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Diversity and Citizenship Education in Multicultural Nations*

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Abstract

Immigration is increasing racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistics, and religious diversity in nations around the world, which is challenging existing concepts of citizenship and citizenship education. In this article, I argue that nation-states need to construct novel ideas about citizenship and citizenship education that accommodate new population groups but also foster national unity. Multicultural nation-states need to balance unity and diversity. I describe the challenges to citizenship caused by diversity and argue that citizenship education should be transformed and help students to develop reflective cultural, national, and global identifications and a commitment to take civic action that will make their communities, nation, and the world more democratic and cosmopolitan.

Key words: immigration, diversity, citizenship, citizenship education, multicultural citizenship, multicultural education

Migration within and across nation-states is a worldwide phenomenon. The movement of peoples across national boundaries is as old as the nation-state itself. However, never before in the history of the world has the movement of diverse racial, cultural, ethnic, religious, and language groups within and

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across nation-states been as numerous and rapid or raised such complex and difficult questions about citizenship, human rights, democracy, and education. Many worldwide trends and developments are challenging the notion of educating students to function in one nation-state. These trends include the ways in which people are moving back and forth across national borders, the rights of movement permitted by the European Union, and the rights codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

ASSIMILATION, DIVERSITY, AND GLOBAL MIGRATION

Prior to the ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the aim of schools in most nation-states was to develop citizens who internalized national values, venerated national heroes, and accepted glorified versions of national histories. These goals of citizenship education are obsolete today because many people have multiple national commitments and live in more than one nation. However, the development of citizens who have global and cosmopolitan identities and commitments is contested in nation-states around the world because nationalism remains strong. Nationalism and globalization co-exist in tension worldwide. The number of recognized nation-states increased from 43 in 1900 to approximately 190 in 2000. The number of people living outside their country of birth or citizenship grew from 120 million in 1990 to 160 million in 2000 (Martin & Widgren, 2002). In 2008, the world's population was almost seven billion; approximately 200 million migrants were living outside the nation in which they were born, which was about three percent of the world's population (De Blij, 2008).

Democratic nations around the world must deal with complex educational issues when trying to respond to the problems wrought by international migration in ways consistent with their ideologies and declarations. Researchers have amply documented the wide gap between democratic ideals and the school experiences of minority groups in nations around the world

(Banks, 2009). The chapters in *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* describes how students such the Maori in New Zealand, Muslims in France, and Mexican Americans in the United States experience discrimination in school because of their cultural, ethnic, racial, religious, and linguistic differences. In 40 chapters written by scholars in various nations, *The Companion* describes the educational experiences of diverse groups worldwide.

When they are marginalized within school and treated as the "Other," ethnic minority students, such as Turkish students in Germany and Muslim students in England, tend to emphasize their ethnic identity and to have weak attachments to their nation-state. The four Muslim young men who were convicted for bombing the London subway on July 7, 2005, had immigrant parents but were British citizens. However, they apparently were not structurally integrated into British mainstream society and had a weak identification with the United Kingdom and non-Muslim British citizens.

Democratic nation-states and their schools must grapple with a number of salient issues, paradigms, and ideologies as their populations become more culturally, racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse. The extent to which nation-states make multicultural citizenship possible, the achievement gap between minority and majority groups, and the language rights of immigrant and minority groups are among the unresolved and contentious issues with which diverse nations and schools must deal.

Nations throughout the world are trying to determine whether they will perceive themselves as multicultural and allow immigrants to experience *multicultural citizenship* (Kymlicka, 1995), or continue to embrace an *assimilationist* ideology. In nation-states that embrace Kymlicka's idea of multicultural citizenship, immigrant and minority groups can retain important aspects of their languages and cultures as well as have full citizenship rights.

Nations in various parts of the world have responded to the citizenship and cultural rights of immigrant and minority groups in different ways. Since the ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960s and 1970s, many of the national leaders and citizens in the United States, Canada, and Australia have viewed

their nations as multicultural democracies (Banks & Lynch, 1986; Banks, 2009). An ideal exists within these nations that minority groups can retain important elements of their community cultures and participate fully in the national civic community. However, there is a wide gap between the ideals within these nations and the experiences of ethnic groups. Ethnic minority groups in the United States (Nieto, 2009), Canada (Joshee, 2009), and Australia (Inglis, 2009) experience discrimination in both the schools and the wider society.

