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Projects of Identity Creation in English Language Textbooks Aimed at Adult Immigrants: 1900 and 2000

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

PROJECTS OF IDENTITY CREATION IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS

AIMED AT ADULT IMMIGRANTS: 1900 AND 2000

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

PROGRAM IN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the temporal parallels and differences between adult immigrant education and latent identity projects intertwined with the textbooks being used in the classrooms. By analyzing a sample of textbooks from both the turn of the 20th and 21st century I attempt to find both similarities and differences between these two time periods. These two periods are similar in that they are when the largest number of immigrants arrived in America, but in many ways (global context, technology, and political environment) they are also very different. How the American educational system responded to these large influxes of ‘old’ immigrants might reflect on what the current and/or future response will be to the ‘new’ immigrants. “New Americans” of the past and present alike make up a large percent of the American population and much more research needs to be done to fill many of the gaps that currently exist in the literature. This textbook analysis will be focused on several projects: the depiction of work, cultural capital, hygiene; and the inclusion or exclusion of these themes in textbooks designed for immigrants. Each of these projects are a few of the numerous used to determine what constitutes a “New American” both past and present. These textbooks attempted to remake an immigrant identity according to the ideologies present in America at that time.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

Immigration in America is an issue that is discussed in political, economic, and social circles, but one dimension that is often ignored is the education of immigrants in America; not only the education of children, but of adults as well. America has seen an unprecedented influx of immigrants over the past twenty years and the only comparable time period would be the turn of the 20th century. How did the American educational system respond to the large number of immigrants? What educational ideologies were written into textbooks one hundred years ago and how have they changed? How does the response a century ago parallel or differ from the response in contemporary times? The answer to these questions could be found in the analysis of numerous documents and resources: policy briefs, academic writing, social commentary, and media outlets. Each one of them would provide valuable insight, but my contention is that the English language textbooks offer an unadulterated and intimate look at the education experience of immigrants.

To determine what took place in localized environments one must unearth what took place in the classrooms. Peeling away the policy and pundits, how is one to determine what the students learned? The entry point for this is the textbooks. According to Ndura (2004), “Instructional materials play the role of cultural mediators as

they transmit overt and covert societal values, assumptions and images” (p. 143). For many New Americans, both currently and in days gone by, a significant portion of their English language learning comes directly from a textbook, because even if an immigrant is not enrolled in a course, they very well may be independently reading through a textbook on their own. This necessitates more than a cursory examination of the themes depicted both obvious and latent. An analysis of the textbooks used in the classrooms both now and in the past may allow us a glimpse of what students encountered. Echoing this idea, Dayton-Wood (2008) states, “Textbooks provide a window into teacher training and the dominant methods and assumptions that shaped pedagogical practices” (p. 409). Taking it a step further, the textbooks give a sense of how ideological and political ideals of the time are translated into classroom. Additionally, the textbooks allow scholars to ascertain the intentions of the educational system and accompanying. Textbooks are an integral piece of the educational puzzle that is calling to be understood.

Throughout history, and specifically upon the advent of boundaries/borders and the ensuing creation of nation states, people have been immigrating both for temporary and permanent intentions. In America, the notion of immigration has always been hotly contested, because it is a cornerstone and controversial topic. What some consider the ‘great wave’ of immigration took place between 1890 and 1910, but I shifted the lens ten years forward. Using data from the *Statistical Yearbooks of the Immigration and Naturalization Service* (2006) it is easy to identify two major periods of immigration in America. From 1900-1920 approximately 14 million immigrants entered the United States legally. Due to many factors immigration to the U.S. was limited until the 1960’s,

when the numbers spiked again. From 1990 to the year 2006 there was a total of 16 million legal immigrants. Data from 2006 to present is not currently available, but considering between 2000 and 2006 there were 7 million immigrants one can assume that the number for the decade is going to far surpass any number we have seen previously. These two time periods are important because they denote the ‘old immigrants’ and the ‘new immigrants.’ Where the immigrants came from is seemingly unimportant according to Rita Simon (cited in Suarez & Orozco (2008)), whose research shows us that the more recent the immigrant group the more negative the opinion (p. 38). Invariably, mainstream textbooks used in nearly any subject mirror majority opinions and ideologies of that specific time period. These days many discussions on immigration contain the comment, “My (great) grandparents worked hard and learned English, why can’t they (the new immigrants).” Criticizing immigrants is not a novel practice. The fact is, throughout history the American population has consistently had a negative opinion of immigrants, irrelevant of where they hail. Years ago, the critique was that of cleanliness and laziness. These days, people still talk of laziness, but hygiene has been completely discarded as a viable critique. Whether or not those negative opinions are active in contemporary textbooks is one purpose of this research addresses.

The ‘Americanization Movement,’ so prevalent in the early 20th century is integral to this discussion, but it is used more as contextual grounding for the earlier texts. The tenets of Americanization can be easily traced in many educational materials of the early 1900’s, which is certain. But, is there anyway to look at the impact or ripples that were made by that figurative Americanizing stone in the educational miasma?

Where do we see Americanization alive and kicking in contemporary American ELL textbooks? In all of the journals, articles, and books on education printed in recent years I have not come across a single link between current American ELL education and the Americanization Movement. It is important to determine what, if any, whispers of ‘Americanization’ have survived. By comparatively looking at these sets of textbooks we can draw some direct lines from textbooks of one era to another and quite possibly determine if the educational system is still Americanizing immigrants, and if so, to what extent.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH LITERATURE

There is a plethora of literature on some combination of Americanization, immigrant education, and textbooks, in fact, so many studies that it is surprising to find so little on adult ELL students and their educational experience, let alone textbooks. What is clear, according to Matthews-Aydinli (2008) is that there is not nearly enough research on adult language students (p. 210). She conducted a meta-analysis of forty-one research studies that focused on the adult ELL demographic and came to the conclusion that more studies and methodological approaches are needed in this field (Matthews-Aydinli, 2008). Wagner and Venesky's (1999) article proves that despite commonplace opinions that adult immigrants are apathetic towards learning English, demand is at an all time high for adult literacy classes (p.27). These two studies combined is evidence that research such as this is necessary and that various identity projects that influence immigrants in America need to be investigated.

There have been numerous studies conducted involving the power of textbooks, and the influence such textbooks have on the students. These studies, contemporary and historical, cover numerous contexts throughout the world. Stromquist (1996) suggests using textbooks as a tool to create a nonsexist society in a discussion centering on the women's movement, illustrating the power of the textbook in molding a nation (p. 422). Another scholar, von Hau (2009) conducted a study that compared messages

national identity between 19th and 20th century textbooks in several South American countries and describes the textbooks as “cultural artifacts due to the intense political interests that shape them” (p.129). The conclusion of these studies shows the important influence textbooks have in the educational experience.

Each of these studies, among many others, speaks to the significance of textbooks to the educational process and the making of an identity, but none of them touch on English language learner (ELL) textbooks. Over the past thirty years there have been many studies conducted on ELL textbooks (Hartman & Judd, 1978; Porreca, 1984; Michael-Clark, 1997) just to name a few. Each one of these studies is useful in approaching ELL textbooks, but the downfall is they look at textbooks from a very narrow perspective. Every study uses a different lens to investigate textbooks, but in general most of them deal with misrepresentation of cultural minorities and many times, sexism. These are two more facets of identity creation that help to paint the larger picture, but not one of them are temporally comparative. Despite all of these studies, they are limited to elementary, middle or high school textbooks.

