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ABSTRACT

The teacher education program at New Mexico State University requires all undergraduate preservice teachers to enroll in a multicultural education course. This study was conducted to assess students' ideas, beliefs, and attitudes about multicultural issues, and to determine how the course may affect their view of the world. Two newspaper articles of national import were chosen to serve as "dilemmas." The first article described the protest by a group of Native Americans against the Atlanta Braves' fans use of the "tomahawk chop"; the second dilemma concerned the use of Indian symbols by athletic teams. At the beginning of the semester, participants (N=65) were presented with the first dilemma and asked to write their reactions, thoughts, and opinions. At the end of the semester, students were asked to perform the same task with the second dilemma. Data analysis revealed that a majority of students entered the course with a linear perspective of the world; that their attitudes and beliefs largely reflected the racial status quo; and for the most part, that the course had little effect on students' developing perspectives. It was concluded that to construct more socially and culturally sensitive perceptions, educational strategies are needed to confront three knowledge domains: the personal, the historical, and the ideological and cultural. Copies of the newspaper articles are appended. (Contains 45 references.) (LL)

PRE-SERVICE STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVES TO "DILEMMAS" IN A MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION COURSE

BY

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Introduction

In February 1848, Henry David Thoreau delivered a lecture which he initially called "Resistance to Civil Government." He had refused to pay his poll tax for some years in protest of slavery and the Mexican War and had been jailed two years before in 1846. Legend has it that while he was jailed, his friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson, came by and asked, "Henry, what are you doing in there?" To which Thoreau answered, "Waldo what are you doing out there?" These legendary accounts only build to the real symbolic action that did not occur until the essay was written a year and a half after the original events. From an attitude, a frame of mind, Thoreau's symbolic action became a powerful message.

In today's world by way of multicultural education, we find the conflict point to be educational programming that seeks to either resist oppression (Sleeter 1989) or to change attitudes so that educational programming can be delivered in a more fair and meaningful climate. This paper, in fact, frames Multicultural Education as an attitude rather than as a program. A program of Multicultural Education is little more than a vestigial structure of the laboratory learning point of view of the Ebbinhaus (Boring 1957) era carried over to classical then operant conditioning. In short, information is disseminated, a response to the information is made, and the response is evaluated, and the real issue, the change of attitude, is left untouched.

In the multicultural course allied to the content of this paper, multiculturalism is viewed as an attitude and a behavior. As such, it is subject to change, expectedly, from negative to positive based on a study of self-identity, upon reflection, and with the provision of information that would appear to lift the level of thought of the program participant.

Theoretical Grounding

As with the aforementioned Thoreau - Emerson encounter, some course participants had it or got it; some, still don't get it! The same may be said about teacher education pre-service students around the nation. Many students in our study have begun to challenge the hegemony that is fostered and maintained in the everyday by schooling structures. On the other hand, other teacher education pre-service students live their everyday with the certainty that teaching and learning will continue in the same order. Teacher pre-service education students establish their education within the reality of the everyday, their stories and their experiences serve the temporal structure that provides historicity and determines for them their situations in the world of everyday life (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Borrowing the concept of "everyday life" from Berger and Luckmann (1967) and extending this happening to our theoretical grounding of this study, pre-service teacher education students herewith were born on a certain date, circa post WW II with most born in the late sixties, early seventies. Students entered school on

another date, graduated at still another and are already or will shortly be working as novice teachers in some school district in the Southwest or, for that matter, any where in the country. "These dates, however, are all 'located' within a much more comprehensive history, and this 'location' decisively shapes [the pre-service students'] situation" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 28).Thus, the pre-service students in this study have all experienced and savored, to greater or lesser degrees and in specific contexts, the coming of age of multiculturalism in the U.S., in the world, and the addressing of diversity in the everyday.

All of the students in this study have in some form or another have because of the popular media seen, heard, and maybe have conversed on issues such as ethnic cleansing; the savings and loan debacle; apartheid; Mandela and de Klerk as agents of peace; the ever growing national debt; AIDS; the Tomahawk chop; the Zapotec Guerrillas; NAFTA; Bill Clinton; dropouts; drive-by shootings; Rush Limbaugh; multiculturalism; TV news magazines: political correctness; the changing demographics, and more. Moreover, within our popular culture there have been innumerable images of a not too distant past that portray acts of undeniable violence, such as hate crimes. San Juan, Jr. (1992) points to the still prevalent manifestations of racism that have continued to be as violent as in the near and distant past. During the decade of the eighties, examples of hate crimes have ranged from the killing of African Americans in the Howard Beach and Bensonhurst incidents, to urban rebellions in the early and late Eighties in Miami, Florida, anti-busing attacks, the 1982 killing of Albert Chin (a Chinese American mistaken for a Japanese) by unemployed auto workers, the harassment of students of color at several campuses throughout the country, the slaying of a man of Ethiopian descent by neo-Nazi skinheads in Portland, Oregon, and the willful murder of five Asian children and the wounding of thirty others by a white gunman with a hate psychosis. And, more recently, the killing of several train passengers returning to their suburban homes by a man whose hate for "white" people was overwhelming. These are only a few of the many examples of the racial violence that has been endured by people of color - the *Other,* and to a lesser extent by European Americans. San Juan, Jr. (1992) reports that in the Eighties, "racial attacks increased from 99 in 1982 to 276 in 1986". These examples are also part of the our pre-service students common history.

The temporal structure of everyday life not only imposes prearranged sequences upon the 'agenda' of any single day but also imposes itself upon the pre-service students and they may interact with there temporal world as a whole (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). "Within the co-ordinates set by this temporal structure [we] apprehend both daily 'agenda' and overall biography" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 28). The clock coupled with calendar ensure that, indeed, the students in this study are "men and women of this time" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Only within a temporal structure Berger and Luckmann (1967) argue does everyday life retain its accent of reality. These students may have been affected or not affected by some of the experiences mentioned above. These experiences and countless others are still part of their ontological maps, have distinct meanings to different students, while agreeing on some but not all aspects of the common experience (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). All of the students have continued to reassert their humanity in various ways as they encounter the "everyday" of their present schooling life. Moreover,

they have instinctively reoriented themselves within the temporal structure of everyday life by continuously reclaiming their authenticity through their words, their reading of the world, and their litany of experiences. Hence "re-entering the reality of everyday life" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967) for and within the everyday. "Events, persons, objects are indeed tangible entities. The meanings and order to make sense of them, organize them, or reorganize a belief syustem, however, are constructed realities" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 84).

Research suggests that students' attitude do change while participating in a multicultural course but that change diminishes as time passes (Grant & Secada, 1990). Within our required Multicultural Education course at our institution, we are promoting educational experiences that will assist students to enhance their perspectives about class, race, ethnicity, linguistic, gender, exceptionalities, and age within a pluralistic and diverse society. We have an understanding of how to 'reach' those students who are already convinced about the need for an multicultural education (Bennet, Okinaka &. Xiao-yang, 1988). However, we encounter in our classes students who have "stereotyped knowledge" about ethnically or racially distinct learners (Gay, 1985), who harbor limited gender perspectives, and other limitations that may deter their understandings of a pluralistic and diverse society.

This study examines pre-service students' contructed ontological perspectives about a racial incident as presented in the popular press. This framework provides an anchor to further our understanding as to how students construct "meaning" of a multicultural reality as well as sensitivity to that reality. This framework assists us to probe into our students' illustrated knowledge and understanding of cultural and social inequities. Finally, this framework reveals whether or not students' perspectives reflect an internalized ideology that may justify the racial status quo and the devaluing of cultural diversity (King, 1992; Tatum, 1992).

Methodology

In our Teacher Education Program, all undergraduate teacher education students are required to take a multicultural education course after their admittance to the Teacher Education Program. For many of our students, this usually occurs in their junior year of college. The multicultural education course is a three hundred level course.

The college of Education has a total enrollment of 1469 (Fall 1992). Of these, 1096 students are female and 373 students are male. In terms of ethnicity, there are 62.8% European Americans, 33.2% Hispanic Americans, 2.5% Native Americans, 1.2% African Americans and .3% Asian Americans.

