The document summarizes proceedings from two conferences which addressed multicultural realities in American life. Intended as a means of expanding multicultural understandings of elementary and secondary teachers, the conferences encouraged exchange of ideas between parents, community members, curriculum specialists, administrators, educators, and policy planners. The narrative presentation is organized into four sections. Section I challenges widespread assumptions about ethnic studies, including the conceptualization that it refers only to non-white groups and should only be included in the curriculum of students who are members of that group. Section II stresses the need for conscious decisions about content and process in multicultural education to avoid fragmented programs which do little more than glorify ethnic heroes. Section III presents interdisciplinary suggestions for improvement of teacher education with a multicultural emphasis, evaluation of curriculum, and development of new models. Case studies of successful multicultural programs are presented. Section IV predicts that the future of multicultural education depends upon the commitment of the educational system to make multicultural learnings a valid, integral part of the education of every student. (Author/DB)
Multicultural Education: 
The Interdisciplinary Approach

A Summary of Conference Proceedings

April 1–3, 1976—San Diego
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1977
The multicultural reality of American life and history should be a part of every school's curriculum. With the rapidly expanding interdependence of peoples in this country and in the world community, it is essential that learners develop the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to function effectively in a multiethnic-multicultural society that pursues diverse values and life styles.

In recent years, educators have begun to realize the importance of ethnicity in American society and the need to help students to develop more sophisticated understandings of the ethnic groups that make up America and the world, and to develop a greater acceptance of cultural differences. It is imperative that instruction and other experiences provided by public schools assist America's young people to achieve these understandings.

The State Department of Education staff set out to develop a framework for understanding that could be shared with those who are responsible for the education of children. One result of that effort was the scheduling of two conferences in San Diego and Oakland with the theme, "Multicultural Education: The Interdisciplinary Approach." The conferences gave people with similar concerns and responsibilities an opportunity to come together for mutual learning.

The experiences gained at these two conferences will hopefully encourage educators to make use of the richness of the various cultures represented in their classrooms and communities. This diversity could become a valuable part of their instructional program.

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: 
The Interdisciplinary Approach

ABOUT THE REPORT

The working title of the conferences sponsored by the Bureau of Intergroup Relations in April and May, 1976, "Multicultural Education: The Interdisciplinary Approach," was particularly appropriate. Conference participants represented a range of roles and responsibilities. Parents and concerned community members brought their special views to working seminars. School curriculum writers met with university professors and independent researchers. Classroom teachers were able to talk with state evaluators. Administrators from many levels were able to meet and share their problems and solutions. Topics of discussion ranged from techniques for involving teachers in staff development to suggestions for integrating ethnic content into the total curriculum and from ways in which local politics affect educational policy to how to write learning objectives for multicultural education.

The nature of the themes that emerged cut across workshop sessions, panel presentations and the texts of the keynote addresses. Because of the interdisciplinary formulation of the issues, this summary is not organized according to specific sessions. Conference proceedings are reported as a narrative presentation of the diverse views and content that were expressed by participants, group leaders and members of the panel. Where appropriate, specific speakers are identified. The texts of the keynote addresses are compiled from each speaker's remarks at the two conference sessions.
TEACHING ETHNIC LITERACY FOR A FUTURE WORLD SOCIETY*

by James A. Banks
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There are several widespread assumptions about ethnic studies which have adversely affected the development of ethnic studies programs in the schools. We need to examine and to challenge these assumptions and related school practices and to formulate new assumptions and goals if the ethnic studies movement is going to serve as a catalyst for curriculum reform. The greatest promise of ethnic studies is that it will serve as a vehicle for general curriculum reform. If we merely add ethnic content to the traditional curriculum, which is highly dysfunctional, our efforts to modify the curriculum with ethnic content are likely to lead to a dead end. We must radically change the total school curriculum.

ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT ETHNIC STUDIES

One pervasive assumption embraced by many educators is that ethnic studies deals exclusively with non-white minority groups, such as Asian-Americans, Native Americans and Afro-Americans. In many school ethnic studies programs, little or no attention is devoted to the experiences of

*A part of this paper is based upon the article "Ethnic Studies Process of Curriculum Reform," Social Education (February, 1975), Vol. 40, pages 76-80, and is reprinted by the permission of James A. Banks and the National Council for the Social Studies.
European-American ethnic groups, such as Jewish-American, Polish-American and Italian-American. This narrow conceptualization of ethnic studies emerged out of the social forces which gave rise to the ethnic studies movement in the 1960s. To conceptualize ethnic studies as exclusively the study of ethnic minorities is inconsistent with the ways in which ethnicity is defined by sociologists and prevents the development of broadly conceptualized comparative approaches that are needed to help students fully understand the complex role of ethnicity in American life and culture. Conceptualizing ethnic studies exclusively as the study of non-white ethnic groups also promotes a kind of "we-they" attitude among white students and teachers. Many students think that ethnic studies is the study of "them," while American studies is the study of "us." A large number of teachers believe that ethnic studies have no place in an all-white classroom.

A related assumption which school people often make about ethnic studies is that only students who are members of a particular ethnic minority group should study that group's history and culture. Programs frequently focus on one specific ethnic group, such as Puerto Rican Americans, Afro-Americans or Native Americans. The ethnic group on which the program focuses is usually either present or dominant in the local school population. Significantly, specialized ethnic studies courses are almost never found in predominantly white schools and are almost always electives in schools with large non-white populations. The popularity of these courses has waned tremendously within the last several years. In some schools, few black students are now taking Black Studies courses.
Ethnic studies should not be limited to specialized courses such as Black Studies or Mexican-American Studies, but should be an integral part of the entire school curriculum. Ethnic modification of the total school curriculum should be a major goal of curriculum reform, and not the creation or addition of courses such as Black Studies or Asian-American Studies. These courses should, however, remain as electives as long as ethnic minorities have unique intellectual, psychological and political needs.

All students, regardless of their race, ethnicity or social class, should study about the cogent role which ethnicity and ethnic conflict have played in shaping the American experience. Most Americans are socialized within ethnic enclaves and are ethnically illiterate. Within their ethnic enclaves people learn primarily about their own cultures and assume that their lifestyles are the legitimate ones and that other cultures are invalid, strange and different. The school should help students to break out of their ethnic enclaves and to broaden their cultural and ethnic perspectives. Students need to learn that within our society there are cultural and ethnic alternatives which they can freely embrace. This learning should be one of the major goals of multiethnic and multicultural education.

Many school people assume that ethnic studies is essentially additive in nature and that we can create valid ethnic studies programs by leaving the present curriculum intact and adding ethnic heroes, such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and Geronimo, to the list of Anglo-American heroes who
are already studied in most schools. Conceptualizing ethnic studies as essentially additive in nature is problematical for several reasons. While much curriculum reform took place in the turbulent sixties, in too many classrooms throughout the nation teachers still emphasize the mastery of low-level facts and do not help students to master higher levels of knowledge.

Modifying the school curriculum to include ethnic content provides a tremendous opportunity to reexamine the assumptions, purposes and nature of the curriculum and to formulate a curriculum with new assumptions and goals. Merely adding low-level facts about ethnic content to a curriculum which is already bulging with discrete and isolated facts about white heroes will result in overkill. Isolated facts about Crispus Attucks do not stimulate the intellect any more than isolated facts about George Washington or Abraham Lincoln. To meaningfully integrate content about ethnic groups into the total school curriculum, we must undertake more drastic and innovative curriculum reform. Adding facts about ethnic heroes and events of questionable historical significance is not sufficient.

ETHNIC STUDIES: A PROCESS OF CURRICULUM REFORM

Ethnic studies should not be an addition to the curriculum, limited to specialized courses, or studied only by ethnic minorities. Rather, ethnic studies should be viewed as a process of curriculum reform that will result in the creation of a new curriculum that is based on new assumptions and new perspectives, and which will help students to gain novel views of the American experience and a new conception of what it means to be American.
Since the English immigrants gained control over most economic, social and political institutions early in our national history, to Americanize has been interpreted to mean "Anglicize." Especially during the height of nativism in the late 1800's, and early 1900's, the English-American defined Americanization as "Anglicization." This notion of Americanization is still widespread within our society today. Thus when we think of American history and American literature we tend to think of Anglo-American history and literature written by Anglo-American authors.

RECONCEIVING AMERICAN SOCIETY

Since the assumption that only that which is Anglo-American is American is so deeply ingrained in curriculum materials and in the hearts and minds of many students and teachers, we cannot significantly change the curriculum by merely adding a unit or a lesson here and there about Afro-American, Jewish-American, or Italian-American history. Rather, we need to seriously examine the conception of American that is perpetuated in the curriculum and the basic purposes and assumptions of the curriculum.

It is imperative that we totally reconceptualize the ways in which we view American society and history in the school curriculum. We should teach American history from diverse ethnic perspectives rather than primarily or exclusively from the points of view of Anglo-American historians and writers. Most American history courses are currently taught primarily from an Anglo-American perspective. These types of courses and experiences are based on what I call the Anglo-American Centric Model or Model A (See Figure 1, Para 6). Ethnic studies, as a process of curriculum reform,
can and often does proceed from Model A to Model B, the Ethnic Additive Model. In courses and experiences based on Model B, ethnic content is an additive to the major curriculum thrust, which remains Anglo-American dominated. Many school districts that have attempted ethnic modification of the curriculum have implemented Model B types of curriculum changes. Black Studies courses, Chicano Studies courses, and special units on ethnic groups in the elementary grades are examples of Model B types of curricular experiences.

I am suggesting that curriculum reform proceed directly from Model A to Model C, the Multiethnic Model. In courses and experiences based on Model C, the students study historical and social events from several ethnic points of view. Anglo-American perspectives are only one group of several and are in no way superior or inferior to other ethnic perspectives. I view Model D, the Multinational Model, types of courses and programs as the ultimate goal of curriculum reform. In this curriculum model, students study historical and social events from multinational perspectives. Since we live in a global society, students need to learn how to become effective citizens of the world community. This is unlikely to happen if they study historical and contemporary social events only or primarily from the perspectives of ethnic cultures within this nation.

TEACHING MULTIETHNIC PERSPECTIVES

When studying a historical period, such as the Colonial period, in a course organized on the Multiethnic Model (Model C), the inquiry would not end when the students viewed the period from the perspectives of Anglo-
American historians and writers. Rather, they would ponder these kinds of questions: Why did Anglo-American historians name the English settlers "Colonists" and other nationality groups "immigrants?" How do Native American historians view the Colonial period? Do their views of the period differ in any substantial ways from the views of Anglo-American historians? Why or why not? What was life like for Jews, blacks and other ethnic groups in America during the 17th and 18th centuries? How do we know? In other words, in courses and programs organized on Model C, students would view historical and contemporary events from the perspectives of different ethnic and racial groups.

I am not suggesting that we eliminate or denigrate Anglo-American history or Anglo-American perspectives on historical events. I am merely suggesting that Anglo-American perspectives should be among many different ethnic perspectives taught in the social studies and in American history. Only by approaching the study of American history in this way will students get a global rather than an ethnocentric view of our nation's history and culture.

An historian's experience and culture, including his or her ethnic culture, cogently influence his or her views of the past and present. It would be simplistic to argue that there is one Anglo-American view of history and contemporary events or one black view. Wide differences in experiences and perceptions exist both within and across ethnic groups. However, those who have experienced an historical event or a social phenomenon, such as racial bigotry or internment, often view the event differently than those who have watched it from a distance. There is no one
Anglo-American perspective on the internment as there is no one Japanese-American view of it. However, accounts written by those who were interned, such as Takashima's powerful Child in Prison Camp, often provide insights and perspectives that cannot be provided by people who were not interned. Individuals who viewed the internment from the outside can also provide us with unique and important perspectives. Both perspectives should be studied in a sound social studies curriculum.

Only by looking at events, such as the internment, from many different perspectives can we fully understand the complex dimensions of American history and culture. Various ethnic groups within our society are often differently influenced by events and respond to and perceive them differently. One of the goals of ethnic studies should be to change the basic assumptions about what American means and to present students with new ways of viewing and interpreting American history and culture. Any goals which are less ambitious, while important, will not result in the substantial and radical curricular reform that I consider imperative.

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO ETHNIC STUDIES

In addition to being based on a Model C (Multiethnic) strategy, the curriculum should also be conceptual and interdisciplinary. Concepts taught in ethnic studies should be selected from several disciplines and, when appropriate, viewed from the varied perspectives of disciplines such as the social sciences, art, music, literature, physical education, communication, the sciences, and mathematics. It is necessary for students to view ethnic events and situations from the perspectives of several disciplines.
because any one discipline gives them only a partial understanding of problems related to ethnicity. When students study the concept of culture, they can attain a global perspective on ethnic cultures by viewing ethnic cultures from the perspectives of the various social sciences and by examining the expressions of ethnic cultures in literature, music, drama, dance, art, communication, and foods. The other curriculum areas, such as science and mathematics, can also be included in an interdisciplinary study of ethnic cultures.

In reading and literature, the students can read such novels as *Farewell to Manzanar, House Made of Dawn,* and *Bless Me Ultima.* They can determine the ways in which these novels are similar and different and what they reveal about the cultures of Japanese-Americans, American Indians, and Mexican-Americans. In music, the class can listen to and study songs from such musicals as *West Side Story* and *Don't Bother Me, I Can't Cope.* Students can try to determine whether these songs are valid expressions of Puerto Rican American and Afro-American cultures and what they reveal or do not reveal about these cultures.

In drama, students can create a dramatization of the epic poem *I am Joaquin* and discuss how it expresses Chicano history, contemporary life and culture. They can also dramatize the theater vignette, "Mother and Child," by Langston Hughes and discuss what it reveals about Afro-American life and culture. The study of ethnic cultures can be greatly enriched by activities in physical education which focus on the dances which Afro Americans, Mexican-Americans and other ethnic groups have contributed to American life and culture. The students can also discuss
how ethnic cultures are expressed and revealed through dance. They can perform ethnic dances in a school assembly program.