Amy Dayton-Wood (2008) conducted a study that has many parallels to the study that I undertook. She focuses on Americanization as a pedagogical approach and the ramifications that it has currently. I attempt to use her research as a springboard to delve deeper into the confluence that is adult immigration education. Her work on Americanization allows us to better grasp the multifaceted aspects of immigrant education in the 20th century. Dayton-Wood (2008) states, “Textbooks from this time period are unable to systematically grouped, because although they were all of the

Progressive mindset of the time, there was no one “monolithic” perspective” (p.398).

Despite the lack of clearly defined groups ideologically, one could argue that there is a distinct ideological push in the texts used during the era of Americanization. This is what is confusing about the research and something that is apparent and yet contradictory in Dayton-Wood’s (2008) article. She concludes in her article that despite the ideological differences there is a clear dominating and hegemonic pedagogy inherent in English textbooks designed for immigrants.

Immigrants of a century ago and the corresponding “Americanization” movement have been researched and investigated in many ways, shapes, and forms. Whether it is an immigration population in industrial Pennsylvania and social control (Issel, 1979) or the reinterpretation of Americanization as a reconfiguration of domestic civics as opposed to the reconfiguration of the immigrant (Olnick, 1989), we seem to have exhausted almost every angle. But, there is something lacking; a comparative perspective. Some research offers us an historical perspective on Americanization and adult education (Carlson, 1970) or in local settings like Chicago and a targeted population (Robinson, 2004). There is an enormous amount of literature, but very rarely is there a connection drawn between textbooks written in the times of Americanization and textbooks used in modern times, if these studies offer a unique view on Americanization and immigrant experience and we can infer the connections to contemporary times.

One hundred years ago schooling was seen as a panacea for social ills much like Americans view it as today. A principal of a high school in New York stated, “education will solve every problem of our national life, even that of assimilating our foreign

element...Ignorance is the mother of anarchy, poverty and crime” (Buchanan, 1920, p. 204). You may hear something similar to this effect in modern discussions on American education. But, other, more likely comments one may hear concerning immigrants in the United States are, “They are stealing all of the jobs,” or “They leach off the system that I pay for with my hard-earned money.” If we are able to bridge the gap of time and tie these many concepts together we can ascertain a better idea of how the American educational system dealt with the ‘problem’ of immigration and the corresponding identity projects in the adult learning environment so the response now or in the future will be more effective.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH QUESTION

Investigating the modern wave of immigration we, as scholars, must determine the similarities and differences with the other large influx that occurred a century ago. What, if any, habits and behaviors are taught to immigrants in America through the use of English language textbooks? Furthermore, are there distinct differences and/or similarities between the habits and behaviors instilled in immigrants being educated at the turn of both centuries? And, finally, how do the textbooks reflect the current social, political, and popular perspectives on the immigrant ‘problem’ and the corresponding ‘answer’?

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Sample

The research centers around two groups of textbooks. I analyzed four textbooks from each time period, and each textbook was specifically designed and written for non-English speaking adult immigrants in America. An important selection criterion is year of publication; I only analyzed books published between 1900 to 1920 and 1990 to 2010. I chose these years based on immigration numbers alone, the Americanization movement spanned many more years than those being discussed in this research. This temporal window limits the number greatly, but is necessary for the purposes of this study, because these two time periods correlate to the two periods of highest immigration into America.

The four textbooks analyzed from the beginning of the 19th century all came from *Teaching English to Aliens: A Bibliography of Textbooks, Dictionaries and Glossaries and Aids to Librarians* (1918) printed by The Department of the Interior Bureau of Education. This list includes over eighty textbooks and various resources used to education immigrants in the English language. Upon review of the list, I selected three of the texts. The fourth, Goldberger (1918) was chosen because of an article I read, “Teaching English for a ‘Better America’” by Amy Dayton-Wood (2008). She uses four of Goldberger’s textbooks in her analysis, and the first one matched my temporal

requirements, so it was included. I then randomly selected the other three books and constructed this list:

- Austin, R. (1913). *Lessons in English for Foreign Women: For Use in Settlements and Evening Schools*. New York, New York, United States of America: American.
- Goldberger, H. H. (1918). *English for Coming Citizens*. New York, New York, United States: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Houghton, F. (1911). *First Lessons in English for Foreigners in Evening Schools*. New York: American Book Company.
- O'Brien, S. R. (1909). *English for Foreigners: Book 1*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

For the textbooks used in contemporary times, I used textbooks from the two of the largest publishing houses. Pearson Longman and Oxford University Press textbooks were selected for this study because they are the publishers most widely adopted by English programs in America. I did not choose these books at random. Rather, I selectively included specific texts because I wanted to ensure that the text selection in each time period paralleled each other. This selective sampling for the later time period assured that the texts were as parallel as possible. The books analyzed from the most recent time period are:

- Soars, L. & Soars, J. (2001). *American Headway 1*. New York, New York, United State: Oxford University Press.
- Fuchs, M., Bonner, M., & Westheimer, M. (2006). *Focus on Grammar 3: An Integrated Skills Approach*. White Plains, New York, United States: Pearson Longman.
- Molinsky, S. J. & Bliss, B. (2002). *Side by Side: Student Book 1, Third Edition*. White Plains, New York, United States: Pearson Longman.
- Pavlik, C. (2004). *Grammar Sense 1*. New York, New York, United States: Oxford University Press.

Procedure

Each textbook was analyzed first to determine the most prevalent and applicable themes. Upon deciding on said themes, the texts were reexamined. Each text was read cover to cover. The analysis also took into account any illustration or picture included in the text. There were many things that were not included in the analysis, because there are some distinct differences in the physical materials. First off, all of the texts in the early 1900's consist of only one student book. In the 21st century set there is often a student book, an activity book, a workbook, a teacher book, as well as a set of CD's. To compensate for this issue I solely investigated the textbooks intended for the students. This helps to level the playing field between the two time periods in terms of the textual material being looked at. Indexes and tables of contents in the textbooks were utilized to locate explicit content related to the predetermined categories and this content was more heavily scrutinized. I recorded observations in the form of notes.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS

The textbooks were similar in many ways and often times in scholarly research we are too quick to gloss over the similarities that exist. I selected three major themes to analyze, although there are many to discuss. Cultural capital, hygiene, and work are the three major threads that I analyzed. Some other themes that could easily be mentioned include consumerism, morality, and domestic / international underpinnings. Cultural capital and hygiene are the two themes with the most glaring differences, while the concept of work is portrayed similarly in the two sets of textbooks.

