



and multifaced analyses of the complex educational issues that the nations discussed in this volume are experiencing. The nations selected are facing significant challenges educating diverse groups and also have initiated noteworthy reforms. One noteworthy example is China, which Jason Cong Lin discusses in his essay "The Quest for Educational Equity in Schools in Mainland China & Hong Kong." China has fifty-five official ethnic minority groups, and the term migrant group in mainland China primarily refers to Chinese people who migrate domestically. Migrants from rural regions are denied educational equity when they migrate to cities such as Beijing and Shanghai and cannot access the cities' high-quality schools, unless they can change their agricultural house registration. Many of these groups are cultural, linguistic, and religious minorities.

The contributors to this volume have diverse disciplinary backgrounds, including in sociology, linguistics, anthropology, psychology, history, legal studies, and education. They are from myriad nations, have diverse ideological perspectives, represent various ethnic, racial, and gender groups, and are at different stages

In his essay “Migrants & Minorities into Citizens: Education & Membership Regimes Since the Early Modern Period,” Leo Lucassen provides a historical overview of how different nations have provided or denied access to education for immigrant and minority groups over five centuries. Lucassen’s historical analysis reveals that through the centuries, most nations have pursued a nationalist policy of assimilation that did not provide opportunities for students from immigrant and minority groups to learn both their home language and the national language, which Suzanne Romaine calls a “first language-based multilingual approach.” An extreme example is the experience of the Uyghurs, a Turkic-speaking, predominantly Muslim ethnic group in China who are forced to assimilate linguistically as well as politically, culturally, and religiously.

Lucassen describes how assimilationist nationalism was manifested in various parts of the world after World War



students from diverse groups will experience educational equity.<sup>14</sup> The pursuit of racial justice in U.S. education soon inspired the development of multicultural education movements in other nations.<sup>15</sup> Canada developed a multicultural education policy in 1971; Australia in 1978.

An important tenet of multicultural education in the United States is that teachers should change their instruction to be responsive to the cultural characteristics of students from diverse racial, ethnic, linguistic, and social-class groups. I refer to this cultural adaptation of instruction as equity pedagogy. Geneva Gay calls it culturally responsive pedagogy. Gloria Ladson-Billings describes it as culturally relevant instruction. Django Paris has mediated this concept and termed it culturally sustaining pedagogy.<sup>16</sup> In her essay “How Pedagogy Makes the Difference in U.S. Schools,” Ladson-Billings describes three components of culturally relevant pedagogy: 1) student learning, 2) cultural competency, and 3) sociopolitical consciousness.<sup>17</sup> Student learning, she maintains, should be broadly conceptualized and not limited to performance on standardized assessment tests. Students demonstrate literacy and knowledge about diverse cultures when they exemplify cultural competency. Sociopolitical or critical consciousness assists students in finding answers to problems in their daily lives.

In 1971, Canada became the first nation to adopt a multiculturalism education policy. Özlem Sensoy, in her essay “Overcoming Historical Factors that Block the Quest for Educational Equity in Canadian Schools,” maintains that Canada’s adoption of the policy reflects its aspiration to be an inclusive multicultural nation.<sup>18</sup> She details historical and contemporary challenges that Canada faces in making this ideal a reality, including a legacy of colonialism, racialized migrant labor that has been and continues to be integral to the nation’s infrastructure, and a national identity comprising institutionalized notions of gentleness and peacefulness. Sensoy argues that the poignant legacy of the Indian boarding schools and the erasure of Indigenous cultures wrought by their harsh discrimination seriously challenge Canada’s self-conception and aspiration to epitomize multiculturalism. Another historical legacy inconsistent with Canada’s notion of multiculturalism, Sensoy maintains, is the eugenics movement, which continues to influence standardized testing and the ability tracking in schools that disproportionately negatively affects students of color. Sensoy ends her essay by describing progress Canada has made to increase educational equity in its schools and the tasks that remain.