During the fall 1992 semester 118 students were enrolled in two sections of multicultural education. Our study canvassed one of these sections which had a population of 65 students. Of these 65 students, 46 were female and 19 were male. The ethnic distribution was 33 European Americans, 26 Hispanic Americans, 2 Native Americans, 1 Asian American and three student declined to answer. No African American students were enrolled in this section. The age range of the students was from 21 to 53; the average age was twenty-one. Of the students enrolled, thirty-nine identified themselves as elementary students; twenty-three declared secondary education as their major and three indicated that they were seeking K-12 certification. There were twenty juniors, and forty-five seniors enrolled in the course. (The number of seniors taking this course is important to consider. Since this is a 300 level course, one would assume that students would enroll in the course as a junior. Having spoken with several students we discovered that many students waited until the end of their program to take this course. We can only conjecture that many were not comfortable with the topic.)

Procedure

At the start of the semester, students were asked to participate in this study. Assurances were given that students responses would remain anonymous and that their participation and responses had no reflection on their grades.

We chose two newspaper articles from the local paper to serve as our dilemmas. We felt that it was important to identify two stories that came from the national news and thus, popular culture. We had discussed creating dilemmas that students would need to think through much like a case study. But we decided against the laboratory approach because we felt that students may think that these were contrived incidents and thus, of no consequence. We wanted real stories with real people and their reactions.

The first dilemma (Appendix A) was entitled "Tomahawk Chops Upset Some American Indians." This dilemma described the story of the protest by a group of Native Americans against the Atlanta Braves' fans use of the "tomahawk chop" at the start of the World Series with the Minnesota Twins. This story had been broadcasted on national television and radio news and had been distributed by the Associated Press which our local paper picked up.

The second dilemma (Appendix B) concerned the use of Indian symbols, including nicknames, among athletic teams. This dilemma described how the Wisconsin Attorney General approved legislation that would ban the use of Native American names and symbols for use as mascots in the public schools. This story, though not provided national exposure on television and radio, had also been distributed by the Associated Press and presented in our local paper. Each of these dilemmas presented both points of view as stated by the representatives of the opposing parties.

At the start of the semester students were presented with the first dilemma. On the front page of the packet, students were asked for information regarding, for example, gender, ethnicity, age, college standing, major and place of birth. Students were requested not to provide their names or social security numbers. We wanted students to feel that their responses would remain anonymous. After providing the demographics, students were instructed to read and respond to the dilemma on the paper provided. Students were given thirty minutes for this task. At the end of the semester, students were asked to provide the same information and to perform the same task with the second dilemma.

Since students' names and social security numbers were not used, we could not match responses for the pre and post reactions to the dilemmas. Though the process of comparing specific demographic data such as: gender, age, college standing, major and ethnicity presented reasonable and probable matches, we felt that admitting such matches were not fair to the students nor to the intent of the study.

Analysis of the Material

Objectives: The following three objectives guided us as we analyzed the content to each of the respondents' reactions to the dilemmas:

1. Provide a content analysis of students' written perspectives regarding two dilemmas that describe a racial incident in which two perspectives are delineated from the popular press.
2. To understand students' "perspectives" of a multicultural reality and sensitivity to that reality.
3. To determine whether the students' perspectives reflect internalized ideologies that may justify the racial status quo and the devaluing of cultural diversity (King, 1992; Tatum, 1992).

Making Decisions about the themes: Each member of the research team read the pre and post responses and compiled notes on their reactions to the responses. The team met and discussed general reactions and from these discussions three broad themes emerged: *denial*, *ambivalence* and *"valuing the other"*. A response was judged to be in the *denial* theme when the respondents affirmed the fans' right to cheer their team; perceived the use of such Native American symbols as ways to honor the Native American; and, the respondent negated how these stereotypical, behaviors may influence and harm how people view Native Americans. For example in dilemma number one, Native Americans

were overreacting and/or the fans did not mean any harm. Thus, respondents' responses judged under this theme did not apprehend how the use of the "tomahawk chop" or Native American names and symbols could be insulting to the Native American Community.

A response was judged to be in the *ambivalence* theme when the respondents could see both sides of the argument as portrayed in the dilemmas. The student, however, ended their discussion with no specific solution and in fact, often, finished with a fragmentable question of how can we resolve this "complicated issue." For example, in the first dilemma students would agree with one side of the dilemma article, then stipulate that the opposing side also had a point. Or, if a respondent had stated confusion over the complexity of the issue and felt that the argument did not have a solution.

A response was judged to be in the *"valuing the other"* theme when the respondent's perspective thought about the entire argument as reported but the respondent took a position made a definitive decision. The decision implicitly or explicitly stated that if a cultural group is being denigrated by certain behaviors then these behaviors need to cease. For example, the respondents within this theme felt that the use of the "tomahawk chop" and other Native American symbols were inappropriate. These respondents stated that the practice should not be tolerated, even if one Native American felt insulted by the "tomahawk chop." In other words, we should respect the thoughts and feelings of the "other."

From our analysis of the data, we found that for the first dilemma, twenty-seven of the students' responses fit into the *denial* theme; fifteen students' responses fit into the *ambivalence* theme and twenty-three students' responses fit into the *"valuing the other"* theme. From the responses to the second dilemma, thus, after the multicultural education course, we placed twenty-four students' responses were judged to be in the *denial* theme; eleven students' responses were judged into the *ambivalence* theme and twenty students' responses were judged into *"valuing the other"* theme. Two students did not attend the final class.

Denial

Denial responses to the first dilemma. Our use of the term denial refers to those students' responses that rejected the Native American argument that such actions as the "tomahawk chop" and accompanying chants were derogatory. In essence, students denied that such actions could be construed as prejudicial, racist, or both. Furthermore, the students' responses focused on their individual perspective and the rights of the fans and refused to acknowledge the Native American perspective and their right to protest.

Of the sixty-five students who responded to the first dilemma, twenty-seven respondents (42%) were placed in this category of denial. Of the twenty-seven students, sixteen identified themselves as European American; seven as Hispanic American; one as an Asian American and one as a Native American. Two of the respondents did not answer the section on ethnicity. There were seventeen females and ten males. The majors identified by the students were seven secondary, seventeen elementary and three indicated

a major with K-12 certification. Nineteen of the students were seniors and eight were juniors. Students ages ranged from 20 to 53 years old.

From these respondents, seven general categories of responses were identified. Students' responses either only had one argument or they gave several reasons for their position. The dominant argument that students presented was that the fans did not mean any harm and that the issue in itself is not a serious issue. The following seven categories describe the students' responses:

1. No harm intended - These responses explicitly stated that the fans' actions were not meant to be harmful or derogatory. The fans were only trying to have fun and support their team.

2. Mascots and symbols proudly represent the Native American - Students described how the Native American community should be proud that their cultural artifacts and traditions were chosen. Thus, the use of the name Braves indicates the "strength and nobility of the Indian." Several Hispanics responded that they would have been proud to have their culture represented in such a manner.

3. This is not a serious issue - Students' responses ranged from those who stated simply that the issue is ridiculous, for example, "It's just a baseball game" to those who felt that there were far more important issues to contend with such as AIDS and homelessness. The Native American student felt that more important issues on the reservation needed attention rather than wasting one's energy on this issue.

4. Emphasizing differences is the problem - Students stated that the emphasis on cultural differences was creating an atmosphere of divisiveness. some lashed out at the concept of political correctness. Others pleaded that we should get along. We're all Americans.

5. Individuals discriminate; individuals get hurt - Students argued that it was perhaps individual fans who acted irresponsible and therefore, intentionally harmed the Native American tradition. For these students, it was the intentions behind the actions that determined whether or not the action was harmful or derogatory. Thus, there were good fans and there were bad fans. Some placed the burden of proof into the Native Americans. In this manner, several students stated that they have been called names and made fun of. Their response was that the best thing to do was to ignore the name-calling because you know who you are and that's all that matters. One student suggested that those who were complaining perhaps needed some counseling.

Also, in this category, students separated out the good Indians from the bad Indians who were complaining and protesting. The students' argument was that not all Indians were complaining so it must be just a few troublemakers.

6. Ethnic hazing - Students dismissed the argument and perspective of the Native American community by suggesting that all ethnic groups have to endure this type of ridicule. Stereotyping and mockery are part of the price an ethnic group pays in order to be accepted into the American culture.

