

DEMOCRACY AND DIVERSITY

PRINCIPLES AND CONCEPTS FOR EDUCATING CITIZENS IN A GLOBAL AGE

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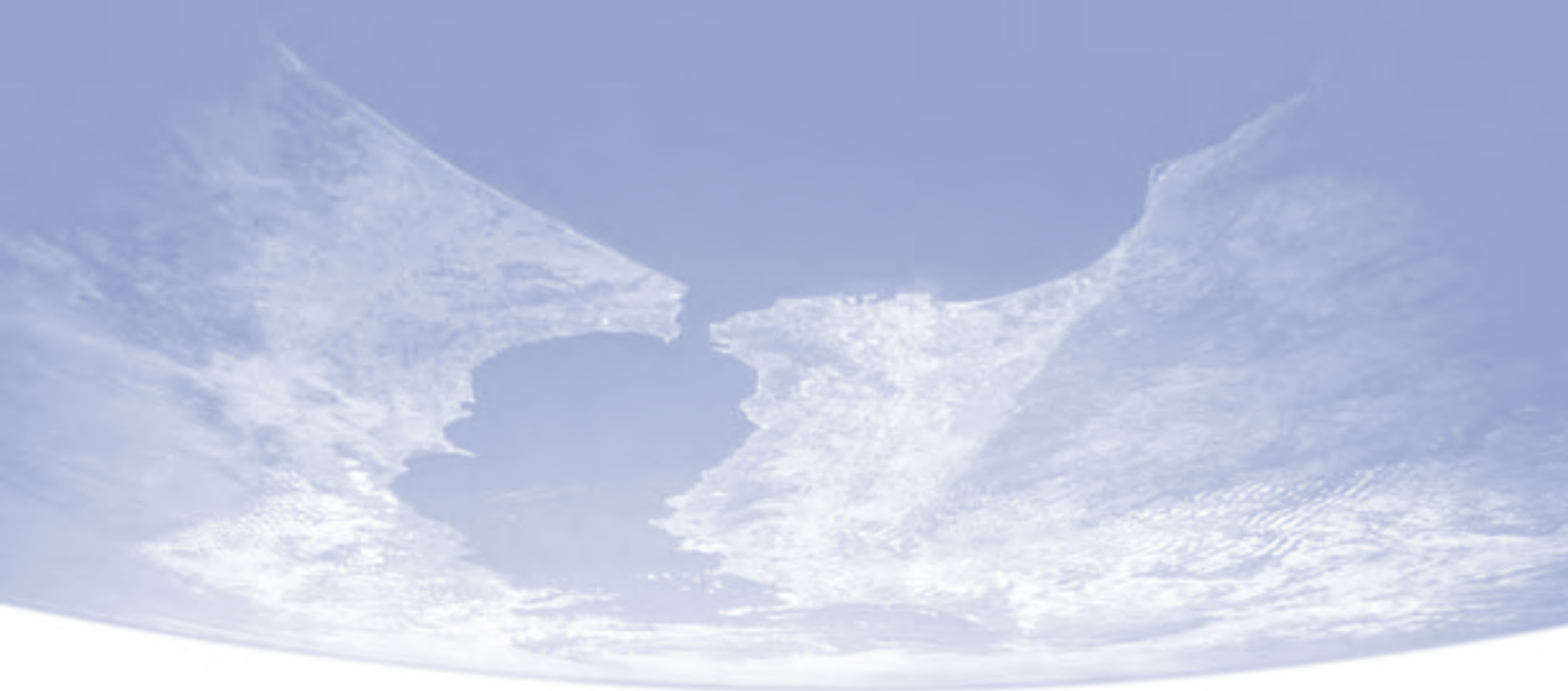
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The Authors

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington convened—with support from the Spencer Foundation—a Diversity, Citizenship, and Global Education Consensus Panel. The Panel’s goal was to develop a set of principles, concepts, and guidelines that school practitioners can use to build or renew citizenship education programs that balance diversity and unity and prepare students to become effective citizens in a global context. An important resource for the Panel’s work was the book that resulted from an earlier conference sponsored by the Center, *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives* (Banks, 2004a).

The Consensus Panel developed four principles and identified ten concepts, which are detailed in this publication. The Panel also developed a checklist that is designed for use by educators who want to consider the extent to which the principles and concepts identified by the Panel are reflected in their classrooms and schools.

PRINCIPLES

Section I Diversity, Unity, Global Interconnectedness, and Human Rights

1. Students should learn about the complex relationships between unity and diversity in their local communities, the nation, and the world.
2. Students should learn about the ways in which people in their community, nation, and region are increasingly interdependent with other people around the world and are connected to the economic, political, cultural, environmental, and technological changes taking place across the planet.
3. The teaching of human rights should underpin citizenship education courses and programs in multicultural nation-states.

Section II Experience and Participation

4. Students should be taught knowledge about democracy and democratic institutions and provided opportunities to practice democracy.

CONCEPTS

1. Democracy
2. Diversity
3. Globalization
4. Sustainable Development
5. Empire, Imperialism, Power
6. Prejudice, Discrimination, Racism
7. Migration
8. Identity/Diversity
9. Multiple Perspectives
10. Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism

INTRODUCTION

Globalization and nationalism are co-existing and sometimes conflicting trends in the world today. Neither is new. Today, world migration and the political and economic aspects of globalization are challenging the nation-state, yet nationalism remains strong. The number of nations in the world is increasing rather than decreasing: The number of United Nations member states increased from 51 in 1945 to 191 in 2002 (www.un.org).

Within nation-states throughout the world, there is increasing diversity as well as increasing recognition of diversity. After World War II large numbers of people emigrated from former colonies in Asia, Africa, and the West Indies to the United Kingdom to improve their economic status. Since the late 1960s, Canada, Germany, and France experienced an increase in racial, cultural, language, religious, and ethnic diversity when thousands of people who were seeking better economic opportunities immigrated to these nations (Castles & Davidson, 2000; Luchtenberg, 2004; Statistics Canada, 2000). Australia and Israel have also experienced increased diversity. Countries that traditionally have been thought to be homogeneous, such as China and Japan, today acknowledge their diversity (Banks, 2004a; Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999). Although the population of the United States has been diverse since the founding period, its ethnic composition has changed dramatically since 1965, when the Immigration Reform Act was enacted. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries most immigrants to the United States came from Europe; today, most come from Asia and Latin America. The U.S. is now experiencing its largest influx of immigrants since the late 19th and early 20th centuries (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Increased diversity and increased recognition of diversity require a vigorous reexamination of the ends and means of citizenship education. Multicultural societies are faced with the challenge of creating nation-states that recognize and incorporate the diversity of their citizens *and* embrace an overarching set of shared values, ideals, and goals to which all citizens are committed. Only when a nation-state is unified around a set of democratic values such as human rights, justice, and equality can it secure the liberties of cultural, ethnic, language, and religious groups and enable them to experience freedom, justice, and peace. Citizens who understand this unity-diversity tension and act accordingly do not materialize from thin air; they are educated for it.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948 requires that all UN member nations teach the Declaration to their children. All must “publicize the text of the Declaration and cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read, and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions.” The Declaration states that “recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world” (UNESCO, 2002).

If respect for the rights of others lies at the heart of the Declaration, the principle of reciprocity undergirds it: Individuals can secure their rights only if others are prepared to defend them. “We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny,” wrote Martin Luther King, Jr., from his Birmingham, Alabama, jail cell. “Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly” (1963, p. 77). This is reciprocity. The individual’s freedom from discrimination is also the employer’s obligation to prevent such treatment. One neighbor’s freedom to worship differently (or not at all) is simultaneously the other neighbor’s obligation to protect that freedom. Teaching human rights means teaching social responsibilities as well (Osler & Starkey, 2000; Parker, 2003).

