Challenges in the Construction of an Inclusive Society

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Edited by

António Lopes
and Merja de Mattos-Parreira

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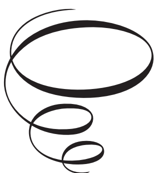

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in memoriam Barbara Bagilhole

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PREFACE

One hundred years ago, Europe, driven by nationalist pride and imperial ambitions, sacrificed the lives of millions on the battlefields of France and Belgium. Unable to check the social and political tensions caused by the war, Europe saw whole empires collapse and new nations emerge. And yet, after the signing of Treaty of Versailles on 28 June 1919, the new world order was far from having reached a balance point. In fact, national, racial and class hatreds had not been quenched by the horrors of the armed conflict and were still to exert their sway over the destiny of the Old Continent.

The list of conflicts and atrocities in Europe in the interwar period is long, but, regrettably, memory is short. Just to name some of the most relevant: the Russian Civil War (1918-1921), the Armenian Genocide (1915-1923), the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922), the Russo-Polish War (1919-1921), the Irish Liberation War (1912-1922), followed by the Irish Civil War (1922-1923), the Ukrainian Holodomor (1932-1933), the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), uprisings in Montenegro against Serbia (1918-1927), the Finnish expeditions to Onolets (1919-1922), the border conflict in Silesia between Germany and Poland (1919-1921). However, the catastrophe of World War II was so overwhelming that it marked a breaking point in the history of Europe: whatever had happened before 1 September 1939 seemed to have been buried under the immense shadows cast by Auschwitz and Hiroshima.

As the past tends to be forgotten, the forces of intolerance, bigotry, and xenophobia—usually directed against the weakest and most vulnerable members of society—come to the surface once more. To address the ideological factors that give rise to these attitudes, not only a reflection on the tortuous path of History is critical, but also a frank and open discussion on the steps that need to be taken to uphold the pillars of human rights and social justice becomes more imperative. It was this latter concern that led the organising committee of the 35th Portuguese Association of Anglo-American Studies (APEAA) International Conference to choose as its main topic "Diversities? Inequalities? Challenges in the Construction of an Inclusive Society", with a focus on education, intercultural communication, and cultural studies. The conference, which was held at the University of Algarve, April 10-11, 2014, gathered scholars from both Europe and the

US, and enabled a fruitful exchange of ideas and perspectives. The chapters that constitute this volume resulted from a selection of the top papers presented at the conference. The two keynote speakers, James A. Banks and Barbara Bagilhole, renowned academics in the fields of diversity and inclusive education, provided the tone and tenor of the conference and played a major role in fostering discussion and debate among the participants, thus contributing to its success and international visibility.

Most regrettably, Barbara passed away some months afterwards. It was a great shock to all of us. Her work the field of equal opportunities and diversity helped to shape policies not just in the UK but also in Europe, and contributed significantly to fight sexism and discrimination, especially in higher education. We will all greatly miss her, not only as a deeply engaged and accomplished scholar, but also as a remarkable and inspiring person. We have therefore decided to dedicate to her this collection of studies, which probably contains her last published essay.

INTRODUCTION

ANTÓNIO LOPES
AND MERJA DE MATTOS-PARREIRA

As we write these lines, Europe is facing one of the most serious migratory crisis since World War II, as hundreds of thousands of people fleeing war and poverty, risk their lives to enter the Old Continent. Politicians and the media struggle with terminology. Are these people "economic migrants", "refugees", or "asylum seekers"? The distinction between these concepts had already been drawn in part by the 1951 Refugee Convention and its additional 1967 Protocol. The United Nations define migrants as people who "choose to move not because of a direct threat of persecution or death, but mainly to improve their lives by finding work, or in some cases for education, family reunion, or other reasons". A refugee, on the other hand, is a person who…

> …owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (*Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, Article 1)

However, the way in which the media have addressed the phenomenon has blurred such definitions and has garnered mixed responses from the public, to the point where the concerns for human rights are relegated to a second order of priority. Humanistic values that are believed to be at the core of the European project recede as the fear of a Malthusian catastrophe or the alarm over the Islamisation of Europe take the centre stage of public debate. To add fuel to the fire, EU institutions and national governments are at loggerheads over the measures to tackle the problem and do not hesitate to feed their disagreements to the media.