In art, students can examine the works of ethnic artists such as Jacob Lawrence, Charles White and Roberto Lebron, and determine ways in which artists are influenced by their ethnic cultures and how they express their ethnicity through their art. Language arts can focus on the various ways in which symbols and communication styles differ between and within ethnic groups and how standard American English is influenced by the ethnic cultures within the United States.

During a study of ethnic cultures in home economics, students can prepare such ethnic dishes as sweet and sour pork (Chinese), baked lasagne (It lian), sukiyaki (Japanese), beef enchiladas (Mexican), and ham hocks and black-eyed peas (Afro-American). They can do research to determine what these foods reveal about the cultures of these respective ethnic groups, how the cultures of ethnic groups influence the way in which persons satisfy the universal need for food and how, within different ethnic groups, the concept of a "balanced diet" varies. In science, students can examine the physical characteristics of the various ethnic groups and try to determine ways in which the physical traits of ethnic groups influence how other groups respond to them, their interactions with each other and their total culture. In mathematics, students can learn the cultural roots of our base-ten number system and discuss ways in which the number system within a society reflects its culture. They can also research the contributions which various ethnic groups have made to our number system.
Concepts such as culture can be used to organize units and activities related to ethnicity that cut across the disciplinary lines. Other concepts, such as socialization, poverty, conflict and power, can also be analyzed and studied from an interdisciplinary perspective.

It is neither possible nor desirable to teach each concept in the curriculum from the perspectives of all of the disciplines and curricular areas. Such an attempt would result in artificial relationships and superficial learnings by students. However, many excellent opportunities exist within the curriculum for teaching concepts from an interdisciplinary perspective. These opportunities should be fully explored and used. Interdisciplinary teaching requires the strong cooperation of teachers in the various content areas. Team teaching will often be necessary, especially at the high school level, to organize and implement interdisciplinary units and lessons. Table I summarizes my example of teaching culture from an interdisciplinary perspective. Figure 2 illustrates the process.
This figure illustrates how a concept such as culture can be viewed from the perspectives of a number of disciplines and areas. Any one discipline gives only a partial understanding of a concept, social problem or issue. Thus ethnic studies units, lessons and programs should be interdisciplinary and cut across disciplinary lines.

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CONCLUSION

Ethnic studies should have goals which are highly consistent with the needs of a global society. Events within the last decade have dramatically indicated that we live in a world society that is beset with momentous social and human problems, many of which are related to ethnic hostility and conflict. Effective solutions to these tremendous problems can be found only by an active, compassionate and informed citizenry capable of making sound public decisions that will benefit the world community. It is imperative that the school play a decisive role in educating citizens who have both the vision and the courage to make our world more humane.
NOTES


NONDECISION-MAKING AND DECISION-MAKING
IN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

by

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In their seminal 1970 book, *Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice*, political scientist Peter Bachrach and economist Morton S. Baratz introduced the concept of nondecision-making. In this paper I am not concerned with the concept as developed by Bachrach and Baratz, but rather with the term itself. Therefore, with a debt of gratitude to Bachrach and Baratz for their contribution of this most provocative concept, I would like to borrow the term, nondecision-making, and give to it my own operational definition for purposes of analyzing multicultural education. As I will use the term, nondecision-making will refer to the process by which people carry out acts without really having decided to do so—because they have not considered alternatives, because they have always done so, because that is what others have done, or because that is what they have been told to do.

Much of life is composed of nondecisions. We need nondecisions. It would be excruciating to have to go through life without nondecisions. Try completing an entire day making decisions about everything you do, every step you take, every word you say. Try seriously contemplating and weighing alternatives for every word and every act. You would probably go berserk before the day was out. To a degree, then, nondecisions liberate us from having to lead lives of continuous decision-making.
Nondecision-making, as I use the term, also plays a role in education. Much of the time, educators act without deciding—out of habit, out of ritual, out of conformity, on the basis of instructions, as implementers of established procedures, or as purveyors of predetermined curriculum content. As in daily life, nondecision-making serves the positive function of making it possible for educators to survive the educational day. Try going through a school day consciously making decisions about each and every word you say and act you make. Nondecision-making helps us maintain our sanity.

Moreover, many nondecision-making facets of education are valid precisely because they have been time-tested and proven effective through use and experience. These facets should be continued because of their proven effectiveness, while at the same time receiving regular re-evaluation to make sure that what worked in the past is still working in the present and will work in the future. I am concerned with those nondecision-making facets of education which have no proven worth and, even more important, those which may even be harmful.

For example, how long does it take to teach a subject? That is a decision which most teachers do not have to face. Why? Because they are told how long to teach a subject. They are assigned fifty or eighty-minute educational modules—called class periods—with specified between-class intervals. They are assigned ten or fifteen or twenty or forty-week modules—called quarters or semesters or academic years—in which to teach a subject. Elementary school teachers in self-contained classrooms have more flexibility, and thereby are forced to make more
time decisions, but even elementary schools operate under some degree of modular scheduling including academic year limits. Teachers are relieved of the decision of how long to teach; they merely need to decide how to "complete" a subject in an assigned time module. Insofar as teachers are assigned educational materials, are required to follow standardized curricula, or in other respects are told what to do, they become less decision-makers and more nondecision-making implementers.

Let us look at another example of nondecision-making in education. Why do teachers teach certain facts or information to their students? Why do they examine students on their "knowledge" (temporary memorization) of these facts or information? I have asked that question to hundreds of teachers, and the most common answers are "I'm not sure," "Because these facts are important," or "Because students ought to know them." Teachers who admit they are not sure why they teach the information they teach are tacitly admitting that they are teaching through nondecision-making. They are simply passing on information because it is in the book; because they have done it before; because they are repeating what others have done; or because they are merely passing on what others, such as curriculum designers, have told them to teach. To those teachers who answer, "Because these facts are important" or "Because students ought to know them," I ask, "Why are those facts important?" or "Why should students know them?" Seldom do I receive a considered answer, an answer which reveals thought and reflection. In short, seldom do I receive an answer that indicates that these "facts" or "information" were selected on the basis of carefully considered decision-making.
I say this not as a criticism. No teacher has the time or stamina to employ a thorough decision-making process about each piece of information or each classroom action. However, we need to be critically aware that teaching and the concomitant process of testing students on their knowledge and skills are the result of both nondecisions and decisions.

A third and more important example of nondecision-making—one that has had a deleterious impact on ethnic minorities—has been the traditional use of I.Q. tests. For decades teachers distributed I.Q. tests in their classrooms and administrators used the results for such purposes as discovering the supposedly mentally retarded and assigning students to educational tracks. How many teachers went through a thorough process of weighing alternatives, of seriously contemplating whether or not they should follow instructions to distribute and collect I.Q. tests in their classes? How many principals considered how the results should be used and whether or not to follow district policy of labeling and placement on the basis of these tests? The reality is that most nondecided: they did as they were told.

Yet here was an educational nondecision which, in its total and collective sense, has had a permanent, destructive, discriminatory impact on many young people, particularly ethnic minority children who were inordinately and unfairly tracked into classes for the mentally retarded or away from college preparatory course programs. Only recently have reformers begun to be successful in exposing the linguistic, cultural, and class biases of I.Q. tests and in demonstrating that
these tests really reflect achievement more than intelligence and reflect cultural background and socialization more than innate mental capacity. In short, only recently has the implementation and use of I.Q. testing begun to become a decision rather than a massively conducted nondecision.

The foregoing are examples of nondecision-making in education in general. I would now like to turn to nondecision-making as it affects multicultural education in particular. This impact has two major aspects—whether or not there should be multicultural education and the manner in which multicultural education can become viable, valid, and effective.

WHY MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION?

Before a decision could be made to implement multicultural education, multicultural education had to be brought into the decision-making arena. There are some who are clearly opposed to multicultural education and others who are dedicated to instituting and implementing it. There is also that massive middle group of educators who have never actively supported or opposed multicultural education, generally because they have never seriously thought about it. For them, multicultural education is a nondecision.

One of our major tasks is to elevate multicultural education from a nondecision to a decision for all educators. The weight of evidence is on our side, but we must effectively use and present that evidence in order to gather recruits for the multicultural educational process.
Some basic realities must be faced, such as the fact that schools do not control education. Schools are only part of education. Alongside the school curriculum, there is a curriculum operating that I like to refer to as the "societal curriculum"—that education which comes from the family, from friends and neighbors, from other institutions, and from the mass media, especially the omnipresent television set.

By the time children enter school, they are already very educated, although not well educated. And even after children enter schools, the latter's educational influence is only partial. While students spend a few hours per day in the classroom and, in most cases, even fewer hours studying outside of class, the informal education of the societal curriculum continues to operate.

What does this have to do with multicultural education? Quite simply, part of this societal curriculum is an informal education about ethnicity. Children who have never set foot in schools, children who have never heard the word "ethnicity," have nevertheless begun their life-long informal education about ethnic groups. Prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping, intergroup misunderstanding—all of these are mainly a result of the prejudice-producing, misunderstanding-creating elements of the societal curriculum. In my teachers' workshops and training courses, one of the first assignments is for each teacher to keep a societal curriculum journal—a record of elements of the societal curriculum on ethnicity, particularly messages, stereotypes and "information" about ethnic groups spread by the mass media.
For years this societal curriculum on ethnicity has helped to create prejudice and intergroup misunderstanding, while schools have been nondeciding to do anything to counteract these noxious influences on the future citizens of our society. I say nondeciding because only in the past decade have those educators who support ethnic studies and multicultural education been successful in getting schools to even consider the implementation of multicultural education. In other words, only in recent years have schools reached the position of even deciding rather than nondeciding about multicultural education.

If we are not aware or will not admit that a decision must be made, then it will not be made. Nondecision-making will reign supreme. For evil to triumph, all that is necessary is for good people to do nothing. For prejudice and intergroup misunderstanding to continue to triumph, all that is necessary is for "good" educators to nondecide to do anything about it. We must see to it that all educators become aware of the societal curriculum on ethnicity and, therefore, become aware that the decision must be made to institute effective programs of multicultural education to counteract that societal curriculum. Through the multicultural education process, we must do our best to provide today's young people with the maximum opportunity to grow up with intergroup understanding and without irrational prejudice.

NONDECISION: MEMORIZATION OF FACTS

Obtaining district, school, or teacher commitment to multicultural education is only half of the battle. Once that decision has been made,
we must be wary lest nondecision-making dominate the content and process of multicultural education itself. Let us look at some of the perils of nondecision-making and some of the decision-making antidotes to these dangers.

The memorization of "important" facts about ethnic groups--names, dates, places, heroes, success stories--composes much, too much, of current ethnic studies and multicultural education. Why? To a great extent it is because of nondecision-making. That is the way others have taught about ethnic groups. That is what is in the books about ethnic groups. But is this what multicultural education ought to be?

In an incisive article entitled "Ethnic Content and 'White' Instruction," Larry Cuban points out that one of the major failings of much of ethnic education has been the packaging of ethnic content in "white instruction." Cuban describes "white instruction" as: "those traditional methods of telling, explaining and clarifying that have been the mainstay of classrooms for the last millennium;" "the teacher's view of the learner as a passive absorber of data;" and "the belief that acquisition of all the facts must precede analysis." In Cuban's words, "to graft ethnic content onto white instruction will shrivel and ultimately kill a hardy, vital effort to reform what happens in the classroom." ²

Too many multicultural programs are mired in this "white instruction"--the memorization of "important facts" about ethnic groups and the names of Afro-American poets, Mexican-American athletes, Native-American heroes, Asian-American success stories, Greek-American doctors,
Polish-American artists or Jewish-American novelists. Certainly there is some value in learning about ethnic heroes and success stories. Children of an ethnic group can develop greater pride and others can develop greater respect for that group by learning about its heroes or successes. However, multicultural education too often becomes little more than the glorification of ethnic heroes or an extended exercise in "me too-ism"--the listing of ethnics who have "made it" according to mainstream standards. The overreliance on these multicultural educational cliches is an example of nondecision-making.

Information overload can weigh down any multicultural program. While facts are important, they are important not as discrete items for children to memorize and then forget, but principally as building blocks for developing understanding; pride; insight into self and others; and the capacity to analyze, synthesize and make decisions. Multicultural education should not emphasize "important facts" selected (or better, nonselected) through a nondecision-making process. Facts should be selected with a reason. We must ask ourselves: Is this fact really important? Why is it worth teaching? How will this help increase self or intergroup understanding? This is a tough, demanding, self-disciplining assignment--to continuously challenge yourself on why you select or reject certain facts for inclusion in your multicultural education program. But it is necessary if multicultural education is to become more than the traditional educational process of memorization and forgetting and instead become a force for intergroup understanding.
Certainly there are pressures on teachers to stress "hard facts" rather than analysis, the development of understanding, or the improvement of attitudes. One of these strains is the current emphasis on evaluation and accountability. As teachers receive greater pressure to prove their efficacy, there is the natural and nearly inevitable tendency to emphasize the most easily measurable products--as well as the kinds of items used on standardized and computer-scored examinations--hard facts. In teaching in order to rate well on evaluation, we may undermine multicultural education by stressing its more measurable but less important aspects while avoiding its softer, less measurable, but societally more important aspects: the development of better understanding, the creation of better self-concept, the improvement of skills of analysis and synthesis, the reduction of prejudice, and the strengthening of the capacity for decision-making.

Once I visited a multicultural education program in a community infamous for its ethnic prejudices. When I inquired about the success of its program, an administrator proudly stated that the district had proof of its effectiveness. As an example, he pointed out that for official evaluation of the success of the "Indian unit," all students were required to build model tepees!

This is not a rap on evaluation as such. Multicultural education should be evaluated; it should be held accountable for moving toward its goals. Moreover, the establishment of clearly conceived and precisely stated goals and the development of a valid process of evaluation to chart progress toward these goals is essential to effective
multicultural education. The key word here is "valid"—evaluation to help improve the effectiveness of multicultural education, not multicultural educational programs designed to receive good scores on evaluation.

**NONDECISION: BASICS OR MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION**

"We don't have time for multicultural education. We want to emphasize going 'back to basics.'" I am all for an increased emphasis on basics, but why should emphasis on basics have to be couched as "back to?" Why? A nondecision—because that is the motto that has caught attention.

