

# Social Justice in Multicultural Settings

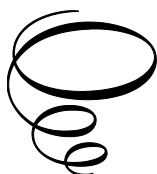


# Social Justice in Multicultural Settings

Edited by

Deborah Court, Randa Khair Abbas,  
Zaki Kamal and Riam Abu Much

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and Riam Abu Much

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# INTRODUCTION

## SOCIAL JUSTICE: NEVER STOP QUESTIONING

DEBORAH COURT

BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY AND ARAB ACADEMIC COLLEGE,  
ISRAEL

This popular wisdom has been attributed to Albert Einstein: “Learn from yesterday, live for today, hope for tomorrow. The important thing is not to stop questioning.” There is no evidence that he really said or wrote these words, which probably spring from an actual Einstein quote: “The important thing is not to stop questioning. Curiosity has its own reason for existence. One cannot help but be in awe when he contemplates the mysteries of eternity, of life, of the marvelous structure of reality. It is enough if one tries merely to comprehend a little of this mystery each day.”<sup>1</sup> We will do well to take this respectful curiosity and this attitude of never-ending questioning into our social justice work, as we contemplate human life in society and our relationship with the earth, and try to make both better.

The roots of the modern idea of social justice can be traced at least as far back as Plato, who wrote about the relationship between individuals and societies, and the rights and responsibilities of each. Standard definitions of social justice, today, delineate four basic principles: human rights, access (to food, shelter, health care, education, employment), participation (all voices should be heard) and equity (fairness of social policy). Our modern conception owes its greatest debt to the groundbreaking work of philosopher John Rawls, who defines justice as fairness. He wrote, in *A Theory of Justice*, that “each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override. For this reason justice denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by a greater

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<sup>1</sup> “Old Man’s Advice to Youth: ‘Never Lose a Holy Curiosity’” LIFE Magazine (May 2, 1955) p. 64.

good shared by others. It does not allow that the sacrifices imposed on a few are outweighed by the larger sum of advantages enjoyed by many. Therefore in a just society the liberties of equal citizenship are taken as settled; the rights secured by justice are not subject to political bargaining or to the calculus of social interests... an injustice is tolerable only when it is necessary to avoid an even greater injustice” (Rawls 2005, 3–4). This quote opens a window on the complexities of social justice work. Even when justice is “taken as settled” in law, changing the status quo, enabling different distributions of wealth, power, resources and opportunities, has many social ramifications. Trying to enact programs and policies aimed at bettering people’s lives involves funding, politics and the weighing of the social trade-offs that will inevitably be involved. For instance, affirmative action in hiring practices and university acceptance may right some wrongs while causing others. Striving for fairness is a lofty aim that seldom provides easy answers. As long as we keep asking the questions, though, we are on the right track.

Together with multiculturalism, climate change, human rights, systemic racism, equity, privilege and a host of other terms, “social justice” is prominent in the collective Western consciousness today. We all know these topics are important, and addressing them may even be vital to our continued survival. We need to be cautious, though, that words and phrases do not become slogans, that they do not roll off our tongues too easily. The important thing is not to stop questioning what these essential ideas mean in different settings, at different times, to different people who may have opposing needs, what good we will do through our earnest actions, and what unintended consequences may also ensue. Simplistic viewpoints lead to destructive practices like the so-called “cancel culture” which has served no one and has not contributed to social justice.

What and how can we learn from the past? We will not learn from the past by erasing it, by toppling statues and changing school names. It may indeed be right not to name institutions after past heroes who turn out to be villains, but it is questionable whether villainizing past heroes, who lived in particular social and political milieux, advances social justice in any way. Rather, we should question these past events and long-dead people, and learn from them. We are, inescapably, part of the flow of history. The past has led us to the present. We are the products of the ingenuity, struggles, courage, invention, cruelties, failures and stories of our imperfect ancestors, who were products of their times, as we are today. Not by denying the past, but by questioning it and learning from it, will we be able to work to make today better than yesterday, in great and small ways, for more people, and

for the earth. Sincere questioning will lead us to understand that though the questions of the present are urgent and pressing, there are no facile answers.

