

Multicultural Education in Social Studies Textbooks in South Korea and the United States: A

Comparative Analysis

Younghan Kim

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2013

Reading Committee:

Geneva Gay, Chair

Stephen T. Kerr

Nancy E. Beadie

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

College of Education

©Copyright 2013

Younghan Kim

University of Washington

Abstract

Multicultural Education in Social Studies Textbooks in South Korea and the United States: A
Comparative Analysis

Younghan Kim

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Professor Geneva Gay

College of Education

Today, globalization has increased cross-border migration in many countries. The public school classroom in the United States has been getting more diverse, linguistically, culturally, racially, and ethnically. Classrooms in South Korea are also becoming linguistically, culturally, racially, and ethnically diverse because of the fast growth of immigration since the 1990s. In nation-states, implementing theories, practices, ideals, values of multicultural education in curricula is a responsibility for the wellbeing and academic success of all children. This dissertation examined how social studies textbooks in South Korea and the United States implement suggestions that multicultural education scholars recommend for cultural pluralism, educational equality, and

social justice to reduce gaps between theories and practices. Five social studies textbooks were analyzed. Since the Seattle (WA) Public Schools recently adopted only one textbook for use in 2012-2013 in regular U.S. history classes, History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals was analyzed. Two 한국사 [Korea History] and two 사회.문화 [Society & Culture] texts randomly selected from the approved list by the South Korean Ministry of Education were analyzed as the combination of the two subjects is more equivalent to U.S. history. This study found the selected textbooks did an inadequate job of adopting multicultural education theories suggested by scholars although there are minor differences among the three sets of textbooks. Although there are not many, few stereotypical images are still found in all three sets of textbooks. Textbooks are dominated by stories of mainstreamers in each country. The coverage of ethnic minorities is often limited to roles and topics related to racial issues such as discrimination. There are no stories of how different minority groups interact with each other, and there is practically no contemporary coverage of social actions by ethnic minorities for social justice.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	iv
List of Tables	v
Chapter I: Introduction.....	1
Significance of Demographic Changes in South Korea.....	1
Significance of Demographic Changes in United States	4
Purpose of Study	5
Conceptual Framework	7
Multiple Identities.....	8
Culturally Responsive Curriculum	9
Critical Skills	10
Chapter II: Review of the Literature	12
Cultural Pluralism and Identities.....	13
Educational Equity and Culturally Responsive Curriculum	20
Social Justice and Critical Skills	26
The importance of Textbooks	32
Textbook Analysis in the United States	35
Textbook Analysis in South Korea	38
Chapter III: Research Methodology.....	40
Content Analysis	40
Research Questions	41
Setting and Sample.....	43

Coding and Analyzing.....	46
Analysis of Illustrations.....	46
Analysis of Narrative Text	48
Chapter IV: Findings.....	49
Use of Multiple Identities.....	49
Overall Demographics of Representation.....	53
Imbalances	63
“With Other Race” Photos and Stereotypical Illustrations.....	70
Culturally Responsive Contents	76
Ethnicity.....	77
Race and Racism	80
Immigration and Immigrants	84
Diversity	91
Assimilation.....	95
Discrimination	100
Prejudice	105
Critical Skills.....	108
Chapter V: Summary, Discussion, and Recommendations	121
Summary	121
Discussion	124
Significance.....	129
Limitations of the Study.....	131

Recommendations for Future Research and Practices	132
Final Statement.....	134
References.....	136
Appendix A: Sample Codebook for Analysis of Illustration.....	152
Appendix B: Sample Codebook for Analysis of Narrative Text	153

List of Figures

Figure 1-1. Four Stages of Multicultural Society	6
Figure 1-2. Conceptual Framework	7
Figure 3-1. The Purpose of Study	41
Figure 4-1. Workers in Boulder (Hoover) Dam	55
Figure 4-2. Immigrants	56
Figure 4-3. A Newly Appointed Japanese Supervision Officer, Terauchi Masatake	60
Figure 4-4. UN Soldiers Landing at Incheon	61
Figure 4-5. Chinese Intervention	61
Figure 4-6. Soviet Soldiers Entering Korea after WWII	61
Figure 4-7. U.S. Soldiers Entering Korea after WWII	61
Figure 4-8. The Protectors of Our Industries	71
Figure 4-9. The Bosses of the Senate	71
Figure 4-10. The Monroe Doctrine	71
Figure 4-11. President Wilson Scolding Mexico	72
Figure 4-12. Russo-Japanese War	73
Figure 4-13. Competition over Korea	74
Figure 4-14. Competition over Korea	74
Figure 4-15. Chinese Character Impact the Development of the Japanese Letters	75

List of Tables

Table 1-1: Fertility Rate in South Korea	2
Table 3-1: Textbook Selection	45

Acknowledgements

The completion of my dissertation would not have been possible without the tremendous support, help, and encouragement of many individuals. I would like to acknowledge and thank all of my committee members—Professor Stephen Kerr for his support and thoughtful insight regarding instructional media; Professor Nancy Beadie for her support and thoughtful insight regarding historically race related issues; and Professor Stephen Sumida for his support and thoughtful insight regarding issues of ethnicity.

I would like to express special thanks to my committee chair, Professor Geneva Gay, for all the guidance, support, encouragement, and thoughtful insight she provided throughout the dissertation process. I fully appreciate that Professor Geneva Gay was always willing to help and discuss my study with me throughout all phases of writing of this dissertation. My dissertation would not be completed without her support.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my parents. I deeply appreciate their endless love, support, and encouragement for my whole life. They believed in me and waited even when I was off track and a vagabond. My parents instilled in me values to be a better person and to keep moving forward. I am truly blessed to have such thoughtful, caring, and loving parents.

Chapter I: Introduction

Today, almost all nation-states are influenced by “processes of globalization, characterized by the rapid increase in cross-border flows of all sorts and by the formation of transnational networks in the economic, cultural, political, and social spheres” (Castles, 2004, p. 21). Although the movement of people across national boundaries is not a new event, never before in the history of world migration has the movement of diverse racial, cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups across nation states been as numerous as today.

According to the 2010 report of the *International Organization for Migration* (IOM), the estimated number of international migrants in the world was 214 million. This means approximately three percent were living outside the nation-state in which they were born. If this number continues to rise at the same rate as the last two decades, it could reach as high as 405 million by 2050. Even South Korea, which has claimed to be a homogeneous nation, is becoming a multicultural society because the number of foreign residents has been growing fast since the 1990s. The United States, which had a historic immigration boom at the turn of the 20th century, has been experiencing an influx of immigrants again.

Significance of Demographic Changes in South Korea

Friedman (2005), author of the international bestselling book, The world is flat: A brief history of the twenty-first century, says that 11/9/89 which was the day of collapse of the Berlin Wall is one of the world flatteners, meaning more people’s lives worldwide are more easily accessible to each other, and more deeply intertwined. In the case of South Korea, 9/17/88 which was the opening day of the Seoul Olympic Games is one of significant flatteners. Under the Seoul Olympic Games slogan “The World to Seoul, Seoul to the World” South Koreans started having open minds toward globalization as well as foreigners.

Yet, the most crucial flattener in the case of South Korea is its low birth rate. Among the members of the *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development* (OECD), South Korea is one of the lowest fertility rate nation states. According to 2011 data from the *Population Reference Bureau* (PRB), for the last decade the fertility rate in South Korea has been constantly below the 2.2 that is a minimum rate to maintain the population at its current level (Table 1-1).

Table 1-1: Fertility Rate in South Korea

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
1.297	1.166	1.180	1.154	1.076	1.123	1.250	1.192	1.149	1.213

Source: Population Reference Bureau (2011)

If this trend remains unchanged, South Korea’s population will fall to 40 million by 2050 (Bae, 2008). The South Korean *National Statistical Office* (NSO) estimates that the over 65 age population will be 20 percent within 15 years (as cited in Kim, T., 2011). Combined with a reduced influx of younger workers, the average age of the workforce is expected to increase from age 38 in 2005 to age 43.1 by 2030 (Park, 2008). This will lead to South Korea experiencing a significant labor shortage. Since this decline in overall population and shortage in labor could negatively affect economic growth and lower the nation’s gross domestic product (GDP), the South Korea government is supporting programs to boost the birth rate, and accept more immigrant workers than ever before.

As of August 2007, the number of foreign residents exceeded one million which accounted for about two percent of South Korea’s population of 49.13 million (“South Korea’s expatriates,” 2007). This is a huge leap from 380,000 in 1997, which is an increase of 158 percent. Although still small by international standards, this figure is significant for South Korea

which had been claiming to be a homogeneous society for a long time. According to Choi (2009a), five percent of South Korea's population will be foreign residents by 2020. These foreign residents are from a wide spectrum of nation states in East Asia, Central Asia, South Asia, and the former Soviet Union countries. Although the newcomers come to South Korea with a variety of different statuses such as investors, students, workers, and refugees, many of them fall into the "immigrant workers in the 3-D job sector (dirty, difficult, and dangerous)," "international marriage spouses," and "North Korean defectors" categories. This represents South Korea's quick transformation into a multicultural, multiracial, and multiethnic society.

The rapid growth of foreign residents and multicultural families over the last two decades has made the South Korean government and NGOs emphasize multiculturalism and multicultural education, which is a major departure from the South Korean historical stance. South Korea's emphasis on being a pure blood nation played an important role in national unity and patriotic mobilization against invaders (Kim, Y., 2009; Kim, S., 2009). South Koreans have learned to be proud of this claim through history, literature, social studies, and moral education classes. Moreover, South Korean law utilizes a *jus sanguinis* which means citizenship is not decided by the land of birth, but by having parents who are citizens of the nation. Blood is the basis of belonging in South Korea rather than place of birth as in the United States. Thus, if someone asks, "what makes one Korean?" many Koreans will say "blood." Several educators and researchers argue that the emphasis on homogeneity and pure blood is now turning into a burden as it prevents South Koreans from accepting and celebrating diversity as a normal fact. For instance, a survey conducted by Jun, Jung, and Lee (2007) with children of immigrant families showed that one of the major reasons children of multicultural families are bullied in schools is because of their ethnicity or appearance.

Significance of Demographic Changes in United States

Since the 1960s, the United States has been experiencing a surge of immigrants not seen for the four preceding decades. According to Camarota (2011), approximately 14 million new immigrants, also referred to as the foreign born, settled in the United States between 2000 and 2010. The immigrant population reached 40 million in 2010 which is the highest number in the history of the United States. The population also has become more racially and ethnically diverse since the 1960s. Unlike the situation in the past in which most immigrants were from Europe, today the majority are coming from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia.

While the growth of the U.S. minority population in the 1990s was fueled by the increase of immigrants, in recent years it is more likely driven by a surge of births, especially among Latinos (Yen, 2010; Passel, Cohn, & Lopez, 2011). According to Passel, Cohn, and Lopez (2011), Latino children increased 39% over the last decade. The median age for Latinos and Asians—27.4 and 35.3 respectively—is lower than for other ethnic groups. The average age of Whites increased slightly to 41.2, because of low birth rates and aging populations (Yen, 2010). The comparison of median ages between racial and ethnic minorities, and non-Latino White shows that ethnic and racial minorities will be the majority in the U.S. by 2050. In fact, four states—Hawaii, New Mexico, California and Texas— as well as 311 of the 3,143 counties already have minority populations that exceeded 50 percent, which is up from more than 250 counties in 2000 (Yen, 2010).

As the number of minority students in public schools continues to grow, concerns and issues related to their needs are increasing as well. Many educators and scholars develop and try several ways to help these students. Racial and ethnic minority students attend mostly large, inner-city, and segregated schools that are facing serious problems such as low test scores, high

drop-out rates, and poor attendance. For instance, The National Center for Education Statistics (2012) reported that 8.0 percent of African American, 15.1 percent of Latino, and 12.4 percent of American Indian students dropped out of school in 2010, while the dropout rate of White students was 5.1 percent. Many theorists and researchers attribute these problems to the traditional western or Eurocentric educational programs, policies, and practices that focus on the values, lifestyles, accomplishments, and worldviews of middle class White males.

Purpose of Study

The demographic changes in both South Korea and the United States, and the schooling challenges of minority students are causing educators to consider reform using multicultural ideas, values, principles, programs and practices. Yet, these two nation states are at different levels or stages. Choi (2009b) developed **다문화 진행 프로세스** [four stages of multicultural society] addressing these challenges (See Figure 1-1). According to him, South Korea is currently at Stage I of the four stages of a multicultural society. At Stage I, social and economic costs related to immigration are low because there are not many conflicts between natives and newcomers since the size of the immigrant population is not significant. Nations such as Italy and Belgium that are at Stage II and Germany, France, Great Britain that are at Stage III experience significant social and economic costs due to conflicts between natives and newcomers. The costs decrease at Stage IV. The United States, Canada, and Sweden are at Stage IV in which multiculturalism is somewhat established. Choi (2009b) suggests that South Korea needs to be prepared to pass through the second and third stage.

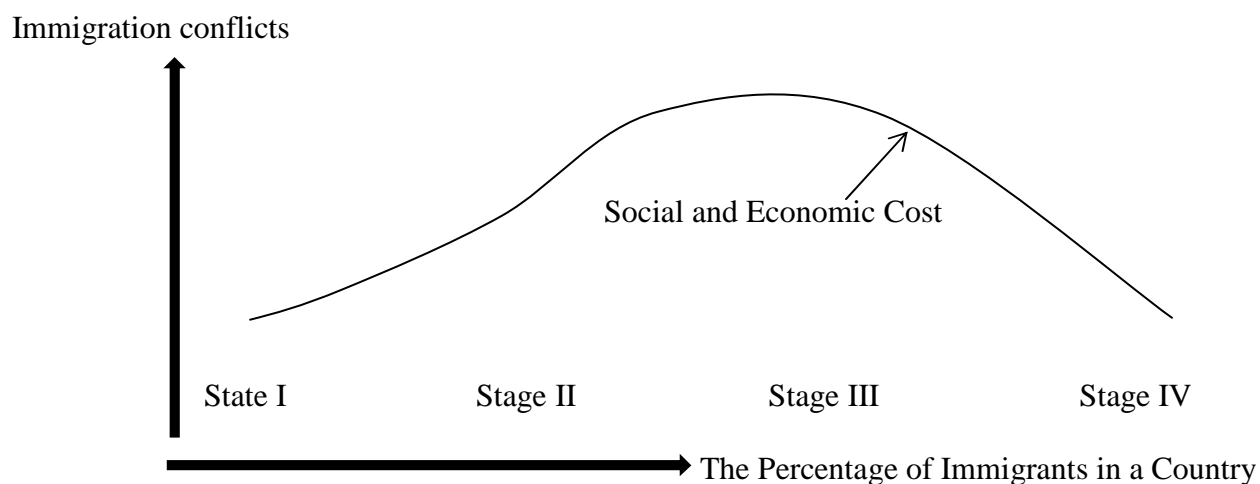


Figure 1-1. Four Stages of Multicultural Society (Choi, 2009b, p. 114)

The purpose of this study was to examine how multicultural ideas, values, perspectives, and principles are actually implemented in educational practices in the United States and South Korea which are at very different stages. This study especially analyzes textbooks used in South Korea and the United States (to be more specific, the Seattle, WA school district). According to Armstrong (2003), textbook publishers are one of the major “faceless members” who are not in classrooms in a physical sense and yet exert profound influences on curriculum decisions and classroom instruction. In writing textbooks, publishers and scholars discuss what should go into them and select from a wide spectrum of knowledge and versions of reality. Teachers have fewer choices as they choose from selections already made by the publishers, and students are given the opportunity to learn only one version of reality. As a result, many students think that there is no alternative version of the world, and that knowledge being taught in school is undisputed fact (Gay, 2010; Nieto, 2004; Gordy & Pritchard, 1995; Sleeter & Grant, 1991).

Textbooks tend to reinforce the dominant group’s perspectives, and to sustain stereotypes of others outside the political and cultural mainstream. The perspectives of minorities are often ignored, distorted, or marginalized. For example, in the United States, textbooks often

present only the mainstream Eurocentric male perspective such as this statement that appeared in Chapter 1 of a state-approved fifth grade textbook, *America Will Be*, “Everyone who lives in the United States is either an immigrant or a descent of immigrants” This statement simply erases the historical experiences of Native Americans and the indigenous peoples of the Southwest, and distorts the African American experience of enslavement (King, 2004). Thus, it is important to examine how the perspectives and experiences of groups outside the political and cultural mainstream are described in textbooks, and whether textbooks satisfy the fundamental ideals and values of multicultural education.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework used in this study is depicted visually in Figure 1. It is composed of ideas from three theoretical sources. The three major theoretical sources are: multiple identities, culturally responsive curriculum, and critical skills.

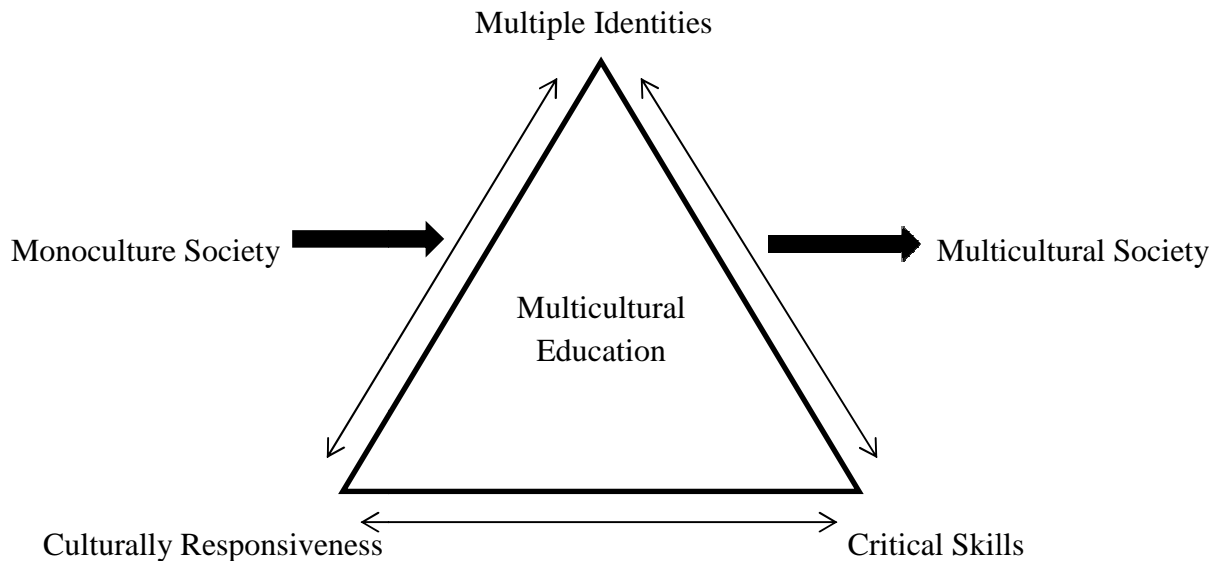


Figure 1-2. Conceptual Framework

Multiple Identities

Identity in this study focused on how minority students situate themselves in the world. According to several scholars, students tend to have positive academic experiences if they feel that the school environment values who they are (Gay, 2010, 1994a; Banks, 2007; Lee, 2005; Pang, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). However, if the opposite is the case, then they will struggle with their inner self-esteem and will not be able to concentrate on their academic tasks. Stress and anxiety can decrease willingness to engage in academic tasks, and interfere with the cognitive process involved in learning.

Several ethnography studies show that many schools fail to value ethnically diverse students and their educational heritages and background experiences (Lee, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999; Olsen, 1997). For example, Valenzuela's (1999) study of Latino students at Seguin High School showed that their ethnic identities were minimized on a daily basis as many teachers and staffs routinely changed students' first and last names. Teachers and staff adapted their students' names without any consideration of how these changes might damage identities. "Loreto" became "Laredo" and "Azucena" was transformed into "Suzy" (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 173). The situation is not different in the larger society. Assimilationists blame minorities for compromising the United States identity and unity by not integrating quickly enough into mainstream culture. According to Huntington (2004), "the single most immediate and most serious challenge to America's traditional identity" is Mexican immigrants who hold onto their Spanish language and cultural ties (p. 31). In an assimilationist's point of view, the ideal immigrants are those who reject their ancestral heritages and languages so they can assimilate into their new nation fully and quickly.

Zhou (2001) suggested, instead, that as immigrant youths become more mature and spend

their lives more in new nations, they are more likely to maintain their ethnic identities or establish hyphenated ones rather than totally abandon their original identities. For example, immigrant children from China may introduce themselves as Chinese American rather than either American or Chinese. Ethnic minorities like Africans and Native Americans also have this kind of developmental trend. Thus, several scholars argue that school curriculum should help ethnic minority students maintain and/or contrast their ethnic identities (Banks, 2009; Lee, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999; Deyhle, 1995).

Culturally Responsive Curriculum

Although there are multiple dimensions and proposals of culturally responsive teaching such as empowering self-worth, personal connections, social consciousness, and an ethic of caring, this study focused on how school curricula in the form of textbooks deal with ethnic and cultural diversity. In the United States, many children and youths have ethnic origins in Non-European nations, but most curriculum content taught in schools is Eurocentric. In addition, these children and youths have been exposed to recent pressures for standardization. The movement may conflict with the efforts of minorities such as Native, Latino, and Asian Americans to institute bilingual and multicultural education in public schools. For instance, in June 1998, California voters approved proposition 227 which restricted bilingual and mother tongue instruction for ESL students (Mora, 2001). Under the *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) act of 2001, bilingual education programs are designed to support English proficiency rather than to maintain mother tongue of ESL students. For instance, the name of the federal government's Office of Bilingual Education was changed to the "Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient". The director of bilingual education and minority language affairs also became the director of English

language acquisition (Spring, 2005). Schools also tend to follow uniform curricula and sequence of instruction that are aligned with state standardized testing. This standardization constrains educational opportunities for minority children who have different languages and cultural backgrounds. Different culturally communicative competencies and learning styles can cause conflicts between teachers and students (Philips, 1987, 1972; Hymes, 1985; Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1994). In South Korea, situations are similar even though the Korean government now emphasizes multiculturalism. Most education programs for children of international marriage and immigrant families were developed to teach them Korean culture and language. The main role of the curriculum is to make sure that students fit into mainstream schools and the larger society.

Since cultural differences have significant influences on academic achievements of minority students, scholars argue that school curriculum should recognize and respect their home and community cultures, and help bridge the gap between life outside of school and academic learning in school. Culturally responsive curriculum content can be derived from various materials including those outside the boundaries of formal education. However, since the most common material used in classroom is textbooks, their quality is important. Gay (2010) argued that culturally responsive curriculum content should include information about the histories, experiences, cultures, perspectives, contributions, and issues of diverse ethnic groups.

Critical Skills

Many people assume multicultural education is only for minority students and it can be incorporated into only certain subjects such as music and art. Even when a school teaches minority cultures to all students, these discussions are relegated to certain times during the school year rather than being integrated into the school's whole framework. Several scholars

argue that if multicultural education focuses merely on toleration, and respecting and celebrating diversity, it can miss the important need for developing critical thinking (Derman-Sparks, 1989; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Nieto, 2004; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). They do not say that respecting and celebrating diversity are unimportant parts of multicultural education. Students need to learn the social skills to interact effectively with members of other cultures, and how to perceive, understand, and respond to group differences. However, without giving students opportunities to think about social issues critically, the main role of the curriculum could be just to make sure that students fit into school and the larger society.

Multicultural education deals with real life and daily problems tell what some of these are that minority groups have such as physical, social, economic, and cultural marginality (Nieto, 2004). Both minority and mainstream students need to learn these social issues. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) pointed out that it is important “to promote an individual’s consciousness of himself or herself as a social being [because] an individual who has gained such a consciousness understands how and why his or her political opinions, socio-economic class, role, religious beliefs, gender role, and racial self-image are shaped by dominant perspectives” (pp.23-24).

Chapter II: Review of the Literature

Although the South Korean government currently emphasizes multicultural education due to increasing demographic diversification of Korean society and tensions among different groups, the concept is not well developed or organized since these concerns are so recent. Even in the United States which has a much longer history of multicultural education than South Korea, its meaning is not as clearly understood as it needs to be. However, this is reasonable. It is rare that any two classroom teachers, administrators, or scholars will agree totally on all aspects of multicultural education. The reason is because multicultural education means different things to different people, and theoretical consensus is more closely articulated than practice (Gay, 1994a). While some limit their focus to people of color, others include all oppressed or marginalized groups such as gays, physically/mentally challenged people, and the working class. Also, some restrict their concerns to curriculum reform in local classroom settings while others focus on reforming the entire school organization, as well as society. Therefore, numerous perspectives of multicultural education have been offered by scholars, researchers, and organizations.

Some of the most frequently used definitions and major arguments of multicultural education are:

- “an approach to teaching and learning that is based upon democratic values and beliefs and that affirms cultural pluralism within culturally diverse societies in the interdependent world” (Bennett, 2007, p. 4).
- “policies, programs, and practices employed in schools to celebrate cultural diversity” (Gay, 1994b, p. 3)
- “an idea or concept, an educational reform movement, and a process...[that]

incorporates the idea that all students regardless of their gender and social class and their ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics should have an equal opportunity to learn in school” (Banks & Banks, 2007, p. 3).

- “a process of comprehensive school reform and basic education for all students... [that] challenges and rejects racism and other forms of discrimination in schools and society, and accepts and affirms the pluralism that students, their communities and teachers reflect” (Nieto, 2004, p. 436).

Across these multiple definitions, there are some similarities. These include multicultural education is a process, ideology, and a reform movement, and it should be a part of educational programs and practices to build cultural pluralism, educational equity, and social justice.

Cultural Pluralism and Identities

Within the United States there are several socio-political concepts or theories that response to demographic diversity. They are assimilation, amalgamation, and pluralism. The oldest and still strong theory is assimilation which can be represented by Newman’s formula of “A + B + C = A” (as cited in Sleeter & Grant, 1988, p. 147). In 1930, Robert Park defined assimilation as “process or processes by which peoples of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence” (p. 281).

Many argue that this definition fails to account for social realities. Lesser ([1933] 1978) defined assimilation as “the process of transforming aspects of a conquered or engulfed culture into a status of relative adjustment to the form of the ruling culture...the adopting culture is not in a position to choose” (p. xxv). Classical assimilationists advocate for diverse groups adopting the dominant group’s values and lifestyles by eliminating their heritage languages, religions,

customs, and philosophies. An early example of this form of assimilation is Native American boarding schools. According to Spring (2005), eliminating Native American cultures and teaching allegiance to the U.S. government became the major educational policies of the U.S. government toward Native Americans during the latter part of the 19th century as White settlement covered most of the United States. Native American families were forced to send their children to government operated boarding schools that were designed to eliminate Native people's ways of life and replace them with Eurocentric culture, heritage language with English, and Native religion with Christianity (Spring, 2005; Maganini, 1997; Jones, 1995). Even if they did assimilate into Eurocentric Protestant culture and English, Native Americans often are rejected by mainstreamers because of their physical appearances.

According to Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1993), total assimilation takes three generations. Complete assimilation has been limited to European immigrants because racialization has been consistent in the history of the United States. People of color are never allowed to fully assimilate. A Canadian scholar, Stanley (2002), pointed out that racialization is a social process of dividing human populations into groups along the lines of "socially imagined" difference. In other words, it marks and differentiates people according to presumed physical or cultural characteristics. Yet, human beings and cultures are not immutable. They are always changing. Although people bend racial categories through intergroup marriages and assimilation, people of colors are not able to escape from the racial categories in White dominant societies like the United States, Canada, and England. When racial hierarchies are threatened, racism and stereotypes are sometimes used to re-fit people of color into the artifact of race, and to prevent them from accessing the cultural capital of the dominant group. Stanley (2002) claimed "racism is not about prejudice and discrimination over naturally occurring or inevitable difference, but

rather involves the fixing of invented radicalized difference and concomitant organization of exclusions based on their differences” (p. 165). Several scholars (Davis, 2001; Jacobson, 1998; Guinier, 2004) share a similar view with Stanley. Guinier (2004) stated “Race in the United States is a by-product of economic conflict that has been converted into a tool of division and distraction” (p. 99).