Instead of "back to basics," why not "forward to basics?" Why not make multicultural education part of going forward to and strengthening basics? Despite all of the sound and fury about going back to basics and how such fringe subjects as multicultural education detract from good fundamental education, there is no intrinsic conflict between multicultural and basic skills education. Too often we permit this dichotomy to be erected. Too often we let multicultural education be drawn into an invalid, unnecessary and debilitating either-or argument over priorities. When we permit such a debate to surface, we are guilty of nondecision-making—letting others set the guidelines for the discussion and then blindly following their lead. We should make the decision to reject this false dichotomy. Multicultural education and basic skills education should not be viewed in an either-or manner, but as mutually reinforcing.
The multicultural approach can be a boon to basic skills education. The use of materials with interesting ethnic content can provide the impetus for the learning of basic skills. This may be particularly true for students of ethnic backgrounds. Such students should find that reading materials and mathematical problems which relate to their heritage and experiences are stimulating sources for basic skills development. Beyond this, all students should benefit from strengthening basic skills by reading about people of diverse backgrounds and tackling mathematical problems that reveal multiethnic realities. What a double benefit to students and to society! At the same time that they learn basic skills, students would also learn about each other.

Just as multicultural education blends naturally and effectively with basic skills education, so it also blends with all other aspects of the curriculum. Whether with traditional subjects as literature, mathematics, social studies, music or art, or with more contemporary emphases as values education, career education, and consumer education, the multicultural approach can and should be included. Let us avoid the nondecision of letting multicultural education be dragged into a struggle over priorities. Let us make the decision to implement the multicultural approach in all aspects of the curriculum.

NONDECISION: TEACHING ABOUT THE U.S. AS AN EAST-TO-WEST PHENOMENON

One of the major nondecisions currently dominating U.S. education, including much of multicultural education, is the direction used in
teaching about the United States. Yes, I said that the "direction" was the nondecision. Let me explain.

The United States--be it U.S. history, art, literature, music, economics, or what have you--has traditionally and almost universally been taught from an east-to-west perspective. This ethnocentric approach depicts the nation as a strictly unidirectional product of civilization that spread from Western Europe across the Atlantic Ocean to the east coast of what is today the United States and then west to the Pacific. Within this approach, ethnic groups appear almost always in two forms--as obstacles to the advance of westward-moving Anglo civilization or as problems that must be corrected or, at least, kept under control. The underlying rationale for the east-to-west frame of reference is for the most part political--the idea that the development of the United States should be viewed as a process that occurred in an east-to-west direction within the national political boundaries of the country.

But what about those Native American, Hispanic, and Mexican civilizations that developed on the land that ultimately would become part of the United States? What about those civilizations which entered the United States by other than east-to-west direction--the northwesterly flow of civilizations from Africa to America, the northerly flow of Hispanic and Mexican civilization, and the easterly flow of civilizations and cultures from Asia? At best, most books and curricula on the United States give only token recognition to the development of cultures in America prior to the coming of the European;
the growth of the Native American, Hispanic and Mexican civilizations before the U.S. conquest of their territory; and the flow of civilizations into the United States from other than east-to-west from Europe.

Take a close look at your school's curriculum and textbooks. See if they reflect this east-to-west perspective. If they do and if they have not been challenged as such, then the distorting east-to-west perspective has triumphed through nondecision-making.

What is the alternative? I would like to suggest the adoption of a geocultural, multidirectional approach to teaching about the United States, an approach which incorporates the variety of cultural experiences that have composed the total U.S. experience. Rather than look at just the political United States, we should reform education to deal consistently with the development of the entire geocultural area that eventually became the United States. Moreover, the flow of cultures into the United States should be viewed multidirectionally, with the rich diversity that resulted for our nation.

Those committed to multicultural educational reform, better yet, all who believe in an honest, balanced, and thorough presentation of our country in the curriculum, should work to make the geocultural, multidirectional approach an intrinsic part of the educational process, starting with the first year of school and incorporated into all possible subject areas. From the first year, the school curriculum should include the continuous, parallel study of the various civilizations that developed in the geocultural United States. Through this concept we can examine such topics as:
1. the varieties of Native American civilizations;

2. the European-descent and African-descent explorers and settlers of both Northern Mexico (later the U.S. Southwest) and the Atlantic colonies;

3. the relations of Native American civilizations with the expanding U.S. society from the east and expanding Mexican society from the south;

4. the types of British colonial, United States, Spanish colonial, Mexican, French colonial, and independent Native American philosophies; cultural patterns; political systems; economic systems; class and caste structures; literary and artistic traditions; and concepts of law, land, and water rights;

5. the political, social, economic and cultural origins of the varieties of peoples who entered the United States from various directions;

6. the impact of these people on the development of U.S. culture and society and the converse impact of the U.S. on them; and

7. the process of cultural and ethnic conflict, fusion, and coexistence.

This geocultural, multidirectional approach can be used in a variety of subject areas and in either a disciplinary or an interdisciplinary framework. Literature, art, architecture, music, government, economics, society, institutions or almost any other subject will take on a new, vibrant, revealing, and culturally pluralistic texture when studied and taught geoculturally and multidirectionally. Moreover, the continuous implementation of this approach in all subject areas can help liberate education from its traditional ethnocentrism and help multicultural education develop free of imprisoning directional restrictions. Now is the time to reject the nondecision of the unidirectional approach. Now is the time to make the decision to adopt the geocultural, multidirectional approach to the study of our nation.
NONDECISION: ETHNIC GROUPS AS SOCIAL PROBLEMS

What is wrong with ethnic people? What can be done about their cultural deprivation? What can be done to rid them of their "traditional" hang-ups and make them "modern"? Why can't they assimilate as other Americans? Whether stated explicitly or presented implicitly, such questions and their underlying attitudes pervade contemporary educational materials and curricula, including many ethnic materials.

These questions and these materials are based on a rigid assumption—that ethnic groups are a problem. They must be changed; they must be made to conform to U.S. society (usually as idealized or fantasized by the author of the materials). If these things are done, the "ethnic problem" will disappear. Here we have another nondecision which regulates, or better, strangulates, much of the educational curriculum. Unfortunately, this nondecision has also found its way into much of current multicultural education.

By operating on this assumption, material writers, curriculum developers, and teachers are inexorably drawn into the asking of loaded questions or the distorting of the presentation of ethnic groups. What about an ethnic culture impedes educational attainment? What about ethnic groups makes them violent or unambitious or undependable? What about the nature of some ethnic groups prevents them from achieving as other Americans? Such lines of inquiry create their own answers—that there is something "wrong" with ethnic cultures. Although the details may vary, students are directed to operate on one basic assumption: ethnic groups and ethnic people are the problem.
What are the results of this nondecision? Consider the probable cumulative impact of the constant classroom reference to the textbook depictions of ethnic groups as problems. How long can ethnic students be expected to experience their group being designated a "problem" before this repetition creates a negative self-image? What are the long-range effects of this same repetition in convincing Anglo students to view ethnic people as problems?

There is an alternative. Educators can shift the burden of "being a problem" and consider a different source of problems--society itself. Instead of asking what about ethnic groups is a problem, why not ask what aspects of our society create problems for members of ethnic groups?

The adoption of a multicultural approach with a focus on the "society as problem" rather than the "ethnic group as problem" will provide the educational curriculum and classroom implementation with an entirely different and culturally sensitive tone. Educators can explore the economic obstacles which lead to low income and poor jobs for ethnic people. They can discuss the aspects of the political process which restrict ethnic representation in decision-making governmental positions. They can have students consider ways in which different institutions may turn an ethnic culture into a disadvantage. An obvious example is when critical societal institutions do not provide multilingual services to the non-English-speaking people whom they are supposed to be serving. By making the decision to encourage and assist students in thinking about the societal problems which adversely affect
ethnic people and ways to help resolve or ameliorate these problems, educators will be taking a positive step toward producing future citizens committed and equipped to bring about constructive reform.

**NONDECISION: TEACHING FROM A DOMINANT SOCIETY PERSPECTIVE**

Most educational materials and curricula are designed and presented from dominant society perspectives. This has been the historical tradition and that tradition still dominates. By uncritically following that tradition, educators commit the nondecision of undermining a valid multicultural approach.

This is not to imply that there is a single dominant society perspective. Not all members of the dominant society think alike, no more than do all members of any ethnic group. However, the tradition of viewing our nation from a mainstream point of view and with implicit mainstream values is entrenched in our educational system. Educators' nondecision continuation of this approach restricts the possibility of helping students to develop the capacity to view our nation from the perspectives of its various ethnic groups.

Educators should reject the nondecision of uncritically using the dominant-society-only approach to the study of the United States. Instead, they should make the decision to adopt a multiperspective approach—looking at different subjects, events, and ideas from the perspectives of different groups, particularly different ethnic groups. Let me suggest how that multiperspective approach might be applied to one particular event, the Battle of the Alamo.
This battle occurred in 1836 in San Antonio during the independence revolt of Texas residents of the Mexican province of Coahuila, Texas. In the battle, Mexican troops defeated the rebels, who had taken a defensive position within the Alamo. The struggle resulted in the death of hundreds of Mexican troops and most of the nearly two-hundred combatants within the Alamo. The latter included not only Mexican rebels (Mexican citizens of both Anglo-American and Indo-Hispanic descent), but also a large number of Anglo-American volunteers who had come to Texas to support the rebellion. Seven defenders surrendered and were tried and executed for treason as Mexican citizens who had rebelled against the constituted Mexican government.

The vast majority of U.S. history textbooks treat the Texas Revolution and the Battle of the Alamo from a single, pro-Texas perspective. The rebels are portrayed as heroes, their cause is judged the "right side," and the battle itself is usually labeled a "slaughter" or "massacre," although factually speaking it was a military triumph. Conversely and inequitably, most of these same books apply the less emotionally loaded terms, "triumph" and "victory," to the Battle of San Jacinto at which Texans defeated Mexican troops some six weeks later. Yet Texans killed more than three times as many Mexican troops at San Jacinto as Mexican troops killed rebels at the Alamo, thus qualifying San Jacinto for the words "slaughter" and "massacre" according to the authors' previous body-count yardstick. Moreover, these books seldom present other than the Texas point of view, depriving students of the opportunity of considering Mexican decisions and actions with some balance.
What is the solution to such traditional ethnocentric and misunderstanding-producing presentations of events, subjects, and ideas involving ethnic groups? First, educators need to decide to use emotionally neutral terms—the unthinking, reflex use of such words as "slaughter," "massacre," "bloodthirsty," and "savage" is one of the most prejudice-creating non-decisions in education. Second, throughout the curriculum, educators need to apply a multiperspective approach that will give students the experience of viewing our nation from different points of view.

Following are some of the perspectives which could be used in applying this approach to the Battle of the Alamo. Why did the rebels revolt? What was the basis and justification for their actions? How did the Mexican central government perceive this rebellion and why did it attempt to quell the revolt? What were the actions taken and beliefs expressed by the Indo-Hispanic Mexicans (Mexicans of Indo-Hispanic descent) in Texas, and by the Anglo-Mexicans (Mexicans of Anglo-American descent, both those born in Mexican Texas and those who had accepted Mexican citizenship, a requirement for immigrating into Mexican Texas?)

It should be remembered that Indo-Hispanic Mexicans fought on both sides of the Texas Revolution and both inside and outside of the Alamo. How did the Mexican soldiers, many of whom had been only recently conscripted into the army, view the revolt? How did the various native American civilizations in the area look on the revolt, as its results were bound to have a significant impact on their future? How did U.S. leaders of various backgrounds view the revolt? How did black Americans react to events in Texas, where the conflict had important ethnic overtones?
The possibilities are unlimited for applying various perspectives to this and other events, ideas and subjects. By adopting a multi-perspective approach, educators can help students obtain a more balanced view of subjects which are often presented in distorted and sometimes inflammatory manners. Nontraditional sources, excerpts from ethnic writings, provocative questions and role-playing can be used to help students learn to analyze phenomena from multiple perspectives.

The payoff for making the decision to bring multiple perspectives to the classroom is double. First, this approach can reduce divisive ethnocentrism by teaching students to consider events and other phenomena from the points of view of many groups. Beyond this, it will help develop in students the liberating predisposition and analytical capacity to seek out multiple perspectives, ethnic and otherwise, on the various issues that they will confront while in school and throughout their lives.

NONDECISION: ISOLATION OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Black History Week. Chinese food day in the school cafeteria. Display of native American art. Cinco de Mayo festival. Presentation of traditional Japanese dances in school assembly. Similar events celebrating different groups who have contributed to our national heritage. Good, but not enough.

Units on native American dance, Chicano history, Afro-American music, Italian-American culture, Asian art, Jewish literature. Multicultural
hour at selected times throughout the week. In high school, general ethnic courses or courses on selected ethnic groups. Once again, good; keep it up but still not enough.

The recognition of ethnic groups through school events and the study of single ethnic groups through special units and courses has been a valuable and long overdue addition to our educational process. Moreover, traditional ethnic studies and ethnic events will continue to be important, both because they have intrinsic value and because they provide the cutting edge of multicultural educational reform. But once again, educators must not become mired in what is rapidly solidifying into a nondecision of multicultural education—the isolated presentation and study of ethnic groups. While continuing to celebrate ethnic weeks, holidays and special events; while continuing to create ethnic curriculum units; while continuing to set up necessary courses on ethnic groups and various aspects of the ethnic experience, educators must avoid and oppose the nondecision of permitting this isolated approach to become the totality of multicultural education.

Too often schools consider these special celebrations, units, or courses as having fulfilled their multicultural obligation. Too often there is little or no effort to interrelate the experiences of various groups, thereby impeding the development of student understanding. In multicultural education, we must make and strive to implement the decision to move beyond the compartmentalization and isolation of the study of ethnic groups. We must make and strive to implement the decision to incorporate the study of ethnicity throughout the entire
school curriculum. The acceptance of the ghettoization of the teaching of ethnic groups is a nondecision which blunts the thrust of multicultural education.