Other nations, such as Japan (Hirasawa, 2009) and Germany (Luchtenberg, 2009), are reluctant to view themselves as multicultural. Historically, citizenship has been closely linked to biological heritage and characteristics in both nations. However, the biological conception of citizenship in Japan and Germany has eroded within the last decade. However, it left a tenacious legacy in both nations. Castles (2004) refers to Germany's response to immigrants as "differential exclusion," which is "partial and temporary integration of immigrant workers into society - that is, they are included in those subsystems of society necessary for their economic role: the labor market, basic accommodation, work-related health care, and welfare" (p. 32). However, immigrants are excluded from full social, economic, and civic participation in Germany.

Since the 1960s and 1970s, the French have dealt with immigrant groups in ways distinct from the United States, Canada, and Australia. *La laïcité* is a tenacious concept in France, the aim of which is to keep church and state separate (Lemaire, 2009). *La laïcité* emerged in response to the hegemony the Catholic Church exercised in France over the schools and other institutions for centuries. A major goal of state schools in France is to assure that youth obtain a secular education. Muslim students in French state schools, for example, are prevented from wearing the hijab (veil) and other religious symbols (Bowen, 2007; Scott, 2007). The genesis of the rigid sanction against the veil is *la laïcité* and the dominance of the Catholic Church in French history. In France the explicit goal is assimilation (called *integration*) and inclusion (Castles, 2004). Immigrant groups can become full citizens in France but the price is cultural assimilation. Immigrants are required to

surrender their languages and cultures in order to become full citizens.

DIVERSITY CHALLENGES TO CITIZENSHIP: EVENTS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE

Many nations in Western Europe, such as France, The Netherlands, Switzerland, Ireland, and England, are facing challenges dealing with immigrant groups, citizenship, and structural inclusion. Several examples of these problems and the responses to them are described below.

> **France** On October 24, 2007, a news story in the *New York Times* stated, "Both houses of Parliament approved an immigration bill that has brought angry debate for introducing possible DNA testing of foreigners who want to join relatives in France. In the face of criticism that the government's measure was racist, lawmakers watered it down to an 18-month experiment with a DNA comparison being made only for a child seeking to join a mother already in France. The new law also requires that all immigrants to learn French before they are granted legal residency." (France-Presse, 2007)

The population of Muslims in increasing throughout Europe, especially in France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Switzerland. Islam is the fastest growing religion in both Europe and the United States (Cesari, 2004). The growth in the Muslim population has stimulated the rise of xenophobia and Islamophobia throughout Europe (Richardson, 2004). The Netherlands has taken steps to restrict the number of Muslim immigrants, such as with the use of a test for immigrants that includes watching a racy film that offends most Muslims.

> **The Netherlands** "Before taking a 30 minute computerized exam to enter the Netherlands, applicants must watch a racy film that includes two gay men kissing in a park and a topless woman emerging from the sea who walks onto a crowded beach. For would-be immigrants to the Netherlands, this film is [considered] a test of their readiness to participate in the liberal

Dutch culture." (Fox News, 2006).

Switzerland A political poster in Switzerland used by the Swiss People's Party shows three white sheep kicking a black sheep off a Swiss flag above the slogan, "For more security" (Charter, 2007). In the election that took place on Sunday, October 21, 2007, the People's Party gained the highest percent of votes in the parliamentary election of any party since shortly after World War I.

Ireland In 2004, Ireland passed a citizenship act that prohibits children born in Ireland from becoming citizens unless their parents have been residents of Ireland for three years or more. The act was passed in response to the number of immigrants from nations in Southern and Eastern Europe, Africa, and Asia that have settled in Ireland within the last decade (Fanning, 2007).

England: In England, the establishment of state supported Muslim schools has stimulated a polarizing debate about the proper role of the state in the maintenance of the religious and community cultures of students (Tomlinson, 2008).

THE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT GAP: A CHALLENGE TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION WORLDWIDE

To become effective citizens, students must attain the knowledge and skills needed to participate in their community cultures as well as in the national civic culture. Consequently, the academic achievement gap between ethnic minority and majority group students in nations around the world makes it difficult to educate informed and engaged citizens. Students must develop skills in reading, writing, and math as well as acquire political literacy to become effective citizens.

African Caribbean, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi students in Britain and Turkish students in Germany are not achieving on a level equal to that of the majority groups in their nations. There is also a significant achievement gap between Mexican American and White students in the United States (Banks & Banks, 2004). However, the underachievement of minority students is a complex issue worldwide that defies easy solutions and responses. Indian and

Chinese students are the highest achieving students in Britain (Tomlinson, 2004). A study by Vallet and Caille found "a statistically strong advantage in favour of the immigrants' children on entering upper secondary schools [in France]... [which resulted from] the ambition of the wishes made by families" (as cited in Lorcerie, 2004, p. 111). In the United States, Chinese, Japanese, and Asian Indian students score higher than Whites on academic achievement tests (Banks & Banks, 2004). The issue of minority underachievement is undertheorized and requires more complex and nuanced explanations and theories than those that now exist.