How should we live for today? “Imagine there’s no countries, it isn’t hard to do, nothing to kill or die for and no religion, too, imagine all the people living life in peace... a brotherhood of man,” wrote John Lennon in his idealistic and naive anthem for peace. As if that is all we need to do—open all the borders, stop religious practices, and just be really, really nice to each other all the time. Sorry. It’s so much more complex than that. It’s great to imagine—and we should never stop doing that—but that is very far from enough. People are hungry, and angry, and desperate, and homeless. Many are discriminated against in various ways. The questions we need to ask are variations on, what is the local work on the ground, in specific cultural contexts, that we can do to improve people’s lives? What conditions exist, here, for these people? Why? What can we do, and what might be the consequences if we do this, or this? We need to acknowledge and research complex situations but not be paralyzed by complexity; research is the groundwork that leads to understanding and action. Sometimes, of course, urgent action is needed. But, on the larger scale, ongoing cycles of observation, reflection, questioning, research, planning and action are likely to produce the most robust and long-lasting results.

Regarding easy answers to complex questions: we should all get electric cars, right? Stop fossil fuel use, stop global warming. Better for everybody. One plus one equals two. Sorry, no. It’s so much more complex than that. Producing batteries for electric cars requires huge amounts of energy, which comes from power grids, which in most places are powered by fossil fuels.<sup>2</sup> Production of lithium batteries itself entails high CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Disposal of these batteries causes lithium pollution, and requires transportation to recycling centers, by truck or ocean liner, causing more CO<sub>2</sub> pollution.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, particulate tire wear pollution is much worse on electric cars because they are so much heavier.<sup>4</sup> These problems may be solvable in the future, through ongoing questioning and research, so that we can exploit the clear benefits of electric cars while not being blind to their current

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2021/07/26/lifetime-emissions-of-evs-are-lower-than-gasoline-cars-experts-say.html>

<https://youmatter.world/en/are-electric-cars-eco-friendly-and-zero-emission-vehicles>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.science.org/content/article/millions-electric-cars-are-coming-what-happens-all-dead-batteries>

<https://changeit.app/blog/2021-03-26-environmental-impact-of-lithium-batteries/>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.ecowatch.com/pollution-from-car-tires.html>

drawbacks. This brief look at the not-simple solution of electric vehicles does not touch on the additional fact that they are expensive, and low-income families cannot afford them. At this point, they are a solution of and for the privileged.

What about the millions of people displaced by war, drought, poverty and persecution, forced to move across continents in search of a place to live, to settle, to be human? For example, Crawley wrote, in 2016, “More than 1 million people have crossed the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas since January 2015, arriving on the beaches of Southern Europe in dinghies and rickety boats, having paid a smuggler to facilitate their journey. Most are refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Eritrea, and Somalia who are fleeing conflict and violence. Others are migrants from West and Central Africa, seeking a livelihood and a future for themselves and their families.” She goes on to decry “the unwillingness of politicians and policymakers to engage with research evidence on the dynamics of migration and to harness their combined resources” (Crawley 2016, 13). Millions more people have migrated since those words were written, crossing oceans and rivers, climbing walls, walking hundreds of kilometers, often with small children in tow. This is a human tragedy of epic proportions, a situation that cries out for justice. Europe is affluent; it should be easy. America is affluent; it should be easy. Open all the borders, accept everyone, give everyone what they need. One plus one equals two. But no, of course not. Massive resettlements disrupt the societies of the host countries in ways that serve neither the immigrants nor the hosts. Cultures clash, religions clash, ways of life are upended for everyone. Hungry, desperate people cannot be turned away, but resulting cultural disorientation and disruption must be expected and respected. Culture is a real part of us, and cultures cannot be stirred together seamlessly or quickly. A case in point, one among many, is Syrian refugees in Turkey. As of 2022, the number of Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey numbers 3,762,000.<sup>5</sup> While Turkey has tried hard to help these refugees find their place, Syrian refugees have faced many problems accessing health care, housing, education and employment. Their arrival and settlement have caused Turkey’s social problems to worsen for native Turks, damaging the development of positive relationships between the refugees and the natives. Turkish schools, which are full of creative programs to integrate immigrant children while recognizing their trauma and respecting their roots, are nevertheless overwhelmed (Kargin 2016). Societies are being restructured from the ground up in this age of massive migration. There will be no easy solutions, but hopefully these complex