NONDECISION: MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION FOR ETHNIC STUDENTS

Multicultural education is not just the study of an ethnic group by students of that group, nor is it just the study of ethnic groups heavily represented in a school or in its surrounding community. Unfortunately, these are nondecisions that educators often implement in multicultural education programs.

Multicultural education is the study of ethnicity and ethnic groups in general by all students of all backgrounds. As James A. Banks has cogently proposed, schools should commit themselves to the development of "ethnic literacy." Ethnic literacy—a thorough understanding of the function of ethnicity in our society and the cultures, experiences and current situations of ethnic groups in our nation—should be a primary goal of multicultural education for all students.

I am not arguing for the homogenization or standardization of multicultural education. All schools and districts have special populations to serve. They may wish to emphasize ethnic groups in the local community and those represented in the student body, but to permit this local emphasis to become local exclusivity is to be again ruled by a nondecision.

Multicultural education is a process for preparing young people for the future. We cannot foresee the future of each student, but one
thing that is certain is that his or her future will be in a culturally pluralistic United States. In our increasingly geographically mobile, increasingly interrelated society, we can be almost certain that in the future almost all students will come into contact with people of many ethnic backgrounds and will make decisions affecting people of different backgrounds. We in education must help prepare all of our young people for this culturally pluralistic future.

For most of the history of U.S. education, ethnicity and ethnic groups were not a basic or explicit part of the curriculum. That omission continued decade after decade, greatly due to neglect—the nondecision of educators. The ethnic movements of the 1960's and 1970's have thrust this issue into the decision-making arena and, at least tacitly and officially, more states, districts, and schools have begun to commit themselves to multicultural education. Now that this struggle is being won and this decision is being made, we must be certain that we make the most of it. The stakes for the future of our nation are too high to let nondecision-making undermine multicultural education.
FOOTNOTES

1 In that book, they define nondecision-making as "a decision that results in suppression or thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values or interests of the decision-maker." See Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 44.


MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION:
THE INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

A SUMMARY OF WORKSESSIONS AND PANEL PRESENTATIONS
Carol Piasente
Berkeley Unified School District

This section represents a synthesis of conversations and presentations that took place among conference participants in work sessions and during less formal exchanges. As noted in the introduction, several themes emerged that can serve as a framework for presentation. This section is organized as follows:

- Acceptance, Respect, Love
- The Universal Problem: People Dealing With People
- Teacher Training: Affective and Conceptual, Non-threatening... Mandatory!
- To Create Multicultural Education We Need to Create New Models
- Multicultural Education as the Organizing Framework for All Skills Instruction
- The Role of Evaluation in Planning and Assessing Multicultural Education
- Multicultural Education and Bilingual Education
- Some Specifics About Asian Americans in Multicultural, Multilingual Settings
- The Application of Multicultural Education in the Classroom: Two Approaches
ACCEPTANCE, RESPECT, LOVE

The essence of multicultural education, the caring for one another as human beings with acceptance and respect for our shared qualities and for what makes each of us individually and culturally unique, was expressed by David Sanchez, International Institute for Urban and Human Development, San Diego. Speaking on the development of a model for multicultural education, Sanchez said:

We don't teach little children how to love by giving lectures or showing movies on loving. We teach little ones how to love by being loving and caring persons ourselves. Love is very much part of multicultural education.

Sanchez' statement not only expresses the core of multicultural education, but suggests the directions in which we must move and the problems we will face in making recognition of human dignity and respect for one's own origins and the origins of others a reality.

Acceptance, respect and love are basic. How do we become caring persons? How do we learn to give each other the full dignity and respect that are our human rights? How do we teach children to know themselves and to value others? What are the classroom strategies we use? What content do we include? How do we augment the limited cultural materials we find in our texts? What specific behaviors do we want our children and ourselves to have? How do we know that understandings have been internalized? How do we make multicultural education the process for integrating the curriculum?
These are the issues that conference participants struggled with in workshop sessions and informal gatherings. These are the issues raised by the keynote speakers and members of the panel. If as many questions were raised as were answered, it is because the concepts of multicultural education are complex and the models of successful programs are few.

We, each of us, whether administrator, teacher, parent, para-professional, board director or community member have a responsibility and a role to play. There is no single way, no one place where educational policy is set. Legislation will not create the necessary changes. Legislation creates the mandate, but the success of any educational program depends on us, as individuals and as members of ethnic/cultural groups. As educators we are unique. Our teaching styles are our own as are the learning styles of our students. We need to develop a curriculum model based on our feelings and attitudes; a curriculum based on the premise that every child is a unique human being with unique needs and that part of this uniqueness is the ethnicity and culture of the child and his/her ability to deal with the ethnicity of others.

"Our attitudes must change," said Sanchez, "and we must once again become the creative teachers that we were intended to be."

We are faced with the task of creating something where there was nothing. We are faced with creating the concepts and processes of learning about the values and cultures of ourselves and others and with communicating across our differences.
THE UNIVERSAL PROBLEM:
PEOPLE DEALING WITH PEOPLE

The task we have in multicultural education, according to John Alston, Coordinator of Curriculum and Staff Development, Hayward Unified School District, is learning to deal with those behaviors that tend to dehumanize people, regardless of their differences.

People tend to shun or reject ideas that they do not understand and for a long time people have misunderstood the concepts of multicultural education. People have seen multicultural education as a new "race relations" program; but the problem according to Alston, transcends race and ethnicity. It is the problem of human beings learning how to solve problems and to communicate more effectively. It is the universal problem of people dealing with people.

"We've got to be what we want to see," said Alston. The first and most crucial task is to look at ourselves and see how we react to people we disagree with, who are different from ourselves.

Watch your own behavior when you meet someone with whom you disagree. Do you, as a result of conflict, avoid talking to the person? Do you use nonverbal behaviors that say, "I don't like you anymore; I don't feel I can communicate with you anymore"? Nonrecognition -- looking the other way, refusing to meet another's eye -- is a dehumanizing behavior.

Another devastating example of dehumanizing behavior is that game too many of us play called "Ain't It Awful?" We try to outdo one another with tales of woe, with everything bad that has happened to ruin our day.
We poison the very climate of the school with our negativism. The children know it and the feeling is created that "they (the teachers) don't see me too good."

As educators we need to identify those things that bother us and to try to understand why we react the way we do to differences. We then need to specifically identify what skills, what knowledge, what awareness we need to cultivate in order to relate more effectively on a human level. Changing our behavior and helping others to change theirs is difficult.

"Telling people," said Alston, "is not the same as teaching them."

Learning requires engaging people, whether adults or children, in the actual experiences of how, for example, to increase their communication skills. It takes practice. We need to give people concrete examples of what they can do differently, and we need to give them a safe place to practice those new behaviors.

"It's one thing," Alston concluded, "for a teacher to tell kids it is 'not nice' to be prejudiced. It is another thing to teach people not to prejudice."

**TEACHER TRAINING**

AFFECTIVE AND CONCEPTUAL, NONTHREATENING. MANDATORY

Most of us have not received the necessary training and exposure to fully understand the concepts and processes of multicultural education. Article 3.3, Sections 13344 - 13344.4, of the California Education Code, requires offering inservice teacher training in any school with 25% or more of its students from diverse ethnic backgrounds.
The rationale for Article 3.3 and the criteria for its assessment are interpreted by the Bureau of Intergroup Relations as follows:

A first-hand experience of the concepts, materials and resources of racial, ethnic, sexual and social diversity contributes to the affective and effective relations of school professionals and paraprofessionals with their clients - - students and their families.

The proof of cultural awareness, sensitivity and skill on the part of educators will appear in their classroom behavior, their work with students and the results they achieve through the instructional program. - - "Multicultural Curriculum Development As A Staff Inservice Activity"?

According to the journal of the California School Boards Association in April, 1976, 3,015 schools, 460 districts and one-third of the students in California are affected by 3.3 legislation. Among the shortcomings of the law cited in the CSBA journal are:

1. No funding was allotted by the Legislature.
2. No penalties for failure to comply are stipulated.
3. Staff attendance at inservice programs is optional, not mandatory.
4. All schools, regardless of ethnic composition, need such programs.

At the conference it was pointed out that not only does inservice training need to be expanded and made mandatory, but the nature of the training must be revised. Up until now staff training has concentrated on teaching teachers about the history and culture of groups but has not generally dealt with the process of internalizing information, of changing values and behaviors; it has not addressed the problems of teaching in culturally diverse classrooms.
Teachers are not alone in the need for affective and conceptual training in the area of multicultural education. Training must include other professional and paraprofessional staff, community members and parents. Administrators must acknowledge their role and the impact of their style on the educational climate. James Reusswig, Superintendent, Vallejo Unified School District said:

If we're really talking about kids relating across racial, ethnic, sexual and economic lines, we as administrators ought to consider the management style with which we approach any of our problems. We have a responsibility to model an administrative style that involves people across all these lines as we evolve decisions for our districts and for our schools.

Betty McNamara, Supervisor, Teacher Learning Center, San Francisco Unified School District pointed out that the initials of the Center, TLC, also represent Tender Loving Care and added:

You cannot be bombarded daily with negativism and not have it make an impact on you... When you're always coming from a negative base and it's all you hear, it's all you internalize. And you do not even know there are a lot of positives because you have no chance to think -- you're always reacting to negatives.

The developmental process for affective training is parallel to how we must approach multicultural education in the classroom. Affective training must begin with experiences and concepts with which people are comfortable. We need to establish a commonality of experiences that allows each member of the group to feel comfortable with who he/she is and to begin the process of internalizing what he/she is learning about others. Affective training must take place in a supportive, nonthreatening environment.
Multicultural education can only be built around the teacher modeling acceptance and respect for others. Acceptance is not simply accepting what the child produces, it is accepting the child for who and what he/she is. Multicultural education is a way of thinking and a way of behaving with children. If the teacher cannot provide an atmosphere of acceptance and trust, no amount of culturally relevant material, no number of activities, will "produce" multicultural education. If the teacher can help each child feel an individual worth as a special and "O.K." person, the ripple effect will help that child to accept and respect others.

As adults, before we can accept each child as unique and valuable, we must know and accept ourselves. We must recognize before we begin that the modification of behavior is a painful and difficult process but that we can find strength in learning with others.

Affective teacher training must take place in an atmosphere of support and respect for the individuals who teach our children, just as we will then expect those individuals to create an environment that allows for warmth and acceptance of their students. Too often teachers are blamed for the shortcomings of education by persons who fail to recognize that those teachers are also human beings with feelings and values, questions and problems. Staff development must model what we want to see in the classroom and throughout the school environment.

Learning who you are and how to share yourself with others can be frightening. The individual who learns to share his/her views and feelings is taking a risk. There may be negative feedback. We each have to learn, and help others to learn, that finding out how others see us can be a route to growth. We must learn to accept confrontation; we may hear something in a new way. The goal of staff training should be to make each of us a decision maker so that each of us will be aware of how we can and do impact the educational process.
We must each know what we value and we must be open to understanding and respecting the values, the viewpoints and the concerns of others. This means that we do not impose our point of view on others, and that we do not allow others to impose on us. It means that we retain the dignity of the unique values that we all present, one to each other. Only then can we move into understanding multiple cultures.

TO CREATE MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION
WE NEED TO CREATE NEW MODELS

There are very strong indications that the cultural aspect of multicultural education does not fit into our technological, scientific educational model. Within the structure of the current model, we shower the student with information and then test to see how well he or she has retained what we have said. The result has been to teach only those things that we can easily test.

For example, in teaching the Spanish language we can test whether the students are able to conjugate verb forms. We therefore teach written grammar and no one learns to communicate in Spanish. The technological, scientific model does not work in teaching a language and will not work in teaching culture because it does not provide for dramatic form nor for emotional flourish. We teach language as if it were some simple intellectual task, and we're going to continue to teach culture as if it were an intellectual task without taking into consideration the psychological, the social and the cultural implications involved. To teach culture we must provide for dreaming, for fantasy, for acting, for psychological and emotional reinforcement.
We begin multicultural education with children as we do with adults. We encourage children to verbalize, to share their commonalities and differences. As with adults, learning about others comes after children learn about themselves.

According to the learning theories of Piaget, most children through grade two are involved in self. Their external or world experiences are limited. They do not have the data base and mental abilities to integrate and internalize information about others.

Children are taught stereotypes when they are presented with limited role-model information. To illustrate this point, McNamara told the story of a woman in one of the workshops who said her four-year-old daughter once asked, "What am I going to be when I grow up?" The mother answered, "Well. Maybe a doctor." And the child said, "Oh. Am I a boy?"

From the limited role models in the child's world she had learned to stereotype the sex of doctors. As teachers we must recognize the environmental curriculum that is at work and be ready to specifically augment the students' world view.

Children can learn to exchange dialogue at an early level. As children learn to share what makes them the same and in what ways they are special on a classroom basis, we can begin to move into sharing cross-cultural experiences. Then, if we have developed a firm foundation of personal exchange and trust and each individual in that classroom feels good about himself/herself, we can begin to present increasingly refined information and concepts.
The core of multicultural education is each individual learning to accept and value himself/herself and learning to accept and respect others for having equal value. Teachers must be taught to give every child equal value, to recognize that each individual has an equal contribution to make.

"Discrimination," McNamara said, "exists in the classroom every day by the way the class is operated." Grouping as a management style does nothing but reinforce negatives for most children.

"Grouping," according to McNamara, "is the worst thing that ever happened to education. We group the dollar, dime, dull penny concept. We group within six weeks of kindergarten. And the dull pennies stay the dull pennies the rest of their school careers because built into that system of grouping is built the whole caste system."

The process is cyclical: we must feel good about and accept ourselves before we can feel good about and accept the child, and before we can help the child to feel good about and accept himself/herself and others.
MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AS THE ORGANIZING FRAMEWORK
FOR ALL SKILLS INSTRUCTION

Multicultural education must be interdisciplinary: historical, philosophical, psychological, theological and aesthetic. Multicultural education is more than curriculum -- it must be the framework for integrating methodology, management and technique with content. The learner must be defined as the total school population: students, teachers, administrators, and other professional and paraprofessional personnel.