Balancing unity and diversity is an on-going challenge for multicultural nation-states. Citizenship education can help to accomplish this goal. Conceptions of citizenship education in many nation-states, however, have fallen short. Unity may be achieved at the expense of diversity. Unity without diversity results in hegemony and oppression, and diversity without unity leads to Balkanization and the fracturing of the commonwealth that alone can secure human rights, equality, and justice (Banks, 2004b).

An assimilationist conception of citizenship education existed in most Western democratic nation-states prior to the rise of ethnic revitalization movements in the 1960s and 1970s (Banks, 2004a; Banks & Lynch, 1986). A major goal of citizenship education in these societies was to create nation-states in which all groups shared one dominant mainstream culture. It was assumed that minority ethnic groups and immigrants would forsake their original cultures in order to become effective citizens of their nation-states. Furthermore, citizenship has been linked to biological heritage in some nation-states, such as Germany and Japan (Lie, 2001; Luchtenberg, 2004). Even though these are multicultural nation-states, they have been slow to view themselves as such (Douglass & Roberts, 2000; Murphy-Shigematsu, 2004). It has been difficult for immigrants in these nations and, in some cases, their descendants to be perceived as full citizens by other residents. The ethnic revitalization movements that emerged in many nation-states in the 1960s and 1970s—including the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S.—strongly challenged assimilationist and biological conceptions of citizenship. As a result, the freedom and the right to differ is now a well-established ideal, if not yet fully a reality, of social and political life in many democratic nation-states.

The Consensus Panel

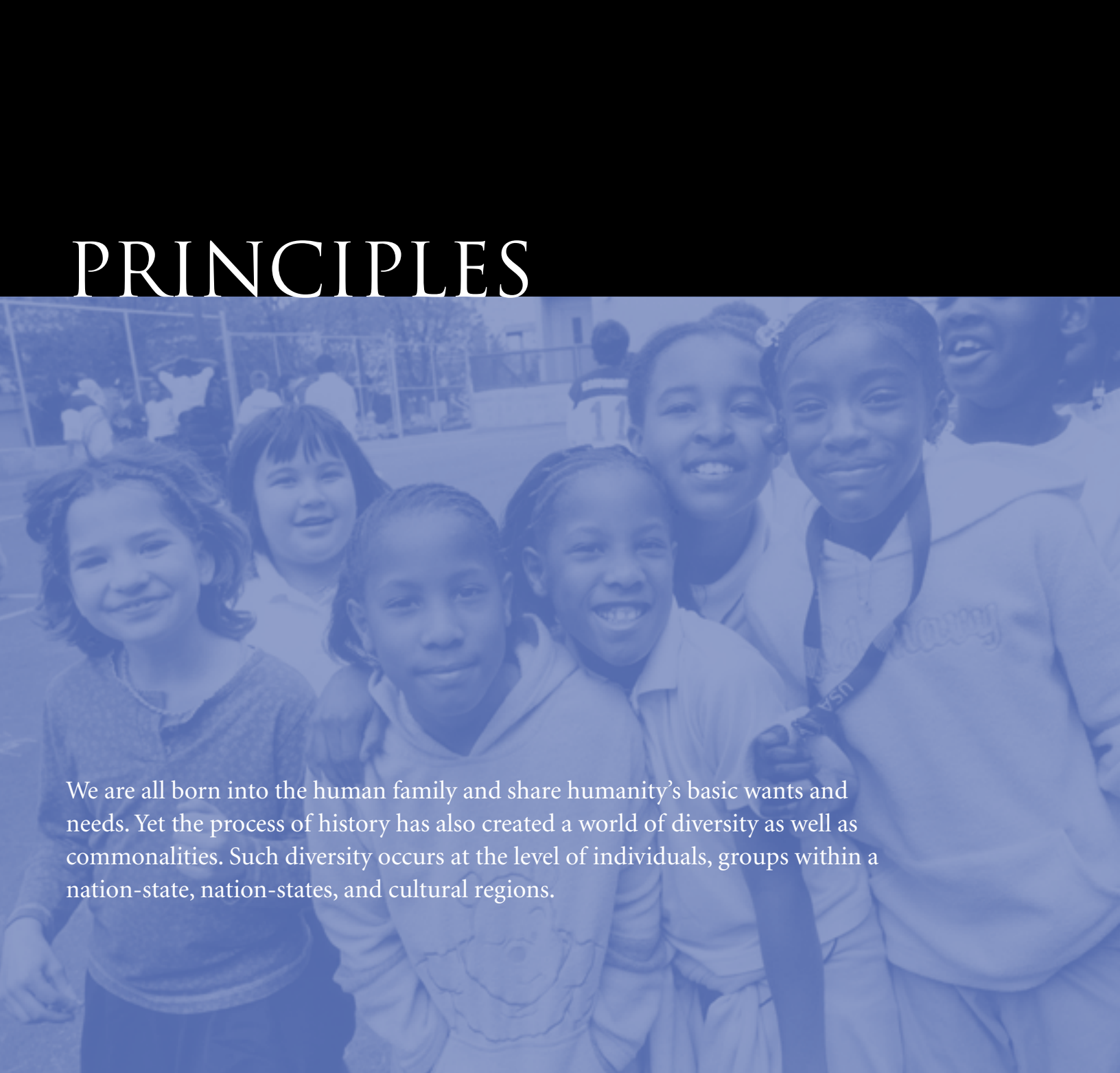
The Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington, Seattle, established a Diversity, Citizenship, and Global Education Consensus Panel. The Panel's goal was to develop a set of design principles and concepts that school practitioners could consult to develop or renew citizenship education programs that reflect both diversity and unity and that prepare students to become effective citizens in a global context. The Panel used as a basis for its deliberations the findings of an international conference held in Bellagio, Italy, in 2002 (Banks 2004a), commissioned papers prepared by two Panel members (Hahn, 2003; Osler, 2003), and concept papers written by Panel members.

Citizens in democratic multicultural nation-states endorse the overarching ideals of the nation-state, such as human rights, justice, and equality, and are committed to the maintenance and perpetuation of these ideals. Democratic citizens are also willing and able to take action to close the gap between these ideals and the practices that violate them, such as social, racial, cultural, and economic inequality. Consequently, an important goal of citizenship education in a democratic multicultural society is to help students acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to make reflective decisions and to take action in order to make their nation-state more democratic and just (Banks, 1997). Because becoming a knowledgeable and engaged citizen is a *process*, education should facilitate the development of students' civic consciousness and agency (Gonçalves e Silva, 2004; Gutmann, 2004; Parker, 2003).

In this publication, the members of the Consensus Panel set forth four principles and ten concepts derived from theory, research, and wisdom of practice that constitute essential elements of effective citizenship education programs in democratic multicultural nation-states. The components of a citizenship education proposed in this publication, we believe, are necessary but not sufficient for a comprehensive citizenship education program for schools. *Varying local, regional, and national issues must supplement the principles and concepts that we set forth. We view our work as a springboard for discussion by and with other educators.*

The intended audience for this publication is educators in the United States and—to the extent it may be helpful—educators throughout the world who live in democratic nation-states or in nation-states aspiring to become democratic. The values that underlie this publication and that guided the Consensus Panel during its deliberations are grounded in democratic beliefs and the desire to promote democratic and multicultural knowledge and practice in schools and nation-states throughout the world.

PRINCIPLES



We are all born into the human family and share humanity's basic wants and needs. Yet the process of history has also created a world of diversity as well as commonalities. Such diversity occurs at the level of individuals, groups within a nation-state, nation-states, and cultural regions.