Because of these problems with the classical assimilation approach, an alternative theory, amalgamation, was developed. It is described as “A + B + C = D” in Newman’s formula (as cited in Sleeter & Grant, 1988, p. 147). Theoretically, a new and unique common culture (“D”) is created by blending together different groups into one harmonious whole. This process is difficult if not impossible to realize in practice. According to Sleeter and Grant (1988), for cultures to blend, the groups should be of roughly equal status, but in the United States, ethnic groups are not all of the same status. In the real world, it often appears that “A (dominant group) + B + C = A” which is the same as the assimilationist’s formula where over time the values and life styles of minority groups are replaced by those of the dominant group. Society denies the salience of diversity, and people are expected to conform to restricted definitions of what is considered “normal.”

Several researchers have examined the impact of a mono-cultural society on diverse students. One of the theories on this issue is the cultural ecology paradigm by Ogbu (1978, 1987, 1998, 2001). He attributed problems such as low test scores, poor school attendance, and high drop-out rates among African American and Native American students to Eurocentric curricula that focus on the values, lifestyles, accomplishments, and worldviews of White, middle class males. African Americans and Native Americans are what Ogbu called *Caste-Like or involuntary minorities*. These are groups who were brought into the United States by force or

coercion instead of choice, such as through slavery and colonization. Because of their negative experiences they develop *secondary cultural differences* that cause resistance to dominant society. To involuntary minorities, schooling is considered as learning the culture and language of their enemy or oppressor, which denigrates or destroys their own identity, sense of community, and self-worth.

Another collection of studies regarding the impact of a monoculture society is symbolized by the “doll test.” According to Banks (2004) and Cross (1991), the test originated from the research of Ruth and Eugene Horowitz in the 1930s. Horowitzs proposed that both African American and White children prefer White stimulus objects, like dolls and pictures, over Black dolls and photographs, and interpreted these preferences as evidence of poor self-concept and self-rejection (Banks, 2004; Cross, 1991). Mamie and Kenneth Clark (1939a, 1939b, 1940, 1947, 1950) corroborated the Horowitzs’ theory. They (1947) asked African American children the following questions, and had them answer by choosing between a White doll and a Black doll.

- Give me the doll that you like to play with-(a) like best.
- Give me the doll that is a nice doll.
- Give me the doll that looks bad.
- Give me the doll that is a nice color.
- Give me the doll that looks like a White child.
- Give me the doll that looks like a colored child
- Give me the doll that looks like a Negro child.
- Give me the doll that looks like you. (Clark & Clark, 1947, p. 169)

The Clarks argued that the rejection of the Black doll by African American children was proof of

self-rejection, and that negative treatment in the United States caused Black children to develop a sense of self-denigration. Their studies made the self-rejection paradigm widely popular.

This self-rejection paradigm has been somewhat challenged and additional information provided by several more recent researchers (Spencer, 1982a, 1982b, 1985; Banks, 1976). Banks (1976) reviewed 32 studies of preference and self-identity. According to him, highly ethnocentric response sets are common only in White samples. Because researchers tend to compare Black children with such a highly ethnocentric group (White children), they are generally interpreted as having high levels of self-rejection. In distinguishing between personal identity and group identity, Spencer (1982b) argued that a White favorable bias is not necessarily associated with self-rejection and poor self-concept for young Black children. According to her, Black children can have high self-esteem while they are showing a White favorable bias. The reason is because young children learn racial stereotypes as information about others. Spencer (1982b) noted that “racial stereotypes in these children must be viewed as objectively held information about the environment and not as reflections of personal identity” (p. 284). In other words, the reason why African American children choose the White doll is because they have learned this preference from Eurocentric society rather than having poor self-concept and self-rejection. This explains why young Black children show White favorable bias more often than older Black children.

In 2005, a New York City high school student, Kiri Davis, conducted the experiment with 4 and 5 year old African American children at a Harlem School for her short film, “A Girl like Me” (Edney, 2006). Among 21 children, 15 identified the White doll as the nice and pretty one. In 2009 after Barack Obama became president, “Good Morning America” on ABC conducted the experiment with 19 Black Children aged 5 to 9 in Norfolk, VA (Ahuja, 2009). The majority of the children in the experiment chose Black or both, and 32 percent chose the White

doll.

In 2010, “Anderson Cooper 360” on CNN tested 133 White and Black children from two age groups: 4 to 5 and 9 to 10. They tested in four schools in New York City and four in Georgia (“Doll study research”, 2010). Instead of repeating the doll test conducted by Kenneth and Mamie Clark (1947), CNN used cartoons of children, all identical except for skin color. The results showed that children whose parents did not talk to them about race had racial biases. For example, a mother of a 5 year old White girl was brought to tears because her daughter said “a White child is good because ‘I think she looks like me,’ and the Black child is ugly because ‘she is a lot darker’” (“Kids’ test answers,” 2010, para. 2). The mother said she wondered where her daughter got that bias from because she and her daughter had never really talked about race. Bronson (2010) suggested White parents “want to give their kids this sort of post-racial future when they're very young and they're under the wrong conclusion that their kids are colorblind. ... It's in the absence of messages of tolerance that they will naturally ... develop these skin preferences” (cited in “Kids' test answers,” para. 11).

Identity development is not static. It is negotiated or moves back and forth between individuals and social contexts, and can have multiple dimensions. According to Banks (2009), individuals have four interrelated identities—cultural, national, regional, and global. This means that individuals can simultaneously maintain commitments to their cultural communities and to the national civic culture. When students are allowed to maintain their own ethnic and cultural identification, they will have stronger identification with the nation than those who are not allowed to maintain their own ethnic and cultural identification. This argument challenges the viewpoint of assimilationists that if students are allowed to maintain identification with their cultural communities, they will not acquire sufficiently strong attachments to their new nations.

Many scholars in the field of multicultural education suggest that pluralism is more appropriate than either assimilation or amalgamation concept. It focuses on the differences and the beauty of the whole at the same time. In formula, it is represented as “ $A + B + C = A1 + B1 + C1$ ” (Sleeter & Grant, 1988, p. 147). According to Sleeter and Grant (1988), different groups may assimilate with each other to some extent. For example, an Italian in Italy (A) is different from an Italian American (A1) or an Asian in Asia (B) is different from an Asian American (B1). These different groups can continue to retain their own unique cultural characteristics, and they make the United States like a cultural or ethnic salad. As Banks (1999) explained, “A good salad does not have a bunch of components that look, taste or have the same texture. The success of the salad depends not only on its looks but also on a lot of other factors including the taste, the freshness of the ingredients, the smells, the textures and the mixture itself” (p. 43).

One of the major goals of multicultural education is helping students to develop self-acceptance and cross-cultural competency, so they can interact effectively across and within the national culture, their own ethnic cultures, and different ethnic group cultures. Banks (2009) developed a typology of states of cultural identity. There are six stages. They are: *Stage 1, Cultural Psychological Captivity*; *Stage 2, Cultural Encapsulation*; *Stage 3, Cultural Identity Clarification*; *Stage 4, Biculturalism*; *Stage 5, Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism*; and *Stage 6, Globalism and Global Competency*. Individuals at Stage 1 reject or are ashamed of their own ethnic group and culture because of institutionalized negative ideologies and beliefs about their ethnic group in a society. Individuals at Stage 2 believe their own ethnic group and culture are superior to others and participate mainly within their own group. Individuals at Stage 3 are able to clarify personal and cultural identity. Banks (2009) pointed out “Self-acceptance is a requisite for accepting and responding positively to other people” (p. 63). As these individuals

have learned to accept self, they respond more positively to other groups. At Stage 4, individuals have a healthy sense of cultural identity, and a strong desire and skills to act effectively in two cultural communities. Individuals at Stage 5 “understand, appreciate, and share the values, symbols, and institutions of several cultures” (p. 64). At Stage 6, individuals have “the ideal delicate balance of cultural, national, and global,” and have “cosmopolitan values, perspectives, skills and behaviors” (p. 64).

Educational Equity and Culturally Responsive Curriculum

Bennett (2007) argued that educational excellence in schools cannot be achieved without educational equity. “Equity” does not always mean treating different groups the same. In much of the history of the United States, there was state-mandated racial segregation, which is the separation of different racial groups in schools and society. Students of color were forbidden to attend White schools by the *separate but equal doctrine*. Legalized racial segregation in schools ended with the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision and the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* (Spring, 2005). Although equal civil rights and educational desegregation laws have been enacted, equality and excellence for all have not been achieved in actuality yet. Most ethnic minority students still attend public schools that are racially isolated, achievement gaps continue, and more ethnic minority students drop out of school than Whites.

Bell (1980), suggested the theory of “interest convergence” as a reason why the U.S. society has not yet achieved equality. According to this theory, “the interest of Blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites” (P. 523). Another main reason from a more pedagogical point of view is the challenges of cultural difference (Moll & Gonzales, 2004; Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Foley, 1991). Failure to address cultural differences may contribute to low academic achievement rates of ethnic minority students in

traditional educational settings. Ethnic minority students' culturally different speech styles and communicative competencies can create tensions between teachers and students. According to Philips (1972, 1983), Native Americans speak less and more slowly and use auditory and visual senses more compared to Whites. At school, some Native American children are reluctant to participate verbally when they are supposed to speak alone in front of others and when they are dictated to do so by the teacher. However, they are willing to take part in activities where there is no distinction between individual performer and audience. Failures of educators to understand these differences and make accommodations for them in instruction make high achievement more problematic for Native Americans. Since cultural differences have a crucial influence on academic achievement of students of color, scholars have developed a theory of culturally responsive teaching to mediate them.

This theory is known by many different names, such as culturally sensitive, congruent, centered, and relevant, and is articulated in varying degrees of complexity (Ladson-Billings, 1992, 1994; Hollins, 1996; Hollins & Spencer, 1990). This study relied heavily on explanations provided by Gay (2010). She defined culturally responsive teaching as "Using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them" (p. 31). According to Gay (2010) culturally responsive teaching encompasses curriculum content, learning context, classroom climate, student-teacher relationships, instructional techniques, and performance assessments. Some scholars emphasize teaching strategies that match specific ethnic groups' learning styles such as using a slow pace, economy of words, asking questions directed to all, longer wait time for responses, responding to students' nonverbal requests for assistance, and using few directives in teaching Native American students (Klug & Whitfield, 2003). Others

focus on the relationship between culture and assessment.

According to Popham (2004), standardized test makers use contextual cues that are likely to be more familiar to middle-class European Americans than minority groups. Consequently, test scores reflect the inequalities in resources and opportunities that exist in society at large. Children living in poverty are less likely to have the background knowledge required to answer questions asked correctly, such as the following fifth-grade reading-vocabulary item. Student is asked to read the statement at the top, and then select the sentence below it where the underlined word “field” is used in a similar way.

My dad’s field is computer graphics.

- A. The pitcher could field his position.
- B. We prepared the field by plowing it.
- C. The doctor examined my field of vision.
- D. What field will you enter after college? (Popham, 2004, p. 72)

Children whose parents work as janitors and cashiers rather than those whose parents are journalists and physicians are less likely to choose the correct answer, (D). Their test scores not only depend on what they have learned in school but also on culture and class related knowledge. The mismatch puts many minority children at an academic disadvantage.

Solano-Flores and Nelson-Barber (2001) proposed ways to develop assessments that have cultural validity in science. They defined cultural validity as:

The effectiveness with which science assessment addresses the sociocultural influences that shape student thinking and the ways in which students make sense of science items and respond to them. These sociocultural influences include the sets of values, beliefs, experiences, communication patterns, teaching and

learning styles, and epistemologies inherent in the students' cultural backgrounds, and the socioeconomic conditions prevailing in their cultural groups (p. 555).

For analyzing how these ideas are applied in practice, Solano-Flores and Nelson-Barber (2001) observed how the Yu'pik in Alaska used body measurements in solving everyday problems. Based on these findings, they developed culturally relevant assessment tools using body part charts as rulers to solve questions of routine measurement that occur in school. For instance, students were given a sheet with the illustrations of kayaks of different length and a transparent chart with outstretched arms of an individual drawn on them. The task was to measure kayaks with the given transparent chart instead of the ruler often used in mainstream schools.

Other researchers have conducted similar studies. Lipka (1994, 1998) directed a research project on cultural differences between Western and the Yup'ik, and developed Yup'ik-based mathematics, science, and literacy curricula with the Cilustest (a voluntary group of Yup'ik teachers) based on cultural knowledge of Yup'ik elders. Through a decade long ethnography study on the White community of Roadville and the African American community of Trackton, North Carolina, Heath (1983) found that sociolinguistic discontinuity existed between African American community and school, and breaking down the discontinuity increased African American students' participation in the school. Kana'iaupuni, Ledward, and Jensen (2010) conducted a large-scale survey with teachers, students, and parents at public, charter, private, and schools with Hawaiian-immersion programs in Hawaii. They found that culturally responsive curriculum is positively related to math and reading test scores for not only Native Hawaiian students but also all students.

Although the cultural responsive curricula and contents are beneficial for ethnic minorities, the fact should not be overlooked that diversity exists within ethnic groups as well.

Not everyone within an ethnic group learns in the same way or automatically knows their culture. Scholars argue that trying to match teaching strategies to specific ethnic learning styles without a thorough knowledge of related complex cultural dynamics can create stereotypes and labels that become obstacles to understanding the behavior of a particular child working on a particular school task at a particular point in time (Cazden & Mehan, 1989).

The assumption that minority students are able to automatically articulate their culture explicitly is also dangerous. According to Gay (1994a), membership in a certain ethnic group does not always guarantee self-knowledge about that group. For example, at the beginning of the study of Solano-Flores and Nelson-Barber (2001), they had assumed that all Yu'pik communities engaged with kayaks in the same way, but soon realized that kayaks were more part of life in coastal Yu'pik villages than inland Yu'pik villages where canoes were common. Although Yu'pik villages from these two areas were less than 100 miles apart, each one developed some different cultural artifacts overtime because of different terrains and climates. Even in coastal Yu'pik villages, not all people used a kayak although they considered kayaks as an element of their culture. This means "being a Yu'pik does not make a person a kayak user" (Solano-Flores & Nelson-Barber, 2001, p. 565). Many other scholars argue strongly for researchers and educators to avoid over-generalizing ethnic characteristics (Gay, 2010; Moll & Gonzalez, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1994).

The ideas in cultural responsive teaching of respecting the cultures and experiences of various groups, and using the home and community culture as a basic resource to make academic abstraction more understandable and relevant to students are not new. In the 1930s, Vygotsky (1978) argued that new tasks and challenges for students should be within their *zone of proximal development* for them to learn successfully. For example, solving problems is more difficult

when students have two unknowns than when they have one. Once students feel familiar with new academic knowledge and materials, they can focus on and learn the content more effectively.

Gay (2010) summarized several generally accepted principles of learning that include

- Students' existing knowledge is the best starting point for the instruction of new knowledge (Principle of similarity)
- Prior success breeds subsequent effort and success (Principle of efficacy).
- New Knowledge is learned more easily and retained longer when it is connected to prior knowledge, frames of reference, or cognitive schematas (Principle of congruity).
- Reducing the “strangeness” of new knowledge and the concomitant “threat of the unfamiliar” increases students' engagement with and mastery of learning tasks (Principle of familiarity).
- Organizational and structural factors surrounding how one goes about learning have more powerful effects on the mastery of new knowledge than the amount of prior knowledge one possesses, per se (Principle of transnationalism).
- Understanding how students' knowledge is organized and interrelated—their cognitive structures—is essential to maximizing their classroom learning (Principle of cognitive mapping, p. 176).

For today's students who are from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, rich repertoires of cultural examples should be used to connect prior knowledge with new knowledge, and abstractions with lived realities. Several scholars suggest that these and other kinds of culturally responsive curriculum content are not just for minorities but for mainstream students

as well (Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1992; Jackson, 1994). Culturally responsive curriculum content also deals with both academic materials like scientific theories, and reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as concepts and ideas such as racism, stereotype, culture, minority, privilege, and inequality.

Culturally responsive curriculum content should be accurate, authentic, and comprehensive, too. If not, it can teach students racial, ethnic, social, and cultural stereotypes and negative attitudes. An United States case in point is the novel, *Gone with the Wind*, which is sometimes used as a supplemental textbook when students study the Civil War. A passage reads, “Is de gempmum gone? Huccome you din’ ast dem ter stay fer supper, Miss Scarlett? Ah done tole Poke ter lay two extry plates fer dem. Whar’s yo’ manner?” (as cited in Loewen, 2010, P. 151). These comments made by the Black character, Mammy, are virtually unintelligible. According to Loewen (2010), most Black and White Southerners from a given area speak a dialect. In the novel, only Black speakers use the dialect while Whites speak more “standard” English. Distorted images such as these can make White and Black students think African Americans are inferior, and can make African American students have low self-esteem, thereby shaping both dominant and minority students’ senses of ethnic self and of others.

Social Justice and Critical Skills

Many scholars emphasize the importance of critical thinking, critical consciousness, and critical pedagogy. In multicultural education, more and more scholars are moving beyond promoting pluralism and are emphasizing the importance of providing students with tools to critique the relationship between power, knowledge, privilege, and diversity. “Critical” within the context of cultural diversity can be better understood by explicating different types of philosophical approaches to multiculturalism. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) offered five

philosophical approaches to multiculturalism. These are: *conservative multiculturalism*, *liberal multiculturalism*, *pluralist multiculturalism*, *left-essentialist multiculturalism* and *critical multiculturalism*.

According to Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997), *conservative multiculturalism* is the philosophical approach of dominant groups who believe in the superiority of Western culture. They do not acknowledge that they are granted privilege, and argue that everyone can succeed by accepting and adapting to Western values, ideas, and culture. Conservative multiculturalists regard individuals who do not succeed as deficient and not working hard enough. They simply ignore the influence of power relations among different groups. The model minority discourse in the United States is an example of *conservative multiculturalism*. In the mid-1960s, amid the civil rights movements and demands for educational equality and social justice, mainstream media began to characterize Asian Americans as model minorities. Lowe (2008) defined model minority as “the perception that Asian Americans excel in areas of academic, economic and career success where other ethnic minorities in the United States do not” (p. 478). Several scholars argue that the model minority is a myth and it damages the life of people of Asian descent as well as other minorities (Lowe, 2008; Lee, Wong, & Alvarez, 2009; Ono & Pham, 2009; Takaki, 1989). The model minority notion suggests that quiet and hardworking people of Asian descent who take upon themselves the responsibility for change rather than blaming and advocating for governmental obligation for social change are rewarded. In other words, the claimed success of people of Asian descent is living proof that the U.S provides equal opportunities for those who conform and work hard. It deemphasizes the problems other minorities and some of Asian descent continue to face from unequal treatment.

The second approach in the taxonomy developed by Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) is

liberal multiculturalism. It emphasizes sameness, innate commonalities, and universal equality among groups. It also focuses on individualism and color blindness, which often fail to detect existing power structures that maintain inequality and hidden forms of racism in mainstream culture. Therefore, the unintended result of *liberal multiculturalism* is assimilating minority groups into the dominant society as it often offers “a warm and fuzzy, feel good lesson on multicultural unity and racial accord” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p.11).

The third philosophical approach described by Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997), *pluralist multiculturalism*, emphasizes differences and the belief that diversity is intrinsically valuable. The goal of this approach is to promote pride in one’s own ethnic heritage as well as to learn about others’. However, it often ends up with a “tourism tone.” Derman-Sparks (1989) described a tourist curriculum as one that focuses on exotic elements of difference such as food, dance, music, and fashion. Hence, mainstream children “visit” minority cultures and then go back to their daily life. According to Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997), pluralists are reluctant to discuss issues of existing power structures and societal inequalities, and they tend to depoliticize or avoid challenging the status quo of the dominant group’s superiority.

The fourth philosophical approach, *left-essentialist multiculturalism*, often connects difference to a historical past of cultural authenticity where the essence of a particular identity was developed—“an essence that transcends the forces of history, social context and power” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 20). It also argues that only authentically oppressed individuals have the moral authority to make particular criticisms, which Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) called “oppression privilege” (p. 21). In this view, for example, men are not supposed to have the moral authority to discuss women who are oppressed. This “oppression privilege” tends to focus on only “one form of oppression as elemental, as taking precedence over all other modes of

subjugation” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 22). Often these left-essentialists concentrate only on their own ethnic or gender group’s self-assertions rather than on building democratic alliances for social justice.

Because of the problems of these four philosophical approaches to multiculturalism, Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) suggested *critical multiculturalism*. It is based on the critical theory that is “concerned with how domination takes place, the way human relations are shaped in the workplace, the schools and everyday life” (p. 23). *Critical multiculturalism* uses analytical methods to gain a deeper understanding of how race, class, and gender are represented in various social contexts. It does not merely catalogue such portrayals but also examines intersections among class, gender, and race, and views culture, politics, and economics as power related processes. Thus, “critical multiculturalism refuses to position the mere establishment of diversity as its final objective; instead, it seeks a diversity that understands the power of difference when it is conceptualized within a larger concern with social justice” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 26). In this theory, students consider themselves as social beings and understand how their political opinions, socio-economic status, racial self-image, and gender role are shaped by dominant groups. Through this self-reflection process, they can change perspectives and beliefs and work to achieve social justice. Although not all multiculturalists use the terms of Kincheloe and Steinberg such as *liberal multiculturalism*, *critical multiculturalism*, and so on, they offer ones that are somewhat parallel. For example, Sleeter and Grant (2006, 1988) use *education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist* which is similar to *critical multiculturalism*; Nieto (2004) points out that “multicultural education is critical pedagogy” (p. 357); and Gay (1996) contends that the relationship between critical pedagogy and multicultural education are “mirror images.”

One of the founders of critical pedagogy, Freire (1970), asserted that teachers should stop engaging in what he described as a banking concept of education in which students are expected to memorize and regurgitate facts, knowledge, and “truth” without engaging multiple perspectives or offering opinions of their own. In the banking concept of education, the world is seen as static and students are expected to fit into it as it is. It means that as students learn more knowledge, skills, and facts, they develop less critical consciousness and become passive conformists (Freire, 1970). This perpetuates the institutional oppressions and inequities that exist in society and in educational opportunities for minority students.

Nieto (2004, 2002) explained that students often learn that there is only one “right” answer. According to her, becoming a multicultural person means learning to see reality from a variety of perspectives. Students have to learn that there are many sides to every story. They also should be encouraged to be critical of every story by asking questions such as Who wrote this story? Who’s missing in this story? Who benefits from this? Why? Why not? They should be encouraged to use various materials produced by diverse groups in order to make informed decisions. Most of all, students should examine conflicting and difficult issues, and accept that “Nothing [should be] taboo as a topic of discussion” (Nieto, 2002, p. 272). Sleeter and Grant (1988) suggested that curriculum content should consist of current social issues including racism, classism, ableism, and sexism, and students should use their own everyday life experiences as starting points for analyzing these.

Although current school textbooks and curricula include content about minority groups more often than in the past, most of it is not critical. According to Banks (2009) there are four approaches to integrating multicultural content into curricula. They are:

Level 1: the contribution approach- focuses on [culturally diverse] heroes,

holidays, and discrete cultural elements.

Level 2: the additive approach- content, concepts, themes, and perspectives [of minorities but primarily from mainstream perspectives] are added to the curriculum without changing its structure.

Level 3: the transformative approach- the structure of the curriculum is changed to enable students to view concepts, issues, events, and themes from the perspectives of diverse ethnic and cultural groups.

Level 4: the social action approach- students make decision on important social issues [affecting diverse groups] and take actions to help solve them. (p.19)

The first two levels are the most frequently used ones but they fail to engage students in critical learning processes. According to Banks (2009), their most important shortcoming is that the content about minorities is usually selected from the perspectives of mainstream historians, authors, artists, and scientists. They include “safe” perspectives that emphasize harmonious relations among diverse groups (Nieto, 2004, 2002; Banks, 2009; Gay, 2010; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). For example, Martin Luther King, Jr, Booker T. Washington, and Marian Anderson are presented as African American heroes more often than W.E.B. Du Bois and Angela Davis. The content does not examine critical perspectives about structural inequalities to avoid conflicts. This behavior tends to perpetuate the status quo. David and Roger Johnson (2000) pointed out that conflicts can destroy unity and tear society apart, yet conflicts are more frequent and intense when individuals are more committed to their mutual goals, and when their relationships are more caring and committed. In other words, if managed constructively, conflicts can significantly strengthen and improve relationships among diverse groups. Curriculum should accept conflict as an inevitable part of learning and reach an agreement on the best way of

dealing with problems of social justice through multiple perspectives (Johnson & Johnson, 2000; Nieto, 2004).

The importance of Textbooks

Textbooks continue to be one of the primary sources of curriculum content used in the classroom for most teachers and students. (Banks, 1969; Sesow & Sorensen, 1987; Gay, 2010). Sesow and Sorensen (1987) noted that the most common methods of social studies instruction were discussion, lecture, and recitation based on textbook content. Gay (2010) asserted that textbooks are the source of 70 percent to 95 percent of all classroom instruction. This dominance grows as students advance to upper grades from kindergarten through high school. Hung (2002) summarized the four major reasons why teachers rely heavily on textbooks. They are:

- Textbooks cover all the facts, concepts and skills in the curriculum frameworks.
- Textbooks present core knowledge in an orderly sequence from lower to upper grade levels.
- Textbooks are accompanied with comprehensive teachers' manuals containing lots of instructional activities.
- Teachers feel pressured to use textbooks to meet the expectations of their peers, administrators, and parents (p.12).

According to Venezky (1992), developing their own curricula is not commonly featured in the professional preparation of elementary and secondary level teachers. Furthermore, there is not much time to prepare lessons for the multitude of subjects and students to be taught (Apple, 1992). Teachers also assume that most problems of racial, ethnic, gender and socio- economic bias are “taken care of” by publishers (Sleeter, 2005). These situations cause teachers to depend

on textbooks as the primary instructional sources and tools.

Some empirical studies support these claims about teachers' reliance on textbooks. In a survey conducted by Finkelstein, Nielsen and Switzer (1993) among 1,177 respondents, 883 answered that half or more of instructional time was devoted to using the textbook. They found that the textbook dominated primary social studies classes even though many teachers did not like to use the textbook. Another empirical study by Bean, Zigmond, and Hartman (1994) also found that most of the teachers in the study relied on their textbooks. Over 90 percent of teachers in the study reported that they used "a single basal social studies text as the primary resource for planning instruction" (p. 219). Some teachers were willing to omit specific chapters that were not related to listed topics in the district curriculum guide. They were also willing to change the sequence—teaching a chapter earlier than it was actually placed later in the textbook or vice versa. But, they did not modify content within the chapters. Bean et al. concluded that "[the teachers] tended to see the text as immutable and deferred to text as a closed entity, one not open to revision or adaptation" (p. 219).

Textbooks also play a dominant role in shaping students' worldviews (Nieto, 2004; Gay, 2010; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Most students consider the information and messages their textbooks present as accurate and incontestable truth. They trust information in textbooks without any doubt as textbooks are often considered "a foolproof means of successful teaching and learning" (Gay, 2010, p. 113). Textbooks always represent somebody's (not everybody's) version of reality (Gay, 2010; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). No matter what the subject or how extensive the textbook is, the knowledge and skills included or excluded are still selective and not exhaustive. Apple (1996) cautioned that it is naive to think that school curricula, including textbooks, represent neutral knowledge. He explained that:

The curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a selective tradition, someone's selection, and some group's vision of legitimate knowledge. It is produced out of the cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises that organize and disorganize people (p. 22).

