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Cultural Portrayal in Middle-school English Textbooks: Insights for Critical Multiculturalism

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The purpose of this study is to investigate how different cultures were portrayed in 33 middle school English textbooks in Korea, and to understand the efforts to facilitate students' multicultural competency. Through a critical qualitative research design, the ways cultures are described were analyzed as a way to envision more balanced ways to develop critical multiculturalism, that move beyond mere celebration of cultural events, practices, and artifacts. More dialogic discourse about cultural misunderstanding demonstrated a possibility for critical multiculturalism, an invitation to challenge the dominant power dynamics across cultures. While Eurocentric perspectives were toned down, the cultures of African or other Third World countries were stereotyped in such a way that did not engage students into a discourse of multiculturalism. This study suggests that we should include the discourse of problematizing that helps students accept diverse ways of being, rather than just maintaining a dominant interpretive framework of culture. This paper concludes by suggesting the possibility of envisioning a critical multiculturalism in Korean middle school English textbooks.

[textbook analysis/cultural diversity/multicultural education/middle school English textbook/critical multiculturalism]

I. INTRODUCTION

The establishment of English as a school subject is one of the main means of accomplishing multicultural competence pursued by the Korean Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (hereafter, MEST) (2009). As Kubota (2004) observed, by taking for granted the nature of knowledge (in this case, of English) as multicultural and egalitarian, we often fail to deepen our awareness and discourse about how we can appreciate different cultural values, regardless of their unequal power status. Kubota

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critiqued this type of educational approach as "liberal multiculturalism", and suggests instead a "critical multiculturalism" that can help us overcome superficial approaches to multicultural education. This study analyzes 33 Korean middle school textbooks from 11 different publishers that received approval from the Korean MEST in 2013 for school use (11 textbooks per each grade). This paper looks at how Kubota's notions of liberal and critical multiculturalism are exemplified to achieve the goals for multicultural education that MEST sets. Kubota's multiculturalism was used to concretely articulate MEST's goals; MEST (2009) mentioned their goals as developing a person with multicultural competency who can appreciate different cultural values, while Kubota helped us discuss how we can go about practicing MEST's ideas (See Im, 2011 for the importance of the government's vision in textbook development).

Language textbooks are not objective resources for acquiring linguistic knowledge; textbooks cannot be free from socio-cultural frameworks of 'appropriate and legitimate linguistic knowledge', and usually reflect ideological decisions on what counts as valuable knowledge to be learned. Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) argued that textbooks as "an ecological message system for transmitting dominant values and beliefs of society (cited in Liu, 2005, p. 17)." Apple (1999) claims that dominant groups treat textbooks as official knowledge in order to control "what counts as legitimate knowledge in school for their own interest (p. 62)." Some scholars also identify the problematic representations of minority or less powerful cultural groups in textbooks, in that their experiences or cultural components are always "put under the umbrella of the discourse of the dominant groups" (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 10) (See also, Yang, 1997)." Considering English textbooks as ideological constructs incorporating the values of particular cultural groups, it becomes important to analyze how different cultural components are portrayed in middle school textbooks.

While great efforts are made to address cultural diversity in English education, not enough studies have explored the ways cultural education is enacted in textbooks. In an international context, Risager (2007, p. 238, from Chapelle, 2009) claimed that especially at the elementary and intermediate levels, there is less effort on diverse choices of cultural contents, thus serve interests for all participants. Grady (1997) also argued in an American context, that English as a Second Language (ESL) textbooks are slow to reflect the political, social, and cultural challenges of ESL learners. While ESL education should point to countering the racial, social, and educational inequities in the lives of cultural minorities (Case, 2004; Harklau, 2000; Kubota, 1999; Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997; McKay & Wong, 1996; Rampton, 1995; Thesen, 1997), English textbooks tend to reflect a positive and rather superficial approach.

In the English as a Foreign Language (hereafter, EFL) context, the same can apply, in that we tend to focus on people's everyday lives, failing to help students reflect on the

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socio-political and cultural power dynamics that impact people's lives. MEST (2009) identified the crucial need to develop the multicultural competency[1] of our students while we are teaching them English. To understand what kinds of efforts English textbook publishers make, this study tries to get an understanding of how different cultural components are balanced, and in what ways cultures are portrayed to encourage multicultural competencies among our students.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Liberal versus Critical Multiculturalism

This research grounds its work on Kubota's (2004) observation of liberal multiculturalism (hereafter LM) and suggestion for critical multiculturalism (hereafter CM). While there are other research and frameworks used in Korean studies (Ha, 2009; Jang, 2006; Mo, 2009; Mun & Park; Park & Kang, 2009), Na (2010) claimed how they used different terms for similar approach without holistic synthesis for the directions and goals of multiculturalism in Korea. Na (2010) identified five different dimensions of multiculturalism, and Korean multicultural education fitted in assimilation to the major cultural group (Korean), and raising voices of cultural minority groups in Korea among those five approaches. These major research trend did not touch on critical and transformative dimensions of multiculturalism (Na, 2010). It only emphasized pluralism, or simply liberal approaches, which only remain at the level of LM from Kubota's terms. In Korean contexts, we have not considered critical or more transformative approach that help our students think beyond the dominant cultural framework and reflect on how our perceptions are mostly dominated by the majority cultural groups' values and beliefs. Kubota (2004) concretely suggested what Na (2010) identified as the limitation of Korean multiculturalism, which makes this framework meaningful to implement in this research.

In Kubota's work, LM can be overcome by CM, indicating that there should be more CM components. To start with the characteristics of LM, Kubota (2004) started to critique LM as follows: LM contributes to a superficial analysis of different cultural practices, which does not help students develop multicultural competency. For Kubota, LM overemphasizes political correctness with little substance by focusing on everyday lives, festivals, foods, and cultural customs. This can be one important way to introduce cultural diversity, encouraging acceptance, open-mindedness, and non-prejudiced attitudes towards

[1] In this research, multicultural competency was defined as an ability to appreciate other cultures, regardless of their level of political, social, and cultural power (MEST, 2009; Kubota, 2004).

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different cultures. At the same time, it supports the idea that everyone is equal and should have an equal opportunity in society. This leads us to believe that each individual's academic and economic status is totally attributable to his or her own efforts, a view which ignores social discrimination and blames the less successful for lack of motivation or effort. If we take this view, it makes it difficult for us to unpack the power struggles of minority cultures and the dominant interpretive framework to portray different cultural components, as little attention is given to such things as slavery, oppression, discrimination, or inequality. Kubota claimed that this view misleads people into thinking that all cultures are positioned or treated equally. She states, "the celebration of both individual differences and cultural differences is in a complicated relationship with the avoidance of power and privilege in creating illusory equality while maintaining the existing power relations that the people on the margins are expected to assimilate into (p. 36)." LM's nature is thus related to illusionary equality with simple celebration of everyday cultural practices, which will be one lens to analyze the data. MEST's goal for multicultural beings cannot be fully achieved through the LM lens.

Kubota (2004) emphasizes the importance of CM education, which "aims for social transformation by seeking social justice and equality among all people rather than merely celebrating differences or assuming a priori that all people are equal (p. 37)." CM education demands that all knowledge, especially "official" school knowledge, such as what is found in textbooks, needs to be critical. To be specific, Kubota suggested pedagogical principles as follows. First, teachers and students are to critically reevaluate the taken-for-granted conceptions about cultural groups, self or other, and to understand how these conceptions are produced and perpetuated. As Giroux (1988, 1995) elaborated, it is important for us to extend our discussion on why inequality exists among different groups of people, and how power struggles are produced, legitimated, or eliminated within unequal relations of power. Kubota explains how presupposing differences would be less crucial than problematizing those differences if we are to build a critical understanding of culture. If we do not go through this process, she suggests that we not only interpret other cultures as superficial entities, but also exoticize or reduce them as neutral objects to be appreciated. That is, we might essentialize cultures of others as something homogeneous, traditional, and authentic; a notion which can be interpreted as holding stereotypes about diverse cultural groups. To achieve MEST's goal for multiculturalism, we then should not situate cultural knowledge as absolute or stereotypical. Rather, problematizing what we normally believe about certain cultural groups is at the core of CM.

