Multicultural Education: Combatting the Master Narrative of American History in K-12 Curricula

"Colonialism works not just through armies, but through literature. Not just through conquest, but through anthropology. Not just through oppression, but justified through narrative." (Said, 2017)

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Awarded *Highest Honors*

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PREFACE

My research took place over the course of 2016, during which I served as an intern in the Government Relations department of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). While at AFT, I researched the policies of individual states as they related to the Every Student Succeeds Act and, for my own interests, Multicultural Education. This research is still in-progress; the data I have collected so far is included in the Appendix on page 59.

INTRODUCTION

> *"There is no such thing as a pure fact, innocent of interpretation. Behind every fact presented to the world – by a teacher, a writer, anyone – is a judgment. The judgment that has been made is that this fact is important, and that other facts, omitted, are not important. There were themes of profound importance to me which I found missing in the orthodox histories that dominated American culture. The consequences of those omissions has been not simply to give a distorted view of the past but, more important, to mislead us all about the present. ... What struck me as I began to study history was how nationalist fervor – inculcated from childhood on by pledges of allegiance, national anthems, flags waving and rhetoric blowing – permeated the educational systems of all countries, including our own."* (Zinn, 2003, p. 527)

Any person who has gone to school in the United States will be familiar with the "master script" of American history: the heroics of Christopher Columbus and subsequent European colonists, the valiant efforts and open-minded philosophies of (white male) American Revolutionaries, a few vaguely referenced bumps in the road toward the admirable abolition of slavery, economic fortitude and global influence during the World Wars, and a Civil Rights movement that was non-violent and successfully decisive. This narrative spans from Columbus's

"discovery" in 1492 through the 20th century. It expounds the values of justice, individualism, and freedom as critical elements of the American way. Yet it fails to highlight the instances in which the beneficiaries of such values excluded large parts of the population and pays little attention to the contributions of minority populations. The stories of minority groups have not been afforded their due in the master narrative of the United States that is popularized via our K-12 school curricula.

Some scholars have described current American secondary school curricula as "culturally specific artifact[s] designed to maintain a white supremacist master script." (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p18) The "master script" deemphasizes the stories of African Americans and other minority cultures in favor of the dominant culture of white authority. Through education policy, some argue, policymakers extend the willful protection and perpetuation of white-centered nationalism, patriotism, and heritage by silencing or disempowering stories that do not match the "standard" and "legitimate" straight, white, upper-class, male story. (Swartz, 1992, p341) When it comes to deciding which stories to tell in the narrative of American history, policymakers have historically made sure that "all other [non-white] accounts and perspectives are omitted from the master script unless they can be disempowered through misrepresentation. Thus, content that does not reflect the dominant voice must be brought under control, mastered, and then reshaped before it can become part of the master script." (Swartz, 1992, p341) In some instances, every piece of information delivered to students has been filtered through a lens that portrays white Americans as the sole heroes of the American story, leaving space for minorities only as supporting characters that are under the domination of the white masters.

The public education system currently in place in the United States was largely built and has certainly been dominated by white educators. Indeed, "as a structure, white domination involves every aspect of education, from policy formation to teacher development and teacher education programs and disciplinary actions." (Leonardo & Manning, 2015, p. 2) The majority of policymakers at all levels – from the Federal government, to State boards of education, to Local school districts – are white. (National School Boards Association, 2008) In the opinion of Education Professor David Gillborn, the white domination of American education policy is at least partly intentional; he writes: "The patterning of racial advantage and inequity [in education policy] is structured in domination and its continuation represents a form of *tactic intentionality* on the part of white powerholders and policymakers. It is in this sense that education policy is an *act* of white supremacy." (Gillborn, 2005, p. 486) Gillborn sees education policy as an arena in which white educators can consciously and willingly extend their authority to perpetuate their domination in many other areas. Indeed, education policy has historically been the site of many power struggles. The national importance of education policy and its potential to alter the trajectory of future generations of American society and politics makes it a particularly contentious political arena. The domain of public education and the policy that governs it has long been associated with "tension between revision and respect for historical figures. … Biases have come from across the political spectrum and have worked their way into history instruction for every generation." (Urist, 2015) It is therefore informative to consider education policy as reflective of broader social realities.

The need for many stories

In 2009, novelist and non-fiction writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie delivered a powerful TedTalk about the "Danger of a Single Story" in which she explained:

> *Power is the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but to make it the definitive story of that person. The Palestinian poet Mourid Barghouti writes that if you want to dispossess a people, the simplest way to do it is to tell their story and to start with, "secondly." Start the story with the arrows of the Native Americans, and not with the arrival of the British, and you have an entirely different story. Start the story with the failure of the African state, and not with the colonial creation of the African state, and you have an entirely different story.* (Adichie, 2009)

Many scholars concur with Adichie's championing of the importance of stories. Gloria Ladson-Billings, a leading American educator and pedagogical theorist, wrote in 1995: "The dominant group justifies its power with stories – stock explanations – which construct reality so as to maintain their privilege. Thus oppression is rationalized, causing little self-examination by the oppressor. Stories of people of color can catalyze the necessary cognitive conflict to jar dysconcsious racism." (Ladson-Billings, G. & Tate, W. F., 1995, p. 21) Ladson-Billings acknowledges the power of a story as a vehicle for oppression, but also indicates that multiple stories from disempowered groups can combat such oppression. As Adichie firmly reiterates, "Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity." (Adichie, 2009)

As Ladson-Billings, Adichie, and many others maintain, broadening the stories to which American students are exposed can help them overcome prejudiced attitudes and expose complex historical realities. AnaLouise Keating, a professor in the Department of Multicultural Women's and Gender Studies at Texas Woman's University, beseeches: "We need new stories … stories with transformational power … stories inviting our students to question and expose the status quo … stories enabling us to eradicate social injustice and enact revolutionary change." (Keating, 2009, p. 213) Arlene Avakian, the chair of the Women's Studies department at the University of Massachusetts, acknowledges the need to include often-neglected stories in her college courses. "It's the suppressed history I'm interested in teaching," she says. "[We] can't know ourselves and our country without knowing this history. … [If American history curriculums] told [more diverse stories], this would be a different country. …. If we knew in detail how slavery existed alongside freedom, we would have to change the national narrative." (Fears, 2003) African American and Women's Studies Professor Roderick A. Ferguson remains optimistic about the potential for including more stories beyond the American master narrative. He writes, "This is not an occasion to retreat to the sanctity of canonical narratives of … American identity but a moment to refuse the restrictions of the sacred in our difficult preparation for a more democratic tomorrow." (Ferguson, 2011, p. 129)

I agree with Ferguson and believe that by including multiple, varied, and sometimes contradictory portrayals of stereotyped groups, teachers can give students broader perspectives of other people in the world. It is harmful to minority and white students and to our collective intelligence for American history to be dominated by a single narrative. The more diverse our educational references and experiences, the more accepting we can be of diversity in our society.

One could certainly argue that through events such as African-American History Month and Martin Luther King, Jr. day, educators have already taken steps toward including African American stories in school curricula. I contend that this inclusion is not enough. While stories are a powerful starting point toward diversifying and improving our educational experiences, what is really necessary is a meaningful integration and consideration of a large variety of stories, accompanied by a critical consideration of how they interact and inform each other. Superficial inclusion through ethnic heritage months or International Nights, while in some ways still valuable, is not sufficient to combat the stubborn dominance that white educators have over the stories that are told in schools and in the rest of our society. Exposure to stories is extremely valuable, but it is only the first step in effectively and meaningfully integrating diverse perspectives into K-12 curricula.

CHAPTER 1: Who is "American"?

Conventional wisdom in the United States holds that primary schooling is one of the most significant factors in a person's political socialization into an implicit and standard American national identity.[1] Through their elementary, middle, and high school classes – especially classes in history, social studies, and government – young Americans learn basic lessons and values which policymakers, educators, and parents deem fit to teach in a democratic society. As the United States has shifted through political and social movements, the foci of American education policy have shifted accordingly.[2] The issue of the exclusivity of public education curriculums mirrors the larger issue of the exclusivity of American citizenship. Especially since the beginning of the 20th century, American lawmakers have focused on public education as a way to discipline and "moralize" young citizens.

The practice of intentionally diminishing or excluding instruction in certain historical narratives in favor of a single dominant narrative of one "American" national identity has roots in the early 1900s. At the turn of the 20th century, when large numbers of European immigrants arrived in the United States to work in urban factories, dominant Anglo-Americans established policies to encourage the cultural assimilation of the new arrivals. During this time, "schooling was looked upon as the institution par excellence through which U.S. educational policy makers and ruling elites consciously attempted to cultivate norms of citizenship, to fashion a conformist identity, and to bind together a population of diverse national origins." (McCarthy, 1991, p. 302) This involved exposing students only to stories of the United States that empowered white Anglo-American historical figures, and often demeaned or left out entirely the contributions of other races.

Most Americans will be familiar with these sorts of stories. For instance, we hear stories of George Washington's moral fortitude and Thomas Jefferson's scholarly pursuits without substantial attention paid to their roles as enslavers of African people. We hear stories like Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis of the heroism of westward expansion without mention of significant violence and Native American casualties. Stories of post-Civil War Reconstruction focus on respectable individuals such as Abraham Lincoln and Stonewall Jackson, omitting details of hate crimes and violence. Even though stories of our Founding Fathers and our Colonial Successes are often presented as the backbone of American values, the Americans included in these stories represent a starkly exclusive portion of the United States population. I believe that this effort to convey a limited picture of which people in American history matter most is intentional, or at the very least, has origins in educational practices that were initially meant to impose these exclusionary American ideals and the notion of Anglo-American superiority on a larger, more diverse American population.

Ellwood P. Cubberly, an American educator and school administrator in the early 1900s, explained the grounds for assimilation through public education as follows:

> *Our task is to break up … settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of our American race, and to implant in their children, as far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding truth.* (Cubberly, 1909, quoted in McCarthy, 1991, p. 302)

When Cubberly made this statement, the "these people" to which he was referring were European immigrants. Educational programs across the United States explicitly put forth the goal of ridding these new European arrivals of 'ethnic traits' that Anglo-Americans like Cubberly judged were in opposition to the dominant culture of the United States.

Cubberly qualifies his intent to "assimilate" immigrants by adding that they will "amalgamate" these new arrivals into the "American race." Although the term "amalgamate" refers to a fusing of things, it also implies that the joined parts retain their separate identities. Cubberly is not suggesting that all people be included as a single American race, but instead is subtly suggesting that the immigrants will mold to but not invade or pollute the purity of the whiteness that defines the existent American race.

In another striking example of how public education was intentionally and explicitly exclusionary, Captain Richard H. Pratt delivered an address in 1892 about the role of public education in "civilizing" Native Americans. The oft-quoted phrase from Pratt's speech, "kill the native, save the man," summarizes the sentiment of white educators at the end of the 19th century. In his speech, Pratt lays out methods of "educating" Native American students by suppressing tribal traditions and instilling Anglo-European cultural norms in their place. He also maintains that African Americans are not worthy, or even capable, of being assimilated. He says, "What a farce it would be to attempt teaching American citizenship to the negroes in Africa. They could not understand it; and, if they did, in the midst of such contrary influences, they could never use it." (Pratt, 1892)

The early 1900s marked in the United States a period of the mainstreaming of overt white supremacy. As the post-Civil War Reconstruction era came to a close, the Ku Klux Klan experienced a resurgence in membership and visibility, and Southern States implemented laws establishing legal segregation. By 1915, President Woodrow Wilson would describe the Ku Klux Klan as "a veritable empire of the South, [existing] to protect the Southern country" (LaRouche Jr., 1996, p. 67) and encourage the official segregation of federal government facilities. (Keylor, 2013) It was in this context that educational strategies such as those suggested by Cubberly and Pratt took hold.

Below (Fig. 1) is a political cartoon from 1899. Titled "School Begins," the cartoon depicts an American classroom in which a stern Uncle Sam is teaching a class of students of different ethnicities. Uncle Sam disciplines the unruly caricatures representing Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines while well-behaved students representing the territories acquired from the Mexican-American war read quietly. (Interpretation of Political Cartoons: School Begins) In the back of the room, a caricature of a Native American man is reading a book upside-down, a caricature of a Chinese man is standing outside of the room looking in, and a caricature of an African-American man is washing the windows. This cartoon speaks to the intentions, and exclusivity, of the American "civilizing mission" of education.

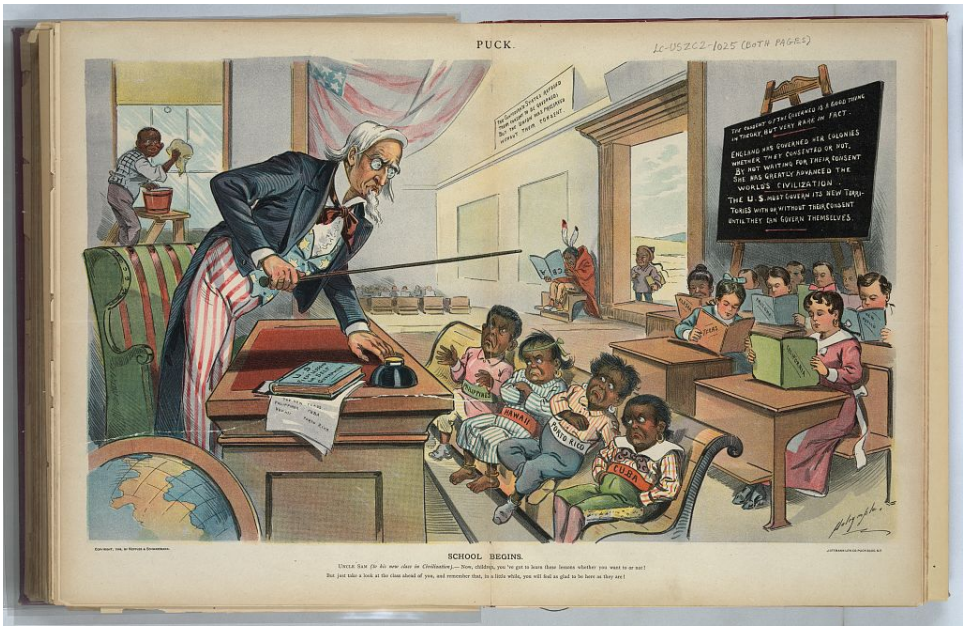


Fig. 1 – "School Begins" (Dalrymple, 1899)

Consider the classroom represented in "School Begins" as an apt metaphor for the United States, especially given how intertwined public education and national identity often are. In this classroom, "Even as the American ideal is being extended to some, it is simultaneously corrupted or denied to others." (Interpretation of Political Cartoons: School Begins) The placement of the caricature of the Chinese man outside of the classroom portrays the effects of the Chinese Exclusion Act, which was passed in 1882 to prohibit any immigration to the United States from China and was not repealed until 1943. (Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)) The Native American man seated just inside the door to the American classroom is reading a book upside down, as if he does not understand the lesson that Uncle Sam is trying to teach. This symbolizes the view of Pratt and other white Americans that without European influence, the "savage" Native Americans would remain helplessly uneducated.