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<sup>5</sup> <https://multeciler.org.tr>



problems will be, if not solved, at least ameliorated in the future, as research aimed at understanding “the dynamics of migration,” of different cultures and various worldviews, and finding productive ways to cope with resource distribution, continues to be undertaken and acted upon.

How can we hope for tomorrow, when it seems like things are such a mess today? This is a great human challenge, to believe that the things we do today as individuals, groups and societies can make life better, kinder, more fair, more environmentally sustainable. Because we are human, we tend to squabble and argue as we plan and do. Time and energy are wasted on political power struggles. As much as possible, we should disconnect our work from politics. As President John F. Kennedy said in the American context: “Let us not despair but act. Let us not seek the Republican answer or the Democratic answer, but the right answer. Let us not seek to fix the blame for the past. Let us accept our own responsibility for the future.”<sup>6</sup> In this endeavor of both faith and action, Einstein’s advice is a good reminder: to try, each day, to contemplate a little of the wonderful mystery of human life on our teeming, green planet, and be grateful for it. To never stop questioning how we can contribute to making life better for more people.

Education, and educational research play key parts in this painful, difficult and necessary remaking of societies.

As we planned the conference, “Social Justice in Multicultural Settings,” we wondered who would respond to our call for presentations, what kinds of questions our international group of participants would be asking, and what kinds of social justice work they would present. Our focus was education, broadly defined. One of the most surprising and rewarding aspects of the proposals that began to flow in was the incredible variety of versions and viewpoints, contexts and communities, methods and meanings that came to life in these workshops and lectures. This book presents a selection of these presentations.

Section one of the book offers theoretical and research perspectives on social justice. Section two looks at social justice practices and possibilities in higher education. Section three explores social justice in the lives of teachers and their work in classrooms. In section four, the notion of

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<sup>6</sup> “Loyola College Alumni Banquet, Baltimore, Maryland, February 18, 1958,” box 899, Senate Speech Files, John F. Kennedy Papers, Pre-Presidential Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library.

education is broadened to include cultural, community and family perspectives on social justice.

These authors reveal a multi-colored landscape of social justice work in diverse settings, posing important questions and providing rich and varied answers through their analyses, research results, insights, programs and practices, never simplifying the complex work of advancing social justice in higher education, in teacher education, in the community and in the school classroom. We hope that each chapter will leave you inspired, enriched with practical ideas and animated with new questions that will keep us moving forward to new action, new understandings and a fairer world.

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**PART ONE:**

**THEORETICAL AND RESEARCH  
PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIAL JUSTICE**

*Unity without diversity leads to hegemony, and diversity without  
unity leads to chaos*  
—James A. Banks

# CHAPTER ONE

## GLOBAL MIGRATION, FAILED CITIZENSHIP, AND THE QUEST FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

JAMES A. BANKS  
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, SEATTLE

Global migration and the quest by diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups for recognition, civic equality, and structural inclusion within their nation-states have complicated the attainment of citizenship in nations around the world. The number of people living outside their nation of birth grew from 173 million in 2000 to 281 million in 2020. In 2020, the 281 million international migrants constituted 3.6 % of the world's population of 7.9 billion (United Nations 2020). In a number of nations, including the United States (Banks 2021; López and Sleeter 2023), Canada (Joshee 2009), the United Kingdom (Tomlinson 2009), and France (Bowen 2007), virulent nationalism and a push for social cohesion have arisen in response to the increasing number of migrants and refugees, and the growth of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity. Nations in Europe, such as the United Kingdom and the Netherlands—and especially France—are having a difficult time structurally integrating Muslims into their cultural and civic lives (Fredette 2014; Lemaire 2009).

