

Globalisation in Finnish upper secondary school English textbooks

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract <p>Tämän tutkielma käsittelee lukion englannin oppikirjoissa esiintyvää kulttuurista globalisaatiota. Tavoitteena oli tutkia, miten suhde globalisaation on muuttunut lukion opetussuunnitelmissa 2003-2015, ja selvittää missä mittakaavassa kulttuurinen globalisaatio esiintyy lukion englannin oppikirjoissa sekä missä suhteessa sen esiintyminen on muuttunut aiemman opetussuunnitelman aikaisiin kirjoihin.</p> <p>Tutkimuksessa analysoitiin <i>On Track</i> -oppikirjasarjan kirjat 1-6, ja analyysin tuloksia verrattiin Haarasen (2007) globalisaation esiintymistä oppikirjoissa käsittelevän tutkielman tuloksiin. Lisäksi tutkimuksessa analysoidaan globalisaation läsnäolon muutosta lukion opetussuunnitelmien perusteissa 2003 ja 2015.</p> <p>Tutkimuksen tulokset viittaavat siihen, että globalisaatio on huomattavasti vahvemmin läsnä sekä vuoden 2015 lukion opetussuunnitelman perusteissa kuin vuoden 2003 lukion opetussuunnitelman perusteissa, että <i>On Track</i> -kirjasarjassa kuin tämän edeltäjässä, <i>In Touch</i> -sarjassa. Tästä huolimatta läsnä olevat kulttuurisen globalisaation elementit jäävät usein pinnallisiksi, ja länsimainen kulttuuri on dominoivaa. Tuloksia voidaan käyttää oppikirjojen kulttuurisen sisällön kriittisessä tarkastelussa ja tukemisessa opetuksessa.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

The curriculum is an incredibly powerful device for shaping the future. Ross (2000, 8) describes it as “a definition of what is to be learned”, and, as a guiding force behind an education system, that is exactly what it is. Ross (2000, 11) quotes Tate (1994), according to whom the curriculum plays a key part in maintaining the identity of a society, and goes on to argue that a curriculum can be used to “produce a new order” sought by a certain group for example. Curriculum makers can therefore have the curriculum include and promote values, skills, and even attitudes they want students to learn, and in this way steer the products of the education system to a desired direction.

In Finland, the curriculum is essentially the foundation of the education system: there is a national core curriculum (NCC) for all stages of education until tertiary level. Instead of being implemented as they are, the core curricula act as a basis for all local curricula, unless a school has a special permit granted by the Ministry of Education and culture to do otherwise (LOPS 2015, 9). This allows for minor educational differences between municipalities and schools depending on what suits their needs, and in some cases, schools can have a status of a school specialised in music or theatre for example. A special permit could be granted for example to a private school, of which there are about 80 in Finland (Blomberg 2012) – the vast majority of schools are public. The national core curricula are traditionally revised on relatively long intervals of about ten years, though at the time of writing this paper another revision is already approaching in the near future: Following a reform in the legislation concerning upper secondary education in 2017, there is already a new NCC for upper secondary schools which will be implemented in 2021 (LOPS 2019, 9).

The national core curriculum for upper secondary schools was revised in 2015 after a 12-year-break and implemented in 2016. The goal of upper secondary school education remains as “the strengthening of wide conventional wisdom” (LOPS 2003, 12, LOPS 2015, 12). Among the changes the curriculum advances on the areas of digitalisation and globalisation, which makes sense given the development of communication technology and globalisation after 2003, when the previous curriculum was implemented. English, one of the three mandatory languages for Finnish students (the other two being Finnish and Swedish), was subjected to a particularly

large change, which in the context of digitalisation and globalisation is logical: English is a global lingua franca (Crystal 2012) and its value as a tool of international communication is significant. Additionally, in primary education students start to learn the language earlier than before. The above could be interpreted as signs of the influence of globalisation in the curricula.

With the schooling system in Finland being in quite the turmoil following some large-scale reforms (OKM 2017, OKM 2017, OKM) it is meaningful to look into previous changes in the curricula and investigate if the change is visible on a classroom level. The aim of this paper is to investigate the presence of cultural globalisation in English language textbooks in Finland, and to draw comparisons between textbooks from the 2002 NCC for upper secondary schools and the textbooks from the 2015 NCC for upper secondary school. For the sake of drawing the comparisons between the curricula, the results of the textbook analysis in this paper will be compared to the results of a previous effort of identifying globalisation in English textbooks in Finland (Haaranen 2006).

