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# Developing and implementing a multicultural U.S. history course : a case study of a suburban high school.

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**FIVE COLLEGE  
DEPOSITORY**

DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING A MULTICULTURAL U.S. HISTORY COURSE:  
A CASE STUDY OF A SUBURBAN HIGH SCHOOL

A Dissertation Presented

By

TSUKASA MATSUEDA

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1981

School of Education

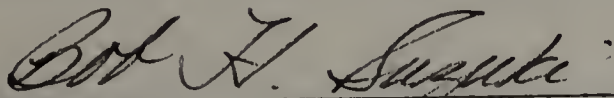
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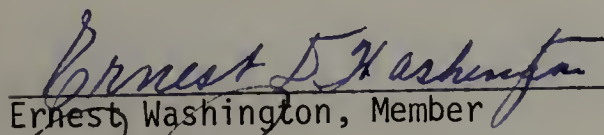
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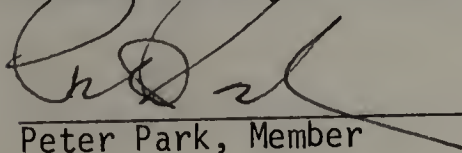
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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There is a Buddhist term, okage sama de, that is frequently used by the Japanese to denote a deep appreciation for someone who has helped another, whether the help was "small" or "big." And it is a term that I must use to thank all the people who gave me such tremendous assistance in completing this study. It is virtually impossible to acknowledge all those who provided help in so many different ways, but, to the following persons, I must express my gratitude in writing, with apologies to those I do not mention.

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I am indebted to the teachers and staff at Sequoia High School, most notably the U.S. history teachers and the rest of the Social Studies Department. The most immediate and direct efforts to develop and teach the courses were made by (in alphabetical order): Renee Cardona, Mary Cachu Dillinger, Ted Elliot, Mimi Gerald, Evelyn Marchini, Jack Marks, John Mee, Buddy Miller, Mal Mitchell, John Reguero, and Jerome Throckmorton. Greatly appreciated, too, for their efforts are: Gerry Goff of the English Department for his critical and stylistic comments on the stories written for the Japanese and Japanese-American unit; Marian Leman and Annie Wilda for their suggestions and help in developing the multicultural mathematics and homemaking units; Ron Jin and his library and audiovisual staff for "magically" securing the materials that helped make the course vivid and interesting; and Ron Jin also for his contributions to the Chinese-American unit.

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I must conclude with the Japanese term sumimasen, which means "never ending," because that truly describes my appreciation for the many people who gave me their assistance and their time.



ABSTRACT

Developing and Implementing a Multicultural U.S. History Course:

A Case Study of Suburban High School

February 1981

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Directed by: Professor Robert Suzuki

The major purpose of this dissertation was to explore the question: What changes are needed in the curriculum of most schools to make it more representative of our culturally pluralistic society and more relevant to students of all sociocultural backgrounds:

The study examines past and present views on the theory of Anglo-Saxon conformity and on cultural pluralism, and develops a definition of multicultural education. It then describes in depth the development of a pilot multicultural U.S. History course (American Foundations) and one of its component units (The Japanese American) at Sequoia High School in Redwood City, California, and evaluates the school's multicultural program.

The American Foundations course was planned as a survey course addressed specifically to the development of our multicultural-multi-ethnic society. It was developed and taught by U.S. history teachers in the Social Studies Department. Five major concepts made up the framework: Identity (Self-Concept), Cultural Values, Contributions, Patterns of Oppression, and Strategy for Change.

At the end of the quarter, students' opinions were collected and analyzed. Two of the more significant findings were:

1. Continuation of the course on a regular basis was recommended by a strong majority of all students, regardless of their sex or ethnic background.

2. The only major difference of opinion was on the question of whether the course should be extended into a semester course. Most of the majority students and participating teachers were against this change; most ethnic-minority students and teachers were for it.

Based on the findings and observations of the participating teachers, the department decided to make the course a regular offering.

Other departments did not duplicate the efforts of the Social Studies Department. A few teachers did incorporate multicultural material into their classes but, generally, not beyond the first two years. Thus, the school's multicultural program was limited to the Social Studies Department and to the bilingual program for the Spanish-speaking students. With few exceptions, even multicultural in-service programs failed to stimulate teachers to extend multicultural perspectives in the curriculum and in school activities.

Nevertheless, the project provided reasonable evidence that a multicultural course for all students on a mandated basis can be implemented and would be accepted by students.

Two recommendations were made for teachers: (1) Conduct a survey of teachers' opinions and perceptions of multicultural education; and (2) resume the multicultural in-service program.

Three research projects were proposed: (1) Formally measure the relationship between what students learn and their attitude toward ethnic minorities; (2) compare students who take a multicultural course with those who take a more traditional course in regard to their attitudes and behavior toward ethnic minorities; and (3) examine the proficiency and competency tests on social studies courses and the U.S. History course to see if the test items are consistent with the school's expressed multicultural goals.

Recommendations for curricular changes included: (1) Extend the mandated American Foundations course from a quarter to a semester; and (2) have other departments use some of the multicultural concepts offered in the course.

A final set of recommendations pertained to the school's Human Relations Committees. These committees could (1) augment the school's formal effort to bring students into contact with outside experts from diverse fields; (2) serve as sounding boards for students' opinions of the curriculum; and (3) hear and act on students' grievances.

The experiment to develop and implement one multicultural course was only partially successful. Clearly, multicultural education can fully succeed only with the cooperation of all who are concerned with education, be it formal or informal, in school or out of school.

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# C H A P T E R I

## INTRODUCTION

### Background to the Study

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court's decision to outlaw segregated education gave hope to many minorities that, at long last, they would be given the opportunity to receive a more equitable education and, thereby, be able to better their chances of sharing in the growing affluence of American society. And, indeed, from 1963 to 1968, their hopes were given considerable impetus through the enactment by Congress of several pieces of legislation that authorized the development of such programs as Head Start, Job Corps, and VISTA. Although these programs were designed primarily to increase opportunities for blacks, other minority groups benefited as well. In addition, huge amounts of funds were provided to local school districts serving low-income areas for compensatory education programs, such as upgrading library services, establishing supplementary education centers, and supporting cooperative research projects.

Professional agencies and universities joined the federal government in these efforts to enhance existing educational programs. Many new approaches, techniques, and ideas were introduced to improve education, including such innovations as team teaching, nongraded classes, increased use of language labs, individualized instruction, performance contracts, flexible scheduling, and work-study education. Moreover, large numbers of teachers were trained or retrained to help them improve



the effectiveness of their teaching in a rapidly changing school environment.

Yet, as impressive as these efforts seemed to be, the results were discouraging to many. A leading educator, Jerome Bruner of Harvard, noted:

By spring of 1970 . . . it [American education] had passed into a state of crisis. It had failed to respond to changing social needs, lagging behind rather than leading. My work on early education and social class, for example, had convinced me that the educational system was, in effect, our way of maintaining a class system, a group at the bottom. It crippled the capacity of children in the lowest socioeconomic quarter of the population to participate at full power in the society, and it did so early and effectively.<sup>1</sup>

Bruner attributed this failure partly to the fact that the historic 1954 decision to integrate the schools had led many districts to simply redistribute students among schools in accordance with some agreed-on ratio of ethnic representation. When this process was completed, most educators felt that integrated education had been achieved. Few educators looked beyond the "end of the bus ride" into the schools' programs and curricula, which were usually based on the assumption that education geared for white, middle-class students was relevant for all. However, as Musgrove had pointed out, such "curricula often give pupils a quite erroneous notion of the kinds of people they are," inasmuch as

a curriculum which is . . . based largely on traditional upper-class leisure pursuits . . . is not necessarily the most appropriate instrument for self-exploration for most of our children. Too many have "written themselves off" because of their failure in activities which are culturally parochial.<sup>2</sup>

Basically, the deficiencies in the schools can be laid to what Charles Wilson has called the "dual reality of this nation." For, as he notes, although the United States is the world's preeminent "democracy," it has since its birth had a deeply embedded, "consistent virulent strain of racism," which has made it "a nation with a visualized creed of freedom but a history of domination, suppression, a compression and repression of black and other nonwhite people."<sup>3</sup> Not surprisingly, minority students often tend to feel like "incomplete" Americans.

Present curricula are largely irrelevant, not so much because they are based on white, middle-class values, but because they fail to provide a foundation for facing the realities of life in America.

Mildred Dickeman comments on

the aura of rosiness, of unreal prettiness and cuteness which so often pervades the school. Not only in the area of social relations has our curriculum traditionally denied the ugly truths of life. The painful, the brutal, the existence of conflict and evil have been rooted out of the standard curriculum, whether in literature, history, biology, geography or social studies. Surely we may ask whether there is not some relation between the rosy utopia of smiling faces which the school projects, and the function of the classroom as a place in which the student is initiated into the most traumatic social conflict of his early life.<sup>4</sup>

If intercultural education is to help students function more realistically in our society, educators must try to nurture a philosophy that will reconcile the right of diverse groups, whatever their religion, race, or national origin, "to maintain a creative relationship" to their heritages with the need for cooperation and unity in those matters that are essential if a society is to function and progress.<sup>5</sup>

Obviously, quality integrated education is not simply a matter of arranging bus rides for students and hoping for the best. As Lucia James points out:

Integration is more than physical presence. It exists when people of all races accept themselves and each other, recognize the value of their differences, know the contributions of all groups, and have an opportunity to interact. . . . The integration process is effective only when the educational experiences of the students are designed with the intent to develop an understanding of all groups, and to provide adequate opportunities for each individual to acquire positive relationships and mutual respect for each other. These changes can be initiated and implemented through the use of instructional materials, as well as through course content, methods of instruction, and teacher attitudes.<sup>6</sup>

In keeping with such a program, Gordon notes, students of non-English origins "must be taught to be proud of the cultural heritage of their ancestral ethnic group, and of its role in building the American nation; otherwise they would fail to lose the sense of ethnic inferiority and feeling of rootlessness."<sup>7</sup>

Certainly, many black students are aware of the lopsidedness of American education. In a survey to assess the dissatisfaction of students with schools, they emphasized a "complete lack of, or minimal number of, black teachers, counselors, clubs, and books, and a failure to honor black cultural and political heroes," and they were discouraged by the "lack of courses directly relevant to the black experience in 'white-oriented' texts and courses."<sup>8</sup>

The attainment of any educational objective undoubtedly hinges on what takes place in the classroom. And the prime movers are the teacher and the textbook. In spite of the development of a wide variety

of teaching/learning materials, in most schools textbooks remain the core instructional materials--and generally remain of dubious value both for teachers and for students. They are said to be mediocre, to "lack imagination and good taste," and to usually be "written at a level below the intelligence and the understanding of most students."<sup>9</sup>

Probably the most damaging aspect of current textbooks is that they do not pay sufficient attention to the diverse social, ethnic, and racial groups constituting our society. David Pratt found that in most of the readers used in our schools, "all the children lived in one-family homes in all-white suburbs, geography tests . . . ignored racial and ethnic patterns of settlements, . . . history books . . . omitted mention of non-white contributions to modern society, and textbooks in every area . . . consisted of turgid, linear, non-controversial compilations of facts."<sup>10</sup> The invidious distortions of ethnic minority groups in textbooks and readers have not yet been eradicated, but they have perhaps become more subtle.<sup>11</sup>

Research has shown that, not surprisingly, attitudes can be affected by reading and that attitudes toward minorities, in particular, can be affected by certain types of instructional materials. Further, there is evidence that students most likely to develop prejudiced attitudes are those who tend to depend most heavily on textbooks and teachers as sources of knowledge.<sup>12</sup>

But more important than the negative influence of textbooks is the positive value of those textbooks that are free of the grossest kinds of distortions and biases. Although textbooks cannot be expected to

substitute for direct experiences and contact among ethnic groups, they do have a significant and lasting impact.

When placed in proper perspective and used intelligently as complements to textbooks, a wide variety of well-selected multimedia, multiethnic instructional materials can be highly effective in fostering quality integrated education. Emphasis should be placed on utilizing an abundance of up-to-date materials rather than a single type. As is true of the textbook, no one type can adequately develop all aspects of a concept, achieve the various purposes for which it is optimistically intended, and provide for the complexity of needs, individual differences, experiences, and interests of the users.<sup>13</sup>

#### Statement of the Problem

The problems of desegregated/integrated education described above were clearly manifested in the Sequoia Union High School District, a suburban district south of San Francisco, California. In fall 1968, student demonstrations, sometimes violent, erupted within the district.<sup>14</sup> At the district's "black" school there was a demand for desegregation, and at the two "most integrated" schools the black and Hispanic communities called for more black and Hispanic teachers and counselors, plus incorporation of ethnic material into the curriculum. In sum, their demands zeroed in on the two facets of truly integrated education.

The district's Board of Trustees and administrators responded with a promise to provide integrated education. They then put forth a plan for voluntary desegregation of schools and upgrading of education in

the classrooms. Though the plan failed to bring about the expected result, it was never altered or scrapped by the district.

Meanwhile, the demand for more ethnic minority teachers and counselors were being met, but slowly. Changes in the curricula were being met even more slowly, much to the dissatisfaction of many, particularly the black and Hispanic communities. The first significant change in curriculum was made by the social studies teachers at Sequoia High School, which had the most ethnically diverse groups in the district. The Social Studies Department was already offering a few Black American and Hispanic-American courses, as were a handful of schools in the surrounding areas. In addition, a new elective course, called Ethnic Minority People, was introduced.

The pilot course gained an enthusiastic student response. The following quarter two additional classes were formed, and the course was lengthened to run a full semester. At the end of the semester, the students petitioned the Social Studies Department to make the course mandatory for all eleventh-grade students. The department quickly assented to the students' request and formed a committee to develop and implement the course for the following school year. Over the summer, the department's teachers of the mandatory U.S. History course for eleventh graders developed a course called American Foundations, patterning it after the Ethnic Minority People course. The department agreed to offer it in the fall as a pilot program. The decision to make it a regular offering was to be made pending an evaluation of the pilot program by the students and the participating teachers.

In the rest of the country at the time the pilot program was offered, successful curricular changes had been made, but they were mostly at the college level. Yet even at that level, only the ethnic minority students were basically involved; the majority of the students remained unaffected. Changes at the elementary and secondary levels were minimal. The few courses or units that included nonwhite perspectives were offered on a disparate and optional basis. And, again, these courses were geared to the ethnic minority students and only rarely involved the rest of the students. The majority of students continued to study the traditional courses that stressed the history and the values of the white, middle-class segment of our society. Generally, these conditions still prevail.

#### Purpose of the Study

To address the problem defined above, this study posed and explored the following major research question:

What changes are needed in the curriculum of most schools to make it more representative of our culturally pluralistic society and more relevant to students of all sociocultural backgrounds?

In attempting to provide answers to this question, the study focused on the actual changes that took place in a large, suburban high school that had developed and implemented a Multicultural Social Studies component of a required U.S. History course. Since the author has been a social studies teacher in this high school for over twenty years and was involved in the process of change, the study was approached as a field-based case study, in which he played the role of a

participant-observer, rather than as the usual survey or experimental study to test an existing theory by collecting quantitative data and using control groups. Thus, the study should be viewed as an exploratory one that may provide some preliminary answers to the major research question posed by the study and contribute to the eventual development of a theoretical analysis that will help clarify the complex problem at hand, for which theory is presently totally inadequate, if not nonexistent.<sup>15</sup>

To make the study as useful as possible to practitioners, the author tried to meet the following objectives, which were directly related to answering the major research question:

1. To provide a rationale for and a definition of a multicultural or multiethnic curriculum.
2. To develop a conceptual framework consistent with the above-mentioned rationale.
3. To describe the development and implementation of the Multicultural Social Studies Curriculum, including the necessary in-service training component.
4. To describe a sample of basic instructional materials based on the Japanese experience in the United States that can serve as a prototype for the development of materials on other groups.
5. To field-test and evaluate the Multicultural Social Studies Curriculum, including the abovementioned sample of instructional materials on Japanese Americans.



### Significance of the Study

The significance of the study rests in the possibility that it may help to:

1. Alleviate the great lack of teaching and learning materials about the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans, one of the most neglected and/or misunderstood ethnic groups in our society.
2. Serve as an immediate prototype model for other social studies teachers to help them initiate similar multicultural courses/units in their classrooms.
3. Generate interest and motivation among teachers or other disciplines and schools to initiate multicultural courses/units so that each school is totally involved in multicultural education by providing information and data from participants and observers of a multicultural course that was actually taught in a classroom.
4. Provide bases for further exploration of the major research question posed earlier in this chapter. For example, "Can a multicultural course significantly help students analyze and understand the social structure, processes, and conditions under which social ills, such as prejudice and discrimination, take place?"

### Limitations of the Study

However significant any intended research project might be, exploratory research such as this one, which was carried out in the context of actual teaching conditions, invariably must be limited by a multitude of factors, the most limiting one being lack of sufficient

time to plan, develop, and make necessary adjustments while the course was being taught. Further, this study focused primarily on curriculum; it did not analyze in any depth other important variables such as the educational environment (teachers' attitudes, teaching approaches and methods, relations between students, and so on). Because the pilot multicultural U.S. History course was taught in a suburban high school, it may not necessarily be applicable or extendable to urban inner-city or rural schools. Therefore the evaluation of the students' responses is limited by the geographical location of the school and by the lack of a control group.

The evaluation is further limited in that only the students' responses were formally sought; no attempt was made to extend the investigation outside the school environment. Finally, although information was collected from participant observers, there was insufficient time to interview the informants, that is, the teachers and students who participated in the program, although many students wrote personal comments on the questionnaires. Interesting as these comments were, there was no attempt to organize the information into a meaningful pattern. Despite these limitations, the participating teachers were convinced that the information they did manage to collect was of value.

#### Organization of the Dissertation

The major research question posed in this study has been stated as: "What changes are needed in the curriculum of most schools to make it more representative of our culturally pluralistic society and more relevant to students of all sociocultural backgrounds?"

The general educational processes and conditions that generated this question have been briefly described in this chapter, the more important ones being (1) the emphasis on desegregating students rather than developing an integrated curriculum; (2) the lack of realistic teaching materials portraying the multiethnic, multicultural nature of our society; (3) the growing dissatisfaction of the ethnic minority people with the schools; and (4) the seeming lack of effort by educators to develop and implement multicultural programs.

The significance of the study, as noted in this chapter, lies primarily in the fact that a specific multicultural U.S. History course was developed and implemented in a suburban high school and that other schools may be able to use it as a prototype. It is hoped that the program can serve as a model despite the limitations of the study, foremost among them being the lack of sufficient time to develop, implement, and above all, evaluate the program properly.

Chapter 2 briefly reviews the impact of education on ethnic minority people: how they were assimilated into or rejected by our society, the dominance of white-oriented curricula in the schools, the loss of positive self-image among ethnic minority students, and the gradual emergence of alternative programs to meet the needs of the ethnic minority students.

Chapter 3 discusses the problems faced by the suburban school district in California, including its effort to meet the demands of the black and Hispanic communities for a truly integrated program. The chapter also describes the multicultural units developed by the social

studies teachers in one of the district's schools, most prominently the mandated U.S. History course. Concluding the chapter is a brief description of samples of other multicultural units and of the in-service program designed to develop an awareness among the classified and certificated staff members of the critical need for a multicultural program.

A prototype Japanese-American curriculum unit is described in some detail in Chapter 4, which also examines the rationale of the unit. Presented here are the types of materials and lesson plans used in the Japanese-American component of the mandated U.S. History course, as well as samples of Japanese-American materials developed for use in other subject areas (for example, homemaking, mathematics).

Evaluation of the mandated multicultural U.S. History class is offered in Chapter 5. Included are a description of the school and the sampled population, and explanation of the design and the administration of the questionnaire, and a summary of the results.

Chapter 6 is devoted to a discussion of the findings, including an analysis of the evaluation results, and to the implications of the study. Among the considerations is the extent to which the findings contributes to answering some aspects of the major research question initially posed in this dissertation.

Finally, Chapter 7, which is a summary of the dissertation, concluded with some recommendations for possible future research and for improving the prototype curriculum material described in this study.

## CHAPTER I I

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter reviews literature that is pertinent to an understanding of multicultural education in the United States. Specifically, it

1. Traces the treatment of immigrants, particularly the so-called undesirable immigrants who entered the United States from the latter half of the nineteenth century onward.

2. Lists some of the critical factors that contributed to the negative self-development of ethnic-minority students and that gave rise to a demand for multicultural education.

3. Examines the various concepts and principles pertaining to different components of multicultural education.

Included here are postulations on multicultural education that were made in the development of the American Foundations course at Sequoia High School in Redwood City, California.

#### Treatment and Various Views of Immigrants to America

America has from its inception been a society of vast numbers of diverse immigrants, but at the beginning there were no significant ethnic-minority problems, because the immigrants had either blended with the dominant Anglo settlers or remained a submerged and ignored group. French, German, Scandinavian, and Dutch immigrants had assimilated under the Anglo-Protestant political authority. The many immigrants who arrived in the 1840s were also generally assimilated into the American

scene without significantly expressed hostility by the hosts toward the newcomers.<sup>1</sup> Before 1870, according to Itzhoff,

there was not much of a problem, because, except for the Irish Catholics, most of the other immigrants accepted the Anglo-Protestant culture of the indigenous elite. They were eager to place their children into those educational hands that represented this authority.<sup>2</sup>

As the lone exception, the Irish Catholics were viewed as a menace to American security. Protestants burned Catholic schools and convents, and led riots against them in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Starting in the 1850s, the Know-Nothings opposed entry of Catholics, especially those from Germany and Ireland, but the outbreak of the Civil War diverted their attention away from the Catholics.<sup>3</sup>

During the period 1870-1914, the surge of approximately twenty-six million immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe and from Asia generated a different kind of reaction from Americans. In general, these new immigrants were looked upon as inferior and undesirable. For instance, in 1907 the Dillingham Commission submitted a forty-two-volume report to Congress "proving" the inferiority of these immigrants. Among its allegations were that the Serbo-Croatians had "savage manners" and that the South Italians "had not attained distinguished success as farmers," and were "given to brigandry and poverty." As for the Poles, they were "verging toward the authoritarian race of Europe"--in short, all were "different in temperament and civilization from ourselves."<sup>4</sup>

Writers such as Madison Grant viewed the situation with alarm. The new immigrants, he wrote, were from the "weak, broken, and mentally crippled of all races drawn from the lowest stratum of the Mediterranean

basin and the Balkans, together with the hordes of the wretched, submerged population of the Polish Ghetto," and unless they were restricted, it would lead to the passing of a great race.<sup>5</sup>

The red-neck nativists were certain of the menace posed by the new-comers. The Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan asserted that

ominous statistics proclaim the persistent development of a parasitic mass within our domain. Our political system is clogged with foreign bodies which stubbornly refuse to be absorbed, and means must be found to meet the menace. We have taken into ourselves a Trojan horse crowded with ignorance, illiteracy, and envy.<sup>6</sup>

Even noted educator Ellwood Cubberly observed in 1909 that the new immigrants were "illiterate, docile, lacking in self-reliance and initiative," and as they did not possess "the Anglo-Teutonic conceptions of law, order, and government, their coming has served to dilute tremendously our national stock, and to corrupt our civic life." He believed that the only hope was to break up the ghettos, to assimilate these benighted souls, and "to implant in their children, so far as can be done," the Anglo-Saxon conceptions their parents then lacked, and "to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth."<sup>7</sup>

The call for restricting these unwelcome immigrants gained sufficient support to push Congress into passing several restrictive immigration laws. Though some of these were vetoed by Presidents Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson, an early law that succeeded was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (the Chinese were viewed as a "lesser moral race"), and later acts extended the exclusion until 1943. Similar local, state,

and national laws victimized not only the Chinese but the Japanese immigrants as well, though the latter were not usually specified as the targets.<sup>8</sup>

Of all the immigrants, the Chinese, who had contributed so much to building the West, in their work not only on the railroads but in many service and domestic industries, were subjected to the most vicious treatment: many were branded, mutilated, lynched, crucified, or massacred.<sup>9</sup> It was the misfortune of the early Japanese immigrants to come to America in large numbers in the 1890s, when a decidedly anti-Oriental atmosphere prevailed. They were subjected to many of the same injustices meted out to the Chinese. And in 1913, when they had become economic competitors in agriculture, California (and subsequently other western states) passed the Alien Land Law, which stated that aliens could not lease agricultural land beyond three years and that they could not bequeath lands they already owned or leased; an amendment in 1920 deprived aliens of all leasing rights. (The law was abolished in California in 1952 and in Washington in 1967).<sup>10</sup>

Among the many who condoned the exclusion policies was, surprisingly, President Wilson, who usually urged moderation. He was widely quoted as saying, in 1917:

In the matter of Chinese and Japanese coolie immigration, I stand for the policy of exclusion. . . . The whole question is one of assimilation of diverse races. We cannot make a homogeneous population of people who do not blend with the Caucasian race. . . . Oriental coolieism will give us another problem to solve and surely we have had our lesson.<sup>11</sup>

As for the schools, they served as a vehicle for Americanization of the immigrant children: their purpose was to assert Nordic



superiority and to persuade the children to completely abandon their ancestral culture and transform themselves into true-blue Americans. The assumption of those who operated the schools was very simple: "American culture was something already complete, which the newcomers must adopt in its entirety."<sup>12</sup>

Not all Americans, however, agreed with this simplistic Americanization policy. There were those who envisioned a new, ideal kind of assimilation pattern: a true melting down of every ethnic strain would occur and an entirely new cultural and biological blend would emerge. The first seed for the idea was planted by J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur in his famous Letters from an American Farmer, in which he described the American, the new man.

He is either an European, or the descendent of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world.<sup>13</sup>

Ralph Waldo Emerson envisaged a "new race, a new religion, a new state, a new literature" that would be constructed through "the energy of Irish, Germans, Swedes, Poles, and Cossacks, and all the European tribes,--of the Africans, and of the Polynesians."<sup>14</sup> Emerson's vision

of the new world was broader than Crèvecoeur's, whose new society was merely a composite of Western Europeans.

Israel Zangwill saw a divinely inspired Melting Pot. The protagonist in his 1908 drama, The Melting Pot, proclaims:

America is God's crucible, the great Melting Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and re-forming! . . . Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians--into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American. . . . Here shall they all unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God. . . . Ah, . . . what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem where all nations and races come to worship and look back, compared with the glory of American, where all races and nations come to labour and look forward.<sup>15</sup>

But to educators like John Dewey and Horace Kallen the Melting Pot theory was wrong. It was wrong because "the end result might be as foreign to the identity of any of the immigrant groups as if the goals of the nationalist groups were to prevail."<sup>16</sup> In 1916, John Dewey told an audience at the National Education Association conference that

no matter how loudly anyone proclaims his Americanism, if he assumes that any one racial strain, any one component culture . . . is to furnish a pattern to which all strains and cultures are to conform, he is a traitor to an American Nationalism. . . . I find that many who talk the loudest about the need of a supreme and unified American spirit really mean some special code or tradition to which they happen to be attached. They have some pet tradition which they would impose on all.<sup>17</sup>

Horace Kallen believed that the better alternative was to have the new immigrants share in the process of developing a more democratic society by allowing all people to retain their cultural heritage. He declared that "the American way is the way of orchestration," and elaborated:

As in an orchestra, the different instruments . . . contribute distinct and recognizable parts to the composition, so in the life and culture of a nation, the different regional, ethnic, occupational, religious and other communities compound their different activities to make up the national spirit. The national spirit is constituted by this union of the different. It is sustained, not by mutual exclusions, nor by the rule of one over others, but by their equality and by the free trade between these different equals in every good thing the community's life and culture produce. This is the relation that the Constitution established between the States of the Union; this is the relation that develops between the regions within the States and the communities within the regions. In all directions there obtains . . . a mutual give and take in equal liberty on equal terms. The result is a strength and a richness in the arts and sciences which nations of a more homogeneous strain and an imposed culture . . . do not attain.<sup>18</sup>

Kallen believed that his position was entirely in accordance with the traditional ideals of American political and social life, and that, indeed, any attempt to impose Anglo-Saxon conformity was a violation of those ideals. Further, he asserted that the process of competition, interaction, and creative relationship among all the cultures would bring a new spirit of harmony.<sup>19</sup>

Basically, supporters of Kallen's concept of cultural pluralism argued that "(1) the right of individuality derives from one's external and material conditions and also from one's cultural existence, and (2) it is impossible for society to exist under a system of enforced cultural homogeneity."<sup>20</sup>

The views of Kallen, Dewey, and others who advocated cultural pluralism were overwhelmed by the views of those who believed that the schools should continue to perpetuate the Anglo-Saxon conformity theory.

Seymour Itzkoff notes that the schools for the most part remained staunchly loyal to the traditional standardized curriculum and that the teachers continued to "transport" American standards onto the children, giving little or no attention to the children's inner world, which is such an important part of their lives. He adds that

the most obvious and regrettable aspect of the myopia of Anglo-Saxon nationalists was that they did not appreciate the practicability of absorbing such diversity into our society and its usefulness in creating more effective conditions for the sustenance of democracy. The various cultures that had been deposited on our shores might indeed provide a context for a richer life for the Anglo-Saxons themselves. Here was an opportunity to taste foreigners close at hand. Possibly they would return to their communities wiser, more tolerant, and innovative to the benefit of their own life style.<sup>21</sup>

#### The Sociocultural Bias of American Schools Today

In the 1880s the ethnocentric attitude of Americans toward the immigrants, particularly the "inferior" immigrants, was implanted into the school system, where the teachers largely served to remold the immigrants to conform to a single homogeneous model. Dickeman, an anthropologist, charges that, as a result of this policy, "American schools are racist by design." She asserts that because "the dominant elite opted for the perpetuation, indeed the creation of a homogeneous ruling class," the schools developed into a "mass system of public indoctrination," whose function was "to select those few, as needed, who possessed adequate loyalty and sufficient conformity in attitudes, values, behavior and appearance, to be adopted into the expanding middle class." The public school system has become, according to Dickeman, an

agency "whose function is indoctrination and control of all but the reliable elite."<sup>22</sup> She argues:

Any institution whose major clientele is the poor must, of course, be free and tax-supported. And as the prime screening agency in a society which demands a homogeneous elite, the public school system has, surely, to be institutionally, designedly racist. It could not be otherwise.<sup>23</sup>

Dickeman does not, however, mean to imply that either the perpetrators or the designers of the rigidly bureaucratic school system were or are consciously racist.<sup>24</sup>

The schools' functions included the propagation and perpetuation of the American ideology (many have called it mythology) which consisted of the following concepts:

1. America is a land of opportunity where the individual is given equal opportunity to acquire the necessary skills to rise to the level of his own innate ability and fulfill his potential for upward mobility.

2. An individual in America is judged on his own merits.

However, despite the expressed American credo, students have in reality been judged according both to the ideal "Nordic" physical traits (that is, blond, blue-eyed, and so on), and to the Anglo-Saxon Puritan ideal (that is, morally upright, individually responsible, inner-directed, rational, and so on). The more an individual or group deviated from this ideal model, the lower he or it ranked in the American social hierarchy.<sup>25</sup>

An examination of the public school curriculum confirms this delineation of the American ideology. Through the years, young people

have been taught that the prime architects of U.S. life and history are the "Nordic," Anglo-Saxon type Americans. They have learned the importance of white roots and European background, and thus have learned that the history of America is largely a record of the activities and achievements of a few "great" white men--which reinforces the Horatio Alger myth. The students have also learned that the few ethnic-minority persons who made valuable contributions were able to do so because they followed the white model.

Teachers have played an integral role in conveying the American mythology. Brookover and Erickson have found that, next to parents, teachers are the most "significant others" in children's lives.<sup>26</sup> The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has also recognized the pivotal role of the teachers:

The heart of the educational process is in the interaction between teacher and student. It is through this interaction that the school system makes its major impact upon the child. The way the teacher interacts with the student is a major determinant of the quality of education the child receives.<sup>27</sup>

Dickeman contends that because the teacher's main task "is not education but resocialization," teachers are selected on the basis of how well they are able to serve as models of the Anglo-Saxon, Puritan ideal that the students are supposed to aspire to. Further, she insists that "the personality of the institution is . . . related to the character of its teacher personnel," and she decries, as noted earlier, the "aura of rosiness" that pervades many schools and the conspicuous absence of "the ugly truths of life" in the standard curriculum.<sup>28</sup>

Numerous studies have verified Dickeman's charges. Banks, Gay, and Ryst, for example, have found that teachers' expectations and verbal behavior toward students were differentiated on the basis of social class, that is, racial and economic criteria; thus teachers "unwittingly help perpetuate a system of inequalities by reflecting in their behavior and attitudes the stereotypes and shortcomings of . . . society."<sup>29</sup> It is not surprising, then, that intergroup relations are little encouraged in the schools. Ferguson finds that teachers do not promote interaction between students of different racial and ethnic background.<sup>30</sup> Yet such interaction, according to Sachdeva, would have a positive effect on the feelings and attitudes of culturally diverse students if teachers made a deliberate attempt to bring these students together.<sup>31</sup> Aragon claims that educators have refused to recognize that cultural pluralism exists or even that it should exist:

There are cases where educators . . . , ranging all the way from professors of the liberal arts and education, school administrators, and up to primary teachers, have discounted pluralism by ascribing to culturally different . . . students . . . all kinds of demeaning terms . . . : culturally deprived and in extreme cases even culturally depraved.

In essence, we have absolved ourselves by stating that the problem belongs to the learner and that it is his responsibility to overcome it; that it is his responsibility to learn about me; that it is his responsibility to become an American.<sup>32</sup>

Aragon concludes that the true impediment to cultural pluralism is culturally deficient educators trying to teach culturally different children.

Bias in instructional materials. The textbook heavily influences both the teachers and the students. In fact, Hillel Black has found the textbook to be the basis of almost every curriculum, determining to an overwhelming extent what will be taught in the classroom.<sup>33</sup>

Many studies in the last ten years have shown that there were and still are gross inadequacies in social studies material and readers used in public schools, particularly in regard to the role and contributions of ethnic-minority people. Lamar Miller, for instance, reports that very few changes have been made in textbooks. In general, he asserts, they contain misleading implications or distortions, or omit the experiences and perspectives of ethnic-minority people. Miller found that instructional materials reflect neither our pluralistic society nor its common aspirations; they tend instead to reinforce a pattern of racist or separatist attitudes in our society.<sup>34</sup>

The Council on Interracial Books for Children has found that the dominant perspective of new U.S. history textbooks is that of the white, upper-class male, as exemplified by such widely used books as The American Experience, A Free People, The Pageant of American History, and Man in America. Although these textbooks contain some information about Third World cultures, they leave the impression that Third World people have been generally irrelevant to our history and that they lack a cultural heritage, "are definable only in terms of their relationship to white people, and are, therefore, inferior to whites." Further, by assuming that the United States is a true democracy, these books ignore the realities of the American political and economic systems, and



thereby refuse to recognize the economic exploitation of ethnic minorities and women. The result: "No group, no institution, no system seems to bear responsibility for these conditions. There are victims, but no victimizers; exploited, but no exploiters. Those who benefit from the system, and their profit motivations, are not explored." To the extent that they are discussed, "discrimination, racism, and sexism . . . are treated as aberrations, as isolated mistakes of the past," but "even these 'mistakes' are treated in a simplistic, casual manner which downplays their significance."<sup>35</sup>

Another study, which involved the examination of three hundred social studies textbooks used in the schools of Wisconsin, revealed that 75 percent did not even mention the Chinese. The remaining gave only a token representation--for example, a picture of an Asian (frequently in a interracial group of Americans) or perhaps a couple of lines noting the existence of urban Chinatowns that preserve "Oriental" customs, or a reference to the culinary and laundry skills of the Chinese. A mere 7.6 percent devoted several paragraphs, even several pages, to the Chinese. But the coverage was superficial and distorted because no significant historical and social information was presented to help students gain a realistic understanding of contemporary events and issues.<sup>36</sup>

In another study eleven Asian-American reviewers analyzed sixty-six children's books on the Asian-Americans, and noted similar types of distortions. They found:

1. Misrepresentation of Asian-American cultures, with emphasis on exotic festivals, costumes, and ancient superstitions.

2. Promotion of the myth of Asian-Americans as "model minority groups."

3. Perpetuation of the Horatio Alger myth that hard work, education, and a low profile will overcome adversity and lead to success.

4. Measurement of success according to the degree of assimilating white, middle-class attitudes and values.<sup>37</sup>

The project also found that most of the books about Asian Americans were written by white authors. Of the sixty-six books, a total of only eleven were written by seven Asian Americans. Not that the authorship necessarily assured the worth or the authenticity of the books. Although one Chinese-American author and one Japanese-American author did write books that satisfied the standards set by the reviewers, some books written by Asian Americans rank among the "most offensive" on their list.<sup>38</sup> This rating lends credence to the charge that Asian-American perceptions tend to be undermined by the myths and stereotypes perpetuated by white-American society. The reviewers are particularly critical of works by Betty Lee Sung and Jade Snow Wong, authors of two of the more popular books used in the schools. Of Sung's book, they write, "The Chinese in America is an insult to the Chinese American community. The author needs consciousness raising."<sup>39</sup> Of Wong's Fifth Chinese Daughter--a widely praised book that has been translated into eight languages and is regarded as the most financially successful book ever written by a Chinese American--the reviewers comment, "How unfortunate that the message it promotes is such a distortion of reality."<sup>40</sup> In the opinion of the reviewers, most of the children's books on Japanese Americans do no better for the Japanese and Japanese American image.<sup>41</sup>

U.S. history textbooks generally picture the Japanese as opportunistic, hard-working, and ambitious people who, by exercising patience and forbearance in the face of occasional discrimination, have gained economic success and made contributions to our society. The stereotypes of the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans are similar to those of other Asian immigrants: that is, docile and subservient to the ruling whites, they served as beasts of burden and were willing to work hard for low wages. The success of Japanese Americans is generally attributed to their adoption of Anglo-Saxon cultural traits.<sup>42</sup>

A highly distorted account, written by Asian-American authors, is Japanese-Americans: The Untold Story, a publication designed for use as a supplementary text in the California public schools.<sup>43</sup> Despite its initial favorable reception by many people, including the California Textbook Commission, the book eventually failed to win popular approval because of the tremendous opposition to it by a large number of Japanese Americans. They criticized it for the following reasons:

1. The story of Japanese Americans is taken out of context of the story of all ethnic-minority Americans, and the Japanese Americans are portrayed as if they were the sole contributing minority group in America.
2. The book gives the distinct impression that the Chinese immigrants were inferior to the Japanese and implies that the Chinese were responsible for the racism directed against the Japanese.
3. The book generally demeans the Japanese culture retained by the Japanese Americans and fails to deal meaningfully with the problems

and benefits of cultural diversity. The authors preach the "Anglo-conformity" pattern of assimilation.