MULTICULTURAL CITIZENSHIP AND CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

Multicultural societies are faced with the problem of constructing nation-states that reflect and incorporate the diversity of its citizens and yet have an overarching set of shared values, ideals, and goals to which all of its citizens are committed (Banks, 2007).

Only when a nation-state is unified around a set of democratic values such as justice and equality can it protect the rights of cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups and enable them to experience cultural democracy and freedom. Kymlicka (1995), the Canadian political theorist, and Rosaldo (1997), the U. S. anthropologist, have constructed theories about diversity and citizenship. Both Kymlicka and Rosaldo argue that in a democratic society, ethnic and immigrant groups should have the right to maintain their ethnic cultures and languages as well as participate fully in the national civic culture. Kymlicka calls this concept "multicultural citizenship;" Rosaldo refers to it as "cultural citizenship."

In the United States in the 1920s Drachsler (1920) used *cultural democracy* to describe what we call multicultural citizenship today. Drachsler (1920) and Kallen (1924) - who were Jewish immigrants and advocates for the cultural freedom and rights of the Southern, Central, and East European

immigrants - agued that cultural democracy is an important characteristic of a democratic society. They maintained that cultural democracy should co-exist with political and economic democracy, and that citizens from diverse groups in a democratic society should participate freely in the civic life of the nation-state and experience economic equality. They should also have the right to maintain important aspects of their community cultures and languages, as long as they do not conflict with the shared democratic ideals of the nation-state. Cultural democracy, argued Drachsler, is an essential component of a political democracy.

BALANCING UNITY AND DIVERSITY

Cultural, ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious diversity exists in most nations (Banks, 2009). One of the challenges to diverse democratic nation-states is to provide opportunities for different groups to maintain aspects of their community cultures while constructing a nation in which these groups are structurally included and to which they feel allegiance. *A delicate balance of diversity and unity should be an essential goal of democratic nations and of teaching and learning in democratic societies* (Banks, et al, 200l). Unity must be an important aim when nation-states are responding to diversity within their populations. They can protect the rights of minorities and enable diverse groups to participate only when they are unified around a set of democratic values such as justice and equality (Gutmann, 2004).

In the past nations have tried to create unity by forcing racial, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities to give up their community languages and cultures in order to participate in the national civic culture. In the United States, Mexican American students were punished for speaking Spanish in school and Native American youth were forced to attend boarding schools where their cultures and languages were eradicated (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). In Australia, Aboriginal children were taken from their families and forced to live on state missions and reserves (Broome, 1982), a

practice that lasted from 1869 to 1969. These children are called "The stolen generation." Kevin Rudd, the Australian Prime Minister, issued a formal apology to the stolen generation on February 13, 2008. In order to embrace the national civic culture, students from diverse groups must feel that it reflects their experiences, hopes, and dreams. *Schools and nations cannot marginalize the cultures of groups and expect them to feel structurally included within the nation and to develop a strong allegiance to it.*

Citizenship education must be transformed in the 21st century because of the deepening diversity in nations around the world. Citizens in a diverse democratic society should be able to maintain attachments to their cultural communities as well as participate effectively in the shared national culture. *Unity without diversity results in cultural repression and hegemony*, as was the case in the former Soviet Union and during the Cultural Revolution that occurred in China from 1966 to 1976. *Diversity without unity leads to Balkanization and the fracturing of the nation-state*, as occurred during the Iraq war when sectarian conflict and violence threatened that fragile nation in the late 2000s. *Diversity and unity should co-exist in a delicate balance in democratic multicultural nations.*

Nations such as France, the United Kingdom, and Germany are struggling to balance unity and diversity. A French law which became effective on March 15, 2004 prevented Muslim girls from wearing the veil (hijab) to state schools (Bowen, 2007; Lemaire, 2009; Scott, 2007). This law is a manifestation of *la laïcité* as well as a refusal of the French government to deal explicitly with the complex racial, ethnic, and religious problems it faces in suburban communities where many Muslim families live. The riots in France in 2005 indicated that many Arab and Muslin youths have a difficult time attaining a French identity and believe that most White French citizens do not view them as French. On November 7, 2005, a group of young Arab males in France were interviewed on PBS, the public television in the United States. One of the young men said, "I have French papers but when I go to the police station they treat me like I am not French." The French prefer the term *integration* to race relations or diversity. Integration has been officially

adopted by the state. Integration is predicated on the assumption that cultural differences should be eradicated during the process of integration (Hargreaves, 1995).