The dramatic increase in the number of refugees and immigrants over the last years crossing the Mediterranean, along with the catastrophic losses of human lives should have already elicited a stronger political response on the part of the European authorities. Yet, in general, the adoption of common rules (for example, Directive 2001/55/EC and Decision 2000/596/EC) only occurs when single states fail to address the issue themselves. Moreover, this happens mainly because national governments keep offering resistance to the establishment of supranational immigration policies that may prove unpopular in their countries. The reaction of the Eastern countries to the imposition of quotas from Brussels to take in Syrian refugees is a clear manifestation of this phenomenon (take the case of Hungary, for instance).

The main question here is to know whether these hesitations derive from the political conjuncture of the time, or if there are other tensions of a more structural nature, bound to resurface in times of crisis. It is questionable whether European society is, to borrow Popper's concept, truly "open" and how willing it is to live up to its founding principles. Faced with the fissures of the mosaic that forms the complex cultural pattern of contemporary societies, one may ask whether the intercultural exchange is truly possible in societies riddled with social and cultural tensions of every sort.

Identities are now more fluid, less easily definable, demanding new articulations, new dialogues. And yet, some communities seem unable to engage in a dialogue traversing cultural borders and fostering the appreciation of diversity as the cornerstone of a more just and humane society. Indeed, manifestations of a cultural uncertainty (i.e., the heterogeneous globalised context of the turn of the millennium, the need for an affirmation of the local against the globalising tendencies) reflect a contemporary permanent identity crisis. Nationalism has undermined the confidence in the European Union project and is corroding the principles and values of an emerging idea of "inter-national" identity, which the European institutions (in particular the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the European Council) have struggled to construe. The social and political tensions generated by Brexit reveal the different levels of assimilation of this "inter-national" identity across British society. On the other hand, the Brexit crisis is also tied to the difficulty to assimilate the multicultural diversity within its own borders, a diversity that is one of the outcomes of the British Empire.

Multicultural and intercultural interactions have become part of everyday life and have brought new challenges for society as well as for educational practices and educational politics. In this context, words such

as "multicultural" and "intercultural" are often voiced and the number of publications on this topic has increased over the last decades. Despite this fact, there is still a great need for research in this area to help us deal with and overcome the challenges posed by diversity and inequality in a society that we wish to be inclusive.

These issues were addressed at the Diversities and Inequalities International Conference, held in 2014 at the University of Algarve, and hinged on two major fields of enquiries. The first one is on how to create opportunities in diverse societies. The other one is how to overcome problems of ethnicity, gender, and body in the contemporary globalised world.

These fields constitute the two parts of this volume. In the first part, Professor James A. Banks discusses how neoliberalism, assimilationism, and xenophobia resurfaced in the 1990s and 2000s as a response to worldwide immigration, the economic crisis, and religious fundamentalism in nations around the world. Assimilationists and multiculturalists have conflicting views of how knowledge is constructed and what type of knowledge is essential for effective citizenship in multicultural societies. Professor Banks analyses the knowledge claims of assimilationists and multiculturalists, presents a typology of five types of knowledge, and maintains that students should learn each type in schools, colleges, universities, museums, and in other public sites. He further proposes the need for a transformative citizenship education.

In the second chapter, entitled "Cultural citizenship – global foreigners and education", Merja de Mattos-Parreira discusses the role of the concepts of civilization and ethics in the process of construing critical citizens through present–day media literacy in higher education. The idea of the university as a stronghold of civilization originally leaned on the concept of a nation-state that is constituted by the citizens of this nation-state. However, citizens are being overruled by the processes of globalisation and Americanisation. Consequently, she argues, citizens as the inhabitants of a specific country are becoming cosmopolites, Americanised clones of the media world dominated by the US. She further contends that the processes of construing and producing knowledge have been radically transformed by the information technologies: the open access approach makes it possible to shift the traditional classroom learning almost entirely to online work. However, when the traditional ways of pursuing knowledge that used to be practised in the educational institutions of a civil society are nowadays rapidly being discarded, they are simultaneously being replaced by neoliberal American doctrines of education and of humanity. Such doctrines foster identities of entrepreneurship, i.e., competitive,

individualistic players, lacking a sense of solidarity, in the game of market exchange, often unwilling to participate in enhancing general social welfare. She claims, therefore, that the ethics stemming from situated life experience may have become less meaningful and been taken over by the overwhelming sphere of virtual existence.