Section I: Diversity, Unity, Global Interconnectedness, and Human Rights

1. Students should learn about the complex relationships between unity and diversity in their local communities, the nation, and the world.

Diversity presents a challenge for citizenship education worldwide. To effectively prepare students to become reflective, constructive, and contributing local, national, and global citizens, schools must thoughtfully address *diversity*. But in doing so, schools must also deal with the companion concept, *unity*. Schools in democratic nations should help students better understand and deal constructively with these linked concepts. Unity refers to the common bonds that are essential to the functioning of the nation-state. Diversity refers to the internal differences within all nation-states that reflect variations in factors such as race, class, ethnicity, religion, language, gender, disability, and sexual orientation.

The unity-diversity balancing act is universal but dynamic, and its manifestations are different in each nation-state and cultural region. The dramatic processes of globalization have certainly affected it in recent years (Sassen, 1998). The global flows of ideas, workers, executives, students, products, and services and the influence of powerful governments are spawning issues related to unity and diversity both globally and within nation-states (Castles & Miller, 2003). Moreover, continuous advances in transportation and communication mean that this process is likely to accelerate in the future.

Citizenship education should help students examine unity and diversity both *internally* (within individual democratic nation-states) and *comparatively* (across democratic nation-states). While each nation-state must adopt

its unique approach to both citizenship education and the examination of unity and diversity, citizenship education in all democratic societies should help students examine issues and questions related to major social categories such as race, class, ethnicity, religion, gender, language, disability, and sexual orientation. Students should examine: (1) how their nation-state and others have dealt with inequality among social categories, (2) how their nation-state and others have dealt with the limits of both unity and diversity, (3) how their nation-state and others have defined citizenship and established criteria for obtaining it, and (4) how members of different nation-states have dealt with the multiple identities of individuals.

Citizenship education in democratic nation-states should help students recognize and have opportunities to engage ideas that have multiple—sometimes contested—and often-transitory meanings. In particular, students should engage concepts commonly used in discussions of unity and diversity, such as tolerance, justice, equality, respect, democracy, inclusion, human rights, race, patriotism, cosmopolitanism, democracy, and security.

2. Students should learn about the ways in which people in their community, nation, and region are increasingly interdependent with other people around the world and are connected to the economic, political, cultural, environmental, and technological changes taking place across the planet.

In order to be informed citizens in a multicultural democracy, students need to understand how they, their community, nation, and region both influence and are being influenced by people, non-governmental organizations, businesses, regional alliances, global organizations, and events around the world. Today's global interconnectedness

necessitates an understanding of events and issues that cannot be controlled or resolved by a single nation.

Students need to examine how events in one part of the world can have a chain reaction around the planet. The breakup of the Soviet Union and the resulting destabilization of power in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia influenced Jewish migration and the political status quo of Israel, ethnic cleansing in Serbia and Kosovo, poverty in Cuba, democratization movements in Africa, opportunities for European and North American companies to compete in global markets, and the rise of several new Islamic states. Technological and cultural innovations, ethnic conflicts, economic alliances, global diseases, and environmental changes are topics that can be used for teaching about global change in such school subjects as science, health, language arts, music, art, and social studies (Diaz, Massialas, & Xanthopoulos, 1999).

Teachers often integrate information about global interconnectedness into the curriculum through issues that link their local community to the larger world. Studying a local issue of land use and pollution in an economically depressed neighborhood can provide insights into the ways people across the planet are dealing with similar problems and how local poverty and environmental changes are shaped by global forces (Merryfield, 1998).

Global issues also allow students to examine the power of individuals and groups to effect change and solve problems through collaboration across nations or world regions. Through such studies students learn how people have organized and taken action to improve the conditions of child laborers in Pakistan or to protect biodiversity in Costa Rica.

Student understanding of global interconnectedness rests upon the integrated study of diverse world cultures, global systems, global issues, and global actors (including non-state actors such as corporations, the Red Cross, the World Health Organization, religions, and labor groups)

across time and space. Understanding global interconnectedness not only helps students grasp the complexity of the world, it illuminates how they can help to shape it (Pike & Selby, 1995).

3. The teaching of human rights should underpin citizenship education courses and programs in multicultural nation-states.

It is important when teaching for citizenship in contexts of diversity that the values that schools promote have wide acceptance and legitimacy. Human rights standards that enjoy formal international agreement can help. Such standards are consistent with the objectives of education for citizenship in nation-states and a world community that are characterized both by diversity and a commitment to liberty and justice. The ethical framework provided by universal human rights standards is particularly important in multicultural schools. Such a framework provides members of the school community with a basis for dialogue and can help ensure that all voices are recognized and that all points of view are considered.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (www.un.org) declares that everyone should be given a fair hearing (Article 10) and that people should listen to the views of others even when they disagree (Article 19). It calls on people to respect each other's privacy and religious beliefs even when they have different beliefs (Articles 12 and 18). It stresses the value of peaceful association and protest (Article 20), offers a remedy for people who think their rights have been denied (Article 8), and teaches that people should not be treated in a degrading way (Article 5). It declares that anyone charged with a crime should be presumed innocent until proven guilty (Articles 10 and 11) and that no one should be subject to unfair discrimination (Article 2). The UDHR teaches that people are entitled to the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions (Article 17) and that people should freely express their choice of representatives in elections (Article 21).

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (www.un.org) provides an ethical framework for teaching students the elements of social responsibility needed to function successfully in the school community, the local neighborhood, and the wider world. The rights in the CRC apply to all children without exception, regardless of their nationality, family background, gender, social status, or racial or ethnic group (Article 2). The CRC not only affirms the right to education (Article 28) but, equally important, it spells out young people's entitlements in education, including the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms (Article 29).

Children have the right to learn about human rights and to learn in schools that exemplify respect for human rights (Lister, 1984; Osler & Starkey, 1996; Hahn, 2005). Education for citizenship and human rights has implications not only for the content of education, but also for teacher-student relationships and the general ethos of the school.

The CRC applies to all children and young people under the age of 18 years. It recognizes them as citizens, rather than as citizens-in-waiting (Verhellen, 2000). Under the CRC children not only have rights of *provision* (such as education, health, and nutrition) and *protection* (from harm, abuse, and exploitation) but also rights of *participation*. Children and young people have the right for their opinions to be taken into account in decisions that will affect them (Article 12).

Section II: Experience and Participation

4. Students should be taught knowledge about democracy and democratic institutions and provided opportunities to practice democracy.

Knowledge and experience are essential dimensions of any program that can properly be called educative. These two dimensions work in tandem, like the two wings of an

airplane. Neither is sufficient alone. Factual knowledge about the world's many democratic experiments, about the conditions that sustain and undermine them, and about social justice struggles the world over is needed alongside authentic experience and engagement in democratic activities. If students are to learn democracy in any authentic and durable way, they need to participate in it as well as acquire knowledge about it. Action without understanding can be mindless and often does as much harm as good; understanding without action can be thin and inconsequential.

In the knowledge dimension, students should learn about the history of democracy in its many forms, the forces that have caused its distortion or demise time and time again (e.g., tyranny of the majority, apathy, war), and about the struggles of peoples for equal rights and inclusion. The study of history, as well as the study of how histories are written (historiography), along with the comparative study of governments and civil rights movements—all are important. Students should also deeply comprehend fundamental documents of democracy—the U.S., French, Costa Rican, and South African constitutions, for example—along with the powerful writings and speeches of those who have resisted tyranny, such as the Nobel peace laureates The Dalai Lama of Tibet and Martin Luther King, Jr., of the U.S.