The London subway and bus bombings that killed 56 people and injured more than 700 on July 7, 2005, deepened ethnic and religious tension and Islamophobia in Europe after the police revealed that the suspected perpetuators were Muslim suicide bombers (Richardson, 2004). The young men who were convicted for these bombings were British citizens but apparently had weak identities with the United Kingdom and non-Muslim British citizens.

DEFINING CITIZENSHIP AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

A *citizen* may be defined as a "native or naturalized member of a state or nation who owes allegiance to its government and is entitled to its protection." This is the definition of *citizen* in *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* (1989, p. 270). This same dictionary defines *citizenship* as the "state of being vested with the rights, privileges, and duties of a citizen" (p. 270). Absent from these minimal definitions of citizen and citizenship are the rich discussions and meanings of citizen and citizenship in democratic, multicultural societies that were presented by a group of scholars in a conference I organized and chaired in Bellagio, Italy in 2002 (Banks, 2004a).

The scholars at this conference stated that citizens within democratic multicultural nation-states endorse the overarching ideals of the nation-state such as justice and equality, are committed to the maintenance and perpetuation of these ideals, and are willing and able to take action to help close the gap between their nation's democratic ideals and practices that violate those ideals, such as social, racial, cultural, and economic inequality (Banks, 2004a).

Consequently, an important goal of citizenship education in a democratic multicultural society should be to help students acquire the *knowledge, attitudes*, and *skills* needed to make reflective decisions and to take actions to make their nation-states more democratic and just (Banks, 2007). To become thoughtful decision-makers and citizen actors, students need to master social science knowledge, to clarify their moral commitments, to identify alternative courses of action, and to act in ways consistent with democratic values (Banks & Banks, with Clegg, 1999). Gutmann (2004) states that democratic multicultural societies are characterized by *civic equality, toleration*, and *recognition.* Consequently, an important goal of citizenship education in multicultural societies is to teach toleration and recognition of cultural differences. Gutmann views *deliberation* as an essential component of democratic education in multicultural societies. Gonçalves e Silva (2004), a Brazilian scholar, states that citizens in a democratic society work for the betterment of the whole society, and not just for the rights of their particular racial, social, or cultural group. She writes:

> A citizen is a person who works against injustice not for individual recognition or personal advantage, but for the benefit of all people. In realizing this task-shattering privileges, ensuring information and competence, acting in favor of all-each person becomes a citizen (p. 197).

Gonçalves e Silva (2004) also makes the important point that becoming a citizen is a *process* and that education must facilitate the development of *civic consciousness* and *agency* within students. She provides powerful examples of how civic consciousness and agency are developed in community schools for the children of Indigenous peoples and Blacks in Brazil. Osler (2005) maintains that students should experience citizenship directly within schools and should not be "citizens-in-waiting."

MULTIPLE VIEWS OF CITIZENSHIP

In the discussion of his citizenship identity in Japan, Murphy-Shigematsu (2004) describes how complex and contextual citizenship identification is within a multicultural nation such as Japan. Becoming a legal citizen of a nation does not necessarily mean that an individual will attain structural inclusion into the mainstream society and its institutions or will be perceived as a citizen by most members of the mainstream group within the nation. *A citizen's racial, cultural, linguistic, and religious characteristics often significantly influence whether she is viewed as a citizen within her nation*. It is not unusual for their fellow American citizens to assume that Asian Americans born in the United States emigrated from another nation. They are sometime asked, "What country are you from?"

Brodkin (1998) makes a conceptual distinction between *ethnoracial assignment* and *ethnoracial* identity that is helpful when considering the relationship between citizenship identification and citizenship education. She defines ethnoracial assignment as the way outsiders define people within another group. Ethnoracial identities are how individuals define themselves "within the context of ethnoracial assignment" (p. 3). Muslims citizens of the United States who have a strong national identity are sometimes viewed by other Americans as non-Americans (Gregorian, 2003).

THE BELLAGIO DIVERSITY AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT

Citizenship education needs to be changed in significant ways because of the increasing diversity within nations throughout the world and the quests by racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups for cultural recognition and rights (Banks, 2004a; Castles, 2004). The Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington has implemented a project to reform citizenship education so that it will advance democracy as well as be

responsive to the needs of cultural, racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and immigrant groups within multicultural nation-states.