Consequently, curriculum, as embodied in textbooks, tends to transmit the values, knowledge, and ideologies of the dominant group, and support the status quo (Apple, 1992, 1991). In the United States, textbook publishing is very competitive. The top twenty largest text publishers control over 75 percent of the sales in elementary and high school textbook markets (Apple, 1991). Instead of taking risks, publishers "prefer to extend most of their efforts on a smaller selection of 'carefully chosen products'" (Apple, 1991, p.28). Textbook publishing is controlled by not only markets but also politics. For example, in the 1930s, conservative groups and some "neutral" groups campaigned against one of the progressive textbook series used in schools, *Man and His Changing World* (Apple, 1992; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). These groups argued that the books were socialist, anti-American, and anti-business. The campaign succeeded and schools banned the series from classrooms and libraries. Sales fell from approximately 300,000 copies in 1938 to 20,000 in 1944.

Another example of what is the textbook-adoption policies. According to Apple and Christian-Smith (1991), almost half of the 50 states in the United States have textbook-adoption committees. These states are located mostly in the *Sun Belt*. Especially, textbooks that are adopted in two largest textbook market states, Texas and California, make huge profits for publishers, and set precedents that many smaller states follow (Ravitch, 2003). Since the economic profit and loss heavily depend on sales, nearly all efforts of publishers are devoted to

meeting the requirements of state textbook-adoption policies. This means those who have political power control textbooks production and dissemination. One of the most recent examples is the controversy over textbooks in Texas. In 2010, the Texas Board of Education approved curriculum standards that put a conservative spin on social studies textbooks, emphasizing the superiority of capitalism, favoritism toward Republican political figures and philosophies, and stressing that the Founding Fathers of the United States were guided by Christian beliefs (McKinley, 2010; Birnbaum, 2010).

Political controversies over content are frequent, and it result from “intense conflicts, negotiations, and attempts at rebuilding hegemonic control by actually incorporating the knowledge and perspectives of the less powerful under the umbrella of the discourse of the dominant group” (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p.19). Dominant groups may include some items of progressive and minority groups in order to compromise, but simply mention it without deep development. As a result, several researchers have examined what knowledge is included, and excluded and whose ideas, beliefs, and knowledge are valued in textbook content and design.

Textbook Analysis in the United States

In the United States, textbook analyses regarding racial and ethnic minority groups are not recent phenomena. In the past, textbooks often excluded or presented distorted images of racial minority groups such as the myth of happy slaves in social studies textbooks. Its damage is not limited to the past. Teachers usually teach historical events without checking the accuracy of the facts or understanding hidden agendas if they are familiar with the story. For example, many elementary teachers still present the \$24 myth about the purchase of Manhattan by the Dutch from the Indians in 1626 to children without any concern of hidden agendas and fact (Loewen, 2010). This story is false, and makes Native Americans look naïve or stupid since \$24 will not

buy any land in Manhattan today. It teaches that Native Americans are inferior; at the same time, this myth legitimizes Europeans taking the land as a great business transaction. They did not invade the land. They bought it, fair and square. This myth implies that acquiring the lands of Native Americans was not problematic. Another example is the myth that Christopher Columbus proved the earth was round. According to Loewen (2010), most people already knew the world was round in Columbus's time. Yet, since the popular novelist, Washington Irving, included the "flat earth" tale in a biography of Columbus in the 19th century, many people think Columbus deserves credit for dispelling this error. Teachers learned the "flat earth" tale in their youth, and their later schooling never challenged it. It is passed from one generation to the next. The Columbus story implies that European settlers deserved to be in the U.S. because of a spirit of adventure, and a manifest destiny.

In response to demands of civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s for equality for minority groups, curriculum writers were began to include histories and literature of more diverse groups (Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Today, there are regulations, procedures, and guidelines issued by policy makers and educational agencies to correct the distortions in many states. For example, the Washington State policy *WAC 392-190-055* stipulates that "the instructional materials committee of each school district must establish and maintain appropriate screening criteria designed to identify and eliminate bias pertaining to sex, race, creed, religion, color, [and] national origin... in all textbooks and instructional materials including reference materials and audio-visual materials" ("Textbooks and Instructional Materials," n.d., para. 2). Textbook publishers now include more content and visual illustrations of oppressed groups than early twentieth century textbooks did. These representations include some significant improvements. For example, through a content analysis of six high school history textbooks from the 1960s,

1980s, and 1990s, Clark, Allard, and Mahoney (2004) found that one of oppressed groups, females, represented 4.9 percent of names in indexes in the 1960s, 12.7 percent in the 1980s and 16.3 percent in the 1990s.

The concerns and efforts of textbook publishers to correct the oppressive treatment of ethnic minority groups have declined somewhat since the 1980s (Sleeter, 2005; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Several researchers (Clark & Nunes, 2008; Avery & Simmons, 2000; Sleeter & Grant, 1991) also claim that textbooks have only improved in specific and limited ways, so some problems remained. First, an imbalance exists across racial groups of color. According to Sleeter and Grant (1991) who analyzed 47 social studies, reading/language arts, science, and mathematics textbooks, most attention is given to African Americans. In the 14 social studies textbooks analyzed African Americans appeared in about 12.8 percent of the visuals, Asian Americans were shown in less than 5.9 percent and Latino Americans in less than 6.5 percent. In the 15 reading/language arts textbooks, the percentage of African Americans pictured ranged from 9 percent to 27 percent, averaging about 16 percent; the percentage of Asian Americans pictured ranged from total absence to 15 percent; and the number of Latino Americans pictured ranged from complete absence to 26 percent, averaging around five percent. In science and math textbooks, Asian Americans are shown frequently, but the percentage of Latino Americans pictured was the same as for social studies and reading/language arts textbooks. A more recent study revealed similar results. Avery and Simmons (2000) did a content analysis of three civics and three history textbooks, which appeared on multiple state textbook adoption lists. They found that very few individual Latino Americans and Asian Americans were discussed, while several African American individuals were.

The second problem with current textbooks is that contemporary issues are

overshadowed by historical ones. Most stories about African Americans deal with slavery, segregation, and the Civil Rights period. For example, the content analyses of photographs in 27 introductory sociology textbooks published between 2002 and 2006 conducted by Clark and Nunes (2008) revealed that African Americans were overrepresented in areas that illustrate the historic patterns of school segregation. Most Native Americans were seen in colonial time. Asian Americans were mostly shown as immigrant workers in the late 19th century and the early 20th century. Latino Americans mostly appeared in the context of the settlement of the Southwest, the 1836 Texas Revolution, and the war between Mexicans and the United States. According to Avery and Simmons (2000), Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, the president of Mexico in 1834, and Lorenzo de Zavala, the vice president of the Republic of Texas in 1836, were mentioned more often than any other Latinos in all the history textbooks that they analyzed.

Textbooks also tend to emphasize “safe” content and perspectives that focus on harmonious relations among diverse groups. They avoid critical perspectives of minorities about structural inequality or the problem of gender expectations because they are concerned about avoiding conflict. For example, one of the textbooks in the content analysis of Sleeter and Grant (1991) commented that Martin Luther King, Jr. “dreamed of a better life for all Americans. He wanted people to live together in peace, [and] worked hard to make his dream come true” (p. 84). However, it neglected to discuss the oppression of Blacks that King’s movement challenged. According to Sleeter and Grant (1991), many textbooks do not explain adequately that the civil rights movement of African Americans was a struggle against oppressive and discriminatory laws. Thus, textbooks do not give students a chance to analyze complex and conflicting issues.

Textbook Analysis in South Korea

In South Korea, schools choose textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education but

produced by certain private publishers. This means the dominant groups in South Korea can transmit their beliefs, values, and norms easily. In 2007, the Ministry of Education in South Korea initiated national curriculum reform policies regarding multicultural education. For example, the reform policies suggested textbook publishers omit the term “**단일 민족**” [Danil Minjok], which claims that Korea is a homogeneous nation of pure blood.

Several analyses reveal some improvements in the textbooks published after the reform. Park (2010) compared 3rd and 4th grade social studies textbooks published in 2009 with those in 2010. For these grades, the year 2010 is important because this was when reform policies promoted in 2007 were first incorporated into textbooks. Park (2010) found that textbooks published in 2010 had more content related to multiculturalism compared to textbooks published in 2009. Moon (2011) analyzed social textbooks used in 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th grade. She discovered that although there is no concept or ideology related to multicultural education in textbooks used in 1st grade, the life of multicultural families was depicted as an example of various family types. In 3rd grade textbooks, multicultural education concepts and ideology, such as diversity and pluralism, were included, and in 4th grade textbooks, elements of social justice, equality, and anti-discrimination were found.

These researchers also found that several problems still existed in South Korean textbooks. First, the old dichotomy between “We” and “They” remained. For example, Moon (2011) found that textbooks describe multicultural families as “they” and ethnic Korean as “we.” Second, the progress was limited to certain chapters rather than being throughout the entire textbook. Third, textbooks still focus mainly on tolerance rather than social justice. For example, content deals with why “we” tolerate different cultures and how “we” help “them.”

Chapter III: Research Methodology

This chapter discusses research design and approaches. Firstly, two different aspects of content analyses are discussed. Next, how research questions are connected to the conceptual frames in earlier pages is explained. Lastly, information about settings, coding, and analyzing including two self-created textbook analysis approaches—analysis of illustrations and analysis of narrative text—are provided.

Content Analysis

The primary research method used in this study was content analysis. Berelson (1952) defined content analysis as “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (p. 18). Yet, recent definitions move beyond the quantitative approach since it alone is unlikely to capture depth meanings of content (Krippendorff, 2004; Weber, 1990; White & Marsh, 2006, Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Content analysis is not a linear approach in which content is coded, analyzed, and presented with just numbers and statistical procedures such as percentages, means, medians, and modes. Qualitative approaches have emerged, which are less formulaic and more flexible. Qualitative content analyses include categories and descriptions but focuses on settings, situations, and meanings (Altheide, 1987). Since the purpose of this study is to examine both written texts and visual images to gather an in-depth understanding, and see how textbooks represent the history, values, beliefs, and lives of minorities, qualitative content analysis was more appropriate than quantitative content analysis. But, some quantitative data were collected as well. The study began with counting physical units (e.g., sentences, pages, illustrations), then extended the analysis to include latent meanings and themes. This approach seems quantitative in the early stages, but its goal is to explore the usage of the indicators in an inductive manner. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), qualitative analysis is valuable when the researcher uses an

interpretive paradigm. Data derived from this approach can support the development of new theories as well as validate existing ones, and provide thick descriptions of particular settings or phenomena. The high possibility of discovering something outside the researcher’s thinking or intention is an advantage of the less standardized and formulaic approaches to content analyses.

Research Questions

The overarching questions guiding this research were (1) “How do U.S. and South Korean textbooks represent and meet the suggestions that multicultural education scholars recommend for three fundamental ideologies: cultural pluralism, educational equity, and social justice?”; and (2) “What differences and similarities exist between U.S. and South Korea textbooks regarding minority groups and issues related to them?” Yet, this study was not a direct comparison study of textbooks in the two countries. Nor is it designed to find out which country is better because the contexts of these two countries are very different. The main purpose of the study was to examine whether and/or how multicultural education theories are applied in textbooks, and to discover better ways to reduce gaps between theories and practices based on positive examples of each country’s textbooks (Figure 3-1).

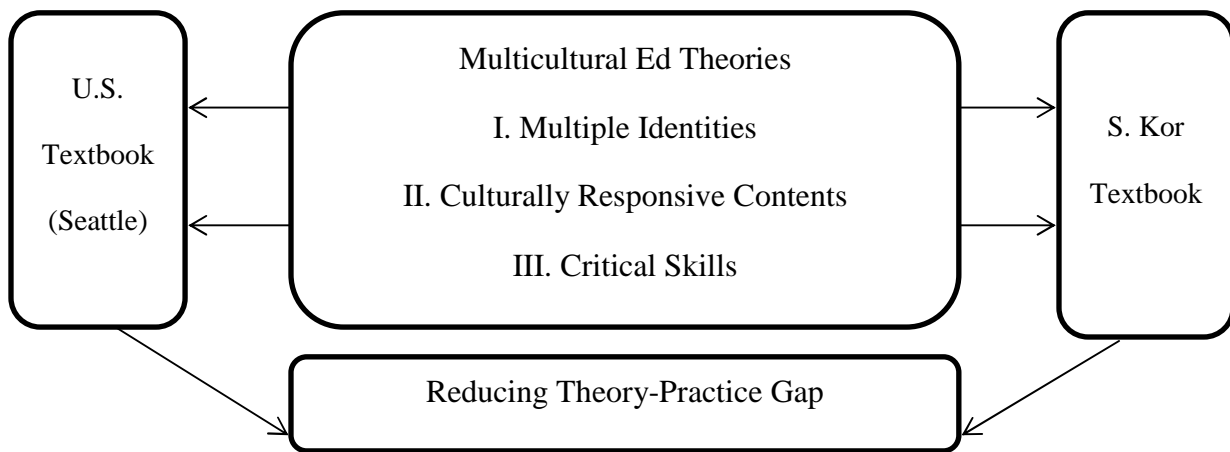


Figure 3-1. The Purpose of Study

In order to answer the overarching question three related questions are examined. The first question was, “Do U.S. and South Korean textbooks emphasize only national identity or regional, cultural, and global identities also?” How diverse identities are represented in textbooks was examined, and the percentage of the textbook devoted to certain ethnic and racial minority groups. The results were used to determine what ideological orientations dominate textbooks, and how the concept of “minority” was explained. For example, previous South Korean textbook analyses have found that minority people were described as “they” rather than “we” (Moon, 2011).

The second specific question was, “How well do textbooks exhibit different attributes of culturally responsive curriculum?” To answer the question, data were collected and analyzed on which groups are included or excluded from specific topics, themes and concepts of multicultural education, and interpretations of their meanings. For example, the treatment of racism is one of the important concepts in multicultural education. If textbooks focus only on the period of slavery, this could imply that only Whites are racist, that racism is restricted to the past, and that socioeconomic disparities between minorities and mainstreamers is the responsibility or fault of minorities themselves rather than being societal problems. If the data collected do reveal these then textbooks would be failing to adequately teach the social studies concept of “Time, Continuity, and Change.” According to the *National Council for the Social Studies* (2010), students should learn and comprehend “how important historical events and development have shaped the modern world” (p. 3).

The third specific research question that was examined in this study was, “Do textbooks include critical perspectives and if so, how?” One way to answer this question was to analyze what historical figures and their ideas and beliefs are discussed in textbooks. For example,

several scholars (Nieto, 2004; 2002; Banks, 2009; Gay, 2010; Sleeter & Grant, 1991) argue that versions of multicultural education that deal only with safe issues such as intercultural tolerance and harmony among diverse groups are preferred in school curricula. They argue that curricula and textbooks should include analytical and reflective discussions about issues such as *de facto* and *de jure* segregation, inequality, resistance, and injustice to encourage students to develop critical skills and act as agents for social justice beyond school.

Setting and Sample

To answer these research questions, textbooks used in Seattle, WA and South Korea were analyzed. According to Banks (2009), Nieto (2002), and Sleeter (1996), multicultural education should be incorporated into all subject matter even science and mathematics. To make this study manageable, only secondary social studies textbooks were used, on the assumption that there is more content related to multicultural education in these than in other subject matter textbooks.

There are two main reasons why textbooks used in Seattle public schools were selected. One common problem associated with cross-cultural studies is that sometimes outsiders cannot accurately observe or examine the behavior of the society studied because “differences stem from the fact that members of a given culture share complex systems for decoding meaning in one another’s behavior that may be inaccessible to outsiders” (Smith & Tayeb, 1988, p. 154). This challenge could be controlled somewhat because the researcher has lived in both South Korea and Seattle. The other reason is the high school *Social Studies Adoption Committee* of the Seattle Public Schools had recently approved new textbooks for the 2012-2013 school year. Although the power levels are different in the Seattle and South Korea textbook selection procedures, there are some parallels. The South Korean Ministry of Education approves

textbooks produced by private publishers and the Seattle selection committee chooses books from private publishers. There are still significant differences between Seattle and South Korea that had to be considered in the study. In Seattle high school regular classes—not advanced placement (AP)—the social studies taught usually has a strong history orientation except twelfth grade. For example, World history I, II, and III are taught in ninth and tenth grades, U.S. history in eleventh grade and American government in twelfth grade. The Seattle public schools textbook selected for this analysis is History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals published by *Teachers' Curriculum Institute* (TCI). The Seattle Public Schools adopted this book for use in 2012-2013 in regular U.S. history classes taught in eleventh grade. Although History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals has an online electronic version and a paper version; only the paper based version was used in this study.

In South Korea several subjects teach social studies outside of a history context, such as 사회.문화 [Society & Culture]. Thus, two textbooks were randomly selected from the approved list by South Korean government for Society & Culture classes. They are Society & Culture by 교학사 [Gyo Hak Sa] publication (Kim et al., 2012) and Society & Culture by 천재교육 [Chunjae Gyoyuk] publication (Goo et al., 2012). In South Korea, textbooks use the name of subject matter as their titles, so names of authors and publication firms are included here for differentiation.

Since 한국사 [Korea History] also is part of social studies in South Korea, two textbooks from the approved list by South Korean government for Korea history classes typically taught in tenth grade were selected for analyses. They are Korea History by 비상교육 [Bisang

Gyoyuk] publication (Do et al., 2011) and Korea History by 지학사 [Ji Hak Sa] publication (Jung et al., 2011). Analyzing textbooks used for Korea History could generate somewhat fresh insights and attributions since many previous textbook analyses in South Korea within a multicultural education conceptual frame focus on Society and Culture textbooks. There are very few (if any) Korea History textbook analyses conducted using a multicultural education context. Overall selections are presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Textbook Selection

Nationality	United States		South Korea			
Subject	U.S. History	Not Available	KOR History		Society & Culture	
Title	<i>History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals</i>	NA	<i>Korea History*</i>	<i>Korea History*</i>	<i>Society & Culture*</i>	<i>Society & Culture*</i>
Year	2013		2011	2011	2012	2012
Author	Hart et al.		Jung et al.	Do et al.	Kim et al.	Goo et al.,
Publication	TCI		JHS 지학사	BG 비상	GHS 교학사	CG 천재

* Even though in English, the term, Korean history, is more common, this study uses Korea History. The titles of textbooks and subjects in this study are direct translations (word-for-word) because a title implies what a given subject is intended to teach. They are also capitalized such as Society and Culture textbooks.

Coding and Analyzing

Self-created textbook analysis approaches were used to collect and record data for this study. While their construction were influenced by previous content analyses in education and communication (newspaper and advertisement), most of this feature originated from the textbook content analyses of Clark and Nunes (2008), Clark, Allard, and Mahoney (2004), Avery and Simmons (2000), and Sleeter and Grant (1991; 1989). The analyses included two different categories of information: Illustrations and Narratives. Yet, to discuss issues like race, ethnicity, migration, and immigration, this study limited its focus on racial and ethnic minorities rather than including all oppressed groups such as gays, people with disabilities, females, and people of working class.

Analysis of Illustrations

Many textbooks include visual illustrations to support the information of the written text. This means visual images convey information and influence readers' perceptions about social issues just as written content does. Therefore, the researcher analyzed how people are presented in photos. For example, questioning whether a person or group is depicted stereotypically. This involves tallying who is in each picture, categorized by ethnicity/race or status (e.g., immigrant workers, long term foreign residents, and international marriage couples). This study limited its focus on groups within the domestic context of South Korea and the United States only. Many previous analyses of South Korean textbooks were not limited to groups within the South Korean domestic context. The reason might be because South Korean social studies textbooks do not have many pictures or content about ethnic minorities within South Korea since they comprise such a small percentage (2%) of the population. According to Banks (2009), even though it is important to link multicultural and global education values, multicultural education should not be

confused with global education as each type of education makes unique contributions to the knowledge of students. Multicultural education deals with different religious, cultural, ethnic, and gender groups within a given nation whereas global education deals with nations outside a given nation and the interrelationships among nations.

The next criterion of analysis used was time period. Previous studies in the United States found that in social studies textbooks, contemporary issues tend to be overshadowed by historical ones. First, the researcher used “past” and “current” categories for time, with “current” being after 1990 in the United States. The same technique was used for the South Korean textbooks, except using 2000 as the cut-off year because the rapid growth of immigrant workers and international marriages began at end of the 1980s, and may not be reflected in textbooks before 2000. Secondly, in my codebook, the researcher described specific periods such as the Civil Rights Era. These efforts extended the analyses to include latent meanings and themes. For example, if most African Americans appear in discussions of slavery and the civil rights movements, this could be interpreted to mean that the textbooks included them primarily in racial issues.

The last level of photo analysis focused on the implicit social relationships among members in the ethnicity and race categories. The researcher asked whether ethnic minorities are given photo frames of “their own,” or share frames “with other ethnicities” (Clark & Nunes, 2008). In the “with other race” categories, the researcher examined role prominence which is a slight modification from the descriptions of Taylor and Lee (2004) descriptions. There are two types of roles, primary and extra. A primary role involves being in the foreground or highlighted in a given photo. Extra roles are not easily discerned at first glance. These help the researcher to see whether publishers used proportional representation in photos in textbooks that parallel

ethnic population distributions in U.S. and South Korean societies.

Analysis of Narrative Text

Since written texts directly transmit messages and give more details than photos, they offer more opportunities to perform qualitative content analyses. In this study, how and who were presented in texts, categorized by ethnicity/race or status (e.g., immigrant workers, long term foreign residents, and international marriage couples) were analyzed. A basic counting system of number of page of appearance is typically used in text analysis, but another criterion of analysis was added for narrative text analysis. One page was divided by the length based on (1) less than paragraph; (2) two to five paragraphs; and (3) six or more paragraphs. For instance, if Native Americans appeared in two pages, this researcher count it as two pages, but the researcher would also describe how many sentences or paragraphs are devoted to them actually within the two pages. The researcher also added placement criteria. According to Sleeter and Grant (1989), “important people” are discussed in the main part of the content while “extra people” are added in marginal text or supplementary pages at the beginning or end of the chapter.

The next level of my narrative text analysis was identifying what themes and concepts related to multicultural education are most and least represented. Six concepts are drawn from several scholars in multicultural education (Banks, 2009; Bennett, 2007; Nieto, 2004). They are Race, Ethnicity, Discrimination, Prejudice, Assimilation, Acculturation, and Immigration. This analysis of narrative content also included the degree to which ethnic or racial groups are excluded from, placed into certain concepts and themes related to multicultural education, or integrated throughout the text. For instance, is there an overrepresentation of Asian Americans in discussions of immigration?

Chapter IV: Findings

This chapter presents the findings in this study. The findings are organized according to the three major aspects of the conceptual frameworks: uses of multiple identities, culturally responsive contents, and critical skills. Although there is some overlap among these categories, this researcher believes that arrangement should make the findings easier to understand. Information quoted from the Korean textbooks used in this study is presented in Korean along with an English translation. The translations are not verbatim but capture the meaning of the passages. The translations are placed in parentheses immediately following the Korean statements. Translations of short phrases or terms are placed in brackets such as 사회.문화 [Society & Culture]. Brackets are also used when clarifying information is inserted in quoted text. For example, “우리나라에서 다문화 교육은 중요 해졌다” (In our country [South Korea], multicultural education has become important).

Use of Multiple Identities

The main question regarding the use of multiple identities was whether textbook authors emphasize only national identity or other identities also. Throughout History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013), the authors discuss national identity. As the title implies the conceptual framework is founding ideals of the United States: equality, rights, liberty, and opportunity, which are drawn from the *Declaration of Independence* written by Thomas Jefferson in 1776. According to Hart et al. (2013), these four founding ideals “have continued to provide a vision of what it means to be an American,” but no one fixed national identity is promoted. The authors argue that the founding ideals are not easy to achieve. Even reaching agreement on what each ideal means in United States society is difficult. In the second chapter,

the authors include sections that discuss the meaning of each ideal in 1776 and contemporary times, such as “Defining Equality in 1776”, “Debating Equality Today,” “Defining Opportunity in 1776,” “Debating Opportunity Today,” and so on. The authors encourage readers to think about the meaning of the founding ideals for themselves throughout the book.

Hart et al. (2013) also discuss regional identity. An example occurs in Chapter 3 “Setting the Geographic Stage:”

A closer look [at the United States] reveals that each region of the country has its own identity. Physical features, climate, and natural resources have shaped each region’s economy and settlement patterns. Arid and semiarid regions, for instance, tend to be thinly settled because they lack adequate water for farming and industry. A region’s personality also reflects its population. The traditions and culture of people living in a region give it its own particular flavor. For example, each region has its own characteristic foods, such as spicy burritos in the Southwest and clam chowder in the Northeast. Each region also has its own speech patterns, building styles, and festivals, to name but a few elements of regional identities...Although regional differences may cause tension, our diversity as a nation is one of our greatest strengths. Our economy relies on the varied physical resources of our vast land. Our democracy has benefited from the diverse backgrounds and concerns of people in different regions (p.24).

Although Hart et al. (2013) describe spicy burritos in the Southwest United States as an element of regional identity, it is also an example of cultural identity, Mexican Americans. The authors emphasize cultural identity of ethnic groups more explicitly in statements, such as:

European, Asian, Mexican, and French Canadian immigrants all faced accusations that they were unwilling to become members of American society. In them, all would prove

the nativist wrong. They would establish vibrant ethnic communities, and their cultures would become vital pieces of the American mosaic (p. 179).

Another example is:

By the turn of the [20th] century, immigration from different parts of the world were changing the face of American culture and society. New waves of immigrants from southern Europe and Asia were joined by immigrants from Mexico and Canada. All of these newcomers added their customs and languages to the nation's mix of cultures (p. 183).

These statements show that History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) follows multicultural ideas of allowing students to explore their national, regional, and cultural identities at least in general. To get more clear answers as to whether the textbook really follows the idea emphasizing multiple identities and cultural pluralism, careful examination of ethnic minority groups' representations is necessary. Additional insights are derived from data on the Overall Demographics of Representation.

Korea History by Bisang Gyoyuk [비상교육] publications (Do et al., 2011) and Korea History by Ji Hak Sa [지학사] publications (Jung et al., 2011) seem to consider national identity as being inherited Korean blood. Both textbooks emphasize “Korean ethnicity.” They discuss origins of Korean ethnicity and Korean ethnic culture. There is not much discussion about the cultural identity of ethnic minority groups or regional identities. The first chapter of each textbook is about the origins of Korean ethnicity. The title of the first chapter in Korea History by Do et al. (2010) is “우리 민족의 기원과 선사 문화” (The Origin of Our Ethnicity and Prehistoric Culture), and the title of the first chapter in Korea History by Jung et al. (2011) is

“선사 문화와 한민족의 형성” (Prehistoric Culture and the Formation of Han Min Jok [Korean ethnicity/people]). The focus on 한민족 (Han Min Jok; Korean ethnicity) can be problematic because it tends to emphasize Korean blood. A bigger problem is by saying “our ethnicity,” it implies that recent immigrants are not a part of “us.” The words, “our ethnicity,” “our country,” and “our people” also often appear in the Society and Culture textbooks examined in this study. According to Lee (2011), a “we-ness” language style reflects the collectivism of Korean society. In Korean language, “we,” “us,” and “our” are used very often. For example, while individuals in the United States may say “my family,” a Korean individual would say “our family” because Korean culture emphasizes the whole group rather than any individual member in the group. This “we-ness” language style in textbooks could make children of recent immigrant families feel that they are not “Koreans,” as well as cause native Korean students to think children of immigrant families are not Korean.

Although the authors in both Society and Culture textbooks also use the “we-ness” language style, they focus less on Korean ethnicity compared to Korea History books. This may be because Society and Culture is a class that teaches sociological theories and concepts. The main conceptual frame works of the Society and Culture textbooks examined in this study are concepts related to society and culture such as *functionalism theory* and *conflict theory* rather than Korean ethnicity. For example, in the Society and Culture textbooks, many names of foreign theorists and philosophers such as Giddens, Marx, Weber, Levi-Strauss, and Comte appear while the names of Korean well-known individuals such as kings and politicians dominate Korea History textbooks.