While the Chinese man is denied a place in the classroom of the United States and the Native American man is given a book he cannot read, the African American man is afforded a place in the classroom as a window washer. The cartoonist's assignment of the African American man to this menial task reflects the institutional view of Black citizens' role in the United States. The major discourse among white scholars and political officials during the early 20th century centered on "The Negro Problem:" incorporating a large African American population into an exclusively white nation. The proposed solution to "The Negro Problem" was to provide "education" for African Americans in order to prepare them to serve as manual laborers, the only role deemed suitable for a population viewed as "an undeveloped race." (Gillman, 1908, p. 83)

Charlotte Perkins Gilman expresses this view quite directly in her essay *A Suggestion on the Negro Problem*. Gillman refers to African Americans as "working factors in society" and "potential labor that will not apply itself." (Gillman, 1908, p. 83) She posits that the only way for African American people to "become an advantageous element in the community" is to enlist them as agricultural workers and provide them only with "as much education as each individual can take." (Gillman, 1908, p. 83) It takes the cake that Gillman frames her suggested solution to the "Negro Problem" as "compulsory education" and "wise supervision." (Gillman, 1908, p. 83) In Gillman's view, "the unorganized negro does not seem capable in many instances of utilizing his own forces" (Gillman, 1908, p. 82) and so must be taken under the wing of the superior white race, not with the goal of making them equal citizens but with the goal of facilitating their placement in society as a separate lower class of service workers.

Given the context of overt white supremacy that characterized the early 1900s, the African American man is presented as having an ascribed place in society as a laborer. White philosophers of the time described "The Negro Problem" they believed stood in the way of the strength of a purely white America. While Black Americans had been present in the United States since colonial times, white Americans were reluctant to recognize that they had a place beyond manual laborers; they designated African Americans to a working class and did not consider African Americans worthy (or capable) of receiving a sophisticated education.

(Booker T. Washington worked strategically with these racist ideas of the early 1900s in his efforts to improve the availability of education for African Americans. Washington appeared to buy into the discourse that African Americans were capable only of vocational education in preparation for manual labor, but also made efforts to provide African Americans with further educational opportunities under the guise of practical training. He founded the Tuskegee Institute in 1881 as a school for Black Americans to be trained as workers. The Tuskegee Institute also provided academic opportunities, and has since become Tuskegee University. Washington hid his efforts to educate African Americans behind the conceit that they were being prepared only to work as, for example, window washers.[3])

Fig. 2 – Students in workshop, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. (Johnston, 1902)

The "School Begins" cartoon is also an example of a general trend of portraying American colonization as a pedagogical mission. The text displayed in the classroom is about the need for the United States to "govern its new territories with or without their consent." According to the caption, the Uncle Sam character is making an effort to impart this information "to his new class in Civilization… whether [they] want to or not!" The aptness of the use of a classroom as a metaphor for the United States' early 20th century colonization and "civilizing" missions is telling.

The imagery in the cartoon associated with the American "civilizing mission" includes an adult Uncle Sam teacher figure and unruly children symbolizing the targets of colonization. This dynamic between an omniscient, disciplining white man and children in need of supervision

reinforces not only the notion of a patriarchal nuclear family, but also the notion that colonialism can be justified as a pedagogical project, infantilizing the colonized and presenting the American way as the only required curriculum. Charlotte Perkins Gilman also references this paternalistic aspect of colonialism: "By the same methods in which a state or country arbitrarily provides for its poor, its defectives, or for the education of its children;" she writes, "so it could now bestir itself to provide for this large class of comparatively backward citizens." (p. 84) The teacher-student dynamic in a classroom is used to mirror the colonizer-colonized relationship between the United States and the countries represented in the cartoon. That the classroom is such a fitting metaphor for colonization betrays the reality that American public education has often been used as a way to subjugate and assimilate students.

In American classrooms today, educators still place emphasis on education's role in subjugating or "moralizing" students. Many state education codes provide lists of "American values" that public school teachers are required to impart. Included in the statement of state education policy of Alaska, for example, is the following: "the purpose of education is to help ensure that all students will … exemplify the best values of society, and be effective in improving the character and quality of the world about them." (Sec. 14-03-015) The Arkansas state code establishes "Celebrate Freedom Week" to "educate students about the sacrifices made for freedom in the founding of this country and the values on which this country was founded." (Sec. 6-16-101) Many states have established character education programs. In Kentucky, for example, this is defined as "instructional strategies and curricula that … instill and promote core values and qualities of good character in students including altruism, citizenship, courtesy, honesty, human worth, justice, knowledge, respect, responsibility, and self-discipline; … and

improve the ability of students to make moral and ethical decisions in their lives." (Sec. 158-005) Alabama has a similar clause that requires educators to implement character education programs for all grades to focus on development of "courage, patriotism, citizenship, honesty, fairness, respect for others, kindness, cooperation, self-respect, self-control, courtesy, compassion, tolerance, diligence, generosity, punctuality, cleanliness, cheerfulness, school pride, respect for the environment, patience, creativity, sportsmanship, loyalty, and perseverance." (Sec. 16-6b-2-h) These are just a few examples of how the imparting of morality and establishing of discipline in schools remain under the influence of a single set of "American" values[4] imposed by the dominant group.

Creating a Usable Past

Van Wyck Brooks, a white American writer and literary critic, published his well-known essay "On Creating a Usable Past" in 1918. Brooks sets forth the goal of creating a "usable past" in the form of a single, cohesive narrative of American history. This narrative, he argues, should include only stories that strengthen a mainstream understanding of a distinct American story. Stories or writers that pose contradictions to a single national narrative of strength and prosperity Brooks views as threats. He therefore implores his readers to replace their various contradictory memories of the past with a new story, saying, "If we need another past so badly, is it inconceivable that we might discover one, that we might even invent one?" (Brooks, 1918)

In her 1998 presidential address to the American Studies Association, Janice Radway discusses the "distinctive method" of American Studies and challenges the idea that "American"

studies contains a single focus or goal. She says, “I have resisted the comforting assumption that there is an unproblematic "we" as a way of recognizing that the many who associate their work with American studies often have distinctly different interests, agendas, and concerns.” (Radway, p. 3) In his essay, Brooks constantly uses the “presumptive and coercive” (Radway, p. 3) pronoun “we.” He says, “What is important for us? What, out of all the multifarious achievements and impulses and desires of the American literary mind, ought we elect to remember?” (Brooks, 1918) Who is the “we” to whom Brooks is referring? What national past are “we” inventing, and on whom are “we” imposing it? It is clear that Brooks’ “we” is an exclusive one: many people were (and still are) considered “un-American,” and their needs, therefore, were not considered when “we” decided what story was best suited to communicate this nation’s development.

Brooks acknowledges the means by which histories are selectively remembered and told, and he advocates taking advantage of this process by explicitly “inventing” an exclusive past that can serve a specific use. He makes it clear that telling a nation’s history amounts not to historical realities, but to choices about what is important and “what we elect to remember.” Brooks concedes that many possibly contradictory stories of America do exist and that there are “as many histories of America as there are nations to possess them.” (Brooks, 1918) Nevertheless, he concludes that it is best to select a single dominant narrative to define what it means to be “American.” When a nation “selects” a national narrative, Brooks says, it must select the narrative that “contributes most vitally to its own development.”

American poet and author Walt Whitman made similar assertions in his 1871 publication *Democratic Vistas*. In this text, Whitman discusses the need to develop "an American stock-personality" (Whitman, 1888, p. 11) by selecting and standardizing American literature. He writes, "There could hardly happen anything that would more serve the States, with all their variety of origins, their diverse climes, cities, standards, etc., than possessing an aggregate of heroes, characters, exploits, sufferings, prosperity or misfortune, glory or disgrace, common to all." (Whitman, 1888, p. 8) Like Brooks, Whitman advocates for a streamlining of the plurality of American stories into a single national narrative. Whitman agrees that it is the stories of a nation's past that both influence and reveal how a nation is constructed, and he argues that it is through the teaching of carefully selected literature that we should educate American citizens. Whitman believes that literature and the teachers who share it are that which "finally and only is to make of our western world a nationality superior to any hither known, and outtopping the past." (Whitman, 1888, pp. 4-5) He acknowledges the power of stories to impact a nation's concept of its history.

James Baldwin also agreed that stories – which, in many cases, are myths – end up constituting a nation's identity. In a speech delivered in 1963 to a gathering of teachers in New York City, he described his perception of how history in the United States is constituted:

> "*What passes for identity in America is a series of myths about one's heroic ancestors. It's astounding to me, for example, that so many people really appear to believe that the country was founded by a band of heroes who wanted to be free. That happens not to be true. What happened was that some people left*

> *Europe because they couldn't stay there any longer and had to go someplace else to make it."* (Baldwin, 1963)

Baldwin's description of American history as a "series of myths" recognizes in our mainstream historical narratives exactly the type of selective, manipulative storytelling for which Brooks advocated.

What stories continue to dominate our conception of who is "American"? What stories make up the American "national narrative"? And who chooses and tells those stories in our K-12 classrooms? On individual levels, many different stories are told, as families pass on stories of their own cultural identities. Institutionally, however, via the education policies that govern our public schools, upper-class straight white male stories are heavily favored and, in many cases, are exclusionary.

The struggle over inclusion in K-12 history lessons is a symptom of a broader national struggle over the "American" identity.[5] Filmmaker Shukree Hassan Tilghman comes to this conclusion in *More Than a Month*, a 2012 film that explores the history and implications of Black History Month. (Tilghman, 2012) Tilghman finds that the discussion about the inclusion of African-American history in American history is, at its core, about "what it means to be an American, to fight for one's rightful place in the American landscape." (Tilghman, 2012) This documentary displays the repercussions and continued struggles of the exclusionary public education system in a contemporary context. Tilghman explores how the treatment of African American history in schools reflects the treatment of African Americans in larger social contexts, and considers also how improved and more inclusive school curriculums might foster an

improved and more inclusive society. Tilghman sees the potential in education to have enormous impact on American society via the way it portrays African Americans and other ethnic minorities.

Historically (and still today), a major goal of public education has been to "socialize" young students, preparing them to be "loyal" and "patriotic." The lessons included as parts of such socializing efforts, therefore, reveal the assumptions that the policymakers and their constituents hold about which stories are the defining aspects of American society and culture. In the words of acclaimed scholar Howard Zinn, "*Behind every fact presented to the world – by a teacher, a writer, anyone – is a judgment. The judgment that has been made is that this fact is important, and that other facts, omitted, are not important."* (Zinn, 2003, p. 527) The exclusivity of the narratives told most commonly in American public schools is evidence not only that this omnipresent judgment exists, but also that it strongly favors white, Anglo-European, Protestant, male-centric stories of the American past.

Scholars and activists have endeavored to diversify American accounts of history in response to assimilationist efforts in education since the late nineteenth century. African American leaders such as Carter G. Woodson, George Washington Williams, W.E.B. DuBois, and Mary McLeod Bethune expounded the importance of challenging the negative stereotypes of African Americans that pervaded mainstream scholarship. They sought to provide legitimate inclusive stories of African American contributions to American history and culture. They believed that through objective historical research and the dissemination of factual information, American educators could weaken harmful stereotypes of African Americans. They also posited

that including information beyond the single narrative of enslavement by European Americans would give African American students a deeper sense of self-worth and a greater appreciation of their own heritages. Largely from the work of these scholars was born the Multicultural Education movement.

What became known as the Multicultural Education movement further demanded the inclusion of more African American stories in school curriculums. Multicultural Education theorists, like the scholars that came before them, wanted to challenge dominant concepts taught in schools, which they could see perpetuating harmful stereotypes of African American people. They wanted to escape from the Eurocentric understanding of American history and to incorporate multiple perspectives into school curriculums. By the 1950s and '60s, federally sanctioned educational policies of assimilation like those imposed earlier in the century by educators such as Cubberly "lost credibility among many groups of racial minorities and were subject to unprecedented challenges by opposition black groups and the civil rights movement." (McCarthy, 1991, p. 303) Minority groups demanded the reform of a public education system that was "fundamentally racist and did not address the needs and aspirations of minority peoples." (McCarthy, 1991, p. 303) Largely driven by African American activists, efforts to reform American public schools fought to increase the representation of African Americans as both students and teachers in American public schools. At the same time, "Black youth and their political leaders demanded a radical redefinition of the school curriculum to include Black Studies, … [which] constituted a strategic challenge to the taken-for-granted Eurocentric foundations of the U.S. school curriculum." (McCarthy, 1991, p. 303)

Through the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the desegregation of public schools after the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision, and the establishment of African American Studies departments at major universities across the United States, accounts of African American contributions to American history slowly gained legitimacy in the eyes of mainstream American scholars.