A citizen may be defined as a “native or naturalized member of a state or nation who owes allegiance to its government and is entitled to its protection” (*Webster's Encyclopedia Unabridged Dictionary* 1989, 270). This same dictionary defines citizenship as the “state of being vested with the rights, privileges, and duties of a citizen” (270). These minimal definitions of citizen and citizenship lack the thickly textured and complex discussions and meanings of citizenship in democratic, multicultural nations that have been developed by scholars such as Kymlicka (1995), Gutmann (2004), and Gonçalves e Silva (2004). These scholars state that citizens within democratic nation-states endorse the overarching ideals of the nation-state, such as justice and equality, are committed to the maintenance

and perpetuation of these ideals, and are willing to take action to help close the gap between their nation's ideals and practices that violate those ideals, such as racial, religious, and gender discrimination and economic inequality. Bosniak (2006) also describes multiple dimensions and conceptions of citizenship, such as *cultural* citizenship and *multicultural* citizenship. Status, rights, and identity are among the variables of citizenship examined by Joppke (2010).

### **Participatory, Recognized, and Failed Citizenship**

Participatory and recognized citizenship socialization occurs when individuals who live within a nation-state internalize its basic values and symbols, acquire an allegiance to these values, and are willing to take action to actualize these values and to protect and defend the nation-state if it is endangered. Citizenship socialization fails and is unsuccessful when individuals who are born within the nation or migrate to it and live within it for an extended period of time do not internalize the values and ethos of the nation-state, feel structurally excluded within it, and are highly ambivalent towards it. I call this phenomenon “failed citizenship” (Banks 2017) and will—through the discussion of the experiences of marginalized ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups in different nations—identify factors that cause failed citizenship, political alienation, and ambivalent identities among individuals and groups who feel structurally excluded and politically separate within their nation-states. These groups also lack political efficacy and consequently do not fully participate in the civic culture of the nation, such as voting regularly in local and national elections.

Failed citizenship occurs when the social, cultural, economic, and political systems within a nation-state prevent marginalized groups from attaining full structural inclusion into the nation-state. They consequently develop weak identities with the nation-state and low levels of allegiance to it. They participate at minimum levels in the political system, and often focus on particularistic goals and issues rather than on the overarching interests and goals of the nation-state. Their first and primary identification is with their ethnic, racial, cultural, linguistic, or religious group, rather than the nation-state. When participatory and recognized citizenship occurs, the social, cultural, economic, and political systems facilitate the structural inclusion of diverse groups into the nation-state and its dominant institutions. Consequently, individuals and groups who attain participatory and recognized citizenship develop strong attachments, allegiances, and identities with the nation-state or polity.

I am conceptualizing *failed*, *recognized*, *participatory*, and *transformative* citizenship using a typology in the Weberian sense (See Table 1). The categories within this typology approximate but do not describe reality in its total complexity. The categories are useful conceptual tools for thinking about citizenship socialization and citizenship education. For example, although the categories can be conceptually distinguished, in reality, they intersect and are interrelated in a dynamic way. For example, the citizenship status of African Americans in the United States can be described as having characteristics of *recognized*, *participatory*, *failed*, and *transformative citizenship*. In many ways, African Americans are structurally integrated into the political, economic, and cultural institutions of the United States. However, they have not attained full citizenship inclusion and rights because of enduring institutionalized racism, discrimination, and structural barriers (Ladson-Billings 2004; Omi and Winant 1994).