7. Loss of economic benefit - A few students identified an economic benefit for retaining the chant and accompanying paraphernalia. They stated how several Native American tribes were making the tomahawks and drums and thus, economically benefiting from the activity. Thus, to remove or ban the chant and accompanying items would cause an economic loss to several tribes.

For the first dilemma these seven categories represented the various arguments by students for refusing to accept the Native American protest against use of the "tomahawk chop" and the chant. Respondents to the second dilemma, also, shared these similar arguments.

Denial responses to the second dilemma. For the second dilemma, therefore, after completion of the multicultural education course, twenty-four respondents (38%) of a total of sixty-three students argued against the Attorney General's position to stop and to cease using Native American names and mascots for public school sport teams. Of these twenty-four students, fourteen were European American; six were Hispanic American; one was an Asian American; one was a Native American and two students declined to declare their ethnicity. Eighteen of these students were females and six were males. Fourteen students had declared elementary education as their major; nine identified themselves as secondary education majors and one was seeking a K-12 certification. Sixteen of these students were seniors; seven students were juniors and one student declined to provide an answer. The age range was 21 to 53 years old and the average age equaled 21 years old.

There are some demographic differences between the two groups of student respondents: for example, the first group had ten males and seventeen female respondents: the second group had six males and eighteen female respondents. Similarly, the college majors and college standing of the two groups differed. Therefore, not all of the students who were in the denial theme for their response to the first dilemma answered the same way to the second dilemma. It is apparent from the demographics that some students remained in the denial theme for both responses and a very small number changed their response to the second dilemma which placed them in a different theme. And a very small number of students were placed in a different theme based on their response to the first dilemma. The demographic differences among the group respondents is very small indicating a small shift in the respondents' perspective. These slight differences, however, are not apparent in the quality of the reasoning and argument provided to dismiss the attorney general's argument to stop the use of Native American names and symbols.

One third of these respondents stated that their views had not changed since their first response to the first dilemma. For example, this response from a twenty-five year old,

European American female senior elementary major, embodies several of the arguments identified above.

> Although I have had multicultural education for a whole sixteen weeks now, my opinion hasn't changed on this matter since the beginning of the semester! I think this idea of discrimination is realiy ridiculous! Professional and school ball teams have always had names such as the one's listed [in this article]. I don't see it as discriminatory at all...I think the energies of these types of efforts should focus more on problems like AIDS and homelessness. (Emphasis in text).

Similarly, a twenty-one year old, European American female senior elementary major stated:

> I don't know. I realize that we need to be culturally conscious and "fair." However, I still feel the same about this as I did at the beginning of the semester. I think these Indians who are upset about this are getting way out of hand.

The students' responses to the second dilemma did not changed in content or in quality or sophistication. Some theorists have argued that more knowledge regarding issues of race and racism have resulted in students having a more sophisticated means to rationalize racism (e. g., Allport, 1958; Helms, 1991). As we compared the responses of the first group with the second group, the similar argument and reasoning were very apparent.

Several of the respondents in this theme decided not to respond to the article but rather discussed issues that they felt were relevant to them. One chose to speak about the horrors of abortion and condemn its supporters. A second student provided several biblical quotes that suggested the downfall of civilization. And the third respondent felt that the good doctors should read Rush Limbaugh.

In our analysis of the two groups' responses, we find a set of false assumptions underlying their arguments. These false assumptions are indicative of arguments that rationalize the system of racism.

1. The first false assumption centers on the individual. The individual is the focal point of the argument. For example, respondents state that it is the individual fan's right to cheer his or her team in the manner that he or she chooses. Furthermore, this individualistic focus is expressed when the respondent argues that it is the bad intentions of the individual fan that needs to be eradicated. Therefore, it is bad individuals who are demeaning the symbols and traditions of the Native American. Thus, conflict remains on the individual level. Also, it is individual Native Americans who are complaining not the entire community, that is, not every individual Native American.

This focus on the individual negates the notion of group dynamics, for example, inter and intra group conflict. It dismisses the idea that groups may have interests to protect and to promote. This focus on individualism, however, reflects a cultural and

ideological hegemony (Apple, 1990). An ideology of individualism constructed on the false premise of a meritocratic society. This meritocratic premise is a foundation of our American education system (Hurn, 1985). The meritocratic ideal champions the ethics of hard work toward the achievement of one's dream. It is a dream open to each individual regardless of his or her place in life. Thus, the individual needs to relinquish his or her "old world" traditions in order to participate in the American dream. This myth is apparent in those students who felt that to speak about differences was the problem and for those students who refused to name their ethnicity or stated that it was not important to know or who wrote "American." Each individual is asked to deny their group memberships. It is only individuals who are racist, sexist, and homophobic.
A denial of group membership and inter and intragroup conflict also denies the possibility of a system of oppression. The systemic nature of oppression remains hidden. The KKK is not an out growth of a racist system but rather a group of individuals who are racist. Date rape is not the result of an ideology and culture of misogyny but rather individual men who happen to drink too much or are teased and seduced by a coquette. Keeping to an individualistic ideology, ethnically distinct students, such as African Americans, Latino Americans, Asian Americans, to name a few, are not pushed out of a racist system of schooling. They are lazy individuals who have bad parents.

2. Students' responses reflect a lack of historical knowledge and perspective. The majority of the respondents did not even present an historical perspective in constructing their argument. For those who attempted to apply an historical perspective, the perspective was falsely applied. For example, this twenty-one year old, European American, female junior secondary English major explained:

> Okay, so Indians are offended by this, fine. But let's query Braves' fans and see how many are doing the tomahawk chop to offend Indians. I know I am a Braves' fan and I know that the team is a sub-institution of American baseball...
> It's not a racist act the Braves have been doing for the past 80 years, it's a symbol of their brotherhood. There are a lot of Indian tribes in the Southeast and that's why the Braves were named as such. If they were from California, things would ha ɔ been different.

This student fan seems to forget that the Braves are a recent transplant to the southeast. Furthermore, there is no historical consciousness that addresses the idea that many of the Indian tribes of the southeast were forcefully removed from their land. And are things to be different in California because of the decimation of the Native American population in that state, so there appears to be no Indian presence? A lack of historical knowledge is also apparent when students question the timing of the protest and question the seriousness of the issue. Several students pondered about why didn't the Native Americans start protesting at the very first game that the tomahawk chop appeared. They felt that it was in bad taste for the Indians to start complaining now rather than at the

beginning of the season. One student even remarked that the protest was at the World Series because the Indians just wanted publicity.

This last remark exemplifies how the respondents dismiss the political nature of the protest. The best time to receive national exposure and to present your community's perspective is at a national sports event. The politics of the protest are removed from the arguments and remains focus on a few "uppity" Indians to spoil the game. This lack of a historical consciousness also becomes apparent when respondents suggested that the Native Americans should have complained when these teams first took these names. But the students neglect to recall the historical context and the plight of the Native American community and they do not recognize the role of power in who bestows names on teams.

This lack of a historical perspective and the lack of historical knowledge indicates the cumulative breath of the problem facing multicultural educators. Students come to our courses with limited knowledge and understanding of the histories of African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, Latino Americans as well as non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic European Americans and women, let alone the stories and histories of gays and lesbians and their specific marginality. This condition, however, is not just a college or university issue where students simply are not choosing to take ethnic, women, or labor studies. This is a condition that is *endemic* to schooling and reflects what is *missing* from our public school curriculum.

Ambivalence

Ambivalent Responses to the First Dilemma. Our use of the term ambivalence refers to those students judged as simultaneously attracted toward and repulsed from such action as the "tomahawk chop". Of the sixty-five students who responded to the first dilemma, fifteen respondents (23%) were placed in the theme of ambivalence. Of the fifteen students, eight identified themselves as European Americans and seven identified themselves as Hispanic Americans. Ten respondents were female and five were male. Of the fifteen, eight were secondary education majors, six were elementary majors and one was both, seeking a K-12 degree in physical education. Seven students were juniors and eight were seniors. The students ranged in age from twenty to thirty-nine.

Four categories surfaced from the students' responses. Those follow:

1. I Don't Desire to Decide: The common, overriding pattern that surfaces among both Hispanic and European American students is the belief that there are two sides to the issue. In fact, three of seven Hispanic student responses opened with the three statements that follow:

- "First of all, let me say that I can relate to both sides of this article."
- "I have comments for both sides of the arguments."
- "I've always been known to stay neutral and see both sides of an issue."

