

ESL and Cultural Bias: An Analysis of Elementary Through High School Textbooks in the Western United States of America

Elavie Ndura

Department of Educational Specialities, University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada, USA

The content of instructional materials significantly affects students' attitudes and dispositions towards themselves, other people and society. This is particularly so with students of English as a Second Language (ESL) whose success in a new environment is conditioned not only by their mastery of the new language, but also, and especially, by their ability to negotiate the new culture. Building on the argument that learning a second language cannot be separated from the acquisition of the culture that it embodies, this paper argues that the design and adaptation of ESL textbooks and other instructional materials should reflect multiple perspectives inherent to a pluralistic society in order to engage students in a process of uncovering and confronting cultural biases and facilitate intercultural learning. The paper presents the findings from an examination of selected ESL textbooks for stereotypes and other cultural biases and discusses the potential impact of these biases on students. It posits that instructional materials that do not integrate students' diverse life experiences in the teaching and learning process fail to empower them to identify the missing, misconstrued and misrepresented voices. The paper suggests five strategies for dealing with stereotypes and other cultural biases in ESL textbooks and other instructional materials.

Keywords: ESL, cultural bias, education, textbooks, USA

Instructional materials significantly affect students' development of knowledge and their perceptions of self and others (Hirschfelder, 1982). Such influence is even more critical in the acculturation process of students of English as a Second Language (ESL) who use the materials as trusted resources for the skills necessary to negotiate the required school curriculum content as well as the complex meanings of peer and community interactions. Instructional materials play the role of cultural mediators as they transmit overt and covert societal values, assumptions and images. Thus, they have the power to positively or negatively influence immigrant students' perceptions of their new culture and their ability to acculturate and succeed. Consequently, careful examination of ESL materials is necessary in order to maximise empowering learning experiences and reduce negative and confusing influences created by biased content.

This paper analyses six ESL textbooks that are currently used in some elementary and secondary schools in the USA. After discussing the background to the study, I present the findings from the analysis. Then, I discuss ways in which cultural biases may impact the students' acculturation process,

and outline effective strategies for confronting existing biases and countering the development of new misconceptions.

It should be noted that the purpose of this paper is not to criticise the textbooks under study. Rather, its sole aim is to offer ESL teachers more options to customise their uses and provide more culturally inclusive instruction of their students.

An effective teaching and learning environment must be inclusive, and thus requires the use of instructional materials and classroom practices which reflect the diversity of cultures and life experiences that students deal with everyday at school and in their communities. This is especially important in the second or foreign language classroom, which, as Daska (2000: 249) explains, 'offers ideal conditions for raising cultural awareness'. Adding to Daska's idea, it is fair to state that second languages play an important role in fostering cross-cultural communication and giving the learners an opportunity to explore and negotiate their new multicultural environment. Many researchers and writers have analysed instructional materials for bias and made recommendations for making students' learning experiences more representative of the diverse voices that contribute to the creation of knowledge in the United States. The literature review reveals two major themes of focus: the misrepresentation and underrepresentation of cultural minorities and their life experiences as well as sexism.

Henry (1970) reports the findings from an analysis of more than 300 books studied by 32 Indian scholars, native historians and Indian students. She argues that textbooks are plagued with such biases as omission, miscon-structed information and stereotypes. She concludes, 'if you cannot be permitted to put the whole TRUTH, all the information regarding the truth, into the brain of the student, you will not cause profound understanding about the past. And then there will be no understanding of how to deal with the present' (1970: 243–244). Vitz's (1986) evaluation of 60 social studies textbooks used in grades 1–12 reveals that none of the elementary school books contains one word referring to any religious activity in contemporary American life. He concludes that this is a disturbing omission considering the important role that religion has always played in American life.