4. The book perpetuates the stereotype of Japanese Americans as a "model minority" and suggests that the problem of racism lies with the minorities rather than with the racist attitude of the whites.

5. The text contains negative stereotypes of Buddhism and Shintoism as well as a highly inaccurate description of the persecution of the Christians in Japan. Other historical inaccuracies abound.<sup>44</sup>

It is highly unfortunate that there are so few books about Asian Americans. Miller contends, in fact, that omission is a favorite device of authors and publishers and contributes immensely to the perpetuation of stereotypes in the textbooks and children's books about Asian Americans.<sup>45</sup>

Consequences for ethnic-minority students. What were and are the consequences of American education--characterized by white-oriented curricula and instructions--on ethnic-minority students? Although it is difficult to assess the effect of education on a minority people separately from the effects of other agencies engaged in the socialization process, there is no doubt that the school plays a dominant role in personality development. In the case of the second-generation Japanese Americans (Nisei), American schools were, more than any other single force, responsible in molding their characters. According to Yatsuhiro,

It was in the American school environment that the Nisei came in direct contact with American culture. They responded eagerly to the relatively free and permissive school atmosphere which was in direct

contrast to the rigid family life they led. They were able to interact rather freely with the members of the majority group, and in doing so assimilated . . . traits of the majority culture.<sup>46</sup>

Simpson and Yinger note that social institutions such as schools are effective transmitters of cultural norms, including the "folkways of prejudice," because they are strongly defended by those who have profited from the institution and "are surrounded with ritual and an elaborate system of protective beliefs."<sup>47</sup> As a result, the expressed goals of the equality of all individuals in a democratic society and the right of individuals to be different are negated by the hidden school curriculum that informs the students otherwise. The schools tell the ethnic-minority students that they must give up whatever differences they possess, that their cultural heritage is irrelevant and must be discarded if they are to succeed. The schools also tell these students that physically the model American is a Nordic, Anglo-Saxon type, which informs them that any success they may achieve can only be partial: their rank will always be less regardless of how successfully they adopt the behavior, the attitudes, and the linguistic norm of the dominant group.<sup>48</sup>

As Simpson and Yinger point out, ethnic-minority students subjected to such contradictory messages becomes marginal: "They share the dominant culture to a significant degree, they absorb its aspirations, yet they are blocked from full participation."<sup>49</sup> The minority student is therefore beset with ambivalent feelings about his role, which heightens his sense of self-consciousness. And although this marginal status may help to develop positive traits, the minority student tends to

develop a sense of inferiority, which may take the form of self-hatred, egocentrism, withdrawal, or so-called aggressiveness. Confused by the lack of integrating values, he may become demoralized, lose incentive, and develop a sense of resentment.<sup>50</sup>

This low self-image and confusion are characteristic of Asian-American students. Japanese-American young people, for example, feel that their cultural heritage is irrelevant. Confused about their identity, unable to take pride in their heritage because they have learned nothing about it, too many of them believe that assimilation into white America is the only alternative left to them.<sup>51</sup>

The relatively few studies on the psychological development of Asian Americans generally agree that Japanese Americans have clearly acculturated toward "middle-class American" life. Not surprisingly, though, later generations have been found to be more assimilated than earlier generations.<sup>52</sup> Iga notes the well-nigh total acculturation of the Sansei (third generation):

Their [Sansei] desire to be assimilated appears to be so complete and their knowledge of Japanese culture so marginal that we cannot anticipate their return to traditional Japanese cultural interests. The only factor which prevents them from complete assimilation seems to be the combination of their physical visibility and racial prejudice on the part of dominant group members.<sup>53</sup>

Despite this strong bent toward assimilation, the Sansei possess many traits that are perceived as negative by Caucasian Americans. For example, Meredith and Meredith found

Japanese-American males are more reserved, more humble, more conscientious, and more regulated by external realities than Caucasian-Americans males.

Conversely, Caucasian-American males are more out-going, more assertive, more expedient, more venturesome, and more imaginative than Japanese-American males. Japanese-American females were found to be more affected by feeling, more obedient, more suspicious, more apprehensive than Caucasian-American females. Conversely, Caucasian-American females were found to be more emotionally stable, more trusting and more self-assured than Japanese-American females.<sup>54</sup>

Derald Sue has found that cultural racism has done a great deal of harm to Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans. Many students perceive Western personality characteristics to be more admirable than those of Asians. They start to find members of their own culture less desirable. Turning their hostility inward, they may exhibit racial self-hatred and consequently suffer from lowered self-esteem and intense cultural conflicts. Caught in an identity crisis, many of them feel isolated and alienated from both the Asian and the American culture.<sup>55</sup>

Further, Sue reports that, compared with Caucasians, Chinese- and Japanese-American college students "appear less autonomous and less independent from parental controls and authority figures. They are more obedient, conservative, conforming, and inhibited." They are thus inclined "to be cautious in directly expressing their impulses, feelings," seem to be "more socially introverted and will more often withdraw from social contact and responsibilities."<sup>56</sup> These findings reinforce those of Meredith, who reported that Sansei college students display more tenseness, apprehension, and suspicion than their white counterparts.<sup>57</sup>

In his study, Sue notes that both Chinese- and Japanese-American students have shown greater interest in skilled-technical trades and

physical sciences. Clearly, the emphasis has been on jobs that provide potentially greater survival value in a society that they perceive as prejudiced.<sup>58</sup>

These studies suggest that those Japanese Americans who have achieved academic success by conforming to the standards set by American schools apparently have not concomitantly developed the self-esteem, self-confidence, or pride in their family, community, or culture that might be expected.

A highly significant but often overlooked consequence of the skewed American education system is the miseducation of white students. Louise Miller contends that because white students are often unaware of the diverse nature of American society, they are not equipped with the attitudes and skills needed to live effectively in a culturally pluralistic society. They engage in stereotypic thinking and generally accept the negative images of Asian, black, Hispanic, and Native Americans.<sup>59</sup>

Likewise, Simpson and Yinger believe that the personality development of a prejudiced individual often goes unnoticed or unstudied. The twofold effects of prejudice and discrimination on an individual's personality are that he tends to lose contact with reality and develops "serious ambivalent, mutually contradictory views of life which cause [him] to be at odds with himself."<sup>60</sup> Thus, when a white person finds that his prejudice contradicts the democratic and Christian ideology with which he was brought up, he develops feelings of guilt, which are often projected onto the ethnic-minority group in the form of hostility and aggression. This sets off another round of guilt-hostility-aggression. This sets off another round of guilt-hostility-aggression.<sup>61</sup>



The costs of this vicious circle to the personality of the prejudiced individual, to our economy, and to our national welfare are enormous.

Simpson and Yinger conclude that

the greatest cost of discrimination is the loss of purpose and solidarity that are the strength of a people. This statement [by R.M. MacIver] may well sum up the whole question: "Whatever is distinctive about this country, its spiritual heritage, comes from the recognition and the liberation of the universal in man, transcending division and harmonizing differences. It is this heritage, exalting the rights and the liberties of men, more than anything else America must stand for if it stands for anything. It cannot stand on alien traditions but on this thing that is peculiar to its own being. Without that, we are spiritually impoverished, voiceless, and inarticulate before the world.<sup>62</sup>

### Multicultural Education in the United States

Evolution of multicultural education. The need for multicultural education was articulated in 1915 by Horace Kallen and his supporters, but its acceptance was notably slow. In the 1920s, there was the so-called human relations approach, which was based on the "concept of tolerance" and was primarily a defensive strategy aimed at counterbalancing the prevailing unicultural approach. It paid much attention to explaining the "cultural peculiarities" of ethnic-minority people. Highly moralistic in its appeal, it tried to reduce prejudice and discrimination by providing information about minorities--primarily blacks--to deficient individuals who were prejudiced.<sup>63</sup>

Support for multicultural education gained its greatest momentum in the 1960s, largely because of the social upheavals of that decade that exposed the deplorable state of schooling for the ethnic-minority

children and the racist practices prevailing in the schools. More clearly revealed now was the monocultural education that, in emphasizing the Anglo-conformity pattern, had done serious damage to the minds of ethnic-minority students.

The changes that took place at this time were characterized as the "interracial approach," which explored the problems of "disability and deprivation" in America. It generally affirmed black accomplishments in America, but the information presented was usually included as supplementary material or as a separate unit of study, and emphasized the celebration of events significant to the blacks, such as Negro History Week. In any case, this approach failed to teach the students to conceive of a world without "disability." So far-fetched did such a world seem that the possibility was not even discussed.<sup>64</sup>

Movement toward a more realistic multicultural education was given further impetus by a rising ethnic consciousness among white ethnic groups, especially those of working-class background, who were primarily reacting against the paternalistic attitudes of many middle-class WASPs toward them. Another impetus came from the feminist movement, which raised the issues of discrimination and low self-esteem that were in many respects similar to those raised by both white and nonwhite ethnic minorities.<sup>65</sup>

The latest and most widely used multicultural approach is the "human rights" approach. In essence, it presents group differences in an affirmative manner because its ideology is "universal equality."<sup>66</sup> It assumes that members of ethnic groups have the absolute right to define their own ethnic status. This right has been duly noted in a

statement on multicultural education by the Commission on Multicultural Education, which reads, "More important than the acceptance and support of these differences is the recognition of the right of these different cultures to exist."<sup>67</sup> Repression of the right of the ethnic individuals to make a choice about their ethnicity has generated hostility among many people. Both Scarpaci and Sizemore, for instance, lament the denial of this right and call for the recognition of ethnic persons as individuals so that the task of developing their "golden talents" can be accomplished.<sup>68</sup>

Advocates of the human rights approach, among them Ruth Benedict and Gunnar Myrdal, while endorsing the right of the individual to make a choice, have warned against the danger of becoming an "island unto itself."<sup>69</sup> Barbara Ward persuasively urges an understanding of the interdependent nature of the world today and stresses the need to focus on a common humanity. In writing about the extension of human rights to the international level, she writes:

We have become a single human community. Most of the energies of our society tend toward unity--the energy of science and technology changes, the energy of curiosity and research, of self-interest and economics, the energy--in many ways the most violent of them all--of potential aggression and destruction. We have become neighbors in terms of inescapable physical proximity and instant communication. We are neighbors in facets of industrialization and in the pattern of our urbanization. Above all, we are neighbors in the risk of total destruction.<sup>70</sup>

Margaret Mead feels that we can save our own special and diverse traditions "if we lay enough emphasis on what all these divided groups share: a future to which we must all commit ourselves with an increasing spirit of interdependence."<sup>71</sup>

Robert Suzuki's definition of multicultural education summarizes perhaps most succinctly the latest stage in the evolution of multicultural education. He calls for (1) a clearer delineation of the universal values in all cultures; (2) a change in social structure that would bring about a culturally pluralistic society--for example, elimination of centralized bureaucracies in favor of more localized self-sufficient communities; (3) school programs that include critical global issues and problems that confront all people; and (4) schools that inspire students toward a vision of an ideal society.<sup>72</sup>

Nature of multicultural education. Multicultural education is today an antithesis to the prevalent monocultural education. Monocultural education implies the supremacy of the middle-class WASP culture, while multicultural education is based on cultural pluralism. The statement by the Commission on Multicultural Education clearly underscores the basic difference between the two philosophies:

Multicultural Education is education which values Cultural Pluralism. . . . Multicultural Education recognizes cultural diversity as a fact of life in American society, and it affirms that this cultural diversity is a valuable resource that should be preserved and extended. . . . To endorse cultural pluralism is to endorse the principle that there is no one model American.<sup>73</sup>

The last sentence denotes direct opposition to the Nordic, or Anglo-Saxon, biological model of an American, as well to the Puritan values that are held to be the key to success and with which all children are indoctrinated. Multicultural education recognizes the positive potential residing in all cultures. Casteñada, for example, lists the characteristics of the Mexican-American culture, which, while different from

Anglo ones, provide equally valid values in aiding the development of the individual.<sup>74</sup> Similarly, Hsu clearly describes how the Chinese in America can contribute in bringing to fuller reality the American Dream.

For example:

Coming from a polytheistic heritage, the Chinese in China have never allowed religious belief or church affiliation to set one group of human beings against another. The Chinese in America . . . have by and large maintained this approach even though many of them are Christians . . . . They . . . ask themselves and their white friends whether being affiliated with a certain church or performing a certain ritual creates more unity among mankind or more division and strife.<sup>75</sup>

From another perspective, Eisenberg describes the positive tendencies found in the inner-city milieu that could also enhance people not residing in the inner city: "the loyalty and cohesiveness of the extended family, the freedom from competitive strife, the success in adapting to poverty, overcrowdedness, and filth, and the development of toughness and physical skills."<sup>76</sup>

In essence, multicultural education is an attempt to implement, more realistically and honestly than most current American education, the fundamental tenets of our society--that is, to espouse the dignity of all people, to respect the rights of the minority individual, and so forth, rather than to establish a contradictory system with double standards that heavily favor only one segment of the total population.

Monocultural education preaches the right of all individuals to make choices about their lives, but it fails to help students develop the intellectual tools and skills to make decisions. Instead, it generally exhorts students to memorize and to follow the teacher and the

curriculum without question or criticism. Advocates of multicultural education stress the liberation of passive learners from the kind of instruction Larry Cuban calls "white instruction."<sup>77</sup> Pettigrew, Kopan, and Friere all agree that one of the highest priorities of a truly meaningful education is the liberation of passive learners.<sup>78</sup> In particular, Friere states that education has been used to maintain a "culture of silence." That is, it has been used to imprison the oppressed and the powerless, and has imprisoned reality and truth as well. He believes that the liberation from passive learning will aid in the self-affirmation process of the oppressed, which is a necessary step toward humanization.<sup>79</sup>

In an effort to liberate students from the constraints of passive learning, many supporters of multicultural education plead for restoring a sense of reality to the curriculum. For example, Banks insists that teachers must not underestimate the strength of racism in school and urges that the subject of racism be confronted in the curriculum.<sup>80</sup> Gordon maintains that in U.S. history courses students must be taught the special historical circumstances of their lives through materials that provide them with vicarious experiences and must learn to develop the necessary skills to analyze personal and social needs.<sup>81</sup> Chun-Hoon calls for inclusion of ethnic-minority perspectives and experiences in the curriculum to provide a more realistic frame of reference. He therefore presses for accurate teaching material shorn of all the stereotypes, inaccurate facts, and distorted images that mar most current learning materials.<sup>82</sup>

To help develop more active learners, supporters of multicultural education also encourage interaction between individuals and between groups. In Hilliard's view, the focus of teaching must be on the "dynamics of person-with-person interaction," which would provide a direct experience to the students.<sup>83</sup> Both Scarpaci and Casteñada advocate the use of comparative methods to provide students with a framework for interaction as well as an opportunity for them to develop their analytic skills.<sup>84</sup>

Learning strategies, however, can only be as effective as the teachers who are responsible for using them. Grambs points out that teachers are the most essential catalysts, "the hot stove" that must create the right teaching moment. But she notes that teachers generally do not receive training in human relations and that there has been very little change in our curriculum because they lack the incentive and the personal initiative to make the critical changes.<sup>85</sup> Dickeman charges that most teachers are racists, not necessarily by design but because they have been selected primarily on the basis of their willingness to help inculcate the values represented in the present monocultural curriculum.<sup>86</sup> They must, she says, first understand themselves and their attitudes toward other people, for

without this recognition and acceptance of self, the teacher will remain unable to communicate to his class or to the surrounding community the respect necessary for the creation of contact between life and learning. . . . Only through the recognition of his or her own alienation, his own family tragedies and achievements, can the teacher make valid contact with those of others.<sup>87</sup>

Recognition of the critical role of teachers has resulted in increased demands to include in-service training for teachers as an

important component of multicultural education. As noted earlier, initial in-service programs emphasized the retraining of prejudiced teachers and essentially consisted of providing them with information that would help them "tolerate" the "inferior" minority people and culture. In the 1960s, with increased pressure from the ethnic-minority people, in-service programs were designed to encourage all teachers to confront themselves, and various forms of sensitivity-training programs became popular.

But many multicultural education supporters, such as Banks, do not feel that such training is adequate.<sup>88</sup> Rubin generally agrees that in-service programs which are "corrective" in nature and aimed at the teachers isolated from students are not effective. He gives some of the reasons for poor in-service programs in the past: (1) they were too prescriptive and insulted the teacher's intelligence, (2) they were not designed to suit the individual teaching style or take into account the peculiarities of a particular classroom, or were simply too vague to be of use; (3) they "dealt with lofty conceptions rather than with the fundamental skills of teaching"; and (4) they "tended to focus on temporal fads of the moment rather than on the basic problems of the classroom world."<sup>89</sup> According to Rubin, there have been relatively few effective in-service programs because well-planned and well-organized programs have not been designed.<sup>90</sup> An in-service program that introduces a multicultural program in a school is, however, more likely to succeed than one that aims to correct individual teachers.

In summary, multicultural education attempts to fulfill the American Dream promised in the Declaration of Independence and our



Constitution, a dream that has been seriously distorted and restricted by the present educational system. The premise of multicultural education is that the dream can be attained by all people regardless of their biological, ethnic, and geographical backgrounds. It demands the removal of all racist and ethnic perspectives that pervade our WASP-oriented system. It urgently calls for changes in the total system to help students cope with and live creatively in a culturally and ethnically diversified society--the world to which they belong.

Current status of multicultural education. In 1975 Washburn noted that 280 out of 715 public school districts in the United States with more than 10,000 students reported that they were attempting to enhance cultural understanding through some form of multicultural education.<sup>91</sup> However, the brief report did not reveal the nature of these multicultural programs nor their scope. A similar vagueness characterizes many of the multicultural programs in California. For instance, in 1980 this author contacted the following places requesting information pertaining to any multicultural programs under their jurisdiction: (1) California State Department of Education, (2) Berkeley Unified School District, (3) Cupertino Unified Elementary School District, (4) Palo Alto Unified School District, (5) San Francisco Unified School District, (6) San Jose Unified High School District, (7) San Mateo Unified High School District, (8) San Mateo County Office of Education, and (9) Santa Clara Office of Education. Four sent written responses, and five responded verbally.<sup>92</sup> Of the two county Office of Education people who responded verbally, one reported that there was no significant

multicultural program in the county schools; the second reported a heavy schedule of in-service programs for teachers.

Each school district mentioned above has more than 10,000 students under its jurisdiction. Only the Berkeley Unified School District reported having a district-wide multicultural curriculum.<sup>93</sup> The others responded that individual teachers were encouraged to include multicultural material in their classes. In all cases, however, the respondents admitted that there was no effective system established to determine whether the teachers were actually doing so. All the administrators contacted reported having numerous multicultural unit and/or course guides, but they did not know to what extent these were being utilized by the teachers. A few schools offered elective ethnic classes (for example, the English Department at San Mateo High School, San Mateo, was offering a Black Literature course). One of the more interesting programs in the Berkeley Unified School District was the projected three-semester multicultural U.S. History course at the high school level.<sup>94</sup>

There was a marked difference between the responses of the administrators and those of teachers. All the administrators except one gave highly optimistic reports about their multicultural program, but they failed to give any details about what went on in the classrooms. Generally, they "supported" their roseate reports with statements like "The implementation is left up to the discretion of each teacher," or "We have no way or means to find out whether multicultural material is actually being utilized in the classrooms."<sup>95</sup>

In sharp contrast to the administrators in charge of multicultural programs, the teachers in all the districts gave answers ranging from

"There is almost no multicultural program" to "We are mostly concerned with teaching of basic skills and 'regular' courses and have very little time for multicultural material," to "I would personally like to include some multicultural material but I am not getting any practical material or help from administrators."<sup>96</sup>

All the teachers reported participation in some in-service program concerned with multicultural education, but generally they felt that the programs were poorly designed and organized. Their responses coincided with Rubin's findings cited earlier.<sup>97</sup>

The results of this highly informal survey are much like those reported by Caliguri and Levine in 1970 for a similar survey. In summing up, they wrote:

The first and most general conclusion to be drawn from this survey of inter-ethnic materials available or in use among suburban school districts is obvious. While some teachers have made a good start and are working diligently toward improving the teaching of intergroup and interracial relations, the situation from classroom to classroom and school to school is very uneven. The second general conclusion supported by this study is that at present among suburban school districts there is typically very little support for teachers and administrators who are trying (or might be willing) to utilize more and better inter-ethnic materials for intergroup relations education. Only a few districts have written policies encouraging teachers to use these materials, and fewer still have developed administrative procedures to ensure that inter-ethnic materials receive adequate attention.<sup>98</sup>

### Summary

The studies cited in this chapter reveal that multicultural education in the United States has traveled slowly on a very uneven road

under extremely difficult and discouraging conditions. Although the idea of cultural pluralism was introduced by Horace Kallen in 1915, it was almost fifty years before it began to be incorporated into our schools. Positive changes were made at a greater pace from the 1960s, essentially through wider circulation of the concept of cultural pluralism and pressures exerted on the schools to remedy some of the more deplorable conditions that confronted the ethnic-minority students. Critical problems have been identified but actual work toward easing or ameliorating these problems has been very slow. Laws have mandated the inclusion of multicultural material into the curriculum, and in-service training for teachers to help them implement multicultural programs, but results have been less than impressive. Many of the changes instituted have been cosmetic in nature, ill-conceived, and poorly organized.

At present, certain political and economic trends have tended to constrict the possibility of enhancing multicultural education (for example, the tax revolt that affected all the schools in California), and the "back to basics" movement has also discouraged the positive growth of multicultural education.<sup>99</sup> On the other hand, recent awareness by white ethnics and American women of their subordinate status has led to strong movements for changes in many social institutions, including our schools, and this may help counterbalance the negative trend in multicultural education. Certainly, the potential to exert strong and positive pressure is there.

It is necessary to be aware of emerging trends and to anticipate and possibly prepare for potential problems that may reverse the course

of multicultural education. But it is also extremely important to sustain whatever progress has been made so that it can serve as a basis for greater growth.

## C H A P T E R I I I

### A CASE STUDY OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN A SUBURBAN HIGH SCHOOL

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the mandatory multicultural social studies component of the U.S. History course required of all junior students at Sequoia High School in Redwood City, California. The chapter traces the events leading to the development of this course, first as an elective course and later as a mandatory one. It also reviews the approach taken by the curriculum designers and describes the assumptions underlying their approach, as well as the concepts that formed the basis of the course. Instructional materials used in the unit are briefly described. The section on how the basic concepts and generalizations developed for this course can be used to develop multicultural materials in other subject areas. Finally, the history and the format of the in-service training of the district's certificated and classified staff are presented.

#### Early Beginnings: Desegregation and Ethnic Studies

The Sequoia Union High School District, which covers approximately 100 square miles, includes the communities of Belmont, San Carlos, Redwood City, Woodside, Portola Valley, Menlo Park, East Palo Alto, and Atherton. Some 10,835 students of these communities attend six high schools: Sequoia, Carlmont, San Carlos, Woodside, Menlo-Atherton, and Ravenswood.

The district began to feel the need for desegregation during 1961-1962 with the rapid growth of a black population concentrated primarily

in East Palo Alto, Menlo Park, and Redwood City. The district faced the problem of racial imbalance in the high schools almost from the time that Ravenswood High School opened in East Palo Alto. It opened with a minority student population of only 20 percent, but by fall 1963 the number had increased to nearly 50 percent. In September 1963, the Sequoia Union High School District Board adopted its first policy on desegregation in the district,<sup>1</sup> but no action was taken to implement the recommendations.

In May 1967, civil rights workers and parents in East Menlo Park and East Palo Alto made several demands of the board, including the hiring of personnel to maintain control of the campuses when racial incidents flared up.<sup>2</sup> In fall, there was a racial outbreak at Menlo-Atherton High School when the board curtailed bus service to students beyond a 1½-mile limit, which excluded rides for about 150 students from East Palo Alto.<sup>3</sup> The District Intergroup Relations Consultant reported that the racial outbreak was also a result of pressure for reforms, with protesters demanding "more Negroes be hired by the district, an end to discrimination, and teaching of Black History courses."<sup>4</sup> Later that year, the Black Students Union at Menlo-Atherton High School made a number of demands, among them "a Black History course, reinstatement of the bus service, and hot food service."<sup>5</sup> At this time, a citizens' group known as the Citizens United for Relevant Education (CURE) proposed desegregation of all schools by permitting no more than a 5 percent difference in minority students' enrollment between any two schools and insurance of "true integration," which meant "not just a redistribution of

students" but "recruitment and hiring of black teachers and staff," training of all teachers and administrators, and use of "textbooks showing the diversity of cultural and ethnic backgrounds."<sup>6</sup>

Black students also showed their dissatisfaction. In fall 1968, black students at Ravenswood occupied the administration building and forced the resignation of a white principal. The local newspaper described the student occupation as a "rejection of the goal of integration by some East Palo Alto and Belle Haven [East Menlo Park] residents because of the district's inaction, the rise of Black power and the feeling that the white community rejects the Black community's desire for integration."<sup>7</sup>

Immediately following the racial outbreak the board declared that "dealing with the Negro minorities in the district was and will be the board's number one concern," and it announced a plan to adopt desegregation by 1970 that, it hoped, would be instituted in fall 1971. The public expressed disapproval of the plan by rejecting a \$13 million bond issue and voting out two incumbent board members who had supported the desegregation plan.<sup>8</sup>

In fall 1969, a student protest erupted at Sequoia Union High School, the district's oldest and most integrated school, when the board announced a cutback of bus service again. Classes were suspended for two days to allow students to express their concerns and also to offer positive alternatives to the school's problems.<sup>9</sup> Bus service was restored by the board, but the black teachers at Sequoia submitted six demands for changes in the school. They called for recruitment of black counselors; recruitment of a black physical education teacher; more active roles for



black teachers in developing curriculum; "dispensing of funds and grants relative to ethnic studies and courses designed for Black studies"; the "implementation of Black literature within the English Department as an integral part of the course in American literature"; and "the compulsory attendance of all teachers at in-service sensitivity programs."<sup>10</sup>

On 2 June 1970, the Superior Court of San Mateo County ordered desegregation of the district's schools in the settlement of Dorothy Sanders v. Board of Trustees of the Sequoia Union High School.<sup>11</sup>

While the desegregation bus plan dominated much of the attention of the board, the school authorities, and the public, very few curricular changes were being made to satisfy the demands of the black students and teachers. In 1965, the Social Studies Coordination Committee of the district had adopted a course titled "African in World Affairs" as a permanent elective offering at the twelfth-grade level.<sup>12</sup> At the same meeting, a proposal was made to hold a Social Studies Summer Workshop to formulate teaching units on the subject "The Negro and Other Minority Groups in United States History." Specifically, it called for the development of supplementary units to be used with a U.S. history textbook, and coverage of such topics as "The Negro and the Law," "The Negro and the Family," "Economic Problems of Minority Groups," "Segregation and Negro Revolution," and "Minorities in California."<sup>13</sup>

It was not until two years later that the Coordination Committee took another step. In 1957, the committee endorsed a plan to develop a new course on the Negro, which was submitted by the District Intergroup Relations Consultant. The group also recommended that the U.S. History course include units and references to the "Contributions of Minority

Groups as They Relate to U.S. History." <sup>14</sup> A year later, the superintendent approved of the Coordination Committee's proposal to include in the district's offering a pilot senior elective semester course on "The Negro in American Society," which was later changed to "The Negro in the Americas." The proposed pilot course was to begin in fall 1968. <sup>15</sup>

Any changes made in the curriculum were made to accommodate the black community, but in 1967 the Sequoia High School Social Studies Department urged the Coordination Committee to discuss the urgent needs of the Mexican-American students in the district. The committee endorsed the department's proposal to provide a bilingual social studies course at Sequoia. <sup>16</sup>

In 1970, two prominent Mexican-American leaders called for an end to "cultural arrogance." They looked beyond the desegregation-by-busing issue to reforms in the schools' curricula, declaring, "It isn't enough to integrate physically. Curriculum must be changed so that cultural differences instead of cultural supremacy are taught." <sup>17</sup>

By fall 1970 several ethnic studies courses were being offered in the district's schools. Sequoia High School, for example, offered the following U.S. History quarter courses with strong ethnic emphasis: Mexican-American Relations; Black Man in White America; Minorities in American History; The Frontier Legend and Reality; and Social History of the United States. These courses were in addition to other multi-cultural courses and units that had been offered since the early 1960s. They included units on East Asian History, the Middle East, and Africa in a mandatory World Backgrounds course, as well as the semester courses titled "International Relations" and "East Asian Affairs." <sup>18</sup>

### Establishment of a Mandatory Multicultural U.S. History Course

In summer 1969, the writer developed an elective U.S. History quarter course titled "Ethnic Minority People in the United States." This course was designed to meet the expressed concerns of some of the students in school. These concerns were:

1. The Social Studies Department was responding only to the demands of the blacks and Mexican-American communities and not meeting the needs of students of other ethnic groups.

2. The existing ethnic courses were too narrow in approach because they were primarily a recitation of injustices perpetrated against ethnic-minority people and did little to unravel the complexities of ethnicity in our society or to help students develop a positive and beneficial interaction with members of other ethnic groups.

3. Interaction among students in the classrooms was made more difficult by the preponderance of ethnic-minority students in multi-ethnic classes; that is, most of the students in the "Black Man in White America" class were black, although more white students signed up for the course than was anticipated. Similarly, most of the students in the Mexican-American History class were Chicanos and Chicanas.<sup>19</sup>

The concerns of these students accurately revealed the shortcomings of many of the early ethnic courses that were hastily developed to meet the demands of a particular ethnic group. As James Banks recently noted:

Most ethnic studies programs have been formulated on the tenuous assumptions that ethnic content is needed primarily by ethnic minorities, and that a

particular minority group should focus on the problems and contributions of the particular minority group found in the local school or district. These assumptions, while widespread, are myopic and intellectually indefensible, and relegate ethnic minority studies to an inferior status in the school curriculum.<sup>20</sup>

The newly developed elective course, Ethnic Minority People in the United States, began in fall 1970 at Sequoia High School. The overwhelming proportion of the students who enrolled in the class were white. At the end of the quarter almost all the students requested that the course be continued for another quarter. An additional class was formed to accommodate the large numbers of students who signed up for the course. At the end of the semester, these students petitioned the Social Studies Department to have the course considered a mandatory offering for all junior students. The department agreed to explore the possibility of doing so.

In addition to this positive student response, another factor that strongly influenced the final decision of the department was the existence of two state education codes pertaining to social studies. One of these codes, California State Education Code 8573, states:

No pupil shall receive a diploma of graduation from grade 12 who has not completed the course of study and met the standard of proficiency in basic skills such as will enable individual achievements and ability to be ascertained and evaluated. Requirements for graduation shall include:

- (a) English
- (b) American History
- (c) American Government
- (d) Mathematics
- (e) Science
- (f) Physical Education, unless the pupil has been exempted to the provision of this code
- (g) Such other courses as may be prescribed<sup>21</sup>

The second code is less known by the teachers and has received far less attention from educators. This code, California State Education Code 8576, states:

Instruction in Social Sciences shall include the early history of California and a study of the role and contributions of American Negroes, American Indians, Mexicans, persons of Oriental extraction, and other ethnic groups to the economic, political and social development of California and the United States of America.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, bolstered by these two state codes and by positive student response, the Sequoia Social Studies Department initiated a pilot Ethnic Studies course as part of a required U.S. History course. Conceived as a survey course for all students, it would serve as a prerequisite for other U.S. history courses that were offered on an elective basis. The title of the course was changed in January 1971 from "Ethnic Minority People in the United States" to "American Foundations, A Survey of the Development of American Culture." In choosing their electives, students were required to take any of the following quarter courses:

Chronological History of the United States  
 Social History of the United States  
 History of Media in the United States  
 Black Man in White America  
 Leisure in the United States  
 Mexican-U.S. Relations  
 Minorities in the United States  
 The Frontier Legend and Reality  
 Utopia  
 Diplomatic History of the United States

The table below shows the general framework of the one-year mandated eleventh-grade U.S. History course during 1969-1970 and 1970-1971.

	<u>1969-1970</u>	<u>1970-1971</u>
First Quarter	elective one	American Foundations
Second Quarter	elective two	elective one
Third Quarter	elective three	elective two
Fourth Quarter	elective four	elective three

### Assumptions Underlying the American Foundations Course

In attempting to meet the demands of the ethnic-minority communities as quickly as possible, the teachers in the district followed essentially the pattern established by colleges and universities where various ethnic-minority courses were being introduced. There was virtually no effort by the district administrators and teachers to determine whether the approach taken at the college level was feasible for the secondary level. There was no agreed-on definition of multicultural education to give any kind of direction to teachers involved in introducing multicultural material into the curriculum. Many teachers, however, expressed their opinions about multicultural education. The prevailing view seemed to be represented by the following statement by the chairperson of one of the social studies departments in the district.

In a newspaper interview, this teacher declared that she favored a multicultural approach that called for a trained English and social studies teacher to

weave into the regular course content discussion of values which will cause majority students to examine their own attitudes. The English teacher teaching "Huckleberry Finn" will ask the students not only how Huck and Mark Twain felt about Blacks, but how they feel about them. Optimistically, if the student concludes that he hates Blacks, he'll begin to think about it, tell himself it isn't good to hate and

change this attitude. Emphasizing minority contributions in class does nothing for the feelings around the dining room table. The Black the students deal with in life isn't Martin Luther King, but perhaps he's the guy who comes to class late and never gets punished. That is the kind of feeling that has to be dealt with if the purpose is to get people to live together. The popular feeling has been that if we learn all about the culture of minorities we will love them. We've tried it for 10 years and it doesn't work.

I think we have come to a multicultural approach to world history, which used to concentrate on Egypt, Greece, Rome, France and England and what we white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant Americans took from each. Now we stress similarity of all men by studying how the same problems which face all men have been solved in different ways in different parts of the world. Religious and political philosophies are compared. With that kind of approach, the Jewish kid taking the day off on Jewish New Year ceases to become a freakish event. We offer minority electives every year and never get enough enrollment for a class. It's a majority world we live in and if a minority person is really interested in learning about minorities, there is a wealth of material available for him to do so.<sup>23</sup>

This person clearly expressed her concern for developing a relevant multicultural curriculum, but embedded in her statement are paternalistic assumptions that contradict and obstruct the development of a cogent multicultural curriculum. Her assumptions about multicultural education seem to be:

1. Prejudice and discrimination can, it is hoped, be solved by having the students confront their own feelings as well as those of ethnic minorities. The corollary is that a white student can understand the feelings of the ethnic minorities.
2. Despite the numbers of outstanding ethnic-minority people, most of the ones the white students meet are generally involved in

discipline problems and largely go unpunished. (This is a variation of the theme that ethnic-minority cultures are inferior to the white culture in America.)

3. There is no distinction between the root culture and the ethnic-minority people's culture in America.

4. Any study of ethnic culture should be only for ethnics and should be separate from the regular curriculum.

Two additional comments often made about multicultural education were that (1) it would lead to fragmentation of the school population (another variation on the cultural deficiency of the ethnic minorities) and (2) teaching ethnic-minority history will tend to bring out only the negative aspect of white Americans.

These views seems to reflect the kind of posture Freire noted in his work, Pedagogy of the Oppressed:

Pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism) and makes of the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression.<sup>24</sup>

Like other teachers in the district, the Sequoia High School social studies teachers did not have an agreed-on definition of multicultural education, but in developing the American Foundations course they tentatively accepted the author's definition at that time, which was as follows:

Multicultural education is an education which will aid the development of a positive self-image in all individuals by encouraging understanding of their ethnic and cultural heritage as well as those of others, and help preserve the ethnic cultures that make up our society. It is a program that recognizes



the pluralistic nature of our society and deepens the awareness that each of the ethnic groups has and will continue to contribute to our society. It reaffirms and extends our democratic tradition to respect and accept the right of all individuals to be different. Finally, it is a program to help the individual extend his range of competencies by enabling him to acquire the necessary power to fulfill his own needs as well as those of the society.

The author formulated this definition after considering both the views expressed by the students regarding the ethnic-minority courses that were added to the curriculum and the previously mentioned comments of the teachers on multicultural education. The views agreed on by the Sequoia teachers were:

1. America is a culturally diverse nation, and this must be reflected in our curriculum.
2. Cultural diversity is an aspect of our right to be different and one of the integral parts of our democratic society.
3. Development of cultural pluralism in our school will help increase the ability of all students to lead a productive life in a culturally diverse society.
4. Multicultural education will enhance the self-image of all students and can foster a positive appreciation of all ethnic cultures.
5. Learning about different ethnic cultures can help limit or arrest racism in our schools.
6. Multicultural education can guide all students to an awareness of the factors that led to the distortions of our democratic ideals, and the most critical strategy to correct these distortions is to help all students develop the attitude and the power needed to redirect our efforts toward our ideals.

### Goals of the Course

The most pressing problems in school and in the curriculum as perceived by the Sequoia social studies teachers became the focal point in determining the goals for the American Foundations course. Naturally, the teachers realized both their own and the school's limitations in trying to ameliorate problems that confront the entire society. So the main emphasis of the course was placed not only on helping the students recognize the significance of the assimilation issue and the serious social problems it has caused but also on enabling them to motivate themselves and develop skills to cope with some of the major problems and issues, such as the following:

1. Alienation of many of the students from the various established customs and standards of the school and society. At Sequoia the students' alienation was reflected in such demands as changes in dress codes, in the curriculum, and in board policies, and a say in the hiring and firing of teachers and administrators.

2. Racism as evidenced in the de facto segregation in the communities within the Sequoia Union High School District and the reluctance of the voters to accept mandated desegregation, as noted earlier in this chapter.

3. Lack of awareness on the part of many Americans, including those in schools, that our society is indeed multiethnic and multicultural.