In their essay “The Quest for Educational Equity in Schools in Multicultural Australia,” Greg Noble and Megan Watkins provide a comprehensive overview of the historical development and status of multicultural education in Australia.<sup>19</sup> They describe the White Australia Policy enacted in 1901 and ended in 1972, which was designed to limit the immigration of people from non-white nations. Migra

the immigrants to Australia today come from India and China, with significant numbers of refugees from Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. The implementation of multicultural education varies greatly in Australia because each state controls its own school system. Consequently, as in other nations, diversity and multicultural education are complex and nuanced in Australia. However, Noble and Watkins describe how its complexity is often masked by celebratory, superficial, and stereotypic teaching and programs about diversity in schools.

Historically, South Africa has had one of the most racially stratified education systems in the world. Crain Soudien, in his essay "The Quest for a Racially Just Education System in South Africa," discusses the challenges of creating a more equitable and inclusive education system in a country with a long history of racial segregation and inequality.

The Turkish migrants who began arriving in Germany after 1961 came under a guest worker program designed to enable Germany to meet its labor needs after World War II. Both the migrants and the German government assumed that the Turkish migrants would return home after their work in Germany ended, but many did not. These early Turkish migrants to Germany were the first wave of what would become a large Turkish community in Germany. In her essay “Migration & the Quest for Educational Equity in Germany,” Viola B. Georgi uses “superdiversity” to describe the rich ethnic diversity in Germany today, a term she borrows from Steven Vertovec.<sup>25</sup> Fifteen percent of Germany’s population had a foreign nationality in 2022. Germany is now the world’s number two destination for immigrants, after the United States. However, the diversity of the population of Germany is not

efforts implemented at scale for a sufficient period are needed to institutionalize educational equity in Mexico.

In his essay “Multicultural Education in Nigeria,” Festus E. Obiakor notes that most of the problems in Nigeria originated in British colonial rule and domination, whose goal was to “divide and conquer Nigeria.”<sup>27</sup> Although he provides a searing critique of British colonialism in Nigeria, Obiakor maintains that after almost sixty-five years of independence, Nigerians must self-reflect and identify domestic issues that cause its persistent poverty, tension among tribal, class, and religious groups, and severe educational inequality. Obiakor details serious problems in Nigeria that require decisive and immediate action by its political and educational leaders: Nigeria has the largest population of youth in the world who are out of school; it is experiencing a serious brain drain because many talented young people migrate to Western and neighboring African nations; and Nigeria is wrestling with pervasive and intractable regional, tribal, and religious conflicts. The educational and structural exclusion of people with disabilities is also a serious problem in Nigeria. Obiakor argues that because Nigeria is the most populous Black nation in the world, it has the potential to serve as a beacon of hope and possibility, attracting Black people from across the African diaspora to migrate there. Obiakor envisions and describes educational reform that can increase educational equity in Nigeria, which includes transforming education by implementing the major components and dimensions of multicultural education.

Cross-cutting themes in the essays about China and Hong Kong and India include deep educational inequality that is rooted in social-class inequality and the denial of full citizenship rights to migrant, marginalized, and refugee groups. In his essay, Jason Cong Lin describes how mainland China and Hong Kong are similar and different in how they try to actualize educational equality. Although both China and Hong Kong have a public commitment to diversity and multiculturalism, each prioritizes Chinese culture, languages, and values. Schools in China are guided by a strong nationalist ideology that promotes its political interests. The push for chauvinistic nationalism has increased since Xi Jinping, who emphasizes unity over diversity, became president in 2012. Because of the elite education system in Hong Kong, private schooling is extensive. Students are sorted into ability groups at an early age, which increases educational inequality, especially for minority students. In both China and Hong Kong, ethnic minorities are frequently stereotyped, and the languages spoken by minorities are often associated with poverty and backwardness in educational materials. In China, when ethnic groups who live in rural areas migrate to cities such as Beijing and Shanghai, they are often denied citizenship status and consequently access to state schools. Cong Lin describes ways in which China and Hong Kong could continue to reform their schools to increase educational equity for marginalized students.