Wirtenberg (1978) addresses the issue of cultural fairness in instructional materials. She argues that schools have not only failed to combat prejudices against minorities and women, but they have promoted them through the use of textbooks that present information from a distorted perspective. She indicates that publishers and schools have attempted to respond to this problem by romanticising about reality and avoiding controversial issues. Grady (1997) takes the notion of inclusive instruction to the next level. She looks at the knowledge that is legitimated in *Intercom 2000* (Heinle & Heinle, 1991) and concludes that the series offers no 'knowledge of the discourse that will enable students to actively participate in transforming their lives' (1997: 10).

Michel-Clark's (1997) examination of seven widely used science textbooks in grades 9–12 reveals that male scientists are more represented than females. In their study of sexism in ESL materials, Hartman and Judd (1978) argue that it is neither possible nor desirable to separate the linguistic aspects of a language from its surrounding culture. In their review, they identify omission,

stereotyping and linguistic bias as the most pervasive biases. Sexism also has economic consequences. Sanders *et al.* (1997) indicate that women's underrepresentation in careers in science, maths and technology must raise serious concerns because such occupations yield much higher income for the same amount of educational preparation.

This study adds to and extends previous work in the field. In addition to identifying stereotypes and other cultural biases that are found in ESL textbooks, I discuss their impact on students' learning and general life experiences. I also offer helpful and practical instructional suggestions for educators to address such biases. The following section discusses the textbook selection and analysis process.

Textbook Selection and Analysis

I selected six different ESL textbooks which are currently used in a school district in the Western USA and which are, from my experience, representative of the sort of textbooks commonly used to teach English as a Second Language in US schools. In the US, elementary school (Grades 1–6) students generally range between 6 and 11 years of age. Middle school (Grades 7–8) students are 12–14 years old. High school students (Grades 9–12) are 15–18 years old. The vast majority of ESL students in this particular school district are Hispanic, primarily from Mexico, whose mother tongue is Spanish. Like African American and Native American students, Hispanics have consistently experienced high drop out rates and are underrepresented in high-level classes, especially at the high school level (Ndura *et al.*, 2003).

The selected textbooks represent different foci and different levels from elementary to high school. They were not specifically written for this group of students. They were adapted by the school district from a different market. *Tools* (1992) is written by Morris, with photographs by Heyman, and published by Hampton-Brown in Carmel, California. It is a supplement to Tinajero and Schifini's (1997) *Into English, Level G*. Tinajero and Schifini's (1994) *Into English, Level D* is also published by Hampton-Brown in Carmel, California. It is a comprehensive text designed for third grade ESL students. McCloskey and Stack's (1996) *Voices in Literature, Bronze* is published by Heinle & Heinle in Boston, Massachusetts. It is a literature-based text for multi-levelled ESL classes. Schifini *et al.*'s (2000) *High Point: Success in Language, Literature, Content, Level C* is published by Hampton-Brown in Carmel, California. It is a comprehensive text designed for 8th grade ESL students. It shall be referred to as *High Point* in this paper. *ESL: Accelerating English Language Learning, Level 1* is written by Chamot *et al.* (2001) and published by Scott Foresman in White Plains, New York. It is a thematic, comprehensive text for ESL learners in first or second grade. *Launch into Reading, Level 1* is written and published by Heinle & Heinle (Schaffer, 2002) in Boston, Massachusetts. It is a reading and writing-based text for high school students. For clarity purposes, the selected textbooks shall be referred to by title in the remainder of the paper.

To analyse the textbooks, I read the publishers' introductions as well as the editors' and contributors' remarks in order to identify the philosophical framework within which the texts are constructed. I examined the tables of contents, noting the selection and distribution of themes. Then, I read each textbook

from cover to cover, marking pages and passages of interest. Whenever available, I read both the students' and teacher's editions, as well as supplementary workbooks. I examined illustrations. I paid special attention to the story line in the reading selections, and imagined how it might affect the student's self-image and their perceptions of other people and the world around them. I looked at the activities provided and weighed their relevance to students' diverse life experiences and need for superior critical thinking skills.