Educators continue to fight the exclusionary, racist origins of American public education. Through the beginning of the 21st century, more multicultural material has made its way into school textbooks and curriculums. The term "Multicultural Education" means different things to different people, however. According to one analysis, "the only common meaning is that it refers to changes in education that are supposed to benefit people of color." (Sleeter & Grant, 1987, p. 436) According to Florida's Education Task Force on African American History (Commissioner of Education's African American History Task Force), Multicultural Education is "education that is designed to change the total educational environment so that students from diverse racial and ethnic groups, gender groups, exceptional students, and students from various social classes will experience equal educational opportunities in schools, college and universities." Multicultural theorists Kevin A. Whitehead and Michele A. Wittig provide the following, slightly different, definition of Multicultural Education: "a system whereby culturally diverse groups, each having their own beliefs and practices, are accorded status and recognition, not merely at the individual level, but in the institutional structures of the society, … [along with] the promotion of harmony and positive relationships between culturally diverse groups." (Whitehead & Wittig, 2005, p. 269) Leading Multicultural Education scholar James A. Banks supplies the following definition: "a reform movement designed to bring about a transformation of the school so that students from

both genders and from diverse cultural, language, and ethnic groups will have an equal chance to experience school success." (Banks J. , 2010, p. 25) One particularly concise definition that I encountered online is as follows: "Multicultural education is an education in which all peoples are represented equally with respect to each other." (Boyce, 2015)

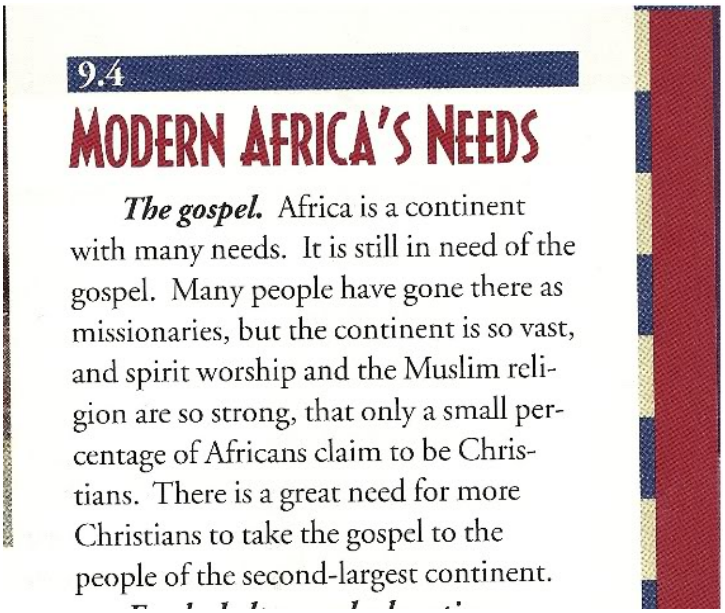
Currently, methods for incorporation of African American Studies and other variants of Multicultural Education are subject almost exclusively to local and state decision-making. State Departments of Education, local school boards, and individual schools and educators have the opportunity to further or hinder the efforts of Multicultural Education through local policy and instructional changes.

Outline

In the following pages, I explore some examples of how the aforementioned problems in American public education, which result in large part from the traditional understanding of American education as assimilation, manifest in our school systems. In particular, I provide examples of how the language in textbooks reflects a biased dominant master narrative. I will continue the paper with a discussion of the presiding theory of Multicultural Education, followed by current efforts to improve the inclusivity of public school curricula in the United States. These efforts include far-reaching policy initiatives and smaller-scale local efforts. Finally, I will reflect on the obstacles to Multicultural Education that remain in place, including the criticisms that have been made against it. In particular, I explore how the fear of the dominant people fuels their insistence that their own narrative remain dominant. Throughout the paper, I intend to use African American Studies as an entrance point[6] to exploring how the many variants of Multicultural Education are incorporated in American K-12 classrooms.

CHAPTER 2: Examples of the Pervasive Master Narrative

The publication of textbooks and other classroom resources is one of the primary ways in which curricular content is delivered to teachers. For this section, I have selected examples of classroom reading materials that illustrate how strongly the master narrative dominates how history is presented.[7]



9.4

MODERN AFRICA'S NEEDS

The gospel. Africa is a continent with many needs. It is still in need of the gospel. Many people have gone there as missionaries, but the continent is so vast, and spirit worship and the Muslim religion are so strong, that only a small percentage of Africans claim to be Christians. There is a great need for more Christians to take the gospel to the people of the second-largest continent.

Fig. 3: taken from p. 215 of *Old World History and Geography in Christian Perspective*

Figure 3 is taken from a textbook titled *Old World History and Geography in Christian Perspective*, published in 2004. (Tabachnick, 2011) This text is published by the Christian textbook publishing company A Beka,[8] which produces a significant portion of textbooks used in religious and other private schools throughout the country. (Tabachnick, 2011) Other blatantly biased statements that appear in A Beka's books include a description of the Ku Klux Klan as "a means of reform, fighting the decline in morality," (Keesee & Sidwell, 1991, pp. 478-479) a

claim that “The majority of slave holders treated their slaves well,” (Keesee & Sidwell, 1991, p. 219) and praise of Christianity as the means by which “the slaves developed the patience to wait on the Lord and discovered that the truest freedom is from the bondage of sin.” (Lowman, Thompson, & Gurssendorf, 1996, p. 219) These textbooks were distrubuted widely in private schools (many of which receive public funding) in several states, including Texas and Florida. (Tabachnick, 2011) These passages are extreme examples of a white conservative Protestant Christian bias being portrayed as definitive fact; after all, they are delivered by a publisher that is unabashedly promoting a Christian perspective of history. Often, however, the perpetuation of the master narrative is much more subtle. The creation of learning materials such as textbooks is influenced in many indirect ways, and the disproportionately large influence that dominant groups exert over said production has far-reaching effects.

The state of Texas is the nation’s second largest buyer of textbooks. Indeed, “national publishers usually cater to [Texas’s] demands because the school board is probably the most influential in the country.” (Walker, 2016) Thus, the textbooks approved and funded by Texas are used widely in schools throughout the country. In the past several years, Texas-sanctioned textbooks have incited controversy by including “passages suggesting Moses influenced the writing of the Constitution” (Fernandez & Hauser, 2015); removing the word “slavery” from discussion of the Atlantic Slave Trade and the word “capitalism” from all discussions of American history (Walker, 2016); and insisting that slavery was “a side issue” in the American Civil War. (Brown, 2015)

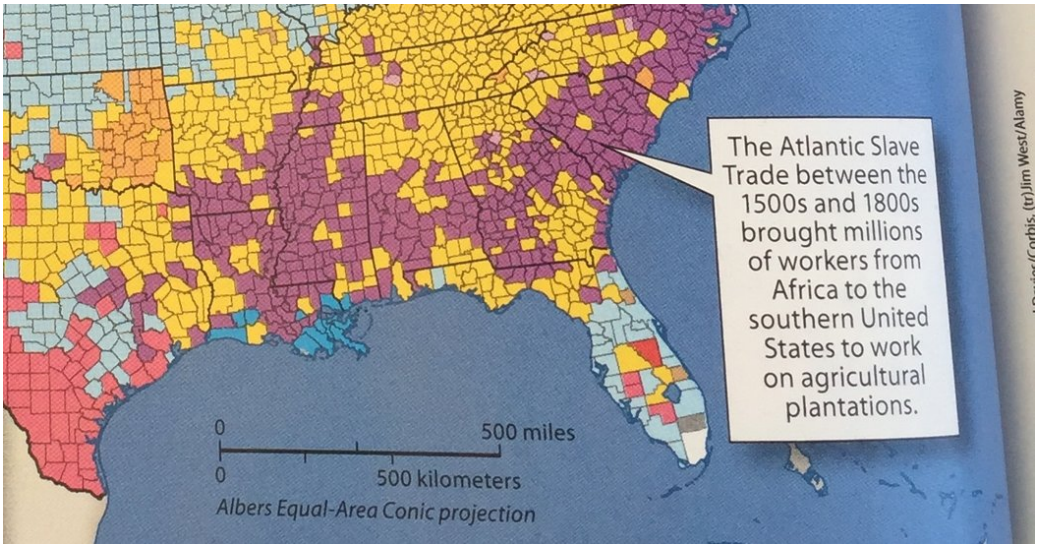


Fig. 4: The image posted online of the controversial description of the Atlantic slave trade in terms of immigration

In 2015, the mother of a student in Texas public schools turned to the internet to broadcast her astonishment with the wording of her son's history textbook: "In a section of the book describing America as a nation of immigrants and called 'Patterns of Immigration,'" she wrote, "the text with a map of the United States reads: 'The Atlantic Slave Trade between the 1500s and 1800s brought millions of workers from Africa to the southern United States to work on agricultural plantations.' [Fig. 4] The authors, on the page next to the map, wrote of 'an influx of English and other European peoples, many of whom came as indentured servants to work for little or no pay,' but made no mention of how Africans came to the country." (Fernandez & Hauser, 2015) This textbook's word choice is a blatant example of how the policymakers on the Texas school board minimized the historical perspective of African Americans in comparison with the historical perspective of white Americans. The African arrivals in the United States between the 1500s and the 1800s would never have described themselves as "workers;" it is the

white American version of the story of slavery (and an extremely sanitized one, at that) that has been included in this textbook.

The Texas mother's online post received a great deal of attention and the textbook company eventually apologized for the incident, promising to change the wording of the section in subsequent editions of the book. Misinformation and suspicious wording in textbooks, however, is not limited to this incident, nor is it limited to textbooks produced according to Texas' terms. A research brief from the National Clearinghouse on History Education reported that four popular elementary and middle school textbooks "left out or misordered the cause and consequence of historical events and frequently failed to highlight main ideas." (Wong, 2015) The flaws range from disorganized and unclear descriptions to "fundamental distortions of the contexts leading up to many of today's most dire social ills." (Wong, 2015) Distortions or omissions in textbooks are less explicit than the radical claims in books such as the A Beka book pictured in Figure 3 and put forth a subtler yet equally impactful version of the dominant master narrative.

I do not pick Texas as an example arbitrarily[9]; Texas has an infamously contentious relationship with education policy reform and, for many years, Texas's education policymakers have been "in the spotlight for all the wrong reasons." (Brodesky, 2015) Texas standards for social studies curriculums and textbooks have been criticized in their attempts to "promote Christian fundamentalism, boost conservative political figures, and force-feed American 'exceptionalism,' while downplaying the historical contributions of minorities." (Walker, 2016) In 2012, for example, the Republican Party of Texas included the following in the Education

section of their published platform: "We oppose the teaching of Higher Order Thinking Skills, critical thinking skills and similar programs that … focus on behavior modification and have the purpose of challenging the student's fixed beliefs and undermining parental authority." (Strauss, 2012) The Washington Post reported on the platform under the following headline: "Texas GOP rejects 'critical thinking' skills. Really." (Strauss, 2012) The platform also "opposes, among other things, early childhood education, sex education, and multicultural education, but supports 'school subjects with emphasis on the Judeo-Christian principles upon which America was founded.'" (Strauss, 2012) Although the party has stood by the principles for which its platform advocates, the Communications Director of the Republican Party of Texas reported that the "'critical thinking skills' language made it into the platform by mistake," (Lach, 2012) and, amidst intense criticism, the word choice was modified in the 2014 platform.

As the Washington Post article notes, incidents such as these are not limited to the Texas GOP; they are "more commonly being seen across the country by some of the most strident of 'school reformers.'" (Strauss, 2012) Indeed, "Texas's controversies are emblematic of the kinds of disputes taking place nationwide." (Wong, 2015) In the words of Dan Quinn, an editor of social studies textbooks, "What happens in Texas doesn't stay in Texas when it comes to textbooks." (Collins, 2012)

In 2010, legislators in California attempted to pass legislation preventing their school boards from adopting the textbooks prepared in accordance with Texas's standards. (Thevenot, 2010) In other states, however, there have been movements similar to those in Texas to exclude "un-American" or "un-Christian" stories from K-12 classrooms.

In Arizona, for instance, the state legislature in 2010 banned the teaching of "ethnic studies" in public schools, claiming that "the curriculum politicized students and bred resentment against white people." (Planas, 2014) In a state with a large Mexican-American population, the state legislature is clearly most concerned with protecting white people from some perceived existential threat in banning Mexican-American studies and other ethnic studies programs. Here again is an example of how the fears of a dominant white population profoundly affect the policies that govern everyone.

The struggle over textbooks in Texas reflects issues that transcend the textbook publishing companies. The flaws in American K-12 textbooks are symptoms of the larger national struggle over whose stories are included in the "American" national story, and which American's interpretations of those stories are chosen as the ones represented in textbooks. I do not necessarily think that books such as those pictured in Figures 3 and 4 should be removed from classrooms. I do think, however, that when these books are presented as the *only* sources of information, students will be gravely misled about political and historical realities. The same would be the case in classrooms that only made use of "liberal" textbooks. While the factual accuracy of information is important to consider, the existence of so many contradicting perspectives and interpretations of history shows that choosing a specific set of "correct" facts is fruitless. On the contrary, Multicultural Education theorists promote a focus on considering varying, contradicting perspectives. Multicultural Education does not involve teaching a single "multicultural" curriculum. Rather, it requires teaching that encompasses and respects different cultures, even if they often seem to be at odds with each other.

CHAPTER 3: Multicultural Education

While the term "Multicultural Education" has many different interpretations, there are some aspects of Multicultural Education upon which most theorists agree. In particular, most educators that support Multicultural Education agree that it should not be limited to altering curricular content, but must also include some sort of integration of new perspectives into lessons. In this chapter, I discuss the specific ways in which Multicultural Education has an impact beyond the initial inclusion of stories. What follows is a collection of examples of how Multicultural Education has been implemented so far in the United States.

Multi-Dimensional Multicultural Education

A general consensus among Multicultural Education theorists is that the challenge of Multicultural Education is not to provide a totally comprehensive version of American history, but rather "the challenge is to teach … students the critical-thinking skills that allow them to recognize the biases in their textbooks and to appreciate the troubling paradoxes of America's past." (Urist, 2015) Multicultural Education theorists agree that one of the most effective ways to achieve this goal is to open students' eyes to the existence of stories beyond the mainstream American narrative. **Exposure to these stories, however, cannot alone achieve the goals of Multicultural Education until teachers and students are aware of how these stories stand not as secondary to the mainstream narrative, but as stories that fundamentally alter and expand the narrative of white domination in America.** Incorporating stories as if their telling

alone can lead to true integration of cultures ignores the effects that such stories have on existing interpretations of dominant historical narratives.