Four of eight European American students opened their responses in the following ways:

- "My feelings are a little mixed on the issue."
- "Wow! I'm not really sure how to react."
- "It is very difficult for me to form an opinion for one side or the other because both sides have made valid points."
- "Clearly the article shows both sides of the story and it is very easy to understand both side [sic]."

A fifth European American student had the following as the second sentence in her essay: "I can see both viewpoints."

2. Flexible Altruism: In inquiring why students wanted to be teachers, many presented altruistic reasons, championing learners. But the learner, apparently, must be one of a very idealistic profile. If the learner carries a cultural symbolism away from that ideal, and worse defends it, it loses the teacher-in-becoming support. Thus, students notions of becoming teachers occurs within the boundaries of using the cultural capital students bring to within the contexts of sports or advertising and outside of ethnic practice.

3. Questionable Democracy Decision: Cutting across all responses and related to the students' indecision is a feeling that democracy rules. If the issue is controversial, vote to see what the majority says. Never mind cultural ownership. "Arrive at a solution," one student said. This certainly captures how a voting republic does its business but it blurs the students' notions of a democracy.

4. Simply Not Caring: Strikingly the student responses manifest their indecision. At once their feelings extend from the position of "It is not meant to be derogatory" to "The Indians have a point." Another student said, "It can be damaging, but this has been taken too far." The students' indecision implies more a sense of not caring and just not wanting to be bothered by the dilemma posed.

Discussion: Students whose responses fall in the theme of ambivalence pose very special concerns. Their responses to this dilemma (Tomahawk Chop) in support of Bellecourt are so reasonable and well stated, suggesting that they understand the issue. But so quickly they confuse the issue with a contrary expression. Their indecision begs the question, "What experience, person or information will awaken them?" It could be argued that the Hispanic American students would more easily see the issue since most, if not all, Hispanic Americans have been racialized to some degree. While not widely traveled in terms of an established home outside of the Southwest, the experiences even there would appear to enlighten their judgment. It does not appear to happen. The European American students, on the other hand, have traveled widely in the United States and have established residences widely (although perhaps in European American

neighborhoods) across the nation. Yet, their essays reflect similar lack of commitment and understanding of the issues involved.

Ambivalence Responses to the Second Dilemma. Eleven of sixty-three students (17%) who responded to the second dilemma were placed in the ambivalent theme. Of the eleven, six were Hispanic Americans and five perceived themselves as European Americans. Six were female and five were male. Six were elementary education majors, four were secondary education majors, with there being three juniors and eight seniors. The age ranges for these students are twenty-two to forty-two. Upon close scrutiny, it was determined that only two of these eleven had been classified as Ambivalent in the first dilemma. Five categories of responses appear top surface. Those are the following:

1. I Don't Desire to Decide Part II. The students' responses continue to reflect indecision. They appear to still be caught in the seriousness ("Obviously these students are bothered by their school team names.") and the "playfulness" ("Names and symbols should not and do not necessarily represent a certain race of people.") Implied is that the name is only for the game.

2. Democracy Rules Syndrome. More prevalent than in the responses to the first dilemma were the responses to the second that somehow voting resolves the issue. Consistently, the students direct that voting by a student body should decide whether or not to use a symbol. The votes, in fact, allowed the students to "now know that their opinions count." Ironically, many of the Hispanic Americans that were judged in this category fail to see how majority voting has in fact negated their own cultural capital and has in many instances proven detrimental to having their concerns ever voiced.

3. Wipe out the Shelf. Rather widely implied and then directly stated is that "mascots" should come from names not ethnically connected. One student said, "...you should also take away names like the 'Fighting Irish'..." Another student asks that offensive names be removed but warns, "don't replace one misrepresentation with another". Lastly, one respondent rather sarcastically says, "The transition of monikers should be done in an accommodating manner with respect to all. Animals don't care if humans use their names of course [sic] that's always a safe bet."

4. Questionable Rationalism? A couple of puzzling mixes in the responses appear to need mentioning. In rationalizing the use of ethnic symbols, two students say the following:

- "Why not use your own race figures as a school logo. For example, if our schools here in the South part of New Mexico [sic] wanted to use a Hispanic figure like a mariachi, I would feel very proud." (24 year-old Hispanic female)

- I think you have to respect the culture. I feel the original logo is not belittling the culture, but then again, I'm not Indian or Indian descent. I personally would be proud as a Hispanic to display such a proud emblem."

5. Decide not to Decide A consistent pattern that continued to surface in this second dilemma is that students continue to slide along the proverbial east-west continuum. This category, in fact, can become the summary for the total responses to the second dilemma. As the responses were studied, they appeared so reasonable in defense of the issue, yet they faltered by allowing the issue to whither by not provide enough information, by reliance on judgment structures outside themselves, or by rationalizations that border on, at least insecurity, and, at worse, maladjustment.

Valuing the Other

"Valuing the Other" responses to the first dilemma. When we use the concept theme *"valuing the other,"* we refer to those students' responses that genuinely considered the Native American arguments that such actions as the "tomahawk chop" and accompanying chants were derogatory, insensitive, and stereotypical. Most students seriously considered the point of view of the Native Americans and rejected the premise made by many of the fans in the dilemma article that they were "just having fun." These students did not necessarily consider the fans' or the baseball team's gestures as racists or even prejudicial, but they were adamant in their understanding of the Native American's perspective. Some of the students illustrated a resentment for the fans' insensitivity, distaste for the fans' "tomahawk chop" rationale, and some respondents provided action-oriented essays for becoming socially responsible.

Twenty-three respondents (35%) were judged to be in the theme of *"valuing the other."* The nineteen females and the four males identified themselves into seven ethnic or pseudo-ethnic descriptions. Two respondents identified themselves as Mexican Americans, ten identified themselves as Hispanic or "Hispanic American," five identified themselves as Anglo, two White, one Irish, one German-Irish, one European American, and one forty-three-year-old male respondent stated (within the demographic sheet "ethnicity" category) "unimportant-who cares." In this cohort, there were fifteen elementary majors and eight secondary majors, seventeen were seniors, five juniors, and one sophomore. Students' ages ranged from twenty-two to forty-seven years old.

Seven over-lapping categories surfaced from the respondents judged as *"valuing the other."*. All respondents except one had multiple reasons for their strong disagreements with the fans as well as forceful agreements with the Native American perspective. Interestingly, the predominant category that surfaced in many of the respondents' essays was one of historical/religious/cultural pre-understandings. The seven categories will be discussed reflecting the students' arguments:

1. Historical/Religious/Cultural Pre-understandings - It was not always clear whether the students were responding to one aspect of this category or to all three. What was

clear was the students' pre-understandings of the Native Americans argument based on more that folk knowledge of the group. These respondents had at worst superficial knowledge (but not stereotypical) and at best deep knowledge of Native Americans. One student wrote

> "What I understand that maybe less sensitive people don't understand is that the Native American isn't particularly proud of that image [savage warrior] (no matter how complimentary it was meant, i.e., honoring the Indians' tenacity and skill in battle). It's an image that violates the Native Americans' desire to be at one with nature...".

Continuing on a religious and cultural pattern, another student writes

> "The American Indian had very religious meanings behind the painting of faces and still do. This even today has deep meanings that reflect their culture, and people need to remember this, and keep in mind that the American Indian's self esteem has been stepped on long enough."

Adding meaning to the sacred/traditional practices of the tomahawk, war paint, and the use of the ceremonial drum, a student remarks "Indians are people who for many years have practiced these ways and made them a part of their culture." Similarly, a student asserted the sacred/traditional practices of Native American by writing

> "Ceremonial headdresses and tom-toms are extremely important and are deeply valued in some Indian cultures to use them in any other way than what they were intended for is blasphemous."

A great majority of the respondents included this category in their essays. They were willing to address their concerns and, in turn, their sometimes vehement disagreement with the fans.

2. Stereotypes and Stereotyping of Native Americans - Students found the actions of the fans as over generalized and stereotypical about and toward the Native American community. Some stated that the fans' stereotype-cast behavior of the Native American was "extremely offensive." One student remarked that the fans' practice actually "reinforc[ed] a stereotype." Similarly, a student stated

> "This type of stereotyping by White people is negative and leaves a negative impact or impressions on today's society....It seems that today's society has been preprogrammed to have a mental image of what Indians do and what they wear, look like, etc."