Cultural Capital

Cultural capital, a term originated by Pierre Bourdieu in the 1960's, is a sociological concept that is constantly tossed around in sociological and educational circles. According to Bourdieu (1986) cultural capital is, "convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of education qualifications" (p.84). Although this concept is often used to explain inequalities in elementary and secondary education it is applicable in adult education as well. The key to cultural capital is the convertible nature of it. Without conversion it is solely cultural knowledge. Due to the fact that two very different time periods are under scrutiny, the 'conversion' factors from knowledge to capital are very different. Therefore, I will employ two categories of cultural knowledge that convert to cultural capital, the

embodied and objectified state (Bourdieu, 1986). Embodied states of cultural capital are, “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body,” and objectified states are tangible objects including but not limited to maps, machines, books, and instruments (Bourdieu, 1986). Using these lenses will help determine what qualifies as cultural knowledge that can be converted to cultural capital. Much of the information in the pages of these textbooks is cultural knowledge, but I intend to focus on the knowledge that can be converted into capital as well as what knowledge is assumed the learner has already acquired.

Early 1900's

Sifting through the pages of these textbooks one finds several examples of a certain deficiency in cultural knowledge. This is exceedingly clear in Goldberger's (1918) text because the majority of the book focuses on the jobs (tailor, shoemaker, cutter), basic language skills (numbers, pronouns, adjectives), practical tasks (renting a flat, taking in the wash, looking for work, making a fire) the author deems necessary for the learner to acquire. Most of the jobs and practical skills are very basic in nature and presume the reader has acquired a very low-level of education. Near the conclusion of the textbooks one uncovers a bit of cultural knowledge that is unique to the American experience and convertible to cultural capital due to its' relationship to both the workplace and patriotism. Both Lesson 104 and 105 involve mosquitoes and teach the students about how malaria and yellow fever caused the Panama Canal not to be finished. These lessons also explain the life cycle of a mosquito and require students to understand how to eliminate the insects as well. Lesson 107 is titled “Our Patriotic Assembly” and is

accompanied by a picture of George Washington. The student sees a brief biography and then is confronted with reproductions of “America,” “The Star-Spangled Banner,” and “The Pledge to the Flag.” Outside of one mention of Sweden in a lesson about becoming a citizen, it is an oath of allegiance, “I do hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, and particularly to the King of Sweden, of whom I have heretofore been a subject,” (p. 228) there is no mention of the world outside of American borders.

Houghton’s (1911) textbook is similar in many ways to the previous book, but what sets it apart is a broader approach to convertible knowledge. Many of the lessons recommend that the teacher bring in materials to aid in the teaching process and for this identity project two of the items are of import; a map of the United States and a map of Europe. The use of these aids in the classroom, supposing they are actually implemented, offers students examples on how to use them themselves. Again this book assumes the learner has little to no cultural knowledge and it is the texts job to fill that void with cultural knowledge that is fitting to the immigrant station and allows them to be active in American society. Lesson 19 states, “There are three songs that every one should know. They are ‘America,’ Star-Spangled Banner,’ and ‘Old Folks at Home” (p. 36). These songs fall in line with most of the books of this era. Shifting to a more geographical viewpoint, the author does not mention the states or cities of America, but rather the bordering countries of Canada and Mexico as well as the geographical area of the United States in Lesson 34. Expanding on a more international outlook Houghton (1911) mentions the demographics of the American immigrant population and gives background

on them (p. 89). Lesson 40 describes the terrain (mountains, rivers, oceans) of America. Lesson 47 gives readers the specifics on domestic bodies of water. Many of the large American cities (New York City, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Washington, D.C.) and their important industries are described in Lesson 49. Students also receive a quick lesson in the government of the United States including information on the legislative, judicial, and executive branches, taxes, and citizen responsibilities (pp. 131-133). This book has a much wider perspective than the previous one, but yet reinforces the idea that the ELL students of that time lack basic cultural knowledge, and the textbook is seemingly the provider of the cultural knowledge that will later be converted into cultural capital.

“America is another word for opportunity – Emerson,” is on the title page of O’Brien’s (1909) textbook. One can interpret the usage of this quote many ways, but in regards to cultural knowledge and capital, it opens the door to the world of American literature and an important literary figure of the times. Much of the cultural knowledge force fed to the reader in this textbook is exactly the same as the other two books. There are the boilerplate lessons on American government, major centers of business in America, and civic responsibilities, but there are some unique aspects to this book as well. Throughout the textbook the student is faced with several moral lessons, “Health is better than wealth,” (p.52) “There is no place like home,” (p. 55) “Deep within my heart, softly this I heard; Each heard holds the secret – kindness is the word, “ (p. 56) “Honesty is the best policy,” (p. 69). Each of the quotes is preceded by the word, “copy,” indicating the importance they are supposed to have for the reader. Much like the Emerson, these

quotes offer the learner access into the world of literature and ethical discussions and assume a previous understanding of philosophy, ethics, and morality. Lesson 93, “Robert Bruce and the Spider,” is another moral lesson that uses the character of Robert Bruce, former King of Scotland, which is an entry point for history. Additionally, there are two short biographies, one of Abraham Lincoln and one of George Washington accompanied by two quotes. Both of them act as moral lessons yet again, but much like the previous points offers a point of contact with important and influential figures. The last two lessons mimic the previous two textbooks and teach the students about the American flag and ask them to interpret and memorize the anthemic song, “America” (p.150). Each of the first three books includes some aspect of the American flag and a national song, so one can determine that authors of this period find patriotic references of the utmost importance, which is completely in line with the educational movement of the period, “Americanization.”

Ruth Austin (1909) and her textbook is the textbook that stands apart and has the most entry points to cultural knowledge that include numerous poems, cradle songs, and verses. There are nineteen poems in this book covering several topics. Most of the poems do not connect to the lesson that preceded or follows. For example, “The Rainbow,” (p. 106) is between Lesson 32, “The Public Library,” and Lesson 33, “Newspapers.” There is absolutely no connection between the poem and the surrounding material. Some of the other poems included in the text are “Colors” by Christina Rossetti, “The Wind,” by Christina Rossetti, “The Leaves and the Wind,” by George Cooper, and “Pippa Passes,” by Robert Browning. Unlike the previous books, the reader

does not mention any cities in America outside of New York City or any countries outside of America. There are several cradlesongs printed in the book, and they, like the poetry, have no connection to the surrounding material. There are four cradlesongs, including, “Sweet and Low,” by Alfred Tennyson. The poems and songs in this book are excellent examples of cultural knowledge that may not be cultural capital because outside of putting a child to sleep, a cradlesong cannot be converted directly into economic capital.