The study upon which this paper is based is not completely free of personal bias as it may be influenced by my own cultural, academic and professional background. However, this should not undermine the paper's intent to initiate a dialogue about ways to make ESL instruction more sensitive and responsive to the increasing student cultural diversity that characterises US schools.

Findings

Sadker and Sadker (2001) list seven types of gender bias: invisibility, linguistic bias, stereotyping, imbalance, unreality, fragmentation and cosmetic bias. Even though their discussion is limited to gender bias, all seven biases can be applied to other variables of cultural identity like race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, social class and exceptionality (Banks, 2001). I discovered three major forms of bias through the examination of the six textbooks stereotyping, invisibility and unreality.

Stereotyping

Stereotyping is portraying one set of people exhibiting one set of values, behaviours and roles. Several examples of stereotyping are found in the ESL textbooks under study. In *Tools*, out of the 29 people pictured using a variety of tools, 18 are male and 11 are female. Not only are males pictured more often, but they are also portrayed using more sophisticated tools like seesaws, hammers and screwdrivers. They are involved in more difficult and complex activities such as sharpening tools, cutting limber, building and fixing things, digging and painting. Females, on the other hand, are shown using more elementary tools and performing less physically demanding work such as cooking, farming, eating, knitting and cleaning.

Stereotyping is also found in *High Point*. The story about Kevin, his computer, Louis, and his Dad, Mr Neal (2000: 58–63) is stereotypical of the male in the world of technology. In the story, Kevin uses his computer skills to access his neighbour's private financial information and inadvertently cancels all of her credit cards. The next morning, he runs into his neighbour's daughter at school. She is confused and exasperated, as the world of herself and her mother has collapsed because of this incident. Kevin promises to fix the problem. He talks to his father who is able to reprogramme the computer, and restores the helpless female neighbour's credit cards. Thus, the story portrays females as victims of the male's superior technological ability.

Another example of stereotyping in this text is the story 'Christopher Tarpeh: a boy who never gave up!' (2000: 39). The story is about Christopher, an African boy who lives in sheer poverty. His family lives in a leaky hut. He makes a living selling cassava and fufu in the marketplace. He has to carry

water up a steep hill. He walks to school three hours each way and there are lions and snakes along the way. He was once chased by a hungry lion. He made his life better by working hard and getting an education. This is a gross misrepresentation of the life of an African boy. Getting a Western education is by no means the only way an African boy can improve his life. Traditional, non-formal education has worked as well for many African families. Being chased by a lion is a hyperbolic presumption since most Africans can live their entire life without ever running into one. Another example of stereotyping is found in the story about two White explorers and their helpers who happen to be Black and Indian. Even though it is presented in its historical context 'the Expedition to the Pacific Ocean' (2000: 86–92) it is a stereotypical story showing a Black man and an Indian woman at the service of White men.

Stereotyping based on gender roles is also found in *Accelerating English Language Learning* (2001). The girls are in the kitchen with Mom, eating and tending a baby while the boys are gardening and playing ball with Dad (2001: 4, 5). Females feed the animals while males plough the field (2001: 6). Mothers make clothes while fathers make furniture (2001: 7). The nurse is female (2001: 43) while the doctor is male (2001: 141). *Launch into Reading* has two lessons with African themes: the Egyptian mummies and chimpanzees, thus stereotyping Africa as a land devoid of human potential and complexities, a land whose only interesting aspects are the Egyptian mummies and the animals.

Invisibility

Invisibility refers to the omission of information regarding any of the main variables (Banks, 2001) that make up our individual and collective cultural identity and of the influence that they exert on our everyday life. While, for the most part, the selected ESL texts feature people of different sociocultural backgrounds in both pictures and textual content, they consistently omit any information pertaining to religion and to the important role it plays in people's lives.