In the third chapter, “Understanding the UK Equal Opportunities and Diversity Project: The Social Differentiations and Intersections of Inequality”, Barbara Bagilhole investigated the later, more sophisticated coupling of concepts of Equal Opportunities and Diversity. “Multiple disadvantage”, she claimed, moved from the rather crude idea of “adding up” disadvantages to a more sophisticated level of thinking that disadvantages are not cumulative but interactional – effect runs more than one way, e.g. black women experience racism infected and changed by sexism, and the sexism they encounter is infected and changed by racism. She claimed that the social justice agenda faces both theoretical and political challenges: (a) poststructuralist/modernist stances critique the homogeneity of groups or even deconstruct groups as such; (b) the concept of diversity across gender, race, disability, sexual orientation, age and religious belief exposes the fact that disadvantage is dynamic and interactive. To meet these challenges, she argued that intersectional approaches identified as “intercategorical” & “intracategorical” are a potentially fruitful way forward for the development of Equal Opportunities and Diversity policies based on research evidence. Intersectionality alerts us to need to fine tune policy in a more sophisticated manner than in past.

Unlike the previous chapters, which take a predominantly theoretical stance, the fourth chapter, “An Odyssey of Learning: Intercultural Communication Challenges for East Asian Students in North American Universities”, by Dingding Jia, takes a more empirical approach. It examines the situation of the increasing number of international students who pursue their studies in North American universities in the era of globalisation, in particular, from East Asian countries—China, South Korea, and Japan. Despite the fact that most of them have achieved success in academic fields in their home countries, they have encountered numerous challenges in their academic life in the North American context. Three problems tend to impede them from being successfully engaged in academic writing—simple lexical and syntactical repertoires, overuse of direct references and inappropriate citation format, as well as the different text structures compared with American counterparts. Moreover, East Asian students also demonstrate inadequate verbal participation in classroom interaction with their North American peers and professors. Their problems in both academic writing and speaking can be ascribed to

the following factors: East Asian cultural values and beliefs, unawareness of academic writing standards in North American institutions, and interference with their native languages. In order to mitigate the aforementioned problems, policy makers, education administrators, professors, and East Asian students themselves need to work collaboratively. A series of academic programs and workshops should also be implemented to ensure East Asian students' success in their intellectual endeavours in multicultural settings.

Also reflecting on the education system, John Naysmith, in his chapter entitled "Responding to Linguistic Diversity in Portuguese Schools and Society: some reflections and comparisons", draws upon his personal experience of cultural and linguistic diversity in the UK and Portugal from the late 1980s to the present day, and seeks to identify some similarities and differences between the two contexts. He argues that, although neither country has any real policy on minority languages, respect for and support of these should be a cornerstone of both "official" and "professional" responses, not only because of the role this plays in the recognition of the individual's identity, but also because multilingualism is an important component of any nation's cultural capital. He concludes by recognizing that, although our responses as professionals to minority languages may be limited in the absence of a wider policy, these responses are still of great importance. He puts forward some suggestions on the best ways to overcome the difficulties encountered.

In the second part, "Overcoming issues of ethnicity, gender and body", António Lopes questions the UK policies of community cohesion vis-à-vis the problems of forced marriage and honour killings. In March 13, 2014, the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act received Royal Assent. It brought to an end an old debate on the criminalisation of forced marriage in the UK—a debate waged by contending discourses that have sought to influence policies and interventions, either by advocating negotiated compromise with the minority communities, or by defending an outright rejection of all cultural practices that are likely to threaten individual civil rights. The author unearths some of the causes of such contention and the discursive logic that finally led the Conservative government to decide upon the criminalisation of forced marriage.

Matters of conflicting identities are also examined in the seventh chapter "Fitting in and stepping out: Sherman Alexie's semi-autobiographic identity exercise in *The Absolutely True Diary of a Part-Time Indian*. Ana Figueira takes a journey into the depths of the multicultural complexity of contemporary America, where fitting in may have a paradoxical dependence on the ability of stepping out. The main

character's search for hope compels him to cross the physical frontiers of his "natural place of belonging", and, in a way, to desert his people of "natural belonging", including his best friend ever. Finding hope where the Indian thinks hope is – with the white people – is the driving force that allows him to face and overcome the fear of the unknown, desire for acceptance and inferiority complexes on one side of the fence, and retaliation, contempt and guilt complexes on the other side. However, as times passes, the character's struggle uncovers a surprising and unsuspected reality: some of the most important components of identity and belonging – feelings, emotions and actions – share an astonishing resemblance on both sides of the fence. Therefore, fitting in some of these components and stepping out of others are part of a complex, highly unstable process of identity formation, whose dynamics is not confined to, or imposed by, skin colour or geographical circumscriptions.