4. Lack of knowledge on the part of the vast majority of the American people of the impact of ethnicity in our lives, the result

being covert attitudes of condescension and paternalism toward members of ethnic-minority groups.

5. Lack of awareness of the gap that exists between the ideals expressed in our Constitution and Declaration of Independence on the one hand and the denial of equality to ethnic-minority groups on the other.

6. Confusion over the definition of the term "American culture."

7. Failure of our society and schools to acknowledge the cultural differences that exist among us and to foster attitudes of respect for and appreciation of cultural differences.

8. Inability of our educational system to teach the specific skills needed by students to cope with the problems in our society.

The goals of the course, which were formulated after an intensive but short discussion, were to stress:

1. Our basic traditions pertaining to the preservation and protection of the dignity of all individuals.
2. The meaning of ethnicity in our society and the historical assimilation patterns that have taken place.
3. The relationship of ethnicity to the development of one's own identity as a human being.
4. Cultural differences and similarities.
5. The unique and significant contributions to life in the United States that each ethnic group has made.
6. The patterns of oppression that have marred our own group interrelationships.

7. The necessity to develop skills to solve problems and work toward actualizing our ideals.

### Outline of the Course

The translation of the goals into actual teaching of the course was a major task, but the framework of the course was bounded by the selection of the following topics.

INTRODUCTORY UNIT. The Individual and the Constitution and the Individual under the Assimilation Pattern in the United States

1. The Bill of Rights and its protection of the right of individuals to be different
2. Assimilation theories:
  - a. "Melting Pot" theory
  - b. Cultural pluralism
  - c. Anglo-conformity
3. Anglo-conformity and the ethnic-minority people

#### Unit 1. Identity Problems of American Youth

1. White Americans
2. Native Americans
3. Black Americans
4. Latino-Americans
5. Asian Americans

The particular ethnic groups in the course were selected on the basis of the state code, which enumerated the specific ethnic groups to be included in the social studies units and courses.

Unit 2. Cultural Characteristics and Values of Ethnic Groups  
in the United States

Attitudes toward:

1. Work
2. Family and family members
3. Community and education (school)
4. Nature
5. Other people (ethnic groups)

Unit 3. Patterns of Oppression

1. Separation of society by racial factors
2. Maintenance of boundaries between whites and non-whites
3. Economic, political, and social factors behind the oppression

Unit 4. Contributions of Ethnic Groups

1. Contributions of the past
2. Government actions

The introductory topic was chosen to help the students understand that the U.S. Constitution sets the ideals of our society and that our history is an actual record of our efforts to broaden the concepts of equality, the rights of individuals, and freedom. Although the relationship between the study of the Constitution and the study of ethnic groups would seem obvious, very few multicultural curricula seem to compel students to examine or reexamine the foundations of our beliefs so as to heighten their understanding of the meaning and value of

democracy. Gordon got to the crux of the problem when, several years ago, he pointed out that

it is correct to say that the American political and legal system recognizes no distinction among its citizens on grounds of race, religion, or national origin. From the legal point of view, there are simply 190 million discrete American individuals, most of them citizens, involved in kinship and marriage relationships and falling into age categories which have some legal relevance, but whose communal life as Negroes, Jews, Catholics, or Protestants, insofar as it exists, is, broadly speaking, a matter of formal indifference to the body politic and is not recognized or delineated by law. This means that the social outlines of racial, religious, and national groupings in the United States are more or less invisible; they must be inferred from either casual or scientific observation of the social relationships, communal organizations, and community institutions which make up American community life. Their existence, then, though in a sociological sense distinctly real, is formally unrecognized and thus tends to be obscured from accurate appraisal. What emerges in the public mind is a collection of vague perceptions and half-truths about the nature of the communal life of groups other than one's own. Many of these imperfect perceptions and the lack of understanding of the nature of American group life in general constitute fertile soil, it may be presumed, for the growth of prejudiced attitudes.<sup>25</sup>

The topic "Identity Problems of American Youth" was selected as an area of study not only for reasons expressed earlier but also for reasons that extend beyond our school district. As Eric and Mary Josephson explain: Western man is "confused as to his place in the scheme of a world growing each day closer yet more impersonal, more densely populated, . . . in face-to-face relations more dehumanized." In "sympathy with unknown masses of men," he is fundamentally alienated even from his nearest neighbors. "Mechanized, routinized, made comfortable as an object," he has been "displaced and thrown off balance as a

subjective creator and power." At the core of the definition of alienation is "the idea that man has lost his identity or 'selfhood.'" Thus the problem of self-alienation implicitly or explicitly assumes that "in each of us there is a 'genuine' . . . or 'spontaneous' self which we are prevented from knowing or achieving." The self-alienated person, is being "cut off from groups of which he would otherwise be a part," is thereby "deprived of some part of himself."<sup>26</sup>

The topic "Cultural Characteristics and Values of Ethnic Groups" was selected because the previous curriculum had rarely examined the significance of the values and attitudes of particular ethnic groups except to mention those whose values contrasted most sharply with "middle-class values." The life styles and values of ethnic groups were seldom depicted in positive terms, and implicitly conveyed the message that middle-class values were the paragon of virtues. Though it is true that in many ethnic-minority courses the negative aspects of middle-class culture have been emphasized, a realistic portrayal of ethnic cultures cannot be achieved by rationalizing which "side" is more justified in its bias. Psychologist Leon Eisenberg warns against confusing human differences with human defects and suggests that the positive virtues of so-called disadvantaged groups be capitalized in the classroom. As he puts it:

Some inner city children show positive attributes that we don't succeed in conveying to ours. Let me make it clear: I don't mean to suggest that the inner city child is a paragon of all virtue.

I'm calling attention to the positives because they're so often overlooked, but I don't suggest these children are without their difficulties.<sup>27</sup>

The social studies teachers realized that the absence of balanced material--material presenting the negative as well as the positive aspects of ethnic groups--leads to distorted views. They therefore decided to make a conscious effort to present more realistic descriptions of the cultural characteristics and values of the ethnic groups.

In a further effort to design a more realistic program, the teachers developed a specific unit, "Patterns of Oppression," to help students understand the pervasive and invidious effects of oppression on both the majority and the minority population. Rather than concentrate on specific acts of discrimination and injustice, the teachers decided to analyze the patterns of oppression, that is, the conditions that lead to excesses such as the near extermination of Jews in Europe and the "relocation" of the Japanese Americans in the United States during World War II. Daniels and Kitano's perceptive work American Racism offers the basis for taking this approach:

The major assumption in our perspective on race relations rests on a two-category system. By "two-category" we mean a system of stratification that is divided into two broad categories: the white and the nonwhite. . . .

Our perspective emphasizes the primary importance of the development and defense of the boundaries--the separation between whites and nonwhites--as the key factor in race relations. For within the parameters of the two-category model, the development of the boundaries--the built-up feeling of what is considered one's own territory, of what are considered one's rights and prerogatives as white men--can lead to a defensive position that results in extreme solutions. And the reasons for both defensive reactions and extreme solutions are symbolized by remarks such as, "They're taking my job," "They're moving next door to me," or, "Do you want your daughter to marry one?"--extremely effective sentences because they can be personalized.



We believe that in racial relations drastic measures such as genocide, apartheid, and concentration camps flow from an initial attempt to maintain separation. Therefore, there is a logical development to actions that were initially motivated by a desire to maintain the "superiority" of one group over the other and to maintain the boundaries between them.<sup>28</sup>

The unit "Contributions of the Ethnic-Groups" was included to encourage the students, especially the ethnic-minority students, to develop a more positive self-image by appreciating the contributions made by specific individuals in a particular ethnic group or by the group collectively. The usual approach of listing the names of "great" individuals was less emphasized than the potential contributions that each person can make by finding practical alternatives to the problems confronting our nation. It was felt that such an approach would be the most effective one because the contributions of ethnic groups lie not only in their physical labors and skills but in their participation in the greater realization of the American Dream. As anthropologist Hsu has observed, the American Dream

is not merely the acquisition of material wealth in the form of more skyscrapers, more subdivisions, and a bigger share in the Gross National Product (though that is an important part), but the achievement of a just society which can live in peace with the rest of the world, and in which men are freed from oppression and mutual distrust, and where equal opportunities are open to all. It is toward this part of the American Dream that the Chinese in America have yet to aspire and exert themselves. It is upon realization of this aspect of the American Dream that the American society will ultimately depend for its future, unless we allow the present unsalutary features of American attitudes and behavior characteristics . . . to turn the American Dream into an American nightmare.<sup>29</sup>

Although school efforts, especially at the high school level, may be too late to make significant changes in a person's view of himself,

and improved academic functioning may not by itself produce positive changes in the school, there is, nevertheless, a need to explore as many channels as possible to help the students deal with everyday reality. Almost a decade ago, Edwin Reischauer, former U.S. ambassador to Japan, warned that too many Americans were self-complacent and too few did much to help bring about changes in our society. The widespread intoning of chants of peace and understanding to bring about a better world, Reischauer asserted, will be of no avail unless people develop the knowledge, the skills, and the proper attitudes to bring about meaningful changes.<sup>30</sup> Accordingly, the unit on "Strategy for Change" was included to help students cope with the confusing environment around them, to prevent them from becoming apprehensive or apathetic and from attempting to escape the sometimes grim realities of the world.

Basic concepts and generalizations. After the selection of the main topics that formed the core of the course, teaching strategy was discussed by the participating teachers. They agreed to place greater emphasis on using conceptual schemes and concepts, not merely to provide a more efficient framework to organize the tremendous amount of information that needed to be presented, but, more importantly, to help the students use this information to form comparative generalizations and concepts about the status of ethnic groups in America. This decision was reinforced a few years later by an article by James Banks, in which he asserts:

Most of the programs which have been devised and implemented are parochial in scope, fragmented, and structured without careful planning and clear

rationales. . . . The results of these kinds of narrowly conceptualized programs, even though the information which they teach students is essential, is that they rarely help students to develop scientific generalizations and concepts about the characteristics which ethnic groups have in common, the unique status of each ethnic group, and to understand why ethnicity is an integral part of our social system. Ethnic studies must be conceptualized more broadly, and ethnic studies program should include information about all of America's diverse ethnic groups to enable students to develop valid comparative generalizations and to fully grasp the complexity of ethnicity in American society.<sup>31</sup>

Following are the key concepts selected for each unit at this stage of development:

Unit 1. Constitution and the Individual

Key Concepts: Declaration of Independence, Constitution, Bill of Rights, Individualism

Unit 2. Identity Problems of American Youth

Key Concepts: Socialization, Conformity, Alienation, Identity, Ethnicity, Anglo-Conformity, Paternalism

Unit 3. Cultural Characteristics and Values of Ethnic Groups

Key Concepts: Cultural Values, Root Culture, Ethnic Culture, Adaptation, Acculturation

Unit 4. Patterns of Oppression

Key Concepts: Two-Category System, Prejudice, Discrimination, Segregation, Apartheid/Concentration Camps, Expulsion/Exile, Extermination

Unit 5. Contributions of Ethnic Groups

Key Concepts: Actual and Potential Contributions, Group Cohesion, Ethnic Communities

## Unit 6. Strategy for Change

Key Concepts: Unconscious Learning, Frame of Reference, Alternative/Options, Decision-Making

What was the relationship between the topics and the underlying concepts of the American Foundations course? The approach taken by the Social Studies Department at Sequoia was similar to the one recommended by James Banks a few years later:

When planning ethnic studies curricula and units which have a comparative approach and focus, the teacher or curriculum committee should start by identifying key concepts within the social science disciplines which are related to ethnic content. These concepts should be higher-level ones which can encompass numerous facts and lower-level concepts and generalizations. They should have the power to organize a great deal of information and the potential to explain significant aspects of the ethnic experience.

After a teacher or a curriculum committee has selected key concepts from each of the disciplines, at least one organizing generalization related to each of the concepts chosen should be identified. Each organizing generalization should be a high-order statement which can help to explain human behavior in all cultures, times and places. It should not contain references to any particular culture or group, and should be a universal type statement which is capable of empirical verification. After a universal type generalization is identified, an intermediate level generalization which relates to the higher order statement should be formulated.

When intermediate level generalizations have been identified for each major concepts, a lower-level generalization related to each of America's major ethnic groups will assure that all groups will be included in a teaching unit which will later be structured.<sup>32</sup>

The following example illustrates the relationship between the topics chosen in the American Foundations course and the concepts selected for a particular unit, "Identity Problems of American Youth."

Key Concepts: Socialization, Conformity, Alienation, Identity, Ethnicity, Anglo-Conformity, Paternalism.

Primary Generalization: In most societies, great pressures are exerted on a person to conform. Such important qualities as the power to determine one's own destiny, to be unique, and to fulfill one's own moral, spiritual, and aesthetic needs are generally relegated lesser status than the ones prescribed by the society.

Secondary Generalizations:

1. An adolescent "learns" that if he conforms to the values and the norms established by the dominant group, there is a greater chance for "success." But many adolescents are not satisfied with the roles and status prescribed to them by society and they struggle to establish their identities on their own.
2. In the United States, an individual's identity is influenced by his ethnicity. The closer an individual is to the Anglo, middle-class model in values and appearance, the greater his chances of developing a positive self-concept. Conversely, the farther he is from the Anglo model, the greater his chances of feeling alienated, dispossessed, and powerless.

Teaching strategies and instructional materials. Following the identification of key concepts and generalizations, which completed the framework for the course, two more major tasks were confronted: first, to decide on the most "efficient" strategies for teaching the course; and second, to find suitable materials.

A wide variety of strategies were known and employed by those responsible for teaching the course. Because of the severely restricted time allocated to teaching the course, the following strategies were proposed:

1. Emphasize the teaching of concepts and generalizations to help students secure the most important content information about each of the ethnic groups to be studied.
2. Make assignments that might encourage students to become more aware of the complexities concerning ethnicity in American life, and use value-oriented questions to stimulate them toward deeper investigation of the problems.
3. Use essay questions and discussions rather than objectives tests as the main learning activities of the students.

How these strategies were actually employed in the course can be seen in the following example of the unit "Identity Problems of the Whites."

On the first day, the teacher spoke on the topic "Identity." The lecture included the definition of "identity," the role of society in developing our identities, the "ideal" identity in our society (that is, the WASP model), and the treatment of European immigrants who did not fit the model. On the second day, the film Huddled Masses was shown, and the students were then assigned to answer six questions pertaining to the film. A discussion on the topic was held on the third day, and finally, the students were assigned to answering one of the following three essay questions.

1. Explain three basic identity problems that would confront a Spanish, Italian, Jewish, Slavic, French, German, Swiss, or other immigrant who has just landed in the United States during the nineteenth century. What conditions in the United States would give rise to his/her problems?

2. Labels like "Dagos," "Polacks," "Krauts," "Papists," "Kikes," and "Meathead" (à la Archie Bunker) are a hindrance to one's search for identity. How do these labels prevent us from really knowing both ourselves and other people? Why are we so easily led to "define" human beings through such labels?

3. Is a person ever really free to determine his/her own identity? One is born within a certain framework of inherited structures and environmental influences: generic traits, family, ethnic group, social class, country. To what extent do these forces discourage the individual from realizing his/her unique potentialities?

As for acceptable reading materials for the course, first a general textbook was chosen: Minorities: U.S.A., (1971).<sup>33</sup> Although it was more satisfactory than many other texts, it was inadequate in several respects; most notably it lacked sufficient information on the cultural characteristics of various ethnic groups and on the causes of the events described. Owing to this paucity of background information, the text was supplemented by reading materials developed by the teachers from suitable materials from other sources. Here is an example of the compensations that were made in the unit "The Cultural Characteristics of the Native Americans." Because of the large numbers of American Indian tribes, there was no possible way to provide sufficient information

about each of them, or even a few of them. However, several relatively short readings on some selected tribes were found and used. These selections included "The Origins of the Chinook Indians," "Spirits of Nature," "Kiowa Ways," and "Cherokees in the Colonel Period."

Films, filmstrips, and video tapes were used regularly to provide information not adequately covered in the general text. Following is a summary chart of all the films, filmstrips, and video tapes shown in the American Foundations course.

<u>Units</u>	<u>Audio-visual Materials</u>
1. <u>Identity Problems of:</u>	
Native Americans	<u>Geronimo Jones</u> (film)
Black Americans	<u>Black History: Lost, Stolen, or Strayed, Part 1</u> (film)
Latino-Americans	<u>I Am Joaquin</u> (film)
Asian Americans	<u>What's Wrong with Jim?</u> (video tape)
2. <u>Cultural characteristics of:</u>	
European immigrants	"Puritan Ethics" (filmstrip)
Asian Americans	<u>Eddie's Father</u> (film) <u>Wataridori</u> (film)
3. <u>Contributions of:</u>	
Asian Americans	"The Chinese-Americans and Japanese-Americans" (filmstrip)
4. <u>Patterns of Oppression:</u>	
White Americans	<u>Hunger in America</u> (film)
Native Americans	
Asian Americans	<u>Subversion?</u> (film)
5. <u>Strategy for Change:</u>	
Black Americans	<u>Black History: Lost, Stolen, or Strayed, Part 2</u> (film)
Native Americans	<u>First Americans</u> (film)
Asian Americans	<u>Akira</u> (film)



### Teacher Awareness and In-Service Training

An effective multicultural program cannot be carried out through organization of curricular content alone. Equally important is the role of the teachers and supporting school personnel who come in direct contact with the students. Were they merely to follow the "letters" of the content mechanistically without grasping the spirit of the program, they would have but a superficial understanding of the significance of the multicultural program. If some teachers, for instance, emphasized only the positive aspects of ethnic minorities or the negative aspects of the majority people, that would be a distortion of the truth. Equally unrealistic would be to emphasize only the common characteristics of all ethnics, assuming that such common characteristics could be catalogued in any valid manner. Many teachers feel that they have made a contribution to multicultural education by allowing ethnic-minority students to serve as experts, or by leaving it up to the students to carry on some kind of research on one of the ethnic groups. A teacher may confuse "permissive" assignments with valid multicultural teaching, but any positive results from such an attitude would be one of pure chance. In short, if the teachers feel that it is only a problem for the students to deal with, as exemplified by the attitude of the department chairperson quoted earlier, it would be most unrealistic to expect any effective change in the attitudes or behavior of the students.

Although the majority of the teachers in the Sequoia High School District were sufficiently aware that "something needed to be done" to forestall grave racial flareups in the schools, they were most reluctant

to take the lead in ameliorating any problems they might have to face individually. Instead, they waited for the higher authorities to find solutions for them. They viewed the recent racial flareups as being caused by sources outside of themselves: for instance, the administration was not wise enough to see the flareups coming and therefore did not plan far enough ahead to prevent them, or the ethnic minorities caused problems by their unreasonable and ignorant attitudes. Thus, from the beginning, in-service training programs of any kind faced almost insurmountable obstacles.

The first series of in-service training programs sponsored by the Sequoia District Human Relations Department aroused most hostility and resentment among teachers in the district for various reasons.<sup>34</sup> The reactions of the social studies teachers at Sequoia High School were typical.

1. Too much emphasis was placed on the sensitivity-confrontation type of approach. Even though their reactions may have stemmed from their own racist attitudes, the teachers protested that they were not attending the programs "to be insulted."

2. The so-called experts who were brought in did not relate their approach to meet the specific needs of Sequoia students and teachers. Therefore the teachers resented the opinions of these experts who showed little of the "practical" knowledge that the teachers were seeking and whom they considered to be arrogant and paternalistic.

3. The teachers were piqued at being forced to attend these programs. The mandatory participation policy aggravated the feeling

that they were being "talked down to." Further, when these programs were scheduled during regular school hours, many teachers felt that the time taken away from class was too big a price to pay. Unfortunately, no effort was made to find out whether sessions after school hours or on weekends would have been more satisfactory.

4. Many teachers felt that the teachers, students, and concerned members of the community should have been given the opportunity to help organize some of the programs instead of having the people "up above," who were removed from the everyday realities of the classroom, in charge.

5. Teachers generally found it disturbing that the large group of Latino-Americans in the district were virtually ignored, as the in-service programs were designed with the problems confronting black students foremost in mind.

6. Many teachers were disappointed at the lack of practical information that could not only help them incorporate or develop multicultural materials but also guide them in teaching ethnic-minority and other disadvantaged students more effectively.<sup>35</sup>

In-service workshops. With the decision to implement the American Foundations course, five teachers in the department formed themselves into the committee to design an in-service program that would provide the necessary information on the role of ethnicity in American life. The committee comprised one black, one white, one Japanese American, and two Latino-Americans teachers.

The implemented program attempted to avoid or eliminate the negative aspects of previous in-service programs, and was geared to the

specific needs of Sequoia High School and of the Social Studies Department. The workshop was held on a Saturday and attendance was voluntary. The content of the workshops consisted of a description of the needs and problems of all "disadvantaged" students in the school, that is, the Blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans, and children from low-income, blue-collar families residing in the area served by Sequoia High School. The program also provided multicultural materials for use in various social studies classes, including a list of resource materials. Much of the material prepared for use in the American Foundations course was also made available.

This departmental program was soon adopted as the school's multicultural in-service program.<sup>36</sup> Shortly thereafter, the District Curriculum Department also adopted it as the District Multicultural In-Service Program, under the leadership of the Sequoia High School social studies teachers who initiated the program. Although the district's in-service program retained the essential features of that of Sequoia High School, some variations were added. For instance, the district continued to hold the workshop on Saturday mornings and the participation of the teachers was kept on a voluntary basis, but a strong incentive was added to ensure widespread participation. Though the voluntary program at Sequoia High School had resulted in almost 100 percent participation, the leaders of the district program warily decided to provide financial remuneration for all participants--and effected more than 90 percent attendance by the district's classified and certificated staff members.

New information was prepared to accommodate the widely diverse participants--teachers, counselors, clerks, secretaries, custodians--who had different responsibilities for and relationships with the students. Instead of attempting to meet the varying needs of such a heterogeneous group simultaneously, the district planned separate sessions for classified members, English teachers, science teachers, math teachers, and so on. This format successfully limited the size of each group for each session and facilitated more effective communication among the participants.

Another distinguishing feature of the district program was the greater use of students and local resource people to plan and implement the program. This aided in identifying the needs and problems of the district more accurately.

After two years, most of the district's personnel had attended the in-service program and many of the participants requested a continuation of the program. But with changes in the district's personnel (for instance, in the Curriculum Department), the district reverted to the earlier type of program under the primary auspices of the district's Human Relations Department.

#### Multicultural Units for Other Subject Areas

As previously noted, one of the most widely and persistently held beliefs of teachers is that multicultural education could not or should not be part of the total curriculum. Most teachers believe that multicultural materials properly belong in the social studies, English,

and foreign language classes and most certain not in science, math, and industrial arts classes.

Assuming that multicultural education is important and must therefore be part of the total curriculum, there are, broadly speaking, two practical ways to inject multicultural materials and concepts into the classes. One is to use the themes approach. That is, if it is true that most of the world's cultures share common problems and that each culture has developed a unique set of responses to cope with these problems, then many of the courses can be taught from that perspective. This theme of adaptation can be used not only in English and social studies classes but in art, music, homemaking, and other classes as well. Following are some brief examples.

1. The styles and content of the literary works of one country have been influenced by those of literary works of other countries, even though modifications are made within the context of the borrower's culture. Specific examples of this can easily be presented in a World Literature or Ethnic-Minority Literature class.

2. Homemaking classes can stress how food preparation has been deeply influenced by changing factors in a people's environment and economy. Certainly, many people have had to cope with the problem of diminishing sources of food. At the same time, they have had to be concerned with how to prepare food in the most economic and attractive way and still meet basic nutritional needs.

3. Art and music reflect the basic attitudes of a people. Many works, such as the folk songs, reveal the attitudes of people toward change.

4. In foreign language classes, supplementary dialogues and reading material can be prepared to illustrate how a people's language is affected as they adapt to cultural changes. A case in point is how the immigrants in the United States modified their culture as they adapted to their new environment.

5. In auto mechanics classes, a brief lecture could be given to show how different nationalities helped develop a more efficient product. For example, the Wankel rotary engine was developed by a Dutch engineer, modified by German engineers, and made practical for wide use by Japanese engineers.

6. A brief history of the production of steel can be given in machine shop or science classes to show how the process of steelmaking was improved through contributions made by Europeans, Americans, and Japanese.

The second approach to multicultural education is to provide more practical and experiential learning activities, rather than rely on the more academic and intellectual method described above. Specifically:

1. In the Physical Education Department, different kinds of sports such as fencing, volleyball, soccer, and judo can be given greater consideration than in the past. Volleyball and soccer are two obvious examples of sports that Americans have traditionally regarded as minor sports but that have gained in popularity in the United States because of their popularity in other parts of the world. Physical education teachers tend to emphasize traditional American sports such as football, baseball, and basketball. But these sports are not necessarily the best means of achieving the goal of physical education classes--that is,

to teach the best ways of developing one's physical health and coordination.

2. The Music Department can easily offer folk songs of different countries as part of the regular offering instead of emphasizing only Western-oriented music. Music has always been considered the universal language, yet this fact has rarely been reflected in the music programs at high schools.

3. In math and science classes, practical problems that all peoples face can be easily organized, such as a comparative study of how different countries are solving pollution problems. Perhaps such an approach would help students develop a greater interest in the two subjects.

In short, it is not only possible but also relatively easy to incorporate multicultural material into the total curriculum if the teachers are determined to do so.

### Summary

This chapter first traced the history of desegregation from the early 1960s, when the Sequoia Union High School District began to respond to the demands of the black and Latino communities for a truly integrated school system. Second, attention was given to the changes made by the teachers in the district, among which the most innovative and profound changes were those made by the social studies teachers at Sequoia High School. Their contribution was most innovative because they challenged the firmly held assumptions of the bulk of the teachers in the district. Briefly, they asserted that:



1. The schools must acknowledge that our society is indeed multiethnic and that each ethnic group is an equally significant part of our society.

2. Multicultural education must accurately reflect the multi-ethnic aspect of our society, so such a program should be for all students and not just for the ethnic minorities or any other minority people.

3. Leadership for developing such a curriculum must come from the teachers rather than from the "top," but it should be an integrated effort and not simply be left up to the ethnic-minority teachers.

The remainder of the chapter described the organization of the American Foundations course, the in-service programs for the teachers and classified and certificated staff members, and the ways in which multicultural materials can be incorporated into different subject areas.

With regard to the major research question posed in the first chapter, the first assumption of the Sequoia social studies teachers was that the multicultural material had to be incorporated into a course such as the U.S. History course to expose the largest possible numbers of students to the fact that our society is multiethnic and multicultural.

Their second assumption was that the most effective first step toward reaching the largest number of students was to mandate at least one of the multicultural courses for all students.

In developing the mandated American Foundations course the teachers were also able to meet the following three objectives directly related to the major research question:

1. Work out the rationale for and the definition of multicultural education.
2. Develop the framework of a multicultural course.
3. Implement the necessary in-service program.

The teachers' efforts to meet the last two objectives, to develop a prototype Japanese-American unit, and to field-test and evaluate the American Foundations course will be described in the following chapters.

## C H A P T E R I V

### JAPANESE-AMERICAN UNIT: A PROTOTYPE

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the Japanese-American component of the multicultural American Foundations course developed by the Social Studies Department at Sequoia High School. First, the need for the unit is examined and the goals and teaching rationale discussed. Next, the overall organization of the unit is briefly described, and special attention is then given to a pivotal topic--the cultural characteristics of the Japanese and Japanese Americans. Then, following a discussion and illustration of teaching materials, detailed lesson plans are presented for each of the five major topics. A concluding section covers supplementary material developed for use in other departments of the school.

#### The Need for a Japanese-American Unit

Most simply stated, all students need to learn about Japanese-American culture just as they need to learn about all the other ethnic cultures that form an integral part of our society. As noted earlier, California has a state law that requires the specific study, in elementary and secondary schools, of black Americans, Latino-Americans Asian Americans, and Native Americans.

The need for the study of Japanese-American culture is intensified in California because of the large concentration of Japanese Americans in the state, particularly in large urban centers like the San Francisco Bay Area. Yet the majority of students know little about the history

and culture of the Japanese Americans, and possibly even less about the significant roles these ethnics have played and are continuing to play in the development of California in general and of communities such as Redwood City (the site of Sequoia High School) in particular.

A less obvious but crucially important need is for courses that place a strong emphasis on the development of individuals and on relations between peoples within the context of whatever is being taught. Although many educators glibly state this to be their intended approach, few have given students the opportunity in the classroom to expand their perspectives and conceptions about human relations. And in schools where serious efforts have been made to fill this gap, more often than not the focus has been on relations between black and white people in the United States, with little or no consideration given to other minority groups, such as the Japanese Americans.

Perhaps the urgent need for developing learning material about the Japanese Americans goes unrecognized because of their small numbers and because they are often not regarded as an ethnic minority, having made relatively greater progress than some of the other ethnic minorities in our society. If the gains made by the Japanese Americans are significant, then it is most pertinent to study how they achieved them. Such information could provide useful insights that might lead to possible alternative steps to the complex process of assimilation and integration.

Many Americans characterize the Japanese Americans as people who "made it" in our society,<sup>1</sup> and they assume that these ethnics were able to do this because "they worked and studied hard." The implication is:

Anglo-conformity attitude has been noted by numerous scholars. For example, Harry Kitano, a Japanese-American sociologist, asserts that the Japanese Americans successfully adapt to the larger society to the degree that they do not differ markedly from the dominant, white Americans. The statement "Scratch a Japanese American and find a white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant" is, Kitano believes, true.<sup>2</sup> He has found that the second- and third-generation Japanese exhibit less "Japanese-ness" than those of the first generation.<sup>3</sup> In short, Japanese Americans are losing much of their cultural and ethnic heritage. The Anglicizing of the Japanese Americans has been so successful that they have been perceived as "out-whiting the whites." But recently some people have begun to look at the cost of Anglicizing. One sociologist, Darrel Montero, has suggested that Japanese Americans are committing ethnic suicide because they are losing so many of their Japanese qualities.<sup>4</sup> To many Japanese Americans, however, that is not their major concern. Their major concern is the feelings of white Americans toward Japanese Americans. For instance, they become worried at any sign that the whites may harbor negative feelings toward them. They view the whites' reaction to the whaling policy of Japanese fishermen with consternation. They are apprehensive about the Japanese-American effort to seek redress for the unjustified incarceration during World War II because they fear a backlash from the whites. In effect, many Japanese Americans seek the approval of the whites, a characteristic perhaps of people who feel inferior to the dominant group.

One of the most pervasive and persistent assumptions that underlie our educational system is the belief that the whites are superior to the nonwhites, and abundant stereotypic images support that belief. Despite the so-called progress made by Japanese Americans, very few believe that the whites accept them as equals. Yet there has been little attempt to analyze and clarify this complex problem in the classroom. Offered here, therefore, is a capsule account of the apparent origin and development of Japanese-American stereotypes and how they may have affected the Japanese-American's self-image.

It is almost a truism that a person who "succeeds" in some endeavor develops self-confidence in himself/herself, and that confidence grows stonger with subsequent successes. Yet the Japanese Americans, despite the impressive gains they have made in many fields, such as economics, education, and science, have a highly negative view of themselves, especially in regard to their physical appearance and cultural background. One writer suggests this may be because the Japanese and, in particular, the Japanese-Americans have always seen themselves as inferiors in their relations with whites. From the very beginning, Americans assumed the superior role, and this paternalistic relationship has persisted to the present time.<sup>5</sup>

From 1854, when Commodore Perry opened the door to Japan and introduced miniature railroad and telegraph systems, to 1944, when General MacArthur introduced democracy to the Japanese, the Japanese were inclined (except during the World War II period) to view Americans as "teachers" and "benefactors"--or, more crudely and simplistically,

"superiors" and "conquerors." Regardless of the image, it was clear that the Americans occupied the higher position in a paternalistic framework. Conversely, Americans tended to judge the Japanese according to how well they performed as "pupils" and "recipients."

Thus, when the Japanese rapidly industrialized their society soon after the introduction of Western technology and culture, the image of the Japanese as good "pupils" was implanted. When Americans allowed Japanese immigrants to come to the United States, Americans felt themselves to be "benefactors," despite their ungracious welcome. Again when President Theodore Roosevelt acted as mediator between the Russians and the Japanese in 1905, Americans thought of themselves as "friends," and "benefactors" to the Japanese. But when the Japanese demonstrated against the Americans because they felt they had been cheated out of proper compensation for the Russo-Japanese War under the treaty sponsored by Teddy Roosevelt, the Americans became angry toward the selfish and ungrateful Japanese. And when the Japanese launched imperialistic policies in China and subsequently attacked Pearl Harbor, this negative view was solidly reinforced. But the Americans' view of themselves as "benefactors" flourished anew when they gave economic aid to their former enemies; and when the Japanese made a rapid recovery, the image of the Japanese as "good pupils" was reestablished. Then, when the Japanese threatened to challenge and perhaps even overtake America's economic supremacy, the Japanese were once again projected as "selfish ingrates."

It is evident that many, many Americans still rely on these stereotypic images, and judge the Japanese Americans accordingly. Thus the "good" Japanese Americans are those who display the fewest Japanese traits, and conversely, those who retain Japanese traits are of lesser caliber. Many Americans still do not regard Japanese Americans as fellow Americans or as members of the same "family-nation," but rather as outsiders or foreigners.<sup>6</sup>

Considering all this, it is hardly surprising that a paternalistic attitude permeates curriculum materials, and that teachers, perhaps unknowingly, perpetuate racist attitudes in the classroom. For example, the U.S. history books used in the Sequoia Social Studies Department make virtually no reference to the Japanese Americans. Books that contain some information about the Japanese tend to emphasize Japanese culture and ignore Japanese-American culture and history.<sup>7</sup> Further, these books do not make a clear distinction between the root culture of the Japanese and the culture of the Japanese Americans.

In view of this paucity of useful, coherent material, the immediate task of the Sequoia social studies teachers was to develop a unit on the Japanese Americans and their culture that would materially help students gain a more realistic perception of our society and reflect upon the effects of our interethnic contacts.

#### Goals and Teaching Rationale

The goals of the Japanese-American unit coincide directly with those established for the American Foundations course, Translated



specifically to this unit, the goals are to help the students understand:

1. The relationship of ethnicity to the development of the Japanese American's identity as a positive and productive human being.
2. The differences and the similarities between the Japanese-American culture and the mainstream culture.
3. The unique contributions made by the Japanese Americans to American society.
4. The oppression of the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans and its implication for our society.
5. The necessity for developing skills among all students to solve the problems that mar relations between Japanese Americans and other ethnic groups in the United States.

After establishing the goals of the unit, the teachers faced the crucial task of organizing the teaching materials. The most immediate and pressing consideration was how to compress the essential information into the limited teaching time allotted, which was, in fact, totally inadequate to meet the established goals. This constraint precluded the development of a survey history unit and almost dictated a concept-oriented approach. The overall strategy was to present a frame of reference containing sufficient information in a manner that would stimulate students to reflect on and make further inquiry into the history and experiences of the Japanese Americans. The teaching strategy was aimed at helping students understand how the Japanese immigrants and their descendants overcame problems and obstacles sufficiently to make significant gains in their lives. This approach, it was felt,

would put the emphasis on teaching ways of coping with problems that stand in the way of developing a more harmonious interethnic contact. It would also help develop the students' personal and social growth, thus making the unit more relevant to their needs and interests.

Although the main thrust in teaching the unit was to examine the Japanese-American strategy of adaptation, the teachers realized that examining all the variables that contributed to the "success" of the Japanese Americans would be impossible. But they thought that the study of Japanese and Japanese-American cultural characteristics would give the students a starting point from which to interpret the information given in the unit.

This approach was based on the assumption that any conflict between ethnic groups in the United States stems from the unwillingness and/or inability to resolve, somehow, the differences that arise from divergent cultures. It is true that no advanced culture can be explained in simple enough terms to justify clear-cut interpretations of the characteristic attitudes of a people, but a serious effort must be made to bring about some degree of understanding. To underscore this rationale, the salient characteristics of Japanese and Japanese-American culture are described in the next section.

#### Organization of the Unit

After selecting the long-range goals of the unit and establishing the basic teaching strategy, the teachers next had to select the topics and the generalizations needed to support the five topics that had been

previously chosen for all the units within the American Foundations course (see Chapter 3). They were, as adapted to this unit, (1) the Identity Problems of the Japanese Americans, (2) Cultural Characteristics of the Japanese and the Japanese Americans, (3) Contributions of the Japanese Americans, (4) Patterns of Oppression against the Japanese, and (5) Strategy for Change Utilized by the Japanese Immigrants and the Japanese Americans. The key concepts and supporting generalizations that provided the context of each of the five topics are presented below, in the section "Lesson Plans."

The special significance of topic two. The author believes the most critical topic is the second one, "Cultural Characteristics of the Japanese Americans," because American ignorance or misunderstanding of the Japanese "way of doing things" has caused conflicts to arise, or exacerbated existing conflicts, between the two peoples. Unfortunately, many teachers have been in the ranks of the uninformed, even though they may have been interested in different aspects of Japanese culture and/or were sympathetic to the Japanese or Japanese Americans. Essentially, the differences between Japanese culture and the dominant culture have often obscured the fact that "these people" were trying to solve the common problems faced by all people and that their ways of coping with them are frequently very similar to American ones.

What, then, are the characteristics of the Japanese that aided so many of the immigrants in adapting to the host society sufficiently to make impressive gains, particularly in employment, housing, and education? Some of the more important characteristics follow.