In the engagement dimension, students should be participating in democracy in schools. This means that they should be involved regularly in decision making about the problems and controversies of school life; that is, in school governance and policy making. This decision making should be carried out in the context of face-to-face discussions among students who are different from one another developmentally, ideologically, culturally, and racially. This kind of decision-making discussion is known as *deliberation*. There are ample examples of programs already underway in both elementary and secondary schools (Hahn, 1998; Parker, 2003).

Deliberation means to weigh alternatives in order to decide the best course of action. It achieves its power and efficacy when four conditions are met: (1) it proceeds in a group, (2) the deliberative group is diverse, (3) a decision is needed on a genuine problem or controversy, and (4) the decision will be binding on all students. The third and fourth conditions together mean that the deliberative group constitutes a “superordinate group”; that is, it creates solidarity across difference—an overarching group that includes the smaller groups (Banks et al., 2001; Pettigrew, 2004). This way, students who are neither friends nor members of the same subgroup will have opportunities to decide on solutions to problems they all share. This is the basic activity of democracy.

Achieving these optimal conditions for deliberation is no small feat. Consider the second. The deliberative group is not diverse if the student body is homogenous in one or more of the dimensions of concern (e.g., race, class), or if the school is diverse but curriculum tracks segregate students (Oakes, Joseph, & Muir, 2004). School leaders should capitalize on whatever diversity is present among students and increase the variety and frequency of decision-making opportunities. There are no guarantees, but at least we have, in Pettigrew’s (2004) terms, “the unifying possibilities of diversity” (p. 779).

A number of studies indicate that educators should pay special attention to *content*, *pedagogy*, and *climate* (Hahn, 1996). First, students need to explore important issues—content—over which citizens disagree. These issues should be drawn from the past as well as from contemporary life, and from local and national life as well as transnational issues such as global inequality, peace and conflict, HIV/AIDS, migration, and the coming water shortage (Cogan & Derricott, 1998; Merryfield & Wilson, 2005; Rugg, 1939). Second, teachers should use instruc-

tional strategies that engage students in these controversies. Students should not simply be told that a controversy exists but should have the opportunity to learn about it in depth and wrestle with differing positions and perspectives (Bickmore, 1999; Hess, 2002). Third, teachers need to implement this kind of pedagogy in the context of an open classroom climate. This is an environment in which students feel free to express divergent ideas and perspectives—even when they disagree with the teacher or the majority of other students (Cornbleth, 2002; Hahn, 1998, 2003).

In both elementary and secondary school classrooms, students should be involved regularly in meetings in which they deliberate and resolve class dilemmas, advise their representatives to a school council, and give input into the topics they study and approaches to particular topics (Angell, 1998; Paley, 1992; Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989). Educators in Denmark, Australia, and England have done much to revitalize student councils and classroom meetings by involving all students—not just those who are elected to the councils—in deliberating issues that are important to them. Advocates of strong student governance emphasize that work needs to be done “at the bottom” by making student representatives accountable to their peers and providing frequent time for discussion among representatives and their constituents. Changes also need to be made at the “top.” School administrators and teachers need to maintain their authority but relinquish some of their power in order to enlarge the space for appropriate student decision making.



CONCEPTS



The foregoing principles provide a basis for developing citizenship education programs that are responsive to diversity within and across nations. In the process of implementing these principles, educators should address important concepts. By using age-appropriate pedagogical strategies, educators should help students develop an increasingly sophisticated understanding of these concepts, which will help actualize the principles described above.

Democracy

Democracy means rule by the people (*demos*, people; *kratos*, rule). In a direct democracy, decisions are made directly by the people. It was possible for a form of direct democracy to be practiced in the city-states of ancient Greece because the population within these city-states was usually not above 10,000 and women and slaves were not citizens.

The Enlightenment, the American War of Independence, and the French Revolution of 1789 significantly developed the idea of democracy and spread it throughout the world in the 18th and 19th centuries. While writing the U.S. Constitution, the authors were suspicious of the kind of direct democracy that was practiced by free male citizens in ancient Greece; they believed that the unchecked will of the people could lead to tyranny by the majority. They consequently established a *republic*, a form of democracy in which government power is limited and citizens choose representatives who are responsible to them (Madison, 1787/1937).

Democracy is a way of living together as well as a kind of government (Dewey, 1916/1961). It is a fragile system; many democracies have failed both in ancient times and today. Citizens are not born already grasping difficult principles such as impartial justice, the separation of church and state, the need for limits on majority power, or toleration for unpopular beliefs and lifestyles. These are moral and cognitive achievements, and they are hard won. For this reason, we can appreciate the formidable challenge of educating democrats. This argument was made by a number of early 20th-century philosophers and educators, such as Lucy Sprague Mitchell (1953), W. E. B. DuBois (1903/1973), and Carter G. Woodson (1933/1977). Each of these influential scholars believed that education was essential for the survival of a democracy.

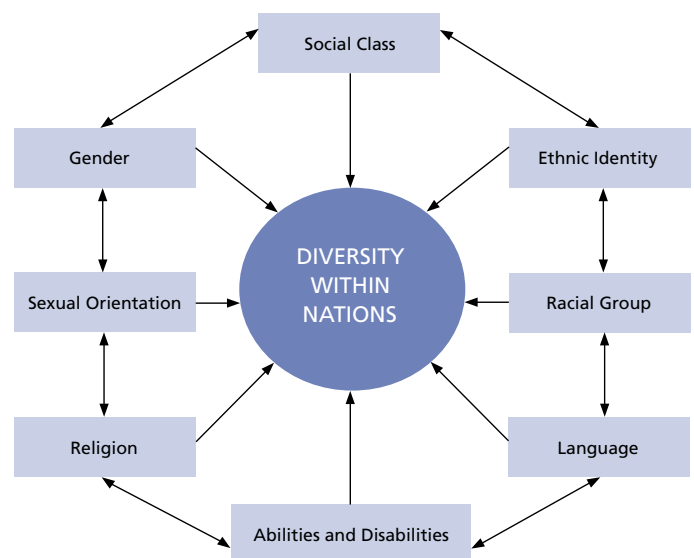
Cultural democracy is an important extension of the concept of political democracy. Julius Drachsler (1920) and Horace M. Kallen (1924) were advocates for the

cultural freedom and rights of the Southern, Central, and East European immigrants who entered the United States in large numbers near the dawn of the last century. Immigrant groups, they argued, should have the right to maintain important aspects of their community cultures and languages.

Diversity

Diversity describes the wide range of racial, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious variation that exists within and across groups that live in multicultural nation-states (See Figure 1). For most of human history, people lived in small bands or tribes in which a narrower range of differences—mainly involving gender and social status—existed. Wide variation in the ethnicities, cultures, languages, and religions within human groups greatly increased with trade, exploration, colonization, and empire building. People from many different cultures and

FIGURE 1: DIVERSITY VARIABLES



Adapted with the author's permission from James A. Banks. (2001). *Cultural Diversity and Education: Foundations, Curriculum, and Teaching* (4th Edition). Boston: Allyn and Bacon, page 76. Copyright © 2001 by James A. Banks.

groups were brought together when nations colonized others and built empires. Within colonized nations cultural amalgams and hybrids developed.

Western European nations have been diverse for centuries. Ethnic and cultural diversity in nations such as the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and The Netherlands increased greatly after World War II. Groups from the former colonies of these nations in Asia, Africa, and the West Indies immigrated to Europe to satisfy labor needs and to improve their economic status. Diversity grew in the lands that became Australia, the United States, and Canada during the age of European exploration and colonization. Diversity within these nations intensified during the massive emigrations from Europe during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Within the last 30 years the ethnic texture of Australia, the United States, and Canada has deepened with the influx of people from across the globe seeking better lives.