The first part of this project consisted of a conference, "Ethnic Diversity and Citizenship Education in Multicultural Nation-States," held at the Rockefeller Foundation's Study and Conference Center in Bellagio, Italy, June 17-21, 2002. The conference, which was supported by the Spencer and Rockefeller Foundations, included participants from 12 nations: Brazil, Canada, China, Germany, India, Israel, Japan, Palestine, Russia, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The papers presented at this conference are published in a book I edited, *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives* (Banks, 2004a). I have already discussed the chapters in this book by Gutmann (2004), Gonçalves e Silva (2004), and Murphy-Shigematsu (2004).

One of the conclusions of the Bellagio conference was that world migration and the political and economic aspects of globalization are challenging nation-states and national borders. At the same time, national borders remain tenacious; the number of nations in the world is increasing rather than decreasing. The number of UN member states increased from 80 in 1950 to 191 in 2002 (Castles & Davidson, 2000). Globalization and nationalism are co-existing and sometimes conflicting trends and forces in the world today (Banks et al, 2005). Consequently, educators throughout the world should rethink and redesign citizenship education courses and programs. Citizenship education should help students acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function in their nations as well as in a diverse world society that is experiencing rapid globalization and quests by diverse groups for recognition and inclusion. Citizenship education should also help students to develop a commitment to act to change the world to make it more just and democratic.

Another conclusion of the Bellagio Conference is that citizenship and citizenship education are defined and implemented differently in various nations and in different social, cultural, economic, and political contexts. It is also a contested idea in nations around the world. However, there are shared

problems, concepts, and issues across nations, such as the need to prepare students to function within as well as across national borders. The Bellagio conference also concluded that these shared issues and problems should be identified by an international group that would formulate guidelines for dealing with them.

DEMOCRACY AND DIVERSITY

In response to the Bellagio Conference recommendations, the Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington created an International Consensus Panel, which was supported by the Spencer Foundation in Chicago and the University of Washington. The Panel wrote a publication titled *Democracy and Diversity: Principles and Concepts for Educating Citizens in a Global Age* (Banks, et al, 2005). The Consensus Panel constructed four principles and identified ten concepts for educating citizens for democracy and diversity in a global age (See Table 1). One of the important conclusions of *Democracy and Diversity* is that diversity describes the wide range of racial, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious variations that exists within and across groups that live in multicultural nation-states. *Democracy and Diversity* presents a broad view of diversity.

You can download a pdf of *Democracy and Diversity* at the Center for Multicultural Education website: http://education.washington.edu/cme/

Table 1 Principles and Concepts for Educating Citizens in a Global Age

PRINCIPLES
Section I Diversity, Unity, Global Interconnectedness, and Human Rights
1. Students should learn about the complex relationships between unity and diversity in their local communities, the nation, and the world.
2. Students should learn about the ways in which people in their community, nation, and region are increasingly interdependent with other people around the world and are connected to the economic, political, cultural, environmental, and

technological changes taking place across the planet.
3. The teaching of human rights should underpin citizenship education courses and programs in multicultural nation-states.

Section II Experience and Participation

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

CONCEPTS

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

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ASSIMILATIONIST THEORY AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

The community cultures and languages of students from diverse groups were to be eradicated in the assimilationist conception of citizenship education that existed in nations such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and the Untied Kingdom prior to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. One consequence of assimilationist citizenship education was that many students lost their first cultures, languages, and ethnic identities (Wong Fillmore, 2005). Some students also became alienated from their families and communities. Another consequence was that many students became socially

and politically alienated within the national civic culture, as many Muslim youth in French society are today (Lemaire, 2009).

Members of identifiable racial groups often become marginalized in both their community cultures and in the national civic culture because they can function effectively in neither. When they acquire the language and culture of the mainstream dominant culture, they are often denied structural inclusion and full participation into the civic culture because of their racial, cultural, linguistic, or religious characteristics (Alba & Nee, 2003; Gordon, 1964). Teachers and schools must practice democracy and human rights in order for these ideals to be internalized by students (Dewey, 1959).

When schools and classrooms become microcosms and exemplars of democracy and social justice they help students acquire democratic attitudes, learn how to practice democracy, and to engage in deliberation with students from other ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups (Gutmann, 2004; Osler & Starkey, 2009). As Dewey (1959) stated, "all genuine education comes through experience" (p. 13). Kohlberg's idea of democratic, just schools exemplifies the concept of democracy in action in schools (Schrader, 1990). Kohlberg created a cluster school within a high school in Cambridge, Massachusetts that ran as a *just community*. Each individual within the school - whether student or staff - had a vote in deciding school policies. The just community school was characterized by "participatory democracy with teachers and students having equal rights, emphasis on conflict resolution through consideration of fairness and morality, and inclusion of developmental moral discussion in the curriculum" (Kohlberg, Mayer, & Elfenbein, 1975).