Second, by conceptualizing culture as a discursive construct, CM encourages us to deconstruct the dominant discourses of colonialism. Pennycook (1998) warns that if we do not make an effort to unpack the meaning of colonialism that is still portrayed in the dominant representations of cultures, we are likely to legitimize a colonial dichotomy

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between the Self (European-Western) and the Other (the rest), where the Self is conceptualized as civilized, rational, logical, and thus superior, whereas the Other is conceptualized as uncivilized, irrational, illogical, and thus inferior. For CM, it is important for us to understand "certain ways of thinking (color blindness, power evasion, etc.), educational practices (equal treatment of all students, celebration of ethnic festivals, etc.), and texts of various kinds (visual images, descriptions of different cultures, etc.) as contestable, so that we can be aware that whiteness is no longer the norm against all other cultural groups, thus superior (p. 40)." We can see how the nature of contestable knowledge provision is crucial to help our students to appreciate every culture, regardless of its political and economic positions. This characteristic of CM became a lens to analyze cultural representation of 33 textbooks to match them with what MEST tries to pursue for multicultural education.

Within this framework, while it is important to represent diverse cultural components in our English textbooks, it is also essential to include discussions about how cultures are problematized without being stereotyped. These discussions should also be aimed at overcoming the dominant discourses of colonialism that CM suggests. MEST's vision for multiculturalism thus can be better achieved by CM than LM. Liberal and Critical Multiculturalism become theoretical codings to make sense of cultural components in 33 English textbooks to understand how LM and CM are enacted in cultural representations.

2. Research on Treatment of Cultures in Textbooks

Previous research on treatment of cultures in textbooks showed more quantitatively how dominant cultural values and beliefs are presented. These researchers identified the need to include the local (i.e. the students') culture (Ilieva, 2000; Victor, 1999). Shin, Eslami, and Chen (2011) also confirmed that internationalization of English should involve the inclusion of diverse cultural perspectives that engage students in deeper levels of reflection of cultures. In contrast to our present needs, however, their analysis illustrated the domination of inner circle cultures (of English-speaking countries, such as the USA and Britain) as well as the traditional knowledge-oriented level of cultural presentation. By not challenging which cultural values are more important to learn (those of the dominant cultures), they found that the taken-for-granted power relationships were also unchallenged. According to Kubota (2005), focusing on only the dominant cultures is not a step toward multiculturalism. Shin et al.'s (2011) observation is helpful to think that deeper levels of reflection on cultures can occur with diversifying cultural contents. They, however, were not clear about how to deepen students' levels of reflection through diverse cultural contents. When MEST's vision for multiculturalism is more about the ways to deepen students' reflection on the cultural materials, then Kubota's idea of LM and CM can be a

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useful tool to analyze possible ways to engage students into reflective learning about cultures. As a first step, we need to understand how the textbooks invite learners to discuss cultures.

A study by Liu (2005) illustrated more about the ways cultures are presented can interact with students' learning. Liu suggested that the traditional knowledge-oriented level of cultural presentation could have a negative effect on the development of a multicultural mindset. This comes about through the manipulation of cultural contents with the aim of leading readers not to question any cultural contents. The discourse presented in 89 Chinese language textbooks was analyzed for the dominant cultural values and beliefs and the ideological intentions constructed. Liu found that governmental and dominant cultural values were promoted while alternative experiences or options for practicing cultural values or beliefs were marginalized or excluded. The ways culture is introduced tend to lead readers accept the existing power dynamics instead of challenging the status quo. Specifically, the discourse around different cultural values regulates the behavior of learners by providing binary representations of cultural components as simply either-or, and by portraying what the government wants to promote as positive while other views are treated negatively. The discourse used in these textbooks, therefore, supports the interests of the government and its cultural elite, and is constructed to legitimatize social control rather than address the interests or enhance the power of readers.

The focus of the present study does not include how the government promotes ideological messages about diverse cultures. However, this study helps us to think about not only balancing the contents of cultures from diverse communities, but also deepening the ways of representing cultures to encourage discussion and interaction, and understanding of each other (See also Murayama, 2000). This is consistent with how CM encourages for the cultures to be presented as contestable, thus engaging students in a dialogue rather than the imposition of the dominant cultural values. Based upon what previous research has identified the quantitative balance of diverse cultures and qualitative descriptions of each culture as implicit imposition of certain cultural values, it is important to understand how the textbooks represent what MEST tries to pursue to develop multicultural English language learners.

This review identifies the need to investigate further how to deepen our students' interactions with diverse cultures as a way of improving their multicultural competency. The careful design of cultural knowledge is especially important when students are easily susceptible to the information offered in textbooks. Without a critical look at the ways multicultural materials are presented, teenagers might be exposed to certain ideological preconceptions, and accept the existing power structure that is not necessarily fair to minority cultural groups.

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III. METHODOLOGY

1. Research Design

This study incorporates a critical qualitative research design (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith 2008), as it tries to disclose cultural messages in 33 middle school English textbooks, and to discuss how those messages can be facilitating or limiting our attempts to develop a multicultural frame of mind. The analytic framework was based on Kubota's notion of liberal and critical multiculturalism. This study used this framework to understand the ways MEST tries to pursue appropriate culture education as portrayed in the textbooks. Also, Kubota's framework elaborated MEST's goals for multiculturalism, which made this framework useful. This research is critical, because it not only focuses on power across cultures, but also analyzes the space different textbooks have provided to critique the discourses of colonialism, with a view to envisioning more balanced and socially equitable ways to introduce multicultural education.

2. Research Questions

This paper attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. How are different cultures portrayed in Korean middle school textbooks?
2. How does Kubota's notion of multiculturalism (both LM and CM) explain cultural components of these textbooks? In particular, in what ways do the textbooks provide the possible ways to engage students in a discussion that moves beyond superficial understanding of cultures, and questions the discourses around cultures as a way to embrace diversity, regardless of power each culture owns?

3. Data Collection

The researcher chose 33 most popularly used English textbooks for grades 1 through 3 in middle-schools. All the textbooks were approved for use by MEST, starting 2013 for the first grade and continuing for the second graders in the following year. The researcher looked over the ratings for the selection of the publishers and chose the most popularly used textbooks (11 publishers and 11 textbooks per each grade level). The names of the publishers were coded alphabetically to protect their confidentiality. A total numbers of 77 units were selected as they were culturally rich and directly addressed cultural contents (See Appendix A). The data the researcher used for analysis were the reading passages, as

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these included culturally rich contents that either questioned or did not question the discourses around cultures. The researcher was aware that the reading passages are not fully the publishers' or the authors' take on cultural issues, as they compiled them from authentic but sometimes modified texts for appropriate presentation for middle schoolers. The focus was only drawn to how cultures were portrayed, regardless of who created the texts.