1. The Japanese have always been willing to borrow from other peoples and cultures. Historically, the Japanese have borrowed culturally from the Chinese, Europeans, and Americans. This extensive borrowing has given rise to the stereotype of Japanese as basically copiers, imitators, and "pupils," despite the fact that all people borrow from other cultures, so much so that anthropologists estimate that borrowing accounts for 90 percent of any culture's content. Then, why do Americans stereotype the Japanese so negatively on this matter? Americans tend to stress originality and innovative qualities as positive virtues and look down on imitation and borrowing as a negative method of bringing about changes in a society. Most Americans are not conscious of the borrowings they themselves have incorporated into their culture. Moreover, as Americans in the past always perceived the Japanese as "pupils," they cultivated the attitude that Americans had nothing to borrow from the Japanese and it was only natural that the Japanese borrow from the "advanced" country. Reischauer and Fairbank point out that

[a] significant result of Japan's isolation has been an unusual awareness of the historic fact of cultural borrowing. Foreign influences arriving as they did by ship, could be more easily identified and labeled as such in Japan than in countries into which they seep more or less perceptibly across land frontiers. The Japanese developed a strong consciousness of what in their culture had come in historic times from abroad, as opposed to those elements, considered "native," which characterized Japan even at the dawn of recorded history. The result has been a much greater emphasis than in most other countries on the primitive and therefore supposedly "native" elements in the culture. The consciousness of borrowing from abroad has also fostered the myth, both in Japan and elsewhere, that the Japanese, in contrast to other peoples, have been a nation of borrowers, although the truth seems to be

that, just because of their isolation, they have independently created a larger part of their own culture than has any other nation of comparable size and cultural development.<sup>8</sup>

The historical truth is that invention and borrowing are two mechanisms of change and every viable culture has utilized them.

2. The Japanese have modified and synthesized the foreign ideas and products they borrowed. Although the borrowing attitude of the Japanese is widely known, few people realize that the Japanese selected those elements that fit best into their culture and through effective adaptation gave them a distinctive Japanese identity. For example, the Shinto religion, which is universally thought to be an indigenous religion of Japan, cannot be considered "purely Japanese." The term "Shinto" was, in fact, borrowed from the Chinese, and as an organized religion Shinto is an amalgam of both Buddhist and Chinese traditions. Yet for the Japanese neither Chinese traditions (Confucianism and Taoism) nor Buddhist traditions can be regarded as purely foreign in character. Both Buddhism and the Chinese traditions became so deeply rooted in Japanese life that the ordinary people considered every aspect of local religion as indigenous to their community.<sup>9</sup>

Other examples of cultural borrowings that were molded into something "Japanese" are the tea ceremony and the art of flower arrangement. The Japanese originally learned the two arts from the Chinese, but the Japanese modified the form and techniques so that they differed significantly from the Chinese.

Similar examples abound in every culture but public school teachers rarely point out these selective, adaptive, and integrative aspects of

borrowing. The upshot is that people who always seem to be "copying" others are frowned upon. Certainly, Japanese refinements of television sets, radios, motorcycles, cameras, and other Western products are sometimes deeply resented by Americans.

Another pertinent aspect of Japanese borrowing is their tendency toward "cultural conservation." As Reishauer and Fairbank note:

The old and outmoded were not brushed away by foreign pressures or discarded in the struggle for survival, but could be lovingly preserved alongside the new. This does not mean that the Japanese have been particularly conservative in temperament; they have usually been as interested as most peoples in innovations and in keeping abreast of styles. But they have, at the same time, shown an amazing capacity for holding on to the old, even when the old was clearly outdated. For example, all the stages of various religious movements that Japan has known throughout its history appear to be preserved there in one form or another, and at least three major historical phases of the theater exist side by side. Perhaps the most spectacular example of such cultural conservation is the maintenance of a "ruling" family for a millennium after its having relinquished almost all semblance of ruling. It is hard to imagine this happening in a country more subject to foreign pressures.<sup>10</sup>

Many of the Japanese immigrants to America, as well as the Japanese Americans, have maintained this tendency. They have been able to retain much of their culture, such Japanese gardens, farming techniques, religion, and so on, and at the same time, they have incorporated much of American culture into their lives. Their penchant for cultural conservation has helped them enhance their lives, rather than constricted their efforts to assimilate. It would probably be of enormous value to our society if this kind of conservation could be taught, for it might

reduce the polarizing tendencies that exist between old and new and among the many ethnic groups that make up our society.

3. The Japanese have successfully incorporated their cultural values into their everyday activities. Knowing what to borrow is not sufficient unless the borrowings can be put to practical use, and one of the least recognized aspects of Japanese culture is the manner in which the values of their society have been woven into their everyday activities. Religion is but one example. For the Japanese, as Moore puts it, "the very essence of life is the aesthetic," and he writes of "their love of beauty; their extreme and seemingly universal love of Nature; their attempt to express beauty in all aspects of life . . . . ; the spirit and fact (or, at least, ideal) of harmony in philosophy, in religion, and in the social and political order; their obvious emphasis upon feeling and emotion; their almost all-pervading romanticism."<sup>11</sup> The Japanese have been able to infuse their cultural values even into the forms, techniques, and etiquette of the martial arts, such as judo, archery, and kendo.<sup>12</sup> (Specifically, these activities are heavily influenced by Buddhist, Confucian, Taoist, and Shinto ideas.)

This ability to harmonize the many diverse elements in their society has been viewed negatively by many people who feel that Japanese culture is overly homogeneous and lacking in diversity. But such critics also need to consider the fragmented state of American society and seriously ponder how we can translate our noble and lofty ideals into action. Perhaps we could regain much of our naturalness and humanness by making a conscious effort to borrow and infuse into our culture the

best qualities of other cultures.

4. The Japanese have always been adaptive to fixed positions and to external realities. Historically, Americans have been regarded as a confident and optimistic people who could solve any problem. They always seemed to feel in complete control of their situation; they were the masters of their fate. Through much of their history this view was never challenged. However, when pushed to the extreme, it can breed an unrealistic picture of the world and of those who cling to such grand assumptions.

The Japanese, by contrast, have never been as confident in their ability to control their environment or their fate. As Moore says, they "simply accept life as it is, with all its confusion, incompatibilities, contradictions."<sup>13</sup> The redoubtable scholar Daisetsu Suzuki, in comparing the Western mind and the Eastern mind, observes:

The Western mind abhors paradoxes, contradictions, absurdities, obscurantism, emptiness, in short anything that is not clear, well defined, and capable of determination. To the Far East, these are not to be abhorred; in fact, they represent reality as it is--and truth. Its emphasis is always on the concrete--and directness of living.<sup>14</sup>

Reischauer and Fairbank illustrate how potent this attitude can be. They conclude that one of the reasons the Japanese were able to respond so quickly and efficiently to modernization was that they were not tied to one dominant view of system and could therefore take the necessary direct action of coping with foreign intervention by instituting a major reform of their society.<sup>15</sup>



The contradictions in Japanese culture often are given a negative interpretation: the Japanese, it is said, are enigmatic, hypocritical, lacking in integrity, and bear constant watching. Judged by people whose society is rationalized on the basis of certain fixed positions, the Japanese attitude may indeed seem confused and loaded with inconsistencies, but much confusion, cynicism, and apathy have resulted when those fixed positions proved to be irrelevant or false.

In a world where profound changes occur incessantly and rapidly, perhaps all people should aim for a more flexible attitude toward what is considered real and true. In the case of the Japanese immigrants, many of them not only changed their religion but rejected everything else in their root culture in order to adapt to a new and changing environment.

5. The Japanese have integrated and harmonized the needs of the individuals for the benefit of the group. The struggle between individual rights and the welfare of a group, such as the family, has always been seen as an "either-or" situation in our society. We have, for instance, taken it for granted that the welfare of the individual supersedes that of the family. So, we have assumed that in Japanese group organizations the welfare of the individual has been ignored or become totally subordinate to the needs of the group. The stability and the unity of the Japanese family are widely acknowledged, and the relative efficiency and the effectiveness of Japanese bureaucracy are also recognized as important factors in the success of the Japanese in attaining their goals, but many people have assumed that the role and status of individuals are

severely sacrificed and minimized. Yet Kosaka Masaki, an authority on Japanese history and culture, contends that the individual personality has always been respected and emphasized. He cites the eighth-century literature of Japan as an early example of the respect shown for women and commoners. A study of one of the most important, and still popular, anthologies of poems reveals that large numbers of works by commoners were included and that women were the authors of about 25 percent of the total. Between 700 and 1200, works written by women were of the highest quality and played an important part in the development of literature during this period. For example, the first novel written in Japan, and perhaps in the world, was written by Murasaki Shikibu, a woman writer who became universally recognized.<sup>16</sup>

Another mistaken but widely held view is that individual members of the Japanese family were completely subservient to the parents, whose authority was accepted without condition. However, little known to casual observers of Japanese culture is the fact that Shinran Shonin, the founder of the Jyodo Shinshu (Jodo-Shin) Buddhist sect, currently the largest sect in Japan, stressed the importance of the individual, Shinran proclaimed that "it was not for his father and mother, and not for his country and society, that he prayed to Amida Buddha but only for himself."<sup>17</sup> He taught that parents had obligations toward their children, just as the children had toward the parents. One obligation, which he called the "Small Filial Piety," stressed the children's duty to serve the parents well. But a higher-level obligation, the "Great Filial Piety," called for the children to admonish and amend the parents'

attitude when they were wrong, for by remedying the mistakes of our physical parents we fulfill our duty of serving the greater parents through our conscience.

It is important to make certain that teachers do not perpetuate the stereotypic image of any group, but it is far more important to teach facts that enable students to develop a balanced perspective.

6. The Japanese have been highly goal-oriented. In discussing the ability of the Japanese to make rapid changes, Reischauer writes that one of the reasons for their speedy transformation is the pervasive existence in Japan of "goal orientation" rather than "status orientation." It is his contention that individual Japanese were able to make significant contributions because the social structure allowed each person to succeed in a variety of ways. In contrast to Chinese society, where "status orientation" was more in evidence, a Japanese could succeed (achieve a goal) without becoming part of the government, whereas a government position was well-nigh essential for a Chinese to succeed (achieve recognition). Thus, the Japanese were able to offer more diverse responses to the Western challenge and develop viable political and economic institutions.<sup>18</sup> As Reischauer and his colleagues explain:

Ambitious men, if denied high status, would seek distinction through achievement. The energies that such stirrings produce were all the more dynamic because they were channeled within and subordinated to the ends of the group. . . . This is one reason why, in the face of the Western menace in the nineteenth century, many Chinese tried to control the situation by playing traditional roles, while the Japanese<sup>19</sup> generally reacted by seeking specific objectives.

This particular attitude can also be seen in the strategy the Japanese immigrants adopted in seeking a more secure world for their children. Although it is true that many of the immigrants came to America to fulfill their personal needs and ambitions, very early in their new life they decided to forgo their own considerations, to establish new roots, and to develop the appropriate resources for realizing their changed goals.

Certainly, it is important to teach the specific deeds of any ethnic group, but it is also necessary to teach its culture, for whatever action the group may take, that action is primarily an extension of the values and attitudes embodied in the culture.

The six characteristics described above were discussed at length with the participating teachers so that they would be able to help the students understand the six qualities that were incorporated into stories written for Topics Two and Three: "Samurai, Nowin, Imin" (Warrior, Peasant, Immigrant) and "Sambasan" (The Midwife) (see Appendixes B and C).

In Chapter 3 it was mentioned that the textbook Minorities: U.S.A., by Finkelstein, Sandifer, and Wright, was chosen for use in the American Foundations course. Unfortunately, although the book was suitable for the study of some ethnic-minority groups, it was not appropriate for the Japanese-American unit for two main reasons. First, the chapter on the Japanese Americans focuses only on the discrimination against the Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans. In other words, only the negative aspect of the Japanese experience in the United States is emphasized. Further, the chapter offers no explanation of how the Japanese

in the United States overcame the prejudices of the white Americans, except to mention that Nisei fought in a segregated infantry battalion during World War II.<sup>20</sup> The other major shortcoming is that though the authors include a few names and pictures of successful Japanese Americans, they give virtually no information beyond that. For these reasons, the most obvious and the most difficult solution was to find suitable articles and readings from other sources and/or develop reading material specifically for the American Foundations course as it was being developed.

Criteria for the selection of materials. Based on their years of experience in teaching social studies at Sequoia High School, the teachers established the following criteria as a guide for any of the materials used in the American Foundations course.

The materials should:

1. Relate to the student's experiences, particularly to the development of his/her positive self-image.
2. Include historical material that would clarify how the roots of current problems extend back into the past, thereby making the student aware of the relevance of studying history.
3. Be concept-oriented to provide a realistic frame of reference for the student to analyze the major historical events under study.
4. Encourage the development of important intellectual processes, particularly the skills of making analytical inquiries.
5. Pay attention to feelings and values that tend to induce stereotyping, racism, ethnocentrism, and so on.

6. Help the student learn more about himself/herself, his/her values and beliefs.

#### Examples of Materials Developed for the Japanese-American Unit

In designing the unit, the dominant problem was to develop materials that met the criteria established by the Sequoia teachers.

One of the criteria, as mentioned above, was to provide contemporary materials that would relate most directly to the students' experiences and interests. Here are some examples of how this criterion was met. For the topic "Identity Problems of the Japanese Americans," the teachers selected material on dating and marriage among Japanese Americans, including their attitude toward dating and marrying people from different ethnic groups (see Appendixes A and B). Material selected for the topic "Contributions" was geared to encouraging students to make contributions in the future, rather than learning about the contributions made by others in the past. For the topic "Patterns of Oppression," the material selected focused on helping students recognize the covert discrimination practiced against the Japanese Americans today rather than the more overt kinds of prejudice directed against them in the past. For the topic "Strategy for Change," the teachers chose materials that placed emphasis on the kind of strategy that would be most pertinent to efforts to cope with their own problems--for instance, how to best prepare themselves for their future careers as well to enjoy their high school life.

The second criterion considered was that of providing materials that were concept-oriented. To meet this criterion, the author wrote

stories about the Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans, bringing out certain concepts that were selected for use in the course. For example, the story "What's Wrong with Jim?," which is used for the topic "Identity Problems," revolves around the issue of how a Japanese-American girl becomes aware of her parents' attitude toward dating and possible marriage with a non-Japanese (see Appendix B). Through the discussion between the girl and her parents, the reader can identify some of the factors that have caused identity problems for Japanese Americans. In another story, "Samurai, Nomin, Imin" (Warrior, Peasant, Immigrant) (see Appendix E), the author focuses on the concepts of cultural differences and cultural conflict. This story is intended to help the reader understand how cultural differences between the Japanese immigrants and the white Americans can lead not only to conflict between the two peoples but also to conflict within the Japanese families.

The third criterion called for materials that would help develop the intellectual skills of the students, such as the skill to analyze issues, facts, and so on. Here the basic strategy of the teachers was to write stories from a Japanese-American perspective, without, however, providing support for any particular side of an issue (for example, the issue of whether Japanese Americans should marry outside of their group or not). Another method employed was to ask the students to analyze current problems involving Japan and America, have them trace the causes of the problems, and then ascertain whether these problems had any impact on the Japanese Americans. A current example would be the strained relations between the Americans and the Japanese over trade policies,

The fourth criterion concerned the development of materials that would help the students learn more about themselves, their values and beliefs. To help meet this standard, the author added questions at the end of the stories. These were designed to encourage the students not only to examine their own attitudes about particular issues but also to speculate how these issues would affect their attitude toward other students of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. For example, from the questions appended to the story about interethnic dating, the students can learn something about how different Japanese Americans feel about interethnic dating but at the same time they can examine their own feelings about the issue.

A closer examination of one of the stories will illustrate more clearly how the author attempted to meet the established criteria.

Like the other stories, "Samurai, Nomin, Imin" brings out certain concepts. Written for use in the second lesson, "The Cultural Characteristics of the Japanese and the Japanese Americans," the story has as its key concept cultural values, and includes related concepts like accommodation, adaptation, selection, ethnocentrism, individuality, group effort, and status orientation.

In an attempt to provide the student with a realistic frame of reference for analyzing a major historical event, the author set the first part of the story in nineteenth-century Japan, around the time of Commodore Perry's arrival. The Japanese suddenly find their whole world changing with the arrival of the Westerners, and although at first they are confused, discouraged, and angry, they begin to try to find their



place and purpose in a rapidly changing world. Although the story is fictional, the characters are composites of actual people. The various conditions described are consistent with the historical facts. As the story takes place during the period immediately preceding the immigration of Japanese to America, it brings out their motives for leaving Japan. It also depicts a recurring theme of the Japanese: how to cope with the changing nature of their society and of the world. In this story, some of the more essential characteristics of Japanese culture are described, including those values transferred to America and later modified by the immigrants. They include:

1. The importance of the family and its impact on the individual members.
2. The acceptance of reality and the flexible attitude toward changes.
3. Goal orientation.
4. The stress on group effort.
5. The defining of individuality within the framework of a group.

To supplement the story, a fact sheet was given to the students to help them understand the more important characteristics of the pre-Meiji and Meiji periods--for example, the transformation of Japan from an agrarian society to a more industrialized society, the impact of the changes on the warriors and the farmers, and the attitude of the Japanese toward foreigners (see Appendix F).

To meet the criterion of relating the material to the students' experiences and interests, the first part of the story was written from

the point of view of a young warrior caught in the period of one of the most violent changes in Japan.

At the end of the story, two sets of questions are provided. One set was designed to help students check on their reading skill, and the other to encourage discussion and inquiry concerning the issues covered in the test, thus helping the students to clarify their values and beliefs.

For all the topics, serious attention was given to the selection of audiovisual materials. Film was used not only to meet the criteria described earlier, but to capture the students' interests quickly, especially those of the slow and/or poor readers who are usually more easily frustrated if they have to cope with heavy doses of reading. Another consideration was to select material that would encourage affective learning rather than cognitive learning. An example of the type of audiovisual material selected was the film Akira, to be used for the topic "Strategy for Change." The key concept for the topic is diversity, a concept reinforced in the film. Related concepts in the film are stereotyping, alternatives, decision-making, and frame of reference.

This film focuses on a Japanese-American youth who lives in two cultures: Japanese culture at home and American culture outside his home. He is comfortable living in the "two worlds," and the film shows how the values of these worlds enable him to develop a positive self-image and to cope with his daily life. It reinforces the characteristics of the Japanese and Japanese-American culture introduced earlier in the unit--for example, the importance of the family to the individual member, acceptance of reality and the ability to make accommodations to changing

situations, the goal orientation of the Japanese Americans, and the establishment of individual identity within the family context.

Supplementary notes provided the students with updated information on Akira and other members of his family. In brief, it provides information showing how the family members reacted with to death of the father and the different choices each individual made while maintaining the basic unity and strength of the family (see Appendix K).

In addition to the supplementary note, questions were given to the students to clarify the information contained in the film and to encourage them to develop a wider range of perspectives.

### Lesson Plans

One of the critical problems facing the Sequoia teachers was how to present the selected materials in the brief time available. Only five hours were allotted to discuss the five topics for each of the ethnic groups covered in the course. The tight format described below was established as the basic procedure to be followed throughout the course,

1. Reading assignments were usually given the day before the class.
2. In the first part of the class period, the students were given time to ask questions to help them in understanding the text (for example, questions on vocabulary and names).
3. The students were then asked questions that were designed to help them hypothesize about a particular issue covered in the reading, and so on. For example, why are the Japanese Americans ashamed of their physical appearance and/or of their cultural heritage?

4. Supplementary notes were then provided to help broaden the students' perspectives, and also to furnish them with accurate factual information pertaining to the topic. Or, the students viewed a film or a filmstrip pertaining to the particular topic that was being studied,

5. Students used the balance of the time to start on their homework, which usually involved answering questions designed to help them generalize about the various problems and issues concerning the Japanese Americans, and/or comparing the experiences of the Japanese Americans with those of the whites, blacks, and other groups,

Following are examples of the lesson plans used in teaching the Japanese-American unit.

#### Lesson 1. Identity Problems of the Japanese-Americans

##### A. Brief overview and rationale of this lesson

The development of a positive self-image is very difficult for young adolescents because they are in the midst of a period of learning their society's rules and customs, many of which were established by adults. They have had little opportunity to evaluate the ways of the society, especially in light of their individual needs. This lesson is designed to help the students to examine some of the customs of the society, such as dating and marriage, which have a strong bearing on their self-image.

##### B. Concepts

Key concept: self-image, Related concepts: ethnocentrism, paternalism, cultural pluralism, Anglo-conformity, values

### C. Generalizations

1. The development of the Japanese American's self-concept is highly influenced by the stereotypic images of the Japanese that are perpetuated by the dominant group.

2. Many Japanese Americans abandon their cultural heritage to become more assimilated by the dominant society.

3. A lesser proportion of the Japanese-American population, particularly among the younger generation, tend to view their cultural heritage in a positive manner and attempt to preserve it.

### D. Materials to be used

1. Short story: "What's Wrong with Jim?" (see Appendix A)

2. Supplementary reading material:

"Some notes on Dating and Marriage Behavior of the Americans" (see Appendix B)

"Success Story: Outwhiting the Whites" (see Appendix C)

"Price of Being 'Model Minority'" (see Appendix D)

### E. Major instructional objectives

To help the students to:

1. Understand the different views of the Japanese Americans on the topic of interethnic dating.

2. Examine their own views on ethnic groups.

3. Analyze the impact of the assimilation pattern on individuals.

4. Recognize some of the stereotypes prevalent in our society.

F. Focus questions

1. Why do many Japanese-Americans feel ashamed of their physical appearance?
2. What factors affect how a Japanese American feels about herself/himself?
3. Which factors help them feel positive about themselves? to feel negative about themselves?

G. Learning activities

1. Read the assigned reading, then briefly discuss the vocabulary and content of the story.
2. Find tentative answers to the focus questions.
3. Read one additional supplement.

H. Evaluation activity

Answer the questions at the end of the story listed as "Questions for You."

Lesson 2. Cultural Characteristics of the Japanese and the Japanese-Americans

A. Brief overview and rationale of this lesson

Because of the prevailing Anglo-conformity pattern imposed on the nonwhites in our society, they are beginning to reject or lose their cultural heritage. This is contrary to our democratic tradition, which assures the right of individuals to be different, and the responsibility of the rest of the people to respect and appreciate individuals who are different. In this lesson some of the essential cultural values of the Japanese are described and traced from Japan to America.

B. Concepts

Key concept: Cultural value. Related concepts:

acculturation, accommodation, goal orientation, dependence, independence

C. Generalizations

1. The values of the Japanese immigrants were, in many instances, similar to, or at least compatible with, those of the dominant group.
2. The values of the Japanese immigrants that were different were generally perceived in a negative manner.
3. Cultural differences between the Japanese immigrants and the whites often caused misunderstanding and conflict between the two groups.

D. Materials to be used

1. Short story: "Samurai, Nomin, Imin" (Warrior, Peasant, Immigrant) (see Appendix E)
2. Film: Wataridori (Birds of Passage)<sup>21</sup>
3. Supplementary reading material:  
"Cultural Characteristics of Japanese-Americans"  
"Brief Historical Notes on Nineteenth-Century Japan and the Coming of the Westerners" (see Appendix F)

F. Major instructional objectives

To help the students to:

1. Respect and appreciate differences among people and cultures.
2. Understand that to preserve cultural pluralism in our society is to reinforce our democratic traditions.
3. Recognize that all people are attempting to solve common problems.

F. Focus questions

1. Do differences in values and life styles always result in conflicts?
2. What are the characteristics of Japanese Americans?
3. What are the ways in which the Japanese Americans do things that are similar to or different from the ways of other ethnic people?

G. Learning activities

1. Read the assigned reading, then briefly discuss the vocabulary and content of the story.
2. View the film Wataridori.
3. Read one of the two supplements.

H. Evaluation activity

Answer the questions at the end of the story listed as "Questions for You."

Lesson 3. Contributions of the Japanese-Americans

A. Brief overview and rationale of this lesson

Many Japanese Americans are not aware of the contributions made by Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans to our society. Many



assume that the white Americans have made all the significant contributions, an assumption that in a subtle way erodes their self-image. In this unit, some notable Japanese are listed but, more importantly, the factors that helped many Japanese achieve and contribute is examined so that students can be encouraged to think of making contributions themselves to our society.

#### B. Concepts

Key concept: ethnic community. Related concepts:  
alternatives/options, counterculture, community

#### C. Generalizations

1. The distinct ethnic communities helped the Japanese preserve their diversity. This effective and viable counterculture furnished the support its members needed to raise their standard of living and their status among the whites.
2. Many Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans have made significant contributions in the fields of medicine, business, government, industry, literature, the military, and the performing arts.
3. Elements of Japanese cultural values maintained in Japanese families and communities helped enrich our society.

#### D. Materials to be used

1. Short Story: "Sambasan" (The Midwife) (see Appendix G)
2. Filmstrip: "Chinese-Americans and Japanese-Americans"<sup>22</sup>

3. Supplementary reading material:

"Outline of Contributions of the Asian Americans" (see Appendix H)

"The Educational Achievement of the Japanese Americans" (see Appendix I)

"Success Story: Outwhiting the Whites" (see Appendix C)

E. Major instructional objectives

To help students to:

1. Recognize some of the contributions made by Japanese Americans in many different areas.
2. Become aware of some of the factors that enable individuals to make contributions.
3. Realize that they can make contributions in our society.

F. Focus questions

1. How does the community help the individual members?
2. How does the ethnic community help the mainstream communities?
3. How does the mainstream community help the ethnic communities?
4. What kinds of contributions can be made to help solve some of our serious problems?

G. Learning activities

1. Read the assigned reading, then briefly discuss the vocabulary and content of the story.

2. View the filmstrip "Chinese-Americans and Japanese-Americans."
3. Discuss the influence the community had on the lives of Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans.
4. Read the supplementary material.

#### H. Evaluation activity

Answer the questions at the end of the story listed as "Questions for You."

### Lesson 4. Patterns of Oppression

#### A. Brief overview and rationale for this lesson

Many people are not aware of the patterns of oppression that exist in our society. They fail to see the boundary that has been established by the powerful "few" to keep the oppressed people in their place. A brief study of this pattern will be made by examining the persecution of the Japanese Americans, particularly during World War II.

#### B. Concepts

Key concepts: racism. Related concepts: two-category system, avoidance, deprivation, segregation, insulation, isolation, concentration camp, exile, extermination

#### C. Generalizations

1. The number of Japanese allowed to enter the United States was severely limited during the early years of immigration. Later, they were totally denied entry.

2. The Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans

were legally deprived of home and land ownership and of fair opportunities in education and employment.

3. Psychologically and socially, the Japanese immigrants were isolated by the whites, who perceived the Japanese in terms of stereotypes rather than as individuals.

4. Deprived of legal protection, the Japanese isolated themselves physically from the dominant society by living in ghettos. Although these communities provided rudimentary protection for the immigrants, the isolation made them easier targets for stereotyping, segregation, and other forms of discrimination.

5. During World War II, the Japanese aliens as well as those who were citizens were incarcerated in concentration camps without due process of law. Many who were classified as dangerous were sent to Japan during and after the war.

6. During World War II, the Japanese were treated significantly different than the European immigrants, particularly the German and Italian immigrants.

7. At present, Japanese Americans suffer covert kinds of prejudice and discrimination. For example, Japanese-American workers whose qualifications are as the same as, or better than, those of their white counterparts receive less pay. Likewise, needy Japanese and Japanese Americans receive significantly less aid than needy blacks, Latinos, or whites.

8. The relationship between the United States and Japan continues to influence the treatment of Japanese Americans by whites.

For example, the current trade deficit with Japan has revived strong negative reactions toward the Japanese and Japanese Americans.

D. Material to be used

1. Reading in the text: Minorities: USA, Chapter 2, Unit 4.<sup>23</sup>
2. Or short story: "The Twilight Soldiers" (see Appendix J)
3. Film: Subversion?<sup>24</sup> or Manzanar

E. Major instructional objectives

To help the students to:

1. Understand the two-category system.
2. Recognize the different stages of oppression.
3. Examine the factors that lead to oppression of certain people.
4. Understand the persistent patterns of oppression that limit the development of ethnic-minority people.
5. Understand that the problems of the oppressed are caused by the dominant group in society.

F. Focus questions

1. How do you feel about foreigners? Should we allow them to continue coming into our country?
2. Do you think we are making gradual but real progress toward providing equal opportunities for all people?
3. Do you feel that there will always be prejudice against someone?

G. Learning activities

1. Discuss the reading assignment and check the vocabulary.
2. View the film Subversion?
3. Discussion: Compare and contrast the treatment of Japanese Americans, Italian Americans and German Americans.

H. Evaluation activity

Answer selected questions from the text and the film for homework assignment.

Lesson 5. Strategy for Change

A. Brief overview and rationale for this lesson

Many students are not aware of the many alternative ways of changing the conditions that hinder their efforts to fulfill their needs. To stimulate their awareness of some of the ways that can be utilized, the experiences of a young Japanese-American student are presented.

B. Concepts

Key concept: diversity. Related concepts: hidden curriculum, assumptions, frame of reference, power, decision-making,

C. Generalizations

1. Acculturation is a two-way process between immigrants and the dominant group, but many Americans have perceived the process to be a "one-way street."

2. Many Japanese Americans have conformed to the WASP behavior patterns and life styles, but still they continue to be victims of discrimination, largely because of the difference in physical appearance.

3. The efforts of Japanese Americans to integrate aspects of their root culture into our society contributes to realizing the American ideal of protecting the individual's right to be different.

D. Materials to be used

1. Film: Akira (name of a Japanese-American youth)<sup>25</sup>
2. Supplementary information on Akira's family (see Appendix K)

E. Major instructional objectives

To help the students to:

1. Evaluate the customs, traditions, and other accepted parts of our society.
2. Analyze the strategies employed by other people as an aid to formulating strategies of their own.
3. Identify the possible obstacles that hinder them from achieving their goals.
4. Identify the possible obstacles that hinder the ethnic-minority people from achieving their goals.
5. Compare and contrast the strategies that can be employed by a person from the dominant group and by a person from ethnic-minority group.

F. Focus questions

1. What can you do to succeed in school?
2. Where can you get help in reaching this goal?
3. Do all the students have the same opportunity to succeed in school?
4. What students seem to have the most advantage?  
the least?
5. Is there anything about school that stands in your way rather than helps you?

G. Learning activities

1. View the film Akira and discuss its content and vocabulary.
2. Conduct a brainstorming session on possible alternative actions that can help ease the problems all students face. Then conduct another one on actions that might help ease the problems of ethnic-minority students as well as other minority students--for example, the physically handicapped.

H. Evaluation activity

Evaluate the various options open to you and recommend the best possible strategy you can take, plus one other alternative strategy.

Two general points about the lesson plans must be made. First, there is no reference to the teaching approach employed in each of the lessons because the teachers decided to show the students how to learn,



how to look for answers, rather than having them memorize selected bits of information. The students were encouraged to use the concepts as a tool in the process of analysis, to answer affective and analytical kinds of questions, and to form their own concepts and their own questions that were intended to stimulate another round of questions.

The second point concerns the paper students wrote as an evaluation activity. Although specific questions were given to them, they also had the option of framing their own questions for the topic or expressing their feelings and opinions in almost any way they chose to do. This included writing short stories or poems, acting out skits, making posters, and so on. Their grades depended almost entirely on the papers or other work they performed rather than on tests and examinations. In fact, only one test was given at the end of the year, and it had very little impact on the students' final grades.

### Japanese-American Units in Other Subject Areas

In the following pages, examples of units designed for use in other subject areas are presented. The general concepts and format used in social studies were used in these units. The underlying theme of almost all of the following units remains essentially the same--that is, the Japanese and the Japanese Americans have adjusted to many new forces and situations by relying on their basic value system.

#### Homemaking Department

##### Japanese and Japanese-American Cooking

Key concept: Adaptation

Related concepts:

Borrowing (diffusion)  
 Cultural conservation  
 Harmony  
 Indigenous culture  
 Infusion integration  
 Modify/refine  
 Selection

(Note: These concepts will be utilized in all of the units prepared for use in other departments of the school.)

Organizing Generalizations:

1. The Japanese adapted to their limited environment by learning to use almost anything in their physical milieu.
2. The limited range of foodstuffs was compensated by versatile cooking methods and reliance on total sensory experience.
3. The Japanese borrowed and incorporated into their cooking many foreign products and cooking methods.
4. The Japanese harmonize the colors and textures of food, and these in turn are harmonized with the dining utensils, which in turn are harmonized with the season and immediate dining environment--the room, the adjoining yard, and so on.
5. Religious concepts are incorporated into their total eating experience; the Japanese stress the Buddhist virtues of harmony, respect, tranquility, and purity.
6. The Japanese attitude toward food, its preparation, and dining has largely been retained by the Japanese Americans, but they

have considerably modified the traditional foods, methods of preparation, and dining customs.

### Flower-Arranging Unit

#### Organizing Generalizations:

1. The Japanese incorporated Buddhist symbols and teachings to deepen floral appreciation.
2. The Japanese emphasize harmonizing the natural qualities of plants and season in their arrangements; for example, they strictly discourage the use of plants that are not seasonal.
3. The floral arrangement symbolizes the relationship that exists between heaven, man, and earth.
4. All of the components in the floral arrangement--color, texture of the plants, room decor, and so on--are harmonized.
5. The Japanese Americans have retained the essential Japanese principles, techniques, and etiquette, but they use American plants and flowers in their arrangements.

### Japanese and Japanese-American Family

#### Organizing Generalizations:

1. The family served as the most fundamental unit to ensure minimal economic security in a society in which resources were extremely limited.
2. Confucian ideas were borrowed from the Chinese to strengthen the stability of Japanese families.

3. Democratic ideas were borrowed from the West to enhance the status of the individual in the family.

4. Harmonious balance between the welfare of the individual and the family is constantly sought.

5. The familial relationship is strongly duplicated in industries, schools, government, and so on.

6. Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans relied heavily on a strong and unified family structure to overcome their problems in the United States.

7. A close harmonious relationship is still actively sought between the younger and the older generation.

8. Japanese Americans still place a high value on the development of a strong and stable family.

### Art Department

#### Japanese and Japanese-American Art

##### Organizing Generalizations:

1. The Japanese attempted to harmonize nature and art; that is, their art ideals were based on their observations and interpretations of nature.

2. Japanese borrowed and refined many of the Chinese ideas on and techniques of art, and later they also borrowed heavily from Western art.

3. Many Japanese artists strive to harmonize the different art traditions of China, Japan, and the West.

4. Japanese have relied on art to compensate for and enhance their often harsh and hostile environment.

5. Japanese-American artists, such as Isamu Noguchi and Ruth Asawa, have attempted to retain and combine elements of Japanese and Western art.

## English Department

### Japanese and Japanese-American Literature

#### Organizing Generalizations:

1. The indigenous literature was basically the expression of the writers' reactions to nature; an example is Manyoshu (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves).

2. The Japanese were heavily influenced by the Chinese writing system as well as Chinese literary forms and content.

3. The Japanese consciously borrowed from the Western style of literature, which resulted in the "I" novels and protest novels.

4. Buddhism influenced the style and content of Japanese literature. An outstanding example is the haiku style of poetry.

5. Japanese authors have struggled to harmonize the materialistic elements of an industrialized society with the more natural and humanistic emphasis of their traditional work.

6. Many Japanese-American authors have attempted to incorporate Japanese literary forms, such as the haiku, into their work.

7. Much of current Japanese-American literature is either works of protest against the inequities they have found in our society

and the injustices they suffer, or novels that center on the writers' personal experiences ("I" novels).

Mathematics Department. Mathematics has been considered the subject least fitted to include multicultural/multiethnic material, but units can be designed to help students practice their math skills and at the same time provide pertinent information about Japanese Americans. Drills on statistics, for instance, can effectively illustrate the scope of the unjust concentration camp experience. Following are other examples:

1. Census figures, past and present, can be used to reveal important, but often ignored, information.
  - a. The growth of the Japanese population in America.
  - b. The proportion of Japanese and Japanese Americans in relation to (1) the total population of the United States and (2) other ethnic groups. This approach can help demonstrate how bigots could in the past generate a sense of hysteria: many Americans did not know how very small the population of the Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans was and were led to believe that California was inundated by hordes of yellow people.
    - c. The status of the Japanese and the Japanese Americans in regard to (1) education, (2) employment, and (3) housing, as compared with the rest of the American population (this can be demonstrated with graphs).

2. Figures from various governmental agencies can be used to illustrate to some degree the extent and the kinds of problems faced by the Japanese.

a. Comparative analysis of the educational level of the Japanese Americans and other ethnic groups, particularly the whites, to determine either the existence or the degree of job discrimination.

b. Statistical analysis of the numbers of Japanese Americans under institutional care--in jails, in hospitals, on welfare, and so on.

3. Math problems can be designed to show how the Japanese Americans have managed to retain parts of their ethnic heritage.

a. Problems dealing with the construction of a Japanese garden in the United States.

b. The dimensions of various Japanese shoji screens or engawa (verandas) found in American homes.

c. Proportion or ratio problems in flower arranging, the principles of which are based on attaining the most balanced and pleasing ratio of branches to flowers, and so on,

d. Problems involved in using authentic Japanese cooking recipes, particularly the conversion of American weight standards to metric ones.

4. Math problems can easily be made to illustrate the depth of the injustices heaped on the Japanese and the Japanese Americans.

a. The total number of people sent to the concentration camps during World War II and the percentage of the Japanese and Japanese American population not sent.

b. The amount of economic loss suffered by the interned Japanese and the Japanese Americans during the war.

c. The numbers of Germans and German Americans as compared with the number of Japanese and Japanese Americans interned during the war (to illustrate the racist aspect of oppression).

If mathematics can incorporate the kinds of problems suggested above, some students might be better motivated to study math but, certainly many students will gain a more realistic perspective of our country's history and culture.

Foreign Language Department. Of all the departments, the Foreign Language Department can offer the most meaningful multicultural curriculum. Yet, in most schools it has not realized its potential, partly because of the students' greatly decreased interest in foreign languages and partly because of the heavy dependence on commercially prepared material. Some schools simply ignore the ethnic cultures developed in the United States.

In the case of Japanese language teaching, the teachers' reliance on commercially prepared material is almost total. There is virtually no material that attempts to bring about a better understanding of Japanese Americans and their culture. At Sequoia High School, some material has been developed.

Generally, the Sequoia material supplements the regular lessons. That is, the linguistic items and the sequence in which they are presented in the textbook are reinforced by supplementary information about



Japanese culture. The following dialogue exemplifies how multicultural information was infused into the language course. The conversation is between Tanaka, a young visitor from Japan, and Honda, a Japanese American.

Tanaka: Are you an American? (Anatawa Americkajin desuka.)

Honda: Yes, I am. (Hai, soo desu)

Tanaka: Where in America were you born? (Amerika no doko de umaremashita ka.)

Honda: I was born in Palo Alto, which is near San Francisco.  
(San Furanshisuko ni chikai Paro Aruto de umaremashita.)