2 BACKGROUND

2.1 Textbooks in Finland

Textbooks can provide insight into curriculum change. Finnish textbooks are always written in a close relationship with the current national core curriculum, which means they are more or less its embodiment. When a new curriculum is introduced, textbooks can offer preliminary information on the effects of that new curriculum due to publishers having to update their textbook catalogue to match it. In this way, a textbook is enforcing a new curriculum the moment a student opens it. Textbooks are also used in virtually every school, meaning they are a major source of information for the students and a backbone of many teachers' lesson plans. Textbooks also “embody the ‘authorised version of society’s valid knowledge’” (Olson, as quoted by Castell et al. 1989, 246), meaning they carry carefully selected information that society wants to pass down to the next generation.

The textbook is an invaluable tool for the teacher, but it is not without critique. Some teachers, while also recognising their importance, find textbooks “frustrating, annoying, and shackling” (Lähdesmäki 2004, 271). On the content of the textbooks, Gray (2000, 276-277) describes how

textbooks can have “stereotypical representations” of nationalities and cultures. While Gray’s findings are some 20 years old at the time of writing this paper and the stereotypical representations may not be as present anymore, the textbook still has a limited capacity to include cultural elements, which means the cultural representations will be narrow and only include the tip of the cultural iceberg.

The textbook is also the only link to the target language outside the classroom that the learner is obligated to interact with. While the contemporary world is filled with the English language, there is no guarantee that the learner ever interacts with the language outside the classroom and the textbooks. This accessibility of languages is even lower for foreign languages not as popular among the students or not as present in our daily lives as English. Naturally, the textbook is not only a gateway into the language, but to the culture or cultures of the language as well.

2.2 Defining Globalisation

Hajisoteriou (2016, 12) states that globalisation as a term is impossible to analyse exhaustively, after describing how some describe it carrying “multidimensional, open-ended and complex theories and perspectives” (Rupert and Solomon 2005) and how some researchers see the term as a catchword that does not carry a definitive meaning (Yamasita and Eades 2002:03). Scholte (2005, 52) reports Giddens (1996) observing that “there are few terms that we use so frequently but which are in fact as poorly conceptualized as globalization”.

Despite the term being poorly conceptualized, central to globalisation is the diminishing relevance of time and place in human interaction: the world is becoming an increasingly smaller place (Peltola 2015, 52; Eriksen 2003, 4; Hajisoteriou 2016, 11-12). Even though globalisation is sometimes seen as the spread of Western consumer culture, it is actually more akin to a two-way street, and should be treated as a “multi-dimensional phenomenon” instead (Peltola, 2015, 51-52). Additionally, it is often confused with the concept of internationalisation, or “the growth of transactions and interdependence between countries”, which would limit the definition to internationality when there is more to the definition (Scholte 2005, 52-56).

2.3 Key terms

The present research is going to concentrate mainly on cultural globalisation and hybridisation. Cultural globalisation, a dimension of globalisation, refers to the spread of cultures to places they were not available before. A traditional definition for *culture* consists of a set of norms, representations, meanings and languages of a certain society (Peltola, 2015, 52-53).

Cultural globalisation has a few elements in itself. Cultural hybridisation refers to cultures melting together and creating new cultural forms (Peltola 2015, 57), and the “blurring distinctions between nations” (Scholte 2000, 24). It is a continuous process in which cultures experience influence from other cultures but are strong enough to maintain themselves from totally succumbing to that influence (Hassi & Storti 2012, 12-13). This results in hybrid cultures that keep refining themselves as each new influence is introduced. On an individual level, hybridisation can be personified in hybrid identities. While having a dual nationality might spring to mind as an example of a hybrid identity, it can be the result of “mixed race, multifaceted sexual orientation, or a combination of different class contexts” (Scholte 2000, 180). A cosmopolitan, a person with the desire to be in contact with and participate in different cultures and cultural experiences (Peltola 2015, 64-65), has the possibility of belonging to “one or more ethnic or cultural group simultaneously” (Peltola 2015, 65) and can therefore embody a hybrid identity. Interestingly, a person with a hybrid identity might endorse different, strong aspects of their identity, which might clash with one another – religious bonds and national loyalties for example (Scholte 2000, 180). Finally, when a global culture influences local cultures, glocalisation occurs (Peltola 2015, 56; Kuusela & Saastamoinen 2015, 16). This leads to the “global and [the] local producing unique outcomes in different geographic regions” (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2006, as cited by Hassi & Storti 2012, 14).