A lot of work must be done in nations around the world before most teachers actualize democracy and social justice in their curricula, attitudes, expectations, and behaviors (Banks, 2009). Multicultural democratic nations need to find ways to help students develop balanced and thoughtful attachments and identifications with their cultural community, their nation, and with the global community. In some cases, such as in the European Union and in parts of Asia, it is also important for citizens to develop a

regional identification. *Nation-states have generally failed to help students develop a delicate balance of identifications.* Rather, they have given priority to national identifications and have neglected the community cultures of students as well as the knowledge and skills students need to function in an interconnected global world.

Cosmopolitanism and Local Identity

Nussbaum (2002) worries that a focus on nationalism will prevent students from developing a commitment to cosmopolitan values such as human rights and social justice, values that transcend national boundaries, cultures, and times. She argues that educators should help students develop *cosmopolitanism*. Cosmopolitans view themselves as citizens of the world. Nussbaum states that their "allegiance is to the worldwide community of human beings" (p. 4). Nussbaum (2002) contrasts cosmopolitan universalism and internationalism with parochial ethnocentrism and inward-looking patriotism. She points out, however, that "to be a citizen of the world one does not need to give up local identifications, which can be a source of great richness in life" (p. 9).

Appiah (2006), another proponent of cosmopolitanism, also views local identities as important. He writes:

> In the final message my father left for me and my sisters, he wrote, "Remember you are citizens of the world." But as a leader of the independence movement in what was then the Gold Coast, he never saw a conflict between local partialities and universal morality - between being a part of the place you were and a part of a broader human community. Raised with this father and an English mother, who was both deeply connected to our family in England and fully rooted in Ghana, where she has now lived for half a century, I always had a sense of family and tribe that was multiple and overlapping; nothing could have seemed more commonplace. (p. xviii)

Nationalists and assimilationists in nations throughout the world worry that if they help students develop identifications and attachments to their cultural

communities they will not acquire sufficiently strong attachments and allegiance to the nation. Kymlicka (2004) states that nationalists have a "zero-sum conception of identity." However, identity *is multiple, changing, overlapping, and contextual, rather than fixed and static.* The multicultural conception of identity is that citizens who have clarified and thoughtful attachments to their community cultures, languages, and values are more likely than citizens who are stripped of their cultural attachments to develop reflective identifications with their nation-state (Banks, 2004b; Kymlicka, 2004). They will also be better able to function as effective citizens in the global community. Nation-states, however, must make structural changes that reduce structural inequality and that legitimize and give voice to the hopes, dreams, and visions of their marginalized citizens in order for them to develop strong and clarified commitments to the nation and its goals.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL, NATIONAL, AND GLOBAL IDENTIFICATIONS

Assimilationist notions of citizenship are ineffective today because of the deepening diversity throughout the world and the quests by marginalized groups for cultural recognition and rights. *Multicultural citizenship* and *cultural democracy* are essential in today's global age (Kymlicka, 1995). These concepts recognize and legitimize the right and need of citizens to maintain commitments both to their cultural communities and to the national civic culture. Citizens must be structurally included within their nation in order to develop a strong allegiance and commitment to it.

Students should develop a delicate balance of cultural, national, and global identifications and allegiances (See Figure 1). These three identifications are highly interrelated, complex, and contextual. Citizenship education should help students to develop thoughtful and clarified identifications with their cultural communities and their nation-states (Banks, 2004b). It should also help them to develop clarified global identifications and deep understandings

of their roles in the world community. Students need to understand how life in their cultural communities and nations influences other nations and the cogent influence that international events have on their daily lives. Global education should have as major goals helping students to develop understandings of the interdependence among nations in the world today, clarified attitudes toward other nations, and reflective identifications with the world community. I conceptualize global identification similar to the way in which Nussbaum (2002) defines cosmopolitanism.

