collaborating for years, but the coronavirus suddenly ignited them in ways that no other outbreak or medical mystery had before. This reflects the scope of the pandemic and the fact that, for many researchers, the hot zone is no longer an impoverished village in the developing world—it is in their hometowns. The adage, "Think Globally – Act Locally" can now be expanded to include "Think Locally – Act Globally" as COVID-19 appeared in every community worldwide.

Yet, while there are many positive aspects to globalization, this is not always the case; and certainly not so for everybody on the planet. The rapid speed with which the coronavirus spread was a direct result of our frequent air travel and ease with which people can move around the planet. And while you may be able to buy your favorite fruits and vegetables almost any time of the year relatively inexpensively because they are flown in from countries around the globe, we also encounter the possibility of large-scale salmonella outbreaks, as was experienced across the United States in 2008 from contaminated jalapeño peppers imported from Mexico.

In fact, our often unquestioning behavior at home can often have some unanticipated consequences elsewhere. The recent addition of quinoa to the American health-conscious diet offers a good example of the potential negative impact globalization can have on traditional societies. Not too long ago, quinoa was a relatively unheard of Peruvian grain that could only be found in small health food shops. Nutritionists soon identified quinoa as the only vegetable source of all amino acids, giving it the biological food value equivalent of milk, meat, and eggs, viewed as a godsend to vegans and vegetarians alike. Sales of quinoa, now marketed as the "miracle grain of the Andes," skyrocketed. Consequently, the price shot up since 2006. The desire for quinoa in countries like the United States pushed prices for the grain so high that poorer people, who once depended upon it as a staple food in their diet, can no longer afford to eat it. In Lima, quinoa now costs more than chicken, and junk food is cheaper to buy than quinoa. Outside the cities, and fueled by overseas demand, the pressure is on now to turn land that once produced a diversity of crops into a quinoa monoculture.

Arguing that globalization was not new, Thomas Friedman (2006) wrote that, in fact, there have been three phases of globalization. The era he calls *Globalization 1.0* began at the end of the 15th century when Columbus opened trade between Europe and the Americas and lasted until around the beginning of the 19th century. This was the era of national competition—often incited by religion or the lure of conquest—that began the process of integrating the countries of the world. *Globalization 2.0*, he asserts, lasted from the beginning of the 19th century to the beginning of the 21st century and was an era characterized not by *national* entities in competition but by the formation of *multinational* entities—usually companies and corporations—driving global integration. He wrote:

> These multinationals went global for markets and labor, spearheaded first by the expansion of the Dutch and English joint-stock companies and the Industrial Revolution. In the first half of this era, global integration was powered by falling transportation costs, thanks to the steam engine and the railroad, and in the second half by falling telecommunication costs—thanks to the diffusion of the telegraph, telephones, the PC, satellites, fiber-optic cable, and the early version of the World Wide Web (p. 9).

Beginning around the year 2000, Friedman claimed that *Globalization 3.0* emerged, a product of the convergence of three elements:

> the personal computer (which allowed every individual suddenly to become the author of his or her own content in digital form) with fiber-optic cable (which suddenly allowed all those individuals to access more and more digital content around the world for next to nothing) with the rise of work flow software (which enabled individuals all over the world to collaborate on that same digital content from anywhere, regardless of the distances between them) (pp. 10–11).

The differences between the first two eras of globalization and Globalization 3.0 are striking. While the first two empowered national and multinational companies and corporations, Globalization 3.0 empowers *individuals* to "go global." Furthermore, while the first two eras of globalization were largely the product of European and American explorers, entrepreneurs, and companies, Globalization 3.0 is seeing the rise of individuals literally from everywhere, exercising their initiative in both competition and collaboration with other individuals around the planet, forming networks of communication and shared work that hold the possibility of competing effectively with—and sometimes superseding—both nation-states and national and multinational companies and corporations. While there are many examples of the benefits from globalization, such a transformation has also allowed organizations such as ISIS, or the so-called Islamic State, to recruit followers through a global reach.

2. Growing Income Inequality Despite the fact that the median income in the United States reached a new record in 2018 ($61,937), the gap between the richest and the poorest U.S. households is now the largest that it has been in the past 50 years. Wages for the wealthiest 1% of Americans, for example, more than doubled between 1979 and 2011 while wages of the median U.S. worker increased by only 6% over the same period. Significant changes in income disparity have occurred since the start of the Trump administration. From the end of the Obama Administration in 2016 to the third quarter of 2019 (or at least until the financial decline due to the coronavirus), household net worth increased by $15.84 trillion or about 17%, driven primarily by gains in the stock market. But since the bottom 50% of U.S. households have little if any investment in the stock market, these gains have had little impact on the majority of people, with 75% of gains going to the wealthiest 10% of the population. In 2015, in 34 OECD countries, the richest 10% earned 9.6 times more than the

poorest 10% (the OECD, or Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Develop-ment, is a 35-member international agency founded in 1961 to stimulate economic progress and world trade).

Income inequality has significant impacts on many aspects of people's lives. There is a growing body of research, for instance, that demonstrates that despite huge advances in medicine, technology, and education, rich people tend to live longer than poor peo-ple. In the early 1970s, a 60-year-old man earning at the top half of the income ladder could expect to live 1.2 years longer than a man of the same age in the bottom half (*New York Times*, 2016). In 2001, that difference grew to 5.8 years longer than his poorer counterpart. Recent research has found that for men born in 1950, that difference had more than doubled, to 14 years. For women, the gap grew from 4.7 years to 13 years.

Discrepancies in income also have significant impact on educational attainment. College, for instance, has become virtually a necessity for upward mobility. Yet, the increasing cost of American higher education has resulted in it being out of reach for many. The children of college-educated parents are more than twice as likely to attend college as are the children of high school graduates and seven times as likely as those of high school dropouts. Only 5% of Americans aged 25 to 34 whose parents didn't finish high school have a college degree. This figure compared to 20% across 20 coun-tries in the OECD.

The problem, of course, begins long before college. On the day children begin kin-dergarten, those from many low-income families are more than a year behind the children of college graduates in their grasp of both reading and math. Despite the ef-forts deployed by schools, this achievement gap will widen even more for many children by the time they reach high school.

3. A Change in the Work We Do   It will come as no surprise that manufacturing jobs in the United States have given way to so-called service jobs in recent decades. On the global scale, people around the world are increasingly divided by vast differences between rich and poor, and this discrepancy has widened in the past decade. The aver-age U.S. citizen earns just under $200.00 per day. This compares to those living in the poorest countries of the world (e.g., the Republic of Congo, Somalia, Haiti, Niger), who take home less than $2.00 per day. Services amount to approximately two thirds of the U.S. domestic product, with financial services, such as banking, insurance, and investment leading the way followed closely by real estate services. Other growing service industries are transportation; health care; legal, scientific, and management services; education; wholesale and retail sales; arts; recreational services; and hotels, restaurants, and other food and beverage services (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 2015).

Because service jobs—especially in sales, recreational services, hotels, restaurants, and so forth—do not generally pay as well as manufacturing jobs have in the past, these shifts in the economy disproportionately affect lower-income families. In his article, "Welcome to the Service Economy," Peter Rachleff (2006) noted that this was also the case in the first third of the 20th century, when the great mining and manufactur-ing companies had total control of workers. That situation changed with the labor movement of the 1930s and 1940s when "their contracts brought them not only im-proved wages and working conditions but also benefits such as individual, family, and retiree health care coverage; paid vacations; and pensions. These benefits are not avail-able to low-paid service workers in our economy today. Moreover, the idea of unionism is not popular in jobs where workers are encouraged to put their patients and customers first, to see themselves as 'unskilled,' and to expect little reward for their work" (Rachleff, 2006).