On the other hand, pressures on the social construction of gendered identity are the main subject of Ana Sofia Carvalho's chapter, entitled "That Third Gender: New Possible Ways of Being Male and/or Female in a Contemporary Society". The author takes into account the latest developments in countries such as New Zealand, Bangladesh and Germany regarding the acceptance of a third gender to be stated on one's identity card, or the relevance and enforcement of one or the other normative gender by medicine, and then looks into the official measures for a definition of gender. She proposes a connection between gender and ethnicity, as both are considered to be performative and subject to social constructions and constraints. Taking examples from *Middlesex* (2001), a book by the Greek-American author Jeffrey Eugenides, she contends that both gender and ethnicity can be acculturated, translated and read anew, as identity is then perceived as a process of constant reconstruction, development and rearrangement. Given the constant change of contemporary society regarding a status of what it is to be "human" and "normal", she rehearses new possible ways of talking and writing about identity, of understanding the need to find new places of representation and a new vocabulary to describe the plurality of today's individual and collective voices.

Equally important for the reflection on the ways the body is perceived in the contemporary world is the matter discussed in the last chapter, "Body-expression (*'corpo-expressão'*): new perceptions towards an inclusive education", where Achilles de Oliveira *et al.* focus on specialised educational attendance in Physical Education and Art for students with disabilities in Brasília. Their object of analysis is a project that develops activities using dance and body expression stimulating impressiveness and

expressiveness, concepts central to theories advanced by such authors as Boal, Celano, Freire and Kishimoto, amongst others. Based on the notion that corporeality promotes the students' biopsychosocial development, the authors analyse the way in which corporeality of students can be influenced and on how it can have an impact on their future professional praxis. The participants in the workshop were questioned about their perception of the body experiences. The results of this inquiry show that, although contemporary society puts emphasis on the cognitive dimension, working with disabled people allowed them to change their former beliefs about the body, as it offered a new perspective on the potential of bodily expression. The participants also reported a change in their perceptions of movement and of how people can fully express themselves through the body without being constrained by social models. The workshop promoted an environment of freedom of expression that does not impose any predisposed models, and that should always be taken into account in a holistic education process.

Part I

Seeking and Creating Opportunities in Diverse Societies

CHAPTER ONE

KNOWLEDGE CONSTRUCTION AND THE EDUCATION OF CITIZENS IN DIVERSE SOCIETIES

JAMES A. BANKS

I was an elementary school student in the Arkansas delta in the 1950s. One of my most powerful memories is the image of the happy and loyal slaves in my social studies textbooks. I also remember that there were three other Blacks in my textbooks: Booker T. Washington, the educator; George Washington Carver, the scientist; and Marian Anderson, the contralto. I had several persistent questions throughout my school days: Why were the slaves pictured as happy? Were there other Blacks in history beside the two Washingtons and Anderson? Who created this image of slaves? Why? The image of the happy slaves was inconsistent with everything I knew about the African American descendants of enslaved people in my segregated community. We had to drink water from fountains labelled "coloured", and we could not use the city's public library. However, we were not happy about either of these legal requirements. In fact, we resisted these laws in powerful but subtle ways each day. As children, we savoured the taste of "White water" when the authorities were preoccupied with more serious infractions against the racial caste system.

An Epistemological Journey

Throughout my schooling, these questions remained cogent as I tried to reconcile the representations of African Americans in textbooks with the people I knew in my family and community. I wanted to know why these images were highly divergent. My undergraduate curriculum did not help answer my questions. I read one essay by a person of colour during my four years in college, "Stranger in the Village" by James Baldwin

(1953-1985). In this powerful essay, Baldwin describes how he was treated as the "Other" in a Swiss village. He was hurt and disappointed—not happy—about his treatment.