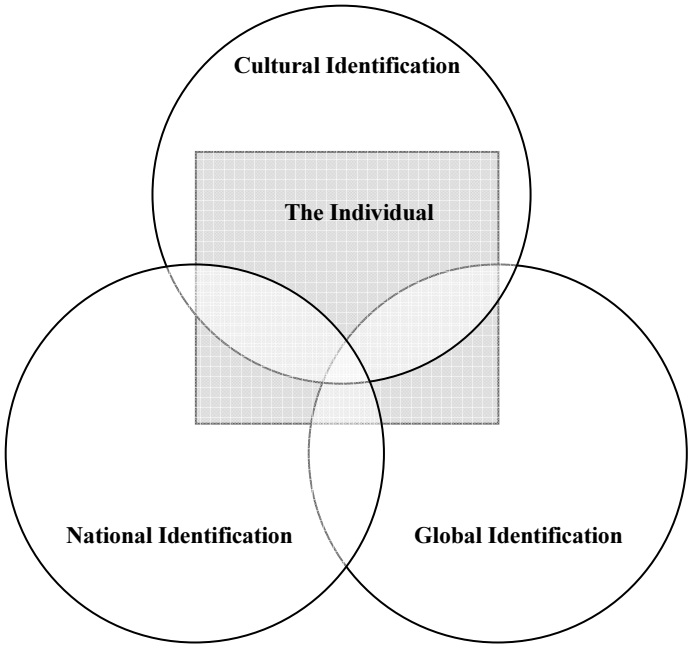

Figure 1 Cultural, National, and Global Identifications

Non-reflective and unexamined cultural attachments may prevent the development of a cohesive nation with clearly defined national goals and policies (Banks, 2004b). Although we need to help students develop

reflective and clarified cultural identifications, they must also be helped to clarify their identifications with their nation-states. However, blind nationalism may prevent students from developing reflective and positive global identifications. Nationalism and national attachments in most nations are strong and tenacious. An important aim of citizenship education should be to help students develop global identifications. They also need to develop a deep understanding of the need to take action as citizens of the global community to help solve the world's difficult global problems. *Cultural, national, and global experiences and identifications are interactive and interrelated in a dynamic way* (Banks, 2004b).

A nation-state that alienates and does not structurally include all cultural groups into the national culture runs the risk of creating alienation and causing groups to focus on specific concerns and issues rather than on the overarching goals and policies of the nation-state. To develop reflective cultural, national, and global identifications, students must acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function within and across diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups.

The Continuing Importance of Cultural Identifications

I have argued that students should develop a delicate balance of cultural, national, regional, and global identifications and allegiances. I conceptualize global identification in a way that includes cosmopolitanism, social justice, and human rights. I believe that cultural, national, and global identifications are interrelated in a developmental way, and that students cannot develop thoughtful and clarified national identifications until they have reflective and clarified cultural identifications; and that they cannot develop a global or cosmopolitan identification until they have acquired a reflective national identification.

The Stages of Cultural Identity

Self-acceptance is a prerequisite to the acceptance and valuing of others

and to internalizing values related to social justice and human rights. We cannot expect Muslims students in France who do not value their own religion and culture and who have negative attitudes toward Muslims to embrace and fully accept White British or African Caribbean students or to internalize human rights values and behaviors.

Students from racial, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious minority groups that have historically experienced institutionalized discrimination, racism, or other forms of marginalization often have a difficult time accepting and valuing their own cultural heritages. Teachers should be aware of and sensitive to the stages of cultural development that all of their students - including mainstream students, ethnic minority students, and other marginalized groups of students - are experiencing and facilitate their identity development.

I have developed a *Stages of Cultural Development Typology* which teachers can use when trying to help students attain higher stages of cultural development and to develop clarified cultural, national, and global identifications (See Figure 2) (Banks, 2006). I believe that students need to reach Stage 3 of this typology, *Cultural Identity Clarification*, before we can expect them to embrace other cultural groups, attain thoughtful and clarified national and global identifications, and internalize human rights values. The typology is an ideal-type concept. Consequently, it does not describe the actual identity development of any particular individual. Rather, it is a framework for thinking about and facilitating the identity development of students who approximate one of the stages.

During Stage 1 - *Cultural Psychological Captivity* - individuals internalize the negative stereotypes and beliefs about their cultural groups that are institutionalized within the larger society and may exemplify cultural self-rejection and low self-esteem. Cultural encapsulation and cultural exclusiveness, and the belief that their ethnic group is superior to others, characterize stage 2 - *Cultural Encapsulation*. Often individuals within this stage have newly discovered their cultural consciousness and try to limit participation to their cultural group. They have ambivalent feelings about their cultural group and try to confirm, for themselves, that they are proud of

it. In Stage 3 - *Cultural Identity Clarification* - individual are able to clarify their personal attitudes and cultural identity and to develop clarified positive attitudes toward their cultural group. In this stage, cultural pride is genuine