Another student noted

"It is not a considerate thing to do to stereotype a whole group of people in a negative way...It is an incorrect historical image that is being continued through this behavior."

Because of the power of the popular media (TV), a student remarked how degrading the stereotypical behavior of the fans was towards Native Americans and insightfully concluded the negative impact such stereotyping was having on millions of people watching the World Series. Another student not only brings in the TV images but also shows how stereotyping is part of all minorities' everyday

"Minorities are tired of being stereotyped. The Indians with their headdresses and tomahawks, the Hispanics with the stereotypical view of always dancing "salsa", low rider vehicles and beans and tortillas....There are millions of people watching the games [i.e., World Series] on TV and the only way they portray the American Indian is wild, with a tomahawk in hand, headdress and chanting. You never see the Indian portrayed as educated. This happens with all minorities."

3. To be Considerate and Respectful of Native Americans - Many of the students lamented the disrespect communicated to a group of people, Native Americans. Others commented on how the fans' stereotypical mimicking of Native Americans undermined the cultural importance of the group. These cultures should be "valued," "conserved," and, in turn, "respected." Because of this lack of respect, a student simply stated that the fan's practice "should be stopped." Another concerned student asserted

"I feel that the rights of Indians are being violated, in a demeaning way. Even though the fans aren't trying to be mean or unthoughtful toward the Indian race. They are!! They could be insulting some type of religious meaning or symbol they have."

Enhancing this category, a student stipulates

"if just a part of a group finds the [fans'] behavior repulsive, we must be considerate of their feelings. [in reference to the Atlanta Braves] There are too many names a sports team can use---we need not defame a part of our citizenry."

In a variety of ways students intensified the importance of this category by consistently reminding the reader that respecting the Native American was of paramount importance.

4. Empathy and (sometimes) Sympathy - Students were torn between seeing the lack of understanding by the fans of the Native American perspective and by their own feelings of resigned remorse. This created a sense of sympathy for the Native Americans because of the fans' cultural callousness. Notwithstanding one student affirmed "...Indians have

every right to fight and to try and stop any racial or demeaning thing that is being done to their culture."

5. Not Thinking/Thoughtless Behavior - Many students believed that the fans just didn't know any better. Even some of the *"valuing the other"* respondents admitted that if the issue had not been brought to the surface by the dilemma, that they would not have thought about it and probably would continue accepting the "tomahawk chop" behavior as part of normal-everyday-life. One student was "angered" that such thoughtless behavior would occur against a group of people and, simultaneously, "resigned" to knowing that such behavior would continue. In parallel with this angered and resigned student, another respondent provides a reason

> "Well, I feel like these fans probably didn't think of it as being offensive to Native Americans, and I think that's the problem in itself: people don't *think*" [emphasis in text].

6. Holding a Mirror - This metaphor describes well how many students projected themselves into the Native American experience or had experienced something similar. Because of their personal or vicarious experiences with ethnicity, the students put forth that the fans needed to look at themselves as Native American. An Anglo female respondent wrote "I would also be angry and hurt if a group of people were portraying my culture in a way that was offensive to me." A Mexican American female understands the anger Native American feel "I have always been stereotyped by the Anglo citizens as lazy or I should say the Mexican race." Both of these respondents either vicariously or experientially have *made a choice* to feel or have felt what the "other" feels/experiences. Another student declared that "[i]f my race, culture or family was being mocked or made fun of, I know I would be furious." Keeping to her Irish ethnicity and her 'valuing of the other', another student writes

> "How would we react if a team used a slur of our Africans Americans? I'm Irish and am somewhat offended by the stereotype perpetuated by Notre Dame."

These as well as other respondents provided background that illustrated that their judgment call was based on "re-called" events that would serve as a lens for future events such as the one encountered by this dilemma.

7. Social Action - A small group of students (3) provided a unique dimension to the category of *"valuing the other."* These students offered a solution that impacted on the person, the group, or both. These students illustrated a sense of direction to overcome, change, dismantle racists' attitudes. One student, for example, felt that

> "they [Native Americans] should be able to take certain teams to court and have them change their names or put a stop to sales on certain items such [as] tomahawks or headbands."

Thinking of how names can actually hurt, one student maintains

> "Using derogatory names such as Red skins, should not be allowed by any organization, no matter how much money they rake in each year. Such names only promote hatred and disrespect. *We, as a nation of many cultures, should not promote that kind of indecency*" (emphasis ours).

These students are beginning to create a state of *praxis* (Freire, 1970) not just on the "self" but how they interact with others and how they believe they can impact society.

Discussion

As mentioned above, these categories under the theme *"valuing the other"* greatly overlap. In one sense, the categories provide a montage that illustrate the overlapping and complex views that these students are struggling with. Even though a few of the students in this cohort may not be fully convinced to the implications of the fans' overt prejudicial behavior toward Native Americans, they have initiated an internal dialog where the "other" will not be an anonymous configuration (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) easily dehumanized and quickly considered a "thing." The majority of those responding in this cohort have, for the most part, seriously considered the weightiness of the Native American's protest against the use of the "tomahawk chop" and the chant; and, are making decisions to support the issue and to defeat such behavior. Similar yet more pronounced decisions by respondents are made to the second dilemma.

"Valuing the other" responses to the Second Dilemma. This time around, twenty respondents (32%) were judged to be in the theme of *"valuing the other,"* three less from the first dilemma. While fifteen females and three males identified themselves into six ethnic or pseudo-ethnic descriptions, two respondents took a different tact: one male wrote "According to Nieto[1]--none; however, I consider myself American--and, oh yes, by the way, white"; the other forty-five-year-old male simply wrote "other" in the ethnicity category. One respondent identified herself as Hispanic/Mexican American, seven identified themselves as Hispanic or "Hispanic American," two identified themselves as Anglo, five White, two European Americans, one Irish, and one French American. When compared with the first dilemma cohort, only eight Hispanic/Mexican Americans were judged in this theme compared to twelve the first time around. Similarly, two identified with the description of Anglo compared to five the first time around. In contrast, two identified with white while this time around five selected the term white; two selected

[1] The text used in the Multicultural Education course is *Affirming Diversity* by Sonia Nieto

European American compared to one the last time; and, this second time, one identified herself as French American. In the first and second dilemma, a respondent who identified with the Irish ethnicity is included. In this cohort, there were fourteen elementary majors, five secondary majors, and one elementary major interested in mid-school, sixteen were seniors, three juniors, and one did not indicate class status. Students' ages ranged from twenty-one to forty-eight years old.

Five major categories surfaced from the respondents judged as *"valuing the other"*: stereotyping, respect, double-standards, language of hope, and awareness and acceptance of differences/cultures. Some of these major categories such as "stereotyping" and "respect" overlapped heavily among several of the respondents. Two single yet strong categories also surfaced: minority indoctrination and holding a mirror. Some of the respondents essays tended to be more reflective and sophisticated, of course some others stated that their ideas had not changed from the previous query and added only one, two, or three sentences to their response. In the first dilemma the predominant category that surfaced was historical/religious/cultural pre understandings. This time around the overwhelming category was a more sophisticated acknowledgment of stereotypes followed by respect. Four new categories that did not significantly surface when the first dilemma responses were analyzed will be discussed in this section: double-standards, hope, awareness and acceptance of differences/cultures, and minority indoctrination.

1. Stereotyping - As mentioned above this category was prevalent in many of the respondents' essays either implicitly or explicitly. Portraying of Native Americans inaccurately was a concern of many students. "[T]hese portrayals show the Indian people in only one very narrow view, thus creating stereotypes. If a group recognizes itself as being stereotypical, shouldn't we again listen?" wrote one white male student. He continues by asking some relevant questions:

> "This whole idea of insensitivity needs to be looked at over a broad spectrum. How many things, places, products, are named or symbolized by some type of ethnic implication? And then the next question should be, was it done to honor? or need to mock? or to entertain a stereotype?