My epistemological quest to find out why the slaves were represented as happy became a lifelong journey that continues, and the closer I think I am to the answer, the more difficult and complex both my question and the answers become. The question—Why were the slaves represented as happy?—has taken different forms in various periods of my life. I have lived with these questions all of my professional life. *I now believe that the biographical journeys of researchers greatly influence their values, their research questions, and the knowledge they construct*. The knowledge they construct mirrors their life experiences and values. The happy slaves in my school textbooks were invented by the Southern historian Ulrich B. Phillips (1918/1966). The images of enslaved people he constructed reflected his belief in the inferiority of African Americans and his socialisation in Georgia near the turn of the century[1].

The Values of Researchers

Social scientists are human beings who have both minds and hearts. However, their minds and the products of their minds have dominated research discourse in history and the social sciences. The hearts of social scientists exercise a cogent influence on research questions, findings, concepts, generalisations, and theories. I am using "heart" as a metaphor for values, which are the beliefs, commitments, and generalised principles to which social scientists have strong attachments and commitments. The value dimensions of social science research was largely muted and silenced in the academic community and within the popular culture until the neutrality of the social sciences was strongly challenged by the postmodern, women's studies, and ethnic studies movements of the 1960s and 1970s[2].

Social science research has supported historically and still supports educational policies that affect the life chances and educational opportunities

[1] John D. Smith and John C. Inscoe, eds., *Ulrich Bonnell Phillips* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1993).
[2] Joyce L. King, "Culture-centered knowledge: Black studies, curriculum transformation, and social action." In *Handbook of research on multicultural education*, edited by James A. Banks and Cherry A. M. Banks, 265-290 (New York: Macmillan, 1995); Joyce A. Ladner, ed., *The death of White sociology* (New York: Vintage, 1973); Pauline M. Rosenau, *Post-modernism and the social sciences* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

of students. The educational policies supported by mainstream social science and educational researchers have often harmed low-income students and students of colour. However, the values of social scientists are complex within diverse nations such as the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. Social science and educational research over time and often within the same period have both reinforced inequality[3] and supported liberation and human betterment[4].

In my American Educational Research Association (AERA) Presidential address[5], I describe research that supports these claims:

- The cultural communities in which individuals are socialised are also epistemological communities that have shared beliefs, perspectives, and knowledge;
- Social science and historical research are influenced in complex ways by the life experiences, values, personal biographies, and epistemological communities of researchers;
- Knowledge created by social scientists, historians, and public intellectuals reflect and perpetuate their epistemological communities, experiences, goals and interests;
- How individual social scientists interpret their cultural experiences is mediated by the interaction of a complex set of status variables, such as gender, social class, age, political affiliation, religion, and region. (p. 5)

Valuation and Knowledge Construction

In nations around the world, the assimilationist ideology has been the dominant historical force since the age of colonisation and the expansion of Western nations into the Americas, the Caribbean, Africa, Asia, and Australia. The assimilationist ideology maintains that in order to construct a cohesive nation and civic culture individuals from diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups must surrender their home and community cultures and acquire those of the dominant and mainstream

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[3] Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray, *The bell curve: Intelligence and class structure in American life* (New York: The Free Press, 1994).
[4] Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark ghetto: Dilemmas of social power* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).
[5] James A. Banks, "The lives and values of researchers: Implications for educating citizens in a multicultural society," *Educational Researcher* no. 27.7 (1998): 4-17.

groups[6]. Assimilationists believe that ethnic attachments prevent individuals from developing commitments and allegiance to the national civic culture[7].

The assimilationist ideology was seriously challenged by the ethnic revitalisation and protest movements of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. These movements began with and were stimulated by the Black civil rights movement in the United States[8]. Multiculturalism and multicultural education grew out of these movements. Multiculturalism challenges and questions the assimilationist ideology and argues that ethnic and cultural diversity enriches the mainstream culture, that the identities of individuals are “multiple, nested, and overlapping”[9], and that individuals who are firmly rooted in their home and community cultures are more—not less—capable of being effective citizens of the nation-state and cosmopolitan citizens of the world community[10].

The Assimilationist Ideology

During the 1990s and 2000s, the assimilationist ideology, neoliberalism, and conservatism became robust in Western nations. A number of factors contributed to the resurgence of neoliberalism and conservatism, both of which support assimilationism. These factors included increased migration around the world and the xenophobia that arose in response to it, the world economic crisis, and security concerns caused by the coordinated bombings in the United States on September 11, 2001, and other bombings around the world linked to the actions of Muslim fundamentalists[11]. These bombings included the four commuter trains in Madrid, Spain on March 11, 2004; the bombings in the London transportation system on July 7,

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[6] Harold O. Patterson, *Ethnic chauvinism: The reactionary impulse* (New York: Stein and Day, 1977); Arthur Schlesinger Jr., *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a multicultural society* (Knoxville, TN: Whittle Direct Books, 1991).