One of the most common criticisms of Multicultural Education is of the tendency of educators to implement superficial "multicultural" events such as International Nights or cultural performances. Such efforts are criticized for trivializing the goal of Multicultural Education by diminishing it to a mere exercise in tourism or by limiting its focus to a select few token figures or topics. Experiencing food, dance, and music from other cultures is certainly a valuable component of an intercultural education, but it does not serve the activist purpose that Multicultural Education theorists advocate. In particular, many critics argue that "This is most exemplified in Black History Month (and other such segregated calendar designations), when society dedicates a month to African-American history so black history and black struggle can be ignored until that time next year." (Warren, 1999, p198-199) Paul C. Gorski, a Professor of Education and a contemporary Multicultural Education theorist, delivers a particularly harsh criticism of the trivialization of Multicultural Education; he writes that "The multicultural education most often practiced by teachers, administrators, staff developers, teacher educators, and others in the U.S. is a conservatized, depoliticized version that does more to sustain inequities than to demolish them." (Gorski, 2006, pp. 163-164) Gorski, and many others, feel that educators can include a brief, inconsequential lesson about a topic tangentially related to a minority culture and feel as if they have "checked the box" on any sort of Multicultural Education requirement.

Another educator explains the ineffectiveness of a tourist approach to Multicultural Education in the following way:

> *Multicultural education is more than holidays and food. ... It requires critical thinking with attention paid to complexity. It requires research and learning about the multiple perspectives involved in any historical or contemporary experience in order to understand the rich meaning therein.* (Hanley)

By hosting an International Night or having an afternoon of Ethnic Food sampling, educators are able to check a box for incorporation of multiculturalism into their curriculum without teaching any of the information, philosophies, and skills that are really at the heart of Multicultural Education. Multicultural Education theorists maintain that "it is important to locate multicultural education in the Civil Rights struggle for freedom, political power, and economic integration" (Sleeter & McLaren, Introduction: Origins of Multiculturalism, 2000) and not just as a vehicle for political correctness or as a way to placate minority groups. Meanwhile, "The inclusion of an occasional hero or holiday in a curriculum which leaves the European American story as the master narrative in the description of the United States cannot begin to create the understanding necessary for a multicultural society, nor can it produce the kind of education needed to successfully educate a multicultural populace." (Hanley)

James A. Banks is a scholar, educator, and Multicultural Education theorist whose work is foundational to contemporary Multicultural Education theory. Multicultural Education, Banks

and other Multicultural Education theorists maintain, is based on a critical approach to education and should not lose its focus on activism and struggles for social equality. Thus, in 1998 Banks enumerated "five dimensions" of Multicultural Education that must be implemented in classrooms beyond cursory inclusion of academic content. With his five dimensions, Banks aims to show that "content integration," while important, is only the first dimension of Multicultural Education; curriculum content changes should not be thought of *as* Multicultural Education, but rather as steps *toward* Multicultural Education. (Gorski, 2006, p. 173) The subsequent dimensions of Multicultural Education – knowledge construction, equity pedagogy, prejudice reduction, and empowering school culture –must also be implemented in Multicultural Education programs.

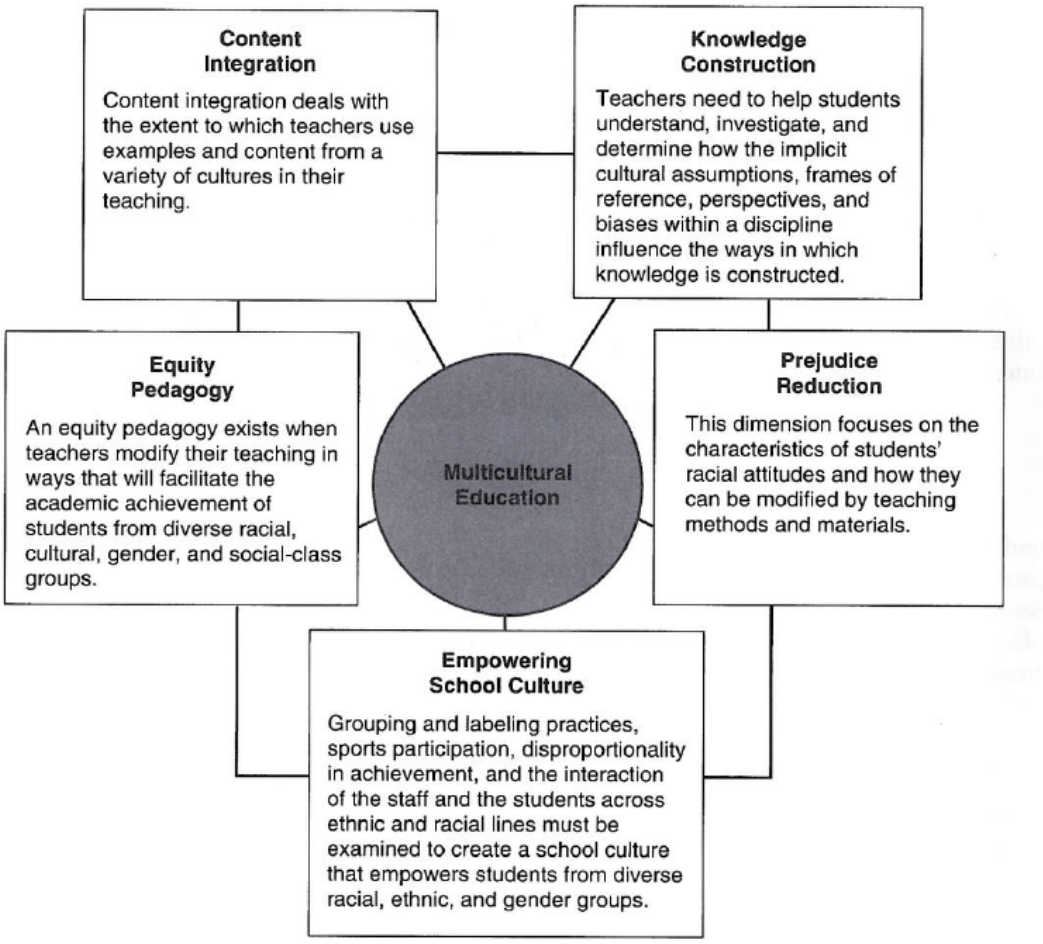


Figure 1.4 The Dimensions of Multicultural Education

Source: Copyright © 2009 by James A. Banks.

Fig, 5: James A. Banks' graphic showing the five Dimensions of Multicultural Education

"Knowledge construction," Banks' second dimension of Multicultural Education, emphasizes exposing assumptions and biases in academic materials and among classroom participants. In Banks' own words: "The knowledge construction process moves to a different level because here teachers help students to understand, investigate, and determine the implicit cultural assumptions and frames of reference and perspectives of the discipline that they're

teaching." (Banks J. A., 1998) This dimension of Multicultural Education incorporates bias analysis methods for both teachers and students.

Banks' third and fourth dimensions are, respectively, "equity pedagogy" (encouraging teachers to increase their repertoire of pedagogic methods to appeal to a wide and diverse group of students) and "prejudice reduction" (making sure teachers and students are sensitive to prejudices in the classroom and using methods to develop more positive racial attitudes). These dimensions are examples of process-oriented, as opposed to content-oriented, techniques. Adjusting the content taught in class can help achieve implementation of these dimensions, however. Banks explains the importance of including multiple perspectives to augment the topics that teachers cover, saying: "I think the teacher should make sure that whenever any issue is covered, there are several perspectives. Never can you deal with them all. That's not possible. But if you deal with several and change the perspectives when you teach about an issue, you will cover a range of perspectives over time. … Vary the perspectives as [you] teach different concepts and issues." (Banks J. A., 1998) Through examining a variety of contexts and structures of knowledge, Multicultural Education theorists engage multiple viewpoints to build a more thorough and critical knowledge base.

Banks' final dimension is "empowering school culture," which includes making the overall school structure more equitable and inclusive. Multicultural educators must respect diversity and model equity and justice in the school community. Banks calls for comprehensive school reform that pushes beyond the classroom in an attempt to spread justice throughout the greater school system and surrounding communities. Miera Levinson, a Professor of Education,

agrees, saying, “Multicultural education should be transformative, restructuring and regrounding the curriculum, and more important, reorienting the school as a whole to instantiating and promoting social justice and real equality.” (Levinson, 2010, p. 436) Gorski sums up a vision of Multicultural Education that is not confined to curricular adjustments or teaching practices: “It is not enough to learn about the cultures of our students without considering the significance of their positions (and ours) in the wider socio-political landscape. … Multicultural education must permeate school climate, culture, and practice … It must be visible everywhere, including decision-making processes such as textbook adoption, behavior policies, and program assessment.” (Gorski, 2006, p. 165) Overall, Multicultural Education theorists concur that Multicultural Education is not only implemented or experienced through lesson plans, but must “spill over from the classroom so that even the whole school culture is changed.” (Weisenfeld, 2011)

In the spirit of Multicultural Education as something that transcends the classroom and has an impact on the larger school and society, Banks and fellow Multicultural Education theorists note the implications that a multicultural curriculum, or lack thereof, might have on students in their lives after school: “As long as African American and Mexican American students are educated substandardly, they will not have the skills and the attitudes needed to participate effectively in a democratic society. And as long as white kids, the majority kids, are educated in a way that does not enable them to attain racial attitudes that are positive, they will go and vote for initiatives that polarize racial groups.” (Banks J. A., 1998) Christine Sleeter, another well-known contemporary Multicultural Education theorist, also puts forth this theme of Multicultural Education as a form of activism for social empowerment. “In order to view

multicultural education as an empowerment strategy," she writes, "one must first take seriously the notion that education can serve as an effective vehicle for social change and emancipation." (Sleeter, 1991, p. 20) Although the political climate today is different from the climate out of which the social movements of the 1960s emerged, Sleeter urges educators not to forget the origins of Multicultural Education as grounded in social protest, emancipation, and social change. She says: "It is imperative that multicultural educators give voice and substance to struggles against oppression and develop the vision and the power of our future citizens to forge a more just society, " (Sleeter, 1991, p. 20) acknowledging the life-long impact that K-12 schooling has on the life of each student.

Multicultural Education theorists view education as a vehicle to promote social change in a quest for racial and cultural equity, as they seek "to develop and amplify the school's power to validate students' experiences and identities, to promote democratic values and critical thought, and to empower young people." (Sleeter, 1991, pp. 8-9) Gorski reiterates, "students must learn how to think critically and contextualize their experiences learning about inequity in the classroom with the equity concerns in a larger societal context. (Gorski, 2006, p.173)

Multicultural Education in Practice

Despite any amount of well-meaning theorization, the promotion of Multicultural Education lacks gravity without sufficient support in legislation. In the words of Gorski:

> *While greater awareness and self-reflection help us facilitate change, they do so at an institutional level only when they lead to policies and practices that support equity. … We cannot assume, as we have, that changed hearts lead directly to changed policy and practices. And we certainly cannot assume, as we have, that changed hearts, absent policy and accountability, are adequate for institutionalizing authentic multicultural education.* (Gorski, 2006, p. 168)

What follows is a selection of examples of efforts toward Multicultural Education, from wide-ranging efforts put forward by the Federal government to practices implemented by individual teachers. This list is in no way meant to be exhaustive, but rather to exemplify some of the types of concrete actions that educators have taken to further the goals of Multicultural Education theory.

Cultural and Global Competency

The U.S. Department of Education released in 2016 a framework for furthering an education strategy referred to as "Cultural and Global Competency" (CGC). The CGC education strategy was motivated by America's low performance on competitive global exams, indicating that American students lag behind students in other countries in certain measures of academic achievement. The CGC framework recognizes that this deficiency is partly caused by the narrow

focus of the American master narrative and, in an effort to broaden the curricular content in American schools, adds a cultural component to the global competency agenda.

The CGC framework applies to schools from pre-school through higher education. Although it is not currently enforced through policy, it provides federally-approved guidelines and tools that educators may choose to use to improve the cultural competency of their students, measured by criteria such as language proficiency, sensitivity to cultural differences, and critical thinking abilities. The framework emphasizes collaboration and communication about diverse perspectives and also includes a component of civic engagement. The framework is currently in the drafting phase, and the Department of Education is seeking input from educators and other professionals to create tangible classroom activities to further CGC. (Abdel-Kader, 2016)

Magnet schools

Another way the Federal government has allowed for the implementation of Multicultural Education practices is through school choice programs, which expand the number and types of schools available to students. In particular, the creation of magnet schools allows for students to receive a free education in a school that has a specialized academic focus. Magnet schools across the country focus on a variety of topics, from technology to performance arts. The State of Connecticut[10], for example, has established several Multicultural magnet schools. One K-5 Connecticut magnet school serves a diverse student population "in an environment where they learn to appreciate cultural differences." (RMMS, 2016) While currently very few magnet schools specifically devoted to Multicultural Education exist, the establishment of more magnet

schools "based on Afrocentric and feminist curricula would certainly offer some students a chance to affirm who they are within a supportive and nurturing environment; and such choices need to be supported." (Carlson, 1995, p. 427)

As the phrase "school choice" indicates, students and their parents need to actively decide to attend a magnet school in lieu of their local public school. Incorporating Multicultural Education into magnet schools, therefore, does not have an impact on the majority of American students. Nevertheless, the programs carried out in magnet schools can serve as valuable pilots of Multicultural Education programs that could one day be implemented on a larger scale.

African-American Studies as a K-12 subject

In some states,[11] courses in African-American studies have found their way into high school curriculums, sometimes as optional elective courses and sometimes as required courses for graduation. For example, Florida has established an "African American History Task Force" (AAHTF) to address "the crisis in black education in Florida." (afroamfl.org) The AAHTF was created as part of an effort to comply with Florida Legislature F.S. 233.061 Sec. (1) (G) (1994) as amended by F.S. 1003.42 (h) (2002) that mandates: "The history of African Americans, including the history of African peoples before the political conflicts that led to the development of slavery, the passage to America, the contributions of Africans to society." In 2014, the AAHTF established an Instructional Standards Guide for teaching African American history in Florida's public schools via an "infusion model" that spans from kindergarten to 12th grade curriculums.

This Instructional Standards Guide provides for a thorough and interdisciplinary incorporation of topics in African American history into the standard Florida history curriculums.

Since 2004, schools in Howard County, Maryland, have offered a course in African American Studies that is “designed to develop and understanding of the causes, character, and consequences of the African American experience and its influence on the world, the United States, and the African American community.” (Howard County Public School System, 2004) The content outline and course rationale made available online appear quite thorough and advanced, often focusing on African American views of and responses to historical events in the United States, and end with a section entitled “Current Trends and Challenges for the Future.” (Howard County Public School System, 2004) This course is available as an elective for students in 12th grade.