African Americans have epitomized transformative citizenship because of the historic role they have played in social and political movements to increase social justice and equality in the United States. They initiated and led the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Birnbaum and Taylor 2000), which increased social justice for most marginalized groups in the United States, including racial, ethnic, and linguistic groups, people with disabilities, women, LGBTQ people, and immigrant groups. The Immigrant and Naturalization Act of 1965, which abolished the national origins quota system and allowed immigrants from Asian nations to immigrate to the United States in significant numbers, was an outcome of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

### **Table 1: Citizenship Typology**

#### **Failed Citizenship**

Failed citizenship exists when individuals or groups who are born within a nation or migrate to it and live within it for an extended period of time do not internalize the values and ethos of the nation-state, feel structurally excluded within it, and have highly ambivalent feeling towards it. Individuals who experience failed citizenship focus primarily on their own needs for political efficacy, group identity, and structural inclusion rather than on the overarching and shared goals of the nation-state. Their allegiance and commitment to the nation-state is eclectic and complex.

### **Recognized Citizenship**

Recognized citizenship exists when the state or nation publicly recognizes an individual or group as a legitimate, legal, and valued member of the polity, and provides the individual or group full rights and opportunities to participate. Although recognized citizenship status gives individuals and groups the right and opportunity to fully participate in the civic community of the nation-state, it does not require their participation. Individuals who have state-recognized citizenship status participate in the polity at very different levels, including non-participation.

### **Participatory Citizenship**

Participatory citizenship is exercised by individuals and groups who have been granted recognized citizenship by the nation-state. It takes place when individuals with citizenship rights take actions as minimal as voting to influence political decisions in their communities, nations, and the world to actualize existing laws and conventions. An example of participatory citizenship is the action taken by civil rights groups to enable African Americans to vote after the Voting Rights Act was signed into law by President Lyndon Baines Johnson on August 6, 1965.

### **Transformative Citizenship**

Transformative citizens take action to implement and promote policies, actions, and changes that are consistent with values such as human rights, social justice, and equality. The actions that transformative citizens take might—and sometimes do—violate existing local, state, and national laws. Examples are actions taken by transformative citizens such as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Rosa Parks that violated national laws but helped to actualize values, such as human rights and social justice, and to eliminate institutionalized discrimination and racism.

## **Factors That Lead to Recognized and Participatory Citizenship**

Individuals and groups within a nation-state who are recognized and participatory citizens speak a language or languages that are the official language or languages of the nation, have cultural values and behaviors that are idealized, valued, and publicly recognized within the nation, and can fully participate in the public and civic cultures of the nation-state. They can also exercise considerable power in the political system. These individuals

and groups usually view themselves as the founders of the nation even though there may have been Indigenous groups living in the territory in which the nation is now located. Many of the participatory and recognized citizens have a strong identity with the nation-state and view their culture and the culture of the nation-state as synonymous. In the Western immigrant nations, such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, many of the powerful, recognized, and participatory citizenship groups attained their power and influence by conquering and/or enslaving Indigenous groups, and by constructing a national culture that privileged the culture of Western Europeans and that marginalized the cultures and experiences of Indigenous groups, Africans, Asians, and other non-White groups.

The recognized and participatory citizen groups who exercise the most power within a nation-state tend to view their interests as identical to those of the nation-state, and the “public interest” and the interests of minoritized and marginalized groups as “special interests” (Huntington 2004; Schlesinger 1991). Politically dominant groups also tend to marginalize the interests of minoritized groups, such as First Nations peoples in Canada, African Americans in the United States, Australian Aborigines, West Indians in England, Muslims in France, and Uyghurs in China, by labeling these groups “identity groups.” The ways in which they describe identity groups suggest that only marginalized groups are identity groups. However, as Gutmann (2003) insightfully points out, mainstream groups, such as Anglo-Americans and the Boy Scouts of America, are also identity groups in the United States.

Identity groups can both obstruct the realization of democratic values and facilitate their realization. Identity groups may try to impose their values on individuals. However, they may also enhance individual freedom by helping individuals to attain goals that are consistent with democratic values that can only be achieved through group action. Individuals are more likely to attain goals in the political system when working in groups than when working alone. Important examples are the political, cultural, and educational gains that African Americans attained by participating in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and the expanded rights of women that resulted from the women’s rights movement in the United States. The Immigration Act of 1965 in the United States was also an outcome of the Civil Rights Movement. This act ended the long period in which immigrants from nations in Asia were legally prevented from immigrating and settling in the United States. An important consequence of this act is that most of the immigrants to the United States, today, are from nations in Latin America and Asia.