Tanaka: Is that so. Then you are from the state of California.  
(Soo desu ka. Soredewa Karihoonia shuu kara desu ne.)

Honda: Yes, that is correct. (Hai, soo desu.)

Tanaka: Are you a Nisei? (Anata wa Nisei desu ka.)

Honda: No, I am a Sansei. My father and mother are Nisei.  
My grandfather and grandmother are Issei.

(Iie, watashi was sansei desu. Chichi to haha ga nisei desu. Ojiisama to Obaasama was issei desu.)

Tanaka: Do you speak Japanese at home? (Anata wa uchi de Nihongo o hanashimasuka.)

Honda: Yes, I speak English and Japanese. (Hai, watashi wa Eigo to Nihongo o hanashimasu.)

Tanaka: Do all of your friends speak Japanese? (Anata no otomodachi was minna Nihongo o hanashimasuka.)

Honda: No, they don't speak much Japanese. (Iie, amari Nihongo o hanashimasen.)

Tanaka: Where did you learn Japanese? (Anata wa doko de Nihongo o naraimashitaka.)

Honda: I learned it at Sequoia High School. (Watashi was Sekooiya Kookoo de naraimashita.)

Other dialogues cover such topics as the number of Japanese Americans in various cities of the United States, the location of ethnic communities (for instance, Japantown in San Francisco), the kind of food eaten in Japanese-American homes, the availability of Japanese food, goods, and so on, and the planning of a visit to San Francisco.

The level of the dialogue is determined by the kind and amount of patterns and grammatical items that the students have learned. The dialogues usually follow each lesson and are keyed to the lessons. More advanced students are asked to translate English texts, whereas the beginning students are asked to memorize the text for repetition.

These lessons are also supplemented by cultural activities that usually include movies about various aspects Japanese-American culture.

### Summary

One of the major components of the American Foundations course is the unit on Japanese Americans. The inclusion of this particular unit was determined by (1) a state law that explicitly lists the Japanese Americans as one of the ethnic-minority groups to be included in the social studies curriculum, (2) the large Japanese-American population in California, particularly in major population centers such as

San Francisco Bay Area, and (3) the significant roles played and contributions made by the Japanese Americans in the state and in communities such as Redwood City, where Sequoia High School is located.

The teaching strategies employed in the unit generally followed those listed in Chapter 3 for the American Foundations course. In essence, emphasis was on using the conceptual approach to help students acquire the skills needed in the process of inquiry.

The exceedingly short time allotted to teach each of the five topics to be covered was a constant worry to the teachers while they were designing the unit. In face of this limitation, they decided to provide one perspective that would serve as the basic frame of reference. The main inquiry was to determine how the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans overcame so many of the obstacles that threatened to prevent them from being completely accepted by the mainstream society. The teaching material for the unit was therefore to be compatible with the view that the success the Japanese Americans achieved in their struggle was primarily due to the values and attitudes they retained from their root culture, which was modified and refined by their experiences in the United States.

In designing the unit, the teachers first identified key concepts-- identity, values, racism, ethnic community, and diversity--and then selected related concepts. Next, generalizations to support the key concepts were taken from various disciplines within the social sciences. Appropriate objectives, both affective and cognitive, were then set forth

in behavioral terms. Finally, criteria for selecting resource materials were established.

Because of the great importance of one of the topics, "Cultural Characteristics of the Japanese and Japanese Americans," some background information was given in this chapter. Also presented were examples of materials developed for the unit. And to provide concrete examples of the curriculum unit, five lesson plans, covering each of the major topics, were included in this chapter.

The American Foundations course was designed for specific use in the Social Studies Department. But, in order to encourage other departments to design multiethnic units suitable for their particular needs, the author developed several sample units for other fields. These have been briefly presented here.

## CHAPTER V

### CURRICULUM EVALUATION

This chapter presents data that were collected from students who took the mandated American Foundations course, and that served as the basis for evaluating the course. Some type of evaluation was needed to comply with the department's decision to use the students' opinions as a basis for determining whether the pilot program would be continued the following year. If the course was to be offered again, the department needed some kind of information to indicate where improvements had to be made to make the course more interesting and relevant. Another critical reason to evaluate the course was to test the premises of the teachers who opposed incorporating multicultural material into the curriculum. Finally, the information gained from the participating students might prove to be a significant first step toward answering the research question introduced in Chapter 1 (see page 8).

#### The School and the Sampled Population

Sequoia High School serves a suburban area that embodies a broad socioeconomic spectrum, ranging from the very poor to the very rich. It is the oldest school in the district and has a sizeable representation from several ethnic groups, including Spanish-surnamed, black, Asian, and Pacific Island students. Although the school draws its students from this broad spectrum, there has been a noticeable shift toward the lower-middle and lower classes in the past few years. In

the year the American Foundations course was first introduced as a pilot program, the ethnic composition of the school population was as follows:

<u>Students</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Whites	1471	67.4
Latinos (Spanish surnames)	396	18.9
Blacks	240	10.9
Others (Asians, Native Americans, etc.)	<u>75</u>	<u>3.4</u>
Total	2182	99.6

Of the 562 eleventh graders who were mandated to take the American Foundations course, 356, or 63 percent, returned the questionnaire used for evaluating the course. The following table shows the ethnic composition of the eleventh graders who responded:

<u>Students</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Whites	251	70.5
Latinos	54	15.1
Blacks	18	5.0
Others	33	9.2

Of the total, 177, or 49 percent, were girls, and 179, or 51 percent, were boys.

The 63 percent response was satisfactory. A greater response was not attained because two of the participating teachers failed to return the questionnaires, saying they lacked the time to deal with them.

#### Evaluation Design and Procedure

The decision to use a simple questionnaire was made by the participating U.S. history teachers, but the actual task of formulating the questions was "assigned" to the author of this paper.

The questions had to elicit pertinent data that would help meet the general needs listed at the beginning of this chapter. Specifically, enough suitable data had to be collected to (1) determine whether the students were sufficiently satisfied with the course to support its continuation the following year; (2) identify the specific areas of the curriculum that needed to be changed, omitted, or improved if the students did recommend continuation of the course; and (3) prove or disprove the arguments advanced by the teachers who generally opposed incorporation of multicultural material into the curriculum.

The following eight statements were those most commonly advanced by the opposing teachers:

1. The majority of the students are not interested in learning about the ethnic-minority students, and they should not be compelled to take such a course.
2. There are not enough ethnic-minority students in the school to warrant such a course.
3. It is too late to include such a course at the secondary level; that is, it is too late to effect any significant behavioral or attitudinal changes among the students.
4. Many of the elementary schools already have multicultural courses, so having another course at the secondary level would be largely repetitious.
5. There are not enough ethnic-minority teachers to develop and teach a course like the American Foundations course.
6. Such a course, if initiated, would encourage fragmentation of the school rather than encourage harmony within the school.

7. Such a course would emphasize only the negative aspects of our history, and the students are not sophisticated enough to handle critical information about our history and society.

8. A course on the history and experiences of ethnic-minority people should be offered on an elective basis because there isn't sufficient time to include it in a "regular" U.S. history course.

Following are the questions (statements) that were finally included in the student questionnaire.

1. This course should be taught next year.
2. This course should be taught to all eleventh graders.
3. The history of the ethnic-minority people is an important part of our history.
4. Only ethnic-minority students should be required to take this course.
5. Only white students should study this course.
6. Students in other schools should have this type of course too.
7. History should include both the good and the bad points of our people.
8. It is too late to have such a course at the high school level.
9. It is never too late to learn about people.
10. This course should be made longer.
11. It should be offered at the beginning of the year.
12. It should be offered in the second quarter, as it was this year.
13. There was too much to learn in the time that was given to us.
14. There was too much homework.



15. The homework was too difficult.
16. The readings were generally too difficult.
17. There were too many lectures.
18. We should have more guest speakers.
19. We should have more movies, filmstrips, etc.
20. We need more time to discuss the material presented in the

course.

21. Did you know that the units were generally prepared by teachers whose ethnic backgrounds were most directly related to the unit?

22. It made it "better" to have a black teacher teach materials relating to the blacks, etc.

23. The presentations were generally fair to all groups.

24. I learned something new about ethnic-minority people from the following units. . . .

25. My feelings about ethnic-minority people changed for the better, got worse, remained the same.

The questionnaire was designed to elicit simple "yes" or "no" answers. This format compelled the students to give definite answers and made for maximum ease in tallying the responses.

The immediate practical task was to collect sufficient data to help decide whether the American Foundations course would be continued the following year. If the students responded favorably, questions were then needed to help determine what kind of changes were needed to improve the presentation of the course. If the students did not support continuation of the course, different kinds of questions were needed to determine the reasons for their negative reactions.

Obviously, questions 1 and 2 were designed to find out as simply as possible the students' feelings towards the course and whether they would recommend its continuation.

Questions 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 21, 22, 23, and 24 were designed to determine why the students might react unfavorably to the course. These questions were based on the eight major reasons advanced by the teachers who had serious doubts about introducing multicultural material into the curriculum.

Questions 10 through 20 were designed to determine what kind of changes were needed to make the course, if continued, more relevant and interesting to the students. These questions could also help explain why the students might have developed a negative attitude toward the course.

The final question, number 25, was intended to elicit the students' feelings toward other students--most particularly, how the white students felt about ethnic-minority students. More detailed questions that might have assessed their feelings more accurately were avoided at this time.

In devising the survey questionnaire, there were certain limiting factors. No teacher in the Social Studies Department had any formal training in designing questionnaires and there was no model to follow because no other mandated multicultural course existed at the time. The only possible guide was the Evaluation Guidelines for Multicultural-Multiracial Education published in 1973 by the National Study of School Evaluation. However, it was designed to help evaluate the school environs rather than curricular offerings. Compounding the difficulties

was the ever-present problem of working within time constraints: there was little time to prepare the questionnaire and no time to make a prior run to test it for validity and reliability. There was not sufficient time to submit the questionnaire to all the participating teachers on the team for preliminary comment or to discuss its reliability even on a superficial level.

The participating teachers returned the completed forms to the author. The opinions of 37 percent of the students were not counted. Students in the classes of the two participating teachers who could not find time to pass out the questionnaires made up most of this percentage, and regular absences and lost forms accounted for the rest.

Under better conditions an effort would have been made to collect more diversified and detailed data from the students and the participating teachers, but the harried nature of the public school schedule precluded the possibility of making that effort. In short, the participating teachers had to relegate a lesser priority to the task of evaluation in favor of devoting a maximum amount of time to the development and implementation of the American Foundations course and to minimize the possibility of "losing" this critically needed pilot program.

#### Results of the Survey

The following tables contain the raw data collected from the students. Included in each of the tables is the question or statement to which the students responded. Accompanying each table is a preliminary statement about the responses. A more detailed discussion of the findings appears in Chapter 6.

TABLE 1  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 1

Statement: This course should be taught next year.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	106	104	210	59
	Latinos	26	25	51	15
	Blacks	6	9	15	4
	Asians	9	4	13	4
	Others	7	8	15	4
	Totals		154	150	304
No	Whites	18	22	40	11
	Latinos	2	1	3	1
	Blacks	3	0	3	1
	Asians	0	1	1	0
	Others	0	3	3	1
	Totals		23	27	50
No response	Whites	0	1	1	0.8
	Latinos	0	0	0	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	1	1	0.8
	Totals		0	2	2
Grand totals		177	179	356	100

The figures indicate strong support by all students to continue the course. There is a slightly greater percentage of support by ethnic-minority students than by white students, and by girls than by boys.

TABLE 2  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO 2

Statement: This course should be taught to all eleventh graders.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	89	81	168	47
	Latinos	25	21	46	13
	Blacks	7	8	15	4
	Asians	8	4	12	3
	Others	5	6	11	3
	Totals		132	120	252
No	Whites	36	44	80	22
	Latinos	3	4	7	2
	Blacks	1	1	2	1
	Asians	1	1	2	1
	Others	2	6	8	2
	Totals		43	56	99
No response	Whites	1	2	3	1
	Latinos	0	1	1	0
	Blacks	1	0	1	1
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals		2	3	5
Grand totals		177	179	356	100

A high percentage of eleventh graders agreed that the course should be taught to all eleventh graders. The female students generally showed a greater rate of agreement. The strong affirmative response contrasts sharply with the view of those teachers who stated that students would generally oppose a mandated multicultural course.

TABLE 3  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 3

Statement: The history of the ethnic-minority people is an important part of our history.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	108	96	204	57
	Latinos	26	21	47	13
	Blacks	8	9	17	5
	Asians	9	5	14	4
	Others	7	10	17	5
	Totals		158	141	299
No	Whites	12	31	43	12
	Latinos	2	4	6	2
	Blacks	1	0	1	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	2	2	1
	Totals		15	37	52
No response	Whites	4	0	4	1
	Latinos	0	1	1	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals		4	1	5
Grand totals		177	179	356	100

Eighty-four percent of all respondents agreed with the statement. Girls showed greater rate of support for the statement than did boys. This percentage is almost identical with the percentages approving continuation of the course (see Table 1).

TABLE 4  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 4

Statement: Only ethnic-minority students should be required to take this course.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	6	20	26	7
	Latinos	1	3	4	1
	Blacks	1	2	3	1
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	1	3	4	1
	Totals		9	28	37
No	Whites	117	107	224	63
	Latinos	27	22	49	14
	Blacks	1	2	3	1
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	1	3	4	1
	Totals		167	150	317
No response	Whites	1	0	1	0
	Latinos	0	1	1	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals		1	1	2
Grand totals		177	179	356	100

A vast majority of the respondents indicated that all students should take this course, not just ethnic-minority ones. Female and ethnic-minority students showed a slightly higher rate of agreement on this point than the other students. The students' opinions contrasted sharply with that of the teachers who claimed that the majority of students would oppose taking such a course.

TABLE 5  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 5

Statement: Only white students should study this course.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	5	7	12	3
	Latinos	3	1	4	1
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals		8	8	16
No	Whites	116	120	236	66
	Latinos	25	25	50	14
	Blacks	9	9	18	5
	Asians	9	5	14	4
	Others	7	12	19	4
	Totals		166	171	337
No response	Whites	3	0	3	1
	Latinos	0	0	0	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals		3	0	3
Grand totals		177	179	356	99

An emphatic "no" was expressed by over 90 percent of all respondents.



TABLE 6  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 6

Statement: Students in other schools should have this type of course too.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	101	99	200	56
	Latinos	26	22	48	3
	Blacks	7	8	15	4
	Asians	9	5	14	4
	Others	6	10	16	2
	Totals	149	144	293	79
No	Whites	20	26	46	13
	Latinos	2	4	6	2
	Blacks	1	1	2	1
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	1	2	3	1
	Totals	24	33	57	17
No response	Whites	3	2	5	1
	Latinos	0	0	0	0
	Blacks	1	0	1	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals	4	2	6	1
Grand totals		177	179	356	97

The respondents all agreed that students in other schools should also study such a course.

TABLE 7  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 7

Statement: History should include both the good and bad points of our people.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	117	122	241	68
	Latinos	28	25	53	15
	Blacks	8	7	15	4
	Asians	8	4	12	3
	Others	7	12	19	5
	Totals		170	170	340
No	Whites	5	5	10	3
	Latinos	0	1	1	0
	Blacks	1	2	3	1
	Asians	1	1	2	1
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals		7	9	16
No response	Whites	0	0	0	0
	Latinos	0	0	0	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals		0	0	0
Grand totals		177	179	356	100

A large majority of the respondents felt that a history course should include both the positive and the negative aspects of our people. A noteworthy fact is that the boys and the girls agreed equally on this point. The students' view on this matter again differed sharply with that of teachers who disagreed with the idea of multicultural education.

TABLE 8  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 8

Statement: It is too late to have such a course at the high school level.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	14	20	34	10
	Latinos	3	2	5	1
	Blacks	2	3	5	1
	Asians	1	0	1	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals		20	25	45
No	Whites	105	106	211	59
	Latinos	25	24	49	14
	Blacks	7	6	13	4
	Asians	8	5	13	5
	Others	7	12	19	5
	Totals		152	153	305
No response	Whites	5	1	6	2
	Latinos	0	0	0	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals		5	1	6
Grand totals		177	179	356	100

The 86 percent of the respondents who felt that it was not too late to have a multicultural course at the high school level sharply disagreed again with the teachers who indicated that this type of a course had very little value at this level. Virtually equal numbers of girls and boys agreed on this matter.

TABLE 9  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 9

Statement: It is never too late to learn about people.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	102	98	200	56
	Latinos	22	17	39	11
	Blacks	6	4	10	3
	Asians	8	4	12	3
	Others	4	8	12	3
	Totals		142	131	273
No	Whites	21	29	50	14
	Latinos	6	9	15	4
	Blacks	3	5	8	2
	Asians	1	1	2	1
	Others	3	3	6	2
	Totals		34	47	81
No response	Whites	1	0	1	0
	Latinos	0	1	0	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals		1	1	2
Grand totals		177	179	356	99

A high number of students (76 percent) indicated that it is never too late to learn about people. The girls were more inclined toward this view than the boys.

TABLE 10  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 10

Statement: The course should be made longer.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	35	16	51	14
	Latinos	16	12	28	8
	Blacks	4	5	9	3
	Asians	7	1	8	2
	Others	4	1	5	1
	Totals	66	35	101	28
No	Whites	87	111	198	56
	Latinos	11	14	25	7
	Blacks	5	4	9	7
	Asians	2	4	6	2
	Others	2	11	13	4
	Totals	107	144	251	71
No response	Whites	2	0	2	1
	Latinos	1	0	1	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	1	0	1	0
	Totals	4	0	4	1
Grand totals		177	179	356	100

Less than 30 percent of the respondents felt that the course should be longer. Many white students (79 percent) said "no" to lengthening of the course, but the majority of ethnic-minority students replied "yes." This is one of the few items on which there was a sharp difference along ethnic lines.

TABLE 11  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 11

Statement: It should be offered at the beginning of the year.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	70	78	148	42
	Latinos	17	17	34	10
	Blacks	5	8	13	10
	Asians	5	3	8	2
	Others	6	6	12	3
No	Whites	39	42	81	23
	Latinos	8	7	15	4
	Blacks	3	1	4	1
	Asians	3	2	5	1
	Others	0	5	5	1
	Totals	53	57	110	30
No response	Whites	15	7	22	6
	Latinos	3	2	5	1
	Blacks	1	0	1	1
	Asians	1	0	1	0
	Others	1	1	2	1
	Totals	21	10	31	8
	Grand totals	177	179	356	100

This question, designed to find out how students felt about when the course was offered during the year, revealed that 60 percent of the respondents wanted the course in the first quarter. Boys showed a stronger preference for the first quarter than did girls.

TABLE 12  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 12

Statement: It should be offered in the second quarter, as it was this year.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	57	61	118	33
	Latinos	16	18	34	10
	Blacks	4	6	10	3
	Asians	5	3	8	2
	Others	4	4	8	2
	Totals	86	92	178	50
No	Whites	47	56	103	29
	Latinos	12	6	18	5
	Blacks	3	2	5	1
	Asians	3	2	5	1
	Others	2	4	6	2
	Totals	67	70	137	38
No response	Whites	20	10	30	8
	Latinos	0	2	2	1
	Blacks	2	1	3	1
	Asians	1	0	1	0
	Others	1	4	5	1
	Totals	24	17	41	11
Grand totals		177	179	356	100

The majority of the students indicated "yes" to this question, which was designed to find out if students felt strongly about when the course was offered. Responses to questions 11 and 12 were less emphatic than to any other questions in the survey.

TABLE 13  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 13

Statement: There was too much to learn in the time that was given to us.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	74	74	148	42
	Latinos	15	13	28	8
	Blacks	6	6	12	3
	Asians	6	2	8	2
	Others	2	6	8	2
	Totals		103	101	204
No	Whites	46	47	93	26
	Latinos	13	13	26	7
	Blacks	3	3	6	2
	Asians	2	3	5	1
	Others	5	6	11	3
	Totals		69	72	141
No response	Whites	4	6	10	3
	Latinos	0	0	0	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	1	0	1	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals		5	6	11
Grand totals		177	179	356	99

Students who thought the work load was not too heavy outnumbered those who thought it was by 18 percent (57 to 39 percent). There was virtually no difference in opinion between boys and girls on this matter.



TABLE 14  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 14

Statement: There was too much homework.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	39	55	94	26
	Latinos	6	5	11	3
	Blacks	4	2	6	2
	Asians	4	2	6	2
	Others	1	4	5	1
	Totals		54	68	122
No	Whites	80	68	148	42
	Latinos	21	21	42	12
	Blacks	5	7	12	3
	Asians	5	3	8	2
	Others	6	7	13	4
	Totals		117	106	223
No response	Whites	5	4	9	3
	Latinos	1	0	1	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	1	1	1
	Totals		6	5	11
Grand totals		177	179	356	101

Two times as many students felt that the homework load was not too heavy as those who felt it was (63 to 34 percent). Boys outnumbered girls in regarding the homework as too heavy.

TABLE 15  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 15

Statement: The homework was too difficult.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	22	34	56	16
	Latinos	4	4	8	2
	Blacks	2	0	2	1
	Asians	1	2	3	1
	Others	1	3	4	1
	Totals	30	43	73	21
No	Whites	97	90	187	53
	Latinos	23	21	44	12
	Blacks	6	9	15	4
	Asians	9	3	12	3
	Others	6	9	15	4
	Totals	141	133	274	76
No response	Whites	5	3	8	2
	Latinos	0	1	1	1
	Blacks	1	0	1	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals	6	4	10	3
Grand total		177	179	356	100

Seventy-six percent of the respondents indicated that the homework was not too difficult, while 21 percent felt that it was. More boys answered "yes" than girls.

TABLE 16  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 16

Statement: The readings were generally too difficult.

Responses	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	14	30	44	12
	Latinos	7	2	9	3
	Blacks	1	1	2	1
	Asians	1	1	2	1
	Others	1	3	4	1
	Totals		24	37	61
No	Whites	105	94	199	56
	Latinos	19	23	42	12
	Blacks	8	8	16	4
	Asians	8	4	12	3
	Others	6	9	15	4
	Totals		146	138	284
No response	Whites	5	3	8	2
	Latinos	2	1	3	1
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals		7	4	11
Grand total		177	179	356	100

Almost 80 percent of the students felt that the reading material was easy enough. More girls than boys thought the readings not too difficult.

TABLE 17  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 17

Statement: There were too many lectures.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	25	44	69	19
	Latinos	4	4	8	2
	Blacks	2	3	5	1
	Asians	1	3	4	1
	Others	2	5	7	2
	Totals	34	49	93	25
No	Whites	96	81	177	50
	Latinos	24	20	44	12
	Blacks	7	6	13	4
	Asians	8	2	10	3
	Others	4	7	11	3
	Totals	139	116	255	72
No response	Whites	3	2	5	1
	Latinos	0	2	2	1
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	1	0	1	0
	Totals	4	4	8	2
Grand total		177	179	356	99

Only 25 percent of the respondents indicated that there were too many lectures. The response to this question surprised almost all the participating teachers.

TABLE 18  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 18

Statement: We should have more guest speakers.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	116	106	222	62
	Latinos	25	21	46	13
	Blacks	8	7	15	4
	Asians	8	1	9	3
	Others	5	11	15	4
	Totals		162	146	308
No	Whites	7	19	26	8
	Latinos	3	5	8	2
	Blacks	1	2	3	1
	Asians	1	4	5	1
	Others	2	1	3	1
	Totals		14	31	45
No response	Whites	1	2	3	1
	Latinos	0	0	0	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	0	0	0	0
	Totals		1	2	3
Grand totals		177	179	356	100

A large majority of students (86 percent) indicated that a greater number of guest speakers should be invited to speak to the classes. Among those who disagreed were more than twice as many boys as girls.

TABLE 19  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 19

Statement: We should have more movies, filmstrips, etc.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	86	90	176	49
	Latinos	23	22	45	13
	Blacks	6	7	13	4
	Asians	5	2	7	2
	Others	4	10	14	4
	Totals		124	131	255
No	Whites	31	35	66	19
	Latinos	5	3	8	2
	Blacks	3	1	4	1
	Asians	4	3	7	2
	Others	2	1	3	1
	Totals		45	43	88
No response	Whites	7	2	9	3
	Latinos	0	1	1	0
	Blacks	0	1	1	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	1	1	2	1
	Totals		8	5	13
	Grand total	177	179	356	101

Seventy-two percent of the respondents replied that they would like to see greater use of audiovisual materials. Boys outnumbered girls in this preference.

TABLE 20  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 20

Statement: We need more time to discuss the materials presented in the course.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	95	97	192	54
	Latinos	23	23	46	13
	Blacks	9	5	14	4
	Asians	7	2	9	3
	Others	3	9	12	3
	Totals		137	136	273
No	Whites	28	30	58	16
	Latinos	4	2	6	2
	Blacks	0	4	4	1
	Asians	1	3	4	1
	Others	3	2	5	2
	Totals		36	41	77
No response	Whites	1	0	1	0
	Latinos	1	1	2	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	1	0	1	0
	Others	1	1	2	1
	Totals		4	2	6
Grand totals		177	179	356	100

Approximately 77 percent of the students indicated that they needed more time to discuss the topics covered in class. There was virtually no difference of opinion between the boys and the girls.

TABLE 21  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 21

Statement: Did you know that the units were generally prepared by teachers whose ethnic backgrounds were most directly related to the unit?

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	73	65	138	39
	Latinos	10	8	18	5
	Blacks	5	7	12	3
	Asians	6	3	9	2
	Others	4	4	8	2
	Totals	98	87	185	52
No	Whites	50	60	110	31
	Latinos	18	18	36	10
	Blacks	4	2	6	2
	Asians	3	2	5	1
	Others	1	8	9	3
	Totals	76	90	166	47
No response	Whites	1	2	3	1
	Latinos	0	0	0	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	0	0	0
	Others	2	0	2	1
	Totals	3	2	5	2
Grand total		177	179	356	100

Fifty-two percent of the respondents indicated that they were aware of this matter and 47 percent answered to the contrary. This was a surprising result because all the participating teachers were supposed to tell their students that the units were generally prepared by teachers whose ethnic backgrounds were most directly related to the units.



TABLE 22  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 22

Statement: It made it "better" to have a black teacher teach materials relating to the blacks, etc.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	75	78	153	43
	Latinos	24	16	40	11
	Blacks	8	5	13	4
	Asians	7	4	11	3
	Others	3	8	11	3
	Totals		117	111	228
No	White	38	42	80	22
	Latinos	2	8	10	3
	Blacks	1	4	5	1
	Asians	1	1	2	1
	Others	4	2	6	2
	Totals		46	57	103
No response	Whites	11	7	18	5
	Latinos	2	2	4	1
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	1	0	1	0
	Others	0	2	2	1
	Totals		14	11	25
Grand totals		177	179	356	100

Sixty-four percent of all the students responded positively to this question, and 29 percent negatively. "Better" in this case was equated with "of greater interest" or having "greater credibility," but no question was asked that might have led to a more accurate assessment of students' answers.

TABLE 23  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 23

Statement: The presentations were generally fair to all groups.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Yes	Whites	96	92	188	53
	Latinos	20	24	44	12
	Blacks	5	7	12	3
	Asians	5	2	7	2
	Others	3	8	11	3
	Totals		129	133	262
No	Whites	18	29	47	13
	Latinos	5	1	6	2
	Blacks	2	2	4	1
	Asians	2	3	5	1
	Others	3	3	6	2
	Totals		30	38	68
No response	Whites	10	6	16	4
	Latinos	3	1	4	1
	Blacks	2	0	2	1
	Asians	2	0	2	1
	Others	1	1	2	1
	Totals		18	8	26
Grand totals		177	179	356	100

Seventy-three percent of all the students, and 75 percent of all white students, agreed that the course was presented fairly.

TABLE 24  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 24

Statement: I learned something new about ethnic-minority people from the following units.

Ethnic Group	Units						Total
	All	White	Latino	Black	Asian	Native Amer.	
Whites							
Fem	11	14	28	25	39	28	145
Male	11	8	15	24	21	22	101
Total	22	22	43	49	60	50	246
Latinos							
Fem	1	4	5	5	6	7	28
Male	0	0	2	6	5	4	17
Total	1	4	7	11	11	11	45
Blacks							
Fem	0	2	3	2	2	2	11
Male	0	1	5	2	4	3	15
Total	0	3	8	4	6	5	26
Asians							
Fem	1	5	3	4	2	5	20
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	5	3	4	2	5	21
Others							
Fem	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Male	0	2	4	3	1	2	12
Total	0	2	4	3	1	2	12
Grand total	24	36	65	71	80	73	343

Students indicated they most often learned something new from the Asian-American, Native American, and Black American units.

TABLE 25  
RESPONSES TO STATEMENT NO. 25

Statement: My feelings about ethnic-minority people changed for the better, got worse, remained the same.

Response	Ethnic Group	Females	Males	Total	Percent
Better	Whites	43	33	76	21
	Latinos	12	9	21	6
	Blacks	3	4	7	2
	Asians	6	1	7	2
	Others	2	5	7	2
	Totals	66	52	118	33
Worse	Whites	3	9	12	3
	Latinos	1	0	1	0
	Blacks	0	0	0	0
	Asians	0	1	1	0
	Others	0	1	1	0
	Totals	4	10	15	4
Same	Whites	58	58	116	33
	Latinos	10	7	17	5
	Blacks	2	3	5	1
	Asians	3	1	4	1
	Others	3	4	7	2
	Totals	76	73	149	42
No response	Whites	19	28	47	13
	Latinos	5	10	15	4
	Blacks	4	2	6	2
	Asians	0	2	2	1
	Others	3	1	4	1
	Totals	30	43	73	21
Grand total		176	179	365	100

Approximately one-third of the eleventh-grade students indicated an improvement in their attitude toward people of other ethnic groups.

### Summary of the Findings

The students' opinions were sought to help answer the three major questions posed by the social studies teachers.

1. Should the pilot U.S. history course American Foundations be continued for another year?

According to the responses to questions 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6, most of the students considered the multicultural course very important and recommended continuing it. For example, on the first item of the survey, 85 percent of the respondents answered "yes" to the statement "This course should be taught next year." They strongly approved regardless of their ethnic background, although the course received greater support from the ethnic-minority students (94 percent of the Latinos and 93 percent of the Asians) than from the white students (84 percent). The approval rate among black students was only slightly lower (83 percent).

2. If the students should respond positively to the idea of continuing the course for another year, what kinds of changes can the teachers make to improve the presentation of the course?

Questions 10 through 20 were designed to obtain concrete information that would point to the kinds of changes needed to strengthen the course. This is not to say that the students' opinions were the sole determining factor, but they were of major importance.

Responses to questions 10 and 13 yielded an interesting perspective. To statement 10, "The course should be made longer," 71 percent of the students answered "no," and to statement 13, "There was too much to learn in the time that was given to us," 57 percent of them answered

"yes." These responses seem to indicate that although the students felt that there was too much to learn, they did not want to spend more time in learning. There were, however, significant differences in the answers along ethnic lines. To the statement "The course should be made longer," 79 percent of the whites answered "no," while 52 percent of the Latinos, 50 percent of the blacks, and 57 percent of the Asian students answered "yes." To the statement "There was too much to learn . . . ," 67 percent of the black students responded "yes," as compared with 59 percent of the white students, 57 percent of the Asians, and 52 percent of the Latinos.

Sixty-three percent of the students indicated that there was not too much homework (Table 14), and 76 percent indicated that it was not too difficult (Table 15). These figures seem to contradict their response to statement 13, which indicated that they felt that they had too much to learn. According to 79 percent of the respondents, the reading material was not too difficult (Table 16).

To the statement "There were too many lectures," nearly 72 percent answered "no" (Table 17). Eighty-six percent of the students indicated that there should be more guest speakers (Table 18). Approximately 72 percent asserted that there should be greater use of audiovisual material (Table 19). These responses to statements 17, 18, and 19 seem to indicate that the students did not dislike lectures (as feared by the teachers) and/or that they tended to be passive rather than active learners. However, over 76 percent of the students responded that they wanted more time for class discussions (Table 20). This may indicate

that the students felt the course to be "too heavily academic," which might explain their contention that there was too much to learn (Table 13).

3. Do the students' opinions coincide with the views expressed by teachers who were generally against introducing multicultural material into the curriculum?

In summarizing the pertinent findings here, the students' views will be contrasted with those of the teachers.

Teachers' assertion 1. The majority of the students are not interested in learning about the ethnic-minority students, and they should not be compelled to take such a course. Students' opinions: Eighty-five percent of the students felt that the course should be taught (Table 1), and 70 percent indicated that all eleventh graders should take the course (Table 2).

Teachers' assertion 2. Such a course is not needed if there are not many ethnic-minority students in the school. Students' opinions: Eighty-nine percent of the students answered "no" to the statement "Only ethnic-minority students should be required to take this course" (Table 4).

Teachers' assertion 3. Including such a course at the secondary level is not helpful, because it is too late to effect any significant behavioral or attitudinal change among the students in secondary schools. Students' opinions: Approximately 75 percent of all students felt that "it is never too late to learn about people" (Table 9), and 86 percent responded "no" to the statement "It is too late to have such a course at high school level" (Table 8).

Teachers' assertion 4. Many of the elementary schools have already taught multicultural courses, so having another course at the secondary level would be largely repetitious. Students' opinions: Sixty percent of the students indicated that they did learn something new about ethnic-minority people (see Table 24). White students generally agreed that they learned the most about the Asian Americans and Native Americans. Latino students indicated that they had learned new things about Asian Americans, black Americans, and Native Americans. Black students listed the Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans as the ones they learned the most about. Asian-American students specified white Americans, Native Americans, and black Americans as the groups they learned the most about (see Table 24).

Teachers' assertion 5. There are not enough ethnic-minority teachers to develop and teach a course like the American Foundations course. Students' opinions: Sixty-four percent of the students thought that it was better to have a black teacher teach materials relating to the blacks, and so on (see Table 22).

Teachers' assertion 6. Such a course, if initiated, would encourage fragmentation of the school rather than encourage harmony within the school. Students' opinions: Only 4 percent of the students stated that, after taking the course, their feelings about ethnic-minority people had gotten worse, while 33 percent answered that their attitude toward ethnic-minority people had improved; 42 percent indicated that their feelings remained the same (see Table 25).



Teachers' assertion 7. Such a course would emphasize only the negative aspects of our history, and the students are not sophisticated enough to handle critical information about our history and society.

Students' opinions: Ninety-five percent of the students agreed that history should include both the good and the bad points about our people. Despite the fact that majority of the students knew that ethnic-minority teachers prepared the material for ethnic minority units (see Table 21), 73 percent indicated that they thought the course was fair to all people: 75 percent of the white students agreed with this view (see Table 23).

Teachers' assertion 8. A course on ethnic-minority people should be offered on an elective basis. . . . Students' opinions: As noted earlier, 70 percent of all students felt that eleventh graders should take this course. (In California, a U.S. history course is mandatory for the eleventh grade; that is, juniors must pass this course to graduate.)

### Summary

The students' responses to the questionnaire on the multicultural American Foundations course demonstrated definite approval of the course and negated the objections of teachers who opposed the course for the several reasons cited in this chapter.

Based on the students' responses, it can reasonably be said that the majority of the eleventh-grade students at Sequoia High School felt that a multiethnic/multicultural course such as the American Foundations

course was an important one and that it should be offered to all future juniors at Sequoia as well as to students in other schools. The students definitely rejected the notion that the so-called ethnic-minority course should be offered either only to ethnic-minority students or only to white students. They perceived it as a relevant course for all students and did not think that offering such a course as late as the secondary level would diminish its effect. Further, many of them felt that they had modified their attitudes toward other people for the better.

The students apparently were generally satisfied with the way the course was taught. Their responses indicated that the course was presented objectively and fairly and that much of the information was new to them. They also expressed a desire to have more guest speakers and greater use of audiovisual materials, and to somehow reduce the work load.

In the next chapter, the survey will be analyzed in more depth, and the whole program will be analyzed on the basis of additional information, primarily the personal observations of the teachers.

## C H A P T E R   V I

### DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The eleventh-grade students at Sequoia Union High School indicated strong positive support for the mandated multicultural American Foundations course in their responses to the questionnaire described in the previous chapter. In the present chapter these responses, along with the observations of the participating teachers, are analyzed to see to what degree the major research question posed in Chapter 1 might have been answered and, possibly, to identify areas that might stimulate future study in the critical field of multicultural education.

#### Analysis of Evaluation Results

The most prominent fact to emerge from the survey was the strong support given to the American Foundations course by all students. Throughout the survey there was remarkable agreement on almost all the important questions between the majority students and the ethnic-minority students and between the males and females. The only question the white students and ethnic-minority students disagreed on was whether the course should be longer in duration (that is, extended from a quarter to a semester). The majority of the students were against the course being extended. But it was the white students who largely responded "no"; the majority of the ethnic-minority students were in favor of extending the course (see Table 10). The most significant difference

between the males and the females was also on this question: 40 percent of the males and only 30 percent of the females thought the course should not be extended (see Table 10).

Another interesting fact to emerge from the survey was the differences of opinion on certain questions among the ethnic-minority students. The general difference between the black students and other ethnic-minority students was the relative "pessimism" of the responses of the blacks. For example, in the statement "This course should be taught next year," the black students registered the lowest number of "yes" answers among all the students (see Table 1). Again, to the statement "Only ethnic-minority students should be required to take this course," 83 percent of the black students responded "no," and this was the lowest rate among all the students (see Table 4). In another instances, to the statement that a history course should include both the good and the bad points of the American people, the blacks, along with the Asian -American students, registered a lower rate of "yes" answers than the white students (see Table 7).

As for the statement "It is too late to have such a course at the high school level," only 72 percent of the blacks answered "no," in contrast with 84 percent of the whites, and 91 percent and 93 percent, respectively, of the more "optimistic" Latino and Asian students (see Table 8). In the next statement, "It is never too late to learn about people," only 56 percent of the black students responded that it was never too late, and again, this was the lowest rate among all the groups (see Table 9).

Another interesting finding was the Asian-American students' comparatively low rate of agreement with the statement "The presentation was generally fair to all ethnic groups." Only 50 percent of them responded "yes," in sharp contrast with 67 percent of the blacks, 71 percent of the whites, and 81 percent of the Latinos. Surprisingly, the Asian Americans responded very positively to the fact that the ethnic-minority units were presented by ethnic-minority teachers (see Table 21).