International migration is the major cause of increasing diversity within nations today (Martin & Widgren, 2002), and the quest for social justice by marginalized groups is the driving force behind the increasing recognition of diversity (Banks, 2004a). Diversity has become a salient issue in pluralistic democratic nation-states because some groups—due to their race, ethnicity, religion, language, gender, sexual orientation, handicapping condition, or citizenship status—are structurally or culturally advantaged (empowered) or disadvantaged (marginalized) within their societies. Marginalized groups are pushing for both cultural and structural equality in many societies around the world.

Globalization

Globalization is the dynamic process of increasing interactions and interdependencies among people and systems on the Earth (Sassen, 1998). As the world shrinks through the transfer of ideas, pollution, services, products, people, and problems, globalization raises new issues and challenges the ways people have traditionally understood

environmental control, job security, cultural change, and national sovereignty (Lechner & Boli, 2000).

Globalization began centuries ago as people traded with, conquered, or settled in places across world regions. The trans-Saharan trade across Africa to Arabia, the Silk Road across Asia to Europe, and the Atlantic trade in humans from Africa to the Americas were all precursors of current global political and economic networks and the issues of human rights, cultural imperialism, and exploitation of the environment (Manning, 2003; Roupp, 1997).

As an economic force, globalization means increased power for organizations, people, and investors who are able to create and take advantage of global markets and new technologies. Although globalization can provide economic benefits through access to new technologies and products that improve the quality of people's lives, it can also increase economic, environmental, and technological dislocations and inequities (Friedman, 1999; Martin & Schumann, 1997; Sassen, 1998; Mitchell, 2004; Sparke, in press; Stiglitz, 2002).

As a political force, globalization has provided people in once-isolated countries access to the ideals of democracy, methods of political change, and international law. Global media allowed many people in Africa and Asia to watch and learn from the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe. Globalization influences terrorism and the arms trade as well as movements to ban land mines and prevent children from serving as soldiers (Kaplan, 2000; Lechner & Boli, 2000).

As a social force, globalization endangers less commonly spoken languages and cultural distinctions, increases cultural imperialism, and can even change people's identity. Globalization may provide more opportunities for people to escape danger or starvation in their home countries, but such movements of people may create new ethnic or religious conflicts as these people settle in their new neighborhoods and schools (Barber, 1995; Ichilov, 1998; McCarthy, 1998; Meyer & Geschiere, 1999; Said, 1993; Sassen, 1998; Spring, 1998).

Anti-globalization forces are critical of the inequities of global trade, environmental problems, loss of national sovereignty, and cultural imperialism. Resistance to globalization, from various ideological perspectives, has grown as people have come to recognize its effects on their lives and on the world (Huntington, 1998; Said, 1993).

Sustainable Development

Sustainable development is the kind of economic growth that meets the needs of present generations without undermining the ability of future generations to meet theirs (UNESCO, 2002). It requires present generations to constrain their consumption of nonrenewable resources.

Sustainable development is an urgent concern because environmental problems are intensifying. Some social scientists believe we are headed toward cataclysm (Diamond, 2005). Forests are shrinking, temperatures are rising, and whole species are disappearing. A water shortage is on the horizon. Why? Human economic development is the main cause. It has made life easier and longer for a growing share of people throughout the world while taking a deadly toll on the natural systems of the planet.

Sustainable development is necessary everywhere, but especially in the hyperconsumptive nation-states of North America, Western Europe, and East Asia. These societies consume more than their fair share of the world's resources. The U.S., for example, has one-twentieth of the world's population but consumes one-fifth of the world's resources. If one more nation—China—were to develop a similar habit, the two would consume 100 percent of the planet's resources (Goodlad, 2001).

Sustainable development is closely tied to human rights because it is related to inequality. Food, shelter, health, and education are distributed and consumed unequally around the world. This is not because of scarcity. There is enough food—for example—to provide everyone on Earth with a nutritious diet.

Sustainable development should be part of the explicit curriculum of schools. We are all members of the same species, and we all live in the same fragile ecosystem. We must “secure Earth's bounty and beauty for present and future generations” (Earth Charter, 2002).

Empire, Imperialism, and Power

People throughout the world are raising questions about how relationships among nations can be effectively, democratically, and equitably managed. Concepts such as colonialism, imperialism, empire, and power can help students grapple with these questions by giving them a historical view of relationships between powerful and less powerful states. These concepts can also help students understand how territorial annexation, direct political rule, economic domination, diplomatic oversight, and other forms of influence and control have characterized relationships among nations. These forms of control, coercion, and centralization of power are often associated with the development of empires. Empires result from imperialism, which is an extension of power through conquest (Pagden, 2001).

The Babylonian, Macedonian, Ch'in, Roman, Incan, Ottoman, Russian, and British empires, and more, illustrate power at work. Power is the “ability of an individual or group to carry out its wishes or policies, and to control, manipulate, or influence the behavior of others, whether they wish to cooperate or not” (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, p. 307). Alexander the Great, Queen Isabella, and Atahualpa used power to forcibly solidify their authority and impose new kinds of order and belief on conquered populations.

Traditional empires are a thing of the past, but modern empires also exercise forms of power. The Soviet empire exercised direct and hierarchical power over Central and Eastern Europe. Examples of informal control and power can be seen today in the relationship between nations in the global north, such as the United States, Japan, and the

United Kingdom, and those in the global south, such as Brazil, Jordan, and Nigeria. Nations in the global north use organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to exercise subtle and informal power. Informal control is bolstered by the knowledge that military action can be exercised if informal efforts do not result in the desired outcome. Even though the distinction between direct and informal uses of power is often blurred, it can serve as a departure point for helping students to understand how empires operate today. Students can learn how empires use power to maintain authority as well as to transform their own and other societies (Wallerstein, 1974; Willinsky, 1998).

Empires involve core and peripheral territories with power centered in the core. Today powerful nations can export their businesses and popular culture to peripheral territories with videos, CDs, music, food, and books. Terms such as *media imperialism*, *electronic colonialism*, and *communication imperialism* are used to describe these new forms of imperialism.

Nation-states that expand into empires generally have superior military technology. When the Spanish came to the Western Hemisphere during the 16th and 17th centuries, they encountered empires that were created by indigenous civilizations such as the Aztecs in Mexico, the Incas in Peru, and the Iroquois in North America. These empires had neither the firearm technology nor the horses to carry soldiers into battle. Their lack of military technology was one of several factors that resulted in their conquest and subjugation by European nations (Diamond, 1997).

Maintaining power over diverse populations is one of many challenges that have made it difficult for empires to survive. Because they are expansive, empires bring people from diverse cultures and groups together. Cultural and linguistic amalgams and hybrids result, increasing the diversity within empires. Students should study empires in order to better understand how power operates in relation to diversity, human rights, labor, and the core-periphery

dynamic. Students also should understand factors that lead to the fall of empires. Students can apply the lessons of history as they reflect on modern empires and new forms of colonialism and imperialism today.

Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism

Prejudice consists of “negative attitudes towards social groups” (Stephan, 1985, p. 600). It “occurs when individuals are prejudged and disliked based on their group memberships” (Stephan & Stephan, 2004, p. 782). Prejudice stems from group consciousness and group conflict (Park, 1950). When group boundaries are created in contexts of competition or conflict, differences between groups become salient and negatively valued. Stereotypes operate when members of groups are assigned characteristics that have been generalized to the whole group and serve to reinforce prejudice.

Discrimination occurs when people act according to their prejudices. It is “selectively unjustified negative behavior toward members of the target group” (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). It is logical to assume that discrimination is a result of prejudice, although there is little empirical evidence to make clear causal links between stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination (Stephan & Stephan, 2004). Denying access or opportunities to members of out-groups gains the in-group greater status, power, and resources. Discrimination based on race, class, gender, and sexual orientation may take various forms, such as in employment, education, housing, human rights, and the ways that knowledge is constructed.