In Philadelphia’s public schools, students must take a course in African-American studies to fulfill the requirements for graduation. This requirement was put in place in 2005 as a way to improve the educations of all students. The school system’s chief executive in 2005, Paul G. Vallas, explained, “It benefits African-American children who need a more comprehensive understanding of their own culture, and it also benefits non-African-Americans to understand the full totality of the American experience." (Janofsky, 2005) Students can meet the requirement by completing a course in African American studies that places “a new emphasis on historical African-American figures … whose contributions to American life and culture seldom get more than a brief mention, if that, in the current textbooks that many schools use.” (Janofsky, 2005) In a similar vein, some school districts in Texas have been making strides toward incorporating Mexican-American studies in their high school curriculums. (Isensee, 2014) These are several

examples of State and Local Educational Agencies making explicit efforts to provide African American Studies in high schools curricula. For information on similar efforts in other states, see Appendix A.

Individual teachers

While "it is clearly beyond the scope of an individual teacher to set school policy and politics, or build a counseling program, or foster overall community participation and input … instruction is still the backbone of the school social system" (Weisenfeld, 2011) and individual teachers can have enormous impact on their classes of students even without school-wide reforms. Included in this section are accounts of two high school teachers who have made explicit commitments to Multicultural Education.

Robert Geremia currently teaches social studies at a public high school in Washington, D.C. His efforts to incorporate Multicultural Education techniques into his classroom were the subject of a New York Times report in 2016. Mr. Geremia's Master's thesis, entitled *Everyone Matters: Examining teacher aims as a way to include gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender topics in a formal middle school social studies curriculum*, discusses the absence of LGBT topics and individuals from the American master narrative and explores how individual teachers can "effectively incorporate GLBT[12] topics in the formal middle school social studies curriculum." (Geremia, Everyone Matters: Examining teacher aims as a way to include gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender topics in a formal middle school social studies curriculum, 2011, p. 2) He states that the "absence of conversation about GLBT issues and people 'implicitly' sends a message that

GLBT issues are not worthy of study in school. This omission violates the concept of being 'accepted as equally worthy' (District of Columbia Social Studies Pre-K through Grade 12 Standards, pg.3) as stated in the guiding philosophies of the district's social studies curriculum." (Geremia, Everyone Matters: Examining teacher aims as a way to include gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender topics in a formal middle school social studies curriculum, 2011, p. 9) In 2011, Mr. Geremia led the charge in instituting an LGBT studies program at the largest public middle school in Washington, DC, which included a school-wide "Heroes Hidden from History Week" culminating in a celebration of Harvey Milk's birthday as well as classroom activities prepared and delivered throughout the school year by small teams of teachers working collaboratively.

Mr. Geremia continues his commitment to diversity in the curriculum in his high school classes as a way to counteract the master narrative that, while not always explicit in prescribed curriculums, is always present in "hidden" and "implicit" curriculums that "[reflect] dominant ideologies of the empowered cultural groups" and facilitate "the covert transmittal of values by manner [of] … the students' perceptions of what is valued in school." (Geremia, 2011, quoting Eisner, p. 97) He acknowledges that "all of us pick sources that conform to our worldviews" (Geremia, 2016) and has his students explore bias in historical documents via exercises in historiography. He requested a class set of Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States* and James Loewen's *Lie's My Teacher Told Me* from the school's Parent Teacher Association, which he uses to facilitate his lessons in comparing various historical sources. Mr. Geremia believes that "*all* students need to learn about the values, the contributions, and the story of [minority] groups" (Geremia, 2016) and continues to encourage his students to notice and scrutinize biases from all angles.

Tennille Bowser is an assistant principle and former English teacher at the same Washington, D.C. high school. In 2011, Ms. Bowser was the chairperson of the English Department and took the initiative along with several other teachers in the department to create a reading list for the AP Language and Composition class that was notably inclusive of African American authors and works of literature. For example, students in Ms. Bowser's class read (in addition to the mandated *The Scarlet Letter* and *The Great Gatsby*) Zora Neale Hurston's *Her Eyes Were Watching God*, Frederick Douglass's autobiography *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, and several speeches and letters written by African Americans such as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., and James Baldwin. Ms. Bowser and her fellow English teachers set in motion progress toward a more multicultural curriculum through content integration, supported by accompanying classroom activities that helped students explore how the identities of the authors impacted their works.

CHAPTER 4: Fears of the dominant people

Now that I have shown how the American story as presented in American public schools is dominated by a master script and I have explored some of the methods through which educators have attempted to combat this master script, I consider why it is that this master script persists in classrooms today. In this chapter, I address what I believe is a significant obstacle to the meaningful inclusion of stories other than the master narrative: fears of the dominant (white) people. In particular, I argue that dominant people view efforts toward multicultural education as an affront to their own position in society, appropriating the identity of the racialized victim by claiming that the meaningful inclusion of non-mastered (non-white) stories in American public school curricula diminishes the significance of the traditional white American master narrative (exemplified, for instance, by celebrations of Confederate History Month). Tied up in this conflict is the fear of the dominant (white) people that we will lose control of the American story; implicit in such a fear is the fact that being represented in the American narrative is desirable and empowering. I also discuss briefly the extent to which efforts to maintain American cultural control are intentional acts of white supremacy, and in what ways the deniability of intentionality is itself an indicator of white dominance.

In his 1963 essay "A Talk to Teachers," James Baldwin makes the following observation:

I decided very early that some mistake had been made somewhere. I was not a 'nigger' even though you called me one. But if I was a 'nigger' in your eyes, there was something about you – there was something you needed. I had to realize

> *when I was very young that I was none of those things I was told I was. I was not, for example, happy. I never touched a watermelon for all kinds of reasons that had been invented by white people, and I knew enough about life by this time to understand that whatever you invent, whatever you project, is you! So where we are now is that a whole country of people believe I'm a 'nigger' and I don't, and the battle's on!* ***Because if I am not what I've been told I am, then it means that you're not what you thought you were either!*** *And that is the crisis.* (Baldwin, 1963)

What Baldwin here describes as "the crisis" is the inextricable link between a dominant people's views of others and their view of themselves. As Multicultural Education theorists strive to diversify and break down the master narrative, the perpetuators of that narrative feel attacked and put up substantial resistance.

Speaking of race and multiculturalism often is equated with speaking about ethnic minorities. It is vital, however, that whiteness not be ignored or labeled as an uninvolved default. "Race" does not only refer to "blackness," and white people are not excused from participating in discussions about race.

Whiteness Studies is an emerging academic field concerned with the examination of the role of "whiteness" in society, including the role that whiteness plays in efforts toward Multicultural Education. While Multicultural Education and Ethnic Studies seek to incorporate

stories from the "margins" of American history, Whiteness Studies instead turns a critical eye toward the "center." Instead of combating the American master narrative with "marginal" stories, Whiteness Studies addresses the master narrative head-on, focusing on how whiteness and associated privileges affect the telling of American history.

The fears of white people, their relative inexperience with discussions of race, and their desire to maintain the power they wield in the current system of racial hierarchy in the United States pose challenges to efforts to improve the teaching of the realities of systemic racial inequality. Fears of white people include: fears of being told that their successes were not gained by merit alone; fears of losing the power they currently have in American society; fears of being blamed and exposed as bad, immoral, racist people; or fear of a new social system not run by white people in which they "could be treated as whites have long treated non-whites." (Jensen, 2005) Indeed, "discussions of racism challenge whites' conception that they're good people, and 'privilege' challenges the belief that they are hardworking and deserve everything that they have. … For whites, racial discussions often become (unintentionally) about whether they're good or bad people—moral or immoral." (Birdsong & Kirkinis, 2016)

There has always been substantial resistance to the incorporation of any sort of ethnic studies in American public schools. Through courses with "multicultural" topics, "the roots of Western civilization were connected with Africa and Asia, a connection that was fiercely rejected by those who feared that the loss of European supremacy would mean loss of civilization." (Sleeter & McLaren, 2000) White educators largely resisted the implementation of Multicultural Education curriculums, finding loopholes in curricular requirements by adopting a "tourist"

conception of multiculturalism. Indeed, "Many white educators have pulled multicultural education away from social struggles," (Sleeter & McLaren, 2000) or have suggested that other cultures are not relevant to their "own" history. For example, white students responded to the implementation of the Philadelphia African-American Studies graduation requirement by saying, "I'm more interested in our history," and "it's not our history to learn." (Janofsky, 2005) This refusal to recognize their own exclusivity and dominance is an example of the way that the fear of white people can prevent them from being accepting of topics and methods of Multicultural Education.

In a country that is increasingly racially, socially, culturally, and religiously diverse, the most steadfast proponents of the existing master narrative see themselves as struggling to maintain their own culture against conflicting stories. The emerging support for Multicultural Education provokes a sense of losing control. Many white people feel mischaracterized as "racist" when accused of being exclusionary. A vicious cycle ensues, as feeling attacked by minority scholars makes white people feel justified in protecting their stories by being exclusionary. For example, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia all have begun to recognize a Confederate History Month (Schweitzer, 2015) as somewhat of a reaction to the popularization of African American history month and other celebrations of ethnic heritages. They ask the question "why not me?" as they begin to feel excluded, not aware of the fact that to feel excluded by the dominant narrative is the norm for many people. In this way, white people appropriate the identity of the racialized victim, insisting that they need to protect tradition of assimilation in order to maintain their own culture of

dominance and leaving no room for improving their understanding of the actual victims of the master narrative.

By refusing to acknowledge the breadth of other American cultural experiences, they are defending their own culture, which seems to them to be becoming less dominant in the face of multicultural education practices in an increasingly ethnically-diverse society. Often, though, this intention is not explicitly expressed; "At the center of the disillusionment [about Multicultural Studies] has been the failure of white people and institutions to grapple substantively with our own racism at personal as well as systemic levels. (Sleeter & McLaren, 2000) The groups that are feeling "marginalized" relative to their historical dominance and power see themselves as protecting a tradition of public education as a cornerstone method of defining what it means to be "American." Unfortunately, the power that white Americans yield in society gives their fears political heft. A lot rests on the fears of the dominant group, including funding and support of policy efforts.

CONCLUSION

The dominant American plotline is currently taught to most students "as a set narrative—a process that reinforces the mistaken idea that the past can be synthesized into a single, standardized chronicle of several hundred pages." (Conway, 2015) White American policymakers seek to form a uniform, collective story of American history. This requires selecting a specific historical perspective and maintaining that this single view comprises all American experiences. In other words, these policymakers are assuming that everyone remembers and understands events in the same way. Most contemporary historians would agree that this assumption is gravely incorrect.

Historical accuracy, however, is not as much of a priority for some of these policy makers as is the preservation of their own values. To give multiple perspectives their due would be to admit that there are perspectives that run counter to the dominant system of values; after all, "It is normally in the interest of dominant groups if the existence of contradictions is denied or their real basis obscured." (Giddens, 1979, quoted in King, 1992, p. 194) Dominant policymakers resist considering stories that contradict the existing master narrative not only because they want to maintain their power, but also because a true incorporation of contradictory stories would force a reconsideration of their claim to that power. James Baldwin described this phenomenon as he observed it in 1963:

> *"It is not really a "Negro revolution" that is upsetting the country. What is upsetting the country is a sense of its own identity.* ***If, for example, one managed to change the curriculum in all the schools so that Negroes learned more about***

> ***themselves and their real contributions to this culture, you would be liberating not only Negroes, you'd be liberating white people who know nothing about their own history.*** *And the reason is that if you are compelled to lie about one aspect of anybody's history, you must lie about it all."* (Baldwin, 1963)

When we allow a single story to dominate our national narrative, we are ignoring the ways in which the many stories that are missing intersect and influence each other. After all, is one story really complete without all the others?

Because the people in power in the United States have historically been white (and wealthy, Christian, male, cisgender, and heterosexual), the definitive story of American history that they have crafted is a simplified one of white achievement and domination. Their power and dominance in society gives white people the ability to dispel single negative stereotypes of themselves (e.g., that white people are oppressive villains) by telling multiple stories in addition to, and sometimes even instead of, the tragic and violent stories of white supremacism. Even when white policymakers attempt to tell stories about other groups of people, they are often minimized or misconstrued.

In order to get a grasp on the realities of history, it is vital that students and teachers consider contradictions and complex stories without seeking to judge the correctness of any particular viewpoint. It is "when conflict is accepted rather than resisted, [that] it becomes possible for different conceptions of American history to co-exist." (Conway, 2015) The job of students and teachers is not to appoint victors, but to thoughtfully and critically consider a variety of historical perspectives. For instance, "the country's founding fathers crafted some of

the finest expressions of personal liberty and representative government the world has ever seen; many of them also held fellow humans in bondage. This paradox is only a problem if the goal is to view the founding fathers as faultless, perfect individuals. If multiple histories are embraced, no one needs to fear that one history will be lost." (Conway, 2015) In the words of writer and literary critic Alfred Kazin, whose written work focuses on the theme of immigration to the United States,

> *Trust to the contradictions and see them all. Never annul one force to give supremacy to the other. The contradiction itself is the reality in all its manifoldness. Man from his vantage point can see reality only in contradictions. And the more faithful he is to his perception of the contradiction, the more he is open to what there is for him to know.* (Kazin, 1956, quoted in Popova, 2016)

Most educators and scholars concur that "Rather than vainly seeking to transcend the inevitable clash of memories, American students would be better served by descending into the bog of conflict and learning the many "histories" that compose the American national story." (Conway, 2015)

The conversation about free speech and safe spaces, particularly in institutions of higher education, has been receiving substantial attention in recent years. An article in the New Yorker reported how students at Oberlin College feel that "higher education, being a tool of capitalism, can't be redeemed;" (Heller, 2017) there was an outcry over the University of Chicago's letter to incoming freshman that stated the univserity's stance against "the creation of intellectual 'safe spaces' where individuals can retreat from ideas and perspectives at odds with their

own;" (Vivanco & Rhodes, 2016) and the violent reaction at Middlebury College to the invitation of a “white nationalist” speaker (Bruni, 2017) received substantial media attention. In these discussions, buzz words like “liberal intolerance” and “ideological conformity” are buffeted by phrases like “safe space,” “equity,” and “social justice.” As we experience a lack of productive communication between members of opposing political parties, it is of great importance that we train not only to stand up for our beliefs but also to thoughtfully consider and learn from others’ ideas.