#### Observations of the Participating Teachers

The participating teachers' greatest areas of concern were whether (1) the students would support the continuation of the pilot program, and (2) the teachers would be able to design and organize a course that would meet the criteria and the framework established by the District Social Studies Coordination Committee and the Sequoia Social Studies Department in the short time available to them. They faced the additional burden of trying to design a course that the students would regard as a fair one, because at that time there was a definite tendency on the part of many people to view multicultural and multiethnic materials/courses to be "antiwhite" and "pro-ethnic-minority." Finally, the teachers had to make the course sufficiently interesting to gain and sustain the students' attention. The participating teachers were less concerned with the objections and the doubts expressed by those teachers who opposed the introduction of a multicultural-multiethnic material into the U.S. History course.

Unfortunately, no effort was made to formally collect and analyze the teachers' observations and evaluations, but periodic meetings were held by participating teachers to evaluate the course as it was being taught so that adjustments might be made. At the end of the course, the teachers were generally satisfied with the way it was designed, organized, and taught. Following are a few of their observations and their opinions regarding the projected goals and objectives for the course.

1. Most of the participating teachers expected the students to support the continuation of the American Foundations course because it was the students who provided the first important impetus to initiate the pilot program. Although the teachers were not surprised that the students expressed support for the program in the questionnaire, they were surprised at the strength of that support.

2. The teachers were particularly pleased with the students' response to the statement "The presentation of the course was generally fair to all groups," because the teachers who designed the course had made every effort to present the history of the United States as objectively and accurately as possible. The teachers were well aware that history courses up to that time had tended to be "optimistic" and "positive" rather than objective. Thus, it was deeply satisfying that 73 percent of all the students, and 75 percent of all white students, agreed on the fairness of the presentation. But the teachers were surprised at the relatively low rate of positive response by the Asian students (see Table 23.)

3. The teachers did not "agree" with the students' opinion that the homework and assignments were not too heavy or too difficult, or that the reading materials were not too difficult, for the quality of the work turned in by the students was below the expectations of the teachers (that is, the students gave superficial answers in their essays). Although the cause of the students' disappointing performance was not clearly established, the teachers tended to agree with the students that there was not enough time to discuss materials presented to them (see Table 20.)

4. One of the gratifying outcomes of the course was that 33 percent of the students responded that their feelings about ethnic-minority people had changed for the better. But what was most surprising was that the highest number of respondents expressing this view were not the white students but the ethnic-minority students (see Table 25). That so many of them indicated this change in attitude toward other ethnic-minorities seems to suggest that significant numbers of these students had held a negative view about themselves. Simpson and Yinger have noted that the members of an ethnic-minority group tend to take on the culture of the dominant society, including its prejudices. This often causes the ethnic-minority individual to develop a negative self-image and to harbor prejudices toward other ethnic-minority groups as well as toward members of the dominant group.<sup>1</sup> It is quite possible, therefore, that the high rate of change in the ethnic-minority students' attitude toward other ethnic minorities was the result of their exposure to "new" or different facts that altered

their previously negative views. Their answers to the question concerning the unit(s) from which they learned something new certainly suggest that they did learn new facts, which would add weight to this conjecture. For example, the white students said that they learned something new from the units on Asian-Americans, the Native Americans, and the blacks; the Latino students listed the Asian-American, black, and Native American units; the black students named the Latino, Asian-American, and Native American units; and Asian-American students listed the Native American, white, and black units (see Table 24). In the tallies, the units from which the students "learned something new" were, in order of decreasing impact: Asian-American, Native American, black American, Latino-American and finally, white American. This ranking says a great deal about the nature and substance of the prevailing curriculum in most schools. With the exception of the one Japanese-American teacher on the team, all the other teachers were greatly surprised that students put the Asian-American unit highest on the list. A similar reaction occurred at the various in-service programs for teachers and for classified and certificated personnel of the Sequoia district. Many people feel that "quite a bit" of Asian history and culture is taught in the schools, but apparently the students are not receiving the information. Perhaps many teachers are personally interested in Asian culture, but this interest is not being conveyed in the class.

Quite predictably, the greatest proportion of all students, 42 percent, indicated that their feelings toward minority people had not



changed, and only 4 percent said that their feelings had become worse. The most noteworthy aspect of this question about a possible change in attitude was that a relatively high number of students did not make any response. (See Table 25.) For all other questions, the no-response rate was very low, never exceeding 7 percent, but on this question 21 percent of the students chose not to respond.

5. Two of the lesser concerns for the teachers were to determine the most suitable time to teach the pilot course, and to avoid offering material that might already have been presented in the lower grades. The students' opinions did not help in determining which was the best quarter to introduce the course, but their strong acknowledgement that they had learned something new generally convinced the teachers that they were on the "right course." The primary objectives of the teachers, in preparing for the following year's presentation were to improve the materials and to find a more efficient method to present the course rather than to change its structure.

In summary, the social studies teachers at Sequoia High School were satisfied with their initial effort to incorporate a multicultural-multicultural course into the U.S. History program. They felt that they had taken a significant first step toward answering the question "What changes are needed in the existing curriculum to make it more representative of our culturally pluralistic society and more relevant to students of all sociocultural backgrounds?" The tentative answer to this question by the teachers was to make multicultural units/courses a regular part of the curriculum so that all students would have the

opportunity to gain from them, and, more importantly, to mandate at least one multicultural course for all students in each of the departments in the school. The following pages will describe the efforts to incorporate multicultural material/courses into the other departments.

### Analysis of the Sequoia High School Multicultural "Program"

The following analysis is based on the author's personal observations. There was no formal effort to collect data from the teachers or the students about their opinions of their experiences concerning multicultural education. The author was at this time the chairperson of the Sequoia High School Human Relations Committee and therefore had numerous meetings with staff members and students concerning multicultural education. He was then also serving as the coordinator of the District In-service Program, so the observations are based on the information gathered during this period.

The multicultural program at Sequoia High School, as in all other schools in the district, consisted of elective courses or units that were hastily added to the existing program. Many of the departments did not seriously consider incorporating a multicultural perspective into their existing programs. The Physical Education, Business, Industrial Arts, Math, Science, and Music Departments generally expended minimal effort toward adding multicultural material/courses. On the whole, the teachers in these departments were the least cooperative in attending any kind of multicultural program, usually attending only under great pressure from the administration. They did show some interest in

in-service programs concerned with how to teach ethnic-minority students more effectively. But their chief concern seemed to be how to reduce discipline problems in their classrooms. Few teachers appeared to accept the idea that at least some of the discipline problems were related to the fact that the school offered what Larry Cuban refers to as "white instruction."<sup>2</sup> In resisting inclusion of multicultural materials/activities into their departments, they were exposing their basic attitude toward ethnic-minority students.

Most resistant were the Physical Education and Music Departments. They stated either that there were not any qualified teachers or that multicultural material did not meet the standards of their departments. For example, the Music Department insisted that there was only sufficient time to teach the best music.

Some departments incorporated minimal kinds of multicultural material into their curriculum. For example, the Industrial Arts Woodshop and Welding teachers allowed students free choice in their individual projects. Two of the more noteworthy projects that were multicultural in nature were the go board used for Japanese chess-type game and a Japanese-styled lantern. Auto-shop instructors gave short lectures on the development of the Wankel engine by German and Japanese engineers, and one teacher talked about the rapid gains made by German and Japanese automakers, particularly in the area of technology.

The Science Department agreed to have one science class taught in Spanish when federal money was made available to generate bilingual-bicultural courses in the school.

The following departments made a more conscious and concerted effort to include multicultural material into their courses.

1. English Department. The teachers introduced an elective Ethnic-Minority Literature course as well as one entitled Black Literature in America. Many teachers incorporated multicultural material into their regular courses. For example, one instructor included Far Eastern literature in his World Literature course. An outstanding contribution was made by another teacher, who compiled an anthology of short stories that were multicultural in nature. This anthology was later published and distributed nationally.<sup>3</sup>

2. Home Economics Department. One instructor added several Chinese, Mexican, and Balck recipes in her cooking class, and an instructor in the Contemporary Life Styles class included a short unit called "Japanese Concepts of Beauty," which, however, was discontinued when she retired.

3. Art Department. One teacher set aside an hour for a "Japanese and Japanese-American Art" lecture-slide presentation to his classes, but this practice was discontinued when he was assigned to teach another art class. The Ceramics teacher displayed his collection of Mexican pottery and also introduced some pottery-glazing techniques such as Raku Yaki, a Japanese technique, to his classes. But when he retired, this practice was also discontinued. One of the Fine Arts teachers included Chinese and Japanese art techniques as an integral part of her course even before there was a demand for multicultural material in the classroom.

4. Math Department. One teacher developed and taught a multicultural unit in one of her classes. The unit included the introduction of the "golden rectangle" concept, an Asian kite-making project, a short course on the use of the Japanese abacus, plus many of the multicultural math problems described in Chapter 4 (see pages 127-129).

5. Foreign Language Department. This department, by definition, has been multicultural in nature and its teachers have always included a brief survey of the history and culture of the country of the language under study. At one time the department taught Russian, Chinese, Italian, French, German, Latin, Spanish, and Japanese. But today only French, German, Japanese, and Spanish are taught.

More recently, a few of the teachers have begun introducing materials on the ethnic cultures in America. An example of this kind of material appears in Chapter 4 (see pages 129-131).

Summary. Generally speaking, the multicultural program at Sequoia High School has been a minimal one. Most of the teachers apparently have not seen any critical need to introduce multicultural material into their courses and seem to believe that if any such material is incorporated, it belongs in the Social Studies and English Departments. To many teachers, learning "how to handle ethnic-minority students" in their classes is the only concession they would make toward having a multicultural program. Seemingly, they have not noticed the great difference between how to handle ethnic-minority students and how to teach ethnic-minority students more effectively.

Generally, the multicultural approach has been adopted by ethnic-minority teachers or those teachers who have always been actively supportive of ethnic-minority people. However, even their valuable contributions have been discontinued once they were no longer on the Sequoia scene.

Many teachers also seem to regard the bilingual-bicultural program as the multicultural program rather than as only a part of the total multicultural program. Thus, there is a growing tendency in the school to overdose the students with Latino-American material, thereby replacing the previous tendency toward having "too" heavy an emphasis on black American material. Native American and Asian-American students continue to receive the least amount of attention in the school.

Many teachers and administrators apparently believe that the school's job-experience and career-planning programs are part of multicultural program. The Business Department has established a Cooperative Office Occupation Program and a General Work Experience Program that are designed to provide students with actual job experience and/or employment on a part-time basis. Many ethnic-minority students have benefited from this type of program. Most prominent among three such programs at Sequoia is the FEAST program offered in the Home Economics Department. It is designed to give practical experience to students who are or might be interested in a food-service career, and a number of ethnic-minority students have enrolled in the program. But many ethnic-minority people, including the District Superintendent, contend that ethnic-minority students should be encouraged to take college preparatory classes

rather than prepare for careers that have extremely limited growth possibilities. These critics feel that Sequoia High School staff members have not expended sufficient amount of time or effort in preparing ethnic-minority students for higher education.

The English and Social Studies Departments, which had been most active in incorporating multicultural material into the curriculum, have been losing ground. Ostensibly because of a drastically reduced budget, they have lost several of the courses that were added to the curriculum several years ago. The passage of the tax limitation act in California has encouraged in return to traditional programs, which to a lot of people means cutting out "frills courses," and apparently many teachers and administrators view the multicultural program as one of the "frills." In sum, it can be said that multicultural education has become a token program receiving virtually no help from the faculty or the administration.

#### Implications of the Study

The first-year effort to implement the multicultural U.S. History course at Sequoia High School on a mandated basis was a success, at least from the perspective of Sequoia eleventh graders and the social studies teachers. But this success in one department did not stimulate other departments to make the same kind of commitment. The foremost obstacle in implementing any kind of multicultural program seems to be the attitude of the staff members rather than students' resistance to it. Many teachers oppose the offering of multicultural courses out of fear that the students will not sign up for such courses. Apparently

these teachers do not consider questions such as, "Are all the courses in school offered as a result of student request or demand?" or "Were such courses as U.S. History and American Government offered on a mandatory basis or a result of student choice?" Of course, their expressed reasons for not offering multicultural courses implicitly convey both their fundamental attitude toward ethnic-minority students and their lack of understanding of what multicultural education is.

These last two factors are inseparably intertwined, as Margaret Gibson points out in her paper "Approaches to Multicultural Education in the United States."<sup>4</sup> In this paper she describes the four basic approaches to multicultural education. The first approach, called "benevolent multiculturalism," is to equalize educational offerings for culturally different students. Educators who agree with this view would not see multicultural education as a total school offering, and understandably so.

The second approach, which Gibson calls, "cultural understanding," is to teach students to value cultural differences and to encourage the acceptance of the individual's right to be different. Advocates of this view would regard multicultural education as involving only one or two departments, most probably social studies and English, rather than the whole school.

The third approach is to regard multicultural education as a means of preserving and extending cultural pluralism in American society. Many teachers as well as many members of the community would find this



approach unacceptable because they believe in the prevailing approach, which stresses the continuation of the Anglo-conformity pattern.

The fourth approach is bicultural education. The purpose of this approach is to produce competent learners who can operate successfully in two diverse cultures. Although many educators may not agree with its basic premise, they can agree with the concept of a separate class for culturally different people that this approach implies. Obviously accepting this approach obviates any school-wide multicultural program.

These four basic approaches as described by Gibson explain the possible reasons why most of the schools in our society do not offer multicultural education that encompasses the total school curriculum. She believes that these four approaches have serious shortcomings: each of the four tends to lead to unintentional stereotyping of students and "to restrict its view of culture to the culture of an ethnic group," and thus encourages a divisive dichotomy within the schools.<sup>6</sup>

Analysis of the Sequoia multicultural program indicates that before curricular changes can be made, the prevailing attitudes of the staff must be dealt with and, at the least, some kind of an effort must be made to clarify the meaning of multicultural education. As far as the basic research is concerned, the Sequoia experience suggests that curricular changes in one department of the school do not necessarily stimulate curricular changes in other departments. In the final chapter, some recommendations will be made that might bring the teachers a step closer to implementing a multicultural program to meet the needs of a larger segment of the school.

C H A P T E R   V I I  
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Over two decades have elapsed since the Supreme Court decision to desegregate the schools. Since then, this desegregation has still not been completed and controversy over it continues to rage, sometimes violently. More importantly, relatively few people are appraising the curricular offerings, which, for the most part, remain status quo, white-oriented, and glued to the Anglo-conformity pattern. Confusing the general educational picture are the impressive number of laws and policies that seem to have led to more multicultural educational programs but the majority of which, in fact, involve only a few students and teachers. This paper has attempted to describe and evaluate a multicultural offering in one of the suburban high schools in Northern California.

Summary

The major purpose of this paper was to explore the changes needed in the curriculum of most schools to make it more representative of our culturally pluralistic society and more relevant to students of all sociocultural backgrounds. The practical purpose of the project described was to design and implement a multicultural course that would (1) involve the greatest numbers of students and (2) meet the specific needs of the ethnic-minority students as expressed not only by the students themselves but also by ethnic-minority teachers and

leaders of different ethnic groups, most notably the blacks and the Latinos in the Sequoia Union High School District.

The multicultural U.S. History course was designed and implemented by the social studies teachers at Sequoia Union High School, one of six high schools in the district. The basic framework for the course was provided by the course Ethnic Minorities in the United States, which was offered as one of the elective courses in the U.S. History program. The Social Studies Department decided to make some modifications in the elective and convert it into a mandated course for all eleventh graders. This decision was based on the recommendation of the students who had previously taken the Ethnic Minority People in the United States course.

The revamped course was named American Foundations and was planned as a survey course addressed specifically to explaining the development of our multicultural and multiethnic society. Five major topics formed the bulk of the course: "Identity Problems of American Youth," "Cultural Characteristics and Values of Ethnic Groups in the United States," "Patterns of Oppression," "Contributions of Ethnic Groups," and "Strategy for Change." The course was developed and taught by U.S. History teachers in the department.

At the end of the quarter, students' opinions were obtained through a questionnaire prepared by the staff. Based on findings from this survey and the observations of the participating teachers, the department decided to continue the pilot course as a regular offering of the department. Some of the more significant findings from this

survey were as follows:

1. Continuation of the course was recommended by a strong majority of all students regardless of their sex or ethnic background.
2. The only major difference of opinion between majority students and ethnic-minority students was on the question of whether the quarter course should be extended into a semester course. The majority of students and participating teachers were against this change, although most of the ethnic-minority students and teachers were for it.
3. There were some interesting differences of opinion among ethnic-minority students. Generally, the blacks' responses can be characterized as skeptical or pessimistic in comparison with the responses of other ethnic groups.

The relative success of the Social Studies Department in developing and implementing a multicultural course was not duplicated by other departments in the school. A few teachers incorporated multicultural material into their classes but, generally, this was never sustained beyond the first two years. So the school's multicultural program was limited to the Social Studies Department and to the bilingual program for Spanish-speaking students. The teachers and administrators devoted many hours to multicultural in-service programs but, with few exceptions, these programs failed to generate the kind of attitudinal changes needed to stimulate a greater effort by the teachers to extend multicultural perspectives in the curriculum and into the school activities.

The project provided sufficient evidence that a multicultural course for all students on a mandated basis can be implemented. The findings indicate that such a course should be given serious consideration in designing a curriculum more reflective of the diverse nature of our society.

### Recommendations

The following recommendations include specific, practical steps that could be taken to bring multicultural education to a greater number of students. Suggestions are also offered for future research projects in this vital field.

Teacher education. 1. It is recommended that a survey be conducted among the teachers for their opinions on multicultural education. A questionnaire could include questions that would help identify the teachers' perception of multicultural education from the perspective of their teaching fields. These questions could be based on the four approaches to multicultural education described above.<sup>1</sup> The survey results could help determine the kind of in-service program that might be offered in the future. Expertise and possible funding perhaps could be provided by the Office of Intergroup Education in the State Department of Education. Or universities (such as Stanford University, which has a program on Cultural Pluralism) could assist in designing and implementing such a survey.

2. A restoration of the in-service training program similar to the one described earlier (see pages 77-78) is also urgently proposed, especially because a strong majority of the district's participating teachers responded so positively to such a program. Further programs to help the teachers acquire the knowledge, attitude, and skills consistent with the principles of culturally pluralistic education must be extended on an on-going basis. Dialogues between the teachers, students, and the community, including ethnic-minority groups, is an essential part of any in-service program, and opportunity must be provided for these participants to make critical comments. Career education, global history, and other innovative subjects can be added to these programs and discussed from multicultural perspectives.

Evaluation. 1. A measurement of the possible relationship between the course and the students' attitudes and behavior toward different ethnic groups is strongly urged. A valid test must be designed to determine whether the students taking the course have been positively or negatively influenced in their attitudes toward different ethnic groups.

2. Also strongly recommended is a comparative study to test whether there is a significant difference between students who studied the American Foundation course and those who studied a more traditionally oriented U.S. History course in regard to their attitudes and behavior toward ethnic groups.

3. As part of their effort to improve the student achievement score, the state of California and the district recently recommended

that eleventh graders take proficiency and competency tests on U.S. History. Immediate examination of these proposed tests is therefore recommended to make certain that the test items are consistent with the stated multicultural educational goals of the district. The temptation to "teach to the test" is a real one, and if the test items do not include multicultural information, the chances of having a culturally pluralistic social studies program would be greatly diminished.

Curricular changes. 1. Gibson states that effective multicultural education cannot be provided by formal schools alone. She feels that the total community must be involved in the educational process and that it must provide a great variety of activities so that people can have repeated contacts to widen the range of subject matter in which they can develop competency. However, this view is predicated on the assumption that the total community is interested in and willing to provide the kind of learning situation Gibson describes. "Real life" compels the teachers to create programs under less than ideal conditions. Two conditions Gibson enumerates for effective teaching of competency are to obtain the services of experts on a wide range of subject matters and to provide activities that would allow students to intermingle with these experts and benefit from their knowledge.<sup>2</sup>

These two conditions can be met by developing the kind of project that was introduced by Ruth Asawa in the San Francisco district. Called the Alvarado Project, it brought artists from the

community into the schools, thus allowing elementary school students to learn directly from these people. A similar kind of program can be introduced into the Physical Education, Music, and Home Economics Departments.

2. The topic "Identity Problems of American Youth" can be taught in the English Department, where it can be explored to a greater degree than was possible in the American Foundations course. Generally, there is sufficient literature on this subject to provide stimulating teaching material. The students can read outstanding literature from different cultures and perhaps learn that the identity problem is a universal one. Thus, the unhealthy focus on ethnic-minority people can be avoided. Such literature can also teach students about the contributions of people from many ethnic groups in a more personal way than is offered by abstract pieces of information.

In this process, the students would also have a greater opportunity and incentive to find ways to develop their individual skills and powers, thus discovering the best possible strategy for changing the conditions that limit the individual's ability and power to make his or her own decisions.

The same kinds of activities and lessons can be provided in other departments such as art, homemaking, physical education, music, and foreign language. Contrary to Gibson's view, the formal school, which is an integrated setting not often found outside, can be the best single place to help students develop their various competencies.



3. The last set of recommendations related specifically to the American Foundations course. In order to provide more time to discuss contemporary problems and issues, and also to allow more time for the topic "Strategy for Change," the quarter course should be lengthened to a semester course. If this plan is not feasible, an alternative recommendation would be to extend the entire U.S. History course to three semesters. By custom, the U.S. History course has always been offered as a two-semester course, but there is no reason to prevent it from being a three-semester offering. This increase in time would afford the advantage of teaching the history of our country in a more personal way than it is traditionally taught. For instance, more emphasis could be placed on discussions of the significance of history to contemporary society than on merely learning facts.

Human relations program. The final recommendations are directed toward the Human Relations Committees that are found in many high schools. (In the Sequoia District, there usually are separate Human Relations Committees for students and teachers.) They are responsible for planning activities that involve interactions of students and encourage a more harmonious atmosphere at school. For the teachers, this usually means planning or making suggestions for multicultural in-service programs. The student Human Relations Committees tend to be much more active and are usually responsible for planning school-wide activities that provide opportunities for students of different ethnic backgrounds to participate in some kind of integrated program. More recently, they

have sponsored an international fashion show and international food fair, and similar events, which attracted media attention. In essence, such activities make the student committee the school public relations group. The following recommendations are made to involve the Human Relations Committee more directly in multicultural education.

1. The Human Relations Committee can help bring to schools persons of competence. Because much of the individual's problem can be solved, or partially solved, by developing competencies in as many subjects as possible, the committee can serve an important function by sponsoring "sharing competency" activities.

2. The Human Relations Committee can serve as a sounding board for students' opinions about the curriculum. At the present time there is no formal way for students to express their opinions about the curriculum, which seems absurd when the central task of the curriculum is to meet the needs of the students. Ever-increasing numbers of students are cutting, dropping out, or just "giving up" on schoolwork--and yet the teachers and administration seem to feel that there is no problem with the curriculum. The school authorities tend to devise different plans and policies to keep students physically in school but they tend to restrict and discourage students from developing the skills needed to make decisions about matters that truly concern them. The Human Relations Committee offers a valuable step toward making the curriculum more relevant to students by making it possible for them to voice their concerns about curricular matters.

3. Finally, the Human Relations Committee can serve as a vehicle to hear and act on student grievances. The teacher Human Relations Committee can lend powerful support to this undertaking even though the teachers may be the cause of some grievances, or at least may be perceived as "enemies" by the students. Students need at least one organization within the school that they can regard as being on "their side."

### Conclusion

At the present time our schools have turned in upon themselves. Administrators, teachers, students, and parents have shown signs of becoming defensive and parochial. They look on one another as "enemies," and the schools have fragmented into isolated groups. A sense of confusion and powerlessness permeates the educational scene and the resulting sense of alienation has blocked the reservoir of goodwill, trust, and concern among all groups. Each sees the others as adversaries rather than as part of an interlocking and supporting component of education. But most destructive of all is that the divisive atmosphere has led people to engage in practices alien to our democratic ideals, and many students are unwittingly learning that our form of democracy is failing.

The practical and relatively easily implemented models and proposals offered here are intended to build bridges between the estranged groups and to restore a sense of trust and confidence among them so

that, together, they can develop a culturally pluralistic education--a more realistic and truer kind of democratic education.

## NOTES

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tions.



## APPENDIX A

### "WHAT'S WRONG WITH JIM?"

"Dad, why do you object to my going out with Jim?"

Linda could not remember how many times she had asked that question of her mother and dad. The fact that she had to ask this question so often began to wear her down. And it weighed heavily on her that the answers from her parents were so predictable and there seemed to be no sign that a satisfactory compromise could ever be reached on this matter. Why was it that she and her parents got along so well on most things, but when it came to this matter of dating Jim, there was no give-and-take in their discussion.

"I wonder what my parents find wrong with Jim?" Linda asked herself again as she had done countless times before, she could really not see what her parents' objections were, and she knew she was not being unreasonable about Jim. He was outstanding in school and he was popular with the students. His grades were super, and he was on the school's baseball and basketball teams, and although he wasn't the star, he was the kind of steady player that any team needed to have. Jim's parents were very nice and his sisters and brothers all had finished college or were about to finish it. Linda thought of all the qualities that her parents would be concerned about, but she also liked Jim because he was tall and very nice to look at. Oh, not nice in just a handsome way, but nice in the warm and sincere way that was uniquely Jim. And he wasn't a snob, not a bit. And above all, he had been honest in their relationship from the beginning. He had a sense of humor, but he was a serious person about important things. But, most of all, she enjoyed talking with him. He could talk about so many things, sometimes she felt stupid because her interests were so narrow. She hadn't felt inadequate at first, because her grades might have been better than Jim's, but as their relationship developed, she found out that he knew so much more. Everything he said seemed to make "everyday things" more exciting, more new. When Jim would come to her home for a visit or for a dinner, he added sparkle to Dad's conversation, which usually consisted of his golf scores, which he was immensely proud of, or about the chances of the Giants or the 49ers in the coming season. He would positively expand when he told Jim what a loyal fan he was: "No sir, I'm not one of those fans who get all excited just because the 49ers (or Giants) start winning. I've been with them even when they were down." Sometimes, Linda was so embarrassed for her parents. Her parents were college grads and yet, aside from the nice jobs they had, there was nothing else to reveal the "advantages" of receiving a "higher education." When Linda saw her Dad light up a cigar and talk about his hard times, how hard he had worked and ended up "pretty good," she could see the deep sense of pride that lay beneath the aura of humility he tried

to convey. And Mom would smile and not say a word, but the approval of her husband's achievement was plain to see. It was very obvious that her parents enjoyed talking to Jim and were impressed with his good manners as well.

So, why did her parents object to her going out with Jim? Even though Linda and her parents never really discussed what kind of person they wouldn't mind seeing her going out with or eventually marry, Linda knew just from being with them for so long and from listening to them in the past. Linda knew that the fellow had to be a good and honest person from a nice family. He also had to have a good education, which meant a college education. Jim met all of these "qualifications," and yet her parents objected. Linda hated to think about it, but did they object to Jim simply because he was a hakujin (white person)? She didn't want to think that her parents would object to Jim on that basis. It was hard to believe that her parents would be prejudiced about Jim.

"Dad, . . . Mom, why do you object every time I go out with Jim?"

"We just think that it would be better for you in the long run if you don't."

"As far as I can tell, I don't think that there is a single thing you can object to about Jim."

"Oh it's not anything special except that he is different from us."

"What do you mean by that? Are you saying that as long as someone is like us, whatever that means, it's all right with you? Even if that person is not as nice as Jim?"

"We didn't say that. You just haven't met too many other persons, especially Japanese-American boys. Why don't you give yourself more chance to do so?"

"Well, in the first place, I don't think that I have to go out with different people to find the right person like trying out different dresses to find the dress I like. Anyway, I haven't met too many Japanese-American boys who are as nice as Jim."

"What do you mean, as nice as Jim?"

Well, to begin with, most of the people I know aren't as thoughtful, and they're not as interesting. They seem to have so little to talk about except about how good they are by putting other people down. You know that could be awfully tiring."

"Now Linda, you're not trying to say that all of the Sansei boys are like that. Aren't you being unfair to describe all of them like that?"

What you say might have been true for a Nisei like me, but as far as I can see, very few of the Sansei boys or girls are as shy or restrained as we were when we were young. We admit that we used to hold back about many things . . . about going out on dates even when we are going to high school. We held back about even thinking of asking a person who was not a Japanese. We think that the Sanseis are so different . . . much more free. In fact, we see very little difference between the Sansei and the hakujin."

"I think there is a difference. I don't know exactly how to say it clearly, but the Japanese boys I know seem to be copying someone . . . they try to come on like either a black person or a white . . . it doesn't matter which but they just don't seem to be themselves. Either that, or they just thrive on being an Asian. It's not fun to be with a person who is trying to be like someone else or trying to find himself. But Jim is different. He is Jim and he knows it. He is confident and he doesn't have to bluster. And another thing. You said that we Sansei are little different from the hakujin. If that's true, then what is your objection to Jim?"

"Well, maybe the Japanese boys don't look or sound as confident because they are expressing their doubts honestly, freely and frankly. Sometimes people who express their thoughts smoothly are very superficial people. Anyone can sound good if he doesn't talk about what is really in his heart. After all, there are very few people at that age, or any age, who don't have any serious doubts or fears."

"But don't you see? The Sansei boys may be honest in their expression of their doubts but they also seem to be hung up on their own problems and use me to solve their problems in some way. That's not being very thoughtful. Jim may have his problems, but he is strong enough not to let his problems affect his relationship with me. He is so considerate, and he makes me feel like an important person, or at least a person he could care about."

"But how serious is he? Does he talk about marriage? Despite our objections, you've been going around with him since high school days. Have you had any serious discussions about the future?"

"There you go with your values. Does every relationship between a boy and a girl have to end up in marriage? As far as we are concerned, we just believe in trusting each other and not hurting each other. We don't have any kind of legal or contractual obligations toward each other except to be kind of loving in the moments we are together."

"What is so wrong with talking about marriage? Although no one may be able to predict the future, wouldn't it be considerate of him to let you know what his intentions are at this moment? Anyway, it's not out a sense of obligation that people talk about these things as much as

it is out of consideration for the person you are having a close and honest relationship. Or are you going to cop out by saying that neither of you is not going to chain the other down and that you don't want to hold onto another human being because people need to be independent? Are you going to tell us that convention isn't important but what is more important is what you honestly feel? Do you young people ever go beyond that kind of superficial thing? What do you call discussion?"

"We have discussed these things you're talking about now. We have decided that when everything works out, we will get married, but, to our way of thinking, marriage is not the ultimate goal. We want to be sure that it is much more than what both of our parents have had from their marriage. We're not trying to put you down, but we just don't think what you have is enough for us. I'm sorry if I made you angry or hurt you with that remark, but you wanted me to be honest."

"Well, we are angry . . . and hurt . . . and very shocked. What do you mean you want more than what we have in our marriage? Do you have any specific complaints or criticism? We tried to provide you with the most important things. Are you saying that we didn't provide enough for you? I don't think you mean that. Our family is close and very stable. I don't think you ever thought of leaving us, or you ever worried that one of us might desert you, or that we might get divorced. You know that we love you and we are sure you love us. What more is there? By almost any way you can judge a family I think we have had a very close family. I may be wrong, but I think most Japanese-American families are like ours, and we feel that much of what makes our families strong and close has something to do with our culture and heritage. This is not to say we are superior to other people. It means that until there is something more definite about what makes for a strong and close family, we can assure that people who are similar in the way they are brought up, and belonging to the same ethnic group, help in developing a stable family."

"All that may be true, but that doesn't mean that a stable family is necessarily a happier one. You admitted yourself that you had to hold back a lot. Who do you think put those restraints on you? How many times have I heard you talk about your parents telling you to do something or not to do something because of the family. Weren't you always told that family matters were much more important than individual matters? Even such things as going out on dates or getting married were based on whether that person would bring credit or shame to the family. How many times did I hear you complain about your parents?"

"I think it's real neat that you respect your parents that much and you want to take care of them and all that, but sometimes that kind of relationship can create more unhappiness for everyone involved. What kind of a relationship is that? You end up hating each other eventually. And if you don't take care of them you could end up with a terrible guilty conscience. Is maintaining stability at that price worth it? Is keeping the family together so important that it must be maintained at

the possible cost of an individual's happiness? If it is, I can't say that is a happy family. You and Mom may just think it is a good family because that is the way you were brought up to think, or the way you were told by your parents, and you never questioned them. Well, we're not like that. We think that a happy fulfilled individual can form a basis for a happy family."

"That's quite a mouthful, young lady, but if you think that we care for our ojiichan (grandfather) and obaachan (grandmother) just out of obligation, you don't understand our family as much as I thought you did. Don't you remember how much they cared for you and loved you? How many nice gifts did they give you, and how many delicious dinners did they make for you? Do you think that all the nice things they did for you was out of obligation? Or because they were "supposed to"? They did the same for us. You may not think we have accomplished very much but chances are we would have done much worse if it weren't for their sacrifices and help.

"And about all the complaining your mother and I may do about ojiichan and obaachan, that doesn't mean we don't love them. Nor do they expect us to be happy with them all the time. They are tough and know life and people for what they are. Yes, there might be some who look after their parents because of custom or being told what to do, but most of us feel it is the least we can do to repay the love and care they gave us. It's true, as you say, happy individuals can make for a strong and happy family, but we believe it is also true that a strong and stable family can help individuals become happy. We also believe that both of these ideas need to be developed. We think that our way of thinking is still valuable and we are afraid that anybody brought up to think in a different way would erode what we cherish.

"I'm going to change the subject a little, but suppose that you two should decide to get married. Where will you have your wedding ceremony?"

"What do you mean?"

"Which church are you going to get married in?"

"Oh that. If--and mind you I said if--we do decide to get married, it won't matter too much in which church the wedding will be held. I'll be married in whatever church he may want."

"That sound nice. But what about Jim? Would he be willing to get married in our church?"

"I don't think so, but that's not important because religion is not that important to us."

"You say religion is not that important? Well, let me ask you another question. Suppose you two have children. What church would you send them to?"

"I'm pretty sure that we would allow our children to decide which church they would like to attend. You see, that was another thing you never gave us any choice in. It was simply taken for granted that we would have to go to the Buddhist Church because you and the parents always went there. Well, we're just not going to let that happen to our children."

"You mean to tell me they're not going to church until they grow up?"

"I didn't say that. You two are just impossible. I told you from the beginning we haven't talked about getting married. And here we are talking about things like weddings and raising children . . . . What has all this to do with me going out with Jim?"

"It's important because when two people talk about their relationship you have to be ready to give and take. It seems to me that you shouldn't be afraid to find out whether there is give and take, or whether you're the one that's giving all the time."

"Oh, I told you how considerate Jim is. He is always asking me what I would like to do, where I want to go . . . he is so considerate of my feelings on everything we do together."

"No, we're not talking about that kind of consideration, although that is important, too. Linda, are you going to give up everything that is part of our customs and tradition and accept the hakujin way in everything? Will Jim consider learning something about our ways and even begin to consider that some of our beliefs and values may have something important for him?"

"But we live in America. We have to be like Americans. All my friends accept me as one of them and they never make me feel different because of my background or appearance."

"That's because you are like them in every way. What would have happened if you didn't think like them or act like them? Although we all say we should be different and that we should accept people who are different from us, our history shows us that we tend to put down or treat unequally those people who are different. We also expect people who are different from us to learn our ways. For instance, ask your friends if they would like to convert to the Islamic religion or to Shintoism, or ask them if they would like to become Hindus. Suppose that you believed in one of those religions and your friend won't even consider learning anything about your faith, or let's say that your

husband-to-be won't even consider getting married in your temple. How would you feel? Suppose that everytime there is a difference in the way of thinking or doing things, you had to give in all the time. Would you be happy with that kind of a relationship? Would you call that a good and equitable relationship? That's what I mean by consideration and give and take. Have you two really talked about these things honestly and realistically? Would you be afraid to? If you two haven't discussed such matters it tells me quite a bit about the kind of relationship you are having with him."

Linda didn't answer her parents, but she did say to herself, "I will ask him. Why shouldn't I? Why should I be afraid to ask? If I know Jim, everything will turn out just right. Yes, I will ask him the next time I have the chance."

Questions on the Reading

1. List the qualities that Linda thought were nice about Jim.
2. Give three reasons why the parents seem to object to Jim?
3. How did Linda answer each one of the objections?
4. How would you support Linda's position?
5. How would you support the parents' position?

What Do You Think?

1. Do you think that this problem could be solved to the satisfaction of both parties? Support your answer.
2. How far would you go to please your parents so that you could continue to have a good relationship with them in the future?
3. Do you think it's important for marriages to take place on an equal basis?
4. How would you define equal basis?
5. Are there any things that you would not compromise on? For example, would you compromise on religious matters?
6. How many of these "uncompromisable" positions do you have?



## APPENDIX B

### SOME NOTES ON DATING AND MARRIAGE BEHAVIORS OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

Dating was an unheard-of practice for most of the first-generation Japanese immigrants, but the practice was adopted by the second-generation youngsters. In their dating behavior, they generally followed "puritanical" standards that were very similar to the Victorian standards of Americans before the current revolution in sex and marriage.

One notable aspect of the dating among the second-generation Japanese Americans was that they tended to date almost exclusively with people from the Japanese-American community. Currently, the third-generation Japanese Americans date with members of other ethnic groups almost as frequently as they do with Japanese Americans. If current dating behaviors are any indication, there would also be an increase in interethnic marriages, although statistics in this matter are not available at this time. The 1980 Census would contain such information.

A survey carried out in Hawaii gives some interesting facts concerning Japanese Americans marrying people of other ethnic groups. (This survey was carried out by Andrew Lind and reported in Sociology and Social Research, 49, [October 1964]: pp. 17-26.) The Japanese were shown to intermarry less frequently than most other ethnic groups living in Hawaii. Further, Hawaii's most successful marriages involve, first, a Japanese man and Chinese woman; second, a Japanese man and woman; third, a Chinese man and Japanese woman; fourth, a Chinese man and woman; and fifth, a Japanese man and Filipino woman. When Caucasians of Hawaii married other ethnic people the marriages were not as durable or successful. The most durable of these marriages involve a Caucasian man and a Puerto Rican or Filipino or part-Hawaiian woman. The least durable involve a Japanese man and a Caucasian woman; a Caucasian man and a Hawaiian or Korean woman. It should also be noted that in most marriages of a Caucasian to a member of a loose-knit racial group, the divorce rate is lower than when Caucasians of the loose-knit group marry their own people.