An Anglo female student writes

> "It is easy to see how the "typical Indian is portrayed, almost in a commercial sense. The Indian is always seen with beautiful, traditional headdress and costume, looking somber and proud. It always appears as though Indians are a unique people, and indeed they are! So is every group of people, that is special and unique....We cannot hole stereotypes of any group of people. Every person is unique and individual, while at the same time holding deep rooted ties to culture and heritage."

A Hispanic female taken aback by stereotypes in the popular culture writes "so many advertisements are so stereotypical. I never really thought about or I should say

become aware of the stereotypes that occur in society." This respondent as well as all the others were able to explain the role of media and popular culture to explain the distorted perceptions of a group--Native Americans. One respondent in particular, a twenty five year old senior Hispanic female with an elementary major asserts

> "The students don't know they are stereotyping or discriminating by acting out what they think "Indians" act like. It is societies fault for passing the myth about Native Americans being evil, non-hearted, cold, etc., because they are being portrayed via media as so."

There is language in the dilemma article that may have assisted with the respondents' line of thought. Notwithstanding, their responses articulated a concern and a deeper understanding by including indicators such as culture, the media, and questioning what is usually taken for granted.

2. Respect - This category was mentioned by several of the respondents. Most of the respondents took great pains to illustrate an esteem for Native American cultures. However, one respondent said it would appropriate if the Native Americans themselves used such motif. "The Indian cultural [sic] should be respected and only the Indians should use their logos." was the remark of one white forty-eight year old female. This is vague because the student may be implying that a group can generate disrespectful characters. Another white, female quickly states "I still feel if just one person is offended then the discrimination should be stopped. That's all I have to say." A twenty-eight year old European American female writes

> "If Indians feel strongly about this subject their wishes should be respected. My views have not changed from the first time....They've [Native Americans] been subjugated long enough!"

A twenty five year old female Hispanic however, makes a leap and includes all groups in her response:

> "This is related to all races because if all races treated each other with respect and saw more "good" then "bad" we would have less biases, stereotypes, and prejudices in this world."

This respondent echoes well the category of respect. Again, the respondents tended to be more critical of the dilemma and provided a more complete picture of what they were thinking.

3. Double-Standards - This was a new category that surfaced. The exemplars in this category poignantly reveal the respondents' disgust with the apparent contradictions of

how a group in power perceives a group perceived as the "other." Using strong language, this forty three year old white American male writes

> "For instance--why the Washington Red skins (which is equivalent to the "n word" for blacks) for a team in Washington, DC? This is offensive to me even (at one time I wouldn't have thought so...but now, having been awakened to its offensiveness to some of my fellow citizens, I can see why!) ...Chasing after the attorney general to see if it was legal for the school board to direct name changes was absurd--it should be done simply to right an injustice. I ~~hope~~ [sic] know this course has helped me to open my eyes and "put up my antennae" in order to help right the wrongs" [emphasis in text].

On a similar note the Irish forty five year old female writes

> "We wouldn't tolerate the use of nicknames for African Americans being used, why Indians? I, for one, would like to see the Red skins change their name. It is embarrassing to have the football team from our nation's capitol use such a slanderous name!

Both of the above respondents capture the essence of a double-standards and the use of such in the everyday. A Hispanic twenty-four years of age majoring in secondary social studies questions "Do we have mascots. called whites?" He answers his own question by speaking to the implied double-standard "If we did I'm sure that anglos would be just as upset. It's very insensitive to the Native American." A take-off to the double-standard category is explored by a forty five year old male (who describes himself as other) when he states

> "We would not consider taking the name of an individual and using it for a symbol for which the individual would object yet many of us feel it is perfectly acceptable to do this with a group."

The irony of double-standards is poignantly captured when the forty five year old Irish respondent reveals

> "The problem we have is that some tribes contribute to the problem. There are Native American tribes that own & operate factories that produce the caricatures and tomahawks. There are tribes in Michigan that have protested when the Indian names were changed because they said they were proud of the distinction. They, like many other minorities have been indoctrinated to accept the prejudice as "normal."

Ethnic/racial double-standards reflect the insidious nature of racism. The last exemplar captures mutual subversive relationships that can occur between those that oppress and in power, i.e., the sports' franchises, with those who are oppressed and hold very little

power, i.e., minority businesses. This "dancing with the oppressor" as Giroux (1993) has coined illustrates well the blind acceptance of double-standards and the duality of oppression (Macedo, 1993). Although respondents did not use the term categorically, it seems they were very much in touch with how double-standards are filtered into the everyday.

4. Language of Hope - This new category that surfaced captured the imaginations of some of the respondents. A French-American thirty nine year old female majoring in elementary education writes "It looks like we're finally on our way. So many changes need to be made, but we are finally making those changes." A Hispanic forty year old female majoring in secondary math glimmers "These stereotypes are so much a part of our culture, it will take lots of work to eradicate them, but thank heaven we have started. Accepting everyone's differences will help me accept myself more." Revealing the importance of culture a twenty three old Anglo female writes

> "I have learned how important culture is in making us what we are. Culture, any culture is special and deserves respect....Perhaps changes like the ones in the article [dilemma two], will wake some people up and maybe even abolish (to some degree, I hope) prejudice, stereotypes, and paradigm paralysis[2]" [emphasis in text].

A sense of what life could be like (Giroux, 1988) is articulated by these respondents and has, to some degree, taken a place in their thinking. The importance of legitimizing a democratic vision of life in the future has at least taken root. The language of hope as the language of possibility (Giroux, 1988) requires intellectual and emotional soil in order to take root. We can hope that these respondents entry into their respective careers will be one of a democratic socialization rather than authority laden and constricting so that there already rooted ideas will find the nurturing needed to grow.

5. Awareness and Acceptance of Differences/Cultures - Some of the respondents wrote that once aware we should be quicker to accept differences and cultures. A thirty four year old Anglo female wrote

> "If we find that something we are doing offends an ethnic group we should acknowledge that they can have those feelings and stop the activity to honor that feeling."

Accepting according to this twenty five year old White Female elementary major we must be all inclusive and committed to diversity. She writes

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[2] A term used in the multicultural education course to address the regidity of systems as well as when individuals cannot see beyond the stereotype of a racial, gender, or religious group. The term was coined by Joel Barker.

> "...all cultures involved need to recognize the others; points of view, wishes, beliefs, similarities and differences and come together to form an intelligent, responsible decision that each culture can benefit from; while maintaining respect among all involved. It would be naive of "either" culture's to think that their opinions and ideas were the only one" [emphasis in text].

In parallel to all inclusive and commitment to diversity a twenty four year old Hispanic (Mexican-American) female writes "My response is plain and simple-if an idea or concept is offensive to some we, as a society, should value and respect then respond in a respectful and enlightened way."

This category is closely tied with the respect category and many of the exemplars are interchangeable. Of importance and in contrast to the responses in the first dilemma is at least a growing need to accept difference and cultures at face value rather then applying their personal notions and values.

6. Minority indoctrination - Earlier the irony of double-standards was discussed as captured by a forty five year old Irish elementary major respondent. She writes

> "The problem we have is that some tribes contribute to the problem. There are Native American tribes that own & operate factories that produce the caricatures and tomahawks. There are tribes in Michigan that have protested when the Indian names were changed because they said they were proud of the distinction. They, like many other minorities have been indoctrinated to accept the prejudice as "normal."

This excerpt of her essay shows that she is critically thinking about the everyday and the oppressive hegemony (Apple, 1990) that is so common look normal. This respondent has taken an epistemological leap that hopefully will stay with her a she begins her teaching career.

7. Holding a mirror - This category was prevalent in the first dilemma. One would think that this category would only increase. This does not seem to be the case. Only one twenty five year old Hispanic female weakly mentioned this train of thought. She simply stated "...I personally would not want my race on a banner for everyone to see." During the writing of the first dilemma we had several Hispanic and some European American "hold the mirror" and respond accordingly. In the second dilemma this did not seem to surface.