In the past, labor unions and the contracts they negotiated provided the scaffolding for working-class families to rise into the middle class. That "ladder" doesn't exist today in many service industries, which employ—probably disproportionately—many minority, immigrant, and poor individuals. One of the tasks ahead, then, is to create conditions in the service sector such that people can "move up" the social ladder into the middle class.

Recent trends in globalization, like the growth of China and India, have increased the number of U.S. jobs "outsourced" to other countries. Between 1984 and 2004 more than 30 million U.S. workers lost their jobs, mostly in high import-competing manufacturing industries such as clothing, autos, and electronics. These industries account for only 30% of all manufacturing jobs in the United States, but accounted for 38% of manufacturing job loss. Of those workers displaced, about one in three moved into new jobs with equal or better incomes, but one in four suffered earnings losses of more than 30%. This trend continued, with more than 2 million jobs being outsourced in 2011 alone. There are spin-off effects as well. Nearly 70% of Americans who have health insurance get their coverage through their employers, so losing a job can be extremely costly to families, with lost health coverage as well as lost wages (Children's Defense Fund, 2009).

An increased dependence on technology has also led to numerous changes in the way we work, with many jobs at risk of being lost due to increased automation, while at the same time new jobs emerge as a result of new technologies. The skills required in traditionally more "stable" jobs are undergoing change as one set of required skills is replaced by newer ones. This exacerbates the abilities and skills gap that many employees and employers face, thus creating uncertainty and insecurity for many workers—unless they are willing and able to rapidly reskill or upskill for their roles. In addition, technology is changing how work is organized, with new platforms connecting people in ways not possible just a decade ago. For example, websites such as HomeAway.com and Airbnb.com allow home owners to sublet all or part of their home to short-term guests in place of people using well-established hotel and motel chains. Similarly, companies like Uber and Lyft are connecting drivers with those who want rides, empowering individuals to assume new roles and responsibilities.

4. A Change in Generational Attitudes About Work Until not too long ago, the norm was that folks went to work for a particular company and stayed there throughout their working lives. Indeed, as recently as 30 years ago, people who changed jobs too many times were considered quite undependable. Today, however, it's a different story. Although workers may frequently change jobs because their companies are moving production to another country, or eliminating jobs altogether, it is also the case that workers move to enhance their own prospects, and it is more likely today that workers will not work for the same company for 30 years.

Millennials (those born between 1981 and 1996), are the 56 million adult Americans who, in 2017 made up one third of the U.S. workforce—the largest generation at work (most readers of this book fall into this category). These individuals are technologically connected, grew up in the shadow of the September 11th terrorist attacks and the Great Recession, are well adapted to change, and highly innovative—when given the right environment, support, and autonomy

As Raines (2002) noted, they have been bombarded with a unique set of messages since birth:

Be smart—you are special. They've been catered to since they were tiny. Think Nickelodeon, Baby Gap, and *Sports Illustrated for Kids*.

Leave no one behind. They were taught to be inclusive and tolerant of other races, religions, and sexual orientations.

Connect 24/7. They learned to be interdependent—on family, friends, and teachers. More Millennials say they can live without the television than without the computer. Many prefer chatting online, texting, or using Instagram, Facebook, or other social media to talking on the phone.

Achieve now! Some parents hired private agents to line up the right college; others got started choosing the right preschool while the child was still in the womb.

Serve your community. Fifty percent of high school students reported volunteering in their communities, many of their high schools requiring community service hours for graduation. On one Roper Survey, when Millennials were asked for the major cause of problems in the United States, they answered *selfishness*.

As a result of their upbringing, many young workers in this generation are looking for role models in the workplace. They want more learning opportunities, want to work with friends, have fun at work, get respect for their ideas, even if they are young, and have time flexibility to pursue family and interest activities.

Factors Influencing the Institution of Politics

1. International Agreements   Changes affecting economics have their counterparts in the political sphere as well. As we increasingly interact with people from other nations in matters of trade, we also increasingly interact with them politically, and political events occurring in other countries have a much more profound effect on our own political agenda than they used to. For example, the Central American-Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Treaty—as well as its successor, the World Trade Organization—are political responses to the facts of international trade. On January 1, 1994, the United States, Canada, and Mexico came together and signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The purpose of this trade agreement was to reduce trade restrictions among the three countries, thus encouraging investment and increasing market access. In 2019, the three countries reached a new agreement called the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) replacing NAFTA. These two agreements have many similar points with a few unique distinctions related to country of origin rules on automobiles, U.S. farmers gaining greater access to Canadian dairy markets, and intellectual property and digital trade. The end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1989 was a defining feature of international politics as the 20th century drew to a close (see Chapter 7). Today, the recurring ethnic and religious wars around the world, terrorist attacks on American soil and on Western interests around the world, and various uprisings throughout the Arab world during the "Arab Spring" are expressions of new realities with which the United States must contend. In recent years, a day does not go by without some news of opposition to one or more international agreements that is perceived to negatively impact the domestic economy. This obviously is not restricted to the United States as was witnessed in the drawn out discussion of BREXIT which after being approved by British voters in 2016 finally took effect in 2020. And as industrial growth and our growing dependence upon oil continue, new treaties addressing climate change, such as the Paris Climate Conference where 195 nations adopted the first-ever universal and legally binding global climate deal, are to be enacted, although the United States effectively withdrew from this a

global agreement in 2019. The norms have changed—we are doing politics differently. Yet, the increasing need to address the ever-growing array of global issues demands that people acquire new skills in intercultural understanding and collaboration.

2. Increasing Division Between Political Parties and the Frequent Stalemate in Congress Over the past 20 years, conservative political ideas have come to the forefront on both economic and social issues. This may, in part, reflect a resistance to the very rapid change that characterizes the times in which we live.

In some ways, this may indicate a decline in the power of the two major political parties in the United States and provide some intriguing questions about the future. This was especially evident in the run up to the 2016 presidential election when none of the traditional Republican Party candidates were selected to represent the party, and the seemingly inability of Democrats and Republicans following the election to work together and agree on much. Will there be a greater emphasis on the difference between economic and social issues in the political marketplace of ideas? Will a new generation of voters be more interested in the electoral process than their parents have been? What will be the future of the Electoral College?

3. Political Participation Americans who voted in 2012 looked much more like what President Obama had envisioned—a multicultural array that reflected a changing nation. The 2016 election saw an unanticipated increase in the number of disenfranchised blue-collar workers take to the polls transforming the election and altering the direction the country would take on many fronts. And we can only imagine the outcome of the 2020 election as this book goes to press.

4. Change in Voting Technologies Another change in the political landscape with respect to voting is the advent of electronic voting machines, which have replaced voting with pencil or stylus and the hand-counting of ballots. Debates center around the following issues: security, lack of a paper trail of votes cast, interference with the transmission of results, inability to conduct an independent recount, vulnerability to tampering with the machines before the vote, and machine malfunction (Wang, 2004). The 2016 election saw widespread hacking of the computer systems by Russia at both the Republican and Democratic headquarters with similar threats being made against both parties in the runup to the 2020 election.