In a position paper, "A Guide to the Process of Planning for Multicultural Educational Programs," the Bureau of Intergroup Relations states:

Narrowly conceptualized programs, even though the information gained is useful, rarely help students to develop scientific generalizations and concepts about the characteristics which ethnic groups have in common, the unique status of each ethnic group, and to understand why ethnicity is an integral part of our social system...

Facts should not be the ultimate goal of instruction but should be used as tools in the teaching of major concepts...

Multicultural education, then, is an interdisciplinary process rather than a single program.

Multicultural education is congruent with the two major purposes of public education as defined by James Reusswig:

1. To enhance the uniqueness of each child.

2. To assist children in acquiring the skills they need to cope with their environment, i.e. themselves, their family, their school, their community, their nation and their world.

Beyond that, it is the responsibility of public education to give students the kinds of skills they need in order to change their environment when change becomes necessary.
Staff must be involved in the process of developing multicultural curriculum. Teachers themselves learn by being involved in the process; they learn to relate to culturally and ethnically different persons and to the subject matter of multicultural education.

Multicultural curriculum begins with the child's own awareness of who and what he/she is and builds on that awareness. There is no one model American; there are many Americans. The schools need to reflect this pluralism and use what the children bring to the classroom. The time is past for seeing the ethnically different child, the child whose language is other than English, as deficient or deprived. The idea of "compensating" for the lack of skills and values held desirable by the dominant culture is not valid. Education begins with the individual child, and the culturally and ethnically and linguistically pluralistic classroom enriches the knowledge and growth of all children.

We cannot continue to isolate people, to look at separate groups, to set aside distinct blocks for teaching about Chicanos, about blacks, about Asians. If we continue to develop ethnic studies the way we have been, if we do not begin to bring groups together to examine values and to do comparative analysis, we are going to divide and destroy. Instead of moving from desegregation to integration, we are going to continue to teach children to believe the myths we perpetuate.

A statement by Yvonne Del Prado, Assistant Superintendent of Instructional Services, San Francisco Unified School District, summed up the need for integrating process and content:
Multicultural education is the way we think, the way we feel, the way we breathe, the way we value. It is what we teach, what we think, what we feel, what we breathe. It happens all day, all year long.

You can talk about Black history, Chicano history, Latino history, whatever, every day, but if you don't make those children who are Black, who are Chicano, who are white, who are Asian, who are whatever they are, feel good from the minute they walk in, multicultural education did not work. If those children do not value who they are, what language they speak, and what values they bring, multicultural education did not work.

We do not know the exact moment when learning takes place, and we do not know which experiences cause that internalization process by which we learn. Because we give visibility to activity does not mean that learning has taken place. We know learning has taken place when we observe the respect and acceptance with which our children approach one another.
THE ROLE OF EVALUATION IN PLANNING AND ASSESSING

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

The design of a program is a continuous process moving from needs assessment to planning, to implementing, to evaluating in a repetitive cycle. Planning is getting ready to do something. Implementing is doing what you set out to do. Evaluating is periodically and systematically checking how well you are doing what you intended to do. Reporting is telling someone in a formal way what you are doing or have done.

Too often evaluation is seen as a separate and summative function rather than as an integral part of planning and implementation. It is possible to use evaluation as a tool for recognizing and making changes in the educational process as such revisions are needed, with the goal of increasing the effectiveness of your program. A consistent concern throughout the conference was for assistance from the State Department of Education in planning and writing realistic objectives for multicultural programs.

A persistent complaint voiced by participants was that as educators we often are trapped into a mechanistic evaluation model by requirements for writing measurable, quantifiable objectives. We are then placed in a situation of either teaching easily tested "information" or finding ourselves unable to apply the assessment tools to our program.

Many evaluators are trained in the psychological measurement theory that says unless you can really specify the behavior and develop some normative way of observing it, you have no basis for measurement. An alternative to that methodology is the ethnographic assessment model by which you establish some general parameters for observation and actually observe as
trained and informed educators. You then report what you have observed. Ethnographic measurement borrows from the methodologies of field study. For example, if you are interested in student behavior that demonstrates that children are getting along with their peers in a multicultural context, you would direct trained observers to watch that process in the classroom, on the playground, and in the lunchroom and to report on what they saw happening. Observations are less structured than when observers are using psychometric models and calculating time intervals and specific frequencies.

Current evaluation methodology overlooks the humanistic concerns that are the goals of multicultural education. How do we measure feelings? The instrument has not been developed. We have boxed ourselves into a mechanistic view by allowing available methodology to define our problems and set our parameters.

We need to begin evaluating our objectives before we use these objectives to evaluate our programs. We need to ask what children would be doing, how they would be behaving, if they accepted and respected the commonalities and differences of others. We must then begin to rely less on testing. We must look to see if our children are acting with care and respect for one another.

An "Assessment Scale for Use in Examining a Multicultural Education Program" has been prepared by the Bureau of Intergroup Relations to systematically examine existing multicultural education programs and to serve as a device for self study, program planning and review of project proposals. The instrument can be used to provide a structure for
reporting as well as to contribute to an assessment of the elements that contribute to a sound program.

The Assessment Scale includes guidelines and checklists in several areas.

Management and Planning

There is a checklist for a comprehensive needs assessment including such variables as learners' performance, staff competency level, attitudes of learners and staff toward self and others, extent of community involvement, racial and ethnic composition of school and community, personnel practices and staffing patterns, grouping practices, and practices related to selection/evaluation of instructional materials.

The guidelines for management and planning also include checks for evidence that a systematic planning process has been carried out by a representative local school site planning group and that a plan has been established for allocation of time and resources.

Goals and Objectives

This component of the Assessment Scale considers whether the program is guided by a comprehensive set of goals selected by the planning group, with specific instructional objectives for working toward those goals. Goals are assessed as to whether they reflect concern with cognitive, affective and psychomotor areas.

Instruction

There is a detailed checklist to determine whether the staff provides for differentiated instruction through the use of varied diagnostic instruments; individualized as well as group instruction; individual student
profiles to record problems and progress; observations/inventories
to determine each student's attitude toward himself/herself, others, and
the institution; activities involving group interaction across ethnic
and cultural lines; and use of a combination of analytic, synthetic, in-
ductive and kinesthetic techniques.

There are eight items that demonstrate the genuineness of staff con-
cern for each learner as an individual person. Items include informal
interactions and specific provision of positive reinforcement of under-
standing and acceptance.

Staff

The assessment of staff includes such variables as differentiated
staffing patterns, contact ratios, instructional competencies of staff
and support personnel, and provisions for staff development designed to
enhance the concept of multicultural education.

Leadership Development

Evidence is sought that assesses the administration's knowledge and
skill in leadership development for multicultural education.

Materials and Facilities

Is the educational setting in which the learner is expected to de-
velop "ethnic literacy" conducive to optimum growth? Do the physical
facilities and organization promote student interaction? Is there space
available for group activities? Are the instructional materials varied
and appropriate to meet the stated goals and objectives? Is there a
variety of multiethnic materials available for student use?
Community Involvement

Users of the Assessment Scale are asked to look at efforts to inform the community about the needs for and purposes of the multicultural education program. Is there evidence of community involvement in setting the goals and purposes of the program? Is there active participation of the community in implementing the program?

Environment and background

Assessment includes examining the effects of the learners' environment on his/her attitudes and values. The staff is observed for evidence of understanding of human behavior and the culturally diverse experiences of students and colleagues.

Program Evaluation, Auditing, Reporting

Program evaluation as an ongoing process is assessed by whether there is use of documentation on objectives for purposes of replanning and whether there has been systematic monitoring and logging of program implementation. There is a checklist to assure that information used in evaluation of learner progress and/or program effectiveness comes from a variety of formal and informal sources.

Teacher status and change in competence in multicultural education instruction and in attitudes toward multicultural education are assessed by self-rating scales and tests of teacher knowledge of multicultural processes and content.

In addition to the need for self-assessment and program evaluation, designing a multicultural curriculum requires a screening process for analysis of materials. Such an instrument was developed by the Bureau
of Intergroup Relations in cooperation with the offices of county superintendents of schools in Los Angeles and San Mateo counties. A grant from the U. S. Office of Education under the Ethnic Heritage Studies Program (Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title IX), enabled the State Department of Education to identify, evaluate and annotate curriculum materials useful in the teaching of ethnic heritage in California public schools.

The long-range objectives of the program were to identify uniform criteria and devise a procedure and format for the review and assessment of all types of ethnic heritage instructional materials for use in kindergarten through grade twelve. Instructional materials in every discipline taught in the public schools, not in the social sciences alone, were to be subject to examination.

The introduction to the State Department of Education publication, "Guide to an Analysis of Curriculum Materials for Ethnic Heritage Programs," states:

Personal growth was the most valuable result of the development and testing program for the participants. By the end of the year they had concluded that others using the instruments would also benefit from asking the same questions, internalizing the same concerns, learning to distinguish between ethnic and multiethnic perspective, and understanding more deeply the reasons for choosing one book or film instead of another.

The design group has suggested that the best use of the instruments is as a training aid to prepare teachers and other persons concerned with education to understand and internalize certain criteria relating to multi-ethnic and multicultural curricula.
The curriculum analysis guide is made up of a Preliminary Screening Form, to be used in determining whether an item of curriculum material seems to justify full analysis or whether it should be rejected at the outset, and a Curriculum Analysis Questionnaire. The ethnic heritage curriculum analysis questionnaire is specific and detailed. It is intended to provide the basis for a recommendation as to the use of an item in ethnic heritage instruction.

The Preliminary Screening Form provides checklists to determine relevance, appropriateness, standards of quality and nondiscriminatory content. The Curriculum Analysis Questionnaire provides a structure for reviewing instructional purpose and design, physical characteristics of the material, ethnic perspective, multiethnic perspective and teacher materials.

The curriculum analysis guide publication can be obtained from Publication Sales, California State Department of Education, P. O. Box 271, Sacramento, California, 95802.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The basic precept integrating multicultural education and bilingual education is that language is a component of culture. There is no dichotomy between multicultural education and bilingual education. Bilingual education is a means through which the concepts of cultural diversity, similarities and differences, acceptance and respect can be taught. The basic assumption of cultural pluralism is that you do not have to give up your language and culture in order to be valued as a first-class citizen within the society. The child whose first language is other than English is not seen as deficient but is respected for who he/she is. That other language is respected as a
reflection of the child's cultural identity.

Blas Garza, elementary school principal in the Santa Barbara City School District, and chairperson of ACSA's Equal Educational Opportunities Committee, spoke to the political realities of educational policy decisions. Garza's particular concern was consideration of the compatibility of desegregation and bilingual education.

Desegregation itself, the mingling of students, does not necessarily create equal educational opportunities for the limited-English-speaking student. In an article, "Nothing Short of Cultural Dignity for the Mexican American," Garza expresses the necessity for accepting and valuing a plurality of culture. The statements Garza made about the Mexican American apply to all cultural and ethnic groups affected by desegregation and bilingual education:

The biggest single overall gain to be derived from desegregation is the social interaction which will be afforded both cultures.

It behooves the school districts wholeheartedly to support a plan of action whereby the intermingling of the ethnically and culturally different students will be facilitated and nurtured in positive light.

The role of the Mexican American must not be subservient to that of the Anglo. It should be kept in mind that by virtue of special programs geared to the special needs of bilingual, bicultural students, great educational improvements have been made.

The Mexican American does not necessarily need desegregation for academic improvement. He needs it, however, just as much as the Anglo needs it to preserve unity among Americans and to deter that separation which has divided the American people.
The political atmosphere in the Chicano community, according to Garza, favors bilingual education as the one innovation that really promises equal educational opportunity for the Spanish-speaking student. There is a strong sense that desegregation will undermine bilingual education programs by dividing the political support base. The argument is that viable bilingual programs only exist where there is a strong cultural base and strong political influence. Funding guidelines perpetuate the concentration of bilingual programs in areas of the greatest linguistic concentration.

A problem with that argument, and with the funding guidelines, according to Garza, is that the effects of mobility are not considered. When we defend keeping bilingual programs in the barrio, for example, we fail to assess the effects on the children who move out and into an area where there is no Spanish-language instruction.

"Bilingual programs may serve a barrio environment," acknowledged Garza, "and will always have a strong supply of children, but they will not necessarily be the same children because of mobility patterns. The question is, what happens to a child who spends two years learning and maintaining his/her dominant language and then moves into a school without a bilingual program?"

Unless desegregation is closely tied to bilingual, bicultural programs, children from different cultural backgrounds will be exposed to the dominant society values, and they will likely adopt those values and will likely lose some of the influence of the home culture. The Chicano community, said Garza, sees that unless desegregated schools give equal dignity to the Chicano culture, their children are going to be subjected to forced assimilation — the old melting pot idea.
What decision-makers must do, said Garza, is to see if bilingual programs are really meeting the long-range needs of students or if they exist to meet the political needs of keeping the programs in communities with strong political influence. Bilingual-bicultural programs, said Garza, to most effectively serve all children, must exist throughout the school system, in every school, and must be a part of desegregation planning.

Conference participants expressed approval of expanding bilingual education to include all students based on the idea that all students should be able to communicate in more than one language. This would erase the perception of bilingual education as a compensatory program and add to the skills and knowledge of all students.

Language instruction in a bilingual program begins with the mother tongue as the foundation for the second language. Sound language development requires keeping each language separate in the beginning stages. There must be no mixing of languages during instruction; mixing languages reinforces interference. Students will tune out while English is spoken and will fail to adequately develop their mother tongue. The main determinant of how well a child learns a second language is how well the mother tongue is developed.

All instructional concepts, including the reading process, are introduced in the child's dominant language. Oral language development may be parallel but must be distinct from other instruction.

To become a reader of a language is to first become a speaker of the language in the true sense of the word. A true speaker is able to
make inferences, to draw conclusions, to conceptualize in the language. 
Reading is not a decoding process; it is a conceptual skill. The 
child is first ready to read in the language in which he/she concep-
tualizes. When the child learns to read well in the dominant language, 
the transition to the second language will not be difficult.