4. Data Analysis

This research takes thematic analysis approach (Seidman, 1998). After several readings of each book with particular attention to cultural components, some lessons were found to be more relevant than others. For example, the topic of traveling abroad involved more culture-based contents than introducing ourselves or our classmates. The lessons more focused on cultures were narrowed down, defining culture as interactions between more than one cultural group (See Appendix A for Cultural units analyzed). On re-reading these culturally richer lessons, the author identified the characteristics of LM and those of CM. The themes emerged about how cultures were described in the different textbooks. CM was enacted when a lot of cultures were included and when cultures were presented to problematize our narrow views or stereotypes about each culture, thus broadening our conceptualization of culture as contestable and discursive. The researcher produced codes, repeated comparative analysis among codes, and reported the patterns emerged from the relationship among codes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006). Throughout the process, emerging themes and subthemes were examined for internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The codings for CM were "Diversifying the Contents" and "Contestable & Problematizing." Some parts of the data demonstrated illusionary equality through focusing on everyday issues, while emphasizing cultures as unilateral and struggle-free. At some points, particular cultural portrayals were stereotypical. The codings that LM was well represented thus were: "Celebratory without Political Contexts," and "Stereotypical in Each Culture." Through this coding scheme of LM and CM (Kubota, 2004), four themes were emerged: 1) Diverse Cultures Represented: Moving beyond Liberal Multiculturalism; 2) Discourse of Problematizing: Contesting the Commonplace; 3) Discourse of Celebrating Diversity: Hindering Critical Multiculturalism; and 4) Reconfirming the Status quo without Challenging it: Stereotyping Us and Others.

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IV. FINDINGS

1. Diverse Cultures Represented: Moving beyond Liberal Multiculturalism

Overall, all the publishers included cultural materials that were representative in diverse cultures- European, North or South American, African, as well as other Asian cultures. This is not to say that other lessons not included in this paper are irrelevant, as they may have some content that raise students' consciousness about different cultures; there were different ways to think about the issues from more than one perspective, and to address other cultural issues such as gender, socio-economic status, and age. However, in this research, culture is limited to any contents that address relationships or interactions across different cultures. All the units that [Appendix A] shared this common definition of culture.

As indicated in [Table 1], many of the reading passages highlighted people's everyday lives, such as meeting people, school lives, food, festivals, trip mostly to abroad, introducing Korean culture, and provision of general information about different people and cultural products.

TABLE 1

Cultural Themes Discussed in Textbooks[2]

Publi sher	Meeting people / new comers	School Life	Food	Festival	Trips to abroad/ Description of places	Korean Culture	Information on writers, artists, inventors	Total #
A	2-3	1-1			3-6	1-10, 3-4	2-8	6
B	1-1, 1-4				1-6	1-9	3-5, 3-10	6
C	1-1	1-2, 3-1		1-4, 2-5		3-6	2-6, 2-9	8
D	1-1		1-9	2-3	3-6	2-9	2-5	6
E	1-4		2-7		2-10	1-8, 3-10		5
F		1-2	3-3	1-8	1-6, 3-2	2-6	2-3, 3-4	8
G			3-2	3-2		1-6, 3-7		4
H	1-1		1-9		1-6, 2-8	1-10, 2-5	3-4, 3-5, 3-8	9
I	3-4	1-1			1-3			3
J	1-4		2-6	2-3	3-7	2-7	1-7, 3-2, 3-6	8
K		2-1	1-4		1-7	2-5, 3-9	3-4, 3-10	7
Total	9	6	7	6	11	15	16	

[2] To save some spaces, instead of indicating Unit3 from 2nd grade textbook, the researcher writes 2-3 (meaning 2nd grade Unit 3).

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It was noticeable how diverse cultures were represented in the total numbers of 77 units (see also, Appendix A). While there was some emphasis on English-speaking countries, intensively focused on inner circle cultures (meaning U. K., U. S. A., Australia, Canada that are considered as countries using English as their first languages, see Kachru, 1985 for the notion of inner circle), the units on culture from [Table 1] included other Asian cultures (India, Indonesia, China, Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Mongolia, Russia), the Middle East (Egypt), Central Asia (Uzbekistan), Europe (Turkey, U. K., Netherlands, Greece, Belgium, Italy, Ireland, France, Spain), Latin America (Brazil, Mexico), Africa (Malawi, Kenya) and the Caribbean (Jamaica). Out of 77 total numbers of units, 36 units only included U. K., U. S. A., Australia, and Canada. 26 units were about other countries that were mentioned above (other Asian, Europe, Latin America, Africa, and the Caribbean). The remaining 15 units were exclusively about Korea.

This tendency of including more countries leads to tremendously rich cultural contents, while broadening students' knowledge on different cultural practices in different countries. Not taking cultural content only from English-speaking countries can be interpreted as an effort to represent even minorities' cultures as valuable and meaningful to learn about. Balancing cultures was something that MEST pursues to encourage students to embrace diversity, regardless of their political and social power of those cultures in international contexts.

In this regard, it was impressive how Publishers A, B, G, I, and J included multiracial or multicultural families. We still have to admit that there was a tendency to have new characters from English-speaking countries (to name a few: a new Australian neighbor from Publisher B, a new classmate from New York from Publisher D and from London from Publisher H, school lives in U.K., America, and Australia from Publisher C, a guest speaker from Ireland from Publisher G). However, there were also new students from Uzbekistan (Publisher A) and from Cambodia (Publisher G), and from Pakistan (Publisher I). Furthermore, there were multiracial or multicultural families represented in reading texts. For instance, Publisher B included a girl with mother from Thailand:

TABLE 2

Publisher B's 1st Grade's Unit 1

Sa-wat-dee kha. I'm Han Dasom. My mother is from Thailand. Thai people like the number nine. I like nine, too. My mom's tom yum goong is delicious. Come to my house and try it! (p. 17)

In Publisher G's 1st grade textbook for the Unit 6, we read: "Aram's mom is Cambodian. Her grandparents live in Phnom Penh. They are going to visit Seoul this weekend. Aram is excited (p. 108)." Also, in Publisher J's 1st grade Unit 6 describes a grandmother from the Philippines living in Korea, and how the main character helped her download the pictures

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of her grandchildren from Manila. These examples illustrate how these textbooks tried to be inclusive of multicultural families, which are nowadays increasing in number in Korea. This can be interpreted as significant in moving beyond LM, since it challenges the idea that cultures include only those from English-speaking countries, trying to value other cultures that we have not previously paid much attention to.

So, the textbooks have tried to represent diverse cultures, broadening the scope of culture from those of English-speaking countries. Three publishers (Publishers B, G, and J) even made further steps, representing multiracial and multicultural families to better facilitate students' cultural understanding. Even though Kubota (2004) did not claim that representing diverse culture would automatically lead to CM, it is a considerable transformation the textbook makers have made to develop multicultural mindsets. It was also in contrast to what Shin et al. (2011) and Liu (2005) found with regard to imposing only particular cultural values and beliefs.

2. Discourse of Problematizing: Contesting the Commonplace

Especially with the topic of cultural misunderstanding or cultural differences (7 units on gestures), the discourse implemented functioned to problematize what was taken for granted, thus opening our minds toward cultural differences. This is a step further than LM, as students learn how to appreciate different cultural practices in more understanding positions, thus possibly leading them to appreciate them, regardless of less powerful positions those cultures have in international contexts. This is interpreted as problematizing what is taken for granted within the framework of colonialism CM invited us to challenge. Seven publishers (Publishers A, B, C, D, F, H, J) dealt with gestures or greetings across different cultures. Here is a part of reading text from Publisher D's first grade, Unit 8:

TABLE 3

Publisher D's 1st Grade's Unit 8

In the Netherlands, people pat one elbow with the palm of the other hand. It means "Don't believe him." However, this gesture has a different meaning in Colombia. There it means "You are stingy." The meanings of gestures are different from culture to culture. When you understand the differences, you will be able to communicate better in other countries.
(…)

The discourse here can be thought as dialogue, as two cultural practices were interacting to demonstrate different meanings. Similarly with Publisher J, the discourse of dialoguing was dominant in explaining OK gesture, finger curling, thumbs up, finger spinning, nodding, and touching someone's shoulder. The discourse of dialogue encourages readers

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to think beyond what is comfortable and natural for them with a potential to overturn their own commonplace ideas about gestures. Not naturalizing only a certain groups' meanings of gestures as normal was a very meaningful process in this example. Situating gestures in the discourse of dialogue seemed helpful in developing students' cultural competency.