Given that younger generations of Americans are theoretically more likely to engage in civic affairs and are growing up accustomed to and trusting technological innovations, it will be interesting to see how long this debate continues. Clearly, there is going to continue to be a large role for education in giving young people both the knowledge and the judgment to support their involvement in civic affairs.

Factors Influencing the Institution of Religion

1. Increasing Diversity of Religious Ideas In times of transition such as we are experiencing today, organized religion can serve as a stabilizing influence. However, the institutionalized churches of all faiths are undergoing change as well. Once largely a nation steeped in the Judeo-Christian heritage, the United States is now home to a growing number of faiths that are unfamiliar to many people. Buddhism, Islam, and other religions of the East and Middle East are growing as new immigrants bring their religious ideas and practices with them, with Islam being among the fastest growing religions in the nation. Similarly, a wide variety of relatively small but active

congregations built around scientific, philosophical, and psychological ideas are appearing to proliferate—the so-called New Age religious sects.

At the present time, religious affiliation in the United States is in the midst of a decline that appears to be twice as great as that which occurred in the 1960s and 1970s (Religion New Service, 2014). Roughly 80% of U.S. citizens identified with one of the major religions in the post-war baby-boom years of the 1950s. This was followed by the social upheavals and changes of the 1960s and 1970s that included a questioning of religious institutions and a subsequent decline in membership. This decline in religious identification leveled off by the end of the 1970s. Over the past 15 years, however, religious affiliation has been in a much steeper decline than that experienced in the 1960s and 1970s. Church attendance is down from 62% in 1994 to 53% in 2013, while church membership is down from 69% to 59%. At the same time, the number of people who say that religion is an important part of their life has dropped from 88% to 78%, with atheists now accounting for 4% of U.S. adults, double the number as in 2009; agnostics make up 5% of U.S. adults, up from 3% a decade ago; and 17% of Americans now describe their religion as "nothing in particular," up from 12% in 2009.

2. The Rise of Fundamentalism in Many Religious Contexts Conservative branches of mainline Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and Muslim religions serve as havens for people for whom social change seems too rapid and too chaotic, and fundamentalist denominations (usually Protestant) are both the fastest growing religious organizations in the nation and, often, the most politically aware and active. Fundamentalism is not limited to Christianity but is also growing among young Jews and Muslims.

We see frequent reference to a rise of religious fundamentalism around the world today. Historically, at least in the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, fundamentalism referred to a religious movement specific to the Protestant religion. This movement emanated primarily from the more traditional White Anglo-Saxon Protestants who felt displaced by the influx of non-Protestant immigrants from southern and eastern Europe that began to flood America's cities. The fundamentalists

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deplored the teaching of evolution in public schools, which they paid for with their taxes, sought to minimize the distinction between the state and the church, and resented the elitism of professional educators who seemed often to scorn the values of traditional Christian families.

In the 21st century, fundamentalism refers to a global religious response that aims to recover and publicly institutionalize aspects of the past that modern life has changed and obscured. Typically, fundamentalism views the secular state as the primary enemy, interested more in education, democratic reforms, and economic progress than in preserving the more traditional and spiritual dimension of life. A central belief of many of the Christian Right, at least in the United States, is that the country has fallen into national sin, as witnessed by the seemingly never-ending list of social ills—babies born out of wedlock, substance abuse, and ubiquitous pornography where prayer is forbidden but condoms are freely available. Public school teachers and administrators are increasingly viewed as hostile by Christian Right activists, viewed as menacing the spiritual welfare of "Christian" children.

These attacks on public education generally fall into two categories. The first category can be viewed as attempts to "re-Christianize" the schools, be it through state-sponsored religious practices, the inclusion of "Creationism" into the science curriculum, the posting of the Ten Commandments in every classroom, the deletion or watering down of sex education, and removing any mention of multiculturalism (Gaddy et al., 1996; Diamond, 1996, 1998; Edwards, 1998). The second category is "de-institutionalization," or attempts to destabilize public education. Christian Right activists view vouchers, charter schools, and homeschooling as good and corrosive developments that will eventually wither away support for public schools. This generally is evident in clear-cut and distinct roles for men and women, parents and children, clergy and laypersons.

3. The Marriage of Religion and Politics The founders of the United States were firm in their belief that religion and politics, or church and state, should be separate. Indeed, the nature of the separation of church and state written into the First Amendment of the Constitution is there not so much to involve religion in public affairs but to protect religious groups from interference by the state.

Nevertheless, we have nearly always carried religious ideas into the public (or political) sphere. Organized religions have, at various times in our history, been more or less important in the carrying out of public business. Today, and for the past two decades or so, some religious groups—notably conservative Protestant Christian groups—have become important "players" on the political scene, not only by putting forth agendas for public policy, but also by systematically organizing and supporting their members in elections, from school boards to Congress.

This is not, however, just an American phenomenon, but a global one, as can be seen by the involvement of religiously backed political (and military) forces in eastern Europe and the Middle East in the past 20 years. The same technological revolution that has provided innovative individuals and groups with the means to author their own digital content and link to others around the world for very little money has also provided the mechanism for individuals and groups to organize and carry their message (sometimes based on religious ideas) to others who, without this technology, would be unreachable. As Friedman (2006) cautioned, "the playing field is not being leveled only in ways that draw in and superempower a whole new group of innovators. It's being leveled in a way that draws in and superempowers a whole new group of angry, frustrated, and humiliated men and women" (p. 8). Recent evidence of this can be seen in the rise of such extremist activities as the destruction and barbarism carried out by

ISIS, the so-called Islamic State, which claims a religious identity that is not endorsed by any mainstream Muslims, and the Boko Haram kidnapping of young girls in Nigeria. These movements utilize various forms of social media and dramatic events spread across the global media to recruit disenfranchised young people to their ideology.

4. Generational Differences in Attitudes and Values, and the Role of Electronic Culture   Another shift that is having an impact on religion is the presence of a generation of young people who have been raised in a technologically rich environment. They are looking to all the major institutions, including religion, for new ways of understanding traditional messages and new forms of worship.

While issues and solutions vary, the younger generation of church-goers appears to be giving its elders pause for reflection. For example, a study of college students who identify as Jewish, sponsored by Hillel, the Foundation for Jewish Campus Life, shows that these students "are increasingly likely to be products of interfaith marriages, to have non-Jewish boyfriends and girlfriends, and to shun denominational labels" (Birkner, 2005). Indicating that this generation has a different understanding of identity, the director of the study's online student survey notes that

> they see their identity as a set of windows on a computer screen, and any number of screens can be open simultaneously. For them, it's not just a question of am I a Jewish American or an American Jew. They see themselves as American, Jewish, heterosexual and a volleyball player all at once. They don't feel the need for one of those windows to take over the whole desktop (Birkner, 2005).

Similarly, two sociological studies of young Catholics note that this generation "is more individualistic, more tolerant of religious diversity and far less committed to the practices of their faith than older Catholics" (Heffern, 2007).

Recent surveys find that acceptance of homosexuality has grown rapidly, especially among young adults, even among religious groups that have traditionally been strongly opposed to it (Pew Research Center, 2019a). Among evangelical Protestants, for example, 51% of Millennials say homosexuality should be accepted, compared with about a third of Baby Boomers and a fifth of those in the Silent Generation. Similar patterns are seen among mainstream Protestants, in the historically Black Protestant tradition, and among Catholics.