## Failed Citizenship and Citizenship Participation

Individuals and groups who are victims of failed citizenship do not feel structurally included within their nation-state. I am defining structural inclusion as a set of attitudes and beliefs that people have that are characterized by a feeling of political efficacy, political empowerment, and a belief that they can influence political and economic decisions that affect their lives by participating in the political system. In other words, people who feel structurally included within the civic culture of their nation-state have political efficacy and believe that their participation in the polity can make a difference. Individuals and groups who are victimized by failed citizenship experience high levels of structural exclusion rather than inclusion in terms of culture, language, national symbols, and identification within the nation-state. They experience low levels of recognition in the public depictions of the national culture, have weak or ambivalent attachments to the nation-state, and experience high levels of political and cultural alienation. Because political and cultural alienation are often related to income status, groups with low levels of political efficacy often have low economic status, which decreases their opportunity for full citizenship, civic belonging, and civic participation.

Individuals and groups who are not structurally included within the political and cultural systems of their nation-state lack political efficacy and, consequently, participate at low levels in the political system. They often do not vote because they believe that their votes will not make a difference and that politicians don't care about them. They also have negative views of politicians. In her significant study, *Democracy Remixed: Black Youth and the Future of Politics*, Cohen (2010) found that African American and Latino youth in the United States have a high level of political alienation, which has a negative effect on political activism and political participation. Cohen writes, "It is only a feeling of political efficacy that can bolster the positive feelings [B]lack youth have about government officials. The belief that one is politically efficacious diminishes negative feelings toward the government" (136).

## Diversity and Failed Citizenship in Different Nations

Failed citizenship can be observed in nations around the world—including the Kurds in Turkey (Aydin and Koc-Damgaci 2017), Muslims in France (Bowen 2007; Bozec 2017), the Uyghur people in China (Wang 2020), and the Chechens in Russia (Froumin 2004). However, failed citizenship is a

fluid and complex, and not an absolute, concept. In other words, some groups experience failed citizenship at greater levels than others. The Chechens in Russia are an example of a very high level of failed citizenship because the Chechens are seeking separation from Russia and their own nation (Froumin 2004). In Australia, the Aborigines have a high level of failed citizenship whereas the Greeks have attained significant levels of structural and civic inclusion into Australian life (Inglis 2009).

The situation of African Americans in the United States is multifaceted, complex, and is significantly influenced by social class, as Wilson (1978) perceptively points out in his seminal and controversial book, *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions*. Although African Americans do not enjoy full citizenship rights in the United States, primarily because of institutionalized racism (Feagin 2000; Ladson-Billings 2004), social class mediates race. The higher their social class, the more political, social, and cultural opportunities African Americans have. However, regardless of their social class, race still remains an intractable barrier. The racial microaggressions that many middle-class and upper-middle class African Americans experience indicate that upper social mobility does not eliminate racial categorization and stigmatization (Feagin 2000).

The experience of Muslims in France is a significant and complex example of failed citizenship. Since the 1960s and 1970s, the French have dealt with immigrant groups in ways distinct from the United States, Canada, and Australia. *La laïcité* is a highly influential concept in France, the aim of which is to keep church and state separate (Bozec 2017; Cesari 2013; Lemaire 2009). *La laïcité* emerged in response to the hegemony the Catholic Church exercised in France over schools and other institutions for several centuries. A major goal of state schools in France is to ensure that the youth obtain a secular education. Muslim students in French state schools, for example, are prevented from wearing the hijab (veil) and other religious symbols (Bowen 2007; Bozec 2017). In France the explicit goal is assimilation (called integration) and inclusion (Castles 2004). Immigrant groups can become full citizens in France but the price is cultural assimilation. Immigrants are required to surrender their languages and cultures in order to become full citizens of France, which is a major cause of failed citizenship (Bozec 2017).

The next sections of this paper provide brief overviews of how failed citizenship is manifested in several world regions. The three immigrant

nations (Australia, Canada, and the United States), Europe, Asia, and the Arab world are discussed.