Cultural homogenisation means just that: cultures are influenced by a strong external culture making them homogenous in sharing aspects of the influencing culture (Hassi & Storti 2012, 8-9). There is an argument for the emergence of a Global Culture, referred to as Americanisation, which is essentially a world-wide set of superficial cultural aspects – as in deeply rooted cultural forms are not affected – that are rooting into local cultures, resulting in “a homogenized world culture” (Hassi & Storti 2012, 8-9). Cultural homogenisation and Americanisation are not the same concept, but it is easy to see that they are very closely related.

Both homogenisation, especially the theory of Global Culture, and hybridisation include the assimilation of cultures. However, in hybridisation there is no definite hegemony of one culture, as there is with homogenisation, where one culture swallows others.

3 THE PRESENT STUDY

3.1 Aim and research questions

While globalisation is by no means a recent phenomenon, its advancement has increased greatly through factors such as the development of the internet. The status of the English language as a global lingua franca is currently quite clear (Crystal 2012, 28), and in some respects English and globalisation are connected by the need for a common language.

In the setting of the Finnish education system, this can be observed in the changes to the curricula. As mentioned above, in the 2015 NCC for upper secondary schools, English has been separated from the other foreign languages – aside from Swedish, which, being an official language of Finland, is listed under “second domestic language in both curricula” – to among other things have its own assessment criteria and learning goals.

While the NCC of 2015 values multiculturalism, it also sees cultural heritage as something worth protecting. This may seem contradictory at first, but a possible interpretation is that while multiculturalism is valued, one should acknowledge one’s cultural heritage and recognise how it can be maintained and renewed (LOPS 2015, 37-38).

Haaranen (2006, 99-100) concluded that in the traces of cultural globalisation identified in the research, cultural hybridisation, a “noticeable” part of which was categorised as glocalisation, was overshadowed by homogenisation. Since the 2015 NCC seems to shift its values towards multiculturalism, there is room to inspect whether these values have made it to the textbooks, and by extension, the classroom.

The following research questions can help guide the study:

1. How is cultural hybridisation represented in Finnish upper secondary school English language textbooks?
 - a. How are the goals of the curriculum present in the textbooks?
 - b. How has the representation of cultural hybridisation changed in relation to textbooks from the previous curriculum?
2. How has the relation to globalisation changed within the curriculum?

3.2 Data and methods of analysis

The data was compiled by analysing textbooks from compulsory upper secondary school English courses. The analysis will concentrate on cultural hybridisation, and the results will be compared to those of Haaranen's MA thesis, which analyses the presence of cultural globalisation in English upper secondary textbooks from the previous curriculum. This should give an idea of how the presence of globalisation has developed in the classroom alongside the curriculum.

I will be using textbooks from the On Track series by Sanoma Pro. On Track shares one of its authors with In Touch, Sanoma Pro's previous series of English textbooks, which was analysed by Haaranen. On Track is advertised as following the NCC of 2015 (Sanoma Pro).

Yim's analysis framework includes four levels of analysis: *Micro*, concentrating on actual content, *macro*, considering the context of the content, *international and intercultural*, which reflects the representation of the target context (the English-speaking world in this case) against the reader's own culture and the cultures included/mentioned in the textbooks, and finally *interpretative analysis*, which aims to draw conclusions and answer to research questions in relation to the curriculum (Yim 2003, as cited by Haaranen 2006, 49-51).

3.3 Collecting the information

The collected data was divided into four categories: cultural hybridisation, glocalisation, hybrid identities, and cosmopolitanism. Additional notes were taken when something was obviously

pointing towards cultural homogenisation in order to get a sense of its presence in relation to hybridisation.

Haaranen seems to have examined glocalisation only through Yim's (2003) 3rd level, which inspects the English speaking world depicted in the textbooks in relation to the student's home culture with the aim of investigating "whether the picture the textbooks present promotes globalisation for example by creating a uniform picture of the English speaking world or by promoting certain countries or cultures over others" (Haaranen 2006, 50-51). Therefore, Haaranen's glocalisation effectively means the global in relation to Finland. While Haaranen's perspective is included for the sake of the comparison, the initial attempt was to identify instances where a global culture has influenced any local culture creating something new in the process.