Discussion

Again three categories under the theme ***"valuing the other"*** greatly overlap: stereotyping, respect, and double-standards. As in the first dilemma, the categories provide a montage that illustrate the overlapping and complex views the students are struggling with. This time around, however, the language used to express their

disagreement or dislike was more precise and expressive. This seems to indicate that at least these students perceived the dilemma more critically. In some cases, a more intense understanding of the normalcy of dominant hegemonic structures that undermine respect of and for diversity in a pluralistic, democratic society was expressed. The categorical discussion of "double-standard" was well articulated by the respondents. Most of them "turned things around" in order to showplace the malice implied by the use of Native American logos or motifs. These respondents mentioned the ease with which malice was accepted toward the Native American but doubted if the same acceptance would occur if it was towards dominant European American groups. The "language of hope," also a new category, has become part of some respondents' thinking. Providing the opportunity for these students to create praxis (Freire, 1970) in their future teacher education classes may serve as the spark to promote a commitment to social justice (Nieto, 1992). Finally, in contrasts to responses in this first dilemma, the students in th e the second dilemma are convinced to the stereotype casts of Native Americans and to the double standards endemic in the discourse of logos and motifs. These respondents took a stronger stance against racist acts. As well, respondents were quicker to accept differences of cultures and to accept the notion of culture at face value. Even though only one respondent addressed the category of "minority indoctrination," her response illustrated how she had humanized both the victimizers (franchise owners) and the victims (Native Americans) (Nieto, 1992) and made it clear that the victims must also take deliberate responsibility for those actions that may perpetuate stereotypes and the acceptance of double-standards. It seems that at least some of the respondents have honed their internal dialog and genuinely "value the other" by how they have constructed their responses to the dilemmas presented.

Conclusion

Our initial reasons for undertaking this study was to further our own understanding of our students' constructions (ideas, beliefs, attitudes) about multicultural issues. We sought to understand how their perspectives of pertinent issues, and especially race, were constructed. In other words what did they perceive and how did they understand the dilemmas involved in issues such as race and racism. And we wanted to know how our multicultural education course may affect their view of the world.

We now have a better understanding of our students' perspectives. We see that a majority of our students enter into our multicultural education course with a linear perspective of the world (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Their attitudes and beliefs largely reflect the racial status quo. We have also realized that, for the most part, our multicultural education course has little effect on students' developing perspectives. This finding, however, sadly appears to be consistent with the present state of affairs of multicultural education, namely, that for most students multicultural education has little effect (Grant & Secada, 1990). In this final section, we will explore our understanding of how our students come to us with their somewhat myopic perceptions and remain

unaffected; and, to present an educational strategy to better enhance our students' understanding of multiculturalism in a diverse and pluralistic society.

We see that our educational strategy needs to confront three knowledge domains: (1) the personal, (2) the historical, and (3) the ideological and cultural. These knowledge domains represent terrains of students' "everyday" experiences. Experiences that should be addressed by multicultural educators. Each domain will be briefly discussed:

The personal. Our experience as educators inform us that students come to our classes as racial, gendered and classed beings. Furthermore, these constructed social identities need to be explored, examined and understood because of the interactions these simultaneous identities will have on the teacher as well as the intended learners who also bring their race, class, and gender into the educational enterprise(Giroux, 1983; Foster, 1990). Thus, it is important to focus on the personal constructions of the everyday of our students' lives as racial, gendered and classed beings.

Research from various fields of the social sciences has recently identified the importance of exploring the personal experiences of students as a means of affecting students' attitudes and dispositions towards social issues such as racism. The research suggests that the exploration of students' perspectives (ideas, beliefs, attitudes) needs to be an integral part of the curriculum when attempting to teach about social issues such as racism and sexism (Balenger, Hoffman, & Sedlacek, 1992; Sedlacek & Brooks, 1976; Dennis, 1981; Karp, 1981; Tullman, 1992). Interestingly, several researchers argue that racial identity is constructed developmentally (Carter, 1990; Cross, 1974; Hardiman, 1979; Helms, 1984; 1990; Jackson, 1976; Kim, 1981). Such a view suggests educational applications (Gay, 1985; O'Donnell & Gallegos, 1993; Tatum, 1992).

For example, students need the opportunity to explore, examine, and discuss their perspectives about race and understand how those perspectives may be racists. In turn, students must understand how racism has affected and will continue to affect their lives. On the one hand, it is especially important for European American students to explore the costs--the irrationality, the fear, and the anxiety of racism (Dennis, 1981. On the other hand, it is also important to understand the benefits and privileges of white racism. Such an examination can be painful--evoking feelings of guilt and anger. Creating a conceptual base of specific ground rules and shared theoretical assumptions such as a definition of racism, identifying an individual's social group membership can create a safety net by which students can take the risks to explore these issues and feelings (Tatum, 1992). Through the exploration of the personal, students can begin to make the connections among the various socially constructed contexts such as schools, places of work, and the media that simultaneously operate to maintain a system of racism. Therefore, the personal is a critical knowledge domain that needs further exploration in a multicultural education course.

The historical. As we have seen with our pre-service students, there is simply a lack of historical knowledge that students have when they enter a multicultural education course. For example, we feel that basic historical knowledge of the United States would

include the forced removal and migration of several Native American Nations. And, we especially feel that such information is pertinent to an understanding of New Mexico history since several Native American reservations are located throughout the state.

The ideological and political struggles over the content of textbooks (e. g., Apple, 1992) reveals the extent of the missing information and the sanitized perspective presented in textbooks of many important national figures (Nieto, 1992). This lack of information is multicultural education's "catch-22." How can we want our students to teach and use information that they do not have or know? Programatically, we can require students to take courses in Native American, Latino American, Asian American, African American or women studies in order to fill the gap. But the immediate requires that our courses serve as part of the process that fills that missing information. For example, having students work cooperatively to explore the political, social and cultural events that lead up to the reservation system provides students the opportunity to collaborate and to examine a part of American history often limited or missing in our education. Within our surrounding community, people and places are hold socially-rich information that would provide epistemological and ontological bearings to the present misinterpretations of history now taken for granted. Using ethnography to study our community would reveal the diversity of opinion and the depth of historical perspectives. The local is often neglected as an avenue for exploring and examining the historical.

Besides having students read about and study the histories of various social groups, students also need to listen to voices of the "other." Fiction and non-fiction novels, essays, films, and videotapes provide students an opportunity to explore the perspectives and experiences of those missing in history or who lack main stream access to publishers and the media. A discussion among students about how and why these histories, perspectives and voices are missing opens up the possibility of examining the hegemony of racism.

The ideological and cultural. The social and ideological messages embedded in major textbooks continue to espouse messages that serve a white, middle class, European American perspective (Apple, 1992). The lack of representation of diverse cultural views found in many school textbooks continues to make minorities invisible entities in the education of our children.

Similarly, such practices as ability grouping in elementary schools and tracking practices in many secondary schools operate against the poor and students of color (Rist, 1970; Howe & Edelman, 1985; Rosenbaum, 1976). It is important that our students explore and understand how ethnocentrist and racist ideology underpin innumerable school practices and how they can be traced to the nativism and racism of the late nineteenth century (see e.g., Gould, 1981; Hofstadter, 1944; Krug, 1961; Thomas & Sillen, 1972).

As we see with many of our students, racism is assumed to be an expression or action perpetrated by individuals. While racialized experiences provide the outlook for many ethnically distinct groups such as Native American, Latino American, African American, and Asian American to understand how racism operates, European Americans

apply racism at the individual level, i.e., European Americans deny their own racism based on an absence of overtly racist behavior (Scheruich, 1993). This assumption that racism continues today because of extreme racists individuals and fanatical groups denies the hegemonic ideology that undergirds racism in the everyday. Highly educated European Americans, for example, "think of racism in terms of the overt behaviors of individuals that can be readily identified and labeled. A person who does not behave in these identified ways is not considered to be a racist. Within this perspective, racism is a label for individuals but not for social groups...[for they see] racism as an individual issue, not a racial group issue" (Sleurich, 1993, p.6). For many this denial of racism makes sense when viewed through the ideological framework of fairness and meritocracy.

Our social belief in the doctrine of individual responsibility and the belief in a meritocracy (Hurn, 1985; Ryan, 1981) prevent many students from seeing the hegemonic nature of racism. Students need to learn that racism is not simply an individual acting on a set of racist beliefs but that it is constructed socially and culturally and manifested ideologically by individuals within social institutions and the dominant culture that enjoys hegemony.