None of the examined textbooks shows a picture of any type of worship building. None of the reading activities mentions any kind of church activity. Indeed, there seems to be a concerted effort to avoid discussing religion and its influence on people's attitudes and behaviours. For instance, *Voices in Literature* (1996) describes the Taos Pueblo Indians as a group of Native Americans, who 'have a strong spirit and are close to nature' (1996: 43). Could these dispositions be shaped by their belief system? The text stays away from this perspective. *Into English* (1994) asks students to compare and contrast holidays based on five criteria: foods, singing, dance, games and gifts (1994: 51). Hanukkah and Christmas are given as examples. No mention is made of church even though it is an important aspect of these holidays. In *High Point* (2000), Lesson 12 presents reading selections that 'examine the personal journeys of three poets as they explore and celebrate their diverse heritage' (2000: T132). However, religious diversity is not even mentioned.

Accelerating English Language Learning (2001) shows a picture of a community with streets, a fire station, a library, a park, a school, a store, houses and apartments (2001: 84), but no house of worship of any kind. How likely is this in

real communities? *Launch into Reading* (2002) runs a story about altruism in America. The story, 'Who Cares? Millions do...' (2002: 78–83) contains three references to religion. It says that Mother Teresa was a nun who founded the Roman Catholic Missionaries of Charity; that ministers were among the volunteers who made a difference in the South through black voter registration and education in 1964, and it questions whether religious values may motivate people to volunteer. Ensuing activities however, do not encourage any further discussion of the role of religion in American volunteerism.

Unreality

Invisibility leads to another form of bias, unreality, which is a technique in which controversial topics such as discrimination and prejudice are avoided in favour of a more idealistic and traditional view of national history or current issues. Unreality also results from another form of bias, imbalance, which applies to textbooks that present only one interpretation of an issue, situation or group of people, avoiding subtleties and complexities (Sadker & Sadker, 2001: 136).

None of the selected ESL textbooks gives even the smallest hint at the daily tensions and conflicts caused by intolerance, discrimination and racism. None hints at the pain and confusion caused by divorce. None discusses the ongoing local and international wars that are the cause of the growing number of immigrant ESL students. All six textbooks feature people of all ages, races and cultural backgrounds happily engaged in positive and productive activities without any mention of the societal obstacles that so often get in their way to success. We hear about the Navajo code talkers in *Voices in Literature* (1996: 103), but nothing about why their recognition was delayed over three decades. We hear the pleading voice of Chief Joseph (1996: 169), but nothing about why he and his people had to go to war. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is presented (1996: 187–191), but there is no discussion of those rights that are often infringed upon in the lives of many immigrants and people of colour.

High Point (2000) introduces the reader to the hardships endured by struggling families of the late 1930s who battled with the depression and the 'dust bowl' (2000: 295–306). However, this is presented as a story of the past. No word is said about struggling families of today, some of whose children are sitting in the ESL classroom. The Civil Rights Movement (2000: 265–275) is featured as a piece of history with no extension to today's struggles. The 'Lewis and Clark' story (2000: 83–92) is told from a White man's perspective. The voices of York, the male slave, Sacagawea, the female Indian helper, and of the Indians they met on the expedition are all silenced.

Tools, Into English and *Accelerating English Language Learning* feature people who are sure of themselves and content with their lives in a problem-free society. In *Launch into Reading* (2002) we hear the voice of the British researcher in Kigoma, Tanzania (2002: 90–95), but never the voices of the Africans who have lived around the chimpanzees their whole life. We hear a little bit about Harriet Tubman and her heroic work (2002: 81), but not about the continuing strife that Blacks are confronted with today in America.

Discussion

Students must be made aware of textbook biases and their effect on their learning process, self-image and society (Ndura, 2004). This can be done through careful selection and adaptation of instructional materials as well as inclusive and empowering teaching and classroom management strategies. This section discusses the impact of cultural biases on students and strategies that teachers can utilise to uncover and confront them.

What do students learn from biased textbooks?