### **Australia, Canada, and the United States: The Immigrant Nations**

Immigrant nations, such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, have been diverse since their founding. The ethnic and cultural diversity among the native peoples of these lands was greatly increased by the myriad European groups that conquered and colonized them. Australia, Canada (Joshee and Johnson 2007), and the United States view themselves as immigrant nations and have historically developed citizenship and citizenship education policies and initiatives that enabled European immigrants to attain structural inclusion, social mobility, and successful citizenship.

Australia, Canada, and the United States had more restrictive immigration and citizenship policies for immigrants from non-European nations, such as China, Japan, India, Pakistan, and Nigeria. Descendants of these groups are often the victims of failed citizenship. In 1882, immigrants from China were excluded from the United States. Asians in the United States were also prohibited from becoming citizens or owning property in the early 1900s (Takaki 1989). A California law, in 1913, designated Asians as “aliens ineligible for citizenship.” Australia’s White policy restricted immigration from non-European nations from 1901 to 1973 (Inglis 2009). The United States opened its doors to large numbers of immigrants from non-European nations when the Immigration Act of 1965 was passed. The US Census projects that people who identify as ethnic minorities in the United States will, together, exceed the percentage of non-Hispanic Whites by 2042 (Roberts 2008). Projections made by the Pew Research Center indicate that the US “population will rise to 438 million in 2050, from 296 million in 2005, and fully 82 % of the growth during this period will be due to immigrants arriving from 2005 to 2050 and their descendants” (Passel and Cohn 2008). Immigration and the high birth rate of Latinx immigrants continue to increase diversity in the United States. However, full citizenship by groups such as Native Americans, African Americans, and Latinxs has not been attained. Failed citizenship is a salient issue in the United States that merits robust responses from schools and other institutions.

## Diversity Issues in Europe

Failed citizenship is a significant issue in Europe because of the large number of immigrant origin citizens, whose ancestors migrated from former European colonies, who are not fully integrated into European nation-states. The historic diversity in Europe was increased when thousands of immigrants from colonial nations such as India, Pakistan, Algeria, and Indonesia migrated to nations such as the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands to improve their economic status in the years following World War II (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies 1982; Lynch 1986). Diversity in European nations continued to increase during the 1980s and 1990s (Tomlinson 2019). Today, many refugees are settling in Europe (Dryden-Peterson 2020). However, most European nations do not view themselves as immigrant nations (Chin 2017; Modood 2019; Starkey and Osler 2009), and have, consequently, found it difficult to construct citizenship policies and programs that reflect civic equality and that result in full citizenship participation for groups with non-European origins, such as Afro-Caribbeans in England and Muslim citizens in France whose ancestors are of Algerian origin (Modood 2019). These groups continue to experience failed citizenship in their nations (Modood 2012; Meer *et al.* 2009).

The population of Muslims is increasing in European nations, and in the United States, as well as in other nations around the world (Cesari 2013; O'Brien 2016). A report by the Pew Research Center projects that Islam will grow faster than any other religion over the next forty years. The report states (Pew Research Center 2015):

Over the next four decades, Christians will remain the largest religious group, but Islam will grow faster than any other major religion. If current trends continue, by 2050 the number of Muslims will nearly equal the number of Christians around the world.

In 2016, Muslims made up roughly 5 % of the European population, which was about 25,770,000 people (Hackett 2017). The growth of the Muslim population in Europe has stimulated the rise of xenophobia and Islamophobia (Bawer 2006), which is preventing Muslims from enjoying full citizenship rights in European nations. Among the nations in Europe with the largest Muslim populations in 2016 were France (8.8 % of the population is Muslim), the Netherlands (7.1 %), Germany (6.1 %), and the United Kingdom (6.3 %) (Hackett 2017). In 2006, the Netherlands took steps to restrict the number of Muslim immigrants with the use of devices

such as a test for immigrants that included watching a racy film that offended many Muslims. In 2004, France banned the wearing of religious symbols in state schools to prohibit the headscarf or *hijab* worn by Muslim schoolgirls (Bowen 2007). In 2009, a referendum was passed in Switzerland that prohibited the building of minarets on mosques. These developments in European nations are factors that increase failed citizenship for Muslims.