There are often problems in identifying the limited-English speaker. 
We cannot assume that because a child is verbal in a language that he/she 
can conceptualize in that language. When the Supreme Court concluded 
in Lau vs. Nichols that "...students who do not understand English are 
effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education," guidelines were 
established for identifying the limited or non-English-speaking student. 
A student is identified as speaking a language other than English if:

1. the student's first language acquired is other than English;
2. the language most often spoken by the student is other than 
   English;
3. the language most often spoken in the student's home is other 
   than English, regardless of the language spoken by the student;
4. the student is speaking English but underachieving and the 
   language spoken at home is other than English.

Adele Nadeau of the International Institute for Urban and Human Develop-
ment, San Diego, presented an organizational scheme for a team approach to 
language instruction in a bilingual program. The organization allows for 
mixing of English-speaking and limited-English-speaking children for 
learning reinforcement and multicultural curriculum content is modeled 
in interaction between adults and students. There is no mixing of instruc-
tional language.
LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN A BILINGUAL PROGRAM
A TEAM APPROACH

English-speaking Teacher
(Teaches English-as-a-Second Language and English to English speakers.)

Bilingual Teacher
(Teaches Spanish-as-a-Second Language and Spanish to Spanish speakers.)

Home Room
Mixed group of students
art
music
oral language development

Native Language Instruction
for English speakers.

Second Language Instruction
for Spanish speakers.

Home Room
Mixed group of Students-
art
music
oral language development

Native Language Instruction
for Spanish speakers.

Second Language Instruction
for English speakers.

All students in the program become bilingual. Students move from class to class as it is appropriate. Teachers plan units that reinforce one another. The curriculum is integrated; the languages are separate. Multicultural study is cross-cultural and includes cultures other than the two represented by the instructional language groups.
SOME SPECIFICS ABOUT ASIAN AMERICANS
IN A MULTICULTURAL, MULTILINGUAL SETTING

Janet Iwasaki, Coordinator of Project KEYS: (Knowledge of English Yields Success) Los Angeles Unified School District, briefed partici-
pants on the background of the educational needs of Asian American
students.

Iwasaki expressed a concern that if we come to the point of saying,
"It's the human factor, the universal factor,' we will again be head-
ing toward the concept of the melting pot.

"Pluralism," said Iwasaki, "considers all the things, the heritage,
that you bring with you and that makes you and me what we uniquely are."

Awareness Areas for Educational Needs
of Asian Americans

1. Identity: Often, Asian children will deny their ethnic
background. Identity is involved with how a person
feels about himself/herself. Asian American students
often need help 'entifying and accepting who they
really are.

2. Stereotypes: There are both positive and negative learn-
ing stereotypes of Asian American students. There is as
wide a range of abilities among Asian Americans as for
any other group. The effects of negative stereotyping
are more obvious; the effects of positive stereotypes
also create very difficult positions for children,
especially, of course, for those who do not fit the expected model.

3. Tracking: Educational tracking is often based on accepted stereotypes and the real needs and interests of the student are ignored.

4. Labeling as having "good" behavior: Educators need to look at what having "good" behavior means to them. Usually students who have "good" behavior are quiet, they follow directions, they do what they're supposed to do. How do students fit these roles? They do not interact with the group, they are alone, they are non-verbal. The child is isolated and does not develop the ability to interact verbally. These skills need to be taught by the teacher.

5. Competition between groups: School personnel often make unfair comparisons between Asian groups, and different Asian cultural groups are pitted against one another in the school environment.

6. Linguistic needs: Educators must realize that the differences between Asian languages are significant. Teachers and program planners need to be aware of the differences between dialects as well as separate languages.

7. Generational differences: Recent arrivals from Asian countries and American-born Asian students do not share
the same cultural backgrounds. The experiences of students will be quite different as a result of world and cultural events. Students will relate differently to their heritage. If the student's family has acculturated, the teacher may be the one to teach him or her about his or her own cultural heritage.

8. Success models: Many Asian American students do not see success models from their own ethnic groups.

9. Grade placement: Placing children, particularly newly arriving Asian students, in a grade according to their age can be traumatic because they may not be ready to compete with their age-group peers.

10. Learning styles: The educational system in most Asian countries is extremely formal. Cultural anthropologists say that we do two things in adapting to a new situation: we under-adjust or we over-adjust. When the teaching style is similar to what the child has experienced, the child has fewer problems knowing how to respond.

11. Heritage: There is no single Asian heritage. Heritage, customs and values are different between countries and they differ between regions within a country.

Project KEYS is a multilingual program for developing the English language in Asian American students. The program is both multilingual and multi-cultural; materials are available for teaching multi-cultural concepts in five Asian languages. Cultural materials and
activities are not isolated from the total curriculum. For example, games from different cultures are incorporated into physical education instruction; the process of tie-and-dye fabric decoration is taught as a math lesson using the concepts of square, corners, side and center.

The program is based on the knowledge that when a child learns English, or any language, quickly, he/she learns to decode the symbols but does not learn to understand. The most important thing for a child to have to succeed in reading in any language, is a full ability to comprehend the oral language. The child must be very comfortable in the oral language. The problems of learning to be comfortable speakers and users of English is compounded for Asian American students because they are not encouraged to speak out: stereotypes of "good" behavior are based on being quiet. Project K+FYS emphasizes oral language development.
THE APPLICATION OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION
IN THE CLASSROOM: TWO APPROACHES

The two approaches to the application of multicultural education in the classroom discussed here differ not in intent but in form. Both approaches are intended to develop human dignity and respect for all people by emphasizing understanding and acceptance, not simply tolerance. While one approach derives from a structured, written curriculum and the other is ever-changing and evolving, there is an overlap in techniques and content. The two approaches are not exclusive: the structured program allows for spontaneity and improvisation; the open approach uses organized materials and a systematic development of units as themes are selected. These descriptions are just two examples of how districts, schools and individual teachers are applying the concepts of interdisciplinary multicultural education to their curricula and environments.

US: A CULTURAL MOSAIC

Roy Harris, a Social Studies Curriculum Specialist, and Jimmie Martinez, a Social Studies Consultant, both with the San Diego Unified School District, described the districtwide multicultural education program they helped to develop for 20,000 students in grades 1-3.

US: A Cultural Mosaic is basically a social studies curriculum that can be carried over into other parts of the school program. The program was developed to help young children develop positive attitudes about themselves and others. The philosophy of the program is based
on two concepts: similarities and differences. Children are helped
to see that "similarities among people are those traits which make
them members of the human family, and differences among people are those
characteristics which make each person special and unique."

"'Unique' is in the working vocabulary of the program," Jimmie
Martinez is quoted as saying in an article in the San Diego Evening
Tribune, "It used to be synonymous with 'good'."

The title of the program, US: A Cultural Mosaic, was selected to
represent the philosophy of an "America that is a composite of many
people whose cultures have blended to create a culture which is richer
than any single culture from which it is drawn." The "US" is you and
me and the United States. A mosaic is composed of separate pieces,
each of a different size, a different color, a different texture, a
different shape. that together make up a pattern that is more beautiful
than any one of the parts. The concept of the mosaic differs from the
idea of a melting pot in that each piece retains its individuality
while working together as a pattern.

The program developers rejected the usual historical, geographical
approaches to multicultural education because primary children have
not yet developed a historical perspective that allows them to go back
much beyond yesterday. The program writers also temporarily rejected
the "heroes and holidays" approach because of their belief that a "hero
on the wall" is too far removed from the reality of the child and an
emphasis on holidays too conveniently ignores the rest of the year.
Heroes and holidays have little long-range impact, according to Harris
and Martinez; heroes and holidays are included in the San Diego
program as reflections of a culture, not as isolated persons and events.

US: A Cultural Mosaic is an affective program dealing with attitudes, feelings, and emotions.

"The whole purpose is to help children at an early age to come to accept each other as equal human beings," Harris is quoted in the Evening Tribune article. "If you wait until, say, high school, attitudes are set and often impossible to change.

"The preachy kind of approach of 'Thou shalt not' has never worked," he added. "Instead, we're trying to get children actively involved in how prejudice and differences in people directly affect them."

The core of the multigraded, multidisciplined, multicultural program is social studies, defined as interaction among people. The program is developmental and sequential; activities and concepts are organized into three levels that move the learner from the concrete and personal to generalizations and culture. Because the material is nongraded, the teacher begins with Level A, independent of what grade he/she is teaching.

Level A concentrates on helping children examine physical characteristics that make them similar to and different from others. Children learn about such things as that while we all have fingers and voices--these are part of what make us the same--we each have unique fingerprints and unique voice patterns.

Level B stresses the link between emotions and behavior and how we share some feelings with others and also have special feelings. The examination of how the child feels in reacting to others in a
variety of situations leads into concepts of prejudice and stereotyping.

Level C, which was still being developed, will be aimed at helping children to see group and cultural similarities and differences; to appreciate the ethnic and religious diversity of American culture.

An example of an activity at the first level of the program would be a situation where a teacher comes into the classroom with two packages, one wrapped in festive, attractive paper, the other in a plain brown bag. Students would be asked to choose between the packages, and would find the pretty package containing nothing more than dirt and the plain package containing a toy or treat.

"This little activity leads to a very important discussion that shows people must be very cautious about judging others solely on the basis of looks," said Martinez.

Activities at the second level introduce the concepts of prejudice and stereotyping and stress that the person who feels prejudice toward another is harmed as much as that person. Students might be told a story involving blatant prejudice and name-calling and then be asked to give their reactions.

"Something like this is not just to tackle ethnic or racial prejudices, prejudices in general," said Martinez. "It can show that words like 'skinny,' 'fatty,' 'weirdo,' and 'stupid' hurt very much, too."

Level C will emphasize studying themes cross-culturally. For example, rather than studying distinct ethnic groups, a unit will look
at folk heroes in black, Chicano, native American, and Asian cultures.

US: A Cultural Mosaic is a nonreading program; learning is dependent on audiovisual presentations and teacher-led activities for children to experience and explore the concepts of each identified objective. There is a teacher's handbook for each level that includes, along with instructional objectives, activities, and suggested resources, a section on classroom climate.

"The whole program," said Martinez, "is built around the teacher modeling acceptance. If the teacher cannot provide an atmosphere of acceptance and trust, then all the activities in the world won't get you into multicultural education."

Because the teacher's attitudes and behavior are essential to the success of the program, staff training was not mandated and the program was not automatically sent to all of the district's primary schools.

"We use a 'don't eat the spinach' approach," said Harris. Teachers could not have the program unless they specifically requested it. There was also a requirement for a teacher/coordinator at each school. A request for the program indicated that the teacher was making some commitment to its concepts and use.

Teachers who are using the program receive, in addition to the handbooks, a "goodie box" of audiovisual resources. Unit sets consist of a wide variety of soundstrip, studyprint, and other materials packaged in a kit and distributed to each school for a ten-week period. The kits are rotated to three groups of schools so that some schools receive
the material in the fall, some in the winter, and others in the spring. In addition to the unit set materials, the Instructional Media Center contains supplementary items to support the program. These materials are referenced in the teachers' handbooks with the specific activity they are designed to reinforce.

Though basically a social studies program, *US: A Cultural Mosaic* also includes activities and materials related to language arts, music, and art that are designed to be integrated directly into the program and not set aside for "an art period," "a language period," or "a music period." These supportive activities provide for self-expression and help to reinforce the social learning concepts.

(Note: If you are interested in ordering the handbooks, you can write to: Office of Materials Development, San Diego Unified School District, 4100 Normal Street, San Diego, CA 92103, and request an order form.)
AN OPEN APPROACH TO MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Maria Rosa Grunwaldt, a primary teacher in the Berkeley Unified School District, described the open, integrated approach to multicultural education in the Early Learning Center, a school for children from age three to eight.

The Early Learning Center combines day care with an instructional program. School hours are from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m.; the staff splits shifts to cover the long hours. Learning activities are integrated through the day. Teachers work in teams so that there is follow-through on activities from morning to evening.

The school follows a family structure: students are grouped across ages; three and four year olds are together, kindergarten is combined with grade one, and grades two and three are grouped together. Parents are required to participate in some way for 20 hours each semester. There is a continued effort to bring the home and school together in a variety of ways.

"We support the belief that the majority of a child's learning takes place in the home and the community," said Grunwaldt. "We therefore try to emulate in the school much of the diversity of the Berkeley community."

Because Berkeley is a culturally and racially diverse city, the school applies a quota system to maintain a student population that is reflective of the city.

"We believe that the learning environment should encompass the learners' cultural environment as well as their value system," said
Grunwaldt. "Our goal is to build individuals who are responsible to themselves and to the community that they represent. This is really the basis for our approach to multicultural education at the school. When a child is responsible for himself/herself, that child will then be responsible to other children and to the community at large."

Curriculum at the Early Learning Center is everchanging. Learning experiences are geared to changes in the school and community environment, to the needs and interests of the students, and to the concerns of parents and staff. The whole day is viewed as an opportunity for students and staff to experience total education.

"We see everything that is going on in the child's day as relevant and we try to make it relevant in a multicultural way," said Grunwaldt, stressing that, "Having children and teachers from different ethnic groups reinforces multicultural education. Whether it's sitting down to lunch together or doing a reading lesson, we are constantly bringing in curriculum that is representative of all cultures in the school. Curriculum that explores all the different value systems that exist in the school. We always try to give children an opportunity to question, explore and accept similarities and differences."

Teachers spend a lot of time mutually planning study units and designing reinforcing activities and experiences. A parent group reviews the total school curriculum and makes suggestions for revisions.

Grunwalldt described an example of how the curriculum spontaneously reflects the needs of students and concerns of staff. A new child came into the school and began describing how unhappy he had been in his first
school. He kept repeating that the teachers had treated him "like a slave."

As one of the Early Learning Center teachers talked more with the boy about his experiences and feelings, she came to the conclusion that the staff should begin dealing with the issues of slavery. The staff began talking together about the social, economic, and political implications of slavery. Parents expressed their support of the appropriateness of the topic. Teachers put together a study unit emphasizing the historical and emotional understandings of slavery.

The classroom approach consisted of a lot of interaction and discussion among students and staff. Content included how slavery was instituted in other countries and cultures, and included study of the Chinese worker camps during the California Gold Rush, the treatment of California Indians by the Spanish missionaries, and the current conditions in farmworker labor camps. The focus was on a cross-cultural exploration of similarities and differences.