What do students learn from the stereotypical images presented in the selected ESL textbooks? And how will these learning experiences influence the students' acculturation process? They learn that males are really good with sophisticated tools and technology, that they are good at building and fixing things and that females, on the other hand, are only good for light work like cooking, knitting and tending babies. This skewed perception of gender roles will impact the immigrant students' academic and professional choices, as they may feel confined to certain ascribed roles and options.

Stereotypes also affect students' worldviews. The image of the poor African boy (*High Point*), the Egyptian mummies, and the chimpanzees (*Launch into Reading*) reinforces students' perception of Africa as a poor and primitive land that is only good for tourism, with the mummies and animals being the only attractions.

The invisibility of religious diversity in the textbooks deserves serious attention. A report submitted by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) Panel on Religion in the curriculum, concludes that schools are failing to teach the important role that religion plays in human history and culture. It contends, 'a person cannot be fully educated without understanding the role of religion in history and politics' (ASCD, 1987: 21). These statements do not in any way minimise the complex and often controversial nature of religious diversity. Rather, they bring religion to the forefront of the educational process as a topic that educators cannot afford to ignore. Religion continues to impact social, political and economic relations at the community, national and international levels. And as the American Association of University Women (AAUW) (1992: 191) contends, 'if we do not begin to discuss more openly the ways in which ascribed power – whether on the basis of race, sex, class, sexual orientation, or religion affects individual lives, we cannot truly prepare our students for responsible citizenship'.

Avoiding the topic of religious diversity as the examined ESL textbooks do, not only limits the students' exposure to a major reality of their world and their understanding of it, but also confuses them. It limits the students' ability to confront and reconcile their religious differences. Frosch *et al.* (1984: 111) suggest that inclusive books should portray all characters in a nonsexist manner, represent racial and ethnic diversity, as well as depict people with disabilities in a positive light. In addition to these requirements, inclusive textbooks should represent real life issues and the multiple perspectives from which they are addressed.

Failing to address the daily struggles that the majority of the students and their families have to face due to prejudice, discrimination, racism, and poverty, reduces their ability to confront and overcome these challenges. Such practices deny the students the opportunity to learn the discourse of survival that they need in order to deal with the harsh realities of being an immigrant who sounds and often looks different (Grady, 1997). Moreover, textbooks that ignore the students' daily challenges further marginalise them. They may lead the students who have experienced prejudice, discrimination, racism and poverty to believe that they deserve what they get and that they have no right to talk or complain about these issues. *Voices in Literature*, for instance, presents Chief Joseph as a defeated Indian leader who cannot sustain the war against the White invaders. What about the Indians' perspective on their encounter with the Whites who took their land? What do students learn from this decontextualised speech? What do they learn from the selection on the Civil Rights Movement in *High Point*, which does not even hint at the Movement's implications for and relationship with present day experiences of women and people of colour? What do they learn from the portrayal of society as an almost perfect environment for people of various backgrounds in *Tools, Into English* and *Accelerating English Language Learning*? What do they learn from the silenced and invisible Africans in *Launch into Reading*?

Strategies for Confronting Textbook Bias

Uncovering textbook biases and reflecting upon their potential influence on students' learning experiences and on their self-image will empower teachers to become more culturally responsive and to motivate their students to take charge of their acculturation process and actively participate in the transformation of current unfavourable societal realities. Even though some progress has been achieved towards making textbooks inclusive along gender, racial and ethnic lines (Adams, 1996; Lerner *et al.*, 1995; Sadker & Sadker, 2001), textbooks do not reflect the growing diversity of students' life experiences and perspectives. In this section, I discuss five strategies that can help teachers confront and deconstruct textbook biases.

Strategy 1: Become aware

With about 87% of school teachers in the United States being White, while almost 40% of their clients are students of colour (US Department of Education, 2001), textbook bias in its many forms is very likely to go unnoticed by unaware educators. As both curriculum mediators and agents of social change (Ndura, 2004), they must approach their task and the materials they use from a multicultural perspective. Therefore, teachers need to increase their awareness of the various types of bias and their effects on students' perceptions and learning experiences. They can do so through school or district-sponsored professional development as well as research and individual study.