Although many nations in Europe are finding it difficult to deal effectively with ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity within the society at large, and within schools, most nations in the world—including those in Europe—are multicultural and must wrestle with issues related to failed citizenship for diverse groups and citizenship education for all citizens. Russia has more than 120 Indigenous ethnic groups as well as many different religious groups, such as Muslims and Buddhists. Ethnic and religious diversity is also significant in nations such as Spain, Italy, and Greece. One of the most difficult challenges with which European nations are dealing is the growth of Muslims in their populations (Modood 2019). Many Europeans believe that Muslims are threatening European civilization and culture (Bawer 2006; Cesari 2013; O'Brien 2016; Ramadan 2010). A challenging issue facing a number of European nations is how to reconstruct and re-envision their societies and nations so that they can accommodate racial, ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity, and actualize social justice for their citizens. They need to construct nation-states that provide opportunities for Christianity and Islam, as well as other religions, to co-exist.

### **Diversity in Asian Nations**

Asian nations are also grappling with ways to conceptualize citizenship and citizenship education in ways that will reflect their growing diversity and provide full citizenship rights to diverse groups and limit the development of failed citizenship. Japan and Korea do not view themselves as immigrant nations but are characterized by increasing ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity. In 2008, approximately 2.5 million foreign nationals lived in Japan (Hirasawa 2009), and one million lived in Korea (Moon 2012). Historically, full citizenship rights and privileges in Japan and Korea were based on *jus sanguinis* (right of blood) rather than on *jus soli* (right of soil), which meant that citizenship was based on descent rather than place of birth. In recent years, both Japan and Korea have changed their citizenship laws in ways that now make it easier for immigrants and mixed heritage individuals to acquire full citizenship.

China has been ethnically, linguistically, and religiously diverse throughout its history. Although the Han Chinese make up about 92 % of the national population, China has fifty-five officially designated ethnic minority groups (Postiglione 2009b). After the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC), in 1949, the Communist Party of China (CPC) developed an official state policy that proclaims that ethnic groups have a right to be educated in their native languages, permits the recognition of ethnic and community cultures in state schools, and makes special provisions for ethnic groups to attain educational equality (Wan 2004). Although minority cultures and languages can be recognized in state schools, the central government "emphasize [s] national unity and identification with the socialist system" (Wan 2004, 360–61). Despite its official policy, ethnic groups such as the Uyghurs and Tibetan peoples do not have full citizenship rights in China and are victims of failed citizenship (Cong Lin 2023). As in the case in most nations, there is a wide gap between the ideals within China and the actual practices in the society and the schools (Leibold and Yangbin 2014)—a phenomenon that Banks (2004b, 9–10) calls "the citizenship education dilemma."

## Diversity in the Arab World

The rich ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity in the nations in the Arab world has created complex problems of constructing nation-states that have a shared and legitimate national civic culture. Many of the immigrants in these nations, such as the South Asians in Kuwait, experience incomplete or failed citizenship. The majority of the populations in nations such as Qatar and the United Arab Emirates are immigrants (Faour and Muasher 2011). Panja (2022) writes that Qatar, like most other countries in the Persian Gulf, relies heavily on migrant workers, with almost 90 % of the country's population being foreigners.

A significant number of immigrants are also part of the population of Kuwait. In addition to the problems wrought by their large immigrant populations, there is extensive political alienation and discontent in many of the nations in the Gulf-states that results partly from high unemployment among youth and authoritarian political leaders. Consequently, many of the recognized citizens in Arab nations have ambivalent national identities because their leaders are autocratic and do not seek legitimacy from their citizens. Public protest occurred in nations such as Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Algeria, Syria, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait, beginning on December 18, 2010. Young people were involved in most of these protests (Al-Nakib