Both Society and Culture textbooks examined in this study emphasize national culture, regional culture, and ethnic minority culture at least conceptually. However, there are some differences between these two textbooks in discussion South Korean context. Goo et al. (2011) clearly state “또한, 다양한 이주민들이 만들어 낸 새로운 문화도 다양하다. 이런 점에서 보면 한국 사회의 문화적 정체성은 ...한국 사회에서 살아가는 사람들의 문화 다양성 또한 반영된 것이어야 한다” (There are also new cultures created by immigrants [in South Korea]. Thus, the cultural identity of South Korea... should reflect cultural diversity of all people who live in South Korea (p. 124). Kim et al. (2012) do not make a clear statement like Goo et al. (2012). Kim et al. (2012) just briefly mention that cultural diversity increased by newcomers in South Korea, and they spend many more pages to discuss issues related to Korean traditional cultural identity than Goo et al. (2012).

Overall Demographics of Representation

People of color within the United States or issues related to them appear in 179 pages of the United States history textbook, History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013). The book consists of 689 pages excluding the pages that listed the authors and contributors, table of contents, and resources appendices such as the index, notes, glossary, and credits. However, these numbers alone do not tell whether the book has significant amounts of stories about either people of color or issues related to them. Even though this is a United States history textbook, a large amount of its contents deals with world affairs and historical events, especially from the 20th century. Several segments begin with the international context events such as the origins of World War I, World War II, the Cold War, and the Vietnam War, and move back and forth between international issues and their impacts on the United States and its people. Even on

individual pages, often there is not a clear distinction between United States historical events and global historical events. Since multicultural education deals primarily with ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity within a given nation state rather than groups outside a given nation and interrelationships among nations, people of color outside of the United States are not included in the data collection in this study. For example, Asians appear in chapters on the Korean and Vietnam Wars, but since they are neither Asian Americans nor people of Asian descent in the United States, they were excluded from analysis in this study.

The majority of sections presented in the textbook use words such as “American” or “people” without any reference to specific race and ethnicity. For example, in chapter 20 on The Spanish-American War the statement is made that, “Many Americans sympathized with the rebellion, seeing it as a struggle for freedom, like the American Revolution. Meanwhile, American investors feared that the political unrest was putting their Cuban investments and property at risk” (Hart et al., 2013, p. 227). Another example is, “Many people had already stopped spending, and producers had slowed production” (Hart et al., 2013, p. 340) in explaining the origin of the great depression of the 1930s. The textbook also often refers to the nation state itself instead of specific ethnic groups, such as “In the days that followed, Americans learned that an international terrorist network called al Qaeda had carried out the 9/11 attacks ... The United States formed an international coalition to overthrow the Taliban and capture Bin Laden” (Hart et al., 2013, pp. 674-675). These terms do not mean Whites only since the textbook specified certain White ancestry groups at times. For instance, in explaining that immigrants faced forced Americanization during World War I the statement is made that “intolerance also led to attacks on German Americans. In April 1918, Robert Prager, a German-born citizen, was lynched by a mob near St. Louis, Missouri. His only crime was being born in Germany” (Hart et

al., 2013, p. 273). Compared to people of color, specifically naming various European ancestry immigrants such as Irish, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Russians, Polish, French Canadians, Italians, and Jews is very rare. Besides, Anglo Americans are only specified in early years.

History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) has a total of 430 photos in which Americans appear. Since some illustrations include more than one ethnic group within it, the number (489) of photos categorized by ethnicity is higher than the total number (430) of photos. Among 489 photos, 362 photos has individuals that appear to be Whites which is 74.03%, and obvious people of color are present in 116 photos which is 23.72%. The remaining 2.25% are racially “unidentified” photos. There are many racially unidentified photographs because facial features of the individuals included are not shown, or they are shown yet their raciality is difficult to determine. For example, a photograph of workers building the Hoover Dam is taken from behind and only these forms are shown, but no distinguishing features; nor is any distinguishing information included in the written text (See Figure 4-1, Hart et al., p. 345).



Figure 4-1. Workers in Boulder (Hoover) Dam

Another example of unidentifiable raciality is a photograph about the surge of immigration to the United States in the late 1800s and early 1900s (See Figure 4-2). The individuals in the photos

look like non-White but the accompanying written text simply says, “Millions of immigrants came to the United States at the turn of the century. Many arrived with few possessions and little money. They faced many challenges adapting to life in their new home” (p. 167). Therefore, the photograph was coded as “unidentified” in data collection and analysis.



Figure 4-2. Immigrants

Another indicator of whether History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) has significant amounts of stories about either people of color or issues related to them is the number of well-known individuals named. A total of 211 names of well-known individuals associate with historical events appear in the book. Among these 211 names, there are only 32 (15.17%) names of people of color and 179 or 84.83% Whites. Since many individuals specifically named in the textbook are presidents and first ladies of the United States, it is somewhat understandable why more Whites are named. Yet, only 15.17% being names of people of color is still a low percentage. These lacks of people of color representation in the United States history textbook can make students of color think “U.S. history = White history” or think they learn history of European Americans—not United States history. These can harm students’ learning experience.

Ogbu (1978, 1987, 1998, 2001) argued that many African American and Native American students—whom he called involuntary minorities—fail academically because they consider school learning as learning the culture and language of their oppressors who enslaved or colonized their ancestors. All children of non-White immigrants also can face this problem although Ogbu begged to differ. He argued that children of immigrants such as Asian Americans overcome the initial barriers of cultural and language difference, and perform successfully in schools as their parents come to the United States voluntarily with the desire for better opportunities. Ogbu overlooked or underplayed the importance of Whiteness in the United States. According to Ladson-billings (2004), a condition for acceptance as an American is Whiteness in a racialized society like the United States. People of Asian descent in the United States, whether U.S. citizen or not, are often seen as foreigners or non-Americans (Aoki & Mio, 2009). The few individuals of color named in the textbook can make Asian or other non-White immigrant students believe that they are not “real Americans.”

Korea History by Bisang Gyoyuk [비상교육] publication (Do et al., 2011) consists of 425 pages excluding the lists of the authors, preface, table of contents, a chronological table, references, and index. Korea History by Ji Hak Sa [지학사] publication (Jung et al., 2011) consists of 353 pages excluding those that list the authors, preface, table of contents, a chronological table, references, and index. Like the United States history textbook, a large amount of the content of Korea history textbooks deals with world affairs and historical events. Often there is not a clear distinction between Korea’s domestic historical events and global historical events because they impact each other. The Japanese occupation of Korea in the early 20th century and the Korean War in the middle of the 20th century add to the difficulty of making

clear distinctions. Excluding all temporary residents who came to the Korean peninsula as soldiers, government officials, and merchants during the Japanese occupation of Korea or the Korean War, only five pages in Korea History by Do et al. (2011) and six pages in Korea History by Jung et al. (2011) are about immigrants and foreign residents within Korea and issues related to them.

Even in these pages, discussions of immigrants within Korea or issues related to them are often allocated less than one paragraph, and there is no story development regarding these groups. The authors merely describe fragmentary stories of a particular historical period or event related to a given ethnic minority without further descriptions, such as what struggles the minority group experienced in Korea or how they were assimilated into the Korean culture. Most of these stories appear briefly while explaining other issues. For instance, in explaining foreign policies of Korea's dynasties regarding people in Manchuria the following statements are made:

조선은 여진족의 귀순을 장려하여 관직, 토지, 주택 등을 주거나, 국경 지방에

무역소를 설치하여 필요한 물품을 제공해 주었다. (Joseon [Korea's last dynasty

1392-1910] encouraged Jurchen people to defect to the Joseon dynasty by offering jobs, land, or houses (Jung et al., 2011, p. 62).

발해는 주로 고구려인과 말갈인으로 구성되었는데, 지배층은 주로 고구려인이었고,

피지배층은 대부분 말갈인이었다. (In Balhae [one of the ancient Korean kingdoms,

668-926] which consisted of Koreans and Mohe people, Koreans were the dominant group, and Mohe people were the subjugated class (Do et al., 2011, p. 38).

Both Korea History textbooks provide practically no information about contemporary immigrant workers and interracial marriage groups. Only Korea History by Ji Hak Sa [지학사] publication (Jung et al., 2011) briefly mentions them while discussing recent demographic and social changes in South Korea, such as:

최근 저출산 고령화 사회가 진전되면서 정부와 사회는 이에 대한 대책 마련에 노력하고 있다. 또한 국제결혼, 외국인의 귀화 등으로 다문화 가정이 많이 출현하면서 이들을 우리 사회 일원으로 받아 들이려는 노력이 전개되고 있다.

(The government and society try to come up with solutions to recent issues of an aging society and low birth rate. Besides, because multicultural families are increasing as the result of immigration and international marriages, [South Korea] is endeavoring to make the society accept multicultural families (Jung et al., p. 318).

Other evidences of the lack of stories about immigrants and permanent foreign residents in Korea are the few individuals named and numbers of illustrations of diverse individuals in the Korean domestic context. In Korea History by Jung et al. (2011), only one is named who immigrated to Korea among 303 names in Korean domestic contexts. In Korea History by Do et al. (2011) among 332 named individuals in the Korean domestic context, one family and three individuals are immigrants. None of these names are contemporary immigrant workers or interracial marriage spouses.

The Korea History by Do et al. (2011) textbook has a total of 206 illustrations in which people in Korea domestic contexts or Koreans abroad appear. Since some illustrations include more than one ethnic group within it, the number of illustrations categorized by ethnicity is

higher than the total number (206) of illustrations. There are 213 illustrations that show people in Korean domestic contexts or Koreans abroad. Of those, 191 (89.67%) are Koreans and only 22 (10.33%) are non-native Koreans. Even these non-native Koreans are temporary residents who came to the Korean peninsula as soldiers, government officials, and merchants in the first half of the 20th century. For example, there are several photos of Japanese governmental officials and soldiers during the period of Japan's colonization of Korea in the early 20th century, as illustrated by Figure 4-3 (Do et al., 2011, p.224).



Figure 4-3. A Newly Appointed Japanese Supervision Officer, Terauchi Masatake

Another example is photographs of UN, U.S., and Chinese soldiers in Korea peninsula during the Korean War (1950-1953), such as in the images in Figures, 4-4 and 4-5 (Do et al., 2011, p.327).



Figure 4-4. UN Soldiers Landing at Incheon



Figure 4-5. Chinese Intervention

Korea History by Jung et al. (2011) textbook has a bit more illustrations of people in Korean domestic context or Koreans abroad—a total of 228 illustrations. Since some illustrations include more than one ethnic group within it, the number of illustrations categorized by ethnicity is higher than the total number (228) of illustrations. The number is 236. The depictions in Korea History by Jung et al. (2011) are not very different from Korea History by Do et al.(2011). Of the 236 illustrations in which people in Korean domestic contexts and Koreans abroad are shown, 28 (11.86%) are non-native Koreans, but all of them are temporary residents in early 20th century, as illustrated by Figure 4-6 (Jung et al., p. 259) and 4-7 (Jung et al., p. 260).



Figure 4-6.
Soviet soldiers Entering Korea after WWII

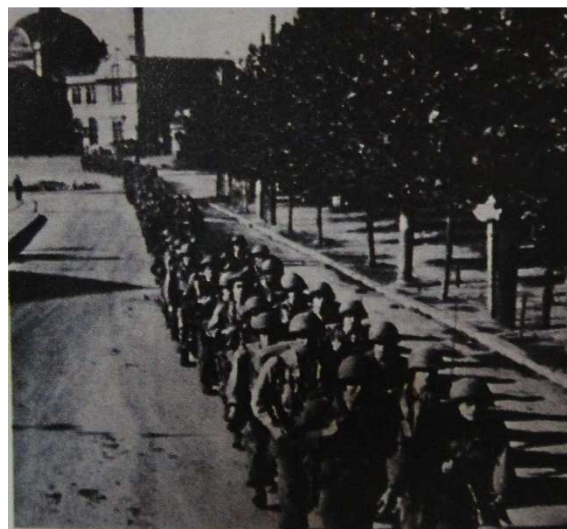


Figure 4-7
U.S. Soldiers Entering Korea after WWII

Neither of the Korea History textbooks has photos of people who immigrated to Korea or long-term foreign residents who came to Korea a long time ago, such as Hwakyos who are Han-Chinese from Shandong Province on the east coast of mainland China in the middle of the 20th century, and more recent comers such as immigrant workers and international marriage families. This means there are absolutely no pictures or paintings of immigrants or long-term foreign residents in South Korea. The findings, along with the results of narrative text analyses indicate that Korea History textbooks devote practically no attention to issues of ethnic minorities.

Comparably, both Society & Culture by 교학사 [Gyo Hak Sa] publication (Kim et al., 2012) and Society & Culture by 천재교육 [Chunjae Gyoyuk] publication (Goo et al., 2012) have content about recent immigrants including North Korean refugees and international marriage groups within contemporary South Korea. Both textbooks deal with only newcomers, not old-comers who are briefly mentioned in Korea History textbooks. Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012) has nine pages about recent immigrants within South Korea or issues related to them. Since the textbook consists of 277 pages excluding the lists of the authors, preface, table of contents, answer sheets, references, and index, nine pages are only 3.2 percent of the entire book. Society & Culture by Goo et al., (2012) also has 3.2 percent of coverage (8 out of 245 pages). Since many pages in these textbooks are used for explaining social concepts and theories, and there are many international examples such as France's burqa ban, the 3.2 percent of coverage is actually quite significant. However, many discussions of immigrants and ethnic minority groups within South Korea or issues related to them are allocated less than one paragraph. They are also often discussed in marginal text or supplementary pages at the end of the chapter. According to Sleeter and Grant (1989), “important people” are discussed in the body of the narrative text while

“extra people” are added in marginal text or supplementary pages at the beginning or end of the chapter. Yet, this may not be a reason in this case. Society and Culture textbooks typically present information which is to discuss sociological theories and concepts in the main narrative text and include real life examples in supplementary pages.

Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012) has a total of 202 illustrations in which current newcomers or native South Koreans appear. Since some illustrations include both native South Koreans and current newcomers within one illustration, the number of illustration categorized by ethnicity is higher than the original number of illustrations. The total number is 207 of these, 181(87.44%) are native South Koreans and only 11 (5.31%) are non-native South Koreans. The remainder, 15 (7.25%), are unidentified ethnicities. Society & Culture by Goo et al. (2012) has similar patterns. Among a total 235 (the original total number is 223) illustrations, native South Koreans appear in 186 (79.15%); non-native South Koreans appear in 16 (6.81%); and 33 (14.04%) are unidentified. Some may say it is proportional coverage because the number of registered foreign residents in South Korea is one million, which accounts for about two percent of the total population of 49.13 million in 2007. Yet, this is a number that does not include North Korean refugees and naturalized immigrants. Thus, 5.31% in Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012) and 6.81% in Society & Culture by Goo et al. (2012) do not indicate whether the Society and Culture textbooks have significant amounts of illustrations about ethnic minority groups in current South Korea.

Imbalances

An imbalance across racial groups of color was found in History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al, 2013). Since some pages include more than one racial group, the number (206) of pages categorized by racial group is slightly higher than the original number

(179) of pages in which people of color within the United States or issues related to them appear. African Americans and immigrants from Africa or issues related to them appear on 125 (60.68%) pages of a total of 206 pages. Native Americans and their issues appear on 33 pages (16.02%). People of Latino descent in the U.S. or issues related to them appear on 28 (13.59%) pages, and people of Asian descent in the U.S. or issues related to them appear on 20 (9.71%) pages. The imbalance among racial groups of color is most prominent in the chapters related to segregation and the civil rights movement of the mid-20th century. Chapters 43 to 46 focus on these historical events. However, among these four chapters, Chapter 43, “Segregation in the post-World War II period,” Chapter 44, “The civil rights revolution: ‘like a Mighty Stream,’” and chapter 45, “Redefining equality: From Black power to affirmative action” largely focus on African Americans. Other people of color do not appear at all in Chapter 44 and Chapter 45. Although they appear in Chapter 43, it is only one sentence, “Many laws against miscegenation prohibited marriage not only between African Americans and white but also between whites and Asians or whites and American Indians” (Hart et al., 2013, p.489). Non-African American ethnic minorities are discussed in Chapter 46, “The widening struggle” along with other marginalized groups such as women, people with disability, and gay Americans. Hart et al. (2013) state the Black civil rights movement in the South inspired many groups to carry on with their own struggles, and address how each group began to organize for equal treatment and fought for their rights. Although each non-Black minority group of color has its own separate section in Chapter 46, these are quite short. Section 46.3, “Latinos Organize to Be Heard” consists of two pages, and 46.4, “American Indians Seek Justice” consists of two pages. The section on Asian Americans 46.5, “Asian Americans Raise Their Voices,” also consists of two pages.

Another indicator of imbalance evident in History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) is identifying different ethnic individuals by name. Total 33 names of Americans of color appear in the textbook. Of those, only nine names are non-African Americans.

While Native Americans, Latino Americans, and Asian Americans are included mostly in discussion of racism, immigration, and civil rights issues, some additional topics include African Americans. These are inventions, politics, music, literature, and sports. For example, in Chapter 28, “Popular Culture in the Roaring Twenties,” the African American inventor, George Washington Carver, is introduced as follows while the discussing origins of consumer culture in the United States.

This [consumer culture] is a culture that views the consumption of large quantities of goods as beneficial to the economy and a source of personal happiness. The ideas for some new products emerged from brilliant minds. George Washington Carver, for example, pioneered the creation of new goods based on agricultural products. Carver made more than 300 products from peanuts including a face powder, printer’s ink, and soap. He also created more than 75 products form pecans and more than 100 products from sweet potatoes, such as flour, shoe polish, and candy. “Anything will give up its secrets if you love it enough,” Carver said of his work with humble plants (Hart et al., 2013, p. 310).

The chapter discusses how jazz became an original form of United States music, and introduces the Harlem Renaissance, a cultural movement in the 1920s, created by African American writers, artists, and musicians. Hart et al. (2013) provide “The Negro Speaks of Rivers,” a poem by Langston Hughes and mention some books such as *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* by James Weldon Johnson and *Their Eyes Were Watching God* by Zora Neale Hurston.

Hart et al. (2013) describe contributions of ethnic groups of color as well as individuals. Chapter 35, “The Impact of World War II on Americans,” explains how the war affected the lives of different minority groups, and how they contributed for the war. A separate section of about two pages is devoted to each minority group. The comments about Japanese Americans included:

Starting in 1943, thousands of young men left the [internment] camps to join the army. Most of them served in the 442nd regimental Combat Team. This all-volunteer Japanese American unit became famous for its bravery in battle. In fact, it earned more medals than any other unit of its size in American history (p. 399).

The passage about African Americans explained:

The Army air corps established its first black combat unit in 1941. Known as the Tuskegee Airmen, these pilots and their support crews showed that African Americans could handle the most demanding assignments. They served mainly as bomber escorts, engaging in direct combat with German fighter planes. The Tuskegee Airmen gained a reputation for skill and courage, shooting some 400 German attackers out of the sky. They were the only fighter group never to lose a bomber to enemy planes (pp. 402-403).

Descriptions of the contributions of Mexican Americans to World War II included:

About half a million Mexican Americans served in the armed forces during World War II. One of their slogans was ‘Americans All’. As this suggests, many saw the war as an opportunity to prove their loyalty and become part of the mainstream. A higher proportion of Mexican Americans fought in combat units than any other ethnic group. In addition, Mexican American soldiers suffered heavy casualties in comparison with other

ethnic groups. They also received many combat awards. Fourteen Texans received the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroism in the war (p. 406).

There is no comment about Native Americans in Chapter 35. A story about their contribution does appear briefly in Chapter 36, “Fighting World War II,” but they have neither a separate section nor details about how the war impacted them at home like other groups of color in the previous chapter. Their story is placed in the context of explaining military strategies of the United States in the Pacific. The passage reads:

One of the keys to Allied success in the Pacific was the use of secret codes. The United States trained a special group of Navajo Indian “code talkers” for this task. Because Navajo is not a written language and is understood by very few people, it made an excellent basis for a code to transmit vital information. The Navajo code talkers played a key role in the Pacific campaign. Japan was never able to break the Navajo code (p. 418).

In general, the contributions of non-African American ethnic minorities get less attention throughout the book. For example, the well-known story about how Native Americans helped European settlers in Jamestown appears briefly, but the emphasis is on the European settlers’ struggle to survive, not Native Americans’ aid:

One of the colony’s leaders, John Smith, declared the site ‘a very fit place for the erecting of a great city. Smith could not have been more wrong. The swampy ground swarmed with mosquitoes. It also lacked good drinking water. By the first winter, more than half the settlers had died of sickness and starvation ... The hoped-for ‘land of opportunity’ had turned out to be a land of daunting challenges. Yet the infant colony survived, due in large part to Smith’s leadership and the help of local Indians, who brought the settlers food (p. 17).

The contributions of the Chinese to the building of the transcontinental railroads are described as:

Chinese laborers do the dangerous work of creating a tunnel at the summit of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Chinese laborers made up four fifths of the labor force for the construction of the Central Pacific railway line, which stretched from San Francisco to Utah (p. 135).

However, this statement appears in explanations of a photograph, not in the body of the text. Information about Chinese railroad workers in the body of the text focuses on the prejudices and discrimination they encountered.

In all four Korean textbooks examined in this study, no particular ethnic minority group in South Korean domestic context receives the most attention. However, in terms of historical events, Japan's colonization of Korea (1910-1945) receives high level attention in both Korea History textbooks. In Korea History by Do et al. (2011), this historical event and issues related to it are discussed in three of the total nine chapters (33.3%). In Korea History by Jung et al. (2011), Japan's colonization and related issues are discussed in four of nine total chapters (44.4%). Japan took control of Korea in 1910, and the colonization lasted until 1945 which was for a total 36 years. This is short in the overall schema of Korean history. Koreans have about 5000 years of history, from its first nation state, Gojoseon (2333-108 BC), to contemporary times. Thus, it is a very high level of attention that Korea History by Do et al. (2011) allocates 33.3 percent of the text, and Korea History by Jung et al. (2011) devotes 44.4% of its total content to Japanese colonization. This high level attention can cause anti-Japanese sentiment. Korea History by Do et al. (2011) seems to be concerned about this possibility as apparent in the following description:

사야카는 임진왜란 때 우리나라에 쳐들어온 가토 기요미사의 좌선봉장이었다. 그는 조선에 건너오자마자 바로 부하를 이끌고 조선에 귀순하였다. 사야카는 경상도

의병과 힘을 합쳐 수차례 일본군과 전투를 벌여 공을 세웠다. 이에 조선 조정은 그에게 김충선이라는 이름과 높은 벼슬을 내려주었다. 임진왜란 이후에는 10년간 북쪽 국경의 방어를 맡았으며 병자호란에도 참전하였다. 전쟁이 끝난 뒤 진주 목사의 딸과 결혼하여 대구 우록동에 뿌리를 내렸다. 사야카처럼 투항한 일본군을 황왜라고 불렀다. 임진왜란 동안 모두 1만 명에 이르는 일본군이 조선으로 투항하였다. 이와 반대로 조선인이면서 일본에 투항하여 협력한 사람들도 있었는데 이들을 순왜라고 하였다.

(During the Japanese invasions of Korea (1592-1598), Sayaka, who was a Japanese military officer under general Katou Kiyomasa, defected to the Korean side with his Japanese subordinates. Sayaka fought against Japanese forces during the war and made several contributions. He was awarded for his efforts and given a new Korean name, Chungson Kim, by the Joseon dynasty court [Korean government] ... Later, he married a Korean woman and settled down at Uroki [a little village in Korea]. During the Japanese invasions of Korea (1592-1598), ten thousand Japanese soldiers defected to the Korean side and settled in Korea like Sayaka. They were called Hang-Wye. On the contrary, Koreans who defected to Japan and settled in Japan were called Sun-Wye (Do et al., 2011, p. 84).

The text uses episodes such as this to suggest that not all Japanese were the same. But, this episode happened during the war between Korea and Japan from 1592 to 1598, not during the 1910-1945 Japan's colonization of Korea. Anti-Japanese sentiment in South Korea can be

traced back as far as the Japanese invasion of Korea (1592-1598), but anti-Japanese sentiment is more an outcome of the Japanese colonization period.

There is a supplementary page titled “한국을 위해 일생을 바친 외국인들” [foreigners who devoted their lives for Korea]. The section starts with “개항 이후 우리나라에 들어온 외국인들 중 상당수는 자국의 이익을 관철시키기 위한 사절 혹은 종교를 전파하기 위해 들어온 선교사, 부를 얻기 위해 들어온 상인들이었다. 그러나 우리 민족의 문제를 자신의 문제처럼 여기고 발벗고 나선 외국인들이 있었다” (Among foreigners who came to Korea in the period, many were for their own sakes such as their government’s diplomatic interest, missionary works, or financial opportunities. But, there were some individuals who considered Koreans’ struggle as their struggles and helped struggling Koreans (Do et al., 2011, P. 197). However, there are no Japanese individuals named. All individuals discussed in this supplementary page are westerners, Herbert, Honest, and the Underwood’s family.

“With Other Race” Photos and Stereotypical Illustrations

Among the total 430 photos in History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013), 59 include more than one ethnic racial group, “with other race.” The main reason there are not many “with other race” photos is because the U.S. had been deeply segregated in the past. The chapters discussing recent historical events have many more “with other race” photos. Moreover, many photos in the textbooks are of presidents and crucial historical event related to politics, and many African Americans such as President Barack Obama, a Civil Right activist, James Meredith, and one of the first Black students to desegregate Little Rock Central High

School, Elizabeth Eckford, appear in the foreground or are highlighted in “with other race” photos.

History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) uses some stereotypical images from magazines and newspapers in the 19th century and early 20th century. They are mostly cartoon images of dominant groups like White wealthy industrialists (See Figure 4-8, p. 152; Figure 4-9, p. 189). These wealthy industrialists are depicted as “fat” in both cartoons.

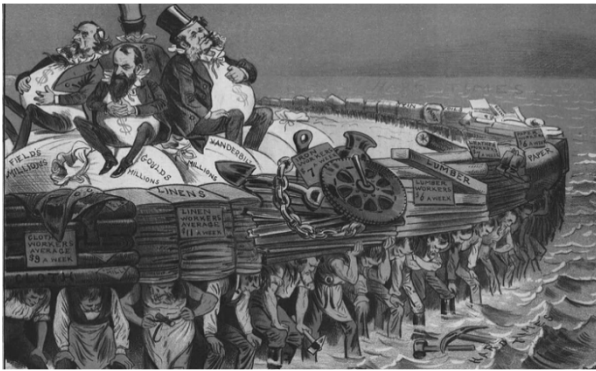


Figure 4-8 .The Protectors of Our Industries

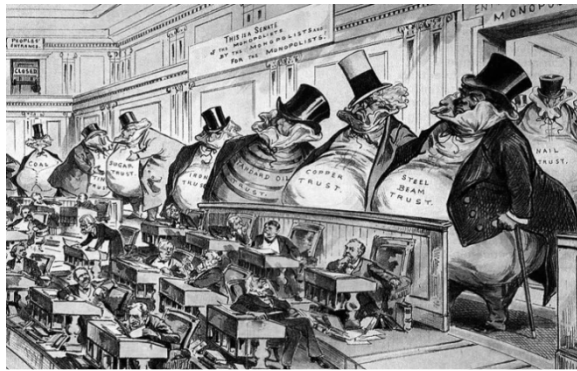


Figure 4-9. The Bosses of the Senate

Comparably, no ethnic minorities within the United States appear in stereotypical image. Yet, in two images, their countries of origin are depicted in somewhat stereotypically. The first one is a 1896 cartoon about the Monroe Doctrine which kept European nations interference out of the Latin America continent (See Figure. 4-10, p. 218). However, it is hard to decide whether these caricatures are stereotypical images or just personifications of nations.



Figure 4-10. The Monroe Doctrine

The second painting that portrays President Wilson supporting the growth of democracy in Mexico is a clearly stereotypical image (See Figure 4-11, p. 240). The personification of Mexico is more like an image of a bandito which was a frequently used stereotypical image for Mexicans in the United States up until the mid-20th Century.