In a similar line, Publisher H incorporated the discourse of problematizing not to take for granted with what bread means in a dominant culture. The text shown in [Table 4] invites us to think of bread as multicultural, thus problematizing its cultural meanings in one particular social context (that is usually one from Western culture):

TABLE 4

Publisher H's 1st Grade's Unit9

There are many types of bread in the world. Which one do you like? Indians eat naan, a type of flat bread, with curry. They bake naan in a very special oven, a Tandoor. France is famous for its baguettes and croissants. Some people put ham and cheese inside a croissant. Pita bread is popular in the Middle East. It has vegetables and meat inside it. People began to eat bread around 10,000 years ago. And today, bread has special meanings in many cultures. For Russian people, bread and salt are the symbol of friendship. Russians give others bread to welcome them. In some northern European countries, sometimes a boy and a girl eat from the same load of bread. With this tradition, people believe they can fall in love. In the U. S., some people bake bread to help sell their houses. They think the buyers feel happy with the fresh bread smell in the house.

Juxtaposing the different meanings of bread in different cultures has a strong potential for students to become more sensitive with cultural meanings as diverse across different social contexts. This can encourage students to think beyond their cultural boundaries of bread through imaginative dialogue with people about how they perceive bread in their own cultures. This is considered as one of the ways the discourse of juxtaposition or dialogue lead students to be more sensitive about cultural diversity.

In a similar vein, Publisher K designed the structure of a talk show to discuss cultural particularities in Korean food culture:

TABLE 5

Publisher K's 2nd Grade's Unit 5

MC: Hello, everyone, and welcome to Living in Korea. Today, we're going to talk about food culture in Korea. Today, we have Fangjin from China, Claire from France, Asako from Japan, and Kevin from the U. S. here with us. Ok, Claire, why don't you start frist? Claire: As you all know, almost everything can be delivered in Seoul, and I love that! Even hamburgers can be delivered here. Fangjin: And the speed of the delivery is unbelievable. Last night, I ordered fried chicken, and it was delivered in less than 30 minutes. So quick!

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MC: So Claire and Fangjin like our quick delivery services. What do you like about food culture in Korea, Asako?
Asako: In every restaurant in Korea, we get all kinds of side dishes for free, and I love it. In Japan, we have to pay for every little dish.
Claire: But I don't think it's good to get so many side dishes. We often get side dishes that we don't like, and we don't eat them. Don't you think that's a terrible waste?
(…)

In the transcript above, instead of presenting Korean food culture through different monologue from foreigners, this text constructed a dialogue about speakers' experiences. The speakers co-construct the meanings to make sense of Korean food culture and provide their own perspectives on it. This is the discourse of dialogue, not just because the participants are actually conversing about the issue, but they teach us how a cultural practice can be interpreted more than one way. It is very important to think beyond a dominant cultural framework that we oftentimes fail to question or even articulate. This type of discourse practice of dialoguing facilitated a discussion about culture as something contestable. Kubota (2004) explained the nature of contest as a core component of CM.

TABLE 6

Publisher I's 3rd Grade's Unit 4

(…)
Scene 2
In the tent. There are many booths from different countries.
[Dale and Jin take a look around. They see a boy playing a panpipe. It is Mario from their same school class. Mario suddenly looks at them. He stops playing the panpipe and turns away.]
Dale: Did he see us?
Jin: I am not sure. You know he's very shy. Let's go in the booth and take a look.
(…)
Scene4
At school in music class.
[Mario comes up to the front and starts singing. His voice is too quiet. The teacher stops him.]
Music Teacher: Mario. Could you sing a little louder?
[Mario does not sing any louder. The teacher stops him again.]
Music Teacher: I'm sorry. I can't give you a grade for this. Do you have another song?
[Mario does not say anything. After a few seconds, Jin raises his hand and says.]
Jin: Mario plays the Peruvian panpipe. Maybe he can play the song with the panpipe.
Music Teacher: Can you, Mario?
Mario: [in a very small voice] Yes.
[Mario goes back to his seat and takes out the panpipe. He plays the song and the whole class becomes quiet. When he finishes, the students applaud.]
Music Teacher: That was great, Mario. Frankly speaking, I didn't expect you to be that good. Arirang with the Peruvian panpipe was unique.
(…)

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Another example of discourse of problematizing was enacted when a reading text portrayed an authentic situation of cultural misunderstanding or crash. Stories about meeting new classmates and new neighbors from other cultures were usually ones with a happy ending; people are always welcoming to others moving into their communities, and students are always happy to meet their new friends from other countries. Newcomers always have a good time and positive experiences in their new social contexts. 7 out of 8 units were all about happy stories of meeting new friends or neighbors. However, [Table 6] shows the only unit about cultural misunderstanding and process of negotiation:

Although the conclusion turned out well, the process was a bit more complicated than a simply happy ending story. Mario, the main character, was found at a local festival by two of his classmates, Dale and Jin. Mario was described as a shy boy, not having a voice in Korean school, probably because he was a Peruvian, a boy from a less powerful culture. As a member of a minority culture, he did not seem to have enough voice and power, and was not appreciated by his music teacher and probably by other classmates. We can assume his classmates and teacher did not care to know about his musical talent of playing the panpipe. This is very similar to the experiences of other multicultural or multiracial children when they are situated in a new social context. They feel marginalized and silenced, not appreciated for who they are. Jin and Dale happened to find out about Mario's talent and they cared to appreciate him. Because cultural minorities are not usually paid enough attention, Jin's standing up for Mario in this text was very meaningful. More and more students these days experience similar situations in their everyday lives. Using this authentic example helped us engage in the discourse of dialogue and interaction. Through reading this text, students learn to take a Peruvian's perspective, thus engaging in an imaginative dialogue to understand cultural minorities. Contesting their own cultural positioning through a Peruvian's experience, there is a strong educational moment to think of how we naturally react to multiculturalism as something contestable and negotiable. This case illustrates one example of how we can present everyday issues in a framework of challenging the status quo (CM), not just remaining at the level of celebrating diversity (LM) without helping to overcome the power struggles across diverse cultures.

It is noticeable how this type of problematizing only occurred in 7 units out of 77 units. The majority of discourse used for cultural contents was more about celebrating the differences across cultures, which will be discussed in the following theme. Considering the positive effects of the discourse of dialogue for possible educational moments for a multicultural mindset, it would be important to situate cultural knowledge of textbooks in the framework of problematizing.