The cultural and ideological aspects of racism refers to the dominant society's values, norms, expectations and even logic system that are embedded within the institutions as well as the psychology and philosophy of its members and their expressed behaviors and attitudes. Language not only serves to describe the world but also permits an analysis of how one views the world (Vygotsky, 1986). Exploring and discussing how one culture's dominant perspective of nature as wilderness and its implications for the environment reveals the ideology of one group's relation to nature (e. g., Merchant, 1989) would make it clear how language is part-and-parcel to the dominant hegemony.

Through an examination of each of these knowledge domains, students should be able to construct more socially and culturally sensitive perceptions about how 1) racism and other forms of oppressive hegemony operate on several systemic levels, and 2) pluralism is so very much part of the everyday. Such perspectives will provide students with the knowledge, and the parallel practices and behaviors to aid their future classroom students in understanding and promoting respect for and tolerance of diversity.

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Appendix A

YOUR OPINION: 'TOMAHAWK CHOP' Spring 1993

We (Drs. Chavez, Gallegos and O'Donnell) are asking students to participate in a research study on assessing students' opinions of national or world events that are related to multicultural issues. You will be given a newspaper article to read and then asked to respond to the article. We are interested in reading about your thoughts and opinions. There are no right answers. These responses will have no bearing on your grade. There will be two articles and two responses; one at the beginning of the semester and one at the end. Your responses will remain anonymous.

1. Please circle your appropriate college level:

Freshmen Sophomore Junior Senior

2. Your age: _____ 3. Gender: _____

4. Your Ethnicity: _____

5. What is your level of certification that you are seeking?

Please circle the appropriate level: Elementary Secondary

6. If Elementary, what grade level do you wish to teach?

7. If Secondary, what subject are you planning to teach?

8. What is your major reason for entering teaching?

9. Please identify the areas of the country that you have lived.

The following article was printed in the sports section (page 1B-2B) of the Las Cruces Sun-News on October 15, 1991.
****

'Tomahawk chops' upset some American Indians

MINNEAPOLIS (AP) - Some American Indians in Minnesota are outraged after watching three days of televised "tomahawk chops," drumming and chanting by Atlanta Braves fans during the National League playoff games.

If Atlanta reaches the World Series, some Indians have said they will demonstrate outside the Metrodome before Saturday's opening game against the Minnesota Twins.

"They are stereotyping the image of Indian people, "said Clyde Bellecourt, national director of the American Indian Movement and an organizer of the threatened demonstration. "They're portrayed as a bunch of savages who carry weapons and wear war paint all the time."

Although the Atlanta fans have engaged in their "Indian" imagery for most of the season, Indians in the Twin Cities said they only began taking note over the weekend, when all three games from Atlanta were televised to a national audience. At the games, the Atlanta fans sing an Indian-like chant while using toy tomahawks or their arms in a chopping motion. Some wear Indian headdresses, paint their faces and bang on drums.

The behavior touched a raw nerve in Minneapolis, where more than 23,000 Indians represent one of the largest concentrations of urban Indians in the nation. There are about 50,000 Indians in the state.

"People in Atlanta don't realize they're talking about an entire race of people, and it hurts to see these white boys in the bleachers singing and chanting like that," said Phil St. John, a Dakota Sioux and leader of a group called Concerned American Indian Parents, who pushed for an end to Indian names and mascots in Minneapolis.

Braves general manager John Schuerholz defended the Atlanta fans' antics as being good, clean fun, and said they were not meant to offend anyone.

"I can't get into the minds of other folks," he said Monda before Game 5 of the NL playoffs. "The fans are the ones who sort of took to the characterization of the Atlanta Braves as a winning team... simulating warriors in battle, all of which we view as very positive and certainly doing nothing to discriminate or in any way negatively impact."

"It's just a fun thing to do," said Greg Smith, 45, of Atlanta, who wore a blue feather in his Braves cap at Monday's game. "Nobody's thinking of it as some kind of a derogatory statement to Native Americans."

Although the use of the Braves name is as offensive to some Indians as such team names as the Washington Redskins and Cleveland Indians, the Atlanta fans' behavior is considered even worse. Drumming on tom-toms and wearing ceremonial headdresses and war paint are a thoughtless abuse of traditional sacraments and practices, they said.

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ON THIS PAGE AND THE FOLLOWING PAGE PLEASE WRITE WHAT YOUR REACTIONS, THOUGHTS, AND OPINIONS ARE OF THE ARTICLE YOU JUST READ. PLEASE WRITE CLEARLY, YOU HAVE THIRTY MINUTES.

Appendix B

YOUR OPINION: 'Attorney General': Spring 1993

We (Drs. Chavez, Gallegos and O'Donnell) are asking students to participate in a research study on assessing students' opinions of national or world events that are related to multicultural issues. You will be given a newspaper article to read and then asked to respond to the article. We are interested in reading about your thoughts and opinions. There are no right answers. These responses will have no bearing on your grade. There will be two articles and two responses; one at the beginning of the semester and one at the end. Your responses will remain anonymous.

1. Please circle your appropriate college level:

Freshmen Sophomore Junior Senior

2. Your age: _____

3. Gender: _____

4. Your Ethnicity: _____

5. What is your level of certification that you are seeking?

Please circle the appropriate level: Elementary Secondary

6. If Elementary, what grade level do you wish to teach?

7. If Secondary, what subject are you planning to teach?

8. What is your major reason for entering teaching?

9. Please identify the areas of the country that you have lived.

The following article was printed in the Las Cruces Sun-News (page 3A) on October 19, 1992.

****

Wisconsin attorney general says Indian logos may be a violation

MILWAUKEE (AP) - Warhawks, Braves, Chiefs, Redmen and Redskins may be discriminatory names and logos for Wisconsin school teams because they reinforce stereotypes, the state attorney general said.

Educators and Indian activists praised the opinion last week from Attorney General James Doyle, saying it could lead other states to restrict use of Indian motifs by public schools.

The Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction has the authority to determine which Indian images used by schools violate anti-discrimination laws, Doyle said.

The department mailed copies of Doyle's opinion to school districts, leaving them to decide whether to change Indian motifs said Steven B. Dold, assistant superintendent for management and budget.

"It will have a fairly direct and positive effect," Dold said. "We think communities are increasingly sensitive to the kind of harm these logos can cause."

At least 50 Wisconsin high schools use nicknames, logos and mascots derived from Indians. Doyle said in his opinion that such names and likenesses may reinforce stereotypes or create "an intimidating or offensive environment, thus perpetuating past discrimination."

If a school district refuses to dump Indian themes and a complaint is filed, the public instruction department can determine whether they are discriminatory, Dold said.

Indian advocates said the opinion may, for the first time, offer communities a legal basis in the fight against names and images they consider discriminatory.

"The attorney general's opinion carries a lot of weight. What we need are elected officials who take leadership positions and who speak out publicly on this issue," Karen Funk, a legislative analyst for the National Indian Education Association in Washington, D. C.

Athletic teams with Indian motifs have caused problems in other states' schools and in professional sports as well.

Indian activists have complained about the professional Washington Redskins football team and Atlanta Braves baseball team.

Indians said school motifs pertaining to them are demeaning and present a view of their culture and heritage frozen in time. They said such names and images perpetuate stereotypes that hurt relations with their communities.

"It gives Indian students and non-Indian students very erroneous pictures of Indian people," said Lisa Waukau, a Menomonee Indian and history teacher at Menomonee Indian High School.

In Minnesota, the state board of education directed schools not to use nicknames and likenesses that were prejudicial, but school districts questioned whether the board had that authority, said Will Antell, manager of Indian education for Minnesota.

"I hope our (education) board will pick up on that and get an opinion from our attorney general," he said.

The Michigan Civil Rights Commission in 1988 asked for elimination of Indian symbols from all sports teams, calling them "historically inaccurate" and insensitive.

In Wisconsin, Seymour and Shawano high schools voted this year to change their nicknames from the Indians. The Seymour logo showed an Indian with a feather in his hair carrying a school banner. The Shawano logo portrayed an Indian in a feathered headdress.

Both schools are near Indian reservations. Shawano athletic teams are now the Hawks and the Seymour teams are the Thunder.

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ON THIS PAGE AND THE FOLLOWING PAGE PLEASE WRITE WHAT YOUR REACTIONS, THOUGHTS AND OPINIONS ARE OF THE ARTICLE YOU JUST READ. PLEASE WRITE CLEARLY, YOU HAVE THIRTY MINUTES.