Figure 4-11. President Wilson Scolding Mexico

Neither Korea History textbook has any stereotypical image of immigrants or long-term foreign residents because there are no pictures or paintings about them whatsoever. However, the authors of both textbooks do use stereotypical images of Asians created by Western magazines and newspapers in the early 20th century. In a cartoon about the war between Russia and Japan over Korea from 1904 to 1905 (See Figure 4-12, Jung et al., 2011, p. 162), the image representing Japan has slanted eyes and buck teeth; a presentation that was often used to stereotype Japanese and other Asians.



Figure 4-12. Russo-Japanese War

A more obvious example of stereotypical image of Asians is presented in a cartoon about competitions among Russia, China and Japan (See Figure 4-13, Do et al., 2011, p. 211).

Although it is hard to know whether the personification of Korea has slanted eyes as he is wearing sunglasses, it is obvious that the personifications of Japan and China have slanted eyes. Besides, it can be guessed the personification of Japan has buck teeth through observing his prominent mouth.



Figure 4-13 Competition over Korea

In some instances these two Korea History textbooks used the same cartoons, such as Figure 4-14 (Jung et al., 2011, p. 132; Do et al., 2011, p. 159).

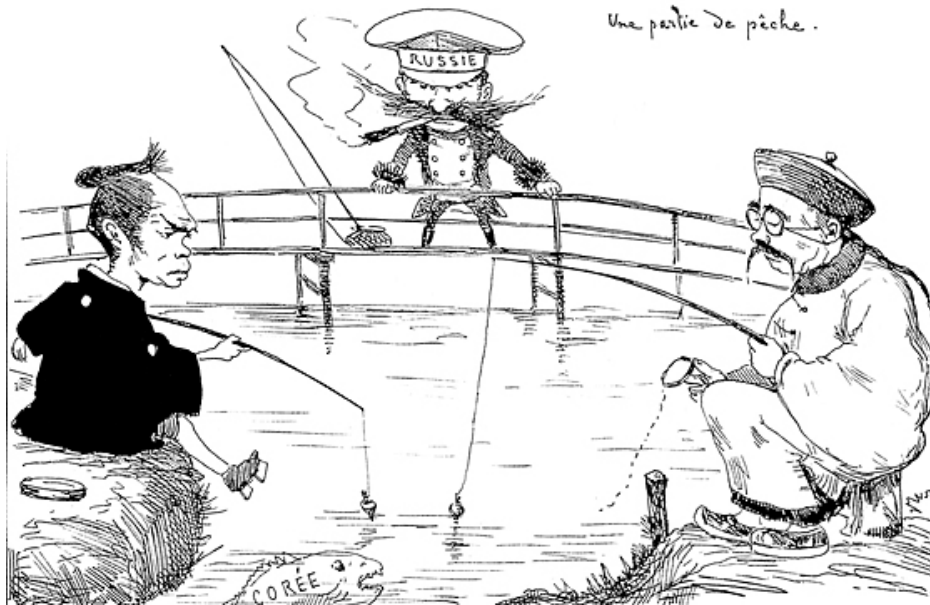


Figure 4-14. Competition over Korea

Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012) has a similar stereotypical image that is created by their own design team (See Figure 4-15, Kim et al., 2012, p. 121)

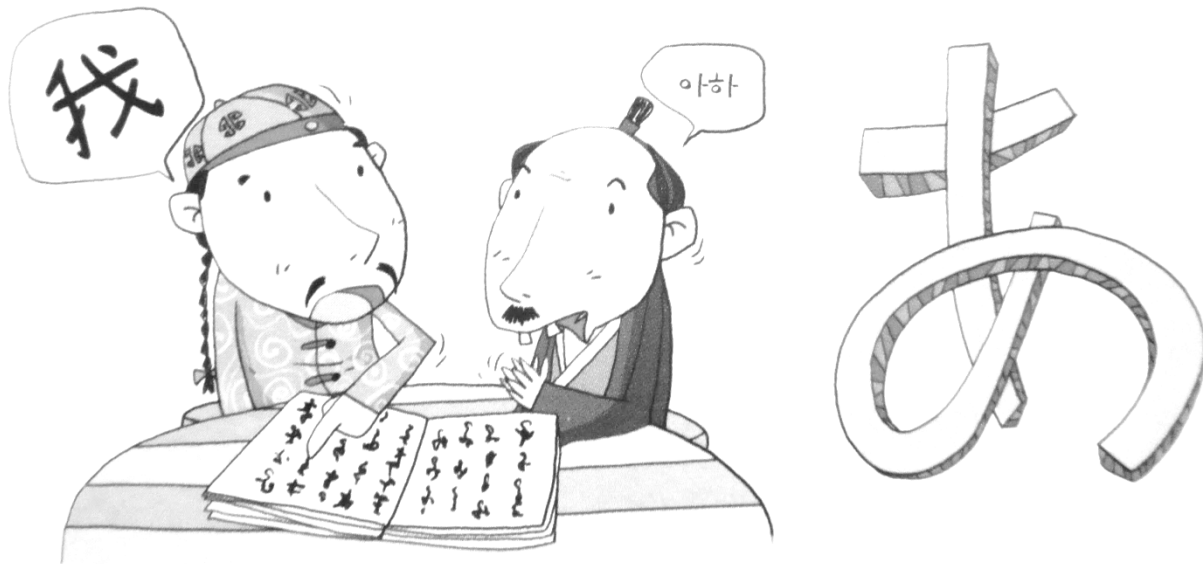


Figure 4-15. Chinese Character Impact the Development of the Japanese Letters

Many students in Korea may think the illustration is just an image of cultural interactions between China and Japan that the authors employed as an international example to teach the concept of cultural change. This image may appear to be “cute” first glance, but the Japanese obviously has the stereotypical buck teeth.

Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012) has five illustrations that include both native South Koreans and newcomers including short-term visitors. Society & Culture by Goo et al. (2012) has 12 illustrations. All these newcomers appear in the foreground or are highlighted. They appear mostly in illustrations either celebrating diversity with native Koreans or learning Korean traditional culture from native Koreans. Yet, there are a few exceptions. Goo et al. (2012) provides a photo of native South Koreans and ethnic minorities protesting together against racism.

Culturally Responsive Contents

Seven concepts of multicultural education in social studies textbooks were analyzed in this study. They are the concept of ethnicity, race, diversity, assimilation, immigration, discrimination, and prejudice. History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) defines some of these concepts and provides related historical episodes that teachers can use to teach them. Some people might assume that in teaching these concepts, textbooks would include episodes of people of color more often than Whites' or majority groups,' but in History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals, that was not the case. Although no groups are excluded from a certain concept, some people of color are overshadowed. For the concepts of immigration and assimilations, Latino and Asian immigrants are overshadowed by Eastern and Southern European Immigrants. For the concepts of racism and discrimination, Latino and Asian Americans are somewhat overshadowed by African Americans. No specific examples of how the cultures of Asians enrich American culture are provided. These exclusions or inequities may make it more difficult for Latino and Asian descendants to connect their social knowledge to academic knowledge while reading about and learning these concepts.

Both Korea History by Jung et al. (2011) and Korea History by Do et al. (2011) seem to be written for native Koreans only. Even though the titles of textbooks are Korea History, the content is the history of Korean ethnicity. Although the general concepts can apply to non-native Koreans, the materials used to explain them is mostly episodes of native Koreans. There are many historical episodes that immerse mainstream Korean students in issues of immigration and assimilation.

Both Society & Culture by 교학사 [Gyo Hak Sa] publication (Kim et al., 2012) and Society & Culture by 천재교육 [Chunjae Gyoyuk] publication (Goo et al., 2012) offer several

examples that newcomers can use to connect their prior knowledge to academic knowledge while reading and learning concepts such as diversity, prejudice, discriminations, racism, and immigrations. Yet, many of them are relatively short without specific details. These short examples are of limited use to native Koreans who do not have prior knowledge. Detailed findings about how the seven concepts of multicultural education are imbedded in each textbook follows. Each one is discussed in turn.

Ethnicity

Words like “ethnic group” and “ethnicity” appear rarely or briefly in History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) Instead, the authors use specific terms to identify ethnic groups, such as Japanese Americans, Irish Americans, and Mexican Americans. Since there are many different ethnic groups in the United States, not all of them are discussed at the same level of depth and magnitude in the textbook. The histories of some ethnic groups are discussed more than others. For example, the histories of people of Chinese and Japanese descent are discussed much more than Korean and Filipino ancestry.

Although in the *Glossary*, the authors state “a person’s ethnic identity, which may be shaped by such criteria as language, religion, and history” (Hart et al., 2013, p. 728), there is not much discussion in the body of the textbook of the concept. Only on a couple of pages, are descriptions provided. On page 622, the authors cite Michael Novak’s questions “Who after all, are you? What history brought you to where you are? Why are you different from others?” and state that “in answering such questions, many Americans reclaimed their ethnic background as a heritage to be proud of, not a past to leave behind.” Another part of the explanation is a report of the 1970s phenomenon of many Americans becoming interested in their ethnic backgrounds, and the interest in ethnicity quickly finding its way into politics and popular culture, such as creating

the Office of Ethnic Affairs by President Ford, and releasing films like *The Godfather* and *Saturday Night Fever*.

The term “ethnic group” and “ethnicity” appear in both of the Korea History textbooks examined in this study, but most discussions focus on Korean ethnicity. The first chapter of each textbook is about the origins of Korean ethnicity, and the narratives of the chapters are very similar. Both textbooks briefly explain the origins of humankind and the origins of Korean ethnicity. For example, Do et al. (2011) describe:

우리 민족은 신석기 시대에서 청동기 시대를 거치면서 민족의 기틀을 이루었으며, 주변의 여러 문화와 교류하면서 독자적인 문화를 형성하였다...우리 조상들은 대체로 라오닝 성, 지린 성에 이르는 만주 지역과 한반도를 중심으로 한 동북아시아에 넓게 분포하여 살고 있었다. 우리 민족은 인종상으로 몽골 인종에 속하고, 언어학상으로 터키어, 몽골어, 만주 통그스어 등을 포함 하는 알타이어족에 속한다

(Our people [Koreans] established the foundation of ethnicity through the Neolithic Age and the Bronze Age, and established our own culture by carrying out cultural exchange with neighboring people...The habitation of our ancestry was widespread in East Asia, but mainly in Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula. Our people belong to the Mongoloid race, and the language spoken by our people belongs to the Altaic language family that also includes other languages such as the Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungusic languages (p. 14).

The Jung et al. (2011) account states:

우리 조상은 신석기 시대에서 청동기 시대를 거치면서 민족의 기틀을 이루었다...

우리 민족은 인종상으로 황인종에 속하고, 언어학상으로는 알타이 어족과 가까운 관계에 있다. 우리 민족은 오래 전부터 하나의 민족 단위를 형성하고, 농경생활을 바탕으로 한 독자적인 문화를 이룩하였다.

(Our ancestry established the foundation of ethnicity through the Neolithic Age and the Bronze Age... Our people belong to the Mongoloid race, and our language is related to the Altaic language family. Our people formed a single ethnicity and shaped our own unique culture based on an agricultural society (p. 17).

The statements indicate the tendency to use “our” in discussing ethnicity when “Korean ethnicity” would be more appropriate since Koreans who have Korean nationality but different ethnicities or ancestries are not included. Both Korea History textbooks continue to perpetuate the idea of South Korea being a homogenous and pure blood nation although, Korea History by Jung et al. (2011) does somewhat imply “pure blood” is myth by presenting summaries of DNA research in a supplementary section. The authors also describe the concept of ethnic group in another supplementary section, “주제 심화 학습” [Depth Study with Topic], and imply that emphasizing pure blood is ethnocentric because “민족의 기원에 대한 연구는 단지 일부 국가에서 국가주의적 사회 분위기 아래에서 극단적 국수주의가 팽배했던 시기에

유행하였다” (Studies about the origin of ethnic groups were popular only in a few countries when the nation-state is overflowing with extreme nationalism (p. 25).

Neither Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012) nor Society & Culture by Goo et al. (2012) explains the concept of ethnicity or ethnic group. However, the words, “ethnicity” and “ethnic group” appear often in explanations of concepts related to culture, such as cultural change, cultural identity, multiculturalism, traditional culture, and globalism. These terms are used only in presenting background knowledge of changes in contemporary South Korea. Both textbooks basically say the same thing, that Korea has been an ethnically homogeneous nation for a long time, but today South Korea is becoming more diverse.

Race and Racism

Compared to “ethnic group” and “ethnicity,” “race”, and terms related to it such as racial profiling and racism appear often throughout History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals, but Hart et al. (2013) do not define or explain the concept of race which is a belief that human groups can be legitimately grouped on the basis of biologically transmitted differences that are, in turn, associated with personality, characteristics, and abilities. This oversight might be due to race being a controversial idea. Several scholars (Davis, 2001; Jacobson, 1998; Stanley, 2002) argue that races are invented categories based on socially imagined differences, and it is impossible to divide human beings into subgroups on the basis of biological characteristics since the human species is not biologically pure. Even though some biracial individuals look White, they are often classified as people of color due to the *one-drop rule* which means that multiracial persons are assigned the status of the minor group. The author should discuss these issues.

Hart et al. (2013) define racism as “the belief that one race of people is superior to another” (p. 740), but the definition is incomplete. According to Gay (1973), racism is not

merely a set of beliefs; “It is an extension of an attitude into an action” (p. 30). Besides, racism is institutional as economic and social structures reflect it. Although the authors do not give a complete definition of racism, they give plenty of opportunities to teach the concept since they present many historical events involving racism as well as experiences of people of African, Latino, and Asian descent in the United States. The authors provide the following description of racism against Chinese during the economic depression in California in the late 19th century:

Anti-Chinese nativism had a strong racial component. The Chinese were seen as an inferior people who could never be Americanized. Economist Henry George reflected this racist point of view in characterizing the Chinese as “utter heathens, treacherous, sensual, cowardly, cruel” (p. 175).

Another example appears in explaining slavery. Hart et al. (2013) describe the following relation between slavery and racism:

In 1619, a Dutch ship captain sold 20 captive Africans to colonist in Virginia. For the next several decades, small numbers of Africans were bought to the colonies... Gradually landowners came to depend more and more on slaves to meet their labor needs. Although slavery in the colonies began for economic reasons, it became firmly rooted in racism. Skin color became the defining trait of a slave. As one colonial government declared, “All Negro, mulatto [of mixed black and white ancestry], and Indian slaves within this dominion... shall be held to be real estate.”... Although some African Americans escaped the bonds of slavery, freedom did not bring equality. Like American Indians, blacks were viewed as inferior to whites (Hart et al., 2013, p. 31).

From content such as this, students can learn the concept of racism, but the authors need to provide more details, such as explaining why slavery became firmly rooted in racism. According

to Banks (2009), racism was used for justifying slavery. He argues that slave owners were Christians who needed an ideology that “they could view as consistent with both their religious beliefs and their economic institutions” (Banks, 2009, p. 73). This is important knowledge for students need to learn because without it, they could fail to understand ideologies or categories that the dominant group created to secure their own interest. Thus, instead of just simply stating, “Like American Indians, blacks were viewed as inferior to whites (Hart et al., 2013, p. 31),” the authors should provide reasons why Whites saw people of color as inferior to them, and what was the root of this perspective of Whites.

Neither of the two Korea History textbooks included in this study discusses the race issues related to it. The term, race, only appear briefly in Korea History by Do et al. (2011) when the authors explain Korean ethnicity as follows: “우리 민족은 인종상으로 몽골 인종에 속하고, 언어학상으로 터키어, 몽골어, 만주 통그스어 등을 포함 하는 알타이 어족에 속한다” (Our people belong to the Mongoloid race, and the language spoken by our people belongs to Altaic language family that also includes other languages such as the Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungusic languages (p. 14). This may be a result of so few non-Asian people in the past, yet there are some. Both textbooks devote several pages to the Korean War and the life of Koreans around the war. Korea History by Ji Hak Sa [지학사] publication (Jung et al., 2011) includes 13 pages, and Korea History by Bisang Gyoyuk [비상교육] publication (Do et al., 2011) allocates 11 pages to this historical event and issues related to it. They do not include any experiences of biracial individuals born in South Korea to U.S. military personnel and Korean

women, even though these individuals suffered from racism since Koreans viewed them as outcasts (Doolan, 2012; Kim, A., 2009).

The Society and Culture textbooks analyzed in this study also do not have any information about these individuals. Although Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012) includes some episodes that can be used to teach about racism, they are not detailed, and are not episodes that happened in South Korea. One is a short presentation of a 1988 U.S. film, “Mississippi Burning.” The episodes are often provided to teach other issues or concepts. “Mississippi Burning” is used to teach how bias and prejudice can impact decision making. Society & Culture by Goo et al. (2012) has only one episode of racism in South Korea’s domestic context:

우리나라의 외국인 중에서는 백인종이나 황인종보다는 짙은 색의 피부를 가진 사람들이 더욱 극심한 차별 대우를 받는 것으로 알려졌다. 1980년대 말부터 이주 노동자가 한국 동료 노동자들로부터 폭행을 당한 사례가 종종 있었다. 일부 중소 기업의 작업장이나 건설 현장 등에서 발생하던 사건이 최근에는 공공장소에서 외국인에 대한 공격 행위로까지 나타났다. 2009년 8월, 시내버스 안에서 술 취한 한국인 남성이 인도인에게 욕설을 퍼부은 사건이 그 예다.

(Among foreign residents in our nation [South Korea], individuals who have darker skin than Far East Asians are discriminated against more often. Since the end of the 1980s, there have been incidents of violence in which immigrant workers are assaulted by Korean workers. These incidents used to happen in small

factories or construction sites, but in recent years they begin to appear even in public places. For instance, a drunken Korean guy verbally abused an Asian Indian on a public bus in August 2009 (Goo et al., 2012, p157).

This episode can be used to teach the claims of Stanley (2002), Jacobson (1998), and Davis (2001) that races are socially invented categories. The example above shows that Asians in Asian countries often divide themselves into Far East, South East, Central, and South Asian. Goo et al (2012) somewhat imply the issues of race, but do not explain them explicitly.

Immigration and Immigrants

Stories about immigrants and issues related to them appear on 23 pages of the U.S. history textbook, History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013). These stories appear throughout the book rather than being restricted to certain parts. For example, in explaining the construction of railroads in the 19th century, Irish and Chinese immigrant workers are described:

Many [Irish immigrants] first settled in eastern cities, where they were looked down on for being Catholic and poor. In the face of such discrimination, railroad jobs seemed like an attractive opportunity ...by 1868, the Central Pacific was employing about 10,000 Chinese workers, who made up four-fifths of its labor force. Chinese workers were paid lower wages than white workers and were targets of racism (p. 135).

Another example is antagonistic sentiments toward undocumented immigrants from different world regions in the 1980s:

By the 1980s, large numbers of immigrants from Asia and Latin America had come to the United States. Some of these were undocumented immigrants who entered the country

illegally, without a visa. Many of these undocumented immigrants were Latin Americans who crossed the U.S.-Mexico border. As a result, the impact of illegal immigration was most keenly felt in the southwestern border states, from Texas to California. Some Americans showed their opposition to increased immigration by joining the “English-only” movement (p. 633).

Stories about immigrants and issues related to them are best described in Chapter 15, “Through Ellis Island and Angel Island: The Immigrant Experience”. In this chapter, immigration policies, processes, and living conditions are described in great detail. Most of their details are about immigrants from Europe. Among the 12 pages of this long chapter devote to immigration, only four include stories about immigrants from Asia and Mexico. For example, Hart et al. (2013) address some *push factors* and *pull factors* for European immigration. They describe changes that were occurring in Europe in the 19th century such as overpopulated cities, shortages of jobs, land, and food, and political and religious persecution which were major *push factors* that motivated Europeans to leave their native homelands and nations, and settle in the United States:

Much of Europe experienced rapid population growth in the 1800s. This growth resulted in crowded cities, a lack of jobs, and food shortages. Crop failures added to people’s woes. Potato rot left many Irish starving in the 1840s....In the 1800s, mechanization of agriculture led to the growth of commercial farming on large tracts of land in Europe. In the process, common lands, traditionally available to all, were combined and enclosed by fences, [and] many peasants were suddenly thrown off the land...[Russian and Polish Jews] fled their villages to escape deadly attacks by people who abhorred their religion...Armenian immigrants, many of them Catholics, told similar stories about

persecution and massacres at the hands of Turks in the largely Muslim Ottoman Empire (Hart et al., 2013, pp. 168-169).

While the authors of this textbook describe major *push factors* that stimulated European immigration in great detail in separate sections within the chapter, they do not describe any *push factors* for immigrants from Asia, or conditions of their native nations. Like Europe, the condition of each nation in Asia was different from the others. Since the authors do not describe these *push factors*, students could get the wrong impression that all Asian immigrants only came to the United States to earn money. Although the authors describe some *push factors* for immigrants from Mexico, they are very short descriptions, such as “In the late 1800s, more Mexicans moved to this area [Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California], in part to escape poverty and civil unrest in Mexico” and “The Mexican Revolution, which began in 1910, pushed even more Mexicans across the border” (Hart et al., 2013, p. 178).

This differential treatment may have been due to the low rates of immigrants from non-European nations in the 19th century and early 20th century. In fact, the stories of French Canadians –even though they are Whites– appear at the end of the chapter, and have fewer details than immigrants from Asia and Mexico. The imbalance between stories of immigrants from European and non-European nation-states could prevent students from profitably contrasting and comparing the reasons why groups immigrated to the United States from different parts of the world, and could give the wrong impression that the United States was initially a nation of European immigrants. Even though the greater number of immigrant in the 19th and early 20th century came from Europe, some came from other world areas as well. Today the majority of immigrants are from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia. Yet, in explaining these new trends, Hart et al. (2013) focus more on illegal immigrants, and debates about

immigrant policy. There are no details about the experiences, lives, and motivating and inhibiting factors of these new immigrants.

Neither Korea History textbook discusses the concept of immigration or experiences of immigrants in Korea. Historically, Korea did not experience large surges of immigrants like the United States. Instead, both textbooks describe the lives and experiences of Korean emigrants right before and during the period of Japanese colonization (1910-1945). For example, Korea History by Bisang Gyoyuk [비상교육] publication (Do et al., 2011) describes *push* and *pull factors* of Korean emigration to Manchuria (part of China today), Russia, the United States, and Japan. About emigration to Manchuria, the textbook explains:

국내의 정치 경제적 상황의 영향으로 생활이 궁핍해진 농민들은 19세기 후반부터 만주로 이주하였다...우리나라와 붙어 있던 간도 지역은 무장 독립 투쟁의 최적지로 중요시되었다. 이에 많은 항일 운동가들이 무장 독립 투쟁을 위해 이곳으로 넘어[갔다]...일제는 만주 침략 이후에는 만주 개발을 위해 국내 조선인을 강제 이주시키기도 하였다.

(Due to domestic political and economic unrest, farmers began to emigrate to Manchuria in the late 19th century... [later, during the period of Japanese colonization], the Gando area in Manchuria became the best strategic location for Korean armed resistance groups who fought for the independence of Korea, so many Korean armed resistance groups moved to this area... After the invasion of Manchuria, the Japanese colonial government

forced some Koreans in the Korean Peninsula to move to Manchuria for the ostensible reason of developing Manchuria (p. 292)

The explanations of emigration to Russia include these statements:

연해주 지역은 지리적으로 두만강을 사이에 두고 국내와 가까운 위치에 있어 1860년대 초부터 우리 민족이 이주해 살기 시작하였다... 독립운동의 터전을 마련하기 위해 독립운동가들이 이곳으로 들어오면서 독립운동이 활발하게 일어났다.

(As Primorsky Krai in Russia was close to the Korea-Russia border, some Koreans settled in Primorsky Krai from as early as 1860... [Later during the period of Japanese colonization] many Korean resistance groups moved to this area in order to set up a base for the Korean independence movement (p. 292).

Stories about emigration to the United States said:

1903년 첫 하와이 이민이 시작된 이래 1905년까지 7천여 명의 한인이 새로운 일자리를 찾아 하와이로 넘어갔다...이후 임금과 대우가 좋은 일자리를 찾아 미국 서부 및 멕시코, 쿠바 등지로 이주하는 한인들도 있었다. 각 지역의 한인들은 서로 연대감을 갖고 조국의 독립운동에 기여하였다. 이후 유학 또는 정치적 망명을 목적으로 넘어온 이승만, 안창호와 같은 지식인들이 지도자로 자리를 잡았다.

(Between 1903 and 1905, 7,000 Koreans emigrated to Hawaii for jobs...Later some Koreans moved to the Western United States, Mexico, and Cuba for better work

conditions. Koreans in each location had solidarity with each other and contributed to the Korean independence movement. Later, people who came for political asylum or better education, such as Syng-man Rhee and Chang-ho An, became leaders (p. 293).

The explanations of emigration to Japan presented, such as:

19세기 말부터 초기에 일본으로 넘어간 사람들은 대부분 서구 문물을 배우기 위한 유학생들이 주를 이루었다. 그러나 일제 강점기에 들어서서는 생활고를 견디지 못하고 일본으로 넘어간 사람들이 늘어났다...국내의 독립 운동 세력들과 연대하여 민족 운동을 전개하였다... 1930년대 이후에는 징용의 형태로 일제에 의해 강제로 끌려온 한인들이 늘어났다.

(Most Korean emigrants to Japan in the late 19th century were students who tried to learn the products of Western civilization in Japan. However, during the period of Japan's colonization of Korea, there was the growth of Koreans who moved to Japan due to hardships of life in the Korean Peninsula...After 1930, the number of Koreans who were forcibly moved to Japan by the Japanese colonial government grew (p. 293).

Korea History by Ji Hak Sa [지학사] publication (Jung et al., 2011) describes not only the experiences of Korean emigrants just before and during the period of Japanese colonization (1910-1945) but also some stories of South Koreans who worked abroad in the 1960s and how they contributed to the economy of South Korea in the past:

1960년대 서독은 광부와 간호사가 부족하였다. 당시 외화 부족에 시달리던 한국 정부는 광부와 간호사를 서독에 파견하는 정책을 적극 추진하였다...간호사들은

병원에서 간호 업무뿐만 아니라 허드렛일까지 담당하여야 했다. 이들은 받은 월급의 대부분을 고국에 있는 가족들에게 보내었다. 계약 기간이 끝난 후, 많은 이들이 귀국하였지만 일부는 정착하였다.

(In the 1960s, West Germany experienced a shortage of miners and nursing staffs. [The South Korean and West German government made a bilateral agreement on the temporary employment of Korean workers]. The South Korean government recruited miners and nurses, and detached them to West Germany in order to earn foreign currency...The detached South Korean workers sent most of their salaries to their families in South Korea. At the end of the limited-term contracts, many returned to South Korea, yet some ended up remaining in West Germany (p. 311).

The reason for more emphasis on Koreans who left Korea for other countries than people who came to Korea from other countries is because of their contributions to the economy of Korea in the 1960s, the independence movement in the first half of the 20th century, and sympathy for them being forcibly moved to other nations by the Japanese colonial government. These presentations also indicate that South Korea still places great emphasis on being a homogenous and pure blood nation.

Although both Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012) and Society & Culture by Goo et al. (2012) have examples of immigrants in current South Korea, there is no explanation regarding the concept of immigration. Many examples also do not give much detailed information about *push factors* or *pull factors*. The authors simply say “암카는 몽골 여성으로 3년 전 국제 결혼한 여성이다” (Amka from Mongo is an intermarried woman (Kim et al., 2012, p. 85) and

“한국에 거주하는 외국인들은 직업, 결혼, 학업 등 다양한 목적으로 한국에 왔다”

(Immigrants and foreign residents in South Korea came for many different reasons such as jobs, marriage, and study (Goo et al., 2012, p. 157).

Diversity

The authors of History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) point out that many different minority cultures exist in the United States, that they are not going to disappear, and these differences enrich U.S. culture. They also explicitly explain the myth of the melting pot by quoting novelist Farrell’s statement, “the melting pot was essentially an Anglo-Saxon effort to rub out the past of others,” and add that “immigrants and their offspring were expected to ‘melt’ into a society dominated by WASPs, or white Anglo-Saxon Protestants” (p. 622). These are different perceptions from the common claim still made by mainstream media and some academics in discussing diversity in United States society. According to Gay (1994a), the widely held assumption in the United States is that American society should be “a homogenized melting pot” (p. 7).