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3. Discourse of Celebrating Diversity: Hindering Critical Multiculturalism

On close inspection, some parts of the discourse used in 24 units out of 77 units to talk about diverse cultures appeared to be mainly about celebrating diversity. It was observed that the discourse used to discuss cultural components seemed to objectify the status quo, without questioning or challenging the power dynamics. Instead, the discourse was focused on celebrating the diversity, as if all the cultures presented were treated equally and there was no social injustice involved. Instead of inviting dialogue, there was mainly a monologue format of discourse, which seemed related to not questioning. For example, in the description of everyday topics, the reading texts usually juxtapose similarities or differences across cultures in monologue format. [Table 7] shows two examples, one on school life from Publisher A, and another on food from Publisher E, a very representative example of objectifying the status quo occurred in 24 units:

TABLE 7

Publishers A's 1st Grade's Unit 1 and E's 2nd Grade's Unit 7

Publisher A's the first grade's Unit 1. Me and My School
My name is Junsu. I'm from Korea. I live in a big city. I walk to school. It is not far from my house. I wear a school uniform. I like it. Hello, I'm Blaire. I'm from Canada. I live in a small town. I go to school by school bus. I take my lunch box to school. I have lunch with my friends. I like lunch time. My name is Hapu. I'm from Egypt. I live in the desert. I go to school by camel. Yes, it's fun. I don't have classes on Fridays. But I have classes on Sundays. I like Fridays. I'm Jala. I'm from Nepal. I live on the mountain. I don't go to school. I learn at home. How? The radio is my teacher!
Publisher E's 2nd Unit 7. Food Around the World
Turkey Felix, United States (13) I visited Istanbul, Turkey with my family last summer. We went to a Turkish restaurant. I saw a waiter serving dondurma, Turkish ice cream, with a knife and a fork. Eating ice cream with a knife was very strange to me. When I tasted it, it was really chewy and hard. It didn't even melt at all until I finished eating it. It was the most unique ice cream I've ever had. Canada, Emma, France (14) I traveled to Ottawa, Canada, last year. Winterlude, Ottawa's winter festival, was taking place at that time. At the festival, a lot of people gathered around to watch a man making maple taffy. He poured hot maple syrup in a line on the snow and waited for about 30 seconds. And then he rolled the taffy around a stick. It looked like a lollipop. It tasted sweet and delicious.

The discourse used in these examples is about reporting on different ways to go to school or get education, and experiences of eating local foods in other countries. While the first example can be useful for learning about Nepal or Egypt, the discourse might be limiting if it were intended to expand students' critical reflections about power and struggle.

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Here is the actual representation of this reading text. It would be so attractive to go to school wearing a uniform or by taking a bus, while using a camel or just listening to the radio seemed rather undesirable and not modern. The power relationships among Korean, Canadian, Egyptian, and Nepalese cultures were too clear to be ignored, not only with regard to transportation to school, but also with the access to quality education. Objectifying the access to quality education was unintentionally accomplished through using the verbs of reporting the facts, such as "is, live, walk to school, go to school, have classes, don't go to school, learn at home." Merely celebrating different ways to go to school does not seem to engage students to question the power relationships across target cultures and truly envision an equalized society, regardless of their political and economic power. Rather, the discourse of objective comparisons across cultures had the unintended consequence of leading learners to admire western and more advanced cultures, while possibly looking down on those of other groups. This can be against what MEST wants to pursue as multicultural education.

In the second example, the focus was experiencing local food. The discourse used was to report their experiences with positive comments, such as 'it was tasty and delicious,' and very neutral comments about what exactly happened, such as the verbs like 'went, saw, tasted, finished eating, travelled, and looked like.' The only word that was about how the speaker perceived about the experience was 'strange.' This text serves simply to introduce the kinds of local food we can eat in Turkey and Canada.

To support neutral ways to describe cultural contents, here is another text from Publisher C (1st grade, Unit 9) on different kinds of bread:

> This is a bagel. A bagel is a doughnut-shaped bread. It came from Poland, but now it is New Yorkers' favorite breakfast. It is chewier than other breads because the bakers put it into boiling water before baking. People love to make sandwiches with bagels or just eat them with cream cheese (p. 191).

In this example, without articulating how a bagel from Poland can be situated in different contexts and discussing how people experience bagels differently with specific cultural connotations of bread, it simply describes what a bagel is and how we make one. Only including factual information with the expressions, such as 'is, came from, is chewier than, put it into boiling water', readers seemed to learn about a bread from Poland and simply to celebrate a bagel. There is no discussion about how particular breads, such as a bagel or a croissant are usually coming from those that historically had some political power over others and rare kinds of bread (such as pita or nann) were not usually introduced widely because of their lack of political impact on others. This can be interpreted that celebratory ways of presentation might not necessarily lead to appreciation of different cultures. In this example, it was also interesting how to neutralize a bagel by

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saying 'people love to make (…) or just eat them (…).' It can be neutralizing to this cultural artifact, because people here mean specific cultural groups, in this case, New Yorkers and those who eat breads as their main source of diet. This particular comment has an unintended effect of marginalizing those who do not enjoy bagels, possibly reconfirming western cultural diet practices as popular, desirable, and common. Neutral or positively celebratory comments, thus, could limit students' problematizing the existing power relationships and implicit power struggles of certain cultural groups.

This reminded us of Kubota's (2004) idea that just celebrating cultural experiences, as if every culture is equally situated, might have a possible connection to ignoring social discrimination or inequality. This type of discourse presents different cultural components in a rather politically neutral manner, without deepening students' ideas on questioning the present power dynamics embedded in those narratives, thus missing strong potential of envisioning a more just society. This is what Kubota pointed out as a limit of LM-celebrating diversity does not necessarily lead to embracing all cultures and equalize the power or status. 24 units out of 77 units on everyday issues of festivals, foods, tourist places, etc in [Table 1] shared the common discourse of celebration or objectification of different cultures.

4. Reconfirming the status quo without challenging it: Stereotyping Us and Others

Lastly, the comparisons with European or Western cultures and with those of African countries can be an issue to think about. European or Western cultures were presented with the images of civilized, modern, reasonable, and thus, desirable groups, while those of African or other Third World countries seemed to be positioned as helpless, dependent, and uncivilized groups. 17 units were about European or Western cultures and all the images from 17 units were positive. African or other Third World countries were included in 14 units and other than 4 units (on greetings from Publisher B, 2nd, Unit 9; Afterschool activities from Publisher F, 1st, Unit 2; weather from Publisher I, 1st, Unit 3; gestures from Publisher J, 3rd, Unit 1), 10 units presented African and other Third World people as helpless, dependent, and underprivileged images.

1) Positively Portraying Western and European Cultures

Publishers A, B, C, D, E, F, H, I, J, and K included a total of 17 reading passages that showed very positive, modern, and rational images of the cultures. [Table 8] introduces the major themes. Whenever European or Western cultures were presented, all 17 reading texts included very positive images of European or Western cultures:

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TABLE 8

The Themes about European or Western Cultures

Publishers	Art & Advanced philosophy	Information on Famous People/ places	Charity/ Social Change
A	2nd, Unit 8		
B	3rd, Unit 5	3rd, Unit 10	
C		2nd, Units 6& 9	
D	2nd, Unit 5		
E			3rd,Unit 2
F	2nd, Unit 3	3rd, Unit 4	
H		1st, Unit 6	3rd,Unit 8
		3rd,Unit 4	
I			2nd,Unit 9
J		1st, Unit 7	
		3rd, Units 3& 6	
K		3rd, Units 4& 10	
TOTAL	4 units	11 units	3 units

The theme of "Art & Advanced Philosophy" includes Monet and Renoir (Publisher A), Marcel Duchamp and Descartes (Publisher B), European art works (Publisher D), and Andy Warhol (Publisher F). The themes of "Information on Famous People and Places" have Descartes (Publisher B), David Pollack, Renoir, and Edison, Ruth, Rowling, and Monet (Publisher C), Beatles (Publisher F), New York City and Chicago, London (Publisher H), a Turkish artist, Henry Lancaster, Homer Hubert (Publisher J) and Antonio Gaudi and Jules Verne (Publisher K). As one representative example of the positive images for European art and philosophy, Publishers C and B's reading passages were introduced:

TABLE 9

Publisher C's 2nd Grade's Unit 6 and Publisher B's 3rd Grade's Unit 10

Publisher C, 2nd, Unit 6. Successful Failures

Claude Monet (1840-1926)

(…) Even when his wife and his son died and when he began to lose his sight, he never gave up. Monet kept at his style and over time it became popular. His painting style brought some major changes to the art world.