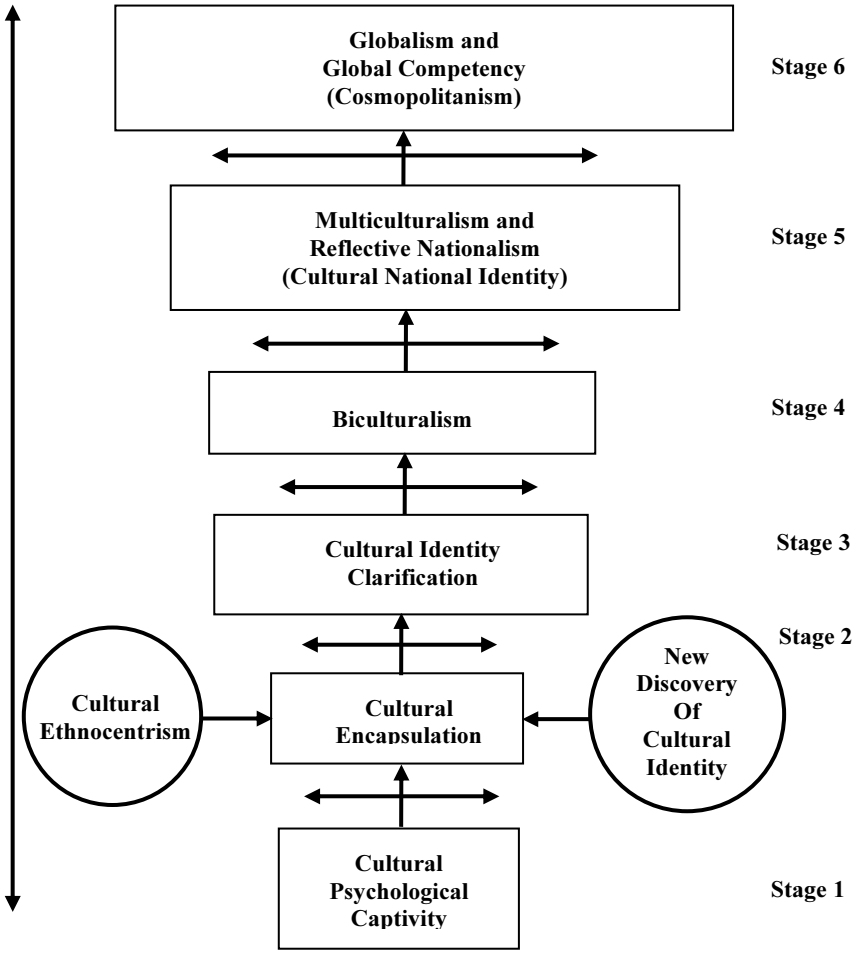

Figure 2: The Stages of Cultural Identity: A Typology

rather than contrived. Individual within Stage 4 - *Biculturalism* - have a healthy sense of cultural identity and the psychological characteristics to participate successfully in their own cultural community as well as in another cultural community. They also have a strong desire to function effectively in two cultures.

Stage 5 individuals (*Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism*) have clarified, reflective, and positive personal, cultural, regional, and national identifications and positive attitudes toward other racial, cultural, ethnic groups, and religious groups. At Stage 6 - *Globalism and Global Competency* - individuals have reflective and clarified national, regional, and global identifications, and internalize human rights values. They have the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to function effectively within their own cultural communities, within other cultures within their nation-state, in the civic culture of their nation, in their region, as well as in the global community. Individuals within Stage 6 exemplify cosmopolitanism, believe that people around the world should have human rights, and have a commitment to work to attain those rights. The primary commitment of cosmopolitan individuals is to justice, not to any particular human community (Gutmann, 2004).

Strong, positive, and clarified cultural identifications and attachments are a prerequisite to cosmopolitan beliefs, attitudes and behaviors, and the internalization of human rights values. We must nurture, support, and affirm the identities of students from marginalized cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups if we expect them to endorse national values, become cosmopolitans, internalize human rights values, and work to make their local communities, nation, region, and the world more just and humane.

A DREAM DEFERRED

The riots in France in 2005 evoke memories of this poem by African American poet Langston Hughes, who lived from 1902 to 1967. The marginalization and identity quests by racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and

religious groups around the world are caused by a dream deferred. Hughes writes (1963):

What happens to a dream deferred?
Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore--
And then run?
Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar over--
like a syrupy sweet?
Maybe it just sags
like a heavy load.
Or does it explode?

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