Racism is prejudice or discrimination emanating from the belief that people can be classified into categories based on physical characteristics and that there are genetic or inherited differences that produce feelings of superiority or inferiority among different groups (Gould, 1996). *Institutional* or systemic racism does not refer to the attitudes of individuals and groups but to institutional relations of power and exclusion (Fredrickson, 2002). Dominant groups with distinguishable physical

or cultural traits holding resources and power often use their privileged situation to denigrate, exclude, and disadvantage minority groups. This form of racism is historically grounded and embedded in political, economic, and educational structures. These structures shape institutional practices, which reproduce patterns of race-based inequality.

Racism is incompatible with democracy because civic equality is a defining characteristic of a democratic society (Gutmann, 2004). Discrimination against groups based on race, class, language, gender, or sexual orientation constitutes barriers to social justice and participatory democracy. Citizenship education that seeks to cultivate democratic values in students should provide them with the opportunity to think deeply about racism and other forms of inequality and how they prevent nations from achieving democratic relations among their citizens.

Students should be engaged in multicultural and anti-racist education. Power relations should be examined in the contexts of slavery, colonialism, imperialism, and the subjugation of indigenous peoples (Brandt, 1986; Mullard, 1984). Anti-racist educators make a strong connection between theory and practice to ensure that practice is well grounded in sound analysis of how structural and institutional racism operate (May, 1999). They emphasize the interconnectedness of different types of oppression based on categories such as race, class, gender, and sexual orientation. Anti-racist literature is predominantly concerned with the life chances of non-Whites and their lack of opportunity to fully participate in society. However, anti-racism work is not restricted to marginalized groups. It also focuses on privileged groups who gain from structural inequality and therefore need to be vigilant about the unspoken ways in which they continue to be beneficiaries of racial inequality (McIntosh, 1997).

Anti-racist and multicultural education provide teachers and students with opportunities to analyze fundamental aspects of the teaching and learning situation and address

such questions as these: What constitutes “knowledge”? How is knowledge constructed? Whose interests are served by the knowledge taught in schools? Whose values and worldviews are represented and prioritized? Who constructs the seemingly neutral “standards” that need to be maintained? Whose norms and values are prioritized? What role does the school play in reproducing structures of power and privilege?

Migration

Historically people have moved around the world for survival, in search of a better life, or for adventure or profit. People from different parts of the world have also been brought together forcefully and violently through wars, colonization, and imperialism. In today’s global society, people move in and out of countries and cross borders in extraordinary numbers. There are large populations of permanent immigrants, temporary migrants, foreign students, and visitors, and the new communities they have formed have become commonplace in both urban and rural areas.

The movement of people is sometimes desperate. Around the world, people who are threatened with death and torture seek asylum in other countries. Sometimes people are fleeing from wars, devastation, terror, and persecution, and they seek refuge in other countries to escape violence and tyranny. Some countries are more open and welcoming than others in offering refugees a new home, but wherever they go refugees encounter prejudice and social, political, economic, and psychological barriers to their adaptation. Rather than integrating into their new society, some refugees are stuck in camps that become permanently disadvantaged communities. Others are discriminated against by their new neighbors.

Other movements of people are less desperate and are driven by the desire to find a better life (Sassen, 1999). People move frequently in search of educational and economic opportunities in other countries or in other parts

of the same country. This movement is generally from less developed areas to those more developed, from regions with an abundance of labor to those with declining populations and labor forces. Wide wage gaps draw people from poorer to richer countries.

Migration involves many issues, such as legal complications in crossing borders—controlled by domestic immigration regulations and pacts between different nations—and deciding whether immigrants will be allowed to enter and how long they may stay. Other concerns are how they will be treated by the state and its people, whether they are regarded as a temporary or permanent part of society, and how the state deals with problems in trafficking, low pay, and the exploitation of migrant workers. The rights of immigrants are protected not only by domestic laws but also by international agreements and institutions. These agreements require nations to allow new residents to integrate, naturalize, and live permanently with human and civil rights.

Viewing migration in a global context reveals its complexity. Temporary migration is often beneficial to developing countries because temporary migrants tend to send back much more of what they earn than do permanent migrants. Also, temporary migrants can acquire skills that they bring with them when they return. On the other hand, a “brain drain” from the country of origin can be a negative aspect of permanent migrations. Migrant groups are part of a global pattern of transnational migration in which individuals may be temporary migrants but as a *group* they become a permanent part of the new society. Migrants may go back and forth between countries and see themselves as belonging to two different societies, making the question of citizenship and migrant rights increasingly complex. There are also challenges for schools because classrooms become even more multicultural and multilingual than before.

Migration can become an issue that is increasingly polarized between those who are unwilling to accept that migration brings benefits and those who deny it brings

costs. While there are reactionary movements to keep foreigners out and maintain state ideologies of unity, there are also movements to make societies tolerant and inclusive of different identities, lifestyles, and values. The large-scale movement of people from country to country around the world is now a permanent, everyday reality. The immigration of migrants and asylum-seekers can no longer be seen as an exceptional problem to be dealt with through emergency measures. Instead, migration needs to be understood as an overall process on an international scale. Students should examine a range of views on the many issues related to migration and be encouraged to develop reasoned positions.

Identity/Diversity

Identities are both ascribed by others and asserted by individuals. They are heavily influenced by social groups and historical circumstances, but they are also situational, flexible, and determined by individual choice. People define their identities in many ways, such as by gender, age, and ethnic, racial, religious, or other affiliations. Many individuals have global, cosmopolitan, or multicultural belongings and identities. Some reside in more than one country or lead transnational lives going back and forth between countries.

Most states would like to contain their residents within an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1991) of commonality—the unity side of the unity-diversity balancing act. However, definitions of citizenship are shifting, and they are accorded and regulated not only by the state, but also by subnational polities and by transnational and supranational bodies or treaties. States are recognizing the growing inadequacy of monocultural ideologies and pressures on residents to conform to shared criteria about the meaning of citizenship.

Recognition of diverse identities is important so that individuals and groups can share an identity as citizens while simultaneously maintaining other identities (Banks, 2004b; Parker, 2003). For many people other affiliations

are as important—or even more important—than their ties to the nation-state. Women and ethnic minorities especially may seek identities outside the rigid confines of traditional social roles.

As populations diversify, states struggle to maintain a sense of commonality without unduly restricting the freedom of all members. Tolerance and respect are essential, for truly multicultural societies must be inclusive of all citizens without privileging some and discriminating against others.

Multiple Perspectives

Helping students learn to understand multiple perspectives on events and phenomena is critical to citizenship education. Understanding that the way a particular group sees the world is only one of many possible ways contributes to social knowledge, self knowledge, and problem solving, and it helps protect liberty. The consciousness that belief systems are socially constructed rather than given by nature and that they therefore can be constituted very differently in various cultures is especially important in today's multicultural and globally interconnected societies.

A global perspective is the capacity to see the whole picture whether one is focusing on a local or an international matter. It promotes knowledge of people, places, events, and issues beyond students' own community and country—knowledge of interconnected global systems, international events, world cultures, and global geography. A global perspective does not privilege certain cultures while exoticizing and marginalizing others. It teaches respect for diverse worldviews and encourages co-existent citizenships of people of many cultural, religious, racial, and ethnic origins and identities (Case, 1993; Hanvey, 1978).

Respecting differences is important for preventing the exploitation of less powerful groups, but it can be dangerously divisive if it leads to stereotyping. Educators

need to provide a balanced view that does not exaggerate either the similarities or the differences that exist among people of different groups or within the same group. An understanding of multiple perspectives addresses a pressing educational question for the 21st century: How can we learn to engage constructively with those who are not like ourselves?

Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism

Patriotism is manifest in the collective rituals that express pride in one's country. The singing of the national anthem and the display of the flag are expressions of loyalty. When patriotism engenders collective solidarity with fellow citizens and loyalty to the law and democratic constitutions, it is positive and useful. This patriotism fosters the social responsibility and civic courage essential for defending the rights and freedoms that a democratic political culture guarantees.

Patriotism is a double-edged sword, however. It comprises both positive and dangerously negative attitudes. In the name of patriotism, intolerance toward dissent has been propagated, freedom of speech restricted, and an arbitrary consensus imposed. The accusation of "unpatriotic behavior" can intimidate teachers and students into self-censorship. They may bow to conformist pressure that emanates from powerful media, clergy, and the government as to what is legitimate and what is out of bounds. Particularly after the national trauma in the U.S. following the attack on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, and after the USA Patriot Act of 2001 was enacted a few weeks later, members of certain religious and ethnic minorities in the U.S. suddenly found themselves labeled suspects, regardless of their individual loyalties.

To guard against abuses of patriotism, teachers should emphasize *critical patriotism*. This approach eschews the irrational "My country, right or wrong!" Critical patriotism encourages reasoned loyalty: pride in the "rights" of the nation alongside a commitment to correct its

“wrongs.” The very foundation of an open society is critical discourse in which no citizen can claim a monopoly on truth and patriotism. Teachers therefore need to tolerate unpopular opinions as well as nurture autonomy and the questioning of conventional wisdom by students.

Cosmopolitanism is an openness and broad-mindedness that transcends one’s own group—whether defined by family, locality, religion, ethnicity, or nationality. Cosmopolitans view themselves as citizens of the world. Their “allegiance is to the worldwide community of human beings” (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 4). Cosmopolitans are ready to immerse themselves in other cultures, engage with difference, and acquire diverse cultural competence. Nussbaum (2002) contrasts cosmopolitan universalism and internationalism with parochial ethnocentrism and inward-looking patriotism.

Advocates of cosmopolitanism are critical of schools that leave students indifferent or ignorant about peoples and cultures beyond their national borders. However, cosmopolitanism need not be opposed to critical patriotism. Pride in one’s own heritage can co-exist with appreciation for other traditions and loyalty to the human family. A reflective national or ethnic identity does not exclude a cosmopolitan outlook, but may be a prerequisite for a broader perspective. The slogan “think globally, act locally” best expresses a useful synthesis of nationalism and cosmopolitanism. The case for cosmopolitanism can be argued on moral as well as on pragmatic grounds in an interconnected world. In the Kantian tradition, cosmopolitans universalize moral obligations and advocate international solidarity.

Irrational patriotism and ethnocentrism impede democracy and undermine the peace and cooperation needed in an interconnected world. When tropical forests are denuded, the world climate changes. New diseases spread rapidly. Air pollution, terrorism, migration out of poverty and civil wars, and the coming water shortage—none of these stops at artificial borders. Isolationism is no longer an option for nation-states. People with a cosmopolitan mindset are better equipped to face these complex challenges than people who speak only one language, are comfortable only in their own culture, and are oblivious to other people’s perspectives and cultures.

CONCLUSION

Civic equality is an essential characteristic of a democratic nation-state (Gutmann, 2004). Citizens from diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, language, and religious groups must be structurally included within the nation-state and see their experiences, hopes, and dreams reflected in the national culture in order to develop deep and clarified commitments to the nation-state and its overarching ethos. Cultural democracy is an essential component of a political democracy. In addition to being concerned about diversity, democratic multicultural nation-states must also focus on ways to unify the public around a set of overarching values and goals that secure freedoms while affording community. National unity is essential to assure the actualization of democratic values such as justice and equality. Consequently, democratic nation-states must find ways to delicately balance unity and diversity.

We offer these principles and concepts with the hope that they will help schools in democratic multicultural nation-states to reflect the diversity within their societies, promote the unity that is essential for the survival of a democratic polity, and help students become effective citizens in the global community. We also hope that this publication will help educators enable students to acquire reflective cultural, national, and global identifications (Banks, 2004c; see Figure 2) as well as to take action to make their communities—local and global—more just.

The components of a citizenship education described in this publication, we believe, are necessary but not sufficient for a comprehensive citizenship education program for schools. Local issues and values need to supplement the principles and concepts that we have set forth. We view this publication as a springboard for discussion by and with other educators worldwide, and we welcome the exchange.

FIGURE 2: CULTURAL, NATIONAL, AND GLOBAL IDENTIFICATIONS



A major goal of multicultural citizenship education should be to help students acquire a delicate balance of cultural, national, and global identifications.

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DEMOCRACY AND DIVERSITY PRINCIPLES AND CONCEPTS CHECKLIST

This checklist was developed by the Panel as a tool for educators to generate dialogue about the principles and concepts discussed in this report. The questions were drawn from each section, beginning with the four principles and moving to the ten concepts. The checklist provides educators a springboard for discussion and reflection.

PRINCIPLES	RATING				
	Hardly at All		Somewhat		Strongly
1.0 Are students taught about the complex relationships between unity and diversity in their local communities, the nation, and the world?					
1.1 Do students understand the relationship between unity and diversity in their local communities?					
1.2 Do students understand the relationship between unity and diversity in their nation-state?					
1.3 Do students have the opportunity to compare and contrast the relationship between unity and diversity in various communities and nation-states around the world?					
1.4 Do students discuss the ways in which nation-states have defined the criteria for citizenship and dealt with the multiple identities of individuals?					
1.5 Do students have the opportunity to consider the relationships between unity and diversity in various sites of identity, such as gender, race, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, religion, and ability?					
2.0 Do students learn about the ways in which people in their community, nation, and region are increasingly interdependent with other people around the world and are connected to the economic, political, cultural, environmental, and technological changes taking place across the planet?					
2.1 Does the curriculum offer multiple examples of global interconnectedness, demonstrating how events in one place can have effects across the planet?					
2.2 Do students understand the dynamic and ever-changing nature of globalization as it is influenced by technology, conflicts and alliances, health issues, and environmental changes?					
2.3 Do teachers help students to understand how they and their community both influence and are influenced by people, issues, and events across the planet?					
2.4 Do students have the opportunity to discuss the power of international alliances in effecting change, and to learn about the work of various global actors?					
2.5 Does the curriculum recognize the intersections of global power (political, economic, and military) in world affairs?					

PRINCIPLES	RATING				
	Hardly at All		Somewhat		Strongly
3.0 Does the teaching of human rights underpin citizenship education courses and programs?					
3.1 Do courses and programs increase understanding of the concepts, foundations, and practices of human rights?					
3.2 Do courses explain how human rights concepts provide a basis for dialogue and offer a set of shared values that is particularly important for diverse multicultural societies?					
3.3 Do courses introduce the major international human rights documents such as the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child?					
3.4 Can teachers distinguish between <i>protection</i> , <i>provision</i> , and <i>participant</i> rights of children?					
4.0 Are students taught knowledge about democracy and democratic institutions and provided opportunities to practice democracy?					
4.1 Are students taught about the history of democracy in its many forms, the obstacles to democracies, and the struggles of peoples to gain equal rights and inclusion?					
4.2 Do students engage in comparative studies of governments, civil rights movements, and democratic documents produced around the world?					
4.3 Are students involved in decision making in their school lives, deliberating across differences in face-to-face discussions?					
4.4 Do students strive to create the optimal conditions for deliberation in seeking solutions to shared problems?					
4.5 Do teachers pay sufficient attention to content, pedagogy, and climate when introducing controversial issues in their classrooms?					
4.6 Do teachers and administrators give up some of their authority in order to provide space for students to engage in making decisions that are important to them?					