[7] For a critique of this view, see Will Kymlicka, “Foreword.” In *Diversity and citizenship education: Global perspectives*, edited by J. A. Banks (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2004).

[8] Nell I. Painter, *Creating Black Americans: African-American history and its meanings: 1619 to the present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[9] Kymlicka, “Foreword.” In *Diversity and citizenship education: Global perspectives*, xiv.

[10] Kwame A. Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a world of strangers* (New York: Norton, 2006).

[11] Ariane C. d’Appollonia and Simon Reich, eds., *Immigration, integration, and security* (Pittsburg, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000).

2005; and the bombing of a Red Sea resort at Sharm el-Sheikh in Egypt on July 23, 2005.

The rise of neoliberalism and the resurgence of assimilationism in Western Europe in nations such as the Netherlands and France were manifested in the xenophobia directed against Muslims, the controversy over the wearing of the headscarf (hijab) in France[12], and the statement made by French president Nicolas Sarkozy about the wearing of the burka. In a speech on June 22, 2009, he said, "The burka is not a sign of religion, it is a sign of subservience. It will not be welcome on the territory of the French republic"[13]. On September 14, 2010, the French senate— with Sarkozy's strong support—banned any veils covering the face, which included the burka.

In Switzerland, neoliberalism and xenophobia were evident in the political success of the conservative Swiss People's Party in the 2007 election. A political poster used by the Party showed three white sheep kicking a black sheep off a Swiss flag above the slogan, "For more security"[14]. In the election that took place on Sunday, October 21, the People's Party gained the highest percent of votes in the parliamentary election of any party since shortly after World War I. Neoliberalism in Canada was exemplified in a call for social cohesion[15]. In Britain, multiculturalism was blamed for fracturing the nation after the London underground bombings in 2005[16].

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[12] John R. Bowen, *Why the French don't like headscarves: Islam, the state, and the public space* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007); Joan W. Scott, *Politics of the veil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

[13] BBC News. "Sarkozy speaks out against burka," 2009, June 22.

[14] D. Charter, "'Black sheep' cartoon ignites bitter row on racism before Swiss election," *Timesonline*. 2007, October 10.

[15] Reva Joshee, "Multicultural education policy in Canada: Competing ideologies, interconnected discourses." In *The Routledge international companion to multicultural education*, edited by James. A. Banks (New York & London: Routledge, 2009.)

[16] Sally Tomlinson, "Multicultural education in the United Kingdom." In *The Routledge international companion to multicultural education*, edited by James A. Banks, (New York & London: Routledge, 2009).

The Debate between the Assimilationists and Multiculturalists

Neoliberal and political conservatives claim that multiculturalism is detrimental to the nation-state and the civic community[17]. Multiculturalists maintain that *civic equality, recognition*[18], and *structural inclusion* into the nation-state are essential for citizens from diverse groups to acquire allegiance to the nation-state and to become effective participants in the civic community[19].

I hope to make a scholarly contribution to the debate between the assimilationists and the multiculturalists in this chapter by providing evidence for the claim that the positions of both groups reflect values, ideologies, political positions, and human interests. Each position also implies a kind of knowledge that should be taught in the schools, colleges, and universities, and in public sites such as museums, theatres, films, and other visual media. I will describe a typology of the kinds of knowledge that exist in society and in educational institutions. This typology is designed to help practicing educators, researchers, and cultural workers to identify types of knowledge that reflect specific values, assumptions, perspectives, and ideological positions.

Educators and cultural workers should help students to understand all types of knowledge. Students should be involved in the debates about knowledge construction and conflicting interpretations, such as the extent to which Egypt and Phoenicia influenced Greek civilisation[20]. Students should also be taught how to construct their own interpretations of the past and present, as well as how to identify their own positions, interests, ideologies, and assumptions. Students should become critical thinkers who have the knowledge, attitudes, skills, and commitments needed to participate in democratic action to help their nation and the world close the gap between ideals and realities. Multicultural education is an education for functioning effectively in a pluralistic democratic society. Helping

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[17] Patterson, *Ethnic chauvinism: The reactionary impulse*; Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of American*.