Early 2000's

American Headway 1: Student Book by Soars & Soars has a very global outlook. Many of the practice exercises and examples use characters from other countries (Taiwan, Argentina, Canada, Kenya, Scotland, Hong Kong, London, and others). In the beginning of the book there are several examples that use information that I consider to be cultural knowledge, but do not offer any explanation to the student; Unit 3 briefly mentions the United Nations, Unit 4 uses the company Pentax and Cuban music in two examples, and Unit 5 has a reading passage that describes a lady that lives in a Boeing 727. The author of this text assumes that the student understands these references and does not need further explanation. Lesson 6 continues in this direction with several more pieces of cultural knowledge by asking the student to discuss several ‘geniuses:’ Mozart, Pablo Picasso, Tiger Woods and Albert Einstein (Soars & Soars, p. 43). For many students these figures may be completely unknown and would necessitate outside research. Unit 7 details the experience of an African-American woman working in cotton fields. This historical reference particular to the American experience, again, may be

difficult for the English student to comprehend. In Unit 9 the student is required to compare three different hotels (The Plaza in New York City, The Mandarin Oriental in Hong Kong and Claridge's in London). Each of these hotels is among the most expensive and luxurious in the world and again, assumes that the student can relate to these experiences. This same unit has some reading passages centered on cities and music, specifically New Orleans jazz (Louis Armstrong), Vienna classical (Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms, Schubert, and Strauss), and Liverpool (The Beatles). Unit 11 is the next time cultural capital is implemented as a learning tool, and here we see the lyrics to "What a Wonderful World," by Louis Armstrong. The international cultural capital is emphasized in Unit 12 when the students are expected to know about the Pyramids, the Eiffel Tower, the Great Wall, the Red Square, a double-decker bus, and the Taj Mahal. Another song is printed in Unit 14, "Leaving on a Jet Plane," written by John Denver. The cultural knowledge in this text does not focus entirely on America; in fact, it is very inclusive in nature, and uses examples from around the world and throughout history.

Molinsky & Bliss (2002) have written a text, although for the beginner, rife with access points to cultural knowledge and is directed at students with a large knowledge base. Additionally, there are several times when the reader is prompted to speak on personal experience and knowledge, to share their own cultural knowledge with their classmates and/or teachers. A perfect example is shown in the first chapter because the student is required to create an interview with a famous actor, a famous actress, a famous athlete, and the president of their country. The student needs to have this information

prior to studying English, and quite possibly they have never watched a movie, or have little to no interest in sports. A section of this textbook that is particular is called “Side by Side Gazette,” of which there are seven, is laden with entry points of cultural capital. The topics of these sections vary, but most of them have a very international focus: greetings from around the world, extended and nuclear family, cultural concepts of time and punctuality, shopping in other countries, exercise in other countries. Each of these topics gives very little explanation and assumes the student has some knowledge of these areas, but when learned are very valuable forms of cultural capital because it allows for a student to better navigate cross-cultural situations that in the world this text presents is very global and interconnected in nature. Throughout the rest of the book there are other references to cultural information, but they are very limited. Lesson 9 is the most condensed in cultural capital due to the fact that the focus is language and nationalities. What stood out was not the fact that they mention numerous countries, but instead, the picture that was attached to each nationality. The Italian man is standing next to The Colosseum, the French women is next to the Eiffel Tower, in the background for the Egyptian there is a mosque, and for the Japanese man the reader sees a Shinto temple (Molinsky & Bliss, p.80-81). For the student who may know little about the world this is a great opportunity to learn more about important global centers and the book is very diverse in countries. But, one must also pose the question, what about the excluded countries, and why were these specific images chosen? Overall, this textbook lacks significant cultural capital. There is little mention of American culture or geography. This may be due to the fact that it is the first book in a series of five. Nonetheless, the

reader is confronted with images and words that allow them entry into other places and if the student is willing an opportunity to expand their horizon.

Grammar Sense 1 (2004) by Pavlik shows us a different perspective from the first two textbooks but not nearly as elaborate as the last book in this discussion. Several of the chapters are steeped in cultural knowledge, but at the end of each chapter there is a section that makes this book distinct. This section is entitled, *Beyond the Classroom*. The very first chapter asks students to, “Look at English-language books and newspapers, or on the Internet” (p. 26). Other examples of this section include collecting menus, finding advertisements, watching television shows or movies, reading advice columns. Now, this may be a very useful learning and/or teaching method, and the student will probably learn a lot about the grammar topic being covered. Concurrently, the student is also going to be bombarded with cultural knowledge that could be difficult to handle depending on previous educational experience, exposure to other cultures, and other factors. Nonetheless, each one of these skills become cultural capital in an American, international, or in the immigrants native country. Moving on to the different chapters in this textbook one can see other mentions of cultural knowledge that is convertible as well. The second Chapter introduces the student to cities and countries around the world (Puerto Rico, Taiwan, Chile, Italy, Brazil, Venice, Korea, San Diego). Later, in Chapter 5, in order to practice nouns, the author utilizes an environmental discussion, specifically energy conversation and recycling. There are numerous situations using the university setting like in Chapter 9 where one finds two university student schedules for the winter term. Chapter 10 has a short reading passage about “road rage.” The student learns

about “The Temples of Egypt,” (p. 170) Alexander the Great, Picasso, William Shakespeare, Marie Curie, Cleopatra, Beethoven, the American Revolution, New Orleans, *Casablanca*, and Confucius, which are the first historical references, made in the book. This inundation of information in Chapter 11 continues on to Chapter 12 when the author introduces the chapter with a reading entitled “Fashions in History” (p. 185). These two chapters taken together are comprised of a plethora of information heretofore known or unknown to the student, but nonetheless deemed important by this book. The student is then required to read about two ‘unusual disasters’ in history, The Great Chicago Fire and Boston’s Sea of Molasses. In many senses the author downplays the destructiveness of disasters by using these examples and describing them as ‘unusual’ because therefore many other disasters are ‘usual.’ The sports world is employed in Chapter 17 with short discussions on baseball, soccer, and basketball with specific examples using the New York Yankees and Boston Red Sox (pp. 266, 267, 270). One of the last mentions of culture brings up various holidays around the world. Chapter 23 educates students about the Day of the Dead (Mexico), Shichi-Go-San (Japan), Boxing Day (Britain and Canada), and Loy Krathong (Thailand) (pp.346-347). While this is useful and beneficial information it may be difficult for some students to connect to. Many of the references to cultural knowledge in this chapter are useful, but much like other textbooks in this set, it assumes the student has previous knowledge. If the students need to use this information to learn specific English language skills then a lack of this knowledge will hinder their learning.

At last, our eye turns to *Focus on Grammar 3: An Integrated Skills Approach* (2006). This book is most similar to the previous book in that it has an immense amount of information intertwined with reading passages, grammar exercises, and other activities, although, most of the cultural knowledge is included in the beginning of each unit and the connected reading passage. It is fitting that in the first Unit, the very first activity is entitled, “What’s Your Cross-Cultural IQ?” (p.2). This is an almost perfect lead-in for the rest of the book and the many references to cultural knowledge. Lesson 3 draws our attention to authors, Matsuo Basho from Japan and Emily Dickinson from America (pp. 22-28). American culture in the 1980’s is highlighted a bit later in Lesson 5, “I used to love *She-Ra, Princess of Power*. A puzzle called the Rubik’s cube used to be very popular in the 1980’s (p.43). Other examples include Pac-Man, vinyl records, and Shania Twain. These references are useful, albeit amusing, to illustrate the grammar topic for the unit but they also isolate the reader, who quite possibly, has no knowledge of this information. The unit on phrasal verbs, Unit 10, traces the path of a Mexican-American scientist from a poverty-stricken minority family to the “first U.S.-born Chicano biology instructor at his university” (p.108). The scientist, Eloy Rodriguez, is quoted in this same passage, “I saw my first snowflake before I saw my first Chicano scientist” (p.108). Most of the exercises in this unit focus on this topic, but without the historical constructs and cultural background, this unit may seem very mysterious to readers. Unit 11 expands on this predicament when students are required to do research on a famous person with a disability and listed one sees, “Ludwig van Beethoven, Andrea Bocelli, Stephen Hawking, Frida Kahlo, Marlee Matlin, Christopher Reeve, Auguste