Compared with views on homosexuality, there has been little change in Americans' attitudes about abortion. Among the public as a whole, more than half (61%) say abortion should be legal in all or most cases. Views on abortion have changed little across most major religious groups, although those who are unaffiliated and those who belong to historically Black Protestant churches are somewhat more likely to support legal abortion than in the recent past. The survey also finds generation gaps within many religious groups in attitudes about a variety of other social and political issues. Young adults generally express more politically liberal opinions than older people when asked about the environment, the proper size and scope of government, and immigration.

Finally, Protestant Christian denominations are increasingly interested in framing the religious message in ways that younger generations, those who have grown up in a "wired" world, can understand and will participate in. This framing takes many forms: Harvey Cox refers to a pan-historical change in the "Ages" of Christianity, from the Age of Faith, to the Age of Belief, to the Age of the Spirit (Cox, 2009, 4–8). Diana Butler Bass sees the end, or at least the transformation, of current Christianity to a more spiritual, *relational* way of being religious—one that is more in tune with young people and adults who are looking for less dogma and more creative spirit (Bass, 2012,

pp. 193–196). The idea of "re-imagining religion" is easy to see in established churches as well as on the internet. Indeed, as Heckman notes,

> One of the biggest religion stories of today is the rising number of Americans who no longer identify with a particular religion. But disaffiliation is only one side of the story. The current period of flux also is characterized by people and congregations exploring spirituality and experimenting with new forms of religious expression (Heckman, 2017).

Factors Influencing the Institution of the Family

1. Increasing Age of Men and Women at the Time of Marriage and Childbirth The age at which men and women marry in any society varies over time, and that is the case in the United States as well. In 1900, the average marriage age for men was 26 and for women, 22; by midcentury, it had fallen to 23 for men and 20 for women; and but by 2019, it had reached the all-time high of nearly 30 for men and nearly 28 for women (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019).

Some researchers believe that this phenomenon bodes well for marriage and motherhood because marrying later often means that the partners have higher educational levels, which is, itself, a stabilizing factor in marriage. There is some evidence to support this. Mothers today are far better educated than they were in the past. In 1960, 18% of mothers with infants at home had any college experience; today that share stands at 67%. Moreover, since the overall life span is increasing—in 2003 the average life expectancy in the United States was 78.6 years (USA Today, 2019)—ages for marriage and childbirth might be expected to continue to rise. Debates still exist, however, about the relation between age of marriage and first children to divorce, health care, work life, religious affiliation, and other family and social issues. It is safe to say, though, that increasing the age at which typical couples marry will have some effects on the society as a whole.

2. Increasing Diversity of Family Forms In the family, too, we are witnessing profound changes in structure and organization. For the first time in 150 years, the number of households headed by single adults and unmarried couples is greater than those headed by married couples (Coontz, 2006). Recent research on the changing demographics of our families graphically portrays the changing nature of family life. For instance, in 1942, 60% of families could be described as nuclear families consisting of two parents and their children. Furthermore, if one believes the images that until relatively recently were often portrayed in basal readers, this nuclear family includes a dog and a cat all living happily together in a white house surrounded by a neat picket fence. In these families, the father's role was to leave home every day to earn the money to support the family, and the mother's role was to stay at home and raise the children. Those were the norms. Today, fewer than 10% of American families match that picture and families are smaller due to both the growth of single-parent households and the drop in fertility. Not only are Americans having fewer children, but the circumstances surrounding parenthood have also changed. While in the early 1960s babies typically arrived within a marriage, today fully four-in-ten births occur to women who are single or living with a nonmarital partner. The norms, again, have changed.

It is estimated today that about half of all marriages in the United States will be disrupted through divorce or separation. More than 10 different configurations are represented by the families of children in today's classrooms; a most significant one is the single-parent family, often consisting of a mother and child or children living in poverty, which increased from 9% in 1960 to 26% in 2014, representing one-fourth of

all children, the highest rate of 30 countries surveyed in 2019 (Pew Research Center, 2019). Increasingly, this single parent is a teenage mother. We have seen a rapid increase in the number of children being brought up in "blended families"—a household with a stepparent, stepsibling or half-sibling, as well as raised by grandparents, with close to 5 million American children living in grandparent-headed households (Johnson and Kasarda, 2011). Another increasing family configuration, and a hotly debated topic, is one in which two adults of the same sex, committed to one another over time, are raising children who may be biologically related to one or the other adult, or who may have been adopted by them.

3. Increasing Intermarriage Across Racial and Religious Boundaries There has also been a corresponding increase in the outmarriage rate, or intermarriage between individuals from different ethnic or religious groups in recent years, a rate that doubled from 6.7% in 1980 to 17% in 2019 (Pew Research Center, 2019b). Some racial groups are more likely to intermarry than others. Of the 3.6 million adults who got married in 2013, 58% of American Indians, 28% of Asians, 19% of Blacks, and 7% of whites have a spouse whose race was different from their own (Pew Research Center, 2015). In some Asian American groups (Japanese Americans, for instance), more people marry outside the group than marry within the group (Cortes, 1999), and roughly 50% of American Jews marry outside their religion. The population of those identifying as members of two or more races continues to increase. The number went from 1.1 million in 2000 to an estimated 1.5 million in 2009, or roughly 4.5% of the total U.S. population. Percentage-wise, this increase (32.7%) was second only to the relative growth of the nation's Latino population (35.8%) (Johnson and Kasarda, 2011). Children of these mixed marriages will increasingly find themselves in our schools, as is evident in the 6.8% of young people under the age of 18 who claim similar multiple racial identities.

4. Increasing Effects of Poverty in a Globalized America People living in poverty are a diverse group and reflect as wide array of values, beliefs, dispositions, experiences, backgrounds, and life chances as those in any other socioeconomic class. Although the poverty rate in the United States continues its downward trend, from 14.5% in 2013 to 11.8% in 2018. The number of people living in poverty still stands at a staggering 38.1 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). In the United States, more women live in poverty than men. In 2018, 12.9% of women were poor compared with 10.6% of men. The difference between households headed by men or women in poverty is even more dramatic, with over 30% of female-headed households in poverty. For men in the same situation as head of household and no wife present that number is 15.9%. On the global scale, over 700 million people live at or below $1.90 a day. Although a staggering number, this is down from 37% in 1990 and 44% in 1981. Poverty and its effects on children is not limited to the so-called Third World or developing societies of the south. A recent report issued by United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), "Child Well-Being in Rich Countries," reports that the United States ranks among the lowest of wealthy countries for children, coming in 26th place of 29 countries, with only Lithuania, Latvia, and Romania placing lower (UNICEF, 2013). The United States has the second highest percentage of children living under the relative poverty line, defined as 50% of each country's median income, and ranked 25th out of 29 in the percentage of people 15 to 19 years old who were enrolled in schools and colleges. In 2018, one in six children in the United States lives at or below the poverty line with 2.5 million experiencing homelessness in a year. As educators, in order to be responsive to the

needs of all students, it is helpful to consider the constraints that poverty may place on people's lives, particularly children's, and how such conditions might influence learning and academic achievement. Health and well-being, for instance, are often interrelated, and one factor can compound another. Substandard housing, inadequate medical care, and poor nutrition, for instance, can affect the rate of childhood disease, premature births, and low birth weights. All of these can impact a child's physical and cognitive development, thus influencing a students' ability to benefit from schooling.