There is not much detailed explanation about how these ethnic minorities enrich United States culture in the textbook. In discussing exchanges between Native Americans and White settlers at first, History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) briefly states “American Indians taught colonists to cultivate native crops like corn, tomatoes, potatoes, and tobacco. They introduced colonists to useful inventions like canoes and snowshoes” (p. 31).

Another example is explanation provided about the culture of ranchers and cowboys:

Plains cattle ranching had started in Texas before the Civil War. The region had a long tradition of ranching going back to the first Spanish settlers. Mexican vaqueros started

many cowboy customs. They rode horses and wore boots with pointed toes and wide-brimmed hats. They rounded up cattle and branded them (p. 133).

More detailed explanations are provided about African Americans. The authors elaborate in great detail how African Americans created a new form of music, jazz, that became an original music of the United States. In Chapter 28, “Popular Culture in the Roaring Twenties,” the following explanation is presented:

Jazz is a distinctly American musical form. It grew from a combination of influences, including African rhythms, European harmonies, African American folk music, and 19th century American band music and instruments. At the turn of the 20th century, these forms began to mix and grew into blues and ragtime. The blues sprang from African American work songs, with elements of gospel and folk music...Jazz combined the syncopation of ragtime with the deep feelings of the blues...Jazz was born in New Orleans. There, African American musicians were in demand to play at funeral parades, in minstrel shows, and as part of riverboat orchestras...as boats and then railroads traveled away from New Orleans, they carried the new music with them. Soon jazz caught fire in Kansas City, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York City...[Jazz] became the first uniquely American music to be played and loved around the world (pp. 318-319).

The readers might understand how ethnic minorities enriched United States culture through the example of African Americans, but non-African American ethnic minorities may feel left out as there are practically no detailed information about them included.

Neither Korea History by Do et al. (2011) nor Korea History by Jung et al. (2011) devotes any attention to the concept of diversity or current immigrants and foreign residents in

South Korea. Only Korea History by Jung et al. (2011) briefly talks about current immigrants and foreign residents in South Korea while discussing recent demographic and social changes in South Korea.

By contrast, the Society and Culture textbooks examined in this study give notable attention to diversity. Both Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012) and Society & Culture by Goo et al. (2012) textbooks claim that South Korea is becoming a culturally and ethnically diverse society because of globalization and newcomers, and then explain what efforts Koreans need to know and do in this new society. According to Goo et al. (2012):

우선 지배적인 문화를 가진 구성원이 이주민이나 소수자 집단의 문화에 대하여
그들 나름의 문화 고유성을 이해하려는 개방적 태도가 필요하다. 또한, 다른 문화에
대하여 편견이나 차별적인 태도를 버리고 그들과 평등하게 소통하면서 그들의
문화를 인정하는 관용의 자세도 요구된다.

(Mainstreamers need an open-minded attitude which tries to understand the cultures of immigrants and ethnic minorities. They need to communicate with minorities in equal status without discrimination and prejudice against their different cultures. Having a tolerant attitude which accepts their different cultures is also necessary (p. 123).

Kim et al. (2012) make similar statements, such as “우리는 다른 나라의 문화를 그들의
입장에서 이해하려는 문화 상대주의적 태도를 가져야 할 것이다” (we should have a cultural
relativism attitude which tries to see different countries’ cultures in their own contexts (p. 129).

Although both Society and Culture textbooks accept and emphasize diversity, they still focus primarily on tolerance. The examples that they address are about how “we” should help “them.”

For instance, Kim et al. (2012) state:

다문화 가족들은 사회적.문화적 갈등과 자녀 양육에 어려움을 느끼고 있다. 이에 사회 여러 분야에서 결혼 이민자들의 안정적인 정착을 위해 여러 가지 지원을 시행하고 있다. 시, 군, 구 다문화 가족 지원 센터들은 다문화 가족을 위한 한국어 교육, 다문화 사회 이해 교육, 가족 교육, 상담, 다문화 가족 직업 교육등을 지원하다.

(Multicultural families have social and cultural barriers and struggle for education of their children. Thus, a variety of organizations help immigrants here through international marriage settle safely into everyday life in South Korea. Several town centers established for multicultural families offer programs such as Korean language classes, education for understanding multicultural society, family intervention programs, counseling, and vocational classes (p. 129).

Goo et al. (2012) also introduce three episodes about efforts to respect cultural diversity, two of which are about how “we” help “them.” The first episode is that some local governments’ health centers offer translators as well as home visit medical treatment for immigrants through international marriage. The second example is that some companies have separate menus for Islamic immigrant workers whose religion prohibits eating pork. Only the last episode is not about “we helping them.” Goo et al. (2012) introduce French Town in Seoul, 서래 마을 [Seorae Village]. The authors state, “하지 절기에 프랑스 전역에서 이루어지는 전통 음악 축제

기간에 맞추어 한.불 음악 축제를 열어 프랑스와 한국의 전통과 현대 음악을 같이 즐길 수 있도록 한다” (During summer solstice, there is a music festival held all over France, and at the same time, French people in Seorae Village also have a music festival where traditional and modern music of Korea and France is played (p. 123). Unlike previous examples, this episode is about diverse people celebrating their cultural heritages. Celebrating cultural diversity is a necessary foundation for a true multicultural society. However, the episode of Seorae Village also has a shortcoming. Emphasizing the music festival in French Town is a tourist curriculum. Derman-Sparks (1989) argued that many curricula focus on exotic elements of difference such as food, music, and fashion rather than everyday life. More importantly, all three episodes together could give students the wrong impression that the cultures of immigrants through international marriage, many of whom are South East Asians, and Muslim cultures, are inferior to French culture since they are depicted as group needing help. The authors should include episodes of celebrating the culture of South East Asian and Islamic immigrants also instead of addressing the examples of tolerance. Although the examples have shortcomings, the textbook by Goo et al. (2012) explicitly mentions that the culture of all diverse groups including immigrants in contemporary South Korea should be part of the cultural identity of a South Korean society later in the chapter.

Assimilation

Hart et al. (2013) define assimilation as “the absorption of people into the dominant culture” in the *Glossary* (p. 725). Although the authors do not explain explicitly the concept of assimilation in the body of the textbook, the authors give teachers room to teach the concept of assimilation as they address historical examples of assimilation and Americanization such as:

The U.S. government adopted policies aimed at speeding the assimilation, or absorption, of Indians into the dominant culture. Federal officials set up about two dozen boarding schools to educate American Indians in “white men’s ways.” Congress furthered the assimilation push by enacting the Dawes Act of 1887. Under this law, a tribe could no longer own reservation lands as a group. Instead, the government began distributing land to individuals within a tribe. Each family was granted its own plot of land, which it could hold or sell. This change eroded a cornerstone of American Indian cultures—the belief that land could not be bought or sold. Land sales, both free and forced, greatly decreased the amount of Indian-owned land (p. 137).

In this paragraph, students can learn two main characteristics of assimilation which are the process of transforming a minority group’s culture, values, and perspectives to the dominant culture, and individuals acquiring these are not in a position to choose. The historical event which decreased the amount of Indian-owned land with the Dawes Act of 1887 can be used as an example to teach how a minority group is forced to adapt its cultural characteristics to move up or protect social and economic status since the dominant group controls social, economic, and political institutions in a society. However, this paragraph could give students the wrong impression that an individual who becomes assimilated to the dominant culture would not be a victim. It might be better if the authors addressed the different opinions or perspectives of two different groups of historians regarding the purpose of the Dawes Act. One group of historians argued that the purpose of the act was civilizing Native Americans, while the other group of historians claimed the act was systematically manipulated to acquire the lands of Native Americans. The authors’ explanation about the assimilation of immigrants on page 174 also

could give a wrong impression because the paragraph does not explain complicated issues in depth.

Many immigrants [from Europe] held on to their old customs and languages as they gradually adapted to American life. This was especially true for older immigrants living in ethnic neighborhoods. The children of immigrants, however, typically found assimilation into American society much easier than their parents did. Education was the main tool of assimilation. Immigrant children in public schools studied American history and civics, and they learned to speak English. Yearning to fit in, they more eagerly adopted American customs (Hart et al., 2013, p. 174).

Even though it is true that many children of immigrants found assimilation into American society less difficult than their parents did, it is almost impossible to become totally assimilated especially for children of color. Zhou (1997) stated, “as they [children of immigrants] become more mature and extend their span of life lived in the United States, they are more likely to choose an identity affiliated either with their ancestral homeland or with a hyphenated ethnicity, rather than abandoning their ethnic identity” because their skin color acts as a barrier for being seen as unqualified American by the White majority culture (p. 219).

Neither Korea History by Bisang Gyoyuk [비상교육] publication (Do et al., 2011) nor Korea History by Ji Hak Sa [지학사] publication (Jung et al., 2011) defines assimilation. They do not devote much attention to explaining the concept of assimilation either. However, some historical events are included that teachers could employ to teach the concept of assimilation. Both textbooks explain how the Japanese colonial government tried to erase Korean ethnic culture and identity especially in the later period. For example, Jung et al. (2011) state:

일제는 대륙을 침략하면서 한반도를 병참 기지로 만드는 것이 전쟁에서 승리할 수 있는 요인이라고 보았다. 이를 위하여 일제는 한국인의 민족의식을 말살하여 침략 전쟁에 자발적으로 참여하도록 유도하였다... 일제는 학교와 관공서에서 한국어 사용을 금지하고 일본어만을 사용하도록 하고, 우리의 성과 이름까지 일본식으로 바꾸는 ‘창씨개명’을 강요하였다.

(When the Japanese empire invaded China, Japanese believed that making the Japanese colony, the Korean peninsula, a supply base was a crucial element for a victory in the war. In order to do this, the Japanese empire tried to erase Korean ethnic culture and identity so Koreans would voluntarily support the Japanese empire... The Japanese empire forbade the use of the Korean language in all public offices and schools, and coerced Koreans to change their Korean names—both first and last—to Japanese names (p. 228).

Do et al. (2011) describe this event as follows:

일제는 모든 읍과 면에 신사를 만들어 참배를 강요하였고, 일왕의 궁성을 향하여 절을 하도록 하였다. 게다가 우리의 성과 이름조차 일본식으로 바꾸도록 강요하였다... 한글을 사용하는 동아일보, 조선일보 등 모든 신문과 잡지를 폐간시켰다.

(The Japanese empire built shrines in every town in Korea and forced Koreans to worship. Koreans were forced to bow toward the Japanese imperial palace in Japan. Besides, our first and surnames were forcefully changed to Japanese versions of the

names...Newspapers and magazines written in the Korean language such as Chosun newspaper and Donga newspaper were forced to cease to publication (p. 280).

Although these examples can be used for explaining the concept of assimilation and making contrast and comparison with today's immigrants in South Korea, the authors of both textbooks limited their reports to Korean life during the period of Japan's colonization of Korea.

Both Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012) and Society & Culture by Goo et al. (2012) use assimilation conceptually while explaining *cultural transformation*. They briefly explain the concept of assimilation in a couple of sentences by stating that the culture of a given group transforms into the other group's culture when two different cultures interact. They also give two short examples of cultural assimilation. One example is that South Koreans are rarely seen wearing traditional Korean clothes today because of Westernization. The other example is the loss of cultural identity of Native Americans. There is no example about immigrants in South Korea today, and more importantly, the authors in both textbooks do not provide any detail about power relations. For instance, when presenting the cases of assimilation, Goo et al (2012) just describe “아메리카 원주민들이 유럽의 백인 문화와 접촉하면서 자기 문화를 상실한 경우” (Native Americans lost their cultural identity through interaction with European White culture (p. 119) without any further explanation. The authors of both textbooks do not mention the crucial problem of assimilation that often minorities are not in a position to choose whether they adopt the culture of dominant group. Instead of discussing power relations, they emphasize the importance of having firm faith in one's own cultural identity. They say that if a group does not stand firm faith in their own cultural identity, they will lose their cultural identity.

Discrimination

Discrimination is one of the most often used words when discussing the problems of minority groups in the History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013). Yet, the authors do not explain the concept of discrimination. They do not even give a definition of it in the *Glossary*. However, the authors give many examples that teachers could employ to teach the concept of discrimination. For example, in the small section on “Racism and Discrimination Persist” in Chapter 10, the Hart et al. (2013) describe “Despite their [African Americans’] contributions to the [Civil] war effort, African Americans still faced racism and hostility. During the New York City draft riots, dozens of African Americans were killed.”(p. 115). Another example is the case of the Jewish in Chapter 26: “The influx of 2.4 million Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe stirred up anti-Semitism—prejudice against Jews. In some communities, landlords refused to rent apartments to Jewish tenants. Colleges limited the number of Jewish students they accepted” (p. 297). In Chapter 42, Hart et al. (2013) provide this short narrative of a Puerto Rican:

Housing discrimination limited where minorities could live and work. ‘When I went...to look for apartments,’ a Puerto Rican in Philadelphia recalled, ‘they throw the door in my face. They don’t want no colored people, you know, my skin is dark.’ Black and Latino populations became concentrated in decaying, inner-city areas that were being abandoned by whites (p. 482).

The authors address not only examples of individual discrimination which is the negative behaviors of individuals toward other groups but also examples of institutional discrimination, such as literacy tests and the Chinese Exclusion Act.

The authors explain:

As the main source of immigration shifted to southern and eastern Europe in the late 1800s, nativism flared up again. Nativists were not only bothered by religious and cultural differences, but also saw immigrants as an economic threat...In 1894, a group of nativists founded the Immigration Restriction League. This organization wanted to limit immigration by requiring that all new arrivals take a literacy test to prove they could read and write. In 1897, Congress passed such a bill, but the President vetoed it. Twenty years later, however, another literacy bill became law (p. 174).

Another example of systemic discrimination is:

Farm owners on the mainland saw the value of their labor and began bring the Chinese to California...During the 1870s, a depression and drought knocked the wind out of California's economy. Seeking a scapegoat, many Californians blamed Chinese workers for their economic woes...Nativists demanded that Chinese migration be curtailed, or reduced. Their outcries led to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. This law prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers, skilled or unskilled, for a period of 10 years. It also prevented Chinese already in the country from becoming citizens. For the first time, the United States had restricted immigration based solely on nationality or race (p. 175).

According to Nieto (2004), much greater harm is done by institutional discrimination than individual acts in which oppressive practices and policies are legalized. Thus, it is important that students learn about institutional discrimination. The examples above show that the discrimination was not only by prejudice and racism. It was caused by economic and political interests. For instance, the dominant group and Chinese workers in the second example had interest convergence because the dominant group saw Chinese as cheap workers. However, the

interest convergence between them was broken because pressure from White workers became great during a depression. Although Hart et al. (2013) do not explicitly explain the concepts of institutional and individual discrimination, or the concepts of interest divergence and convergence, the authors give many historical examples of these. However, the numbers of examples of discrimination against ethnic and racial minorities declines significantly after Chapters 45 and 46 which explain the civil rights movement and its expansion. The authors give cases of immigration debate instead of acts of discriminations.

Neither Korea History by Do et al. (2011) nor Korea History by Jung et al. (2011) devotes any attention to the concept of discrimination. However, the fact that Korea was under dynastic rule, and social classes were determined on a hereditary basis in the past is a good example that teachers can use to employ to explain the concept of institutional discrimination. Institutional discrimination against Koreans during the period of Japan's colonization of Korea also can be used as an example. However, it is a very difficult task to make connections between these examples and today's discrimination against immigrant workers because the situations are very different from a caste system and colonization in the past. Making the connection highly depends on the teacher's ability.

Unlike history textbooks, both Society and Culture textbooks analyzed in this study include some contemporary episodes of discrimination against ethnic minorities in South Korea. For example, Society & Culture textbook by Kim et al. (2012) provides this narration of an ethnic minority wife:

희망의 땅이라 생각하고 생면부지의 남편을 따라온 대한민국, 언어 습득과 문화적 차이 극복하는 것만으로도 스크레스가 엄청난데 가정 폭력에 빈곤 문제까지...

이혼이라도 하고 싶지만 합의 이혼하면 강제 출국이라고 하던데...어떻게 하면
저는 대한민국에서 행복해질 수 있을까요?

(I got married to an almost complete stranger [Korean husband] and came to South Korea that I considered as a land of hope. Language and cultural barriers alone give me enough difficulty, but I suffer domestic violence and poverty...I want to get a divorce, but I heard if I divorce by mutual agreement, I would be deported from South Korea...what should I do for happy life in South Korea? (p. 170).

Although this example could give students an idea about what discrimination is, it does not give enough information about the characteristic of discrimination as it appears very shortly in Chapter 2, “사회 불평등 현상과 해결 방안” [social inequality and plans for its solution] in which ethnic minority groups share the chapter with other minority groups such as people with disability, child as a head of household, and the elderly. The example also relies on an appeal to feelings rather than giving details about the laws which make the woman think she would be deported from South Korea.

Society & Culture by Goo et al. (2012) also provides the stories about discrimination against ethnic minorities in the chapter discussing social inequality, “사회 불평등의 여러 형태” [various types of social inequality] with other subjugated groups. The authors explain:

2007년 국내 외국인 근로자를 대상으로 한 조사 연구에 의하면, 응답자의 92%가 한 가지 이상 고통스러운 경험을 하였다고 응답하였다. 그들의 고통은 부당한 차별에서 비롯된 것으로 볼 수 있다...대한민국 국민으로 인정받는 북한 이탈

주민도 극심한 차별을 당하고 있다...한국어를 완벽하게 구사하지만, 북한

사투리라는 언어 습관 또는 이 | 주자라는 사실 때문에 다르게 인식되고 있다.

(According to a survey conducted in 2007 regarding immigrant workers, 92% of the immigrant workers answered that they had at least one or more painful experiences. Their painful experiences originated in discrimination...North Korean defectors who [are the same ethnic group as South Koreans and] have South Korean citizenship also experience discrimination...Although they speak the Korean language, they are viewed as different since they are immigrants and speak North Korea dialects (p. 157).

This example also does not describe what discrimination is exactly and it lacks sufficient detail.

They simply say that minority groups suffer discrimination no matter what ethnicity they are or what citizenship they have. The lack of detail is because the Society and Culture textbooks are written to teach sociological theories and concepts. As a matter of fact, Goo et al. (2012) and Kim et al. (2012) explain some concepts related to discrimination such as social minority. The authors of both textbooks identify four theoretical characteristics that define a group of people as a social minority in a given society. They are:

- 식별 가능성 [people who are able to be distinguished from the majority of the population]
- 권력의 열세 [people who are inferior in social, political, and economic power]
- 사회적 차별대우 [people who are discriminated against]
- 집착적 정체성 [people who have a will to preserve their group identity]

The authors in both textbooks also conceptually explain solutions for discrimination against minorities as improving institutions and modifying people's mindsets. However, this is limited to the conceptual approach. They do not give any real life examples.

Prejudice

The authors of History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals present some historical events that can be used for teaching prejudice, such as the story of Sacco and Vanzetti who were Italian immigrants convicted of a double murder and armed robbery in 1922, and were executed six years later. History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) shows how the conviction was influenced by prejudice against immigrants and people of color in post-World War I. Hart et al. (2013) explain:

The police investigating the South Braintree robbery had little to go on except eyewitness accounts of two bandits who “looked Italian.” Three weeks later the police arrested Sacco and Vanzetti...Their behavior made them look suspicious to the police and, later, to a jury. But during this troubled time, some native-born Americans eyed many immigrants—especially those who were poor and spoke little English—with suspicion...Modern analysis of the evidence has confirmed that the gun found on Sacco at the time of his arrest was one of the murder weapons. This suggests that Sacco was guilty of the crime. But no one has found proof to link Vanzetti to the murders. “I have suffered because I was an Italian,” Vanzetti wrote from prison (pp. 294-296).

This example can be used to teach about prejudice because the Vanzetti was seen as a criminal mainly because he was Italian. According to Bennett (2007) and Banks (2009), prejudice is an attitude or feeling—usually unfavorable—toward a certain group or individual based on preconceived judgment and beliefs, whereas discrimination is a behavior toward a stigmatized

group and individual. History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) could have explained the differences between prejudice and discrimination. The students' confusion regarding the two terms can be boosted by the fact that the terms, discrimination and prejudice, often appear together throughout the book, and the descriptions focus more on discrimination than prejudice. For example, in the short section, "Asians and African Americans Face Discrimination," that follows the story of Sacco and Vanzetti on page 296, the authors start the section with:

Italians were not the only victims of such prejudice. Asian immigrants also faced severe legal discrimination. Asians were barred from becoming citizens and, in several states from owning land. Many states also banned marriage between whites and Asians. African Americans faced continuing discrimination as well. At the end of World War I, returning black soldiers had high hopes that their service to the country would lessen prejudice. These hopes proved illusory. Black veterans had problems finding jobs. In some places, lynching made an ugly comeback. More than 70 blacks were murdered by lynch mobs in 1919 (Hart et al., 2013, P. 296).

Another example is the small section on "Prejudice Against Mexican Americans Erupts in Zoot Suit Riots" in Chapter 35. The authors describe how a fashion fad provoked riots:

Many Mexican American teenagers, or *pachucos*, in East Los Angeles began dressing in this [zoot suit] flashy style and wearing their hair long in the back, in the ducktail fashion. White Americans tended to associate the zoot suit with Mexican American street gangs, many of whom also adopted the style. Thus, many people saw the outlandish zoot suit as a symbol of lawlessness...Mobs of sailors and marines roamed the streets of the barrio attacking not just gang members but also anyone wearing a zoot suit. They beat hundreds

of *pachucos* and ripped off their suits. The Los Angeles police did little to stop the servicemen. Instead, they arrested the victims and hauled them off to jail... Later, an investigating committee found that the main causes of the Zoot Suit Riots were racial prejudice, police discrimination, and inflammatory articles in the press (Hart et al., 2013, p. 406).

In history books, it might be difficult to describe prejudice because attitudes are intangible. However, this can lead to students misunderstanding and assuming that only individuals who have personal prejudices discriminate, or individuals who have no personal prejudice will not discriminate. Merton (1949) argued that a person who does not have personal prejudices also can discriminate when it brings more profits and vice versa.

Neither Korea History by Do et al. (2011) nor Korea History by Jung et al. (2011) gives any explanation of prejudice. There are no stories that might be employed to teach its concept either. Yet, the Society and Culture textbooks examined in this study have many opportunities for teaching about prejudice. However, most real-life examples do not describe what prejudice current immigrants are suffering in South Korea. For example:

대학 교수로 있는 김 ○ ○ 씨는 ‘남한에 오면 행복 시작일 것이라고 생각했는데, 그게 아니라 고생 시작이었다.’ 며 ‘바라보는 시선들, 편견, 차별 이런 것들이 가난보다도 더 힘들었다.’고 말했다.

([a North Korean defector] Mr. Kim who is a college professor [in South Korea] said ‘I thought I would be happy in South Korea but it was not true’ He continued ‘How [native South Koreans] view me. Prejudice and discrimination are more difficult than poverty.’ (Kim et al., 2012, p. 168).

Society & Culture by Goo et al. (2012) describes the key prejudice that South Koreans can have and its problems. They point out that Koreans see the cultures of immigrants as 이상하다 [strange, weird, odd] rather than 다르다 [different], and this prejudice causes cultural frictions. This somewhat parallels a result of Shin's study (2012). He found that Koreans often misuse the words between 다르다 [different] and 틀리다 [wrong]. According to him, this can prevent South Korea from becoming a cultural pluralism society as Koreans can regard different cultures as wrong cultures. Although Goo et al. (2012) point out this crucial issue, their descriptions are very short and do not give any further information.

Critical Skills

The main frames of the textbook History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) are the founding ideals of the United States: equality, rights, liberty, and opportunity. These ideals are not easy to achieve, and even reaching agreement on their practical meaning is still debatable. Therefore, in Chapter 2, "Defining and Debating America's Founding Ideals," the authors pose thought-provoking questions for each ideal that can be used to guide reading the entire book. For example, for the ideal, opportunity, the authors ask, "Has the United States offered equal opportunity to all of its people? Or have some enjoyed more opportunity to pursue their dreams than have others? Is it enough to 'level the playing field' so that everyone has the same chance to succeed in life? Or should special efforts be made to expand opportunities for the last fortunate among us?" (p. 13). These questions show that the authors do not offer simple solutions or tell one-side stories. Instead, critical and controversial issues are examined. Each chapter also has a main question immediately after the title. Yet, many of these indicate what

historical events students will learn rather than being thought-provoking or prompts for critical analysis like the questions in Chapter 2.

Sometimes content is provided to help students see historical events and issues from the perspectives of ethnic and racial minorities. For example, in describing the model minority myth, the Hart et al. (2013) state:

[Asian Americans] were sometimes called the “model minority” because they were seen as working hard and succeeding without protesting or making demands. Some people even pointed to their progress as proof that ethnic differences were no barrier to success in American society...The perceived success of Asian Americans was only partly true...Many Asian American households include several adult wage earners, a fact that was reflected in higher family incomes. Furthermore, although many Asian Americans had attended college and entered professions, others had not. Many Asian immigrants had low-paying jobs, limited English language skills, and little education. Like other minorities they faced discrimination because they were not white (p. 531).

Another example is an explanation about segregation in housing from the perspectives of ethnic and racial minorities. This explanation appears several times throughout the book. The explanation appears in the description of growing differences between social classes at the turn of the 20th century:

Immigrants tended to cluster together in ethnic neighborhoods, where they could maintain many of their old customs. Some immigrants, however, stayed in these areas because they were not allowed to live anywhere else. The Chinese in San Francisco were jammed together in one district known as Chinatown because they were barred from other areas. In cities like San Antonio and Los Angeles, Mexican immigrants lived in

neighborhoods called barrios. African American migrants, too, generally lived in neighborhoods separated from other city residents (p. 191).

Another explanation appears while describing African Americans concentrated in ghettos in large cities:

A ghetto is a part of a city where people belonging to a single ethnic group live.

Sometimes people live in an ethnic ghetto because they want to be among people who share their culture. But often people live in such neighborhoods because social and economic conditions prevent them from moving elsewhere. This was true for African Americans. Because of job discrimination, many could not afford to live anywhere else. Even those with good jobs found it almost impossible to buy houses in white neighborhoods (p.512).

The best explanation about segregation in housing from the perspectives of ethnic minorities appears in Chapter 43, “Segregation in the Post-World War II Period.” The authors explain the concepts of *de jure* segregation and *de facto* segregation, and give its examples:

[Segregation in housing] came in two main forms. One was *de facto* segregation, which was established by practice and custom, rather than law. This form was found in all parts of the country. The other was *de jure* segregation or segregation by law... One practice [of *de facto* segregation] was the restrictive covenant. This was an agreement among neighbors not to sell or rent to African Americans or other racial minorities...*De jure* segregation was accomplished through racial zoning. These local laws defined where the different races could live (p. 489).

According to Banks (2009), merely adding contents about minority groups to school curricula does not make students understand the complex dimensions of racially and ethnically diverse

society, such as the United States. Examining events from many different perspectives extends students' understanding of the complexity (Freire, 1970, Nieto, 2004, 2002). These examples above help students understand the complexity of a society more fully and apply critical thinking to historical events. However, there are shortcomings in the textbook, too. Although the authors explain that racial, social, and economic conditions prevent minorities from living with mainstreamers several times throughout, the authors do not always do so. The following statements are examples when the information provided seems insufficient to promote critical thinking:

The people of Japanese ancestry, in contrast, were a much smaller group with much less political power. They faced more racial discrimination than did people of German or Italian ancestry because they were of nonwhite, non-European ancestry. Their social isolation also worked against them. They had not assimilated into American culture as well as other immigrant groups had. They kept largely to themselves, in ethnic communities outside the American mainstream. In addition, they lived mainly on the west coast, where fear of a Japanese invasion was strongest. Unlike in Hawaii, the mainland press whipped up that fear by accusing Japanese Americans of spying or of being more loyal to Japan than to the United States. All these factors made it easier for the government to act against people of Japanese ancestry (p. 398).