Renoir, and Marla Runyan” (p.133). Units 21 and 22 cover explorers (Christopher Columbus, Thor Heyerdahl) and the fables of Aesop (The Ant and the Dove, The Town Mouse and the Country Mouse), both of which when boiled down to the moral lessons are invaluable cultural knowledge. Wedding etiquette is employed to teach “Be Supposed to,” in Unit 35, which is an entry point to American wedding culture. Perhaps the last unit, Unit 37, is more exemplary than any of the others regarding both access to and assumption of cultural capital. In this unit the author utilizes Sherlock Holmes and the story, “The Red-Headed League.” The reference to Sherlock Holmes reinforces the overall intention of this book, that the reader either should have a certain amount of information already or, that the reader needs to know this information. In summation, this textbook is laden with cultural knowledge as well as cultural capital and signifies a different kind of text, one that expects readers to have a certain amount of information at their disposal.

Summary

These textbooks vary greatly from the older books; the image of the tabular rasa that needs to be filled up in the previous four texts is gone. Instead, the authors of the contemporary textbooks assume that the students have a wealth of knowledge in history, pop culture, science, and geography. Each of these textbooks is focused on language acquisition but, considering the interconnectedness between language and the transmission of cultural knowledge, these textbooks exemplify an identity project of cultural knowledge that is easily converted to cultural capital, depending on the learner’s situation, experience, background, and/or profession.

Work

Work is the most central thematic aspect in the earlier books, but is fairly prevalent in the contemporary books as well. The concept of work is closely tied to occupation in this discussion, and is the most practical aspect of the a language that an immigrant desires, or as the director of Rochester evening schools described, “The grown-up foreigner is not interested in talking about lions, tigers, and the other phenomena of a childhood’s primer...He wants practical knowledge” (Mason, 1916, p. 442).

Early 1900’s

Goldberger’s (1918) *English for Coming Citizen* is communicatively focused with an emphasis on speaking, not reading or writing, “The foreigner in this country has, relatively, a greater need for knowing how to speak English than he has for knowing how to read, and he has a far greater need for knowing how to read than he has for knowing how to write. (Introduction, p.5)” This is a short book with many lessons (111) but most lessons are no more than two or three pages long. It is almost important to make note of the numerous pictures (42) used throughout the text with the majority of them published in the first half of the book. Lesson 19 “Pictures for Conversation,” has four pictures (a baker, a grocer, a peddler, and a shoemaker) and no more. Lesson 20 tells a story of a tailor who loses his job, sees a help wanted sign, and gets a new job. The following lesson expands on Lesson 20 and asks students to create a conversation in the vein of the tailor for a laborer, a baker, a machinist, a carpenter, a shoemaker, and a farmer. Lesson 23 offers the reader a complete list of occupations (dressmaker, cigar maker, teacher,

doctor, shoemaker, plumber, builder, grocer, peddler, tailor, carpenter, farmer, baker, conductor, motorman, driver, legislator) and asks them to fill in the blanks with the correct job. John Smith, a cigar maker, has to figure out directions to a new job in Lesson 65. Despite the introductions emphasis that the book is focused on speaking the student is required to write letters asking for information from numerous companies and want ads in Lesson 67. Later, in Lesson 83, “A Conversation on Trade-Schools,” Mr. Young and Mr. Brown have a conversation about slow business and Mr. Brown advises Mr. Young to go to the English night school, learn English, and ask help from the teacher to find a trade-school to attend. Lesson 92 through 95 portrays the life of Mr. Nelson, a stonecutter who finds a new job in a new city and the accompanying difficulties he faces during his transitional period. Next, Lesson 100 offers readers a hypothetical situation in which three families of different socio-economic status are forced to decide which of their respective children should go to work or go to school. Most mentions of the work world in this text revolve around the process of finding work and descriptions of various occupations available to immigrants.

Specifically written for foreigners in night schools, or so the title claims, *First Lessons in English for Foreigners in Evening Schools* (1911) delves deeply into work and in what ways the immigrant can enter the world of work. The chapters in this book are organized in such a way that there are sections that are focused on vocabulary, reading, action lessons, writing, spelling, and phonics. Despite the numerous skills there is generally an overarching theme to each lesson. Work is first discussed in Lesson 22 completely revolves around carpenter as well as the actions and instruments associated

with carpentry. Lesson 29 uses the same formula as Lesson 22 but is centered on the work of a tailor and shoemaker. There is also a short paragraph about a grocer, carpenter, tailor, and shoemaker discussing their respective opportunities. Lesson 30 carries all of this to the next logical step; help wanted advertisements for the jobs previously discussed. The student is also asked to write a letter of introduction as a response to one of the sample want ads included in the textbook. The box-making industry of the time is summarized in Lesson 32, "Paper boxes are made by girls and women. Wooden boxes are made by men and boys" (p.68). Lessons 35, 36 and 37 detail the benefits and responsibilities of working on a farm, as a miller, baker, and coal miner. A geography lesson (Lesson 40, "Surface and Products of the United States") introduces the reader to the different regions of America according to the natural resources and available jobs. Lesson 49 is also geographical in nature, but this time in relation to cities and the industries most common in that city. Houghton, F. (1911) offers students a very narrow view of the work environment, although extremely practical. A general overview of the country allows a reader to see the big picture, but the jobs discussed are limited, i.e. tailor, grocer, shoemaker. Respectable jobs and dependable incomes, but there is no mention of education and schooling, a theme that is very common throughout these early textbooks.

Sarah O'Brien's *English for Foreigners* (1909) is the oldest of the texts, and it, much like the other texts of this time period rely heavily on work and the important character qualities that are desired of American workers. Lesson 32 reviews the tools of the carpenter and painter, and Lesson 33 includes reading that extols the glory of work,

“See the men work! They are working hard” (p. 34). In the same direction students learn about a mason, wallpaper hanger and plumber as well as more detailed description of the carpenter and painter in Lesson 34 – Lesson 37. The title of Lesson 68, “The Fruit Peddler,” is pertinent because along with the occupation we see a quote, “Honesty is the best policy” (p. 69). Throughout the middle of the text there are descriptions of numerous occupations (sheep farmer, cotton mill worker, tailor, dressmaker, milliner, factory worker, coal miner, iron and steel foundry worker, and packing house worker) including their responsibilities and other details about the job. A detailed list of sixty occupations is included in Lesson 86 and at the bottom of the list another quote, “Do your work as well as you can” (p 86). The perspective on work shifts from explanatory to practical at this point. There is a sample letter of application (Lesson 87), practice at analyzing the help wanted advertisements in the newspaper (Lesson 89), and a description of the benefits of going to a trade school (Lesson 90.) There are two lessons specifically devoted to expressions related to work and business expressions, Lessons 99 and 104. The explanatory and practical nature of this book is useful and inclusive. In general, throughout the textbook one can see a strong push towards efficiency and the overall importance of work.