One of the most important facts to come out of this study is that the strength of the family and ethnic group influenced the rate of divorces. Other findings are: (1) The proportion of interracial marriage has doubled in Hawaii but the divorce rate has not changed very much. (2) The differences in divorce rates among the different racial groups have narrowed quite a bit. (3) The problems of cultural differences that may arise from interethnic marriage are not the main influences leading to divorce. More important influences are city life, modern industry, and a population that continues to receive new immigrants. These factors tend to destroy tradition as well.

Japanese-American premarriage and wedding practices are interesting mixtures of the old and the new traditions. Most people of the second generation generally become engaged in a formal manner. This means that the engagement includes a religious service and an exchange of gifts (based on Japanese custom) followed by a dinner. Showers are given for the prospective brides and stag parties for the future groom--both, of course, American customs. In the past the weddings usually consisted of a very elaborate religious wedding service and an even more elaborate reception. Buddhist religious services were generally held in Japanese and they lasted longer than they do today. The American practice of kissing the bride was later included. More recent weddings have usually been held in English. Formerly, the reception was almost totally in Japanese. Traditional wedding chants were sung, and all the relatives of the bride and groom were formally introduced, and then there was a huge feast. During the feast, friends were asked to provide entertainment. After the wedding, the guests usually moved on to the second reception, which was held at the home of either the groom's family or the bride's family, or at both. While the newlyweds opened their gifts, the guests consumed enormous amounts of food and drink. The second reception usually was carried on far into the night although the newlyweds were long gone on their honeymoon. The first reception featured Chinese food, whereas the second featured Japanese food. More recent weddings have cut out the wedding chants and the number of speeches given by friends and guests. The receptions are often held at non-Chinese restaurants and the entertainment portion of the reception is either omitted or cut down drastically. One of the reasons for this reduction is that there are less and less first-generation people, who used to make up the bulk of the entertainers. The second- and third-generation people are much more restrained about performing at receptions. More and more families have begun to hold American-type receptions--that is, garden receptions, with drinks and cake replacing the elaborate feast and with live bands playing so that the guests can dance instead of having the more traditional entertainment provided by the guests and friends.

## APPENDIX C

(Complete text of "Success Story: Outwhiting the Whites,"  
Newsweek, 21 June 1971, pp. 24-25.)

George Kobayashi got his first job nineteen years ago--and lasted one day "When the owner found out I was Japanese," he recalls, "he fired me." So I said 'To hell with it' and started my own business. I showed them. I outwhited the whites, and five years later I was so successful they asked me to come back." Kobayashi refused the offer, and he doesn't regret it one bit. Today, he is proprietor of Koby's, a thriving appliance store in Gardena, California, a suburb of Los Angeles, and the owner of a comfortable new split-level house in a prosperous residential section of town, where he lives with his wife and three children. A short, wiry man of 47, Kobayashi is especially proud of his enormous garage. There, he has installed a fully equipped photographic laboratory for his two boys and their friends, and an enormous stack of filing cabinets, crammed full of such things as a chemistry set, a rock collector's kit, artist's materials and technical books. "In this family" he says, "we believe in doing everything for the children. It's all for the kids, and if it makes them well-behaved and is educational, so much the better."

George Kobayashi's success--and the way he is living it--is in large measure the story of one of the country's most resourceful and least publicized minority groups. "By any criterion of good citizenship that we choose," sociologist William Peterson has observed, "the Japanese Americans are better than any other group in our society, including native-born whites. . . . Even in a country whose patron saint is the Horatio Alger hero, there is no parallel to this success story."

Peterson's claim does not seem inflated. On nearly all levels of conventional success, the Japanese Americans not only have outshone other minority groups, but--in George Kobayashi's words--have "outwhited the whites." And their achievements are disproportionate to their numbers. Current estimates put the population of Japanese Americans at 600,000 or less than three-tenths of 1 percent of the total population. (Of these, 250,000 live in California.)

On a Par. More than 15 percent of Japanese Americans now hold professional jobs; a far higher percentage than all other non-white minority groups, and one that puts them on a par with whites. In Los Angeles County, which has the largest Japanese American population on the mainland, school authorities report that children of Japanese descent outstrip all others in IQ. In addition, a Japanese American child can expect to live six to seven years longer than a white child, ten to eleven years longer than a negro. Crime figures are even more telling. While arrest rates for white, Negro, and American Indian adults have soared during the last three decades, the rate for Japanese Americans--never high--has decreased sharply.

The Horatio Alger image is not without flaws. Despite their shining employment record, few Japanese Americans occupy the highest levels of business and professional life. Younger Japanese Americans are rapidly entering such "status"--and secure--fields as medicine, engineering, architecture and teaching. But, writes Harry H.L. Kitano, a professor of social welfare at UCLA and the author of several books on Japanese Americans, "their major quantitative contribution to America thus far has been in agriculture." Gardening, for example, is still dominated by Japanese Americans in Southern California.

Status. In their drive for middle-class status, the Japanese Americans have not been notably successful in the arts and the entertainment industry--fields that other immigrants have cultivated. And outside Hawaii, which is now represented by three Japanese Americans in Congress, their impact on the national political scene has been negligible. One development that may encourage more Japanese Americans to run for major office, however, was the recent landslide election of Norman Y. Mineta, as mayor of San Jose, California. When he is sworn in next month, Mineta, a 39-year-old successful insurance broker who spent part of his youth in one of the infamous World War II detention camps for Japanese Americans, will become only the second member of his minority to hold a major elective office on the mainland.

Predictably enough, the Japanese Americans enjoy an exceptional degree of family stability. Still, the youngest generation has become increasingly restive in recent years. On the West Coast, delinquency among young Japanese Americans has risen slightly as their parents have become more successful, and like other members of their generation, the younger Japanese Americans have begun to challenge their parents' materialism and acceptance of "the system." In step with their peers in other minority groups, young Japanese Americans are concerned not simply with assimilating, but with unraveling the mysteries of their cultural heritage.

Peril. It is a legacy that enabled the Japanese Americans to prevail in the face of great adversity. For decades after the first generation of Japanese immigrants--the Issei--began arriving on the West Coast in the mid-1880s, they encountered intense prejudice and discrimination. Valued as cheap labor for their industriousness and farming skills, the Japanese were nonetheless denied citizenship, forbidden to marry across the color line and eventually barred from owning or leasing land in California.

A more intriguing question is why the Japanese Americans not only accepted the outrage so compliantly, but also managed to rise above it to their present level of achievement. Much of the answer lies in the resilience of several traditional Japanese values that the Issèi imparted to the second generation of Japanese Americans, the Nisei. Giri (a sense of group obligation), gimu (duty), enryo (reserve, restraint) and gaman (patience, perseverance)--these values, along with an enormous fatalism

and respect for authority, shaped their acquiescence to the evacuation order and enabled them eventually to overcome.

Other qualities also played an important part in the success story--a strong sense of family, a belief in the importance of education for one's children and an extraordinary ability to adapt and accommodate to the larger society. The wartime internment may have been a boon in some ways. According to UCLA's Kitano many responded to the imprisonment by saying, "I'll become an even better American."

Less Serene. "Scratch a Japanese American," says Kitano, "and you find a WASP." Like others of his generation, Alan Nishio, 25, would have to agree with Kitano's analysis--at least as it applies to the Nisei. Nishio, however, is a Sansei--a member of the third generation--and, like many of his peers, he has a less serene sense of his dual heritage than his parents' generation had. For Nishio, the key to self-understanding lies not in the "success story," but in the past--the past of the detention camps. "In most Japanese families," he told Newsweek's Paul Brinley-Rogers, "the camp experience is that it just did not exist. I was born in a camp, but I never really understood the experience until two or three years ago. I discovered that my father had owned a grocery store before the war and ended up being a gardener afterward and hating it. I'm personally very bitter about it."

This view of the camps is increasingly voiced by the Sansei these days--and it makes them practically heretics to their parents, some of whom like to invite the American commandants of their wartime camps to give speeches at Nisei reunions. And as another expression of their "difference," many Sansei have developed a passion for Chambara--the Japanese movies depicting the swashbuckling exploits of the Samurai. Explains Nishio: "When Toshiro Mifune (the star of many chambara epics) carves them up he is cutting up bad people. Here we are--Sansei looking for some kind of hero--and we get him. He's not a little thin guy with glasses and buckteeth. He's a real Asian superman."

Critic. The militancy in Nishio's words is more a state of mind than a prod to action, but to many of the older Nisei it is so much empty rhetoric. One of the harshest critics is Dr. S.I. Hayakawa, the Nisei semanticist and get-tough president of San Francisco State College. (The younger generation currently ranks him "Top Banana"--yellow on the outside, white on the inside.) Wrote Hayakawa a year ago: "Pity . . . the little Oriental girl of the Asian-American Political Alliance at UCLA or San Francisco State looking in the mirror at her long black but hopelessly straight hair, realizing sadly that it just can't be arranged Afro-style. Right on."

Hayakawa's sarcasm is not entirely unwarranted, but it ignores some justifiable causes of the Sansei's rebelliousness. A major source of frustration is the success ethic emphasized by their parents. "Achieve, achieve--it's the biggest thing in our families," says

Kevin Dondo, a 20-year-old Sansei. Other sore points are cited by Harry Kitano." "Spontaneous affection has almost always been conditioned out of our culture. We can't feel for our children and very often we cannot feel for other minorities either. The whites use us by saying to the others, "Why can't you be like the Japanese?" The Chicanos and Blacks turn against us."

What Poor? As Kitano implies, the Japanese Americans may be suffering from an excess of success--a condition that has blinded them to some of the problems that still exist in their own community. "Poor, what poor?: asks Kenji Ito, a Nisei attorney who is president of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce for Southern California. Ito's remark seems disingenuous, to say the least. For only one block away from plush new office building where he works are some of the most dismal rooming hotels of "Little Tokyo," the six-block section of downtown Los Angeles that is the traditional cultural and business center of the Southern California Japanese-American community. For years, the Issei who remained there after the relocation--mostly old, single men--were left to fend for themselves. This year, however, a group of concerned Sansei and a few Nisei have begun a series of programs designed to help the impoverished Issei.

The effort--badly underfinanced--is laudable, but there is little interest in the project among most of the Japanese Americans in Southern California. Out in suburban Gardena, whose 15,000 Japanese Americans make it the largest concentration of the minority group on the mainland, George Kobayashi has other worries in mind. "If a Black family moved next door, I wouldn't like it," he says forthrightly. "I've just moved in here and it would drive property values down. It's always the same story. You maintain a good neighborhood and they just seem to let the whole place fall apart. If they want to get ahead, they have to work--just like the Nisei did."

## APPENDIX D

(Full text of "Price of Being 'Model' Minority,"  
San Francisco Examiner-Chronicle, 5 December 1978.)

### A Community Heading Toward "Ethnic Suicide" . . .

The success of the Japanese-American community has been so great, and was achieved so rapidly, that some sociologists call them a "model minority." It may sound like the fulfillment of the American melting pot dream--but, according to a University of Maryland sociologist, there's a catch.

After studying the assimilation patterns of 4012 Japanese Americans spanning three generations, Darrel Montero, Ph.D., wonders whether this group, by its very success, is heading toward what he calls "ethnic suicide."

Despite widespread discrimination in this country--including relegation to internment camps during World War II, laws in some states barring naturalization and land ownership and a general notion that the Japanese were "unassimilable"--Japanese Americans have in just two generations topped all other groups in measures of achievement.

They are better educated than any other ethnic group in America, with an average of 12.5 years of schooling. They are better off, with twice the likelihood of becoming professionals, and a median family income in 1970 was \$3000 higher than the nation's as a whole. And according to Montero, third-generation Japanese Americans, now in their 20s and 30s, are far out-pacing their elders in such indicators of assimilation as intermarriage, residence in non-Japanese neighborhoods and identification with non-Japanese social organizations and friends.

"Ironically, that very assimilation may suggest the demise of some of the Japanese-American community's traditional values, which were so instrumental in catapulting its members to those heights," Montero says.

"The demise of these values may in turn serve to bring about the leveling off of the Nisei's (second generation) and Sansei's (third generation) socioeconomic achievement. As their values become more congruent with the larger American society, Japanese Americans will most likely begin to mirror the lower achievement patterns of American society in general."

Montero's analysis was based on the 1963-1976 Japanese-American Research Project, which collected interview and questionnaire data from three generations of Japanese: the first generation immigrants, called Issei, and their direct descendants, the Nisei and the Sansei. There were 906 Issei, 2304 Nisei and 802 Sansei in the study.

According to Montero, the Sansei are rapidly losing their ties to the past. Just 4 percent speak Japanese fluently; nearly seven out of 10 live in non-Japanese neighborhoods; more than half never read a Japanese-American newspaper; and three-quarters say one or both of their two best friends are non-Japanese.

Intermarriage, almost unheard of in Issei's (first generation) time and with just ten percent of the second-generation Japanese marrying non-Japanese, has increased to more than 40 percent among the Sansei. Not surprisingly, the "out-married" are the ones who have strayed farthest from the ethnic fold. They are half as likely as "in married" Sansei to know their grandparents' region of birth in Japan and three times as likely to live in cities where they have no relatives nearby.

Assimilation, thus far, has meant success. Sansei are more than twice as likely as their parents to have, or to be working toward, professional jobs; 88 percent of them have gone beyond high school, compared with 57 percent of the Nisei.

"But what price success?" Montero asks. He believes that the third generation has lost much of the traditional Japanese dedication to hard work, thrift and discipline, and that this will eventually mean the erosion of the advances the Japanese have made.

"We can predict the Sansei's children, the Yonsei, will not have the same kind of remarkable achievement, because they will have assimilated into a culture that is not as tenacious, hasn't the exactitude of achievement motivation that their grandparents' did," he says.--HUMAN BEHAVIOR Magazine.



## APPENDIX E

### SAMURAI, NOMIN, IMIN (WARRIOR, PEASANT, IMMIGRANT)

The young and confident Muta Hannojo was totally oblivious of the seething restlessness that was boiling beneath the surface of Japanese society in the year of 1860. He was concerned only about how to be a good samurai, how he could express his loyalty to his master, and how he could bring credit to his family. The way of becoming a good samurai was no mystery, for it had been known for hundreds of years. In essence, a man studied the classics and the arts and perfected his martial skills. This meant hours upon hours of studying and training year after year, but Hannojo was not discouraged. He was luckier than most of his friends because everything he tried he did well and easily. He was proud of his ability. The more he read the classics, the more "fun" it was; the more he mastered one of the martial skills, such as jujitsu, (a form of wrestling), kenjitsu (fencing), or kyujitsu (archery), the easier it was for him to learn and master others. The important thing was that because he didn't spend endless hours fretting about "nonprogress" as many of his friends did, he was able to study the classics with ease of mind, which in turn helped him learn the lessons easily. What was, perhaps, most pleasing to Hannojo was that with each success there was a prompt reward that stimulated him to try harder. This cycle of hard work-mastery-reward resulted in Hannojo's mastering different and more difficult skills and acquiring greater knowledge with increasing speed and ease. Young Hannojo indeed felt that he had found the key to success and he didn't mind the long, arduous hours he had to devote to his training . . . and he couldn't understand why others didn't do as well.

For such a busy young man, there was little time to take notice of what was happening to the world beyond his. His life was secure and he did not have to do anything that he didn't want to, not that he really disliked or despised anything. He took little note of other young people who worked in the fields around his home, their clothing, the homes they lived in, or the kinds of food they had to eat. They just didn't seem to be part of his world and he never questioned why. The only time he was told of anything that was remotely discomfoting was when his teacher talked about the foreigners who were coming into Japan in increasing number and frequency. The total number was not disturbing by itself; what disturbed the teacher was that the foreigners seemed to be so powerful. They were powerful enough to rule over all the lands between India and China. The teacher was pretty certain that Japan would be the next victim. He talked of their enormous power, but Hannojo couldn't quite understand all of what teacher was telling him. Even as he was told of the machines and weapons that were a hundredfold more powerful and effective than those used by the Japanese, he didn't quite accept the fact as a truth. The teacher also told of books he had read that were written by the foreigners. The books, he said, contained wondrous information about maps, plants, medicine, technology . . . far more

extensive than anything he had ever before come across. Once Hannojo saw an illustration of the foreigners. All of them seemed to have different colored hair, long and seemingly in total disarray. They had the longest noses he had ever seen and their clothing was strange. What struck him was that the men were wearing pantslike outfits that were frilly and feminine; or so it seemed to Hannojo. No Japanese samurai would wear such an outrageous costume, Hannojo thought. How could he possibly be afraid of such barbaric and comic-looking people? But he did think of the might of their armies that had defeated so many people, and he resolved to train even harder just in case he had to meet them on the battlefield, though there was no doubt in his mind that an army of trained Japanese samurai could defeat them.

In less than ten years, Hannojo's secure world was shattered. Loyalty to his lord was no longer the most important consideration. Long dissatisfied with the military ruler (the shogun) whose family had reigned for over two hundred years, several powerful leaders joined together to unseat the ruler. Already many of the Japanese were angry with the ruling family because it seemingly could not keep out the foreigners and were giving in to their demands. For the first time, the Japanese were seeing foreigners walk among them proudly and arrogantly. They lived in the best homes ate the best food, and went to the best places at the expense of the Japanese. Hannojo, along with other samurai, could not tolerate the Japanese land being taken over in such a humiliating manner and they resolved to do something about it. However, not all the samurai could agree on the best method. One immediate objective for many of them was to get rid of the weak ruler so that a stronger Japan could be developed to handle the foreigners. Thus, in less than two years, the ruler was toppled by the "rebels" and a "new" Japan was born.

To Hannojo, the change seemed necessary, so he was not shocked by the "revolution." What was more shocking to him was how the change was brought about. The "rebel" army was made up of many farmers who were armed with foreigners' weapons . . . rifles and cannons far more powerful than the ones the armies of the deposed rulers had and they defeated an army made up largely of the traditional samurai. When Hannojo found out how helpless the highly trained samurai were and how they were defeated by "untrained" peasants using modern weapons, he felt as if his whole life till then had been a waste. The countless hours he had spent in perfecting his martial skill had given him an outdated, useless skill that had almost no meaning in the "new" world being formed. He was further shocked to see the merchants becoming more influential and respected. They had always been despised and considered low-class and had not been respected because they were engaged in the lowliest kind of job. One which provided a means of living by using money rather than by producing goods important to the people. He also had to undergo the shock of giving up his two swords, which were to him the very symbol of his being and position. In order to become more modern, he also had to cut off his topknot, and now his hair style was that of a foreigner. Each year, the Japanese were encouraged by the new leaders to wear Western clothing, eat Western food, and copy the foreigners' way of living as much as possible. The Japanese leaders felt that

this was one of the ways to gain the respect and acceptance of the Europeans. Even greater was the Japanese effort to build factories, to make weapons, and to manufacture products to sell to other people. The leaders encouraged everyone to support the government in order to develop a strong, modern nation that would eventually be rich enough to reward all the Japanese with a higher standard of living. But most important, they were reminded over and over again that Japan had to become strong enough to rid the foreigners from their land and to gain respect as a first-rate power.

Hannojo found new purpose to his life and discovered his place in society once again because the former samurai were asked by the new leaders to help provide the leadership for bringing about the needed changes. Former samurai were sent to foreign countries as students to learn new skills and knowledge because most of them had the discipline and the foundation to learn new things quickly. So hundreds of them were sent to Europe and to America to learn something of the Western ways. Samurai were also needed to fill the many governmental offices at different levels to help the people unite themselves and lend a strong support for the new government. Many of them became officers in the new and modern army modeled after the European ones. Many became police officers, their martial skills being put to good use in helping keep order and stability in Japan. And many became teachers, for many teachers were needed to prepare more and more young people for the future. Education had always been important in Japan, but it was open to relatively few young people and much of it was carried on by the Buddhist temples or other private schools. Under the new government, almost all the young people were encouraged to attend school and thus the need for teachers enabled many former samurai to serve in that capacity.

Hannojo settled down as an administrator close to his home. In his new work, he began to understand the problems of the village and the villagers for the first time. He came to understand and sympathize with the farmers about whom he had known so little and to whom he had paid almost no attention. In time he became convinced that solving their problems was much more important than trying to carry out the central government's programs and policies. Hannojo was convinced that a strong and prosperous Japan could not be built without the help of the commoners. So when the time came for him to get married and start a family of his own, it seemed to be the most natural thing for him to marry a commoner. Of course, his parents objected strongly, but Hannojo convinced them that a man's inherited position was not as important as the kind of position he could establish in the future. This meant, to Hannojo, that somehow the separated little worlds he was brought up in had to be unified and this could happen only when the different people in the separated worlds learned to consider one another with dignity and appreciation.

The years went by quickly and Hannojo was surprised at the speed with which so many changes were brought about. He found himself accepting many things without even understanding why the changes were taking place or without thinking whether the changes were good or bad. He was

determined somehow to teach his children to become useful and happy individuals. He realized that he was more fortunate than most because he always had a good position, which became even more secure with his marriage. His wife came from a very influential, but not particularly wealthy farming family. Thus, Hannojo's family was economically and socially more secure than that of most of the other people in the village. But, Hannojo didn't want his children to have as narrow an outlook as his had been when he was young. So he made up his mind to offer his children as varied an experience as possible and as many opportunities as possible to meet people of diverse backgrounds. Just relying on the schools to prepare his children for their future in the new world, was not, he felt, enough.

The hot, sticky heat of Rohwer, Arkansas, reminded Katsuzo of the humid, pressing heat of the Chikugo Plain of Japan, and so the sweat coursing through his body didn't bother him much. He could still remember very vividly the days when he had to work in a knee-deep wet field, soaking in the relentless heat rising out of the warm, murky water that filled the rice field. He could also still feel the hot, dry heat of the San Joaquin Valley, heat that was made worse by the peat soil that filtered into all the pores of his body. And now, here he was working in the hot mess hall, washing dishes and pans in boiling hot water that made the sweltering heat even more oppressive. Katsuzo wondered how he had ended up in this little pocket of the United States that he and very few of his friends had ever heard about before. America was certainly not the land of the "rich and plenty" or a "land of ease," as he and many others had thought a long, long time ago.

Katsuzo was the oldest of the three sons of Muta Hannojo. Because he was the oldest son, if he had remained in Japan, he would have inherited his parents' land, which would have assured him a life of comparative ease. He would have also been the village head, thereby inheriting the prestige and the power that went with the position. So why hadn't he stayed in Japan? That was a question Katsuzo often asked himself, as he was asking now.

As a youth, Katsuzo was always reminded that he was the oniisan (older brother), and as the oldest son, he was given some privileges over his two younger brothers and two younger sisters. The most important privilege was that he would inherit everything that went with the position--including responsibility. As far as Katsuzo was concerned, he could remember the responsibilities that he had had as an onnisan more than the privileges he was supposed to have had. It seemed as if most of his young life had been devoted to getting ready to be the head of the family. "To be ready" was an expression he had heard constantly but he hadn't quite understood what it meant. His father had always said that a person would be ready for almost any situation if he became a worthy person. And what was a worthy man? Katsuzo found out that, for one, a worthy person had to be an educated person. Through the years, Katsuzo was to find out that an educated person was not someone who just went to school and got good grades, or learned a trade or a profession. He was also supposed to put into practice what he learned. Until he did so,

learning was not complete. Jikko (to put into practice) was a word that was constantly repeated. So it was that Katsuzo found himself working the rice fields to learn from them. From this experience he came to respect and admire the farmers because most of them, whether they were men, women, or children, outworked him. But the quality that he learned to admire most was their ability to work hour after hour, bent over in the hot sun, and still retain the strength to laugh. Their language was much rougher than Katsuzo had been taught to use, but there was a dignity about them that he had not noticed when he had first seen them. Until he had worked among them, he thought them to be crude and dirty, and he had assumed it was only proper that they should bow to him first whenever they met. He couldn't understand why these people worked so hard even though they seemed to receive so little reward for all their physical labor. Yet Katsuzo never heard them complain or utter bitter words about the hard, spare, frugal life they led. It amazed Katsuzo to hear them talk optimistically about the future. Slowly, he began to understand why his father had chosen to live among them and attempted to help them as much as his official position allowed him to.

Although the "new" Japan was less than forty years old and had accomplished much in the way of catching up to some of the European countries, the price for modernization was high and the ones bearing the heaviest burden were the farmers. Already there was news of many farmers expressing their discontent with the government, and Katsuzo's father worked hard to minimize the effect on the farmers in his district. At home, his father always cautioned his family about becoming too caught up in one's small world, and warned them not to take the relative good fortune of the family for granted. He talked about how quickly the world was changing and that he could not begin to understand how these changes came about. From these admonitions, Katsuzo learned another aspect of what an educated man was. He was to be ready for any kind of a change and not be "thrown off stride" by adversity. The fact that people could not predict the future was no reason to live without hope or plans for the future. In fact, one of the most popular sayings at that time was "young people, be ambitious!"--which was advice given by an American missionary to the young Japanese.

With the turn of the new century, Katsuzo had decided to go to the new world of America. For about twenty years, more and more Japanese had been going to America. Most of them were farmers who saw more hope in trying to make a living in the new but strange land than in the more familiar land, where the load upon them kept on increasing with little sign of relief in the foreseeable future. There were other reasons why people decided to go to America. Some men wanted to escape the military draft, while some "fled" Japan because they had been too critical of the new government. Others simply wanted to study in America. These people were different from the hundreds of young samurai who were sent to study under the sponsorship of the government. Katsuzo had remembered how longingly his father talked about the opportunity he had passed up to study in America. So at the age of nineteen, Katsuzo had decided to do what his father had not done. He had been also encouraged by the stories

of Uchimura Kanzo, who had studied in Amherst College. Uchimura wrote about the kindness of the American people there in encouraging him in his study. Many other stories about the new land gave Katsuzo the courage to seek new fortune in America.

In America, Katsuzo was truly surprised at the sense of hostility and suspicion that was clearly expressed to him when he enrolled in the sixth grade of Franklin School. Although he wanted to attend college or a university, he was told to brush up on his English, so he reluctantly enrolled in the elementary school, but trying to learn English in a classroom where the teachers and students were suspicious and unfriendly was not an easy task and Katsuzo became more and more discouraged. He had heard about how people in San Francisco in 1906 had objected to having Japanese as well as other Oriental students going to the public schools. Many of the parents felt that the Oriental students were too old and immoral and they didn't want their children to attend the same schools. But Katsuzo thought that matter had been settled, so he was surprised and hurt to find such attitudes still prevalent. But he studied hard and worked hard. He earned his room and board by working as a school boy (houseboy) for Mrs. Howe, and in the summers, he earned more money by working on the farm of a friend in the San Joaquin Valley. More and more Japanese immigrants were going to the San Joaquin Valley after the spectacular success of several farmers in turning the arid land, which had been considered marginal at best, into one of the most productive agricultural regions in the state. So jobs were plentiful and Katsuzo took full advantage of the situation. He was in for a minor shock when he started to work in the fields because working in the huge, wild land of the San Joaquin Valley was more exhausting than working in the small gardenlike farms of Japan. One of the experiences he long remembered was the uncomfortable and irritating feel of the peat soil over all his sweat-stained body and the joy of washing off the dirt and the sweat in a "real" Japanese bath after the day's work. He looked forward to the daily bath period, which was one of the few opportunities to relax and talk with his fellow workers. Dinner was served after the men completed their bath. The food was not particularly delicious but it was satisfying because it was Japanese and there was plenty of rice. While many complained about the food, they also expressed their gratitude to the cook, who was usually the wife of the boss. Being a wife of the boss meant she had to get up before the men and prepare the breakfast, lunch, and dinner, clear up after them, prepare their bath, and, in addition, go out to work in the field. The wives of the farmers were never unappreciated by the men, although it was hard to tell that from the way the men referred to them as "old ladies" or "old bags." Occasionally, Japanese movies were brought around to the various camps. But the best treat was to go into Stockton, where there was a large Japanese community. There a person could always eat Japanese food at one of the two restaurants there, or go to movies or even attend church, Christian or Buddhist. Any number of community activities seemed to take place at least once a month, but also Katsuzo particularly liked to go to

Mrs. Matsuoka's home, which many of the people from his native prefecture used as a social meeting place.

Katsuzo's plan to attend an American college was altered when he decided to marry and start his own family. Katsuzo's parents highly recommended this young woman, as they had done with so many others, but what really made up his mind was the picture of her they had sent along. Unlike many of his friends, Katsuzo didn't send for his "picture bride," but went back to Japan to meet her personally. When he was certain that Mitsuye would be a good partner in their life together, the wedding ceremony was performed and the two came back to America. They found employment with a laundry and cleaning establishment. When they gained sufficient funds and accumulated enough knowledge about running a business, they decided to start their own business. Mitsuye and Katsuzo borrowed money from their prefectural friends and this, when added to their savings, was enough to allow them to buy a small grocery shop. The next years went by quickly as the two became almost totally involved in making a "go" of their shop. But Katsuzo also spent long hours on community matters, because the people in the community felt that he was a good leader who could organize and unite them to meet the growing needs of the rapidly expanding Japanese community. Through united efforts, the community did establish a Japanese language school, as many of the immigrants felt that their communication with their children would improve if the children could learn Japanese. There was also a desire to retain much of the culture of their native land. Many of the immigrants were proud of being "Meiji men" and wanted their children to retain some of the things they were proud of. Various sects of Christian, Buddhist, and Shinto churches and temples were also built. An "umbrella" organization of the community was formed to take care of the general needs of the community. The enormous amount of energy, money, and time people sacrificed to accomplish these common goals resulted in the development of a community that helped many of them survive in a strange land that, though friendly at times, was often cruel and hostile toward them.

The Japanese people had caused no problem for the Hakujin (white people). They kept to themselves, but they also made a monumental contribution to America, by making thousands of acres of land more productive. Much of it was unwanted land that the Japanese immigrants turned into rich, arable land. All of their efforts and achievements were lauded at first, but as the Japanese farmers succeeded in greater number, more and more Hakujin farmers began to voice their opposition to the Japanese. Many of Katsuzo's friends in San Francisco were harassed physically and psychologically. Newspapers carried stories describing the Japanese and their communities in terms that bore no resemblance to what Katsuzo knew. They were pictured as dirty, immoral scabs, sneaky and dishonest. The abuses increased in intensity with the "success" of Japan. At first, Japan's effort to modernize herself was hailed all over the United States, but the climate began to change when the Japanese defeated the Russians in a war no one thought the Japanese could win.

Katsuzo felt helpless, as did the community, under the barrage of criticism, discrimination, and harassment. What could be done to decrease the intensity of the hakuji's resentment and hate? Katsuzo thought about the problem time and time again. He knew that his children as well as a majority of the Japanese children did extremely well in school and were learning the ways of the hakuji more successfully than they were retaining the ways of their parents. But as successful as they were, they were not given their due rewards. Most of their children did not win any scholarships or encouragement to go to college even if many of them had the best grades in high school. And even after the parents sacrificed to almost unbelievable lengths, those who graduated from college could not find work that was equal to the kind of education and training they had received. Those who did manage to make good use of their college education were those who managed to find work within the Japanese community or who went to Japan, the land of their parents. The Japanese had one of the lowest crime rates of all people, yet they could not shake the image of somehow being gamblers, of being shadowy inhabitants who lurked on the fringes of law-breaking elements. Even though the families had almost no record of divorces, and most of the people were members of some church, they were thought of as heathens without any moral scruples or ethical standards. Even those who were converted to Christianity were not as "Christian" as the hakuji Christians. When their children spoke almost perfect English but with a Japanese accent, their English was considered to be inferior English and the accents weren't as good as Boston or Texas or Southern accents. Even as the Japanese immigrants and their children adopted the hakuji way, there were politicians who worked to limit the numbers of Japanese coming in, and later they managed to stop them completely. Laws were made to prevent Japanese farmers from owning land. It bewildered and hurt Katsuzo to be described as a "little Jap" and be considered a very real threat to the Western people.

Katsuzo was hit with another problem. This problem caused more direct and immediate hurt to Katsuzo because involved his children. One day he realized that he and Mitsuye could not communicate with their children. In fact, he was speaking less and less to his children and they were approaching him and his wife less and less for any kind of a discussion. He realized that he and Mitsuye, being so involved in trying to lay proper foundations for the family, had not spent enough time with their children. Even the long hours he spent away from his home was a big part of the foundation-laying. And yet, his best intentions worked against the very thing he had been working toward. He also noticed that his children were attending the Japanese language school less and less. Although all of his three children started Japanese class at the time they started public schools, their attendance at the Japanese school was cut down markedly as they grew older. Katsuzo could not find comfort in the fact that most of his friends were having the same problem.



Many of the young people felt that, because they were Americans, there was little use in learning Japanese. Some felt that speaking Japanese was hurting their efforts to learn English or that it made them speak English with a funny accent. Others felt that it was simply unfair because other kids in school didn't have to go to another school after their "regular" school. Many could not take part in extracurricular activities at school if they had to go to Japanese school and felt that going to Japanese school and learning Japanese things made them different from other kids and frankly, in fact, many were ashamed or embarrassed about having to go to Japanese school, or, for some, having to go to a Buddhist Church. And the progress of those who somehow continued their study of the Japanese language was disappointing to their parents, for there were very few who managed to learn how to read, write, or speak Japanese well enough to carry on a serious conversation. This was especially unfortunate because as the children grew and became more like the hakjun, there was more reason to talk and discuss matters with their parents. Katsuzo and Mitsuye tried to express their love and concern for the children by telling them simple things like "Work hard," "Study hard," or "Listen to what we say . . .," which they knew sounded curt and impersonal to the children. They also tried to understand their children by watching their actions. But the gap kept on growing. Yet, despite these frustration, Katsuzo and Mitsuye noted with pride that their children did well in the public schools and that they did not get mixed up with the "wrong kinds" of people.

Then suddenly on December 7, 1941, the bombing of Pearl Harbor shattered their life in the United States to a shocking degree. In the succeeding dizzying days that followed, Katsuzo was picked up and investigated by the FBI because he had been so active in the Japanese community. The entire Japanese community was put under a curfew, and a few months later the Japanese populace was ordered to evacuate their homes. The people living on the Pacific Coast were moved to one of the many relocation camps that were built in the more remote areas of America. Katsuzo understood why he and his wife had to be evacuated, but he could not understand the reason for the removal of those who were born in the United States and were citizens. However, Katsuzo was glad that his children were not separated from him. By the end of the summer of 1942, he and his family found themselves in Rohwer, Arkansas. For the first time in a long life, Katsuzo found time to think about his past and about his future. The most important questions centered on his family. Would his children blame him for being treated like enemy aliens? Would his children lose faith in their country? What would happen in the eldest son were to be drafted into the U.S. Army? How could he and Mitsuye help their children to overcome this tragedy? And what about their grocery store? Would they ever get it back? Had his life been total waste? Was this the result of all the years of struggle and sacrifice? What kind of a world is it when a person's entire life's work can be taken away from him without his say? As he thought about these

questions, he became aware of the hot humid weather weighing heavily against his drenched body.

Questions on the Reading:

1. What were some of the responsibilities of a young samurai in Japan? Name three.
2. Why were foreigners considered dangerous by the Japanese?
3. What did the Japanese do to meet the danger posed by the appearance of the foreigners?
4. Name three changes in the lives of the individual Japanese after the new leaders took over in Japan.
5. How did the changes affect Hannojo's view toward education? Toward the commoners?
6. List three things that make a person truly "educated" according to Hannojo's observation.
7. Give two reasons why Katsuzo decided to give up his schooling in America.
8. What was the most serious problem Katsuzo had with his family?
9. Give five examples showing how the Japanese people adjusted to their new lives in America.
10. Why were the Japanese immigrants welcomed by Americans at first?
11. Why did the Americans begin to mistreat the Japanese immigrants and their children?

## Questions for you. (What do you think?)

1. Compare and contrast your way of life with that of a young samurai.
2. In what ways were the Japanese immigrants similar to European immigrants?
3. List the differences.
4. Give three examples of how our government's actions influence your life.
5. If you were Katsuzo, how would you console and counsel your children in the concentration camp?

## APPENDIX F

### BRIEF HISTORICAL NOTES ON NINETEENTH-CENTURY JAPAN AND THE COMING OF THE WESTERNERS

From the latter half of the nineteenth century, Japanese society underwent rapid and vast changes. Historically, this period is described loosely as the beginning of the "modern" period in Japanese history. It is referred to as the "Meiji Period" by the Japanese people. It was in this period that Japan transformed itself from an agricultural feudalistic society to one much like Western society, and was characterized by a strong industrial system, a Western-styled constitutional government, military force, and legal and educational systems. For the Japanese this meant that they had to change their attitudes and behavior patterns radically. Although many people suffered individual shocks, the Japanese generally adjusted successfully to the many bewildering changes. For example, the people of the samurai class lost many of their former privileges, and much of their training and education became useless; but their background enabled them to become key people in the new society, and many of them remained people of power.

The farmers' life changed the least in that they continued to bear the main burden of supporting the economy, with very little increase in privileges or status. The lack of any apparent change for the better in their life of hardship and toil encouraged many farmers to look to America as a place where they might find greater opportunity. So around the 1890s, when the government lifted the ban that had previously prevented the Japanese from leaving the country, thousands emigrated to America. Although most of the imin (emigrants) were of farming background, "non-farming" Japanese moved to the new world as well.

Another major change for Japan was its involvement in a series of wars, first with China, then with Russia, and then against the Central Powers in World War I, all of which had a significant influence in how other nations viewed Japan. In the initial stages of Japan's modernization effort, when the Japanese were making impressive progress, Americans looked upon them very favorably and described them as hard-working, smart people, among other things. But when Japan's military power increased, the Americans' view of the Japanese changed sharply. They began to think of them in extremely negative terms--and it was in these years that the greatest number of Japanese immigrants arrived in our country. Therefore the immigrants were looked upon with jaundiced eyes.