"The unit was interdisciplinary. Activities included the language arts, math, music and the performing arts," said Grunwaldt. "After about a year, we took it back to the children. What were their responsibilities as children? What is it that adults feel you should do? Why is that? How can you change that? If you're being asked to do something that you don't think is right, what are your rights?"

The Early Learning Center's program features a lot of school "events." Local performing artists volunteer a lot of time in the school. Guest artists represent different cultural and ethnic groups.
Children join in the experiences as active participants. Children, after a theater group's performance, for example, will write their own poetry, music and plays and perform them for other groups in the school. "We do not view 'events' as 'extra,' but as a part of the life of the school. Events are reinforced by the total atmosphere of the school," said Grunwaldt. "For example, each week a group of children make snacks for the entire school. Preparation and selection of the food to be served is a part of an ongoing nutrition curriculum. Snacks are often of ethnic origin."

The Early Learning Center's multicultural studies program also takes children and teachers into the community. When the Guatemalan earthquake struck, students wrote letters to the community, collected food and clothing; studied the culture of the country, and were involved in a science unit on earthquakes. As is often the case, the whole school was involved in the Guatemalan project.

"Multicultural Education has to be more than just part of the school day," said Grunwaldt. "We have to incorporate it into everything we do and translate it back to the children and to each other."

Many of the materials that are used for instruction represent a combination of prepared texts and teacher-made supplements. One project involved putting together study packets on different, multicultural themes. Children's books that reflected various cultures were tape-recorded by teachers. Students could then read along with the recording. Packets included worksheets for students to answer questions about the story. Questions were also recorded. If a particular child is not a
good writer, or is not comfortable with written responses, he/she can turn the tape over and orally answer the worksheet questions.

The Early Learning Center has a staff-developed Library Resource Center that reflects the multicultural orientation of the school as well as the social issues relevant to the school community. Raymonde McCoy, librarian, developed a system for cataloging books and materials under revised subject headings that make it easier for students and teachers to locate materials related to multicultural studies.

For example, library card catalogues include headings for Asian American Cultures, Black Culture, Native American Cultures, Spanish-speaking Cultures, Non-stereotyped Roles, Bilingual Books, Women and Single-Parent Families.

The Early Learning Center staff plans to develop nonbook materials, such as tapes, filmstrips, records, and pictures, and to integrate them into the cataloging system to give the user a real multimedia approach to a given subject. Teacher-developed curriculum are also being integrated into the central cataloging system and made available through the library.

The primary function of the library is to integrate its resources with the learning programs taking place in the classrooms. For use with the individualized reading program, multicultural collections are easily identifiable through catalogue headings and lists of multiple copies of titles are available to facilitate use of children's books as a basis of the reading program. Staff members correlate learning contracts and activity cards with books available in the library for use by individual
students.

The Library Resource Center is also available to parents; teachers will make recommendations to parents of materials they might use with their child or for their own study. There are plans to develop and print annotated bibliographies of Asian American, black, and Spanish-speaking cultures; bilingual books; and nonstereotyped roles that can be shared with other district staff.
I have been asked to talk with you about the future of multicultural education. Depending on the day of the week, the morning's headlines or perhaps even the state of my digestion, I might draw very different pictures of that future. Sometimes as I look around meetings like this I find myself very optimistic. At other times I look around and think only of the many similar gatherings I have attended over the past eight or ten years and wonder how far we have actually come and whether indeed we have a clear view of the road ahead.

There is a saying familiar to most of us which warns that those who do not remember the past will be condemned to repeat it. I would like to offer an equally important corollary to that saying, which is that those who do not attempt to control the future may be forced to endure it—and that, as Alvin Toffler has suggested, may be even worse.

Perhaps, then, if we are to talk and think seriously about the future of multicultural education, we would do well to emulate Janus, the Roman god with two faces, one which looked forward, the other backward. It might be worth looking back at where we have been in this whole area to see if there are some things in the lessons of the past that could serve to help us move ahead in a more systematic and effective fashion.

At the turn of the century public education did an incredible job. It took hundreds of thousand of immigrants, socialized them, and moved
them into the mainstream of American life. The notion of the melting pot was the guiding force of education and the objective of the school was to turn us into model Americans. When we look closely at who and what that model American was, we find that he was blond and he was bland (and I am saying "he" quite deliberately); he had many of the characteristics that Erving Goffman has set forth in his brilliant book, Stigma. Goffman suggests that there is this ideal American who is blond, blue-eyed, has a good education and a recent record in sports; is married, is a professional person or in business for himself; and who, if you will, reminds you of Beaver's father on television, or a younger Marcus Welby. He was the model American and that was what the schools tried to socialize people to become. In any way that you could not meet this image, this ideal, you were stigmatized; somewhere a door closed. The closer you could get to the model, the more you dropped the diverse characteristics you and your parents, and your parents' parents had brought with you to these shores and schools, the greater were your chances for success, for opportunity, for power in this country.

Public education, given that as its objective, did a very, very good job. With hindsight it becomes clear that with that objective, there would inevitably be whole groups of people that could never achieve success; either there were some physical differences they could not shed or some very real things they did not want to give up. Some of our parents paid an incredible price to be acculturated; others dropped out of the system—or were pushed out.

As we moved into the 1940's, after World War II, during which people with a common set of objectives had joined together and diverse
groups had learned to work together, some interesting things began to happen in the schools. At first blush, it looked as though it was exactly what we are talking about now. Oh, the terminology was different: it was called intercultural curriculum or human relations or intergroup education, depending on the particular history you read.

There were innumerable workshops and conferences and all kinds of classroom units. Agencies like the one I work for, the Anti-Defamation League, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the NAACP worked extensively with the schools and some of the same questions were asked that we are asking today: How do we introduce into school curriculum, into classroom climate, an acceptance of cultural pluralism and an awareness that schools might be enriched by understanding about the other? Some of it worked. Some of it didn't. But some good people emerged from that movement. Individuals became far more sensitized to what the idea of the melting pot was doing to youngsters in the schools. The basic thrust was to change the teacher.

In the 1950's we took yet another direction. There were some different questions being asked and less focus on our similarities. People were talking about poverty; about the need to compensate in order to equalize opportunity. We talked less about changing the teacher and we began to talk more about changing the child so that he/she would better fit into the traditional system. Beginning in 1954, when the Supreme Court made its crucial school desegregation decision, we began looking at programs that brought youngsters from "bad schools" to "good schools," that did away with dual systems and moved toward equal opportunity.
In areas where there was no desegregation, or even any pretense of it, we have compensatory programs, preschool intervention; all kinds of things designed to give the so-called culturally deprived students the tools they lacked according to middle-class America. Yet when we looked around in the early sixties there were still whole pockets of youngsters achieving at a far lower rate than their classmates and there was violence on many of our campuses.

We also spoke of compensation in the late 1960's and early 1970's but it was in a different mood. It was a mood in which there was a certain arrogance and pride, a militancy; a mood in which you could hear loud and clear the final cracking of the melting pot. People were talking then in terms of ethnic studies, accepting people as they are, "doing your own thing." It was a whole different way of taking the same notion of acceptance of individual differences and doing something about it in the schools. This was the height of the press for separate ethnic studies courses. There were demands for Black Studies centers and Chicano Studies centers, later echoed by Asians, European ethnic groups, women. Demands that caused some people to fear a new tribalism. More and more the focus was on group differences and forcing the system to accept them. We seemed to be saying: "Let's change the system. Let's change its shape and its structure so that we don't have to worry about reshaping the child or changing the teacher."

Somehow or other, as we gaze from today's vantage point, that strategy didn't quite make it either. Systems don't change that easily, anymore than do individuals. The things that were happening were still additive, still separate, still peripheral to the central structure.
Something different had happened in each of the three stages, and, as we move forward, and as we talk in 1976, we are still searching. Against a background of new kinds of techniques for reaching teachers, new ideas on how you might involve children, ways in which systems tell us they have changed (even if we haven't), we are still asking many of the same questions.

What is it that we want to see? Close your eyes for a minute and visualize with me what you would like to see on a school playground ten years from now. Move inside the classroom. What would you like to see happening? What kinds of images come to your mind? What is it we're talking about? We say we want people to accept diversity, understand each other, get along. What would be happening in that classroom? I think, if we really look at it that way, we are beginning to ask the right questions.

As we ask the right questions, we will go back with a new sophistication to some of the answers of the 1940's and to some of the answers of the fifties and sixties and see if, indeed, there aren't some things that we were doing that were right. In attempting to move from one era to another, perhaps we rejected the past too quickly and too ruthlessly. I believe, as we move into the future of multicultural education, the first thing that we as educators must get rid of is our way of dealing with complex issues as though we are taking a true-and-false test; as though it is truly either-or, yes-or-no, in-or-out. Multicultural education is not a poker game and there are many different things that I think we would have to address ourselves to, look at closely, and
integrate into the process if we're to have the kinds of things happening in classrooms and on school playgrounds that I have a hunch you envisioned.

Let me suggest what some of these things might be. Let me suggest too what I think it is we have going for us. Before I do that, I'd like to make sure that, when we talk about multicultural education, we mean the same thing. Let's work with my definition for a while. My definition is such a complex one and includes so many different dimensions that there's something for everybody. I think that's the only way it would work. My definition will include cultural pluralism, it will include learning about yourself and learning about the other, it will include integrating the various kinds of diverse backgrounds into a regular curriculum, and it will include those special things (like bilingual education, bicultural education, ethnic studies) that need to be done in addition to the general kind of learning. My definition won't let people off the hook. My hunch is that if I want a future for multicultural education it must be made an integral part of all education. It can't any longer be something that's additive, that's compensatory, that gets taken care of on two days of one week once a year and then, business as usual resumes in the classroom. In order to do that, it seems to me that those of you--those of us, if you will--who see this as something that we care about, have to move ourselves and others to believe that this is an educational imperative. I think there are a lot of people who approach the whole idea of multicultural education as though they're paying their dues--as though it's something we have
to do for them, whoever "they" are, and not as though it is something that really offers you a more authentic, real, and honest kind of education.

Unless we move away from that perspective and deal with multicultural learnings in the way that I believe we should—that they are a valid, integral part of education—there really isn't a future for multicultural education. It will go the way of any other fringe program. The minute the pressure or the money is pulled out, it will cut off from the mainstream of education. I would like to suggest to you that that is one of the most important lessons of the past.

As I look back at the literature of the forties and fifties and sixties, every single one of those interventions and programs was peripheral, outside of the regular system. Every single one of those programs was given to a special coordinator, a district expert in intergroup relations, ethnicity, whatever, and when he/she left the district and moved on to greener pastures, the program went too. Intervention programs were not institutionalized; they were never built into the system. If there is going to be a future for multicultural education, if there's going to be a future at all, good or bad, it must be woven into the total curriculum.

I'd like to itemize some of the things that we have going for us, some of the things that many of you in this room worked to achieve, that could help you in a future for multicultural education that indeed permits it to be part of the system.

Various sections of the State Education Code mandate that we look at ethnic content in textbooks and in various kinds of instructional
materials at all levels. In Goal Three of the State Social Studies Framework K-12, there are objectives which permit us to look at themes, concepts, and ideas in American and World History and build into the curriculum interdisciplinary ways of looking at diversity. Every single one of the programs with categorical funding, such as the Reform of Intermediate and Secondary Education (RISE) program and Early Childhood Education (ECE) program, makes it not only appropriate, but mandated, that there be a multicultural education component. These are some of the things you have going for you in California.

If multicultural education is to have a future (that's almost become a refrain with me now), there must be two objectives. We must avoid the either-or mistakes of the past.

The first objective defines multicultural education as a means, not an end. We are talking about a tool for reaching some youngsters that our schools have been failing, to varying degrees, for many years. Their inclusion is a way of reaching, involving and building self-concept. It is a tool that will reach a poor child, a minority child, a black child, a bilingual child who previously could not see the school as something that was his or hers.

Multicultural education can help a youngster feel better about himself or herself. He/she can then see himself or herself as part of the totality of the American scene. Now, if that's your objective, what is it that you have to do in terms of multicultural curriculum? You have to look at some of the sins of omission in our history books—in our total curriculum—in a little different way. If multicultural
education is used to give a youngster a better sense of power, a feeling of being competent and lovable, there has to be a visibility in the curriculum for many young people in our schools. Psychologists tell us that the most destructive thing you can do to a human being is to ignore him or her. It is easier for somebody to fight hate and hostility than it is to be treated as a nonperson. More children have been destroyed by an atmosphere in which they feel as though they don't exist or are not important than by teachers who by their very hostility force the child to confront that hostility and display an "I'll show them" attitude. There is an educational reason for looking at our curriculum and seeing who is included and who is not included. If you are to see yourself as having a future that matters, you must have what Thomas Pettigrew called "a usable past." You must have a past that tells you from where you come, who you are, and that your roots have meaning and value.

The second objective of multicultural education is as an end, as something that everybody needs to know. I see multicultural education as something that restores honesty to American history, that lets us hear about minority groups before they become a problem to the majority. I'll never forget the first time I heard a speaker talking about the inclusion of minorities in history. He said, "Think about when you first learned about the Indians. Think about when you first heard about blacks, about Jews, about Japanese. Each time you will find that they first stepped out on the pages of your history book when they became a problem to the majority group." Think about it: every time, So I see multicultural education as an end for those of us (and that's
all of us), who grew up with a distorted sense of what America was all about, with perhaps understanding a little bit about ourselves as diverse but certainly not with the complexity and the richness and the many kinds of diversity in this country. As an end, multicultural education gives us a chance to really experience the wholeness and the fullness of our national diversity and to transfer it to the generations to come.

I don't think that if we focus on either-or we would have multicultural education as an ongoing thing in the schools of California. What happens is rather interesting, kind of sad, and should be predictable. When, as in staff training under Education Code Article 3.3, people were arguing the objective—whether it's to take care of previously short-changed people and make sure that everybody understands about them, or whether it's to enrich a total curriculum by understanding all of the immigrant experience (we are all immigrants)—sides were played off against each other. The program itself suffered.