In title, *Lessons in English for Foreign Women: For Use in Settlements and Evening Schools* is the most unique due to the demographic focus. Ruth Austin published a textbook that, of the four textbooks, advocates for worker rights the most. She attempts to divert attention away from solely efficiency and productivity, but also drives home some of the aspects of the other textbooks of the era. The beginning of the

book is in line with the rest of the textbooks and focuses almost entirely on productivity, “I can make four hundred bunches a day. I am not paid by the week. I am paid by the piece.” (p. 36). Lesson 16 relates the job description of a farmer, grocer, and miller in connection to bread production. Finally, in Lesson 20, “A Good Factory,” we see Austin advocate for worker rights with mentions of fire escapes for safety, unlocked doors, windows that are not barred, and fire drills. Again in Lesson 21 there are more examples, “Good work should be rewarded by good pay and good treatment. We have to pay more, but we get more when we buy clothes that are made in shops where the workers are well treated. We are also helping to break up the sweatshops.” (p. 73). There are many informative lessons in this book that aid students in many facets. Lesson 37 instructs students how to get working papers for family members. In this same lesson they list New York State laws for child labor and compulsory education. Lesson 38 is a discussion between two friends, one of which is helping the other understand the benefits of going to a trade school; she also explains the entire process of trade school and work. The final lesson tells the story of the Garcia family and their experience in New York City and their move to the South where they thrive and succeed. This final story epitomizes the ‘American Dream’ and everything that immigrants at that time strived for in many ways.

Early 2000's

Soars & Soars (2001) compared with the other three textbooks from this set is fairly light in regards to the idea of work. Unit 3, entitled, “The World of Work,” is work-centric. The different activities revolve around numerous characters: a computer scientist

from Taiwan living in California, a doctor from Canada who lives in Kenya, a taxi driver in Brazil, a Japanese interpreter who works for the United Nations, and an American journalist who works in Moscow. Every unit also involves a reading passage, and this one is a fitting example, it details the life of a Scottish man who works thirteen jobs. Unit 4 briefly mentions work when the example for using the present simple tense is a woman who works for a news program and, “interviews famous people” (Soars & Soars, 2001). To practice indefinite articles the student is asked to describe a businessman’s briefcase and the contents in Unit 5. Unit 6 also has a brief mention of work when an African-American woman recounts her experience of working in the cotton fields. The next time work comes up is in Unit 12, and the student reads about people changing jobs; a computer programmer becomes a skydiving instructor and a test driver becomes a professional driver. This book is not inundated with references to work, because one can only find mention of it in five chapters. Surprisingly there is no specific chapter on ‘work’ instead it is scattered lightly throughout many of the chapters.

The next textbook by Molinsky & Bliss (2002) is the shortest of the four contemporary books. At the beginning the students are asked to create an interview with a famous person and the examples they give are an actor, actress, athlete and president. Not until Unit 10 and 11 do readers see other examples of work. In Unit 10 there is a reading about the Garcia family, and states that, “they are busy during the week because of work and school” (Bliss & Molinsky, 2002). Unit 11 talks about the idea of close friends and those friends happen to be an actress, scientist, and television news reporters. Similarly, in Unit 12 the authors bring up Mr. Blaine, the president of the fictitious Acme

Internet Company. Next, in Unit 13, an employment agency is cited, Ace Employment Agency and later in the same unit, the vocabulary is extremely work focused (actor, actress, baker, chef, construction worker, dancer, mechanic, salesperson, secretary, singer, superintendent, teacher, truck driver, as well as the accompanying verbs for each occupation listed). Unit 16 shows us the morning of Victor, who despite waking up early is still late for work because of the numerous problems he had in the morning. The final reference to work is the reading from Unit 17 in which we witness Maria, an immigrant from Peru who came from a poor family, learned English, worked in a factory, and currently works as a secretary (Molinsky & Bliss, p.162). The final reference is perhaps the most notable, because it reinforces the ideal of the “American Dream.” The previous mentions of work and occupations are a bit more innocuous, this story is quite emphatic and implies that hard work and English are the keys to success.

The most recent textbook is much more grammar focused so there is much less content outside the reading for each unit. *Focus on Grammar 3: An Integrated Skills Approach* (2006) starts each chapter with a short reading that uses the specific grammar skill for that unit. The title of Unit 6, “Where to look for jobs in the future – Space” is the reader’s introduction to the world of work according to these authors. Unit 7 has two mentions of work; it is used in connection to using the future tense and tells the students to discuss future work plans after listening to an employment agency. To examine questions in Unit 8 the author employs the image of a lawyer interrogating a witness. Unit 9 requires the students to plan an office party and do exercises based on conversations that take place at the office party. The occupation of biologist and the

creation of a new field of study, zoopharmacognosy, are used in Unit 10. Not until Unit 16 do we hear of another profession, a skateboarder, Bob Burnquist, and a college sports instructor. Readers see a talk show host from South Africa in Unit 19, a professor in Unit 20, and various explorers in Unit 21. Including the next sixteen chapters and the appendices the authors do not mention work and/or jobs at all.

The world of work is a secondary theme in *Grammar Sense 1* (2004). This is a grammar book and much like *Focus on Grammar 3: An Integrated Skills* has a short reading passage incorporated into each Chapter. Chapter 1, entitled “Meet the Staff,” uses the work environment to introduce the verb ‘to be.’ This chapter includes a new employee who is a computer tech. Chapter 3 “The Adventures of an Office Assistant,” carries on the theme introduced in the first chapter. In Chapter 9 the student is offered numerous career options: magician, surgeon, auto mechanic, pastry chef, dog walker, optician, archeologist, paleontologist, meteorologist, and entomologist. Almost two hundred pages later we see the next direct reference to work. A chapter offers advice to business travelers and uses an international businessman as an example and asks students to explain various business customs from their country. As for the rest of the book there are no other explicit mentions of work, whether it be in pictures, example sentences, grammar explanations, or reading samples.

Summary

Each of these textbooks highlights work as a central theme. There are no step-by-step instructions on how to do specific jobs, but rather, a consistent repetition that implies the significance of work. It may not be apparent at first glance, especially if one just

looks at one book, but the fact that each book underscores work many times, subliminally emphasizes the world of work. The jobs discussed in these textbooks vary greatly from the jobs seen in the older textbooks, but the message within the textbooks for this timeframe is the same, albeit with a twist. The shift in kinds of occupation is due to numerous factors, but what is important is how each book portrays work, what kind of jobs are used as examples, the details of each occupation, as well as other connected topics. It is important to note that when discussing differences in these textbooks there are some inherent differences in the time periods in regards to employment and jobs connected to computers. But despite technological advances that have made many jobs nearly irrelevant, many jobs are exactly the same: doctor, lawyer, carpenter, and police officer.