Strategy 2: Critically examine instructional materials

Check the illustrations and the story line in the reading selections, look at the lifestyles, weigh the relationships between people, note the heroes, con-

sider the possible effects on students' self image, consider the background of the author and/or the illustrator, check out the author's perspective, watch for loaded words and look at the copyright date (Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1994). As the objectives of each lesson are being developed, ask the following questions: What are the short-term learning outcomes of the lesson? What are the long-term positive and/or negative outcomes of the lesson? What are the hidden messages contained in the lesson materials? How do the lesson materials empower the students to become responsible citizens? How do the materials empower the students to critically examine their life experiences and their relationships with others in their communities and the world? Do the lesson materials encourage the students to take charge of their lives and actively participate in the transformation of their world into one that is inclusive, equitable and just?

Strategy 3: Prepare supplementary teaching materials

One effective way to counter the development of stereotypes and other forms of bias is to use a variety of resources that present multiple perspectives about people and issues. Biographies, news clips, newspaper articles, television shows, fieldtrips, music and guest speakers from the community are only a few examples of resources that can be used to provide the students with more diversified and inclusive instruction.

Strategy 4: Avoid the avoidance game

In their daily lives, students must negotiate between right and wrong, trust and deceit, love and hate, acceptance and intolerance, victory and defeat, knowledge and ignorance, to name just a few. Teachers must expose these issues, uncover relevant biases and actively engage the students in reflective and critical discussions of alternative perspectives and answers to perplexed questions.

Strategy 5: Listen to the students

Most ESL students come from different countries with distinctive cultural traits. They bring with them a wealth of experiences. They are in and of themselves an instructional resource of incredible potential. Listening to their stories about their home culture and their acculturation experiences would not only empower them but also enrich their teachers and classmates. This will help dispel some biases and misconceptions about their lives and those of other immigrants.

Conclusion

A curriculum that is fraught with bias fails to reflect the diversity of students' lives and cultures and as such delivers an incomplete message about society (AAUW, 1992). It confines the scope of their future because, as Vitz (1986: 4) explains, 'the facts, interpretations, and values taught today's children will largely determine the character of tomorrow's citizenry'. In the case of second and foreign language learning, I agree with Sonaiya (2002: 114) who states that 'there is no doubt that the confrontation that goes with

the language-learning process needs to be managed, so that the learner does not feel that his or her culture and consequently, his or her identity, is being overly threatened by the culture of the language being acquired'. Stereotyping, invisibility and unreality in ESL textbooks may impact the immigrant students' acculturation process during which they learn to negotiate their understanding and interpretation of the countless cultural messages and innuendoes that are, for the most part, transmitted through the school curriculum.

Campbell (2000) argues that schools and teachers play an important role in preparing students for cultural pluralism. They do so by presenting a curriculum that reflects multiple perspectives on issues as well as diverse life experiences, both favourable and unfavourable, and by empowering students to identify the missing, misconstrued and misrepresented voices. Students must learn that the viewpoints presented in textbooks can be questioned and challenged, and that there is not one truth, but multiple truths. Most of all, they must learn that uncovering biases and stereotypes and discussing them openly is a constructive way to counter the development of new misconceptions and to promote mutual understanding.

Correspondence

Any correspondence should be directed to Elavie Ndura, Department of Education Specialities, University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada 89557-0215, USA (ndura@unr.edu).