I argue not only that we should strive to achieve a happy medium between ideological conformity and unchecked inclusion, but also that we should emphasize the contradiction between approaches themselves as a source of learning. Conflict is challenging. Therefore, we should begin teaching children much earlier on in their lives to thoughtfully consider conflicting opinions. This does not mean that we should teach students to accept many conflicting values; rather, we should provide students with the resources to synthesize accurate and inclusive stories for themselves and, in doing so, gain confidence and critical thinking skills that will allow them to contribute even further to the diverse array of synchronus cultures that is the United States. New York Times columnist Frank Bruni says that schools “owe students turbulence, because it’s from a contest of perspectives and an assault on presumptions that truth emerges.” (Bruni, 2017) Bruni quotes Columbia University philosophy and linguistics professor John McWhorter, saying, “‘Anybody whose approach to ideas that they don’t like is just to scream bloody murder has been failed in their education.’ It hasn’t taught them that history is messy, society complicated and truth elusive.” (Bruni, 2017)

Just as almost all research is bound to be, my work in this paper is considerably

biased and in many senses remains incomplete. It is my hope that it can be considered not as an attempted comprehensive survey, nor as an alarmist criticism of our nation's education system. Rather, I hope that readers of this paper will approach it as I would instruct a young student to approach her reading assignment for American history: with a critical eye for bias, and with the goal not of assuming its correctness but of using it as a tool in the synthesis of her own opinions from many others. No single work can convey all the complexity of an issue, just as no single story can represent a people's history. In the wise words of James Baldwin, "American history is longer, larger, more various, more beautiful, and more terrible than anything anyone has ever said about it." (Baldwin, 1963) Through Multicultural Education practices, we may begin to chip away at the crucial task of meaningfully incorporating and acknowledging the shortcomings of the dominant storytellers and the accomplishments and contributions of those whose stories are not yet widely told.

Notes

[1] In the words of Benedict Anderson, author of the well-known book Imagined Communities: "Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson, 2006)

[2] For example, the most significant piece of Federal education legislation in the United States was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson during the particularly tumultuous 1960s. The ESEA shifted the focus of education policy toward the inclusion of low-income and other underrepresented groups of students, parallel to the goals of the Civil Rights movement. In particular, "ESEA offered new grants to districts serving low-income students, federal grants for textbooks and library books, funding for special education centers, and scholarships for low-income college students. Additionally, the law provided federal grants to state educational agencies to improve the quality of elementary and secondary education." (US Department of Education, 2015) ESEA funding allocations were mainly targeted at helping disadvantaged students. While the ESEA "may not have been deliberate attempts on the part of the Federal Government to support multicultural education, it is perhaps accurate to say that… [it has had] an impact on the development and promotion of multicultural education." **Invalid source specified.** The ESEA paved the way for new legislation contributing to the goals of the Multicultural Education movement in various forms. For example, in 1968 Congress added the Bilingual Education Act to ESEA. This act amended ESEA by adding new titles that focused on providing specific support for migrant children and children who were English Language Learners. **Invalid source specified.** Bilingual education programs are a way for educators to combat the dominant narrative of American history, which is inevitably told in English. By acknowledging the value of languages besides English, educators can incorporate more points of view in history curriculums.

[3] Even today, Black institutions of learning sometimes camouflage their academic nature. Kenrick I. Grandison describes this phenomenon in his essay Negotiated Space: The Black College Campus as a Cultural Record of Postbellum America, in which he observes "Many black campuses but their 'best' facades inward not outward. … [The campuses do] not visually proclaim the high public status of the institutions that they house. …" (Grandison, 1999)

[4] The German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche believed that morality could not be objective, but that humanity should strive toward a world "beyond good and evil," wherein each individual was powerful and lived according to his own sense of morality. Nietzsche called for a *"revaluation of all values,"* (Nietzsche, 1976) and denounced the standardization of morals that had come to dominate modern culture. (Torresen, 2013)

[5] Especially in the wake of the 2016 presidential election, which could be categorized in part by a disturbing lack of multicultural acceptance and awareness, many people in the United States are questioning whether they are included as "American." President Trump made statements insinuating that Hispanic people and Muslim people were not fully American. He made such comments in the context of a nation struggling with police brutality that overwhelmingly targets Black people. When the federal government and the police forces of the United States do not protect certain populations, does that send the message that those populations are not fully "American" by some definition of that term? There are many current instances of groups of people somehow being deemed "un-American" based on what therefore must be an exclusionary definition of what it means to be "American."

[6] In many cases, African American scholarship has served as an entrance point for Multicultural Education in general, inspiring further, more diverse ethnic studies movements. For example, a Hispanic student involved in the Harrison High School Walkouts, which took place in the 1970s in Chicago, wrote in his journal that "I realized there was a lot of turmoil after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King and Black students had introduced a manifesto [demanding more culturally inclusive history and social studies courses]… After listening and reading the Black manifesto and realizing that [Hispanic people] didn't have any representation at Harrison, I got to look at some funding issues at school and … my anger developed into a real inquisitiveness." (Resendiz, 2016)

[vii] Throughout this paper, I have noticed myself doing exactly what I say educators shouldn't do when I select information that only supports a single point of view/makes the point I want to make. For example, the selections of textbooks I reference in this section are some of the most extreme and shocking examples of master-script bias.

[viii] A student of mathematics such as myself may also find it amusing that "the A Beka publishers advertise the math curriculum as, "attractive, legible, workable traditional mathematics texts that are not burdened with modern theories such as set theory," which the publisher rejects on religious grounds. (Tabachnick, 2011)

[ix] In Texas and in general, statewide entities such as a Board of Education do not control the detailed creation of curriculums or teaching strategies. These specific decisions are made instead at the local levels, among individual school districts, in accordance with broader statewide requirements and standards. Therefore, even within a single state, there are many examples to be found of both successful and unsuccessful efforts toward Multicultural Education.

[x] It is important to note that failures of Multicultural Education are not independent from general failures of equality of opportunity in school. The "achievement gap" and unequal opportunity are the highest priorities for current education policymakers. For example, in September of 2016, Connecticut State Superior Court Judge Thomas Moukawsher ruled that "Connecticut is defaulting on its constitutional duty" and "has left rich school districts to flourish and poor school districts to flounder." (Harris, 2016) Judge Moukawsher read his scathing ruling from the bench for more than two hours, criticizing many aspects of Connecticut's school system, from teachers' salaries to accountability procedures to special education programs. Judge Moukawsher's thorough critique of Connecticut's school system only begins to show how many issues American public schools already face (to put things in perspective, Connecticut is a state with a relatively impressive commitment to Multicultural Education and a public school system consistently rated as one of the best in the country). Multicultural Education is struggling to survive not only in the face of direct opposition, but also amidst a profusion of more pressing problems.

[xi] See the note at the end of Appendix A for a more detailed description of the relationship between Federal, State, and Local education policymaker.

[xii] When I asked Mr. Geremia about his decision to use the acronym "GLBT" instead of the more commonly used "LGBT," he smiled, shook his head, and explained, "everyone has their biases." (Geremia, 2016)

APPENDIX: Multicultural Education Policies By State

I sent the following email to a contact at the State Board of Education in each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia:

> Hello,
>
> I am an undergraduate student working on a senior thesis about Multicultural Education policy in American public schools, particularly in [State]. The term "Multicultural Education" has many different interpretations. For my purposes, I am considering Multicultural Education as education that promotes the inclusion and consideration of multiple historical viewpoints, especially the perspectives of disenfranchised groups such as African Americans. Multicultural Education may also extend beyond the curriculum by teaching students to address current social inequalities or by diversifying instructional techniques to meet the needs of a diverse student body.
>
> I am hoping you can provide me with information about your efforts to include Multicultural Education in your schools. This is quite a broad question, as Multicultural Education can impact all aspects of public schooling, from curriculum to faculty to school climate. Moreover, many efforts that I would consider in line with Multicultural Education are referred to using a variety of terms, so often are not obviously related.
>
> Do you have information about [State]'s past or present policies relating to equity in curriculums, staffing, or other areas? In particular, do you have policies that are intended to aid *all* students (i.e. beyond a bilingual/bicultural program targeted only at English learner students)? Do you intend to incorporate aspects of Multicultural Education in the soon-to-be-released State Plan required by the Every Student Succeeds Act?
>
> Thank you very much for your attention. I look forward to reading any information you can provide, or the contact information of someone better suited to address this inquiry.
>
> All the best,
> AnneMarie Torresen

I received responses from the following states: Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Hawaii, Iowa, Kansas, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New York, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, and West Virginia. Notes from the correspondences are below.

State	Details ascertained from e-mail correspondence
Colorado	• State equity plan "has provided the starting point for districts to focus on other groups" (http://www.cde.state.co.us/fedprograms/stateequityplan) • Coordinator for Native American students (http://www.cde.state.co.us/fedprograms/ov/tvii) • "African American and Native American students are often overlooked when we need to look at data and cultural responsive dialogs around their needs." • Professional development in "Cultural Responsiveness" (http://www.cde.state.co.us/cde_english/professionaldevelopment) • locally-controlled by local school districts • piloted Seal of Biliteracy
Connecticut	• coursework in Multicultural Education required for teaching certification • "The most important aspect is for educators within schools/districts to be “culturally responsive” to any and all students that could be identified. This should be infused into every classroom and every lesson throughout the curriculum. This is not just something that should happen through literature and social studies, for example, but should be part of the fabric of school life; every subject, all methods of communication, and equitable access to all programs and practices within the school. Multicultural education is not just about what is taught, but how it is taught and who does the teaching." • "Strategic and targeted efforts are underway to bring more educators of color into the profession and have educators more accurately reflect those they are teaching." • aim to create positive school climate that embraces and celebrates diversity

Florida	• Two main policies:
	  ○ League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) et al. v. State Board of Education Consent Decree, United States District Court for the Southern District of Florida, August 14, 1990
	  ○ BOE rules for English for Speakers of Other Languages
	  ○ Resources on the two main policies, and more: http://www.fldoe.org/academics/eng-language-learners/consent-decree.stml.
	• 1994 Commissioner's Task Force on African American History and on Holocaust Education
	  ○ included in Florida Statute 1003.42
	  ○ http://afroamfl.org/ and http://flholocausteducationtaskforce.org/
	• All course descriptions and standards: http://www.cpalms.org/Public/

Hawaii	• Multilingualism for Equitable Education (105.14) and Seal of Biliteracy (105.15) policies were passed earlier this year (2016) • ESSA requires well-rounded educational opportunities, even if the term "multicultural education" may not specifically be used, and HIDOE will include plans to meet these requirements. • One of the HIDOE's English Language Learner (ELL) goals includes ensuring students develop understanding and appreciation for diverse cultures, which has been somewhat "codified" with the Multilingualism Policy • The Board and HIDOE has adopted a department-wide framework, Na Hopeno A`o, to develop in its employees and students the skills, behaviors, and dispositions that are reminiscent of Hawai‘i's unique context and to honor the qualities and values of the indigenous language and culture of Hawai‘i.
Iowa	• Directed to the following link: https://www.educateiowa.gov/documents/accreditation-program-approvals/2016/06/multicultural-gender-fair-education-2014-2015

Kansas	• Kansas History, Government, and Social Studies Standards, p.7-end - "Effective Instruction" Best Practice: "Using multiple perspectives, points of view, and the principles of history, economics, civics, geography, and the humanities, supports students' ability to empathize, to develop alternative solutions to problems, and to self-assess their own position." - Standard #3: Societies are shaped by beliefs, ideas, and diversity. 3.1 The student will recognize and evaluate significant beliefs, contributions, and ideas of the many diverse peoples and groups and their impact on individuals, communities, states, and nations. 3.2 The student will draw conclusions about significant beliefs, contributions, and ideas, analyzing the origins and context under which these competing ideals were reached and the multiple perspectives from which they come. 3.3 The student will investigate specific beliefs, contributions, ideas, and/or diverse populations and connect those beliefs, contributions, ideas and/or diversity to contemporary issues. 3.4 The student will use his/her understanding of those beliefs, contributions, ideas, and diversity to justify or define how community, state, national, and international ideals shape contemporary society. - " When we wrote these standards (2012-2013) we had multiculturalism and diversity in mind" • individual local school districts write curriculums to meet statewide standards, and implementation is left up to teachers • Multiculturalism resources for teachers online (http://www.ksde.org/Agency/Division-of-Learning-Services/Career-Standards-and-Assessment-Services/Content-Area-F-L/History-Government-and-Social-Studies/Resources)
Mississippi	• 2011 Social Studies framework • information on staffing (http://www.mdek12.org/ohr)

Missouri	• newly-adopted Missouri Learning Standards Expectations K-12 (http://dese.mo.gov/college-career-readiness/curriculum/missouri-learning-standards-update) - focus on culture ("language, celebrations, customs, holidays, artistic expression, food, dress and traditions") begins in Kindergarten - progression through elementary school includes "migration and early settlement, cultural interactions and conflicts, comparative cultural geography, etc." - 6-12 standards include "Continuity and Change" and emphasize "historical context and peoples' perspectives at the time;" some standards explicitly require recounting of many perspectives • specific content decisions made locally
Montana	• Montana Indian Education for All required • see Montana Office of Public Instruction for more info (www.opi.mt.gov)
New York	• NYS K-12 Social Studies Framework (https://www.engageny.org/resource/new-york-state-k-12-social-studies-framework) • Development of inquiries related to Framework (http://www.c3teachers.org/new-york-hub/) • local districts control curriculum development • Information about ESSA plan (http://www.regents.nysed.gov/common/regents/files/716brd1.pdf) - Attachment A: reference to "schools having active partnerships that are culturally and linguistically inclusive, and to the school community promoting cultural responsiveness and appropriate responses to individuality and differences." • news article: http://www.chalkbeat.org/posts/co/2016/08/12/one-way-denver-public-schools-is-addressing-race-and-culture-in-the-classroom/#.V7IOxmPw5BA.email

Pennsylvania	• locally controlled state; local school boards determine curriculum
	  ○ no specific content requirements at any grade level
	  ○ curriculum must meet PA Academic Standards
	  ▪ The Academic Standards in the Social Studies areas of Civics and Government, Economics, Geography and History are based in skills and concepts necessary to learn the content determined by the local education entity.
	• "The Department of Education promotes acceptance of diversity in all areas as provided by the Federal Government guidelines, rules and regulations. Modeling of acceptance is the best way to teach students and is exemplified by the practices of the Department of Education. Multiple programs are offered to employees to promote diversity and acceptance."