[18] Amy Gutmann, “Unity and diversity in democratic multicultural education: Creative and destructive tensions.” In *Diversity and citizenship education: Global perspectives*, edited by James A. Banks (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2004).

[19] James A. Banks, *Educating citizens in a multicultural society* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2007); Kymlica, “Foreword.” In *Diversity and citizenship education.*

[20] Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic roots of classical civilization* (London: Free Association Books, 1987-1991).

students to develop the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to participate in reflective civic action is one of its major goals[21].

The philosophical position that underlies this chapter is within the transformative tradition in ethnic studies and multicultural education[22]. This tradition links *knowledge*, *social commitment*, and *action*[23]. A transformative, action-oriented education can best be implemented when students examine different types of knowledge, freely examine their perspectives and moral commitments, and experience democracy in schools[24] and in public sites such as museums, theatres, and historical monuments[25].

The Characteristics of Knowledge

I define knowledge as the way an individual explains or interprets reality. I conceptualise knowledge broadly and use it the way it is utilised in the sociology of knowledge literature to include ideas, values, and interpretations[26]. As postmodern theorists have pointed out, knowledge is socially constructed and reflects human interests, values, and action[27]. Knowledge is also a product of human interactions[28]. Writes Nejadmehr, "knowledge is always knowledge of contingent human conditions. Hence, the source of knowledge is changing cultural contexts" (p. 3). Although many complex factors influence the knowledge that is created by an individual or group— including the actuality of what occurred and the interactions that knowledge constructors have with other people— the knowledge that people create is heavily influenced by their interpretations

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[21] Banks, *Educating citizens in a multicultural society.*

[22] James A. Banks, ed., *Multicultural education, transformative knowledge, and action* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1996).

[23] August Meier and E. Rudwick, *Black history and the historical profession 1915-1980* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

[24] John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1938).

[25] James W. Loewen, *Lies across America: What our historic sites get wrong* (New York: The New Press, 1999).

[26] Sondra Farganis, *The social construction of the feminine character* (Totowa, NJ: Russell & Russell, 1986).

[27] Lorraine Code, *What can she know? Feminist theory and the construction of knowledge* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991); Michel Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language* (New York: Pantheon, 1972); Sandra Harding, *Whose science? Whose knowledge? Thinking from women's lives.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).

[28] Rasoul Nejadmehr, *Education, science and truth* (New York & London: Routledge, 2009).

of their experiences and their positions within particular social, economic, and political systems and structures of society.

In the Western empirical tradition, the ideal within each academic discipline is the formation of knowledge without the influence of the researcher's personal or cultural characteristics[29]. However, as critical and postmodern theorists have pointed out, personal, cultural, and social factors influence the formulation of knowledge even when objective knowledge is the ideal within a discipline[30]. Researchers are frequently unaware of how their personal experiences and positions within society influence the knowledge they produce. Most mainstream historians were unaware of how their regional and cultural biases influenced their interpretation of the Reconstruction period of U. S. history until W. E. B. Du Bois (1935/1962) published a study that challenged the accepted and established interpretations of that historical period.

Positionality and Knowledge Construction

Positionality is a significant concept that emerged out of feminist scholarship that describes how important aspects of identity such as gender, race, social class, age, religion, and sexual orientation influence the knowledge that scholars construct[31]. Positionality reveals the importance of identifying the positions and frames of reference from which scholars and writers present their data, interpretations, and analyses[32]. The need for researchers and scholars to identify their ideological positions and the normative assumptions in their work—an

[29] Scott Greer, *The logic of social inquiry* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969); A. Kaplan, *The conduct of inquiry: Methodology for behavioral science* (San Francisco: Chandler, 1964).

[30] Cleo H. Cherryholmes, *Power and criticism* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1988); Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language*; Jürgen Habermas, *Knowledge and human interests* (Boston: Beacon, 1971).

[31] Patricia H. Collins, *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Mary Kay T. Tetreault, "Classrooms for diversity: Rethinking curriculum and pedagogy." In *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives*, edited by James A. Banks and Cherry A. M. Banks (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2007).