References

- Adams, T.W. (1996) *The Changing Content of ESL Textbooks in the USA* (Res./Tech. Rep. No. 143). Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 391387).
- American Association of University Women (1992) How schools shortchange girls: A study of major findings on girls and education. In J. Noel (ed.) *Notable Selections in Multicultural Education* (pp. 187–194). Guilford, CT: Dushkin/McGraw-Hill.
- Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development Panel on Religion in the Curriculum (1987, August) *Religion in the Curriculum* (Report). Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Banks, J.A. (2001) Multicultural education: Characteristics and goals. In J.A. Banks and C.A.M. Banks (eds) *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (4th edn, pp. 3–30). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Campbell, D.E. (2000) *Choosing Democracy: A Practical Guide to Multicultural Education* (2nd edn). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill.
- Chamot, A.U., Cummins, J., Kessler, C., O'Malley, J.M. and Fillmore, L.W. (2001) *Accelerating English Language Learning, Level 1*. White Plains, NY: Scott Foresman.
- Council on Interracial Books for Children (1994) Ten quick ways to analyze children's books for racism and sexism. In *Rethinking our Classrooms: Teaching for Equity and Justice* (pp. 14–15). Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Rethinking Schools.
- Dlaska, A. (2000) Integrating culture and language learning in institution-wide language programmes. *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 13 (3), 248–263.
- Froschl, M., Colón, L., Rubin, E. and Sprung, B. (1984) *Including All of Us: An Early Childhood Curriculum About Disability*. New York: Educational Equity Concepts.
- Grady, K. (1997) Critically reading an ESL text. *TESOL Journal* 7–10.
- Hartman, P.L. and Judd, E.L. (1978, December) Sexism and TESOL materials. *TESOL Quarterly* 12, 383–393.
- Henry, J. (1970) *Textbooks and the American Indian*. USA: The Indian Historian Press.

- Hirschfelder, A. (1982) *American Indian stereotypes in the World of Children: A Reader and Bibliography*. Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press.
- Launch into Reading, Level 1* (2002) Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle.
- Lerner, R., Nagai, A.K. and Rothman, S. (1995) *Molding the Good Citizen: The Politics of High School History Texts*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- McCloskey, M.L. and Stack, L. (1996) *Voices in Literature, Bronze*. Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle.
- Michel-Clark, I. (1997) A review of gender biases in seven high school science textbooks currently used in Washoe County, Nevada. Thesis, MSc in Education, University of Nevada, Reno.
- Morris, A. (1992) *Tools*. Carmel, CA: Hampton-Brown Books.
- Ndura, E. (2004) Teaching language arts from a multicultural perspective: A junior high school experience. In F.B. Boyd and C.H. Brock (eds) *Multicultural and Multilingual Literacy and Language: Contexts and Practices*. New York: The Guildford Press.
- Ndura, E., Robinson, M. and Ochs, G. (2003) Minority students in high school Advanced Placement courses: Opportunity and equity denied. *American Secondary Education* 32 (1), 21–38.
- Sadker, D. and Sadker, M. (2001) Gender bias: From colonial America to today's classrooms. In J.A. Banks and C.A.M. Banks (eds) *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (4th edn, pp. 125–151). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Sanders, J., Koch, J. and Urso, J. (1997) *Gender Equity Right from the Start: Instructional Activities for Teacher Educators in Mathematics, Science, and Technology*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Schaffer, D. (ed.) (2002) *Launch into Reading, Level 1*. Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle.
- Schifini, A., Short, D. and Tinajero, J. V. (2000) *High Point: Success in Language, Literature, Content, Level C*. Carmel, CA: Hampton-Brown.
- Sonaiya, R. (2002) Autonomous language learning in Africa: A mismatch of cultural assumptions. *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 15 (2), 106–116.
- Tinajero, J.V. and Schifini, A. (1994) *Into English, Level D*. Carmel, CA: Hampton-Brown.
- US Department of Education (2001) *Digest of Education Statistics, 2000* (NCES Publication No. 2001-034). Washington, DC: NCES.
- Vitz, P.C. (1986) *Censorship: Evidence of Bias in Our Children's Textbooks*. Ann Arbor, MI: Servant Books.
- Wirtenberg, J. (1978, April) *Cultural Fairness in Materials Development*. Paper presented at the Skills Workshop of the Women's Educational Equity Act Program (Washington, DC ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 181154).