South Dakota	• efforts supporting Native American students
	  - Ocetia Sakowin Essential Understandings and Standards
	  - development of lesson plans
	  - new program related to paraprofessionals in schools serving high populations of Native students
	  - new pilot program allowing for establishment of Native American Achievement Schools

Texas	• There are no current state mandates in law or rule specific to multicultural education. We are not aware of any historical requirements. • No explicit plans to incorporate Multicultural Education in the ESEA plan; however, the state is required under ESSA to support local districts and schools in offering well-rounded educational experiences to all students, "including female students, minority students, English learners, children with disabilities, and low income students." • In Texas, the required curriculum for kindergarten through grade 12 is determined by the Texas Legislature. Multicultural education is not explicitly included in the required curriculum, which is determined by the Texas Legislature (outlined in the Texas Education Code, §28.002) • The State curriculum includes the subject of literature, including the Hebrew Scriptures (Old Testament) and New Testament, and its impact on history and literature • Neither the SBOE nor TEA have the authority to designate curriculum, methodology, or instructional practices at the local district level; therefore, state law, rule, or policy does not specifically address multicultural education as a methodology or framework for instructional strategies and practices. The implementation of the TEKS and the development of the curriculum to support the TEKS are district level decisions.
Vermont	• VT Educational Quality Standards 2120.5 includes “global citizenship (including the concepts of civics, economics, geography, world language, cultural studies and history) • “Opportunities to incorporate multicultural learning opportunities are certainly rich within Global Citizenship.” • Linked to Education Quality Standards and Global Citizenship graduation requirements (PDFs) • Curriculum determined locally

West Virginia	• Multicultural education is in state code and embedded in WV BOE policies • Archival materials on Multicultural Education: http://wvconnections.k12.wv.us/multiculturaled.html • "WV Policy 4373 Expected Behavior in Safe and Supportive Schools http://wvde.state.wv.us/policies , establishes parameters to facilitate a positive school climate/culture that supports student academic achievement and personal-social development. Within the policy are direct references to establishing a learning environment that encourages all students to develop the personal skills and dispositions of wellness, responsibility, self-direction, ethical character, cultural awareness and good citizenship in an environment that is caring and safe." • 2015 Educator Equity Plan, to be incorporated into ESSA: http://wvde.state.wv.us/certification/data/documents/WVDEEquityPlanSeptember2015.pdf

The following table shows an incomplete catalogue of portions of State Codes that may be relevant to African American Studies or to Multicultural Education in general. This research is still in progress (incomplete sections are indicated in red).

State	**Summary of Relevant Portion(s) of State Code**
Red indicates that the summary is incomplete The number underneath the name of the State is my own subjective ranking (on a scale of 0-10) of how much the State's Education Code addresses African American Studies and/or Multicultural Education relative to those of the other States I researched.	

Alabama 3	Sec. 16-1-15 allows LEAs to "classify and group pupils upon consideration of their social attitudes, …, morals, cleanliness [?], and habits of personal behavior." Sec. 16-16 allows LEAs to "prescribe special courses in citizenship, health, morals, or any other subject it may consider necessary to meet the needs of special groups of pupils" Sec. 16-35-3 instructs that the Courses of Study Committee shall evaluate at least every two years courses taught and that "consideration shall be given to the required basic content, texts used and available, the educational objective of the course, changing scientific, technological and cultural developments, as well as established facts of American history, tradition and patriotism." Sec. 16-62-3 provides for a Black heritage museum to hold "materials on Afro-American history and culture which shall be used for research and other educational and cultural purposes, and which shall thereby encourage the development of inspiration and positive self-concepts on the part of black Americans and provide a basis for whites to gain greater respect for the black race." The museum shall collect and preserve "materials on the contributions, achievements and general experiences of Afro-Americans … and encourage the use of Afro-American instructional materials in state educational services to all groups without regard to racial, religious, or ethnic membership." Sec. 16-44A-13 encourages "educational programs, learning, and service experiences related to the history and diverse cultures of the United States and the State of Alabama, and especially American citizenship, its origins and development, and the positive role models, attributes, and contributions of leaders in the progress of the nation, the American South, Alabama, and its communities" with no mention of a required focus on non-white leaders and contributions. Sec. 16-6B-2-b-4 explains the core curriculum requirements for social studies, which are required to include "the teaching of important historical documents including the Constitution of the United States, The Declaration of Independence, The Emancipation Proclamation, The Federalist Papers, and other such documents important to the history and heritage of the United States." Sec. 16-6b-2-h requires LEAs to implement character education programs for all grades to focus on development of "courage, patriotism, citizenship,

Alaska 0	Sec. 14-30-400 references the “bilingual-bicultural” education program that LEAs must implement when at least 8 English Learner pupils attend their school. Sec. 14-20-020(h) states: “A person is not eligible for a teacher certificate unless the person has completed three semester hours in Alaska studies and three semester hours in multicultural education or cross-cultural communications.” Included in the statement of state education policy (Sec. 14-03-015) is the following: “the purpose of education is to help ensure that all students will … exemplify the best values of society, and be effective in improving the character and quality of the world about them.”

Arizona 2	Sec. 15-111 declares that "pupils should be taught to treat and value each other as individuals and not be taught to resent or hate other races or classes of people." Sec. 15-112 prohibits programs of instruction that "promote resentment toward a race or class of people, … are designed primarily for pupils or a particular ethnic group, [or] … advocate ethnic solidarity instead of the treatment of pupils as individuals." However, this does not prohibit federally-required courses for Native American pupils or English learners, nor "the grouping of pupils according to academic performance… that may result in a disparate impact by ethnicity" [?!], nor courses that "include the history of any ethnic group and are open to all students." It also clarifies that "Nothing in this section shall be construed to restrict or prohibit the instruction of the holocaust, any other instance of genocide, or the historical oppression of a particular group of people based on ethnicity, race, or class." Sec.15-244-B established that the state office of Indian education shall provide assistance to schools in the "planning, development, implementation and evaluation of curricula that are culturally relevant … [and] culturally appropriate." Sec. 15-347 requires policymakers to "consider the cultural traditions of pupils when establishing or enforcing rules related to a pupil's participation in extracurricular school activities. Sec. 15-752 establishes that "all children in Arizona public schools shall be taught English by being taught in English and all children shall be placed in English language classrooms," except when educated in a temporary language transition period. Sec. 15-719 allows schools to develop programs in character development, which must include "instruction in the definition and application" of at least six character traitsfrom the following prescribed list: truthfulness, responsibility, compassion, diligence, sincerity, trustworthiness, respect, attentiveness, obedience, orderliness, forgiveness, virtue, fairness, caring, citizenship and integrity." Sec. 15-203-25 requires the State Board of Education to "Develop and maintain a handbook for use in the schools of this state that provides guidance for the teaching of moral, civic and ethical education … for the general purpose of instilling character and ethical principles in pupils."

Arkansas 5	Sec. 6-11-105-1-8-C requires the State Board of Education to take action to promote "public education and awareness about racial profiling." Sec. 6-15-1005-c requires schools to promotes "responsibility, character, self-discipline, civic-responsibility, and positive work habits" in students' behavior. Sec. 6-16-101 establishes "Celebrate Freedom Week" to "educate students about the sacrifices made for freedom in the founding of this country and the values on which this country was founded." This is to include instruction in social studies classes about "the meaning and importance of the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution" and "It is suggested that a study of the Declaration of Independence include exercises related to the relationship of the ideas expressed in that document to subsequent American history, including the relationship among ideas contained in the document and the rich diversity of our people as a nation of immigrants, the American Revolution, the formulation of the United States Constitution, the abolitionist movement and how it led to the adoption of the Emancipation Proclamation, and the women's suffrage movement." Sec. 6-16-111 requires that "Curricula in morals, manners, patriotism, and business and professional integrity shall be included in the course of study for the state public schools." Sec. 6-16-121 requires the Commissioner of Education to "develop the materials or units for the teaching of historical contributions made by African-Americans in the United States and in other countries prior to the establishment of the United States for inclusion in the appropriate curricula of all kindergarten through grade twelve (K-12) of all public schools" and ensure that these materials are produced and distributed. Sec. 6-16-124 requires that a course in Arkansas history be offered and that it "courses represent the most accurate and historically sound account of the prehistory, history, and culture of Arkansas, including the significant contributions and achievements of all segments of the population."

California	Sec. 201-b states that "California's public schools have an affirmative obligation to combat racism, sexism, and other forms of bias, and a responsibility to provide equal educational opportunity" and establish "an urgent need to teach and inform pupils in the public schools about their rights, as guaranteed by the federal and state constitutions, in order to increase the pupils' awareness and understanding of their rights and the rights of others, with the intention of promoting tolerance and sensitivity in public schools and in society as a means of responding to potential harassment and hate violence." Sec. 221.2 explicitly prohibits schools from "using the term Redskins for school or athletic team names, mascots, or nicknames." Sec. 233 requires the State Board of Education to "adopt policies toward creating a school environment… free from discriminatory attitudes" and to "revise [the state curriculum] to include human relations education, with the aim of fostering an appreciation of the diversity of California's population." This section also provides for teacher development "to promote an appreciation of diversity and to discourage… discriminatory behavior" and establish guidelines for teachers' and administrators' sensitivity to prejudicial behavior. The Board must "Prepare guidelines for the design and implementation of local programs and instructional curricula that promote understanding, awareness, and appreciation of the contributions of people with diverse backgrounds and of harmonious relations in a diverse society," including methods of evaluating the programs' effectiveness and of providing funds for the programs. It is also stated that "nothing in this section shall be construed to require… any ethnic studies or human relations courses." Sec. 233-5-b establishes that teachers must try to teach "morality, truth, justice, patriotism, and a true comprehension of the rights, duties, and dignity of American citizenship, and the meaning of equality and human dignity, including the promotion of harmonious relations, kindness toward domestic pets and the humane treatment of living creatures, to teach them to avoid idleness, profanity, and falsehood, and to instruct them in manners and morals and the principles of a free government." [So far, the importance of treating domestic pets kindly has been explicitly established before any specific mention of minority groups.] Secs. 281 & 282 authorize a pilot project for teaching a course on human relations, which shall help students "[foster] cooperation and [promote] positive interaction among pupils of different racial and ethnic groups, [develop] an understanding of ethnic diversity, … [understand] the dangers

Colorado 5	Sec. 22-1-104 lays out requirements for the teaching of history cultural and civil government, saying “the history and civil government of the United States, which includes the history, culture, and contributions of minorities, including, but not limited to, the American Indians, the Hispanic Americans, and the African Americans, shall be taught in all public schools of the state.” Sec. 22-7-403 states a “commitment to equity and excellence” and requires the Board of Education to “consciously avoid gender or cultural bias and actively address the needs of systems and methods for the education of exceptional students.” Sec. 22-7-407-2-d requires school districts to develop a plan for “addressing the different learning styles and needs of students of various backgrounds and abilities and eliminating barriers to equity which exist within public schools.” Sec. 22-7-1002 is a legislative declaration in which it is stated that “Public education must encourage and accommodate students' exposure to and involvement in … social and cultural awareness; civic engagement; … and other skills critical to preparing students for the twenty-first-century workforce and for active citizenship” Sec. 22-25-103 establishes a comprehensive health education program that is required to be “culturally sensitive.” According to its definition, "’Culturally sensitive’ means the integration of knowledge about individuals and groups of people into specific standards, requirements, policies, practices, and attitudes used to increase the quality of services. "Culturally sensitive" includes resources, references, and information that are meaningful to the experiences and needs of communities of color; immigrant communities; lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities; people with physical or intellectual disabilities; people who have experienced sexual victimization; and others whose experiences have traditionally been left out of sexual health education, programs, and policies.” Sec. 22-25-104.5 establishes a law-related education program, which is designed to “promote responsible citizenship and reduce antisocial behavior.” Article 29 is dedicated to Colorado’s Character Education program, recognizing schools’ authority in providing such a program that emphasizes the following traits: honesty, respect, responsibility, courtesy,

Connecticut 6	Sec. 10-4p sets forth the duty of the State Board of Education to create and implement a plan "to achieve resource equity and equality of opportunity, increase student achievement, reduce racial, ethnic and economic isolation, improve effective instruction and encourage greater parental and community involvement in all public schools of the state." The plan must address disparities in resources, staff, programs and curriculum, and community involvement, and must include proposals for minority staff recruitment. The plan must be informed by a study of national resources/ education materials, school staff (including ", the racial and ethnic characteristics of staff, minority staff recruitment and a comparison of the racial diversity of school staffs to the racial diversity of the region where the school is located") and programs and curriculums that have shown "success in reducing the racial, ethnic and economic isolation of students." Sec. 10-18a requires local boards of education to select instructional materials that "accurately present the achievements and accomplishments of individuals and groups from all ethnic and racial backgrounds and of both sexes." Sec. 10-16b requires the State Board of Education to make available instructional materials relating to: "(1) Holocaust and genocide education and awareness; (2) the historical events surrounding the Great Famine in Ireland; (3) African-American history; (4) Puerto Rican history; (5) Native American history." Sec. 10-17a establishes a bilingual and bicultural program whose purpose is to enable children to become proficient in English. Sec. 10-29c allows the Commissioner of Economic and Community Development to "designate a day, week or month for the celebration of any ethnic, cultural or heritage group upon the application of such ethnic, cultural or heritage group for such designation." Sec. 10-29b establishes a Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday Commission whose role is to "(1) Ensure that the commemoration of the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in the state is meaningful and reflective of the spirit with which he lived and the struggles for which he died, (2) maintain a clearinghouse of programs and activities relating to the observance and promotion of such birthday in the state, (3) cooperate with the Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday Commission, community organizations and municipalities in the state, (4) develop and implement programs and activities for the state as it deems appropriate."