Some of the responses in the forties, the fifties and the sixties failed because one group felt as though another's gains were being made at its expense. The minute we fall in this trap, the minute we don't proceed with multicultural education as an imperative for us all, that benefits us all, somehow or another that iron core of the status quo kind of shoves us all off, and business goes on as usual.

This is real, and one of the problems and one of the reasons I think for the limited gains of previous decades was that, instead of adding on and pulling through the threads of one thing as we did
another, we rejected things completely. There is an interesting phenomenon in American education. We have a wonderful way of taking a good idea, a real idea, an authentic one that has some power of its own to make some changes, and putting so much weight on it that the whole idea collapses under it. Then people say, "See, I told you that would never work." That's what we did with Operation Headstart, that's what we did with Follow Through, that's what we did with many of the early bilingual programs. We used these programs as substitutes for needed system-wide reform and wondered why they didn't work.

In the human relations approach of the forties and early fifties, we did something else that I think has come back to plague us a little bit with young people and certain of our colleagues. Well-meaning people, most of us, prided ourselves on what we thought was being color-blind. We focused on our similarities. We are all brothers under the skins; people are all alike. The very real similarities that we have were the basis for our discussions. If we are going to move ahead and confront the reality of multicultural education, then the time has come to learn from the lessons of the past and deal with those very real differences among groups in this country. The differences, both in values and in lifestyles, the differences among life experiences, the differences of expectations and potentialities. If we don't, we are missing some very legitimate and authentic educational tools.

One of the things I have been very close to in the last six or eight months, is a body of research conducted by the University of California Survey Research Center under a grant from the Anti-Defamation
League called, "The Patterns of American Prejudice." The grant was
given in the first place to explore the reasons for an upsurge of
swastika painting and vandalism in the early 1960's.

This study surveyed many of our major institutions. The last
piece of research came out under the title of "Adolescent Prejudice"
last fall. It showed teenage race and class prejudice and great ac-
ceptance of anti-Semitic stereotypes. The study also found that some
of our early work with schools had, in a sense, a faulty premise.
Most of the early work was based on the notion that if you were prej-
udiced, if you were a bigot or a racist, you were sick. How could a
well-meaning, sane person hate other people he didn't even know? There
had to be a sick personality. That was the theory behind the authori-
tarian personality and much of the work that was done in the early days
on prejudice. One idea was to treat the bigot through reason, through
pleading, through morality—all kinds of things. Then all would be
well. As we all know, this didn't happen. This study confirms what
the Kerner reports said after some of the inner city riots of the late
1960's. It says that there is an institutional nature to prejudice.
There are messages and whole kinds of ideas that institutions send out
to tell us how we're supposed to feel about that other person. It makes
it very easy for the person who has these hidden sick feelings to per-
form certain ways because the institution permits him/her to. It also
means that sometimes there are well-meaning persons who just want to
make it in a system and, so, they are indulging in the same blocking
behaviors, the same discriminatory behaviors, even though they themselves
are not personally prejudiced. There are a few people around who, given a better way, would act differently. "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." If you are in a system or a country club, a church, or any kind of a social group, to make it in that group, you have to, in a sense, ignore the other and indulge in that latent American fear of the stranger. It is very easy to do.

What this study showed is that young people were emerging from their educational programs with incredible stereotyped images of each other; images that they had gotten from the media, from their schools, and from their very limited experiences. When they would first get together with youngsters of different backgrounds, they couldn't overcome the images of the past, the stereotyped expectations, and check them against reality. It seems to me that we have to start thinking of multicultural education as part of the total curriculum; as a process rather than a program. It has to, in a sense, permeate lots of parts of the schools that we had not before thought about.

What I am suggesting to you now is that multicultural education must become part of the totality of the school experience. We may have to redefine what it is we mean by curriculum. When we do I think we will find entry points that are far more creative and have far more possible payoff than the traditional entrance through the social studies curriculum.

To digress a little bit, as an old social studies teacher I stand on the side now and I look at those of you who are still in the social studies classrooms and I sigh a little. I think that in many school
districts the social studies classroom has become the ghetto in which everything is put that might possibly give anybody else any trouble. Having said that, I would like to suggest some other ways in which we might think of entry points. If you think of curriculum as consisting of two main components, lots of things come to mind. Think of curriculum as including not only the classroom content, but the campus climate. I think that one of the reasons many of the ways in which we tried to reach people through our teaching have failed is because we believed what people told us—that we were teaching on two ends of a log. We really forgot that the log sits in the middle of a big forest; we forgot that sometimes, between the two ends of the log, there are certain kinds of things that happen, certain kinds of interference. I think that totality is what we're going to have to look at as we move ahead.

For instance, how can you look at a school climate and see if it comfortably accepts diversity without looking at the rules and regulations at that school site? How can you really see if a school is receptive to pluralism, to diversity, without seeing what the counseling patterns of the school are and seeing into what tracks and directions youngsters of diverse backgrounds are being put? How does the discipline of a school affect people differentially—or the physical environment and extra-curricular activities? I think if we try to put a curriculum in a school and talk as though it's only a course of study, even if it's the best possible one we could all put our heads together and get, even if it is truly interdisciplinary and pulls in all of the new jargon and whatever, if it is put into the same framework, it's going to be like
a transplant. The systems will reject it. It has happened to all of us. You go to the workshop. You learn all of the good ways. But nobody else at the school went to the same workshop. You come back and you try. I remember feeling so very good about two summer institutes that I co-directed. I remember the wonderful letters and all those nice little thank you notes I'd get. By Christmas, on the Christmas cards, I could begin to sense the frustration. By the next June, I wasn't hearing from people any more because the system had turned them off. They, themselves, didn't know why they had failed, but I came to realize that if I am going to be involved in a program that has a chance of some payoff, there has to be at least a team from a school district. There has to at least be some commitment that, when you get back, someone will listen. (Even if they tell you you're crazy, they'll listen.) Unless we look at the totality of what that school teaches by its patterns, by its customs, by its mores, its values, its rewards and its punishments, merely putting in a fine multicultural curriculum won't take. I guarantee, that system, that body, will reject it.

Then what is it you are looking for in that classroom content? What is it you're looking for after you have decided that the climate will, indeed, take this new infusion? How then can you in these workshops and in your schools, go beyond the social studies? How can you go back and decide what will happen after ethnic studies? I would like to suggest to you that there isn't one part of the total school curriculum that, in one way or another, is not related to multicultural curriculum. I would like to suggest to you that if you look closely at
the way we teach mathematics, particularly at the elementary level, the kinds of problems that people have, the materials that they work with, there is some way in which multicultural content can come through. I'd like to suggest that, if you are looking in terms of ways in which multicultural content can go beyond the social studies, what we include and what we exclude in the language arts sends us all kinds of messages as to what it is we value in this culture and what it is we don't value. Career education, the aesthetic arts, music--there are ways in which the totality of the curriculum can weave the threads of multicultural content. There isn't one particular subject that doesn't have three dimensions to it--the facts and the skills, the concepts, the value implications. If we were having a workshop rather than my just talking at you, I would like to demonstrate that you could take any kind of learning, and, if you wanted, deal with it from multiple perspectives and pull through a multicultural value component with just the kinds of questions that you ask.

In the work of Geneva Gay, she talks, for example, about taking an issue such as protest, poverty, immigration and looking at that phenomenon and that event or that theme, not only through a historical but through a multidimensional perspective. I wonder if Custer's "Last Stand" looked the same from both sides of the mountain? How would you view the battle from inside the Alamo or the concentration camp? How would the same battle look from the outside? Multiple perspectives.

I remember showing students a picture in which a little background person, a serving person, most of the time it was a woman, was watching
the men make a big decision. I suggested that students might like to
draw that picture again as though seeing it through the eyes of that
little girl or that serving maid. Lots of learning results as you at-
tempt to pull through an awareness of diversity.

The payoff of having truly multicultural education in our schools
could be very great. We do ourselves a disservice if we permit parents
and other educators to think we're doing it for "them," whoever they
are. Most of our teaching deals primarily with facts and skills. We
gain some important things—we gain knowledge, we gain awareness, we
gain ability. If we move that learning a little higher, we get some
understanding and we may get some sympathy, but only if you move that
learning in the way I was suggesting, with an examination of value im-
lications and multiple perspectives, will you gain the humane, diverse,
imaginative, and all of the affective components of learning. Curriculum
decision-making that relates to multicultural education (the kinds of
things that Jim Banks talks about) is incredibly important but most of
the time it's a jealously guarded turf. If we are to move ahead with
multicultural curriculum and not have it continue to be the territory
of the chosen few who have "seen the light," then I think we have to
move ahead and educate people in making the same kinds of choices.

In most of the districts in which I work the decisions are made as
though we're playing a poker game: in-or-out. "I don't like that book.
It doesn't do a good thing for women, or it doesn't do a good thing for
Jews, or it doesn't do a good thing in terms of the Nazis, or the
internment of the Japanese, or whatever. I don't like that book so
we don't use it." I've come to the conclusion that we do ourselves a
disservice if we exclude and let it go at that. If we exclude we still
can educate the people around us and the people who write and make those
books if we tell people why we have excluded them. I have done, and I
have seen other people do, incredibly good lessons with films that I
would call inherently racist. It involves letting people see what is in
that film in a way that perhaps they couldn't, if they didn't deal with
that film and talk about why it might not belong in a school curriculum.

If we include an item, I think we have to make some conscious de-
cisions as to whether what we are including should be integrated into
our total curriculum, whether it should serve as a supplement, or
whether it belongs in a separate course. Again, the either-or answers
that suggest that if something is not appropriate for one thing, it
might not be appropriate for others, have gotten us in trouble. How do
we implement multicultural education that is both a means and an end?
Again, I'd like to suggest to you that there isn't going to be just
one way. Integration of multicultural themes and content in all subject
matter is only one answer. Implementation must also come through ex-
perience and encounter. The single answer, the one right way, has
gotten us in trouble. It is too easy for people to reject something
out of hand if the one thing you offer is not perceived by them as
being educationally valid. Multicultural curriculums can be achieved
through subject matter in many ways—through separate courses, through
supplementary materials, and through integration into the total cur-
riculum. In addition, understanding and acceptance of diversity can
be achieved through experience and encounter. It can be done in an
interdisciplinary way. It can be done in a curriculum, and it can
be done in a co-curriculum bag. If I am making it sound as though it is a multifaceted, ongoing process, that's because I believe that's what it should be. If we only look for the easy answer, whether it be "change the teacher" so that he or she knows more, "change the child" so he or she receives what we want, or "change the system" without dealing with the people in that system, we have done some self-limiting kinds of things.

As I look ahead and wonder what kinds of conferences we will be having ten years from now, I think we will have succeeded if we put conferences like this out of business. It seems to me that as long as there is a not-so-hidden assumption that multicultural curriculum is a separate entity, rather than a component of a total curriculum, we are sure to be set apart from curriculum people as such. Those programs that I see that have the best chance of a successful future (and I hope I'm not treading on anybody's toes), don't come out of intergroup bureaus; they come out of curriculum divisions. They come out of those parts of a system that have legitimacy in the eyes of the total system. They come out of those parts of a system that are perceived by educators as having real educational validity. If the programs emanate from intergroup units, they must very quickly (as the California State Department, Bureau of Intergroup Relations, tries to do) bring in those people who have the lines and the directions into a total curriculum. Otherwise, once again, we're outside of the system.

I need to make what I think is one critically important comment. As I look back over the last thirty years and wonder what it is that
made well-meaning people dead-end periodically, I see something else happening that I would hope we could forestall. There was an assumption some of us had that, if people accepted what we were saying as related to the Black experience, Chicano history, or any particular kind of group, some magic things would happen that would mean that, automatically, all kinds of diversity would be comfortably accepted in the school. The recent body of research that I've alluded to, the survey done by the University of California on "Patterns of American Prejudice," has, unfortunately, made me realize that's not true. Prejudice is not of a piece. Some people have great prejudice against one group and not against another. If we are to move ahead in the area of multicultural curriculum, I think we have to attack many fronts at the same time. If we see that different teams of specialists are needed to deal with Black experience, with Chicano experience, that, say, "Women can wait for a while. That isn't part of it," what is going to happen is we are going to be moving one after the other. Again, think back, even in terms of the progression of ethnic studies, in terms of changes in curriculum, changes in textbooks. Why, if we believe what we are saying and if we believe that the result of the work is a world that can take the richness of the individual and still feel that he or she has some things that make them specially different, in terms of their ethnicity, their culture, their sex, why do we have to move one group at a time? What I'm urging is that if we believe that multicultural education is imperative, then we're not talking about anything that's additive or compensatory.
What we are dealing with is a deep philosophical and educational commitment that says that some things we have been doing in education have given us a very narrow and distorted version of what the world is and of the potential of the people in it. If we believe that, then the steps we make for one group must inevitably lead the steps for another. Otherwise, we'll be sitting here ten years from now and some previously short-changed group will be saying, "What about us?"

I believe there is a future for multicultural education; that future lies primarily in the hands of those of us who have started to move in that direction. Unless the questions we ask and unless the answers we seek take us beyond stage one, our future will not be much different from the past.

We need to look forward and ask what it is that stands in the way of where we want to be; what it is that could give us forward momentum. There is a danger, since many of us are used to seeing each other at the same kinds of meetings, of operating on the assumption that all our allies are in this room. They really aren't. There are others in the school community who are supportive of educationally valid multicultural curriculum. One last thing that the University of California research has convinced me of, is that too much of our time has been devoted to working with the wrong kind of people. Some people are never going to change. They will never buy the idea that there should be diversity and openness in education and that multicultural education can be liberating for us all. On the other hand, there are others who don't need the kinds of messages that people like us give; they're already
committed. In the middle are all those people who are looking for a system that would reward them in a different way. I think those are the people that we should be spending our time on, instead of having our agendas written by the true believers on either end. All those people in the middle, the apathetic majority, just like the average youngster in the classroom, are the people upon whom we can have an impact. If shown a better way and convinced of the educational imperative of what we're doing, they would work with us to make multicultural education a real and authentic part of education, both as a means and as an end. We need them in our future.