Reva Joshee, in her essay “Educational Equity in Schools in India: Perils & Possibilities,” describes how educational policy in India is defined by the ruling party’s agenda of Hindutva, or Hindu nationalism.<sup>28</sup> This policy has led to a re-writing of history that draws upon Hindu knowledge systems and traditions and glorifies a mythological version of the Hindu past. This focus on Hindu nationalism alienates other major groups in India, such as Muslims, Christians, and Dalits, formerly referred to as untouchables or outcastes. Hindu nationalism is especially inconsistent with the linguistic, religious, and social-class characteristics of India, which is the most diverse nation in the world. Hindu nationalism was fundamental to the government’s National Curriculum Framework of 2000. The next framework, issued in 2023, is rooted in Hindu ideals as well as equity, diversity, and pluralism. It continues the Indianization of the curriculum found in the 2000 framework but affirms the importance of diversity. Joshee regrets that secularism, egalitarianism, and social justice are not envisioned in the 2023 framework, and hopes there is a way to return to a “secular and pluralist India.”<sup>29</sup>

The final essays in this issue of *Dædalus* focus in turn on gender equity, the education of students in conflict-affected nations, and constructing effective civic education for all students. The themes across these essays include structural exclusion, disparities in educational attainment, and the resilience and diligence these students possess, which is frequently neither recognized nor encouraged.

In her essay “From Girls’ Education to Gender-Transformative Education: Lessons from Different Nations,” Erin Murphy-Graham argues compellingly that providing girls access to education is a first step but is not sufficient to actualize gender equity, because gender inequality is deeply embedded in the economic, political, social, and cultural structures of societies and nations.<sup>30</sup> Solving the gender gap in education requires deep structural reforms in societies and nations. Significant progress has been made in the last three decades in reducing gender gaps in schooling in nations around the world. More girls are enrolling in secondary schools than ever before. However, major gaps still remain in both primary and secondary schools. While many nations have gender parity in primary schools, sizeable gender gaps exist in primary schools in many low- and middle-income nations located in Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia. Gender gaps affect boys as well as girls, and many boys in nations around the world experience gender inequality. In 130 countries, boys are more likely than girls to repeat primary grades; they are more likely than girls to lack a secondary education in 73 nations. Girls outnumber and outperform boys in nations in Latin America, North America, Australia, and the United Kingdom. Consequently, it is essential, Murphy-Graham argues, to conceptualize gender equity in ways that consider educational equality for both boys and girls.

Bassel Aker, in his essay “Disrupted Institutional Pathways for Educational Equity in Conflict-Affected Nations,” affirms the promise of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child that every child has a right to a free primary education and opportunities for a secondary or vocational education. He describes the barriers, crises, and political nuances and complexities that often prevent children who live in conflict-affected nations and regions such as Lebanon, Iraqi Kurdistan, and Morocco from attaining access to schools and an equitable education. Students in areas embedded in conflicts and crises often experience physical, emotional, and structural violence in schools. Factors that prevent students from attaining an equitable education include early marriage and pregnancy, paid labor, recruitment into armed groups, or lack of access to schools. Strikes by teachers that resulted in long school closures have also negatively affected the education of youths in conflict-affected nations. These strikes have persisted because authoritarian govern