Hygiene

Hygiene is a topic that is completely imbalanced in the textbooks. In the 1900's it is scattered throughout each of the texts, while on the other hand, it is barely touched upon in modern texts. One can ascertain that hygiene is removed from contemporary textbooks due to the fact that hygiene is not a topic that is integral to learning a language, whereas, in the older textbooks there may have been another objective outside of solely acquiring a language. The way early 1900 textbooks cover hygiene correlates to the common perceptions of immigrants in that time period. David Tyack states, "Textbooks for immigrants stressed cleanliness to the point of obsession, implying that the readers had never known soap, a toothbrush or a hairbrush" (Tyack, p.235).

Early 1900's

Looking through the hygiene lens and how the textbooks portray hygiene in this time period, the reader finds textbooks fully in line with the opinions of the times. There are numerous instances throughout each text that clearly define how the authors and the educational world in America as a whole saw the immigrant population. Goldberger's (1918) text is a perfect example of this. Lesson 5, "Washing my Hands," Lesson 7, "To Bathe," and Lesson 9, "To Take a Bath in the Ocean," explicitly give the student step-by-step instructions on how to complete each of these tasks. For example, "My hands are dirty. I turn up my sleeves. I take soap from the dish. I dip the soap in the water. I rub the soap on my hands. I wash my hands in the water. I dry my hands on a towel. My hands are clean" (Goldberger, p.9). Concerning oral hygiene, this textbook also touches on bad breath, "The smell of onions and garlic is so strong that we can tell when a person has eaten them. When you smell onions or garlic on a person's breath, you will usually find that this person has not been long in America" (Goldberger, 1918, p.160). The student now begins to equate bad breath with recent immigration, and not "really" American. There is a clear assumption in this textbook that immigrants are not in possession of the most basic of hygiene skills, and that through the veil of English, the authors will be able to influence how their students take care of themselves and their families.

The next textbook is more similar to Goldberger's (1918) in the sense that there are numerous lessons that cover numerous topics related to hygiene. *English for Foreigners: Book 1* by O'Brien covers hygiene extremely well but not in an instructive

nature. Instead, there are several notes for the teacher to highlight some important concepts. The textbook covers hair care, dental care, posture, breathing, food care, proper bathing, and tuberculosis. As an example of the teacher's notes, let us take a glance at the units on dental care and posture. Lesson 24, "The Care of the Teeth," states, "I brush all of my teeth. I brush them everyday. My teeth are clean and white. I go to the dentist. I go to the dentist once a year" (p. 25). There are several more instructions, nearly an entire page, which detail what the students should and should not eat, as well as the temperature of water to be used when brushing one's teeth. Lesson 25 is about posture and breathing and informs the student the correct way to do excel at both of these actions. Furthermore, there is a teacher's note, "Pupils should be taught correct bodily carriage and correct breathing" (p. 26). The lesson, "Taking a Bath," also has a teachers note, "Emphasize the necessity of frequent bathing" (p. 51). Tuberculosis was another concept that stood out in this text. No other book, from any timeframe, brought up tuberculosis, or consumption, as it was referred to in the early 1900's. The author describes the precautions, the causes, how to care for a person with it, and several remedies (O'Brien, 1909, p. 189). All of this information is included in a reading exercise and the students are supposed to read it on sight. Taking all of this into account, the reader is inundated with teacher emphasis, images, and extremely detailed and specific instructions about how to be "clean."

Houghton (1911) confines most of the personal hygiene to one unit, so the implications are not as blatantly obvious as in Goldberger's (1918) textbook. In Lesson 33 of Houghton's (1911) *First Lessons in English for Foreigners in Evening Schools* the

student is to learn some new words (water, basin, soap, wash, face, clean, pour, towel, dry, rub, sink), practice a conversation focused on face and hand washing, as well as use two different grammar forms with face and hand washing (p. 70). Due to the confinement to a singular lesson, Houghton (1911) does not emphasize it with repetitions like some of the other books, but still underscores the importance of good hygiene by making it the focus on one entire lesson.

Finally, we come to Ruth Austin and her textbook *Lessons in English for Foreign Women: For Use in Settlements and Evening Schools* (1913). Hygiene is not a primary focus of this book, although it is important to note that hygiene is covered in the very first lesson. Lesson 1 is a practical lesson and helps the student describe a morning routine, nonetheless, the student is meant to learn, “I turn back the bedclothes. I get out of bed. I wash my face and hands. I comb my hair. I put on my stockings and shoes. I put on my clothes” (p. 26). The fact that this is the only mention of hygiene in the entire book outside some lessons on medical care, there are many parallels with Houghton (1911). It is not an integral theme in the book, but yet due to the fact that it is the first lesson that the students study, it is not without significance.

Early 2000's

In regards to hygiene, there is nearly no mention of hygiene in any of these textbooks. In fact, the only time the words bath, wash, brush or any other hygienic vocabulary is used is in specific vocabulary sections focused on daily routines, or habits. For example, in Molinsky and Bliss (2002) the authors employ a vocabulary section at the beginning of each unit and Unit 4 is the first mention of hygiene, “Everyday

Activities: brushing, cleaning, feeding, fixing, painting, reading, washing” (p.27). Later in this book there is another listing of everyday activities, “get up, take a shower, brush my teeth, comb my hair, get dresses, go to school, go to work, eat, take a bath, go to bed” (Molinsky & Bliss, 2002, p. 97). To practice the phrase, “What time is it?” the authors employ a situational discussion where one character is running late for a movie or other scheduled event because of three hygienic activities: shaving, taking a bath, taking a shower (Molinsky & Bliss, 2002, pp.134-135). There are several other points in this book when the author employs a hygienic activity as an example of irregular past tense verbs, “took a shower/bath” or describing physical states, “clean/dirty” (Molinsky & Bliss, 2002, p. 157). Of all of the textbooks from this time period, this book uses hygienic vocabulary the most.

The other three textbooks, *American Headway 1* (2001), *Grammar Sense 1* (2004) and *Focus on Grammar 3: An Integrated Skills Approach* (2006), do not touch once about issues or vocabulary that is hygienic specific. There are moments that words like clean, dirty, neat and messy are used, but they are not used in conjunction with people, but rather rooms, cities, or countries. It is completely different than the Molinsky and Bliss (2002) textbook because as shown this textbook incorporates hygienic issues into the different sections on “Everyday Activities.” The complete lack of hygienic references is the clearest example within this analysis of a shift in educational or ideological notions of immigrants in America.

Summary

Hygiene is a topic that is completely imbalanced in the textbooks. In the 1900’s it

is scattered throughout each of the texts, while on the other hand, it is barely touched upon in modern texts. One can ascertain that hygiene is removed from contemporary textbooks due to the fact that hygiene is not a topic that is integral to learning a language, whereas, in the older textbooks there may have been another objective outside of solely acquiring a language. The over images and instructions concerning hygienic practices only reiterate and support Tyack's (1974) research, "Textbooks for immigrants stressed cleanliness to the point of obsession, implying that the readers had never known soap, a toothbrush or a hairbrush" (p.235). Overall, the discrepancy in the two sets of textbooks tells us that in some facets the Americanization movement has no impact on contemporary ELL textbooks.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

“America is another word for opportunity.”

“I think that people who want to be a citizen of this country ought to learn English. And they ought to learn to sing the national anthem in English.”