Here, the authors state, “they kept largely to themselves, in ethnic communities outside the American mainstream” without discussing the *de jure* and *de facto* factors. This can give students a wrong impression that the social isolation of people of Japanese descent was their own fault. It can even make some Japanese descent students think the internment was caused by their own shortcomings.

Another example that provides insufficient information is a question located in Chapter 12. The authors follow the westward expansion myth as they are describing “What opportunities and conflicts emerged as Americans moved westward?” By saying “Americans moved westward,” the authors exclude Native Americans who lived West, Asian populations who immigrated east, and Mexican populations who lived there or moved northward. However, it is a brief oversight. In the narrative of the chapter, instead of saying “Americans,” they use “settlers,” “travelers,” or “thousands of Americans.” They also describe the lives and sufferings of Native Americans, African Americans, and people from Mexico and China. In other chapters, “Indians and Mexicans already living there” (p. 84) are also described briefly.

Several ethnic minority leaders get attention from Hart et al. (2013). History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals starts with the scene of Martin Luther King, Jr. speaking from the Lincoln Memorial in 1963. The authors quote parts of King’s “I have a dream” speech as shown below:

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity. But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free...Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice (p. 1).

The main purpose of using King’s speech in Chapter 1, “What is History?” is to teach students that history matters as the authors explicitly say, “by beginning his speech with a reference to the past, King made the point that history matters” (p. 1). The fact that King’s speech is addressed in the first page of the book has strong symbolic significance. Throughout the book, the authors

discuss racial conflicts more often than emphasizing harmonious relations among diverse groups. Chapter 44 “The Civil Rights Revolution: Like a Mighty Stream” provides several primary sources including excerpts from speeches and letters written by Martin Luther King, Jr. These primary sources emphasize harmonious relations, such as “day when all God’s children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro Spiritual, ‘Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!’”(p. 506), but also critical statements. A letter written by King from a Birmingham jail in 1963 is provided.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was ‘well-timed’ in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word ‘Wait!’ it rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This ‘Wait!’ has almost always meant ‘Never.’ We must come to see... that ‘justice too long delayed is justice denied.’ (p. 504).

King’s perspective that there are two types of laws, just and unjust law, and taking an action against unjust law is a moral responsibility of individuals can be used for students to think critically about laws and social action. The authors also address Malcolm X. although the descriptions of him are more like a report of an historical event, such as:

As a Black Muslim, Malcolm X rejected the goals of the early civil rights movement. Rather than seeking integration, the Nation of Islam promoted Black Nationalism, a doctrine that called for complete separation from white society...Malcolm X had split with the Nation of Islam...Malcolm X converted to orthodox Islam and began to reach

out to people of all races, making a broader call for human rights. His change of heart upset many Black Muslims. In 1965, three members of the Nation of Islam assassinated Malcolm X while he was speaking in New York City (pp.514-515).

The authors present his speech to a group of Black teenagers in New York City in 1964 when he rejects nonviolence as a strategy to bring about change:

If the leaders of the nonviolent movement can go to the white community and teach nonviolence, good. I'd go along with that. But as long as I see them teaching nonviolence only in the black community, we can't go along with that...If black people alone are going to be the ones who are nonviolent, then it's not fair. We throw ourselves off guard. In fact, we disarm ourselves and make ourselves defenseless (p. 514).

Malcolm X might be a controversial individual from a mainstream stand point. But as Nieto (2002) pointed out, "Nothing [should be] taboo as a topic of discussion" (p. 272). The problem of textbooks is that many people think knowledge taught from textbooks should be undisputed. Students should examine all issues from many different angles. Through discussing differences and similarities between civil right activists, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, students can understand more fully about the era of the civil rights movement and social actions in general.

History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) also discusses Latino, Native, and Asian Americans who were inspired by the African American civil rights movement and stood up for their rights in the 1960s and 1970s. From these accounts, students can learn that civil rights activism reflected a given group's own cultural values, histories, and life conditions. Yet, the textbook is limited because it has no example of different minority groups working together to bring social equality and justice, and the challenges they face in building these coalitions. The episode that comes closest to being an example of different minority groups

working together is debates on racial profiling in airports that occurred after the attacks on the Twin Towers in New York City on September 11, 2001. The textbook states:

Some Americans strongly supported racial profiling. They viewed terrorism as an extreme threat that justified the use of special security strategies...Others viewed racial profiling as discrimination. They insisted that all travelers should go through the same search procedures. Norman Mineta, the U.S. secretary of transportation and a Japanese American, agreed. As a child, he had been sent to an internment camp. Mineta banned racial profiling in airports. He also helped develop new procedures to prevent air travelers from carrying weapons or other devices that pose a security risk (p. 684).

According to Banks and Banks (2007), building alliances across different minority groups is not an easy task because each group often assumes its goals will be in competition with those of others groups. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) attribute the difficulty of cross-group collaboration to the tendency of oppressed groups to focus on only one form of oppression. For example, even though both women and men of color are oppressed groups who suffer racial discrimination, some feminists consider men of color as their oppressors rather than allies against racial discriminations. It would be helpful if the authors of History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals, (2013) included some detailed examples of different ethnic minorities working together for common rights and equal treatments rather than just stating that the African American civil rights movement inspired many other minority groups to stand up for their rights.

Korea History by Jung et al. (2011) and Korea History by Do et al. (2011) start each chapter with a question. Many of them indicate what historical event students are supposed to learn in a given chapter rather than being thought-provoking questions. Each chapter also has supplementary sections in which students write a short essay or discuss with further information

related to a topic in a given chapter. Although many of the activities addressed in the supplementary sections are intended to review what they learned in a given chapter, some of them do help develop critical skills. However, there are no discussion topics related to either current immigrants in South Korea or immigrants in the past. Both Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012) and Society & Culture by Goo et al. (2012) have the same pattern as the Korea History textbooks. However, because Society and Culture as subject matter teaches sociological theories and concepts, both textbooks start each chapter with a question that indicates what concept students will learn, and has supplementary sections in which students discuss a given concept with real life examples. Stories of current immigrant workers and international marriage couples often appear as examples in these supplementary sections. However, most of the examples are short and do not give enough detail. After giving a short example, the authors ask students to find other examples and present them. For instance, in the supplementary section discussing social minorities, Kim et al. (2012) give a one-paragraph long example of an immigrant worker, international marriage woman, a child head of household, person with disability, and a believer of Islam. And then, the authors ask two questions. They are: “외국인 노동자가 한국에서 겪은 어려움에 대해 조사하여 발표해 보자” (Let’s inquire about sufferings of immigrant workers in South Korea and present them) and “국민, 민족, 인종, 지역, 연령, 종교, 장애로 인해 소수자들이 차별받고 있는 사례들을 찾아서 발표해 보자” (Let’s find examples of minorities who suffer discrimination due to nationality, ethnicity, race, region, age, religion, and handicap, and present them (Kim et al, 2012, p. 171). Goo et al. (2012) present three short cases of efforts for cultural diversity and then ask students to conduct an inquiry, such as “한국에서

이주민들이 경험하는 문화적인 어려움을 해결하고 문화 다양성을 지원하려는 다양한 사례를 조사해 보자” (Let’s inquire into various cases that support cultural diversity and help immigrants in South Korea to overcome cultural barriers). These activities could be helpful for raising students’ awareness of the existence of ethnic minority groups and issues related to them, but just finding cases does not make students think critically about the complexities of ethnic minorities in current South Korea.

Although most supplementary sections limit their activities to “awareness,” there are some that help students develop critical skills. For example, Goo et al. (2012) give this excerpt from newspaper article:

외국인 배우자를 맞이하거나 외국인으로 노동력을 충당하는 것은 우리 사회에서 더는 낯선 풍경이 아니다...총각의 결혼 문제를 해결하고, 노동력도 확보할 수 있다는 점에서 긍정적인 측면이 있다...한편, 외국인이 유입되는 것 자체에 대해 거부감을 갖는 사람도 많다. 외국인과 외국 문화의 유입으로 한국적 전통과 정체성이 훼손될 것이라는 우려 때문이다. 또한, 외국인과 한국인이 마찰을 일으키는 일도 자주 발생하고 있다.

(Getting married to foreigners and filling up labor shortages through immigrant workers are not a strange scene anymore in our society [South Korea]... The facts that newcomers help solve the marriage problem of overabundance of bachelors and the problem of labor shortage are the positive aspects of these social changes...Meanwhile, there are many

people who feel repulsed by the influx of foreigners because they worry that the traditional perceptions of Korean culture and identity will be subverted by the influx of foreigners and foreign culture. Also, conflicts between [Native] Koreans and foreigners [immigrants] have been occurring frequently (p. 212).

The authors ask students to interpret these cases from two different perspectives, *functionalism theory* and *conflict theory*. This is a chance for students to think critically about the current social changes occurring in South Korea in two different perspectives, *functionalism theory* perspective and *conflict theory* perspective.

Both Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012) and Society & Culture by Goo et al. (2012) elaborate *functionalism theory* and *conflict theory* in the early parts of their books, and use these theories as conceptual frameworks to examine social phenomena. For example, Goo et al. (2012) analyze the causes of discrimination against minorities by stating that:

소수자의 차별에 관한 이론은 기능론과 갈등론으로 구분된다. 기능론에서는 소수자 차별이 사회 제도의 운용 과정에서 ‘의도하지 않은 결과’로 발생한 것으로 파악한다...예를 들면, 어떤 나라 정부가 자국의 관광 산업을 진흥하기 위하여 외국인 관광객의 방문 문호를 대폭 확장하면 그 틈을 타서 불법 체류 외국인들이 몰려온다. 그들은 수가 많아지고 차별당한 경험이 축적되면서 소수자 집단을 형성한다. ...[갈등론에서는] 소수자들이 차별당하는 것은 기득권층이 힘없는 소수자를 일반적으로 착취한 결과로 본다. 갈등론자들은 기득권층이 지배 집단과 소수자 집단 간 심각한 갈등을 감추려고 종종 소수자 집단 사이의 사소한 갈등을

크게 부각한다고 주장한다.그것은 소수자 집단들이 연대할 가능성을 약화하는 결과를 낳는다. 따라서 지배 집단이 소수자 집단을 분열시켜 자신의 지배 질서를 더욱 공고히 유지하는 것이다

(There are two different theories regarding discrimination against minorities, functionalism theory and conflict theory. From the functionalist perspective, the occurrence of discrimination against minorities is presumed as an unintended result of the management of social institutions...For example, if a government in some nation leaves a door wide open for promotion of the tourism industry, many illegal immigrants would also surge [the country]. As the population of [illegal immigrants] becomes a recognizable number, and their experiences of discrimination accumulate, a minority group formation occurs...[From the conflict theory perspective] discrimination against minorities is considered as the result of exploitation by dominant groups. Conflict theorists argue that the dominant group plays up minor conflicts among subjugated groups in order to hide major conflicts between subjugated groups and dominant groups. This weakens the possibility of unity among subjugated groups. By doing this, dominant groups can continually solidify their ruling (p. 158).

Both Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012) and Society & Culture by Goo et al. (2012) also explain the concept of social inequalities and issues related to them. Although the authors in both textbooks focus more on socioeconomic status and gender, newcomers are also discussed as a type of minority group. They also suggest two approaches, institutional improvement and modifying people's mindset, but they discuss them only in principle, not in real life practices. Furthermore, their suggestions are limited to providing more opportunities for minorities such as

affirmative action and welfare, and being tolerant toward them. There is no discussion about engaging in social action. Although there are a couple of photos of protests by immigrants, neither of the textbooks discusses the protests in the narrative text. There is practically no mention about real life examples of institutional discrimination either. A harsh policy against immigrant workers in the past is mentioned briefly in Society & Culture by Kim et al. (2012).

The authors give this narration of an immigrant worker: “현대판 노예 제도라고 불렀던 산업

기술 연수생 시절에 비하면 많이 좋아졌다고는 하지만 아직도 외국인 노동자들에게

한국은 노동, 교육, 의료, 문화, 생활 등 모든 영역에서 힘든 나라입니다” (Compared to the

trainee system which was called modern slavery in the past, there have been many improvements

today, but South Korea is still a strenuous nation state to immigrant workers in terms of jobs,

education, medical treatments, and livelihoods (p. 170). However, there is no explanation about

why the workers' trainee system is called modern slavery, or what the system is exactly.

Chapter V: Summary, Discussion, and Recommendations

This chapter consists of five sections. The first section summarizes research procedure and major findings of the study. The second section discusses how the findings are related to claims of scholars and previous researches. The reasons why this study is important and how it contributes to the body of research on textbook designs in multicultural education theories are provided in the third section. The last two sections address limitations of this study and recommendations for future research and improving the treatment of multicultural education in textbooks.

Summary

This study examined five textbooks to find out how multicultural education theories such as the use of multiple identities and perspectives, culturally responsive content, and critical cultural consciousness are applied in practice, and to discover better ways to reduce gaps between theories and practices based on positive examples. The sample, U.S. history textbook analyzed was History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals published in 2013. Two Korea History textbooks were examined. Both were published in 2011. Two Society and Culture textbooks published in 2012 were also analyzed. The reason why only one U.S. history textbook was selected while textbooks for two different subject matters were analyzed for South Korea is that comprehensive social studies issues such as sociology and anthropology are woven into history textbooks for secondary school students, but in South Korea, these topics are presented in different textbooks. Hence, Korea History and Society and Culture textbooks together come closer to being similar to a U.S. history book than either could alone. Analyses of these three sets of textbooks revealed many multicultural shortcomings.

Although History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) emphasizes national, regional, and ethnic cultural identities, it does not provide enough examples or details about regional and ethnic cultural identities. This textbook is still dominated by stories of European Americans. European Americans appear more often in a variety of topics and roles, followed by African Americans. But, the coverage of African Americans is often limited to roles and topics related to minority and racial issues. Some additional topics that convey their presence are music, literature, and inventions. Other Americans of color such as Latino, Asian, and Native Americans receive little attention and are shown in a more limited range of topics and roles than African Americans. Most of them also appear in topics related to minority and race such as racism, discrimination, prejudice, and immigration.

Most content about people of color which appears is mainly historical, such as Asian and Latino immigrant workers at the turn of 20th century and civil rights activists in the 1960s and 1970s. There is not much content about contemporary issues, lives, and experiences of ethnic minorities. For instance, in explaining new immigration trends, History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) focuses on illegal immigrants and debates about immigrant policy without providing any details about the experiences, lives, and motivating and inhibiting factors of these new immigrants.

The textbook also has shortcomings discussing concepts related to multicultural education. Although it gives definitions of some concepts related to multicultural education such as assimilation and ethnicity, they are placed in the “glossary.” The concepts are not explained explicitly and in detail in the body of the text. There are several historical episodes that teachers may use to teach a given concept related to multicultural education, but they are often sketchy and somewhat fragmented, especially for non-African Americans of color.

Non-African Americans of color are often overshadowed by European Americans and African Americans. For example, in discussing immigration at the turn of 20th century, no explanations of the reasons why Asians came to the United States are provided, but detailed reasons are given for why Eastern and Southern Europeans came to the United States. Another example is four chapters, how segregation and the civil rights movement of the mid-20th century are discussed. Three chapters are devoted to African Americans, and only one chapter is about other people of color. This means non-African Americans of color are overshadowed even in discussion of concepts related to multicultural education.

History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) presents thought-provoking questions for students to examine American ideals in depth. It also includes ethnic minority leaders and their own perspectives that help students understand the complexity of historical events. Conflicts among different groups also are addressed through many historical events related to racism, prejudice, and discrimination against ethnic minorities. Although this textbook discusses social actions of minority groups against unjust treatments, there are still several shortcomings. A crucial one is the absence of any discussion of different minority groups working together to bring about equality and justice.

The two Korea History textbooks of South Korea rarely include the suggestions of multicultural education scholars. The Korea History textbooks examined in this study were inadequate in discussing the cultural identities of ethnic minorities and regional identity. They focus on national identity only, and seem to consider national identity as being inherited Korean blood. The textbooks emphasize “Korean ethnicity.” Although a few stories of ethnic minorities are included, they are not about contemporary ethnic minorities. Only Korea History by Ji Hak

Sa [지학사] publication (Jung et al., 2011) briefly addressed them while discussing recent demographic changes in South Korea.

Both Korea History textbooks have several episodes that can be used to teach mainstream South Korean students multicultural education concepts like assimilation and immigration during the period of Japanese rule over Korea in the early 20th century. However, the textbooks do not try to make any explicit connections between the concept and the event. They also use stereotypical images created by Western magazines and newspapers about people of color in the early 20th century.

The Society and Culture textbooks devote more attention to current ethnic minorities in South Korea, and emphasize national, regional, and cultural identities. They also explicitly explain some key multicultural education concepts. Although episodes of ethnic minorities appear in explaining these concepts, they are fragmented or sketchy. The episodes are just used as examples to teach given concepts such as discrimination and prejudice. These groups are also described as “they” rather than “we.” The textbooks have multiple theories and perspectives, and tackle crucial issues like social inequality. However, these are limited in conceptual approaches, and real life examples are paternalistic because they often focus on how “we” help “them,” elicit sympathy by citing ethnic minority narrations about struggles and desires to make life better in their new home, South Korea.

Discussion

The major findings of this study indicate that similarities and differences exist among the three sets of textbooks, and some common trends are embedded in the findings. First, the representations of a group in textbooks correlate to the size of the group’s population in the real world. The authors do not pay much attention unless a given group is of a significant size

demographically. For example, people of Filipino descent in the United States have a fairly long history like people of Chinese descent, yet they get much less attention than people of Chinese descent in the United States. Another example is the descriptions of the Mohe people of the ancient Korean kingdom, Balhae. They are included because they comprised a significant portion of the population at the time of their existence.

Second, the political power of a given group impacts the group's representation in textbooks. As of 2003, Latino Americans exceeded African Americans as the largest minority group in the United States (Nasser, 2003). The demographic gap between them has widened since then. According to the *United States Census Bureau* (2010), Latinos constitute 16.3% of the total United States population while African Americans constitute 12.6%. In the parts discussing historical events from 2001 to present, there are no stories of African Americans except President Barack Obama. Instead, events involving people of Latino descent get the most attention, but the stories are about undocumented Mexican immigrants. This is different from how African Americans appear in several topics such as music, invention, and literature throughout the textbook. These explain why mainstreamers (Whites in the U.S. and native Koreans in South Korea) appear in the broadest role and topics in textbooks. Their presence reflects not only numerical but also political dominance.

Third, textbooks are designed to transmit selected knowledge, skills, concepts, perspectives, and messages rather than to capture the total reality of a society or the world. According to Sleeter and Grant (1991), textbooks represent "somebody's version of what constitutes important knowledge and a legitimate worldview" (p. 80). Textbooks are never ideally egalitarian in the statement of all conceivable ideals, issues, people, events, and conditions. Instead, their content symbolizes some underlying value and political agendas. How

ethnic minorities in current South Korea are treated differently between Society and Culture textbooks and Korea History textbooks is an example for this. While there are practically no stories of contemporary ethnic minorities in Korea History textbooks, Society and Culture textbooks include their stories. Ethnic minorities in current South Korea do not have strong political power nor are they a significant size of the population. However, they play crucial roles in solving the labor and bride shortage that South Korean society faces. These newcomers are seen as “useful” by politicians, social elites, and businessmen in South Korea. In other words, the “interest convergence” between newcomers and dominant groups is established. This may partially explain why the Society and Culture textbooks include several episodes that promote awareness of these newcomers and their struggles, and try to teach native South Koreans to respect diversity and tolerate cultural and religious differences. Yet, the fact that there is practically no story of newcomers in Korea History textbooks shows that these newcomers are seen as “not real” Koreans by native Koreans. According to Bell (1980), the interests of minorities are vested only when they converge with dominant groups’ own interests. Some contents related to newcomers in South Korea are “selected into” Society and Culture textbooks, but “selected out” of Korea History textbooks based on interest convergence and divergence rather than efforts to convey accurate presentation of an increasingly culturally, ethnically, and linguistic diverse and complex society.

Finally, the textbooks in this study do an inadequate job of adopting multicultural education theories suggested by scholars. Although there are some improvements, many of the same problems that previous studies found still exist in textbooks. These patterns and trends are evident in three ways. First, all textbooks examined in this study except Korea History emphasize national, regional, and cultural identities to some degree, but the fact that they do not

give detailed explanations and examples create doubts about the depth of their value of and genuine investment in multiculturalism. Much more problematic is Korea History textbooks rarely try to adopt multicultural education theories suggested by scholars. Comparing Korea History textbook to U.S. History textbook shows how South Korean education still emphasizes Korean ethnicity more than anything. The first chapter of History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013) consists of concepts related to historiography such as using *primary* and *secondary sources*, *historical interpretation*, and *evidence*, and claims and suggestions of historians such as Frederick Jackson Turner, Arnold Toynbee, and David McCullough. The chapter also explains why studying history is important. In contrast, Korea History textbooks do not explain any concept related to historiography, or why studying history is important. The textbooks start with a discussion of Korean origins and in consist entirely of stories of Korean people.

Second, even though several scholars (Moll & Gonzales, 2004; Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Foley, 1991; Hollins & Spencer, 1990) explain that failure to address cultural differences and include ethnic minority symbols, images, and stories in school curricula can contribute to ethnic minority students' low academic achievement and high dropout rates. The textbooks in this study use relatively little content and learning activities that are compatible with various specific ethnic groups' learning styles and lived experiences. "One size fits all" strategies and content orientations of textbooks may be driven more by economic needs than pedagogical possibilities for teaching diverse students. Textbook publishing is a for-profit industry. Targeting mainstreamers as their primary consumers is characteristic of many for-profit industries. They defer to the largest number of consumers to ensure high profit margins. Yet, the trade in K-12 textbooks depends on political decisions rather than a real marketplace with consumer choices

(Ravitch, 2003). Teachers who actually use textbooks for their daily instructional material, and students who ultimately read them, rarely have a choice over which textbook they will buy. In the United States, many states and districts have textbook-adoption committees. In South Korea, the Ministry of Education determines what textbooks are produced. In these top-down and politically driven conditions, the opinions of teachers and students do not matter much. Theories related to multicultural education are also supported sometimes and are diminished other times. This might be a reason why the authors of Korea History textbooks do not use the experiences of Korean emigrants in the past to explain conditions of ethnic minorities in contemporary South Korea. In South Korea, Society and Culture is the primary subject in which issues related to ethnic minorities in current South Korea are taught. Undoubtedly, this explains why textbooks for Society and Culture have better quantity and quality of content about multicultural issues.

Third, regarding responding to multicultural education scholars' suggestions for developing critical skills, there are improvements in textbooks, but more are still needed. According to several scholars (Nieto, 2004; 2002; Banks, 2009; Gay, 2010; Sleeter & Grant, 1991), the preferred version of multicultural education among many classroom teachers deals with safe issues such as intercultural tolerance and harmony among diverse group. On the surface, this claim does not hold up in textbooks examined in this study because they provide episodes of conflicts such as discrimination, prejudice, and riots much more frequently than episodes of harmonious relations among different groups as well as the perspective of controversial individuals. However, a deeper look at this content reveals that textbooks still perpetuate the status quo. In History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Hart et al., 2013), most stories about racial and structural inequalities appear in discussions of historical events from the 1950s through the 1970s. Although there is some information about racial profiling after 9/11

and civil rights activist, Jesse Jackson, who strongly criticized Reagan-era policies, it is relatively brief. Also, while debates over immigration in the 2000s are included, there is no mention of protests held by immigrants such as the 2006 United States immigration reform protests. This style of description in the U.S. history textbook implies that current issues related to ethnic minorities are much less crucial. The Society and Culture textbooks of South Korea transmit parallel impressions. They do not include any protests held by oppressed ethnic minorities. Instead, ethnic minorities are depicted as victims of individual discrimination and prejudice. This style of content presentation may provoke the sympathy of mainstreamers, but prevent students from learning about structural inequalities that ethnic minorities currently face in South Korea.

Significance

Previous textbook analyses often focus on textbooks in one nation state. Yet, today nation states are becoming interconnected and interdependent in economic, cultural, and political ways as communication and transportation systems are advanced. This phenomenon leads to mass international movement of people. Today, almost all countries are dealing with issues of immigration and ethnic minorities. Even South Korea which is a relatively homogeneous society for long time also prepare to multicultural society. Comparing how South Korea implements multicultural values and theories in its textbooks with a textbook in one of the most heterogeneous nations in the world, the United States, gives a somewhat fresh discussion to the topic of adopting multicultural educational ideas, values, theories, and practices. While the South Korean textbook, Society and Culture is concept centered, the U.S. history textbook is historical example centered. Analyzing them gives educators and researchers opportunities to think about which approach would be the most effective way to implement multicultural education, or how textbooks balance out between concepts centered and real-life examples centered emphases.

Therefore, this study addresses new questions about translating multicultural education theories to practices.

Another significant aspect of this study stems from the Korea History textbook analyses. Since Korean researchers know there are not many stories about ethnic minorities in Korea History textbooks, they do not even try to analyze them for research related to multicultural education. In fact, this study found few stories of ethnic minorities. Yet, in the history of Korea, ethnic minorities always exist as it is natural to human society. The stories of ethnic minorities are omitted or do not get attention by authors of Korean history. The omission of their stories is also evidence of how South Koreans still do not accept the multicultural idea in general. The idea, value, and theories of multicultural education are not included in all educational programs and curricula. However, this study found that native Koreans in the past and newcomers today have several experiences in common, which can be employed to teach situations of immigrants today. Finding the way to reform history textbooks to eliminate the gap between natives and newcomers in Korea History textbook by examining Korea History textbooks is a contribution of this study.

Not many studies in the U.S. use theories of multicultural education as their overall conceptual frames. Instead, many studies focus on how ethnic minorities and issues or histories related to them are profiled in narrative texts and illustrations of textbooks. Comparably, studies in South Korea often use fundamental ideologies of multicultural education or concepts related to it as a conceptual frame at some level. However, they are more like thematic analyses. They examine how often ideologies of multicultural education such as pluralism are reflected in texts or how often related concepts such as prejudice appear. This study used both nations' research styles and employed pedagogical theories of multicultural education like critical skills and culturally responsive curricula that are relatively more precise than ideologies that are often used

in Korean textbooks analyses. This direct linkage between pedagogical theories of multicultural education and textbooks specifies the operational details of how to reform textbooks to meet the goals or ideologies of multicultural education, cultural pluralism, educational equity, and social justice. Future studies should pursue the types of analyzes in social studies curriculum material for elementary and junior high schools, as well as in other subjects such as reading, mathematics, and science.

In South Korea, most textbooks analyses are quantitative. Those studies explain whether textbooks provide an adequate amount of content related to multicultural education since they are cast in percentages and means. Yet, they do not provide an in-depth understanding of the content in textbooks. Furthermore, these studies are not limited to groups within South Korea domestic context. Although it is important to link multicultural and global education value, this approach can hide the lack of descriptions of ethnic minorities in the domestic context and overshadow issues related to them. To solve these problems, more future studies, such as this one, should put more emphases on the qualitative research. For example, how episodes of native Koreans in the past can be employed to teach conditions of immigrants today cannot be found in quantitative research whereas qualitative analyses could facilitate these examinations.

Limitations of the Study

The reliability of the coding procedure used to identify, classify, and interpret the data collected in this study might be questionable since there was only one coder, the researcher. To minimize this possibility the data were coded on three different occasions. This increased the reliability of the coding procedure and minimized the likelihood of error on inconsistencies in making sense of the data. Also, the conceptual criteria used to judge the adequacy of the content

of the textbooks analyzed have high degrees of consensus among many leading scholars in the field of multicultural education.

The findings in this study are limited to social studies, although multicultural education should be incorporated into all subject matter because no subject is culture-free and one of main purposes of multicultural education is to ensure highest levels of academic achievement for all students. The findings in this study are also limited to content within selected textbooks.