Consider these facts about children collected by the Children's Defense Fund (2003, 2013): Each day in the United States, 2 mothers die in childbirth, 4 children are killed by abuse or neglect, 5 children or teens commit suicide, 7 children or teens are killed by firearms, 67 babies die before their first birthdays, 892 babies are born at low birth weight, 914 babies are born to teen mothers, 1,208 babies are born without health insurance, 1,825 children are confirmed as abused or neglected, 2,712 babies are born into poverty, 2,857 high school students drop out, and 4,475 babies are born to unmarried mothers. In addition, 1 in 5 was born poor, 1 in 3 will be poor at some point in childhood, and 1 in 6 is born to a mother who did not receive prenatal care in the first trimester of pregnancy. One in 5 is born to a mother who did not graduate from high school, 1 in 5 has a foreign-born mother, 1 in 3 is behind a year or more in school, 1 in 50 is homeless, 2 in 5 never complete a single year of college, 1 in 10 has no health insurance, 1 in 7 has at least one worker in their family but still is poor, 1 in 8 lives in a family receiving food stamps, 1 in 8 never graduates from high school, and 1 in 12 has a disability.

Clearly, the family pattern once considered the norm, that provided the image of the "right" and "proper" kind of family and guided the policies of our other institutions, has changed.

Factors That Influence the Institution of Education

1. Changing Demographics of the School-Age Population and the Population as a Whole All the institutional changes discussed thus far are inevitably reflected in the institution of schooling—its purposes, policies, and practices. For example, demographic changes with respect to the total population of the United States are first seen in our schools. It is projected that by the year 2026, children of color will comprise more than half the children in classrooms, up from approximately one third at the beginning of the 21st century (NCES, 2017). Startling changes are already occurring in a number of places in the country. For example, more than a decade ago, students from minority groups comprised more than 50% of the school populations in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and New York. In these states, minority children soon may find themselves in the uncomfortable position of being the majority in a world whose rules are set by a more powerful minority. Recent census figures for California show that there is currently no majority cultural group in the state!

Three factors are of primary importance in the shifting **demographics** of our population.

- First, immigration from non-European countries currently rivals the great immigrations from Europe that this country experienced at the turn of the 20th century. There is an important difference, however. In the early part of the 20th century, the majority of immigrants (87%) arrived from Europe. Except for language, it was relatively easy for these new immigrants to fit into the cultural landscape of the country; after all, many of these people looked similar to the

majority of people around them. Today, 65% of the roughly 1 million immigrants who come to the United States each year come from Latin America and Asia (Pew Research Center, 2019c), resulting in what has been referred to as the "browning of America." Most of the new immigrants look somewhat different from the mainstream, which immediately sets them apart. Indeed, many communities are becoming increasingly international as the phenomenon of globalization extends its reach.

- Second, while birthrates among Americans as a whole are just holding their own, birthrates among nonwhite populations are considerably higher than they are among whites. Among European Americans, for instance, birthrates have dropped to 1.4 for every 2 people, well below the 2.1 replacement level. Birthrates for all other groups have remained the same or increased slightly. When most current teacher education students were born, approximately 1 in 3 schoolchildren was a child of color (traditionally referred to as minority students). By the year 2027, it is likely that this figure will increase to 1 in 2, and many of these children will be poor. By midcentury, people of color will become the majority of Americans. The census bureau, for instance, projects that by the year 2050 the percentage of European Americans will decline to 47% while more than one fourth of the U.S. population will be of Hispanic origin. By 2056, the average U.S. resident will trace his or her descent to Africa, Asia, Central and South America, the Pacific Islands, or the Middle East–almost anywhere but white Europe (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

- Third, the total population of children in relation to adults in the United States is changing as the public grows older. Although the number of school-age children will increase from now until the year 2025, the number of American youth compared to citizens age 65 and older will continue to shrink (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The Pew Research Center has predicted that if current immigration trends and birth rates continue, by 2050 virtually all (93%) of the nation's working age population growth will come from immigrants and their U.S.-born children (Pew Research Center, 2013). An increasing concern is that there will not be enough workers to support the aging baby boom population, who will be a tremendous drain on the nation's Social Security system at a time when the system itself may be in jeopardy. In addition, emerging medical technology is enabling people to live longer lives, and the health care needs of an aging population are projected to strain the government's Medicare program to its limits unless adjustments are made. Both of these concerns mean that public resources for school-age populations will be in direct and serious competition with the needs of older Americans.

2. Increasing Language Diversity Among Schoolchildren   Along with ethnic and racial diversity often comes linguistic diversity. Increasing numbers of children are entering school from minority language backgrounds and have little or no competence in the English language. Nearly 1 in 5 Americans, some 47 million individuals age 5 and older, speak a language other than English at home, reflecting an increase of approximately 50% during the past decade. It is estimated that there are approximately 4.5 million Limited English Proficient (LEP) students, or 9% of the school-age population, in schools in the United States, many of whom speak Spanish as their primary language (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2016), making the United States the fifth largest Spanish-speaking country in the world. The majority of these students (67%) can be found in the five states of California, Texas, New York, Florida, and Illinois, with the greatest percentage of increases

being in Kansas, Delaware, Kentucky, and South Carolina, but most school districts in the country have LEP students. Spanish is the most common second language spoken in America's classrooms, spoken by 75% of English language learners, although an increasing number of students are entering the schools speaking Arabic, Chinese, Korean, Russian, Hmong, Khmer, Lao, Thai, and Vietnamese. More than 50% of LEP students are in grades K–4, with 77% coming from poor backgrounds. A relatively high dropout rate characterizes this group of children in spite of all our efforts at bilingual education. Since a person's language provides the symbols

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used to understand the world, children whose symbol systems differ from those of the dominant group are likely to see the world from a different perspective, to look for meaning in different ways, and to attribute different meanings to common objects and processes. Although these students may be perceived as a challenge to our educational system in the years ahead, one consequence of successfully accommodating this diversity is that all of us—students, teachers, and communities alike—will become more knowledgeable, more accepting, and better skilled at communicating with people from different backgrounds.

3. Increasing Concern About Gender Differences in School Outcomes In the 1970s and 1980s, there emerged an increasing awareness in many classrooms of a difference among children that was so fundamental that it had been overlooked as a matter of inquiry throughout most of our history. That difference is gender. Because we have included both girls and boys, at least in elementary education, since the very beginning of the common school, and because our political and educational ideals assume that school is gender neutral, the effect of gender on children's education has not been analyzed until relatively recently. In the past 35 years, however, considerable research has been done on differences in the social and educational lives and academic outcomes of boys and girls in school. In the earlier years, the focus was on girls—the "stereotypical" roles they saw themselves playing in textbooks, the way in which they were counseled away from math and science courses, the ways in which teachers interacted with them, and ways in which the "culture of the school" tended to channel them in certain directions, both socially and vocationally.

Today, there are some who are equally concerned with the educational lives and outcomes of boys—the fact that they are dropping out of school at a higher rate, that their success in literacy is lower, and that fewer are academically prepared for college (and, in fact, are attending college in reduced numbers). Whatever the case, it is true that gender roles have changed in our society and that these changes have an effect on all our institutions, including, of course, education.