The first quote comes from Emerson, and was mentioned earlier in this study. This quote was printed on the title page and final page of Sarah O'Brien's (1909) textbook. The second quote may have been written in another one of the textbooks from the 1900's. But, alas, it was not. In fact, former president George W. Bush was quoted in the New York Times (2006) article, “Bush Enters Anthem Fight on Language.” when there was an issue concerning the singing of the national anthem in Spanish. These two quotes sum up many opinions of immigrants in America in the past and present alike. One hundred years ago the American education system attempted to Americanize immigrants, and although some things have changed, others have just stayed the same. I contend that in many ways the Americanization movement is alive and kicking. Currently, there is little ‘Americanization’ taking place in the contemporary textbooks, because there is little to no mention of America specific practices. Instead, there is a cultural education in textbooks intended for immigrants that is more supranational. Therefore, I argue that textbooks currently being used in ELL education are ‘culturizing’

immigrants through the use of two of the three identity projects that existed over one hundred years ago, cultural capital and work.

The four textbooks from the beginning of the 21st century require students to recite “America” and the “Star-Spangled Banner.” It is clear that becoming ‘American’ was an integral theme in these textbooks. On the other hand, contemporary textbooks are lacking in ‘Americanizing’ content. In fact, in contemporary textbooks there is no mention of purely American cultural capital. This is the first way that the textbooks have changed and supports the idea of ‘culturization.’ The idea of ‘American’ has shifted to knowing about such things as *She-Ra: Princess of Power* and *The Mario Brothers*. True, these references are among the outliers in regards to cultural knowledge, because most textbooks in the 21st century make more references to athletes, important historical events, global capitals of culture and economy, music, etc. Additionally, in Molinsky, S. J., & Bliss (2002) the first chapter asks the students to create a role play with a famous actor. The other examples they give for practice are a famous athlete, and the president of their country (p.3) It is assumed that the student has this knowledge currently available to them, and that they are able to express it. The culture knowledge being instilled in the readers is no longer solely American; it comes from a much larger pool. Additionally, it is my contention that the knowledge conveyed in both sets of textbooks is convertible to cultural capital useful to the immigrants of the correlating time frame. For this reason, the term ‘Americanization’ can no longer be applied in describing modern textbooks. Students are asked to do exercises or conduct independent research on George Washington, Frida Kahlo, Confucius, and Louis Armstrong. Therefore a global-historical

significance is placed on the English language, no longer is it about the colors of the American flag or manufacturing centers in America. Whether these cultural references are points of entry or previously assumed knowledge is difficult to ascertain and becomes a much more philosophical and epistemological discussion.

What is easier to ascertain is that there is a definitive and blatant approach to cultural knowledge and related assumptions in each set of textbooks. The earlier set clearly attempts to etch on to the 'tabula rasa' that is the immigrant, the important facts, habits (and limited cultural knowledge) that are integral to becoming American. This is not the case with the later textbooks. Peering into the early 20th century one sees a completely different perspective just by zeroing in on the content included in the textbooks. The level of cultural knowledge assumed of the students is enormous. The image of immigrant as tabula rasa still exists, but the cultural information is much more extensive. One must have a thorough educational background in popular culture, sports, history, geography, literature, and other topics to reap the full benefits of these books

What these cultural references represent are entry points. Entry points and access to cultural capital are nonexistent in the earlier textbooks. Instead, the earlier textbooks elaborate upon the necessary knowledge immigrants must have to be a cog in the American machine. I pointed out earlier that students may have difficulty connecting to some of these cultural references in current textbooks, but, on the other hand, they may pique interest in certain cultural concepts that were previously unknown. In the earlier textbooks there are no references to important historical figures besides Christopher Columbus, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln, decidedly American figures.

Each of these figures is integral to American history and represented important qualities that embodied the ‘American’ persona. Emory Bogardus (1919) elaborated on these qualities of liberty, self-reliance union, and cooperation (p.110). Each of these qualities is entrenched in the earlier textbooks, especially the projects of cultural capital and work. This very narrow ‘Americanizing’ perspective is blown wide open in contemporary textbooks; the body of cultural knowledge becomes a much more global, historical corpus of information while work stays nearly intact.

Although the cultural capital project has changed dramatically, the concept of work has stayed relatively the same. Sure, the jobs have changed from tailor to computer programmer, but the emphasis on gainful employment is still there. There are no step-by-step instructions for doing certain jobs in the modern textbooks, but if you look carefully, there are lessons about how to carry out work conversations and exercises for looking at job advertisements. Textbooks in the modern era still find it necessary to emphasize the importance of contributing to the American economy, but due to the international nature of the textbooks, contributing to the global economy is significant to these books as well.

One of the more famous ‘Americanization’ images is the one connected to the Ford Motor Company and the graduation ceremony of their English Evening school class. In this photo we see employees/students walking into a giant pot being stirred by English teachers. They enter the pot dressed in ‘off the boat’ fashion and exit as well groomed workingmen in suits and carrying briefcases. This image is useful for visualizing what took place across America in the early 1900’s. However, it is also useful to interpret modern ELL textbooks as well. The cultural knowledge in each set of

textbooks mirrors the America of that time and therefore much of it is transferrable into cultural capital. The term ‘Americanization’ has taken on a negative connotation, but by applying the word ‘culturalization’ the outcome of the stirred pot is relatively the same in regards to work, has no connection to hygiene, and the immigrant has acquired the cultural capital (and English skills) that are appropriate for success in the American and international context.

How the textbooks portray hygiene in each set is markedly different. In the older books hygiene is heavily highlighted, underscored, and bolded. By reinforcing the habits of ‘Anglo-Americans’ on incoming immigrants, these textbooks mold the students into an ideal and acceptable lifestyle for the general population. In modern textbooks there is no mention of hygiene, and this omission of content is the most glaring difference between the two sets. There is nothing in modern texts similar to this California primer that advises foreign women, “Dirty windows are bad”; “A dirty sink is bad”; “A dirty garbage can is bad” (Chase, 1918, p.128-129). The recent textbooks have erased any remnant of the hygiene project that was rampant in textbooks one hundred years ago.

This comparative approach and accompanying conclusion that currently adult immigrants are being culturized through the use of ELL textbooks could be expanded greatly. Although, it helps us to better understand the day-to-day pressures immigrants face now and days past, it begs to be investigated further. Specifically, how can this approach be applied to comparatively analyze textbooks used to educate immigrants and non-immigrants alike? Do the same projects arise? Additionally, investigation does not need to rest solely on the immigrant population. Instead, it may be useful to look at

Aboriginal education in Australia, the educational experience of Amazonian tribes in Peru, Colombia, or Brazil, and the textbooks crossing paths with that of refugees in countries across the world. This approach can be useful in dealing with marginal populations and how textbooks have evolved as well as how they parallel or diverge from textbooks used from the general population, because as Michael Olneck (2009) concluded in his study, “Immigrants in both the past and the present have used schooling primarily to acquire American cultural repertoires, including the facility in English, and to elaborate American ethnic identities” (p. 381). This speaks deeply to this research because it touches on what the immigrant desires from the educational experience, but more importantly one can extrapolate this quote to include numerous populations.

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