Causation or correlation between the findings and thoughts of readers of the textbooks cannot be established, nor can any claims be made about how these materials are used in actual classroom teaching. Due to the type of research questions in this study, a content analysis research methodology was appropriate for this study. Content analysis is a useful research method for showing patterns in textbooks, but it does not indicate how the textbooks actually impact readers as no readers' attitudes or behaviors were assessed, or "enacted curriculum." They may choose to focus on or leave out certain content presented in textbooks.

Recommendations for Future Research and Practices

In view of the limitations for the study, some recommendations for future research are merited. Future research should include more coders who code data independently to strengthen reliability. Future studies should also include textbooks used in other districts in the United States, and must examine textbooks of other subjects in both South Korea and the United States.

Including more textbooks used in South Korea would not give much benefit as long as the subject matter of textbooks is the same as this study. In South Korea, the Ministry of Education approves textbooks produced by private publishers. These approved textbooks are used nationwide. For history, six approved textbooks are used nationwide, and three approved textbooks are used for Society and Culture subject matter. Yet, the findings in this study show

that there are no major differences between different textbooks in South Korea. For instance, both Society and Culture textbooks examined in this study have identical titles for main divisions, such as I 사회.문화 현상의 탐구[research on social and cultural phenomenon]; II 개인과 사회 구조 [individual and social structure]; III 문화와 사회 [culture and society], IV 사회 계층과 불평등 [social class and inequality]; V 일상생활과 사회 제도 [everyday life and social system]; and VI 현대 사회와 사회 변동 [contemporary society and social change]. Thus, examining textbooks used in different social studies courses such as economics and geography as well as other subject matter domains such as math, language arts, science, and music is more beneficial. Examining a wider range of subjects provides more comprehensive views of implementation of multicultural education in South Korean public school textbooks.

Future studies should explore ways that teachers think about textbooks with multicultural education perspectives, and how they actually use the textbooks in their classroom practices. As well, assessing students' attitudes toward behaviors in multicultural learning tasks should be included to know how the textbooks actually impact learners. Combing content analysis with surveys, interviews, and observations would provide researchers with more comprehensive and precise views of how ideals, values, and theories of multicultural education are implemented in classroom instruction as well as acquiring actual user insights to improve textbook content.

A list of specific recommendations for practice also was generated by this study. They include:

- U.S. History, Korea History, and Society and Culture textbooks need to include more stories and photos of ethnic minorities, especially contemporary ones in all textbooks, both in South Korea and the U.S.
- U.S. History, Korea History, and Society and Culture textbooks need to include a wide range of topics and roles of ethnic minorities that extend beyond the topics such as discrimination and prejudice.
- U.S. History, Korea History, and Society and Culture textbooks need to examine interactions among different ethnic minority groups as well as conflict within a given ethnic minority group.
- U.S. History and Korea History textbooks need to explain the concepts related multicultural educations in greater detail and with the context of culture rather than just showing isolated examples. Korea History textbooks also need to make connections between some historical experiences of native Koreans and experiences of ethnic minority groups in contemporary South Korea in order to make multicultural education concepts more meaningful, relevant, and functional for students.
- Society and Culture and Korea History textbooks need to give more detailed and varied stories about ethnic minorities.
- Society and Culture textbooks need to add examples of oppressed ethnic minorities taking actions for social justice and equality rather than just providing examples that show how native South Koreans tolerate ethnic minorities.

Final Statement

Implementing values, theories, and ideals of multicultural education in school curricula is particularly important for any nation state today. Yet, this study revealed that none of the sample

textbooks from South Korea and the United States does an adequate job of addressing these concepts, principles, and theories. Many of the same problems that previous studies found still exist in textbooks. This seems to be true whether the textbooks are from linguistically, racially, culturally, and ethnically heterogeneous nations like the United States or a homogenous nation with a short history of immigration like South Korea. Writing textbooks is not about capturing the total reality of a given society; instead certain interests, purposes, knowledge, ideas, and messages are included while others are excluded. Thus, it is important to educate students who are future citizens of culturally and ethnically diverse nations and the world about how their instructional materials promote and obstruct efforts to achieve equity and social justice for diverse ethnic groups. They also need to know how to compensate for the limitations and build upon the strengths. This is important since textbooks are likely to continue to be the primary resource for classroom teaching in the near future.

References

- Ahuja, G. (2009). What a doll tells us about race. *ABC News*. Retrieved March 10, 2012, from http://abcnews.go.com/GMA/story?id=7212714&page=1#.T1VHC_FRZew
- Altheide, D. L. (1987). Ethnographic content analysis. *Qualitative Sociology*, 10(1), 65-77.
- Aoki, G., & Mio., J. S. (2009). Stereotypes and media images. In N. Tewarl & A. N. Alvarez (Eds.), *Asian American psychology: Current perspectives* (pp. 421-439). New York: Taylor & Francis
- Apple, M. W. (1991). The culture and commerce of the textbook. In M.W. Apple & L. K. Christain-Smith (Eds.). *The politics of the textbook* (pp. 22-40). New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Apple, M. W. (1992). The text and cultural politics. *Educational Researcher*, 21(7), 4-19.
- Apple, M. W. (1996). *Cultural politics and education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Armstrong, D. G. (2003). *Curriculum today*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education.
- Atkinson, D. R., Morten, G., & Sue, D. W. (1993). *Counseling American minorities: A cross-cultural perspective*. (4th ed.). Madison, WI: Brown & Benchmark.
- Avery, P. G., & Simmons, A. M. (2000). Civic life as conveyed in United States civics and history textbooks, *International Journal of Social Education*. 15(2), 105-130.
- Bae, J. (2008, November 12). Korea 2nd Lowest in Birthrate after HK. *Korea Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2012, from http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2008/11/117_34319.html
- Banks, J. A. (1969). A content analysis of the Black American in textbooks. *Social Education*, 33(8), 954-963.
- Banks, J. A. (1991). A curriculum for empowerment, action, and change. In C. E. Sleeter (Ed.),

- Empowerment through multicultural education* (pp. 125-141). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Banks, J.A. (1999). *An Introduction to Multicultural Education* (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Banks, J. A. (2004). Multicultural education: Historical development, dimensions, and practice. In J. A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of research on multicultural education* (2nd ed., pp. 3–29). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Banks, J. A. (2007). *Educating citizens in a multicultural society* (2nd ed.). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Banks, J. A. (2009). *Teaching strategies for ethnic studies*. (8th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Banks, J. A., & Banks, C.A.M. (Eds.). (2001). *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (4th ed.). New York: Wiley.
- Banks, W. C. (1976). White preference in Blacks: A paradigm in search of a phenomenon. *Psychological Bulletin*, 83(6), 1179-1186.
- Bean, R.M., Zigmond, N., & Hartman, D.K. (1994). Adapted use of social studies textbooks in elementary classrooms: Views of classroom teachers. *Remedial and Special Education*, 15(4), 216-226.
- Bell, D. (1980). Brown v. Board and the Interest Convergence Dilemma. *Harvard Law Review*, 93(3), 518-533.
- Bennett, C. I. (2007). *Comprehensive multicultural education: Theory and Practice*. (6th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Berelson, B. (1952). *Content analysis in communications research*. New York: Free Press.

Birnbaum, M. (2010, March 10). Historians speak out against proposed Texas textbook changes.

The Washington Post. Retrieved May 10, 2012, from

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp->

[dyn/content/article/2010/03/17/AR2010031700560.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/03/17/AR2010031700560.html)

Camarota, S., A. (2011). A record-setting decade of immigration: 2000-2010. *Center for*

Immigration Studies. Retrieved March 10, 2012, from [http://cis.org/2000-2010-record-](http://cis.org/2000-2010-record-setting-decade-of-immigration)

[setting-decade-of-immigration](http://cis.org/2000-2010-record-setting-decade-of-immigration).

Castles, S. (2004). The myth of the controllability of difference: Labor migration, transnational

communities and state strategies in the Asia-Pacific region. In B.S.A. Yeoh and K Willis

(eds.), *State/Nation/Translation: Perspectives on Transnationalism in the Asia-Pacific*

(pp. 3-26). New York: Routledge Falmer.

Cazden, C.B., & Mehan, H. (1989). Principles from sociology and anthropology. In M. C.

Reynolds (Ed.), *Knowledge base for the beginning teacher* (pp. 47-57). New York:

Pergamon Press.

Choi, C. (2009a). 다문화 사회와 다문화 교육정책 [Multicultural society and policies of

multicultural education]. In C. Choi, K. Mo, Y. Kim, S. Park, N. Jo, Y. Oh, G. Sul, J. Cha,

Y. Han, H. You, & J. Su, *다문화교육의 이론과 실제* [Theory and practice of

multicultural education, pp. 41-64]. Gyeonggi, Korea: Yangsuwon.

Choi, C. (2009b). 외국 다문화교육의 동향 [Multicultural Education in Foreign Country]. In C.

- Choi, K. Mo, Y. Kim, S. Park, N. Jo, Y. Oh, G. Sul, J. Cha, Y. Han, H. You, & J. Su, *다문화교육의 이론과 실제* [Theory and practice of multicultural education, pp. 111-126]. Gyeonggi, Korea: Yangsuwon.
- Clark, K. B. & Clark, M. P. (1939a). The development of consciousness of self and the emergence of racial identification in Negro preschool children. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 10(4), 591-599.
- Clark, K. B. & Clark, M. P. (1939b). Segregation as a factor in the racial identification of Negro children. *Journal of Experimental Education*, 8(2), 161-163.
- Clark, K. B. & Clark, M. P. (1940). Skin color as a factor in racial identification of Negro preschool children. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 11(1), 159-169.
- Clark, K. B. & Clark, M. P. (1947). Racial identification and preference in Negro children. In T. M. Newcomb & E. L. Hartley (Eds.), *Readings in social psychology* (pp. 169-178). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Clark, K. B. & Clark, M. P. (1950). Emotional factor in racial identification and preference of Negro children. *Journal of Negro Education*, 19(3), 341-350.
- Clark, R., Allard, J., & Mahoney, T. (2004). How much of the sky? Women in American high school history textbooks from the 1960s, 1980s and 1990s. *Social Education*, 68(1), 57-62.
- Clark, R., & Nunes, A. (2008). The face of society: Gender and race in introductory sociology books revisited. *Teaching Sociology*. 36(3), 227-239
- Cross, W. E. (1985). Black identity: Rediscovering the distinction between personal identity and

- reference group orientation. In M. B. Spencer, G. K. Brookins, & W. R. Allen (Eds.), *Beginnings: The social and affective development of black children* (pp. 155-171). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Cross, W. E. (1991). *Shades of black: Diversity in African-American identity*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Davis, F.J. (2001). *The nation's rule, Who is Black?: One nation's definition* (2nd ed.). University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Derman-Sparks, L. (1989). *Anti-bias curriculum: Tools for empowering young children*. Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children.
- Deyhle, D. (1995). Navajo youth and Anglo racism: Cultural integrity and resistance. *Harvard Educational Review*, 65(3), 403-444.
- Doll study research. (2010, May 17). Retrieved March 29, 2012, from <http://ac360.blogs.cnn.com/2010/05/17/ac360-series-doll-study-research/>
- Doolan, Y. (2012). Being Amerasian in South Korea: Purebloodness, multiculturalism, and living alongside the U.S. Military Empire. *Knowledge Bank*. Retrieved December 3, 2012, from <https://kb.osu.edu/dspace/handle/1811/52015>
- Edney, H. T. (2006) New 'doll test' produces ugly results. *Finalcall*. Retrieved March 10, 2012, from http://www.finalcall.com/artman/publish/National_News_2/New_doll_test_produces_ugly_results_2919.shtml
- Finkelstein, J., Nielsen, L., & Switzer, T. (1993). Primary elementary social studies instruction: A status report. *Social Education*, 57(2), 64-69.
- Foley, D. E. (1991). Reconsidering anthropological explanations of ethnic school failure.

- Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 22(1), 60-86.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Gay, G. (1973). Racism in America: Imperatives for teaching ethnic studies. In J. A. Banks (Ed.), *Teaching ethnic studies: concepts and strategies* (pp. 27-49). Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies.
- Gay, G. (1994a). *A synthesis of scholarship in multicultural education*. North Central Regional Educational Lab. Oak Brook, IL: Urban Monograph Series. Retrieved May 26, 2011 from <http://www.ncrel.org/sdrs/areas/issues/educatrs/leadrshp/le0gay.htm>
- Gay, G. (1994b). *At the essence of learning: Multicultural education*. West Lafayette, IN: Kappa Delta Pi.
- Gay, G. (1996). Mirror images on common issues: Parallels between multicultural education and critical pedagogy. In C. E. Sleeter & P. L. McLaren (Eds.), *Multicultural education, critical pedagogy, and the politics of difference* (pp. 155-189). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Gay, G. (2010). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice* (2nd ed.). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Gordy, L. L., & Pritchard, A. M. (1995). Redirecting our voyage through history: A content analysis of social studies textbooks. *Urban Education*, 30(2), 195-218.
- Grant, C., & Sleeter, C. (2006). *Turning on learning: Five approaches to multicultural teaching plans for race, class, gender, and disability*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Guiner, L. (2004). From racial liberalism to racial literacy: Brown v. Board of education and the interest-divergence dilemma. *Journal of American History*, 91(1), 92-118.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms*.

- New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hollins, E. R. (1996). *Culture in school learning: Revealing the deep meaning*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hollins, E. R. & Spencer, K. (1990). Restructuring schools for cultural inclusion: Changing the schooling process for African American youngsters. *Journal of Education*, 172(2), 89-100.
- Hung, J. L. (2002). *Types of and reasons for teacher modification of textbook materials, and a comparison between the prescribed and modified methods of teaching democratic citizenship education based on student performance* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Washington, Seattle, WA.
- Huntington, S. P. (2004, March-April). The Hispanic Challenge. *Foreign Policy*, 30-45.
- Hymes, D. (1985). Introduction. In C. B. Cazden, V. P. John, & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Functions of language in the classroom* (pp. xi-xvii). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland.
- International Organization for Migration (2010) *World Migration Report 2010*. Retrieved May 7, 2012, from http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/WMR_2010_ENGLISH.pdf
- Jackson, F. R. (1994), 7 ways to a culturally responsive pedagogy. *Education Digest*, 59(6), 46-49.
- Jacobson, M. F. (1998). *Whiteness of a different color: European immigrants and the alchemy of race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Johnson, D. W., & Johnson, R T. (2000). The tree Cs of reducing prejudice and discrimination. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 239-268). Nahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Jones, B.J. (1995). *The Indian child welfare act handbook: A legal guide to the custody and*

- adoption of Native American children*. Chicago, IL: American Bar Association.
- Jun, K., Jung, G., & Lee, J. (2007). *다문화교육 정책방안 연구*. [Multicultural education policies]. Gyeonggi, Korea: Gyeonggido Family & Women's Research Institute.
- Kana' iaupuni, S., Ledward, B., & Jensen, U. (2010). Culture-based education and its relationship to student outcomes. *Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools*. Retrieved March 19, 2013 from http://www.ksbe.edu/spi/CBE_findings.php
- Kids' test answers on race brings mother to tears. (2010, May 18). Retrieved March 29, 2012, from <http://ac360.blogs.cnn.com/2010/05/18/kids-test-answers-on-race-brings-mother-to-tears/>
- Kim, A. (2009) *1950~1960년대 전반 한국의 혼혈인 문제: 입양과 교육을 중심으로* [Issues of biracial people in South Korea, 1950s-1960s: Adoption and education] (Master's thesis). Retrieved from National Assembly Library database. (KDMT1200936909)
- Kim, S. (2009, May). *세계화 시대 다문화교육의 쟁점과 과제*. [The prospect and problem of multicultural education in globalization]. Paper presented at Korean Association for Multicultural Education 2009 International Conference in Hanyang University, Seoul, Korea.
- Kim, T. (2011, August 26). Nation prepares for "age of centenarians." *Korea Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2012, from <http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/include/print.asp?newsIdx=93587>
- Kim, Y. (2009). *다문화사회와 다문화주의* [Multicultural society and multiculturalism]. In C.

- Choi, K. Mo, Y. Kim, S. Park, N. Jo, Y. Oh, G. Sul, J. Cha, Y. Han, H. You, & J. Su, *다문화교육의 이론과 실제* [Theory and practice of multicultural education, pp. 17-40]. Gyeonggi, Korea: Yangsuwon
- Kincheloe, J. & Steinberg, S. (1997). *Changing Multiculturalism*. London: Open University Press.
- King, J. E. (2004). Black studies, curriculum transformation, and social action. In J.A. Banks & C.A.M. Banks (Eds.). *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education* (2nd ed., pp. 349-378). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Klug, B. J. & Whitfield, P. T. (2003). *Widening the Circle: Culturally relevant pedagogy for American Indian Children*. New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1992). Culturally relevant teaching: The key to making multicultural education work. In C.A. Grant (Ed.), *Research and multicultural education* (pp. 106-121). London: Falmer Press.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teaching for African-American students*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ladson-billings, G. (2004). Culture versus citizenship: The challenges of racialized citizenship in the United States. In J. A. Banks (Ed.), *Diversity and citizenship education: Global perspectives* (pp. 99-126). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Lee, S. J. (2005). *Up against whiteness: Race, school and immigrant youth*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Lee, S. J., Wong, N. A. & Alvarez, A. N. (2009). The model minority and the perpetual

- foreigner: Stereotypes of Asian Americans. In N. Tewari & A. N. Alvarez (Eds.), *Asian American psychology: Current perspectives* (pp. 69-83). New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Lee, S. Y. (2011). To overcome Korea's collectivism. *World Yan News*. Retrieved October 7, 2012, from <http://www.worldyannews.com/news/quickViewArticleView.html?idxno=1729>
- Lesser, A. ([1933] 1978) *The Pawnee Ghost dance hand game: Ghost dance revival and ethnic identity*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Lipka, J. (1994). Culturally negotiated schooling: Toward a Yup'ik mathematics. *Journal of American Indian Studies*, 33(3), 1-12.
- Lipka, J. (1998). *Transforming the culture of schools: Yup'ik Eskimo examples*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Loewen, J. (2010). *Teaching what really happened: How to avoid the tyranny of textbooks and get students excited about doing history*. New York: Teacher College Press.
- Lowe, S. M. (2008). A frank discussion on Asian Americans and their academic and career development. In N. Tewari & A. N. Alvarez (Eds.). *Asian American psychology: Current perspectives*. (pp. 463-481). New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Maganini, S. (1997). *California's lost tribes: Long suffering urban Indians find roots in Ancient rituals*. Retrieved January 6, 2012 from http://web.archive.org/web/20050829051045/http://sacbee.com/static/archive/news/projects/native/day2_main.html
- Mckinley, J. C. (2010, March 13). Texas conservatives win curriculum change. *The New York*

- Times*. Retrieved May 2, 2012 from
<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/13/education/13texas.html>
- Merton, R. K. (1949). Discrimination and the American Creed. In R. M. Maclver (Ed.),
Discrimination and National Welfare (pp. 99-126). New York: Harper & Row.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded
sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.
- Moll, L., & González, N. (2004). Engaging life: A funds-of-knowledge approach to
multicultural education. In J.A. Banks & C.A.M. Banks (Eds.). *Handbook of Research
on Multicultural Education* (2nd ed., pp. 699-715). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Moon, H. (2011). *초등 사회 교과서의 다문화교육 내용 분석*[*Content analysis of multicultural
education in elementary social studies textbooks*] (Master's thesis). Gyeongin National
University of Education. Incheon, Korea.
- Mora, J. K. (2001) Proposition 227 lawsuits against teachers challenged. *Moramodules.com*
Retrieved April 2, 2012 from <http://www.moramodules.com/CTA227Lawsuit.htm>
- Nabokov, P. (1999). *Native American testimony: A chronicle of Indian-White relations from
prophecy to the present, 1942- 2000*. New York: Penguin.
- Nasser, H. E. (2003, June 18). 39 million make Hispanics largest U.S. minority group. *USA
Today*. Retrieved May 5, 2012, from
http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/census/2003-06-18-Census_x.htm
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2012). *The Condition of Education 2012*. Retrieved
August 7, 2012, from <http://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=16>
- National Council for the Social Studies. (2010). *National curriculum standards for social studies:
A framework for teaching, learning, and assessment* (2nd ed.). Silver Spring, MD:

Author.

Nieto, S. (2002). *Language, culture, and teaching: Critical perspectives for a new century*.

Mahweh, NJ: Erlbaum.

Nieto, S. (2004). *Affirming Diversity: The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education*,

(4th ed.). New York: Allyn & Bacon.

Ogbu, J. U. (1978). *Minority education and caste: The American system in cross-cultural*

perspective. New York: Academic Press.

Ogbu, J. U. (1987). Variability in minority school performance: A problem in search of an

explanation. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 18(4), 312–334.

Ogbu, J. U. (2001). Understanding cultural diversity and learning. In J. A. Banks & C. A. M.

Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of research on multicultural education* (pp. 582-596). San

Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Ogbu, J. U., & Simons, H. D. (1998). Voluntary and involuntary minorities: A cultural-

ecological theory of school performance with some implications for education.

Anthropology and Education Quarterly 29(2), 155–188.

Olsen, L. (1997). *Made in America: Immigrant students in our public schools*. New York:

New Press.

Ono, K. A., & Pham, V. N. (2009). *Asian American and the media*. Malden,

MA: Polity Press.

Park, C. (2008). 지역사회와 다문화 공동체 교육 [Local community and multicultural

education]. In G. Ahn, D. Kim, H. Kim, C. Park, C. Lee, I. Jang, *다문화 교육의 현황과*

과제: *Multicultural education* (pp. 93-134). Seoul, Korea: Hakjisa.

- Park, R. E. (1930). Assimilation, social. In E. Seligman & A. Johnson. (Eds.). *Encyclopedia of the social sciences* (vol. 2, pp. 281-283). New York: Macmillan.
- Park, Y. (2010). *초등학교 사회 교과서의 다문화 내용 분석* [Analysis of multicultural content of social studies textbooks of the elementary school] (Master's thesis). Kyonggi University, Suwon, Korea
- Passel, J. S., Cohn, D., & Lopez, M. H., (2011). Census 2010: 50 Million Latinos Hispanic account for more than half of nation's growth in past decade. *Pew Hispanic Center*. Retrieved February 15, 2012, from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/140.pdf>
- Philips, S. U. (1972). Participant structures and communicative competence: Warm Springs children in community and classroom. In C. B. Cazden, V. P. John, and D. Hymes. (Eds.), *Functions of language in the classroom* (pp. 370-394). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Philips, S. U. (1983). *The invisible culture: Communication in classroom and community on the Warm Spring Indian reservation*. New York: Longman.
- Popham, W. J. (2004). *America's "failing" schools: How parents and teachers can cope with No Child Left Behind*. New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Population Reference Bureau. (2011). *Fertility rates in low birth-rate countries, 1995 to most recent year*. Retrieved January 7, 2012, from <http://www.prb.org/Articles/2012/low-fertility-countries-tfr.aspx>
- Ravitch, D. (2003). *The language police: How pressure groups restrict what students learn*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Sesow, F. W., & Sorensen, C. (1987). A strategy for helping pupils understand textbook content. *Social studies*, 78(3), 140-42.

- Shin, J. (2012, October 31) ‘틀리다’는 말 절반이 틀린 표현 [The word “wrong” often misused]. *The Kyongbuk Press*. Retrieved November 5, 2012, from http://www.kyongbuk.co.kr/main/news/news_content.php?id=601477&news_area=130&news_divide=13003&news_local=&effect=4
- Sleeter, C. E. (2005). *Un-standardizing curriculum: Multicultural teaching in the standards-based classroom*. New York, Teachers College Press.
- Sleeter, C. E., & Grant, C. A. (1988). *Making choices for multicultural education: Five approaches to race, class, and gender*. Columbus, OH: Merrill.
- Sleeter, C. E., & Grant, C. A. (1991). Race, class, gender, and disability in current textbooks. In M. W. Apple & L. K. Christian-Smith (Eds.), *The politics of textbooks* (pp. 78-110). New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Smith, P. B. & Tayeb, M. (1988). Organizational structures and processes. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The cross-cultural challenge to social psychology* (pp. 153-164). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Solano-Flores, G., & Nelson-Barber, S. (2001). On the cultural validity of science assessments. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching*, 38(5), 553-573.
- South Korea's expatriate population tops 1 million. (August 25, 2007). Retrieved March 2, 2012 from http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/231355.html
- Spencer, M. B. (1982a). Personal and group identity of Black children: An alternative synthesis. *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 106(1), 58-84.
- Spencer, M. B. (1982b). Preschool children's social cognition and cultural cognition: A cognitive developmental interpretation of race dissonance findings. *Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied*, 112(2), 275-286.

- Spencer, M. B. (1985). Cultural cognition and social cognition as identity correlates of Black children's personal-social development. In M. B. Spencer, G. K. Brookins, & W. R. Allen (Eds.), *Beginnings: The social and affective development of Black children* (pp. 215-234). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Spring, J. (2005). *The American school: 1642-2004* (6th ed.). New York: McGraw Hill
- Stanley, T. (2002). Bring anti-racism into historical explanation: The Victoria Chinese students' strike of 1922-3 revisited. *Journal of the Canadian History Association*, 13(1), 141-165.
- Takaki, R. (1989). *Strangers from a different shore*. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.
- Taylor, C. R., & Lee, J. (1994) Not in vogue: Portrayals of Asian Americans in U.S. advertising. *Journal of Public policy and Marketing*, 13(2), 239-245.
- Textbooks and instructional materials. (n.d.) *Washington State Legislator*. Retrieved April 8, 2013, from <http://apps.leg.wa.gov/wac/default.aspx?cite=392-190-055>
- Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: U.S. Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Venezky, R. L. (1992). Textbooks in school and society. In P.W. Jackson (Ed.), *Handbook of research on curriculum* (pp. 436-461). New York: Macmillan.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. (M. Cole, V. John-Steiner, S. Scribner, & E. Souberman, Eds.), Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic content analysis*(2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- White, M.D., & Marsh, E. E. (2006). Content analysis: A flexible methodology. *Library Trends*, 55(1), 22-45.

- Yen, H. (2010). Multiracial U.S. becomes more diverse. *MSMBC*. Retrieved November 7, 2011, from http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/37620349/ns/us_news-life/t/multiracial-us-becomes-more-diverse/#.T6z2juvY-_d
- Zhang, Y., & Wildemuth, B. M. (2009). Qualitative analysis of content. In B. Wildemuth (Ed.), *Applications of social research methods to questions in information and library science* (pp.308-319). Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited.
- Zhou, M. (1997). Segmented assimilation: Issues, controversies, and recent research on the new second generation. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), 975-1008.
- Zhou, M. (2001). Straddling different worlds: The acculturation of Vietnamese refugee children. In R. Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities: Children in immigrants in America* (pp. 187-228). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Appendix A: Sample Codebook for Analysis of Illustration

Textbook Title	<i>History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals</i>	
Race/Ethnicity/Status	Asian American (Japanese American)	
Occupation	Soldier	
Page #	p. 398	
Photo Title/Description	“Several thousand Japanese American GIs fought with the 442nd Regimental Combat Team... President Harry Truman told the 442nd, ‘You fought for the free nations of the world. You fought not only the enemy, you fought prejudice—and you won.’”	
Chapter Title	Chapter 35, “The Impact of World War II on Americans”	
Section Title	35. 4, “The Internment of Japanese Americans”	
Time Period	1) <u>Past</u> (WWII)	2) Current
Frame	1) <u>Their own</u>	2) With other race/ethnicity
Role	1) <u>Primary role</u>	2) Extra role

Appendix B: Sample Codebook for Analysis of Narrative Text

Textbook Title	<i>History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals</i>		
Race/Ethnicity/Status	African American		
Theme	Popular culture (Diversity)		
Occupation	Musician		
Page #	p. 318		
	1) less than paragraph	2) 2 to 5 paragraphs	3) <u>6 or more paragraphs</u>
Text Location	1) <u>Main Part of Text</u>	2) Box/Supplementary	
Chapter Title	Chapter 28, “Popular Culture in the Roaring Twenties”		
Section Title	28. 6, “African American Musicians Launch the Jazz Age”		
Time Period	1) <u>Past</u> (the 20 th century)	2) Current	