These people (Thomas Edison, Babe Ruth, J. K. Rowling, and Claude Monet- the author's addition) became successful because they kept working hard, never gave up, and never stopped believing in themselves. (…) If you feel down about your failures, keep these people in mind and remember that sometimes failure is just the first step toward success.

(…)

Publisher B, 3rd, Unit 10. Small Ideas Fly High

(…)

Today, Descartes' coordinate system is used in many different areas. We express the location of a country or a city in a map by using Descartes' system. The location of a ship at sea is also decided in a similar way. Without Descartes' system, we still may not know how to express a location on a map.

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All the characters mentioned in this reading passage were European or descendants of Europeans and they made enormous contribution in their fields. In reading the passage about Monet, because of the strong emphasis on the need for individual effort to be successful, readers might buy into this idea without question. Thinking differently, however, Europe enjoyed having very advanced and developed industry and art, compared to other countries. The European contexts provided them with richer opportunities to succeed in their fields, compared to others; this reading text seemed to disguise political, social discrimination regarding access to education or cultural resources that were necessary to make best out of what we have. Without questioning their European background, the images in this text are very positive, ambitious, and goal-oriented with strong willpower.

The second example of Descartes highlights his contribution to the ways a location can be indicated without situating his success as a reasonable achievement that can only occur in European contexts. This was a typical way of illustrating Western or European cultures; whenever European or North Americans are the main characters, the stories were associated with positive values of strong will, diligence, and effort. The theme of "Art and Philosophy" always focused on Europeans, while there would be art and philosophy from other cultures that we did not learn about. American and European writers or artists were always portrayed as the ones who deserved attention and admiration from others.

Similarly, the cultures of European or English-speaking countries were depicted as modern, technically savvy, and advanced in standards of health under the themes of Charity/Social change from [Table 9]. In Publisher E's Unit 2 for 3rd graders, Felix Finkbeiner from Germany was introduced as a 13-year-old boy who organized 'Plant for the Planet', a student environmental organization. This shows the leading role European students play in trying to change our world. In a similar vein, Publisher H introduced city farming in New York, Chicago, and London:

TABLE 10

Publisher H's 3rd Grade's Unit 8

These days more and more people are becoming city farmers and they often grow enough food to feed their whole family. They grow their own fruits and vegetables on their rooftops or in their empty yards. This can help to save energy and reduce air pollution. (…)
As the population of cities continues to grow, they will need more food. Large urban areas, such as New York, Chicago, and London, have started city farming projects to provide food for themselves.

In this transcript, we can see how London, New York, and Chicago are already advanced in their capacities to act on their environment, keeping up with needs for modern life styles. Likewise, European and Western cultures in general tended to be stereotyped in positive manners.

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2) Deficit View toward African and other Third World Cultures

On the other hand, images of African and other Third World counties are quite different from those of Europe, America and other Western cultures. Whenever African countries and other south Asian countries were mentioned (all 8 units), the images of dependence, helplessness, and poverty were dominant across different publishers. Lee Taesuk's charitable activity in Tonj, Sudan was the topic for Publishers C (3rd Unit 7. Don't cry for me, Sudan), D (3rd Unit 6 on warm heart for Tonj), and J (2nd Unit 4 on the Father of Tonj). The Jamaican Bobsleigh Team was another popular topic to bring in Third World people (Publisher D, 2nd Unit 10 on Aim Higher; Publisher F, 1st Unit 11 on Dreams come true).

Lee Taesuk's activities to help those in need in Africa were described and praised. Other topics included bringing a Kenyan to a ski camp in Pyeongchang (Publisher E, 2nd, Unit 5 on Dreams come true) and talking about unfortunate health conditions in Africa (Publishers J, 3rd Unit 8 on Rachel's 9th birthday wish) or inventing something for survival (Publisher K, 3rd Unit 1 on Catching your Dream about a boy who invented a windmill for his village in Malawi, Africa as well as Publisher G for 3rd Unit 3 on What a Great Idea on an invention of Q drum for carrying water). All these examples involving Africa were rather from the deficit interpretive framework, focusing on the charity the African people need for survival. [Table 11] selected the parts of the reading passages:

TABLE 11

Publisher F's 1st Grade's Unit 11, Publisher G's 3rd Grade's Unit 3, and Publisher J's 3rd Grade's Unit 8

Publisher F, 1st, Unit 11. Dream Come True
(…) The first Jamaican bobsled team made history in the Calgary Winter Olympics. But the team had to overcome many difficulties. Jamaica is always hot and has no snow, so the team usually practiced on the ground. They used a sled with wheels! (…)
Publisher G, 3rd Unit 3. What a Great Idea
Many people, especially in Africa, live far from clean water. They have to walk many hours to get water. The problem is that water is too heavy to lift and carry a long distance. So, South African designers came up with an invention-the Q drum. It is called the Q drum because it looks like the letter Q. This container can hold 75 liters of water, and it can be rolled like a wheel.
Publisher J, 3rd, Unit 8. Rachel's 9th birthday wish
In May of 2011, a little girl called Rachel opened a web page. Its goal was to raise $300 by her 9th birthday. She wanted to help bring clean drinking water to children in African villages. She wrote her goal on her web page. (…)

The image of Africa and African people is one of being in need, trying to survive to meet their basic human needs. While it is great to learn about Africa, such a portrayal contributes

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to reconfirming the power relationships between Africa and other cultural groups, without challenging the status quo, thus not helping us appreciate and learn from some positive cultural ideas or practices from Africa.

Other Third World countries, such as Bangladesh (Publisher K, 2nd, Unit 1 on My School is Special) or the Philippines (Publisher J, 1st, Unit 6 on An Invitation from Mrs. Shin) were also about the unfortunate school condition in Bangladesh and Korean family's charity acts on behalf of a Filipino, reconfirming the power positions between Korea and the Philippines. Instead of challenging the dominant cultural framework as a way to embrace diversity regardless of political power, this type of presentation reconfirmed the power relationship across cultures, which can be interpreted as not moving toward multiculturalism. [Table 12] is an example of reconfirming the power relationships between Bangladesh and Korea and other more advanced cultures:

TABLE 12

Publisher K's 2nd Grade's Unit 1

My name is Mohamed Rahman. I live in Bangladesh. It rains a lot in my country. Last year, I could not go to school for weeks because we had floods. This year, we had floods again. Father said, "The floods are becoming worse. The ice in the Himalayas is melting more these days, and it rains more often." I was very worried. I said, "I want to be a teacher when I grow up. If I miss so much school again, how can I become a teacher?" However, things were different this year. It was the first day of school today, and the school was coming to me! It was a school boat! It was going to come from Monday to Saturday and stay at the village for three hours. (…)

This type of reading passage might give an unintended message of feeling sorry for students in Bangladesh and feeling fortunate not to be in the same situation. This not only makes explicit the power this particular culture did not have, but it also fails to challenge the reality that minority cultures encounter. This is interpreted as a deficit view on Third World and other African cultures, which does not address the principles of CM.

V. DISCUSSION

First, all the textbooks cited in this paper made more efforts to represent diverse cultures, expanding the boundary of culture in English as a school subject to other minority cultures in addition to those of English-speaking countries. The increased inclusion of diverse cultures enriches potential spaces for students to become familiar with other cultures and to

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be more open-minded toward them.