4. An Increasing "Clash of Cultures" Between Teachers and Students A considerable discrepancy continues to exist between the makeup of the student population in most schools and that of the teaching force. Most of our nation's teachers continue to come from a rather homogeneous group, with approximately 80% being European American

and middle class, 9% Hispanic, 7% Black, 2% Asian, and 1% mixed ethnicity (Pew Research Center, 2018). Indeed, the profile of the teacher education student that emerged from Zimpher's (1989) study has not changed appreciably. Typically, the teacher education student is a monolingual white female from a low-middle- or middle-class suburban or rural home who wants to teach children who are just like herself. Women continue to outnumber men in the teaching force almost 4:1, with 77% of teachers being female overall while 90% being women at the elementary levels (*Education Week*, 2017).

These figures contrast sharply with the student diversity that currently exists in schools and that will continue to increase in the years ahead. Although alternative routes to teaching have resulted in a slight increase in the representation of teachers of color in recent years (Feistritzer, 2011), a considerable number of children are still missing important role models who represent their background within the school setting—boys in the early years, and children of color throughout the educational experience in general. European America students as well miss having role models who represent groups other than their own.

Equally critical is the fact that teachers (like many other people) tend to be culture-bound, and to have little knowledge or experience with people from other cultures, thus limiting their ability to interact effectively with students who are different from them. Indeed, in Zimpher's study, 69% of white teacher education students reported spending all or most of their free time with people of their own racial or ethnic background. This, too, has not changed appreciably in recent years. More disturbing, this same study reported that a substantial number of teacher education students do not believe that low-income and minority learners are capable of grasping high-level concepts in the subjects they are preparing to teach. Finally, the traditional identification of teaching as women's work means that even multiculturally sophisticated teachers are usually powerless to make their school's culture more accommodating to female and underrepresented students because white males are often in key decision-making roles.

Rethinking Schools and Learning: The Effort to Reform Our Schools

In terms of traditional definitions of social order, it appears that most of our social institutions are not working very well in the beginning of this new millennium. Another way to state this observation is to say that the norms governed by our institutions have changed. In this context, the principle values of democratic equality, liberty, and community are once again called into question. What does equality mean when people from a variety of cultures around the world are competing for the same jobs? What does liberty mean when language barriers prevent common understanding? What does community mean when allegiance to one's group prevents commonality with people in other groups?

Some scholars have argued that the changes we are experiencing require a shift from the ideals of a Jeffersonian political democracy (in which democratic principles are defined by individualism) to the ideals of a cultural democracy in which democratic principles are defined by cultural pluralism (McClelland & Bernier, 1993). Such a shift involves a radical change in our beliefs about how we are to get along with one another, what kinds of information and skills we need to develop, and how we are to interpret our national ideals and goals. Among other changes, this cultural view of democracy requires a fundamental rethinking of our national goals and how we structure or organize schools in relation to those goals. Schooling is, after all, the institution charged not only with imparting necessary information and skills but also with ensuring that

young people develop long-cherished democratic attitudes and values. Schooling alone cannot completely alter the larger society in which it exists, but schooling can influence as well as reflect its parent society. Since teachers can engender or stifle new ideas and new ways of doing things with their students, they are in a position to influence both the direction and pace of change in our society.

As Sam and her fellow students are learning in their teacher education program, one of the most significant results of rethinking schools and teaching is the testing and accountability movement. Although there is considerable debate about both the means and ends of the movement, taken at face value it signals a major change not only in the way we think about schools but also in the way we think about teaching and learning. It is no longer acceptable to eliminate certain children from the ranks of the educable. Nor is it acceptable to think that it's all right if some children don't measure up to standards, or that you just can't "teach everyone." Indeed, the emphasis is now squarely on learning outcomes for *all* children.

Fortunately, some teachers have accepted this challenge and are learning to think about their practice in more inclusive ways. They work in classrooms in schools around the world—sometimes alone and sometimes with colleagues who are also excited about new possibilities. They work with students of all backgrounds: white and nonwhite, wealthy and poor, boys and girls, rural and urban, domestic and international. They work with students of varied religions and of no particular religion, with students who have vastly different abilities, and with students who have different sexual orientations. They work in wealthy districts that spend a great deal of money on each student and in poor districts that have little in the way of resources. But most important, their classrooms reflect their belief that all children can succeed. In 21st-century schools and classrooms, teachers see change as an opportunity rather than a problem and difference as a resource rather than a deficit.

The Difficulty of Change

Change is difficult, particularly when it deals with the fundamental beliefs, attitudes, and values around which we organize our lives. Attempts at such change often result in hostility or in an effort to preserve, at any cost, our familiar ways of doing things and thinking about the world around us. The universal nature of such resistance to change is illustrated in the following parable.

The Wheat Religion: A Parable

Once upon a time there was a group of people who lived in the mountains in an isolated region. One day a stranger passed through their area and dropped some wheat grains in their field. The wheat grew. After a number of years, people noticed the new plant and decided to collect its seeds and chew them. Someone noticed that when a cart had accidentally ridden over some of the seeds, a harder outer covering separated from the seed and what was inside was sweeter. Someone else noticed that when it rained, the grains that had been run over expanded a little, and the hot sun cooked them. So, people started making wheat cereal and cracked wheat and other wheat dishes. Wheat became the staple of their diet.

Years passed. Because these people did not know anything about crop rotation, fertilizers, and cross-pollination, the wheat crop eventually began to fail.

About this time, another stranger happened by. He was carrying two sacks of barley. He saw the people starving and planted some of his grain. The barley grew well. He presented it to the people and showed them how to make bread and soup and many other dishes from barley. But they called him a heretic.

"You are trying to undermine our way of life and force us into accepting you as our king." They saw his trick. "You can't fool us. You are trying to weaken us and make us accept your ways. Our wheat will not let us starve. Your barley is evil."

> He stayed in the area, but the people avoided him. Years passed. The wheat crop failed again and again. The children suffered from malnutrition. One day the stranger came to the market and said, "Wheat is a grain. My barley has a similar quality. It is also a grain. Why don't we just call the barley grain?"
>
> Now since they were suffering so much, the people took the grain, except for a few who staunchly refused. They loudly proclaimed that they were the only remaining followers of the True Way, the Religion of Wheat. A few new people joined the Wheat Religion from time to time, but most began to eat barley. They called themselves The Grainers.
>
> For generations, the Wheat Religion people brought up their children to remember the true food called wheat. A few of them hoarded some wheat grains to keep it safe and sacred. Others sent their children off in search of wheat, because they felt that if one person could happen by with barley, wheat might be known somewhere else too.
>
> And so it went for decades, until the barley crop began to fail. The last few Wheat Religion people planted their wheat again. It grew beautifully, and because it grew so well, they grew bold and began to proclaim that their wheat was the only true food. Most people resisted and called them heretics. A few people said, "Why don't you just admit that wheat is a grain?"
>
> The wheat growers agreed, thinking that they could get many more wheat followers if they called it grain. But by this time, some of the children of the Wheat Religion people began to return from their adventures with new seed, not just wheat, but rye and buckwheat and millet. Now people began to enjoy the taste of many different grains. They took turns planting them and trading the seed with each other. In this way, everyone came to have enough sustenance and lived happily ever after.

This parable carries many metaphorical messages: It applauds diversity and recognizes that a society cannot function to its fullest when it ignores the ideas, contributions, efforts, and concerns of any of its people. The parable illustrates some of the consequences of unreasonable prejudice, but also recognizes the powerful emotions that underlie a prejudiced attitude. It also indicates the power of naming something in a way that is familiar and comfortable to those who are uncomfortable about accepting something new.