Delaware 0	Sec. 4103-b requires “instruction in the Constitution of the United States, Constitution and government of Delaware and the free enterprise system” [capitalism re-named] at least through 8th grade and high school. Sec. 4106 establishes that a teacher who fails to require a daily salute and recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance may be imprisoned for up to 10 days. [!]
District of Columbia 0	No portion of the DC code is directly relevant to Multicultural Education

Florida 6	Sec. 1000-05-4 requires Florida schools to "develop and implement methods and strategies to increase the participation of students of a particular race, ethnicity, national origin, gender, disability, or marital status in programs and courses in which students of that particular race, ethnicity, national origin, gender, disability, or marital status have been traditionally underrepresented." Sec. 1003-42-2 lays out the required courses of study and methods of instruction, which include: "The history of African Americans, including the history of African peoples before the political conflicts that led to the development of slavery, the passage to America, the enslavement experience, abolition, and the contributions of African Americans to society;" "The study of Hispanic contributions to the United States.;" and "The study of women's contributions to the United States." This section also requires that "Instructional materials shall include the contributions of African Americans to American society" and requires a character-development program in K-12 schools that stresses "patriotism; responsibility; citizenship; kindness; respect for authority, life, liberty, and personal property; honesty; charity; self-control; racial, ethnic, and religious tolerance; and cooperation." Sec. 1003-42-2 also states that "American history shall be viewed as factual, not as constructed, shall be viewed as knowable, teachable, and testable, and shall be defined as the creation of a new nation based largely on the universal principles stated in the Declaration of Independence." Sec. 1004-4205 establishes "Disability History and Awareness Weeks" during which Florida schools must provide "intensive instruction to expand their knowledge, understanding, and awareness of individuals with disabilities, the history of disability, and the disability rights movement." This section is quite detailed. Sec. 1006-31-2 requires that instructional materials must "portray the ethnic, socioeconomic, cultural, religious, physical, and racial diversity of our society, including men and women in professional, career, and executive roles, and the role and contributions of the entrepreneur and labor in the total development of this state and the United States." Sec. 1006-34-2 requires that instructional materials must include "The consideration of the broad racial, ethnic, socioeconomic, and cultural diversity of the students of this state."

Georgia 3	Sec. 20-2-142.1-c requires all local boards of education to require students to study the following: "(A) The antislavery movement; (B) The Civil Rights movement; (C) Women's suffrage; (D) The contributions of immigrants to American society; and (E) The history of the Native American population." Sec. 20-2-145 establishes a character education program that focuses on developing character traits including "patriotism, citizenship, … respect for others, … compassion, tolerance, … [and] respect for the creator" and also includes "methods of discouraging bullying and violent acts against fellow students." Sec. 20-2-155 establishes "a state-wide school climate management program to help local schools and systems requesting assistance in developing school climate improvement," but does not mention such a program in the context of race.
Hawaii 1	Sec. 302A-126-b requires that members of the Hawaii School Board have a "Record of integrity, civic virtue, and high ethical standards." Sec. 302H-1 establishes a Hawaiian language medium education program which must "take into consideration how its content integrates with Hawaiian language and culture curricula and Hawaiian language medium curricula"

Illinois 8	Sec. 2-3.24a prohibits the State Board of Education "from having separate performance standards for students based on race or ethnicity." Sec. 2-3.25a includes "culture and climate" as a factor to consider in school accountability ratings. Sec. 2-3.44 describes ethnic schools, which are "part time private school[s] which [teach] the foreign language of a particular ethnic group as well as the culture, geography, history and other aspects of a particular ethnic group." Sec. 2-3.148 establishes a disability history and awareness campaign to "increase public awareness and respect for people with disabilities [and their] rich history and … valuable contributions." Moreover, Sec. 27-23.8 requires school districts to "provide instruction on disability history, people with disabilities, and the disability rights movement" and requires the superintendent of schools to monitor school districts' compliance with this curricular requirement. Sec. 2-3.159 establishes a State Seal of Biliteracy which can be awarded to high school graduates proficient in languages in addition to English with the stated purposes of "[recognizing] the value of foreign language and native language instruction in public schools, …[strengthening] intergroup relations, [affirming] the value of diversity, and [honoring] the multiple cultures and languages of a community." Sec. 14C-2 establishes a program in transitional bilingual education "which shall be given in the native language of English learners who are enrolled in the program and also in English … in the history and culture of the country, territory, or geographic area which is the native land of the parents of English learners who are enrolled in the program and in the history and culture of the United States." Sec. 27-4 requires that at least one hour of each school week be devoted to the study of "American patriotism and the principles of representative government." Sec. 27-12 requires every teacher to teach character education, ", which includes the teaching of respect, responsibility, fairness, caring, trustworthiness, and citizenship, in order to raise pupils' honesty, kindness, justice, discipline, respect for others, and moral courage for the purpose of lessening crime and raising the standard of good character."

Idaho 0	Sec. 33-1604 requires that selections from the Bible be read daily in every classroom. Sec. 33-1602 requires for "instruction in citizenship" followed by a civics test that students must successfully complete in order to graduate from high school. The civics test is made up of "the one hundred (100) questions used by officers of the United States citizenship and immigration services as a basis for selecting the questions posed to applicants for naturalization."

Indiana 4	Sec. 20-20-40-6 defines an allowable form of behavior intervention and support that "uses evidence based practices and data driven decision making to improve school climate and culture." Sec. 20-20-41-1 establishes a dual language immersion pilot program. Sec. 20-28-3 defines "culturally responsive methods" as "methods that use the cultural knowledge, experiences, social and emotional learning needs, and performance styles of diverse students to ensure that classroom management strategies and research based alternatives to exclusionary discipline are appropriate and effective for the students." Such culturally responsive methods must be employed by teachers, and teacher professional development "must include courses and methods that assist individuals in developing cultural competency." Sec. 20-28-5-15 explains that in the case of a teacher shortage, individuals may be licensed to teach only if they have "participated in cultural competency professional development activities." Sec. 20-30-5-3 includes "… (13) Frederick Douglas' Speech at Rochester, New York, on July 5, 1852, entitled "What to a Slave is the Fourth of July?"; (14) Appeal by David Walker; [and] (15) Chief Seattle's letter to the United States government in 1852 in response to the United States government's inquiry regarding the purchase of tribal lands" in a list of documents allowable for posting in classrooms and which may not be censored. Sec. 20-30-5-5 creates a morals instruction program with an emphasis on "lessons of a steadying influence that tend to promote and develop an upright and desirable citizenry." Sec. 20-30-9-1 defines "bilingual-bicultural instruction" as "the use of written and spoken English and a non-English language to teach students. It includes instruction in the history and culture of both the United States and the homeland of the non-English language." Sec. 20-30-9-5 recognizes the need for and the desirability of such programs based on the need to "preserve awareness of cultural and linguistic heritage." Sec. 20-30-24.5-3 establishes a State Seal of Biliteracy which can be awarded to high school graduates proficient in languages in addition to English with the stated purposes of "[recognizing] the value of foreign language and native language instruction in public schools, … [strengthening] intergroup relations, [affirming] the value of diversity, and [honoring] the multiple cultures and languages of a community."

Iowa 0	Sec. 258-18 is a character education policy that instructs schools to emphasize qualities such as “civic virtue and citizenship, justice and fairness,” etc.

Kentucky 3	Sec. 156-500 requires that appointments to educational governing bodies "reflect reasonable minority representation… and that active minority participation at every level of implementation be continually encouraged." Sec. 156-438 establishes that all textbooks and programs adopted in the state "be suitable for use with a diverse population and be free of social, ethnic, racial, religious, age, gender, and geographic bias." Sec. 158-170 requires that selections from the Bible be read daily in every classroom. Sec. 158-175 authorizes the recitation of the Lord's Prayer in addition to the Pledge of Allegiance, stating "Pupils shall be reminded that this Lord's prayer is the prayer our pilgrim fathers recited when they came to this country in their search for freedom. … The exercises shall be conducted so that pupils shall learn of our great freedoms, including the freedom of religion symbolized by the recitation of the Lord's prayer." Sec. 158-177-1 allows for the theory of creation to be taught whenever the theory of evolution is taught, "thereby affording students a choice as to which theory to accept." Sec. 158-178 requires that the Ten Commandments be permanently displayed in every classroom with the following caption: "The secular application of the Ten Commandments is clearly seen in its adoption as the fundamental legal code of Western Civilization and the Common Law of the United States." Sec. 158-190 requires that not book, publication, or doctrine that is "sectarian, infidel, or immoral" may be taught. Sec. 158-645 sets forth the intent to create a system of public education that builds "(1) Communication skills necessary to function in a complex and changing civilization; (2) Knowledge to make economic, social, and political choices; (3) Core values and qualities of good character to make moral and ethical decisions throughout his or her life; (4) Understanding of governmental processes as they affect the community, the state, and the nation; … (6) Sufficient grounding in the arts to enable each student to appreciate his or her cultural and historical heritage…" Sec. 158-6452-2 requires that the School Curriculum, Assessment, and Accountability Council include councilmembers that reflect "equal representation of the two (2) sexes, inasmuch as possible; and assure that

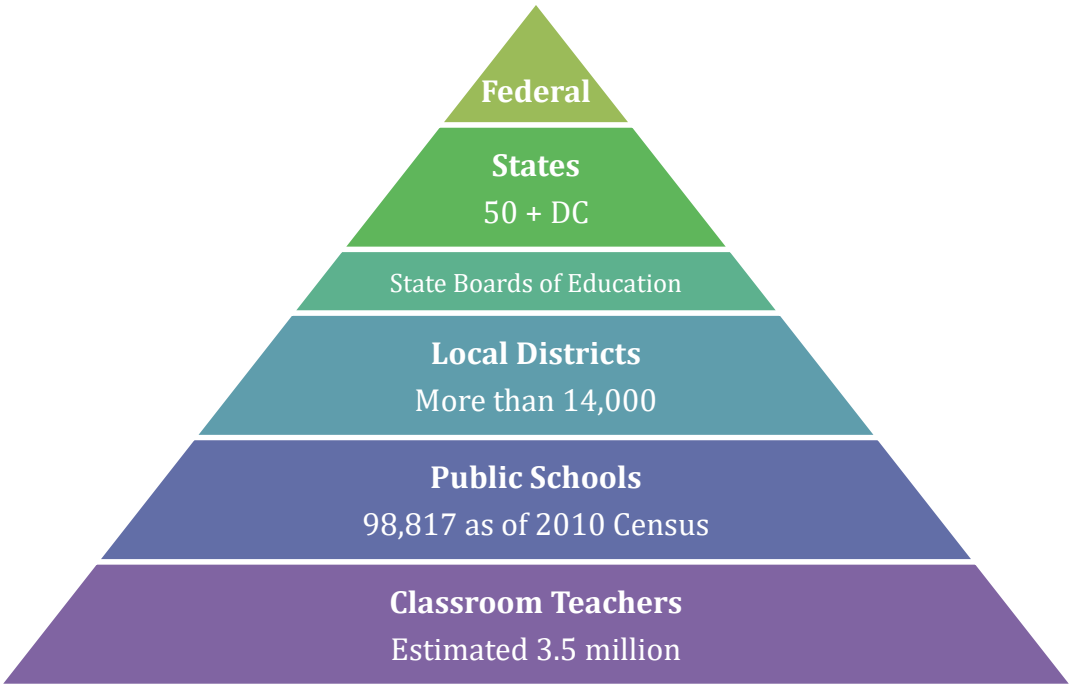
Maryland 2	Sec. 7-106-b requires local school boards to adopt age-appropriate books, auditory and visual materials relating to African American history. Sec. 7-208 establishes a State Seal of Biliteracy which can be awarded to high school graduates proficient in languages in addition to English with the stated purposes of "[recognizing] the value of foreign language and native language instruction in public schools, …[strengthening] intergroup relations, [affirming] the value of diversity, and [honoring] the multiple cultures and languages of a community."

Wisconsin	Sec. 115-28-15 and 115-28-17 include in the duties of the Secretary of Education to establish standards for bilingual-bicultural programs and American Indian language and culture programs, respectively, that require the teacher to "possess knowledge of the culture of limited-English proficient pupils" and "possess knowledge of American Indian history and culture." Sec. 115-28-40 allows the Secretary to match certain funds from the Milwaukee Public Museum to "develop curricula and exhibits relating to African-American history." Sec. 115-28-55 requires that the Secretary "Incorporate the history of organized labor and the collective bargaining process into the model academic standards for social studies." Sec. 116-72 is entitled "American Indian Language and Culture Education Program." This program may be established by LEAs on a voluntary basis and is designed to "Make the school curriculum more relevant to the needs, interests and cultural heritage of American Indian pupils … [and] Provide reinforcement of the positive self-image of American Indian pupils." This program may include "Instruction in American Indian language, literature, history and culture[;] … modification of curriculum, instructional methods and administrative procedures to meet the needs of American Indian pupils[;]" and in-service professional development. Sec. 115-95 is entitled "Bilingual-Bicultural Education." The program's intention is partly "to instill respect for non-English languages and cultures in all pupils," yet the program is only established for schools with concentrations of English learners. The goal of the bilingual-bicultural program is to guide the child toward being able to "perform ordinary classwork in English" and "progress effectively through the education system [in English]." Sec. 118-01-2 requires each school board to provide instructional programs that give pupils "An appreciation and understanding of different value systems and cultures … [and] At all grade levels, an understanding of human relations, particularly with regard to American Indians, Black Americans and Hispanics."

NOTE

The School Code written at the state level often designates specific policymaking duties to district levels. Thus, the lack of legislation in a State's School Code does not necessarily indicate that legislation is lacking in any or all of its districts. Moreover, even at the Statewide level, through governing bodies such as a State Board of Education, the regulations put in place to implement requirements in the State Code may either strengthen or weaken the Multicultural Education policy efforts at the State level. For example, a State's the academic standards are not always included in the State Code itself, but are developed separately. Indeed, most State Codes do not include academic standards or content requirements, but delegate the establishment of such regulations to school boards or local agencies. Thus, the State and local curriculums – which enumerate specific areas of study required in classes – may be more inclusive than the minimum requirements of the State Code. And, of course, teachers at the classroom level may be allowed to incorporate their own efforts in Multicultural Education in individual classrooms. In summary, we cannot be sure that this summary of States' Education Codes serves as a meaningful source of comparison of the true prevalence of Multicultural Education policy and implementation in the States. Really, a State's Code is only one of several policies and regulations that can contribute to Multicultural Education policy.

Levels of Education Policy:



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