Kubota strongly argued that we cannot assume that mere exposure to diverse cultures would naturally lead to broadening the capacity of students to appreciate the components of those cultures. As present research has identified, the discourse of simple celebration of cross-cultural experiences, centering on family, school, trips, food, and special cultural events was a major way to start discussions about cultural differences. According to Kubota's framework of CM, it can have unintended consequence of inviting students to accept the status quo with power struggles, and of not challenging them to think of equalizing power across cultures. In the data analysis, we could observe how sometimes the representations of different cultures in monologues and the invariably positive descriptions of cultural differences lead the readers to embrace the status quo, feeling more attracted toward advanced, dominant cultural values and feeling sorry for African or other Third World cultures.

Therefore, English teachers' roles of addressing cultural components becomes very crucial, in how to approach what 33 textbooks show about different cultural contents can be taught differently. Related to this, Yeum and Lee (2013) mentioned the importance roles of English teachers into actualizing the English curriculum in micro- and micro-levels of contribution. When European cultures are introduced, teachers can address how Europe's cultural practices were strongly focused on art and philosophy, while other cultures had a different emphasis. Teachers can add how other cultures would have some strong contributions to the world that are not mentioned in the textbooks. Because there are different ways to contribute to the community, certain ways should not be evaluated as better than others. Through this discussion, students learn how cultural components are associated with power and broaden their appreciation toward diverse cultures. The lens of CM helped us to think of these types of unintended consequences of representing cultures without active discussion about power and struggles.

Second, an illusory equality across cultures also seems to be an important issue to consider. Because of contrasting different cultural practices in terms of everyday issues and topics, we are sent a message that all the cultures included in the books are equally treated and positioned, while this is not what we actually observe in a global context. If we do not prepare our students to discuss social inequity, oppression, and marginalization across different cultures, they will simply come to believe in an illusory equality and buy into Eurocentric perspectives as a natural and convincing lens to make sense of other cultures. We observed how simply reporting on cultural differences was associated with continuing to think of Eurocentric perspectives as attractive and desirable. When discourse of dialoguing came into play, cultural contents were from more than one perspective, and cultural frameworks, usually those from the dominant areas, were situated as contestable.

We need multicultural education that addresses the interconnections between people's

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everyday cultural practices and their international positioning in a social domain. For instance, we can pose a question about how different cultural practices are interpreted and how those diverse cultural practices are taken in different manners, depending on their political and economic power. By pointing out this interconnection, we might help students to understand that every culture is not appreciated equally, and that people tend to respect certain cultural practices more than others. This would help students to question the power relationships across different cultures and to consider the social marginalization that certain cultural groups have experienced. This in turn would provide an opportunity for students to challenge what they believe as commonplace and natural, and which is constructed mainly by a dominant cultural group. The researcher interprets this type of reflection as a strong indicator of multicultural competency. Publishers, and teachers who use these English textbooks, should be able to extend the dialogue about different cultural representations and to encourage students to think about social inequity. Some discussion questions and pedagogical approaches to the question of an illusory equality across cultures would be helpful.

Third, the discourse of dialogue can be one important factor when making sense of different cultures. In the data analysis, we learned how the interactive ways to think of cultural practices seemed to be related to considering more than one perspective to interpret events or cultural components. Problematizing cultures through bringing more than one lens to interpret them seems crucial for culture education. Dominant cultural norms can be contested through the constant reflection of alternative ways to look at or experience the world through dialogue. Problematizing what is taken for granted is a significant pedagogical tool for situating different cultural practices as always contestable. Instead of feeling that unfamiliar cultures are strange, students could instead learn how to appreciate components of them as they now understand that everything is contestable. Being contestable is also important in disrupting our notions of what seems natural and common, which are constructed by the dominant, powerful cultural groups. When we are brave enough to contest the powerful cultural framework of the dominant groups (probably Eurocentric perspective), Kubota argued we can truly envision a society where every culture is appreciated and celebrated in an equal manner. Looking at different cultural values and practices through the lens of dialogic discourse is thus crucial for multicultural education. To do this, students should be able to learn that the same cultural practices or acts can be accepted as positive but can also be challenged. That way, students get the message that there is no absolutely positive culture or negative one, as perceptions can change over time.

Fourth, stereotyping different cultural groups (western cultures vs. African or other Third World countries) seems to be an unintended consequence of addressing diverse cultures. It not only tends to simplify the complexities involved within one culture, but also seems

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likely to have students develop typical images and angles when they come to interpret cultures of their interest. For example, students might have the images of Western cultures as advanced, civilized, rational, while supposing people from African and other third countries might be always uncivilized, irrational and always in need. Such stereotypes can shape students' interpretations, instead of having them question their learned framework. By not questioning, students are likely to accept the dominant interpretive framework, which is mainly for those with power or privilege (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Liu, 2005). This is not what MEST's multicultural education is intended to teach. People who can appreciate different cultures can respect and appreciate those values that are not expected, or do not fit in with their original perceptions. Instead of re-confirming stereotypes about diverse cultures, we should talk about the complexities and cultural components that may surprise our students in productive ways. This is not to say that the stereotypical representations of cultures cannot be taught. Any representations of culture in our textbooks need to be introduced as one version or one representation of the target culture, not the absolute one. We do not want to teach that African and other Third World do not have valuable cultural practices that need to be learned about, while European and Western cultural values are always positive, attractive, and instructional. Students should always get the message that there can be more than one perspective, and more than one way to represent the same culture. This type of pedagogical approach is very important if students are not to develop stereotypical images of diverse cultures.

VI. CONCLUSION

This paper concerned with how culture was presented in 33 middle-school English textbooks. It was found that while more cultures were included in the textbooks, simply presenting information about different cultural practices seemed to be associated with students' learning of an illusory equality across diverse cultures. This might possibly lead to stereotyping, which would not help students to develop open-mindedness toward various cultural practices. When cultures were discussed in a framework of dialogue and discourse of problematizing, it seemed more effective in making students think of culture from more than one perspective and interpret cultures as something contestable. The observation was made about the need to deepen the ways cultures were represented if we are not to stereotype different cultural groups, especially African and other minority cultural groups. There was a strong need to disrupt and challenge Eurocentric perspectives and the corresponding negative positioning of non-western cultures.

The present study focused only on reading passages in particular, using the lens of Kubota's critical multiculturalism. It would be important to research further on how

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textbooks deal with cultural education beyond the theoretical lens of multiculturalism from Kubota. The purpose of this research was to understand qualitatively the ways cultures were treated, not to provide a quantitative analysis of how they are defined. The limitation can be addressed through multiple sources of data from students' interpretations of cultural components, teachers' perspectives as well as actual classroom research with these textbooks. Therefore, the analysis included here is not intended to be generalized to wider samples of English textbooks. To be able to generalize, mixed-method with quantative data collection will make it possible to see the bigger pictures of what we are heading in terms of multicultural education. Also, the linkage across elementary, middle school, and high school textbooks on culture education will be a significant research topic to pursue if we are to get a holistic picture of multicultural education in the present Korean English curriculum.

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APPENDIX A

Cultural Themes Chart from 33 Middle-School English Textbooks

Publishers	Units		Cultural Contents
A	1st	1. Me and My School 7. Good Here, Bad There 10. My visit to Ancient Korea	● Ways to Go to School (Korea, Canada, Egypt, Nepal) ● Dining Etiquettes (Russia, Egypt, China) ● Korean Traditional Culture ● An Uzbekistan student's Korean School Life ● Monet and Renoir, European Painters ● Learning Korean ● Mexican food, beach, pyramid, cave and the Maya show
	2nd	3. Javlon's New Life in Korea 8. Great Friends and Painters	
	3rd	4. Coffee, Honey? 6. Hello, Mexico!	