[32] Gloria Anzaldúa, "Haciendo caras, una entrada: An introduction". In *Making face, making soul: Haciendo caras*, edited by G. Anzaldúa (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Foundation Books, 1990).

inherent part of feminist and ethnic studies scholarship—contrasts with the empirical paradigm that has dominated Western science[33].

The assumption within the Western empirical paradigm is that the knowledge produced within it is neutral and objective and that its principles are universal. The effects of values, frames of references, and the normative positions of researchers and scholars are infrequently discussed within the traditional empirical paradigm that has dominated scholarship and teaching in colleges and universities in the West since the early 20th century. However, scholars such as the Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal[34], and the American psychologist Kenneth B. Clark—prior to the feminist, ethnic studies, and postmodern movements—wrote about the need for scholars to recognise and state their normative positions and valuations and to become, in the apt words of Clark, "involved observers". Myrdal stated that valuations are not just attached to research but permeate it. He wrote, *"There is no device for excluding biases in social sciences than to face the valuations and to introduce them as explicitly stated, specific, and sufficiently concretised value premises"* [emphasis in original][35].

A Knowledge Typology

A description of the major types of knowledge can help educators and cultural workers to identify perspectives and content needed to make education multicultural and culturally responsive[36]. Each of the types of knowledge described below reflects specific purposes, perspectives, experiences, goals, and human interests. Teaching students various types of knowledge can help them to better understand the perspectives on different racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups as well as to develop their own versions and interpretations of issues and events. Different types of knowledge also help students to gain more comprehensive and accurate conceptions of reality. Multiple perspectives and different types of knowledge enable knowers to construct knowledge that is closer approximations to the actuality of what occurred than single

[33] Code, *What can she know?*; Harding, *Whose science? Whose knowledge?*.
[34] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American dilemma: The Negro problem in modern democracy* (New York: Harper, 1944).
[35] Clark, *Dark ghetto: Dilemmas of social power*, 1043.
[36] Geneva Gay, *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2000).

perspectives. In an important and influential essay, Merton[37] maintains that the perspectives of both "insiders" and "outsiders" are needed to enable social scientists to gain a comprehensive view of social reality.

I identify and describe five types of knowledge (see Figure 1): (1) *personal/cultural knowledge*; (2) *popular knowledge*; (3) *mainstream academic knowledge*; (4) *transformative academic knowledge*; and (5) *pedagogical knowledge.* This is an ideal-type typology in the Weberian sense. The German sociologist Max Weber pioneered the idea of using typologies to classify social phenomenon. His typology of three forms of authority — traditional, rational-legal, and charismatic—is an example[38]. The five categories of my knowledge typology, like the categories in Weber's typology, approximate but do not describe reality in its total complexity. The categories are useful conceptual tools for thinking about knowledge and planning multicultural teaching and learning. Although the categories can be conceptually distinguished, in reality they overlap and are interrelated in a dynamic way.

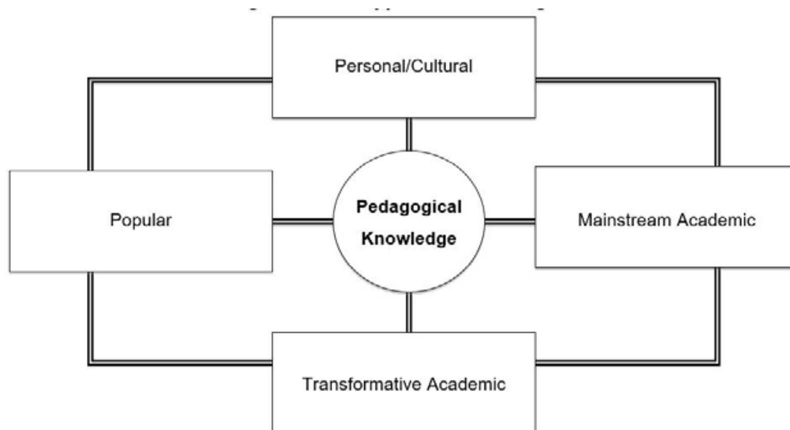

Figure 1: The types of knowledge

Since the 1960s, some of the findings and insights from transformative academic knowledge have been incorporated into mainstream academic

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[37] Robert K. Merton, "Insiders and outsiders: A chapter in the sociology of knowledge," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (1972): 9-47.

[38] Kathy Henry, *Max Weber's typology of forms of authority—traditional, rational-legal, and charismatic* (n. d.).