Although some Americans were most hospitable and kind to these immigrants, many Americans were utterly hostile toward them. Some Americans openly attacked the imin, while others used less violent methods. For instance, in 1906, many people, including the mayor of San Francisco, tried to make all the Japanese attend segregated schools.

Many laws were passed to keep the Japanese in their place, or to keep their numbers from increasing. One such law forbade the Japanese, as well as other people of "Mongolian" blood, to intermarry with whites. The Americans also tried to limit the numbers of Japanese immigrants, and in time completely denied them entry. But European immigrants were allowed to continue coming to our country.

Throughout their stay in the United States, the Japanese immigrants were blamed for many of the economic and social problems of the time. So when war broke out between Japan and the United States in 1941, the immigrants and their children were put into concentration camps. All of the children were, of course, Americans, but they were imprisoned without having any of their legal rights considered. Even though the United States was also at war with Italy and Germany at this time, very few Italian or German immigrants, or American citizens of German or Italian background, were put into concentration camps.

## APPENDIX G

### SAMBASAN (THE MIDWIFE)

For Mrs. Matsuoka, this was the 203rd baby she had delivered in America. As one of the two midwives in this thriving rural community of Stockton, she was very busy. And although she had delivered hundreds of babies, she felt the same excitement delivering this baby as she did the first one. Even as she cleaned up the room, after she had made sure that the mother was comfortably settled in the front room, Mrs. Matsuoka started to go over some of the names that might be appropriate for the newborn girl. Although most of the parents had a name for their baby already, most of them looked forward to the names suggested by Mrs. Matsuoka because she had a unique ability to come up with the "best" name. It wasn't just a matter of choosing the right-sounding one, or the most fashionable one, or the most symbolic, because she also thought about which Japanese character would be most appropriate. Names such as Kimiko or Hisako could be written in different ways depending on how you wanted to describe the child. Kimiko, for instance, could mean the noble one or could mean the exalted and beautiful one. Further, Mrs. Matsuoka would find names from her dreams. Actually these could be called more than dreams because she always had a dream about something she was most concerned about at the time. Some of the best names came from her dreams. Mrs. Matsuoka was proud that so many Japanese people would come to her to have their babies and rely on her to suggest names for the newborn babies.

In turn, Mrs. Matsuoka admired the hardy women who came to her. Most of them were farmers and they worked on their farms until the "last possible moment" before coming into Stockton to have their baby. True to their ways, not one of the 500 or so women Mrs. Matsuoka had attended had cried out or screamed in pain when giving birth. One time the city official from the Board of Health was present at one of the deliveries to make sure no public health codes or practices were being violated, and when he saw the quiet and courageous way the Japanese woman bore her labor pain and subsequent delivery he was quite impressed. This was the first time this official had ever been assigned to inspect a home in the ghetto section of the city. The ghetto was only a few blocks away from the city hall but it was amazing how rarely any officials in the city had ever come into this neighborhood. He felt uneasy at first walking through the streets filled with so many different "foreigners" speaking in their own languages. . . . to him the street was just a noisy mess and not one bit picturesque, as some of his colleagues had described it. When he came upon the two-storied wooden frame home bearing the sign "Mrs. Matsuoka, Midwife," he wondered why the city had not condemned the practice. How can anyone have a birth in safety in such a home tucked in between a rundown hotel and a gas station? The roomers

of the Europa Hotel to the right were out sitting on the sidewalk, talking spitting, smoking, chewing, and it seemed as though all the roomers were setting there. Loud Mexican music could be heard from the dirty cafe across the street and the young official wondered why so many of the Mexican men were not working. He had heard that they were easygoing people who just worked enough to make enough money to have fun, and he could believe this now. Here it was in the midst of the harvesting season and so many of them were drinking and singing.

As the official entered the house, he was surprised at how quiet and clean the hall was; it was freshly waxed and polished. As he waited for Mrs. Matsuoka to come out, he peered curiously into the closest room and found a Japanese woman lying there groaning almost inaudibly. Upon looking at her more closely, it became obvious that she having labor pains, yet the only sign of this was her low moan. He almost jumped when he heard a voice say, "Hello. May we help you?" Two women were standing there; one was Mrs. Matsuoka, obviously, and the other her daughter. The official was particularly surprised to English spoken so well, with just a trace of accent. "Uh, yes . . . I'm here from the City Board to inspect your place." The two women exchanged something in Japanese. Then the youngone answered, "My mother says that she is glad to see you, but she is sorry that she is not able to offer you tea because she is just getting ready for a delivery. You know, the lady in the front room. My mother asks you to wait. In the meanwhile would you care to inspect the other rooms?" "Oh certainly. I don't want to take up too much of your time. Can you show me any other rooms that are not occupied and also where she has all the equipment and supplies?"

The other rooms were as quiet and clean as the first one he had peeked into, and so was the "supply" room. He could not believe that an old wooden frame building could be kept so clean. After a brief but thorough inspection he was invited into the living room to wait. He was satisfied that no sanitation codes were being violated but he wondered a little about the minimum amount of equipment he had found so far. He didn't have too much time to think about that, though, because he was too busy examining the living room. There was an almost new upright piano standing in the corner and he was surprised to see several Japanese swords displayed there. There were two tintype pictures on the wall. One pictured a top-knotted warrior and the other a Japanese man in "modern" clothing standing in front of an airplane. A closer look revealed that the two men were actually one and the same man. Before he could survey the room anymore, the two Japanese women were back.

"Now, would you care for some tea?" But the official was thinking of something else. He hadn't even heard any screams or cries to indicate that the delivery was over. "Uh, no thank you . . . I must go now."

"Why, yes. You'll hear from our office. And thank you again,"

As he stepped out into the noisy street, the young city official was glad that he had had a chance to make this trip, but as he walked toward his office, he suddenly felt uneasy again, and knew that he would not be returning again . . . that is, on his own.

"What time is it?" Mrs. Matsuoka asked as soon as the young man had gone. "Don't forget your odori (dance) practice, Hiroko. You have only about one week left before the performance next Saturday. . . ."

"Yes, I know. I'm already getting ready." Hiroko was getting ready but with mixed feelings. Sometimes she wanted to go out to play or do something else, like painting; but none of her friends ever did what they wanted to do either. Most of them were expected to help out with the family. Most stayed home and did chores around the homes or studied. Hiroko did the same except she was one of the several girls who took lessons in Japanese odori, playing the shamisen, and learning the fundamentals of Kabuki plays (classical Japanese theater). She was the best of the dancers and she played the part of a man, not because she was masculine or ugly but because she was good. She had fantastic control of a full spectrum of classical Kabuki expressions and normally she carried the lead part. Hiroko smiled to herself, thinking that at least she didn't have to be like Atsuko, who always played the villain. All in all, she and her friends enjoyed their involvement in Japanese theater because not only did they have a lot of fun together, but they also could travel all over Northern California. These girls from Stockton had indeed become famous among the Japanese communities throughout Northern California. So, most of the time Hiroko was happy to spend her "leisure" time practicing, but sometimes she wanted more time to paint because her art teacher at school thought she has a definite promise.

Mrs. Matsuoka thought of her daughter Hiroko's progress in Japanese dancing and was pleased. Of course, Hiroko needed more work on the shamisen, but she could understand that because her daughter was awfully busy with school, helping out with the family chores, practicing piano, and going to the Japanese Language School. She was proud of her daughter but she was also proud of her Junich. When she thought of Junich, Mr. Matsuoka felt a special glow because he worked much harder than other young people she knew of. Yet her sense of pride was tinged with guilt that she was not able to pay as much attention to him as to Hiroko. She especially proud of Junichi for doing extremely well in both the public and the Japanese language school. But recently she noticed that Junichi's grades were not grades as they had been in the first six years of schooling. It wasn't that he wasn't studying as much. He was studying hard, but he seemed less interested in grades or in school than he had been. He read profusely but not always the books assigned to him. Once Mrs. Matsuoka did ask her son about school and was disturbed to find out that Junichi was talking back to the teacher.



It wasn't exactly talking back as much as making funny remarks to the teacher or in response to the teacher's questions--at least that's what Hiroko had told her.

"Junichi, I hear you are making funny remarks to the teacher. Is something wrong? Are you covering up your ignorance? What's the matter?"

"Matter? Nothing as far as I'm concerned. I just tell the teacher what I think, that's all."

"Why do you have to say anything? Do others in class do the same thing? What about the Tanaka boy and Sato boy? Do they do the same thing?"

"Oh, you mean Jim and Sat. No, they feel the same way as I do about school and teachers in general, but they don't say anything. They keep quiet and get real good grades."

"You know that the teachers need to be obeyed. They are there to help you get ready for life. Why is that you don't understand that?"

"Oh, I understand that. What I want to know is what does the teacher's past history has to do with our preparation. Take Mrs. Warner, for instance. She's always talking about how hard she had to work, how she obeyed her teachers and her parents. I feel that doesn't have anything to do with us. Seems more like she's bragging or putting us down." So I said, "But in your days slavery was legal."

"Now, Junichi, she's trying to show how she studied and how studying and working hard helped her. It's a personal lesson she's teaching you. Try to think of the good things about people and what they do."

"Oh, Mom, you said yourself, those who are great are humble. And if she tells us this stuff to teach a lesson, I don't see way we have to hear it day after day. She's just wasting our time. She doesn't understand us, either. She thinks we have nothing to do. She's supposed to be interested in us but she has never once asked us about ourselves or about what we do. Is that a good teacher and do we have to accept that quietly? You've always encouraged us to be honest and to find a nice way of saying things. Well, I didn't come out and tell her bluntly. I just tried a little humor, that's all."

There were other things said, but Mrs. Matsuoka couldn't remember. She just thought how like his father Junichi was. And yet, his father had been dead for over six years. Junichi was only five at the time . . . how she wished he was here to talk to Junichi. It was so much more difficult to talk to boys, especially when she thought about

her oldest son, Sumio. He didn't even want to be called Sumio. About a year before, he started calling himself Frank. Mrs. Matsuoka had such a hard time pronouncing Frank; it always came out Furanku. Sumio did everything so well before he started going to elementary school; then he began to change. At first, Mrs. Matsuoka didn't notice the change, except she knew he wasn't reading his Japanese books and magazines as often. But before long he stopped studying Japanese lessons entirely. Sumio openly refused even to go to language school when he started high school and became involved in the school athletic teams. Actually, when Mrs. Matsuoka thought about her oldest son, there was very little she could "complain" about. He did extremely well in public school, especially in math and science. And he did help out at home. In fact, he was most helpful in making extra money, which he faithfully gave to his mom. The only matter that "worried" Mrs. Matsuoka was that he was cutting off his Japanese background. What little time he had for himself, he was playing basketball, baseball, or football. And about once a month, he went out on dates. Ever since Sumio started to go to high school, he spent a lot of time with a group that was viewed as the "fast" crowd. People in the fast crowd seemed to have certain things in common. They all stopped going to Japanese School, gave themselves American names, and were participated more in activities at school; and they didn't go to church, or if they did, they attended the Christian church more often than not. Also they went out on dates. There was nothing wrong with those things; it just saddened Mrs. Matsuoka that the most important "tie" between her and her son Sumio was being weakened. To almost anything she said, his response was, "Oh, Mom, we're in America, so what's wrong with being like Americans? We should learn to like other Americans and try to forget our old-fashioned ways. Other American kids don't worry about learning or continuing their parents' language or customs. So don't worry. We all have to be realistic. Isn't that one of the things you've always taught us?--be realistic and be practical . . . don't depend on others. . . ."

Yes, that's what she believed in and that's what she always tried to teach her children, but the way they said it, it sounded so different from what she was thinking. She could still remember vividly what she had gone through only a few years before. Few years? It was over ten years ago . . . closer to twenty? It couldn't be! An old saying popped into her mind, "Time flies like an arrow." She was always conscious of the other saying about time, "Time is gold," but in trying to live up to that, time just flew like an arrow.

When she and her husband came to America, he started working in one of the rich farms along the San Joaquin River. The job had already been contracted even before they reached America, so when they landed in San Francisco, they spent only one night there at an hotel owned by a Japanese. A long day's journey brought them to Stockton, where they stayed in another Japanese hotel, and the next day they were on their way to Teranishi farm. After a few years of work the two had saved

enough money to move to the city and start a business of their own. They had denied themselves almost everything to save money, but they still didn't have enough money to start a laundry and dry-cleaning business.

So they went to an association made up all the people from their prefecture and asked to join them. Part of the association's function was to provide money for those who needed it. It was a simple plan of everyone sharing part of their savings each month and lending it to the person who needed a rather large amount of money. So the Matsuoka's borrowed from the association and returned what they had borrowed on a monthly basis, but in the meanwhile, they were able to lease a cleaning establishment. Mr. Matsuoka was known among the Japanese community for his ironing skill, so when he started his business many people became his customers. In a few years, he did well enough to move "uptown."

But just when he started to build up a new supply of customers, Mr. Matsuoka passed away without warning. Mrs. Matsuoka was absolutely stunned when her husband clutched at his heart and gasped for water . . . for air . . . for help. In a matter of seconds, before Dr. Watanabe could come, her husband died in her arms. Deep in shock, she numbly remembered greeting the people who came as soon as the news of the death reached the Japanese community. The ladies from the Buddhist Church quickly started to prepare the food for the mourners who would be coming to pay their respects to the deceased. In the meanwhile, the men from the church, along with the minister, planned the wake and the funeral. All the tedious arrangements were quickly taken care of, such as keeping records of the flowers and money brought by the mourners to the funeral and preparing more food for those who attended the funeral.

Mrs. Matsuoka was so grateful for the way the community people helped out. But her appreciation didn't end there. Grieved as she was over her husband's death, she had to think of her children and her own survival. She could not be dependent on the community indefinitely and she could not run the cleaning business by herself. The first thing she decided to do was to pay off the most pressing debts. The insurance money that came from the policy they had bought from Mr. Fujikado just a few months before her husband's death paid off other debts, but now she had very little left for herself and the other children. The only way she could possibly make a go of it was to fall back on the midwife's training she had in Japan. Fortunately, she found available a large house in which to carry on her work, with enough rooms not only for her family but also for boarders.

She was indeed fortunate, but that was only a start. She still had to work hard and she did work hard. Besides her work, she tried to supervise her children's activities. She couldn't help with their public school work but she managed to help them with their Japanese language school work; and as her profession thrived, she found more time

to arrange lessons and activities for the children. For her girls, Mrs. Matsuoka was able to arrange dancing and shamisen lessons, while Junichi took judo lessons at the Buddhist Church and also played on the basketball and baseball teams sponsored by the church. (One of the most hotly contested games were between the teams sponsored by the Buddhist Church and the Japanese Christian Church.) Later on Sumio joined the Boy Scouts but Junichi did not. The only time Mrs. Matsuoka could call her own were the few precious moments she somehow found to continue her interest in Japanese things, but at the same time, she was not aware that Sumio was almost bitter that his mother would not spend more time with the children.

Sumio would express his dissatisfaction to his friends, openly, and often, but he never expressed his feelings to his own family. He couldn't reveal them to his mother because his neglect of Japanese had eroded his ability to communicate with her. He didn't discuss it with his sister Hiroko and brother Junichi because they seemed to be completely dominated by his mother. Sumio felt that he would get no understanding from the "too" submissive siblings. Besides, there was almost no time that the family got together long enough to discuss family matters. If the family members weren't working studying, or taking lessons, there was always some community or church activity that took away more time from the family. But most of all, what Sumio disliked was the weekends when the friends and acquaintances from mother's home prefecture would come by. Almost all of them were bachelors--young people who were farmers and spoke nothing but Japanese--so Sumio had no young people to play with. Sumio couldn't even begin to understand their Japanese because all of them spoke in their native dialect, which had almost no resemblance to the "standard" Japanese he had learned for awhile. One thing he didn't mind was that he was able to stay up and eat snacks, which usually amounted to a full-scale Chinese dinner. But the delicious food was not enough to compensate for the lonely weekends he spent at home, especially after his dad had passed away.

So when Sumio started high school, he found that the friends he had on the basketball and baseball teams became the closest to him, and he enjoyed being with them. When they went with him to Japanese community picnics and the Obon festival, even these became more enjoyable. He could remember when he and his friends would be on the same team in various events and win many prizes, especially the "cone breaking" contest. But in his junior year, he began to drift away more and more from these community activities, especially when he started to play on the school teams and attend various social functions tied in with the teams. As his exposure to and involvement with the students increased, Sumio became ashamed and embarrassed about many of the things he had done . . . in fact about almost everything he had done in the past.

### Questions about the Reading

1. What was Mrs. Matsuoka's occupation? Where had she trained for the profession?
2. List some of the activities that her children were involved in outside of public schools.
3. In what way was Frank the oldest son different from his younger brother, Junichi?
4. How did she start her business?
5. Who helped Mrs. Matsuoka when her husband passed away?

### Questions for You

1. List three things different about the Matsuoka family from yours, aside the fact that they are Japanese and have different names.
2. What things in the Japanese-American community are different from your community?
3. Why was Sumio (Frank) ashamed and embarrassed about the things he had done in the past?: What do you think of this attitude? Give a reason for your answer.
4. What activities do you remember having in your community that you no longer have?
5. In what way can the community people help you in time of trouble? For instance, if your family needs a large amount of money, who do they expect to borrow some money from? If they rely on the bank, that would not be considered a community help.

## APPENDIX H

### OUTLINE OF CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE ASIAN AMERICANS

#### Agriculture in California

Asian Americans opened up land in the San Joaquin valley area for farmers. Much of this land was previously considered unusable but Chinese and Japanese farmers turned it into the most productive farmland in the world. They also developed truck farming and introduced cooperative wholesaling techniques. They were probably the first farmers to organize against excesses of the big farm owners. Cesar Chavez continued a strike that was originally started by Filipino workers.

#### Fishing Industry

Japanese-Chinese fishermen were responsible for the establishment of the calm and fishing industry in Hawaii and Southern California.

#### Floral Industry

Floral industries developed by Asian Americans in Hawaii and California are known throughout the world. Locally, the flower grown in Redwood City, particularly chrysanthemums and carnations, are shipped out all over the United States. The settling and growth of East Palo Alto is closely tied up with the development of the flower industry there.

#### Arts and Architecture

Famous local artists known throughout the world are: Dong Kingman, Ruth Asawa, and Isamu Noguchi (Los Angeles).

Architects are: Mario Pei and Minoru Yamasaki.

#### Education

As a group, in proportion to their size, the Chinese- and Japanese-Americans have the highest number of people who have graduated from college. Relative to their size, they have the highest number of people in the various professions--teaching, medical fields, etc. Two of the more well-known scholars are Dr. Francis Hsu and Dr. I Hayakawa.

#### Politics

In congress: Senators Hiram Fong and Daniel Inouye. Representatives Patsy Mink, Sparky Matsunaga, and Norman Mineta. State Assembly and government officials include March Fong and Paul Bannai. Chinese and Japanese mayors have served in such cities as San Jose, Union City,

Fremont, Salinas, Gardena, etc. Governor of Hawaii, George Arivosni, was also its State Supertendent of Education. Also many Chinese and Japanese Americans serve in city, county, and federal Civil Service positions. One of their most important contributions is being made in NASCAR.

### Science and Math

Dr. Chen Wing Yang and Dr. Tsung Dao Lee won the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1957.

Dr. Mikami of U.C. was the leader in the field of Brain Wave research.

Dr. Hideyo Noguchi, discovered the cause of Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever and isolated spirochete in Syphilis research. Along with Dr. George Jensen, Dr. Newton Wesley developed the contact lens.

### Religion

Chinese and Japanese immigrants introduced and established Shinto, Confucian, and Buddhist temples. In 1975, the Japanese celebrated the 75th year of Buddhism in America.

### Military

During the Second World War, the 442nd Infantry Regiment won numerous honors and are the most heavily decorated military unit in our Military History.

## APPENDIX I

### THE EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF THE JAPANESE AMERICAN

Many people who have heard anything about the Japanese Americans have heard that the "Japanese" people are hard workers in school, are especially good in math and science courses, and do so well that most of them seem to go to college.

Here are some facts to prove that some of these things are true. Let us look at the 1960 United States Census figures. (The results of the 1970 Census on this matter is still not available but will be made available soon.) According to the figures, The figures, the Japanese American population had a higher level of education than the "white" population: (1) 80% of the J/A's as compared with about 75% of the "whites," completed one or more years of high school, and (2) about 24% of the J/A's finished at least one year of college, as compared with 22% of the "whites."

Other figures and studies seem to support the census figures. According to some psychologists, the Japanese Americans had a high level of academic achievement. They also said that there was no difference in intelligence between the Japanese American students and the "white" students who were compared, but the Japanese American students had higher grades in school. However, when achievements in different subjects were analyzed, they found that the "white" students did better in reading, while the J/A's did better in arithmetic and spelling.

Why do the J/A's do so well in school? That question is very difficult to answer. One reason might be that the family stresses the importance of education by rewarding the children when they do well in school. The parents seemed to have convinced their children that the best way to do well in the United States is by doing well in school. This idea is made stronger when the older children do "succeed," and they then serve as models for the younger ones to follow. As far as the J/A's are concerned, success means to do better than the parents have done, and the Issei parents have sacrificed almost everything to make sure that their children do better than they did. Do better in what? For a large number of the Japanese Americans, this means living in better homes, eating more and "better" food, wearing better clothing, and working in jobs that pay much more than the ones the parents worked in.

Another reason given to explain the high level of success in school is that the children were taught to respect the teachers almost without question. In other words even if they didn't like whatever the teacher did in the classroom, they rarely complained and they did what they were asked to do. This also meant that few of them ever doubted or questioned the teachers, so few of them were con-



sidered troublemakers. Rather, they were considered extremely well-mannered and cooperative. However, no one has really proven why certain people do well in school, because it has been virtually impossible for anyone to find a way to study these matters more closely.

Finally, it should be mentioned that many of the third generation of J/A's have developed different ideas about what a "good" education is and they have become aware of the negative aspects of the way their parents studied in school. We will examine some of their views later, but briefly they feel that the American schools "took away" the identities of their parents, overemphasized "material" success, and hardly taught them how to be "beautiful" human beings. They believe that their parents simply conformed to the patterns set by the authorities and neglected studying anything besides those subjects that were most closely related to getting a good job.

## APPENDIX J

### THE TWILIGHT SOLDIERS

During World War II a unit of Japanese-American soldiers was stationed in France. Because America was then at war with Japan, a few French people expressed surprise at seeing "Japanese" in the uniforms of the United States Army. Those G. I.'s in France got used to being stared at. If people questioned them, they would keep their faces perfectly straight and reply, "You see, we are not Japanese. We really are a very special kind of American Soldier. We have special white soldiers to fight in the daytime, special black soldiers to fight at night, and special yellow soldiers, like us, to fight during the twilight hours."

I must admit that I can't swear to the truth of this story, yet it does show an attitude that came to be widespread among Japanese Americans like me. Our lives were deeply changed by the impact of the war. Mine surely was. It is true that I have been fighting in the twilight world of America for most of my life. As far back as I can remember I have been asked, "Are you Chinese or Japanese?" I've never known how to answer that. I was born in America, brought up and educated here, and until 1941, when I was sixteen years old, I had no reason to ask myself "What am I?"

Usually my people and I were called Japanese Americans. Those of us whose parents had come from Japan were known as Nisei, meaning first-generation Americans of Japanese descent. But the hyphen between Japanese and American somehow set us apart as different. In one sense, if you stop to think about it, most Americans are "hyphenated" Americans. As President Franklin D. Roosevelt himself once said, "Remember always that all of us, and you and I especially, are descended from immigrants and revolutionists."

Just what nation one's ancestors had come from began to make a big difference after Pearl Harbor. An ugly saying went around: "The only good Jap is a dead Jap." It referred not only to the Japanese who were fighting American soldiers in the Pacific area, but to those of us who had been born in America. We suddenly found ourselves being treated like enemies.

On the other hand, it would be wrong to let you think that we had not feeling of "differentness" before 1941. A former California governor, William Stephens, in his official writings as far back as 1920 declared that we were so different we could not become part of the Western man's society. He warned that the "outpost" of this society (and he meant California) was being overwhelmed by a rapidly growing number of these people of "peculiar race and color." He argued that the Japanese should not be allowed to settle in California. He said that of course it was not out of hate or prejudice or any sense of racial superiority that he wrote this. According to him it was a matter of saving Western civilization.

Even as a small boy I felt that I belonged to a sort of twilight society. In Stockton, California, my family lived in a neighborhood that might be described as colorful or quaint, but it was really a segregated area, a ghetto. Mexicans and Filipinos, Chinese and Japanese all lived in their separate worlds within this ghetto, and there were misunderstandings among us.

Japanese girls were taught to be suspicious of all except Japanese men. They were to be careful not to date the Filipinos because there were so few Filipino girls in America that they had a special interest in Japanese girls. Each group had its pet theories about the others. We heard that the Chinese owned all the gambling joints in town and ran their restaurants as "fronts" for them. One group had a way of calling another "dirty" or "lazy" or "dishonest." Tag-words like this stick in children's minds. The odd thing is that in spite of all this gossip and misunderstanding, we did manage to get along together quite well.

The language I learned first as a Nisei boy, the games I played, the songs and stories I heard first were Japanese. We were told stories of Kintaro, Issun Boshi, and Momotaro, all popular children's tales of old Japan, before we heard of Tarzan or Dick Tracy.

For eleven years I went to two schools at once. One was run by Japanese, and we children were taught the Japanese language. My mother and father had drummed it into my head that public school was wonderful and important. Off I went to public school while I was still in the Japanese language school. The "wonder" of it didn't last very long. We spent a terrific amount of time resting and listening to stories or just walking around to music. Why, at Japanese school I could already read and write. A boy can get tired of having to rest so much!

I'll never forget the day in public school when a teacher took me by the shoulders and shook me, hard, because I could not pronounce the word spoon correctly. We were learning new words. Pictures of various things were shown us. I looked at spoon and must have beamed with self confidence. This was one of the words Mama had already taught me. But imagine my confusion when the teacher told me, at first patiently, that I was saying it wrong. I kept saying suppoon. The teacher zeroed in on me and drilled me, sounding out the word over and over, and asking me to imitate her. I could not do better than "suppoon," suppoon." To my shame, the class began to giggle and the teacher became angry. Then she shook me.

I ran home. When I told Mama about it, she said to me, as she was to do countless times afterward, that teachers are always right. I was to do exactly what they said. Mama had a way of giving advice and illustrating it with a story about some famous person who had overcome a hardship. So I got no sympathy from Mama about the shaking, but I did get a lecture. She reminded me that General Nogi, a noted Japanese

general during the Russo-Japanese war, was taught by his mother not to complain. It seems that when he was young he refused to eat certain dishes she prepared for him. She decided that he needed a lesson in character-building. From then on, whenever he complained about his food, his mother would serve that same dish day in and day out until he learned to eat it without a whisper of complaint.

My mother loved to tell this story, and she would add her own moral "There is nothing one cannot do if he sets his mind to it. When something is not done, it is because one did not control his will." Mama would not listen to my attempts to reason with her. I could not blame anything or anybody else when I failed to do what I was supposed to do. If I grumbled about our not being able to afford a nicer house or some new clothes, Mama would say, "There is only one way to get what you want. You must study." If I told her I had been criticized or treated unfairly, she would answer, "If you don't want to be criticized, study and be the kind of person that cannot be criticized." According to Mama, study would cure the ills of the world.

A second lesson was pounded into me: I was to be humble. When Mama was talking about me or about my brothers and sisters to other people, she would often say we were either stupid or unworthy. Suppose that I came bouncing in from school to report a high grade or a compliment from the teacher. What would Mama say? "The greater the person, the deeper he bows." A child cannot have such sayings endlessly repeated without their leaving a mark on his mind. One of her favorites was, "The wisteria plant with the most flowers has the lowest head of all."

How often, hearing these sayings, I would feel angry or frustrated, and how it hurt to hear her call her own children "unworthy"! But I don't want you to think Mama unkind or unfeeling. No question about it, Mama did trust us. She loved us, and whether we were good or bad, "successful" or unsuccessful, we belonged to her, each and every one of us two boys and sister. She loved us fiercely. Our home was a place where each of us was accepted and loved. Mama's wish was to see us bear ourselves with dignity and honor, and to reflect in the outside world what her teachings and ideals were.

When I attended high school, one teacher after another would tell me that I spoke much too softly, or that I did not offer my own opinion, even when called on. How could I have enough confidence to express an opinion when I had been taught at home that one should have no opinion until he has studied hard and proved himself to be a worthy person? How could I speak up when teachers would say that my accent was "charming"? This only sharpened my feeling of "differentness". I found it confusing to be taught one thing at home and an entirely different thing in school.

By the way, my hardest subject in both high school and college was English. Still, I am pleased to be able to read and write in two languages.

Long before World War II began, and even before I was in high school, I wanted to learn more about Japan and its history. It hardly seems possible today, but in public school we learned nothing about Japan, its history or people or geography. One day I asked a librarian for books on Japan. "There aren't any," she said, and all at once I felt myself in that strange, cold twilight world. No books about Japan? It became terribly important to learn about the land my parents had come from.

Things such as this made my feeling of "differentness" more than I could stand. I wondered if being a Japanese American meant being a second-class citizen. It was confusing. No wonder, then, that in spite of their parents' concern and pressure, some of my friends gave up going to Japanese school. Others began to attend Christian churches, even though their parents were Buddhists. An idea was taking hold among us of the second generation: the best way to be a good American was to be like the "Hakujins". This was our first word for Caucasians. For many of us, a gap began to grow between us and our parents. It was to grow ever wider.

Much as we tried to convince ourselves that the best way to be an American was to be like the "Hakujins", that was not easy. Looking back now, I can see that I, like my friends, was confused. Our actions made for stress and strain at home. We refused to observe the same religious holidays as our parents. We boasted that our way was "better" than their old-fashioned way. Many times I cursed the fact that my cultural background often embarrassed. But I could not reject it. "Why can't I be like the 'Hakujins'?" I would ask myself miserably.

And then the double life I was leading, the twilight kind of existence between two worlds, became a sharp reality for me. The attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor dropped a bombshell in my life. It no longer mattered which world I wanted or hoped to belong to. Soon after Pearl Harbor I was treated not as an American, not even as Japanese-hyphenated-American. I was treated as a Japanese, and an enemy, at that. It made no difference that I had recited the Pledge of Allegiance in the classroom every day of the school year. It didn't matter that in civics and history I had learned about the rights of the American citizen under the law. Now, as one of many thousands like me on the Pacific Coast, I was regarded as a Japanese. And the Japanese were enemies, as far as the majority of the Hakujins were concerned. True, there were some who sympathized with us and were tolerant and fair. But there were too many others who felt differently. It was these Hakujins who convinced the authorities that all "Japanese" should be evacuated from the West Coast and placed in relocation centers. This was the polite term

given to those dreary camps which only recently are being called by the more accurate name of concentration camps.

In May of 1942 my family was officially ordered to report to the Stockton Assembly Center. The order came from the Western Defense Command. Each of us was allowed to bring only such articles of clothing, bedding, and personal things that we could carry. This meant that we had to sell our household belongings. A good many downtown merchants turned a quick profit from our hardship.

The Assembly Center turned out to be the Stockton County Fairgrounds, where flimsy barracks had been hastily built. Many of the people, especially the unmarried men, were assigned to stables. But in one way all the living quarters were the same; there was neither privacy or comfort. I believe that our knowing this was a temporary situation helped us to get through the first bad days and weeks.

In October we received orders to move again. This time it meant going to a permanent home in a "relocation center." After a tiring four days and five nights of train travel, we arrived at Rohwer, Arkansas.

"Dreary" is the word that best describes this place. The land was dreary, a huge barren wasteland. The camp itself was enclosed with barbed wire and guards were posted to discourage anyone who might get the idea of going "over the hill."

My family's "home" for the next four years at Rohwer was a single room, twenty by twenty feet square. In it, five people tried to work out a way of life. There was not privacy from our "neighbors" except that provided by the thin walls that kept us out of each other's sight. Otherside we shared everything else: the mess hall, the toilets, showers, the recreation hall. We shared a lot that we wished we didn't have to, including our neighbors' fights, laughter, and snores.

Life did have its brighter spots, now and then. We held dances. There was plenty of time to get up baseball, basketball, and football teams. The Issei filled their leisure time by playing Japanese chess, checkers, and cards, while the women had their knitting and sewing. Some composed poetry. But life at Rohwer held one irony for the older people. Many of them had been trained as stenographers and as architects and engineers. Back home these people had often been unemployed. Now their skills and training were in highest demand. They helped run the camp. At first, the camp staff was almost entirely made up of Caucasians, but soon these were replaced by Nisei stenographers, clerks, and engineers.

At the beginning, we got along rather well, all of us, and we let our sense of humor help us over the first hurdles. But problems came up. Early promises made about wages and clothing allowances were not carried out. We had been assured that the food would be improved,

both in quality and in variety. It was not. We got so sick and tired of eating hash three times a day that camp jokers would say, "I'll be back in a flash after a splash of hash." Like everything else about Rohwer, the food was dreary.

A second problem developed among ourselves. Those Nisei who could speak English were given good jobs, important jobs, while most of the older generation (we called them Issei) were given cleanup and janitorial chores. They resented this. They charged that some of the Nisei had been far too cooperative with the government. Hadn't some Nisei helped to round up suspected "disloyals" and turned them in? Issei accused them of doing this in order to gain better treatment for themselves. This bitterness led to acts of violence in the camp. People were beaten up. Children screamed at their parents.

Even as this was taking place, it amazed us. We were splitting up, taking sides, What had happened to us? We had the reputation of getting along with people, and we were brawling and hating each other. We who had won praise for our manners and our tradition of speaking softly--we were at war among ourselves.

When we were asked to sign an oath of loyalty to the United States, feelings ran high. Most of us felt insulted. In how many ways did we have to prove our loyalty? Both before the war and now, we had tried to be law-abiding citizens. When war came, many had offered to join one of the branches of the armed services or to help out in other ways in the war effort. These offers had been refused. We could point to names on official lists of dead and wounded Nisei men who had finally been drafted. They had gone without protest, even though many of them had families in camps like Rohwer.

Feelings flamed hotly when some signed the loyalty oath--to prove their loyalty one more time. Others would not. These, by now more angry than ever, were classified as "disloyals." They were shipped off to a different detention camp.

So ended one lesson in democracy. Was loyalty a one-way street in America? Who, I wondered, had committed the first "disloyal" act? After all, hadn't we been moved from our homes, branded as enemies, placed in confinement? Now unless we signed our names to a loyalty oath, we were disloyal. Again we watched families break up.

Finally, and mercifully, the war drew to an end. But not the personal battle each one of us faced. This was just starting all over again. When we left the camp, each of us had a little money--whatever we had been able to save from the wages paid us during our internment. (Camp wages were \$16.00 a month for general workers and \$19.00 for professional and skilled workers. Obviously, none of us had much in the

way of a bankroll.). We were allowed to take our personal belongings. We knew that years of struggle lay ahead.

Some of the friends I had made in camp were farmers. Their lands had been taken over by the government at the time they had been sent to Rohwer. For them and for us there was the task of finding where to stay before looking for jobs. All of us were worried, even fearful. In my case, I knew that I wanted to go on with my schooling and attend college, but first I'd need a job to support myself.

Life on the outside began for me in 1946. Looking back, I see that I could hardly trust anyone. There still were "Hakujins" who treated me with suspicion. They were not interested in helping me in any way. But I could see one big change: I kept meeting other "Hakujins" who did understand. They wanted to help. I asked myself what had brought about this change. Where had these people been when we were shipped off to relocation centers? Did they change their minds because Nisei soldiers had won distinction as American fighters? Were they impressed by the fact that some of us had "proved our loyalty" over and over again? Were they sympathetic now that many Nisei had given their lives or their blood--for America?

I could not answer these questions; but it was true that a few Caucasians who had been silent before began to speak up for us. They actively offered help. They worked to get jobs for us, and housing, and set about helping students return to schools and colleges.

I can now say that many of us have worked our way into a better life than a "twilight world" in America. We were ready when the opportunity came. We hope to add new dimensions to the meaning of America. That, however, is not so important to me as the fact that I don't have to rely on old stories from Japan to tell my children, as Mama did. I may tell some of these old tales, but what is more exciting is that I can tell my own children about U.S. Senator Don Inouye, of Hawaii. I want them to be just as proud of Representative "Sparky" Matsunaga, of Hawaii. In many major American cities and towns there are distinguished Japanese-American architects and painters and sculptors. There are teachers and scientists who are making valuable contributions to American life. And they are thought of as Americans, not as "hyphenated American."

To be sure, I tell my children about the Issei, those people of the older generation who worked in the fields and gardens of California even when they were made to feel unwelcome. I want my children to understand the sort of courage and faith their grandparents had. With none of the advantages of money or education--and not even knowing how to speak English--my children's grandparents made a place for themselves in a foreign land. More than this, they helped to make a secure place for me.



I speak for more people than just myself when I say that we no longer live in a twilight society. The Issei helped to pave the way for my children as well as for me. The twilight I sense now is more like a dawn promising a new day for all people, all Americans, like me. I am not confused as I was years ago. Being "like the 'Hakujins'" once seemed to be the route I ought to travel. Not so! I have roots that go deep in my Japanese heritage as well as in the American present to anchor the future.

I hope my children will never feel that they live in a twilight world. They have every right and every reason to enjoy the good things of two cultures, and to take equal pride in both.

## APPENDIX K

### SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION ON AKIRA'S FAMILY

Akira is a film about a young man, Akira Tana, who lives in Palo Alto. His father, a Buddhist minister, passed away a little over a year ago and his mother is now attending Foothill College as a full-time student; she also teaches there on a part-time basis. Mrs. Tana is majoring in English and her ambition is to translate some of her late husband's sermons into English. She already has co-authored a book about Japanese poems. Mrs. Tana has been invited by teachers in Palo Alto to help teach about Japanese customs to the students there.

Akira's three elder brothers have all attended and finished college. The oldest brother graduated from U.C. Berkeley and is an officer of the United States Navy. Currently he is serving in Washington, D.C. The next elder brother graduated from Harvard and is a practicing attorney in San Francisco. The third brother graduated from San Jose State University as a physical education teacher. Akira has an AB degree in history from Harvard and is currently completing his advanced work in music composition, also at Harvard.