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B	1st	1. Hello, Friends!	● New Australian neighbor
		4. A New Neighbor	● Turkey (Kebabs, Baklava, Troy festival, hot springs, Cappadocia)
		6. Merbaba, Turkey!	
		9. Enjoy Korean Culture!	● Greetings in Mongolia, Tanzania, India, and England
	2nd	9. Greetings around the world	
	3rd	5. Art is all around us	● Marcel Duchamp, the artist
		8. Let's go to the World's Festivals	● Festivals in Thailand, Belgium, and Bolivia
		10. Small Ideas Fly High	● Descartes
C	1st	1. Let Me Introduce Myself	● Introducing ourselves (Multicultural family, India, New Zealand)
		2. Do You Like Your School Life?	● School life (Korea, Indonesia, Australia)
		4. Our School Festival	
	2nd	2. Watch Your Gestures	● Food (Vietnam, Japan, China, India)
		5. Festivals around the World	● Gestures of U. S. A. Korea, Indonesia, Thailand, Brazil, and Greece
		6. Successful Failures	
		9. Interesting Stories about Some Masterpieces	● Festivals of China, India, and Ireland
		11. A Letter from My Special Brother	● Edison, Ruth, Rawling, and Monet
	3rd	1. How to be Happy in School	● David, Pollack, Renoir
		6. Hallyu, the Korean Wave	● Helping a Philippine grandmother
		7. Don't Cry for Me, Sudan	● School life in Korea, UK., Australia, America
			● Hallyu
			● Lee Taesuk in Africa
D	1st	1. Meeting New Friends	● New Classmate from New York
		8. Some Gestures, Different Meanings	● Gestures in Greece, Europe, Netherlands, Columbia
		9. What's Your Favorite Bread?	● Bread in France, Middle East, and New York
	2nd	3. Traditional Games Around the World	● Gestures in U.K., Korea and Ghana
		5. Dances in Art	● European Art
		9. The Korean Language Around the World	● Korean Language Test for Foreigners
		10. Aim Higher	● Jamaican Bobsleigh team
	3rd	6. A Letter from Turkey	● Trip to Turkey
		9. Warm Heart for Tonj	● Lee Taesuk
		10. People	● A general essay on similarities and differences across cultures toward a common goal of harmony
E	1st	4. Around the World	● Family lives in India, Netherlands, Denmark
		7. The Colors in Soccer Uniforms	● Soccer in Brazil and Italy
		8. I Love My Country	● Hanju, a Korean traditional paper
	2nd	5. Dreams Come True	● A Kenyan attending Gangwon Ski Camp, Korea
		7. Food Around the World	
		10. The Brooklyn Bridge	● Food in Turkey, Canada, and Greece
	3rd	2. The Green Movement	● New York Brooklyn bridge
		8. Symbols Around the World	● A German Teenager's green movement
		10. The Beauty of Korean Culture	● Symbols in European and Native American Cultures
			● Korean Traditional Culture

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F	1st	2. Teens in and out of School 6. Where to this Summer? 8. Festivals around the World 11. Dreams Come True	● After school lives in Korea, Thailand, America, and Ghana ● Visit to Yongin, Korea and Istanbul, Turkey
	2nd	3. Art Around You 6. Invitations to Korean Tradition 10. One World, Many Cultures	● Spanish and British festivals ● Jamaican Bobsleigh Team ● Andy Warhol's art ● Korean Traditional Dying cloths
	3rd	2. Bike City 3. Markets Around the World 4. Beatle Mania	● Cultural tips to be appropriate in America, Korea, Japan, and Brazil ● Changwon, Korea and Netherlands ● Markets in Korea, U.K., and U. S. A. ● The Beatles
G	1st	6. How Do I Get to the Palace?	● A Korean family with Cambodian mother
	2nd	2. What Do You Mean? 5. Meet the Challenges Special Unit: Do We Have to Go to School?	● Varieties of English (Australia, America, U. K., Canada, and South Africa)
	3rd	2. New Cultures, New Friends 3. What a Great Idea 6. Be a Cool Traveler 7. Treasures for all Koreans	● Marathons in the dessert and the artic ● Diverse perspectives about school education ● Irish culture ● A invention for water delivery in Africa ● A way to travel to learn local cultures in Korea and Brazil ● Gansong, Jeon Hyeong-phil
H	1st	1. Class Blog 6. New York City 9. Bread from Around the World 10. Snowboarding in Pyeongchang	● A new student from London in Korea ● New York touristic places ● Breads from India, France, Middle East, Russia, and America ● Korean culture
	2nd	5. A Trip to Ganghwado 8. Different Places, Different Lifestyles 9. Did I Do Something Wrong?	● Traditional housing in Mongolia, Malaysia, and Tunisia ● Cultural etiquettes in Korea, America, Greece, Philippines, and Russia
	3rd	4. Lou Gehrig: A True Hero 5. Fun Fashion Facts 8. City Farming	● Lou Gehrig, an American baseball player ● Napoleon and Egypt-oriented fashion and make-up ● City farming in New York, Chicago, and London
I	1st	1. A New Start 2. My Favorite Thing 3. What's the Weather Like? 9. Special Days for the Earth	● A Pakistan girl in Korean School ● Children's favorite things (looks like they are all from western cultures) ● Weather in Indonesia, Korea, South Africa, and Hawaii
	2nd	9. Small Ideas, Big Help!	● The Earth Day in Canada and Norway
	3rd	4. Open Your Heart!	● Hurricane Katrina in Florida and oil spill in Australia ● Students observing a Peruvian classmate's musical talent

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J	1st	4. My Cousin from Scotland	• A cousin from Scotland's visit to Korea
		6. An Invitation from Mrs. Shin	• Charity for a grandmother from Manila, the Philippines
		7. The Best Artist	• A Turkish artist
	2nd	3. Enjoy Music from Around the World	• Music from France, Korea, India, and Japan
		4. The Father of Tonj	• Lee Taesuk
		6. Fried Rice from Around the World	• Fried rice from China, Thailand, Africa, and Korea
		7. What do You See in Traditional Korean Art?	• Traditional Korean Art
	3rd	1 Cultural Differences in Gestures	• Gestures in America, Australia, Latin America, France, Nigeria, Argentina, Bulgaria, Greece, and India
		2. An Amazing Love Letter	• English author
		6. The Life of Homer B. Hulbert	• Tour to Northern Ireland
		7. Welcome to Belfast	• Africa Clean Water Project
		8. Rachel's 9th Birthday Wish	
K	1st	3. My Family Weekend	• Russian traditional housing
		4. Taste the World	• Street food in America, Canada, Belgium, and China
		6. Give Us Your Talent	• Yosemite National Park, America
		7. Let's Go Camping	• Netherlands' Eleven Cities Tour
		9. Enjoy Winter Sports	• School in Bangladesh
	2nd	1. My School is Special	• Living in Korea for Chinese, French, Japanese, and America
		5. Living Together in Korea	• Dream Come True in Malawi, Africa
		7. The Power of Harmony	• Spanish Architect
	3rd	1. Catch Your Dreams	• Asian movies
		4. From Nature to Architecture	• Professionals in Joseon Dynasty
		7. Let's Go to the Movies	• Jules Verne, a western writer's vision for future
		9. Professionals of the Joseon Dynasty	
		10. Imagine the Future	

Examples in: English
Applicable Languages: English
Applicable Levels: Secondary

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