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### endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> SOS Children's Villages, "Refugees & Migrant Crisis," <https://www.sos-usa.org/https://www-sos-usa-org/our-impact/emergency-response/refugee-migrant-crisis> (accessed September 9, 2024).
- <sup>2</sup> Sarah Dryden-Peterson, "Refugee Education: Aligning Access, Learning & Opportunity," *Dædalus* 53 (4) (Fall 2024): 79–95. <https://www.amacad.org/daedalus/refugee-education-aligning-access-learning-opportunity>
- <sup>3</sup> I am using the terms "migrant" and "immigrant" interchangeably because of how these terms are used in different nations. European and Australian scholars typically use "migrants" to describe what U.S. scholars call "immigrants."
- <sup>4</sup> Jason Cong Lin, "The Quest for Educational Equity in Schools in Mainland China & Hong Kong," *Dædalus* 53 (4) (Fall 2024): 234–251. <https://www.amacad.org/daedalus/quest-educational-equity-schools-mainland-china-and-hong-kong>
- <sup>5</sup> Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco, "Globalization, Immigrant-Origin Students & the Quest for Educational Equity," *Dædalus* 53 (4) (Fall 2024): 21–42, <https://www.amacad.org/daedalus/globalization-immigrant-origin-students-quest-educational-equity>.

<sup>6</sup> Angela M. Banks, "Constructing Effective Civic Education for Noncitizen Students," *Daedalus* 153 (4) (Fall 2024): 302–319. <https://www.amacad.org/daedalus/constructing-effective-civic-education-noncitizen-students>

<sup>7</sup> Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, "Globalization, Immigrant-Origin Students & the Quest for Educational Equity," 31.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 157.

<sup>23</sup> Audrey Osler, "The Long Struggle for Educational Equity in Britain: 1944–2023," *Dædalus* 153 (4) (Fall 2024): 165–188, <https://www.amacad.org/daedalus/long-struggle-educational-equity-britain-1944-2023>.

<sup>24</sup> Bernard Coad, *How the West Indian Child Is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System* (New Beacon Books, 1971).

<sup>25</sup> Viola B. Georgi, "Migration & the Quest for Educational Equity in Germany," *Dædalus* 153 (4) (Fall 2024): 184–205, <https://www.amacad.org/daedalus/migration-quest-educational-equity-germany> See also Steven Vertovec, "Super-Diversity and Its Implications," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 66 (2007): 1024–1054.

<sup>26</sup> Fernando M. Reimers, "The Quest for Educational Equity in Mexico," *Dædalus* 153 (4) (Fall 2024): 206–220, <https://www.amacad.org/daedalus/quest-educational-equity-mexico>.

<sup>27</sup> Festus E. Obiakor, "Multicultural Education in Nigeria," *Dædalus* 153 (4) (Fall 2024): 223, <https://www.amacad.org/daedalus/multicultural-education-nigeria>.

<sup>28</sup> Reva Joshee, "Educational Equity in Schools in India: Perils & Possibilities," *Dædalus* 153 (4) (Fall 2024): 252–266, <https://www.amacad.org/daedalus/educational-equity-schools-india-perils-possibilities>

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 262.

<sup>30</sup> Murphy-Graham, "From Girls' Education to Gender-Transformative Education."

<sup>31</sup> Bassel Akar, "Disrupted Institutional Pathways for Educational Equity in Conflict-Affected Nations," *Dædalus* 153 (4) (Fall 2024): 286–301, <https://www.amacad.org/daedalus/disrupted-institutional-pathways-educational-equity-conflict-affected-nations>.

<sup>32</sup> Banks, "Constructing Effective Civic Education for Noncitizen Students."

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 306.

<sup>34</sup> Conra D. Gist and Travis J. Bristol, eds., *Handbook of Research on Teachers of Color and Indigenous Teachers* (American Educational Research Association, 2022).

<sup>35</sup> Romaine, "Language Equality & Schooling."

<sup>36</sup> Reva Joshee and Monica Thomas, "Multicultural and Citizenship Education in Canada: Slow Peace as an Alternative to Social Cohesion," *Citizenship Education and Global Migration: Implications for Theory, Research, and Teaching*, edited by James A. Banks (American Educational Research Association, 2017), 91–106.

<sup>37</sup> Jacey Fortin, "Critical Race Theory: A Brief History," *The New York Times*, November 8, 2021,