But perhaps most important, the parable recognizes the tendency people have to resist change. People are creatures of habit who find it difficult to change, whether at the individual level, the institutional level, or the societal level. People often work from one set of assumptions, one pattern of behavior. Because of the way in which people are socialized, these habits of thought and behavior are so much a part of them that they find it very difficult to think that things can be done in any other way. Some habits people develop are positive and constructive; others are negative and limiting. The story shows us that sometimes even a society's strengths can become weaknesses. And yet new circumstances and opportunities arise in each generation that demand that new perspectives, attitudes, and solutions be sought. Such circumstances are evident today in the changing face of the American classroom, and much of the responsibility for change must lie with teachers and teacher educators.

How prepared are *you* to accept the reality of change? How ready are *you* to examine some of your own beliefs and ideas about others? About yourself? About how *you* can interact with others? Are you at a point where, like Sam in the case study, you can begin to see how critical it is that you may have to change?

Ideological Perspectives on Multicultural Education

Attention to social differences among students has a relatively long history in this society, beginning at least with the arguments for the common school (which was intended to give students of different social class backgrounds a "common" educational experience that would enable the society to continue to be governed by "we, the

people"). During some periods of our history, the focus was also on assimilation to a "common culture," by which was meant a dominant, largely Anglo society. During other periods—notably in the early years of the 20th century, when Black scholars began to develop curricular materials on the African American experience in America, and in the 1940s, when the Intergroup Education movement had as its main objective the reduction of prejudice and discrimination in the U.S. population—various attempts have been made to perceive difference as a strength rather than as a problem.

The field known as multicultural education emerged in the aftermath of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, first with the ethnic studies movement and later with a somewhat broader "multicultural" education effort. Within that effort (and outside it as well), there are a variety of perspectives on both the definition and the goals of multicultural education, which will be discussed in greater detail later in the book. Essentially, **multicultural education** can be defined as a process of educational reform that assures that students from all groups (racial, ethnic, socioeconomic, ability, gender, etc.) experience educational equality, success, and social mobility. Today, as we continue to move closer to a truly global society, an education that develops intercultural competence becomes increasingly essential.

Some important questions emerge from what is in fact a healthy debate about our ability to provide educational opportunity and success for all children. Some of these questions have existed from the beginning; others have emerged as knowledge has increased and times have changed. Consider the following:

- Is intercultural education for everyone, or for minority students alone?
- Should intercultural education focus on the individual student, on the student as a member of a group, or on both?
- To what extent should intercultural education include the study of relationships of power along with the history and contributions of all people?
- Is intercultural education academic, political, or both?
- Will intercultural or multicultural education, as ideological movements, divide us as a people or bring us closer together?
- Are intercultural teaching practices good for everyone?
- To what extent should intercultural education have as a goal the reconstruction of the whole society?
- How are multicultural education, global education, and intercultural competence similar or different? Are there common areas where they all intersect?

All of these questions are important, in part because they are inexorably related.

Given the interdependent nature of the world in which we live, it is becoming less and less possible to think about purely American (or, to be more accurate, "United Statesian") issues of difference. If the students being taught happen to belong mostly to one group or another, it is still the case that all of them, at some point in their lives, will need to learn how to understand and work with those who are different from themselves. If you think that local issues of inequality, poverty, and unequal access to education, housing, and jobs are central to Americans' work concerns, consider that well over half the world's population is struggling with the same issues (Cushner, 1998). Americans work to preserve and protect democratic institutions in this society while millions of people around the world try to understand what democracy really is.

Multicultural or intercultural education, both as fields of study and practice and as ideological perspectives, have experienced a continued broadening in scope and

interests over the years. Increasingly, the fields and their ideologies are turning toward a more global sensibility. This change does not mean that local or national issues are no longer important; it means that what Americans have and continue to learn locally has important implications for global action. It also means that, inasmuch as we are not the only society struggling with issues of difference, there is much we can learn from others around the world. For instance, what can we learn from the French as they struggle with the question of whether or not to allow Muslim girls to wear the hijab, or head scarf, in public schools? What can we learn from the way Arabs and Jews are portrayed in textbooks in Palestinian and Israeli schools?

This book is based in part on a notion of intercultural interactions and their cognitive, emotional, and developmental aspects. An intercultural interaction can be domestic—that is, between two (or more) people within the same nation that come from different cultural backgrounds—or it can be international, between two (or more) people from different countries. The cultural identity of the parties involved in an interaction may come from a limited and mutually reinforcing set of experiences or from more complex and sometimes conflicting elements. The significant difference in an interaction may be race, class, religion, gender, language, or sexual orientation; it may be physical or attitudinal in origin; it may be age-related or status-related; or any combination of these.

Regardless of the kind of differences involved, all people tend to approach significant differences in similar, oftentimes negative, ways. That is, to understand the processes involved is a first step toward overcoming these differences; and both culture-specific knowledge and culture-general knowledge are prerequisites on the road to social justice.

Goals of This Book

This book is about change, especially as it relates to diversity. It is about teaching all children in a society that is growing more diverse each year. It is about changes in classrooms and in the act of teaching within those classrooms. It is about changes in schools and in the larger society in which these schools are embedded. It is equally about change within oneself, for change in the larger dimensions of society cannot occur without significant changes in one's own perception, attitudes, and skills. All these environments (self, classrooms, schools, and society) are connected, so that changes in any one of them produce disequilibrium and change in the others. Their connectedness, and the mutual influence that each one exerts on the others, is visually depicted in Figure 1.1.

As a teacher in the 21st century, you will spend your career in ever-changing schools, schools whose mission will be to help society make an orderly transition from one kind of civilization to another. Your ability to feel comfortable and operate effectively within such a changing environment will require a unique set of cultural understandings and interpersonal skills that go beyond traditional pedagogy. These skills, perspectives, and attitudes that you as a teacher must adopt in order to coalesce diverse students into an effective learning community must also be transmitted to the students in your charge, who will live their lives in the same kind of highly interconnected and interdependent world. You are thus walking both sides of a double-edged sword, so to speak. The process that you undergo to become more effective working across cultures must ultimately become content that you teach to students. This feat will not be easy!
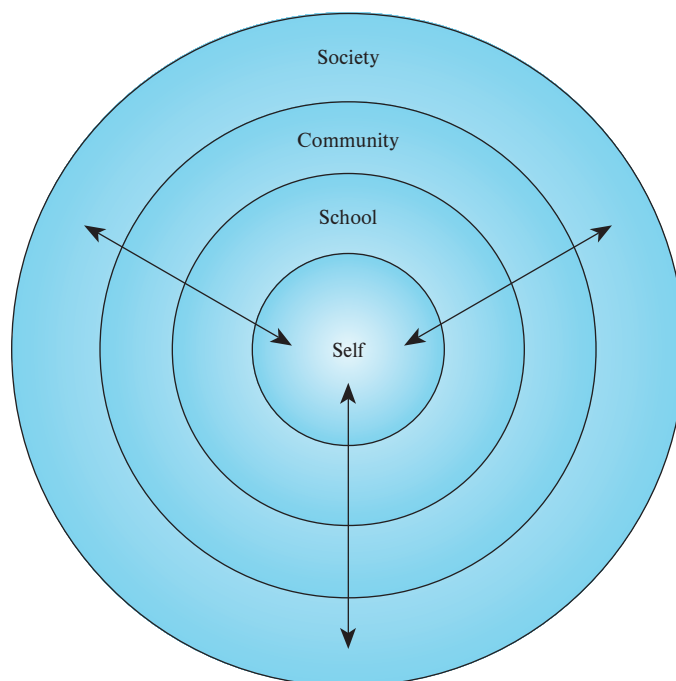
Figure 1.2 illustrates four basic goals of this book, which can be viewed as steps in understanding intercultural education and your role as an educator in an inclusive system. A word about each goal follows.