CONCEPTS	RATING				
	Hardly at All		Somewhat		Strongly
1. Democracy					
1.0 Do students develop a deep understanding of the meaning of democracy and what it means to be a citizen in a democratic society?					
1.1 Can students articulate the differences between political democracy and cultural democracy?					
1.2 Are students encouraged to discuss a broad conception of democratic relations and the conditions in which such relations are possible?					
1.3 Do students have the opportunity to discuss the challenges and threats to democratic societies and democratic relations?					
1.4 Do students have opportunities to practice being thoughtful citizens and relating democratically within the classroom as well as outside of it?					
2. Diversity					
2.0 Is the diversity of cultures and groups within all multicultural societies explicitly recognized in the formal and informal curriculum?					
2.1 Do students study diversity within their own communities and nation-states and around the globe?					
2.2 Are students aware of the history of the interactions and intermixing between different groups and of the issues that surround contact between groups?					
2.3 Are students able to articulate the value of diversity and the richness of the perspectives it brings?					
2.4 Are students aware of the challenges that diversity can bring, especially when there are differences in power between groups or when groups must compete for limited resources?					
2.5 Do students understand that historically societies have tended to marginalize differences and that there have been movements in the past several decades to reclaim and value the diversity that was historically excluded or ignored?					
3. Globalization					
3.0 Do students develop an understanding of globalization that encompasses its history, the multiple dimensions and sites of globalization, as well as the complex outcomes of globalization?					
3.1 Do students understand their connections to people around the world?					
3.2 Do students have the opportunity to consider both the positive and negative outcomes of globalization?					
3.3 Can students explain the reasons for increasing globalization?					

CONCEPTS	RATING				
	Hardly at All		Somewhat		Strongly
3.4 Can students identify how local contexts affect outcomes of globalization?					
3.5 Can students trace the development and changes of globalization over time and space?					
3.6 Do students understand the social, political, environmental, and economic dimensions of globalization?					
4. Sustainable Development					
4.0 Is the need for sustainable development an explicit part of the curriculum?					
4.1 Can students identify sustainable and nonsustainable examples of development taking place around the world today?					
4.2 Are students taught about the environmental problems humans face in light of nonsustainable development, such as the imminent water shortage or the gradual reduction of biodiversity?					
4.3 Do students understand how global disparities in development and consumption are connected to human rights, power, and inequality?					
4.4 Do students engage in discussion and debate about possible approaches that would make development in their own nations more sustainable?					
5. Empire, Imperialism, and Power					
5.0 Are students grappling with how relationships among nations can be more democratic and equitable by discussing the concepts of imperialism and power?					
5.1 Do students have opportunities to discuss how power is exercised in classrooms, schools, and communities?					
5.2 Does the curriculum help students to think about the many ways that power and knowledge are linked?					
5.3 Do students learn that there are many types of power, and that it is often illusive, complex, limited, and fluid?					
5.4 Do students learn about the various forms of imperialism both throughout history and in the contemporary world?					
5.5 Do students consider how imperialism can affect social relationships both among those inside the colonial country and between the colonizer and the colonized?					
5.6 Do students learn about the influence of empires on global migration, culture, and hybridity?					

CONCEPTS	RATING				
	Hardly at All		Somewhat		Strongly
6. Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism					
6.0 Does the curriculum help students to understand the nature of prejudice, discrimination, and racism, and how they operate at interpersonal, intergroup, and institutional levels?					
6.1 Do students have opportunities to speak openly about their own experiences with racism and other forms of discrimination, such as sexism?					
6.2 Are students able to articulate the different forms—both structural (institutional) and interpersonal—that prejudice and discrimination take in their society?					
6.3 Do students understand that race is a social construct with significant consequences?					
6.4 Are students taught about the history of scientific racism?					
6.5 Are students aware of how racism has been used by dominant groups to justify the exploitation and denigration of victimized groups?					
6.6 Are students taught about the ways in which racism intersects with other forms of discrimination, such as discrimination based on class, gender, sexual orientation, and religion?					
7. Migration					
7.0 Do students understand the history and the forces that cause the movement of people?					
7.1 Do students understand the complex connections between migration and globalization?					
7.2 Do students understand the various factors that lead people to leave their home countries?					
7.3 Do students have the opportunity to explore the legal and human rights issues that are important to the movement of people?					
7.4 Do students understand that people encounter different degrees of welcome and acceptance or barriers and rejection from receiving countries, and that this treatment is an important factor in the adaptation of people into new societies?					
7.5 Do students discuss the negative and positive aspects of the movement of people from the perspectives of both receiving and sending nations?					
7.6 Do students understand how the increasing movement of people back and forth between countries is challenging traditional concepts of citizenship and national identity?					
7.7 Do teachers understand how the movement of people may directly influence their students and classrooms?					
7.8 Is the school climate inclusive of immigrant students and sensitive to their needs?					

CONCEPTS	RATING				
	Hardly at All		Somewhat		Strongly
8. Identity/Diversity					
8.0 Does the curriculum nurture an understanding of the multiplicity, fluidity, and contextuality of identities?					
8.1 Do students reflect on the differences and tensions between ascribed and asserted identities, especially in light of unequal power relations between groups, and the resistance and agency with which groups can respond?					
8.2 Are students aware of the tension between a state's aim for a monolithic national identity and the desires of subgroups to assert diverse identities?					
8.3 Do students understand the importance of the recognition (not subordination) of diverse identities in a democratic society?					
9. Multiple Perspectives					
9.0 Are students exposed to a range of perspectives on varying issues?					
9.1 Do students understand the limitations of having only one perspective on issues and the benefits of multiple perspectives?					
9.2 Do students attempt the difficult but crucial task of sorting through conflicting arguments and interests presented by the curriculum to develop a nuanced view of issues of global concern?					
9.3 Does the curriculum present issues of global concern in a way that brings in the voices of less powerful groups without presenting their perspectives in an overly deterministic or stereotyped manner?					
9.4 By grappling with diverse perspectives, do students develop strategies and skills to engage with those who are not like themselves?					
9.5 Do students understand that no perspective is "value neutral" and that knowledge reflects the interests, cultural biases, power, positions, and histories of the individuals or groups involved?					
9.6 Can students articulate issues in a way that avoids both ethnocentrism and cultural relativism?					
10. Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism					
10.0 Do students develop a rich and complex understanding of patriotism and cosmopolitanism?					
10.1 Can students articulate the major tensions between patriotism and cosmopolitanism and how these tensions might be ameliorated?					
10.2 Do students engage in open discussions about their own identities and loyalties as patriots and cosmopolitans?					
10.3 Are students learning about cases in history which serve as examples of nonreflective patriotism that, when taken to extremes, led to events such as imperialism and war?					
10.4 Can students make connections among cosmopolitanism, global interconnectedness, and sustainable development?					

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The Center for Multicultural Education

focuses on research projects and activities designed to improve practice related to equity issues, intergroup relations, and the achievement of all students. The Center also engages in services and teaching related to its research mission.

Research related to race, ethnicity, class, language diversity, and education represents the central mission of the Center. This research contributes to the improvement of practice in schools, colleges, and universities through the synthesis and dissemination of findings in multicultural education and the development of guiding principles for the field.

Publications such as the *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education* (2nd ed., 2004), edited by James A. Banks and Cherry A. McGee Banks, provide remarkable depth and breadth and an impressive look at research and scholarship in the field. *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives*, edited by James A. Banks, is a pioneering publication that addresses the role of citizenship education in a time of globalization and diversity.

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