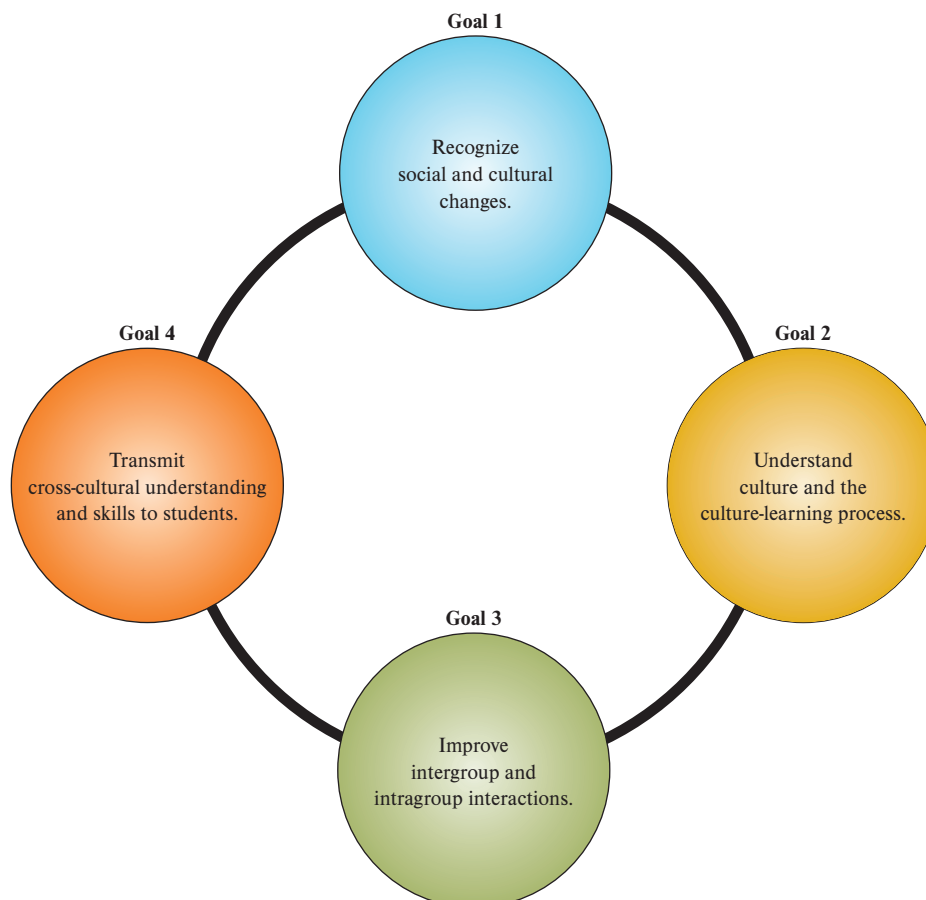## Goal 1: To Recognize Social and Cultural Change

The first step in providing an education that is truly intercultural is to improve students' understanding of the concept of pluralism in our global society. Pluralism in this context must consider such sources of cultural identity as nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, socioeconomic status, religion, sexual orientation, geographic region, health, and ability/disability, and must look particularly at how each of these identities has had an impact on the individual as well as the group. This step requires that teachers understand the social changes that have historically and are currently taking place in our pluralistic society; these social changes provide the underlying rationale for an intercultural education and are found in Chapters 1 and 2, as well as throughout the book.

Goal 2: To Understand Culture, Learning, and the Culture-Learning Process

After establishing the need for an intercultural education it is necessary to understand just what is meant by that term. What does the term *culture* refer to, and how do people come to acquire different cultural identities? With what knowledge do children already come to school? Too often schools do not legitimize the experiences children bring with them to the school; instead schools label some children as failures

Figure 1.2
Goals of This Book

Goal 1

Recognize
social and cultural
changes.

Goal 4

Transmit
cross-cultural understanding
and skills to students.

Goal 2

Understand
culture and the
culture-learning process.

Goal 3

Improve
intergroup and
intragroup interactions.

because their backgrounds, including their language and culture, are not seen as adequate or legitimate. Teachers must thus expand their knowledge base of culture and the different groups found in the United States as well as abroad. This means that curriculum content must be expanded and pedagogy adapted to include the experiences of all students. Chapter 3 examines these issues and in the process provides models of the sources of cultural learning and of the culture-learning process. An important recognition here is that differences within groups are often as important as differences between groups. Individuals belong simultaneously to many different groups, and their behavior can be understood only in terms of their simultaneous affiliation with these many groups. These models illustrate how culture filters down to the individual learner who actively engages with it, accepting and absorbing certain elements and rejecting and modifying others.

Goal 3: To Improve Intergroup and Intragroup Interactions

While Goal 2 is to examine how individuals come to acquire their particular cultural identity, Goal 3 is to show how culturally different people interact with one another and how these interactions can be improved. We must work to improve *intergroup* as

well as *intragroup* interactions. We must also learn how individuals develop intercultural competence and improve their interactions with other cultures. Goal 3 demands attention to such issues as development of intercultural sensitivity and competence, cross-cultural understanding and interaction, attribution and assessment across groups, and conflict management. Teachers, in particular, must broaden their instructional repertoire so that it reflects an understanding of the various groups with whom they will interact. To help teachers understand the interaction between culturally different individuals (whether from different groups or from the same group), Chapter 4 presents a model of intercultural interaction that applies culture learning to ourselves as well as to our students and that develops a culture-general model of behavior. These models help us analyze the nature of intercultural interaction, and they show how key concepts can be applied to various types of school situations. Chapter 5 offers some useful models of development and synthesizes them with a new and somewhat more sophisticated model of intercultural development that helps increase the number of concepts as well as the language with which we can profitably understand and discuss these issues.

Goal 4: To Transmit Intercultural Understanding and Skills to Students

The book's final goal is to help teachers transmit to students the same understandings and skills that are contained in (1) the model for explaining cultural differences and (2) the model for improving intercultural interaction in order to prepare multicultural citizen-actors who are able and willing to participate in an interdependent world. That is, this book strives to empower action-oriented, reflective decision makers who are able and willing to be socially and politically active in the school, community, nation, and world. This book is concerned not only with developing the knowledge and skill of practicing teachers, but also with transferring this knowledge to the students in their charge. Thus, individuals become proactive teachers and reflective practitioners who can ultimately prepare reflective citizen-actors (their students) for an interdependent world. The content of these models is universal. It applies to all intercultural situations, not just those confronted by teachers in classrooms and schools. Teaching these understandings and skills to students can be accomplished both through teacher modeling and through explicit instruction, and both methods are illustrated in the remaining chapters of the book.

The Role of Stories, Cases, and Activities
Stories

This book contains many stories because stories help us visualize and talk about new ideas and experiences. Some stories are about real people and events, while others, like the story of the wheat people, are folktales and parables. Stories contain the power to speak about complex human experiences; in this book, stories speak about how people experience the fact of human diversity. Stories help us see the universals within the experience. Everyone, no matter what his or her cultural or biological differences, goes through similar stages of experience when confronted with change. Stories, like no other literary device, help us cut through the morass