4 FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

4.1 Globalisation in the Finnish National Core Curriculum.

The National Core Curriculum for upper secondary schools in Finland has been revised twice in the 21st century: in 2003 and in 2015. Considering the pace of technological advancement, twelve years is a very long time, and for example, smartphones or social media in their modern form did not exist in 2003.

Overall, the 2003 curriculum seems to focus on Finnish and European culture and values (LOPS 2003, 27), and the term *globalisation* is mentioned only a few times in the course descriptions of social studies and geography. For foreign languages, the 2003 curriculum mentions, again, the consideration of "European identity and European multilingualism and multiculturalism" as an emphasis, as well as an ability to communicate in a characteristic way for the target language and its culture (LOPS 2003, 100). All foreign languages also have an advanced course on internationality and different worldviews (LOPS 2003, 102).

In the 2003 curriculum all foreign languages shared the same assessment criteria and course descriptions. English, however, had its target language proficiency a bit higher than the other foreign languages. (LOPS 2003, 100). A notable change in the 2015 curriculum is the separation

of English from other foreign languages: Instead of only having higher target proficiency, it now has its own course descriptions (LOPS 2015, 110-111). The course descriptions are largely similar to other foreign languages, but courses 1 and 5 include “reflecting the status of the English language as a global phenomenon and language proficiency as a tool of growing cultural competence” and “reflecting the status of the English language as an international language of science and technology”, respectively (LOPS 2015, 100-11). Additionally, a student is meant to develop as an “actor both in a culturally diverse world, and in local, national, European, and global communities” (LOPS 2015, 109), which certainly expands on the focus on European identity of the 2003 curriculum. Students are also encouraged to be cosmopolitan (LOPS 2015, 13): cultural and lingual diversity are seen as valuable (LOPS 2015, 16-17), and themes shared by every subject include cultural knowledge and internationality, which includes knowledge on cultural heritages and strengthening the ability to work in a culturally diverse environment, for example. (LOPS 2015, 37-38). It seems evident that globalisation, internationality and multiculturalism are paid more attention in the 2015 curriculum than in its predecessor.

The assessment criteria in the current NCC are based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). CEFR is a widely used (Byram & Parmenter 2012, 1) language proficiency standard, and according to Byram and Parmenter (2012, 1) “a part of what is now frequently referred to as the globalisation of education policy”. The use of CEFR as the base for assessment criteria dates back to the NCC of 2003, which is where it was first implemented in assessment in Finnish education. The current version of this assessment criteria is a new iteration of the one from 2003. (OPH 2020). It could therefore be argued that globalisation has been present in the curriculum on a meta-level for quite some time.

In the textbooks, the presence of cultural elements was clearly tied to the theme each chapter of the textbooks addresses. For example, a chapter about exchange students is more likely to have references to culture than a chapter about personal economy. This was reflected on the level of entire books as well: As the students get older, the topics covered in the textbooks get more abstract and more oriented towards their future after upper secondary school, meaning topics such as upper secondary school student exchange or foreign cultures are no longer as relevant, and are replaced by topics such as personal economy, science, and working life.

4.2 Hybridisation

In this category there are instances where two or more cultures meet or are introduced side-by-side in the textbooks, excluding instances in which western consumer culture appears in a local context. Additionally, there are instances in which there are elements loaned from another culture. Examples of hybridisation are cultural forms originating from a foreign culture existing in another culture, for example the child of a (presumably) Finnish teacher reading Japanese comics, manga (On Track 1, 77); or cricket, originally an English sport, being played in India (On Track 2, 20). Perhaps the most concrete example would be New York City's Chinatown, described in On Track 4 (114).

In many cases, the elements forming and representing hybrid cultures are a bit of novelties. The above mentioned example of a Finnish child reading (most likely translated) Japanese manga for instance, represents a tiny – and simultaneously, internationally a very well-known and culturally significant – piece of Japanese culture in a foreign setting. It is a very superficial element of the culture. Other similar examples could include Aboriginal recipes in the modern kitchen (On Track 5, 157), Queen Elizabeth in Indian clothing (On Track 1, 83), or Steven Seagal buying a bulletproof Kimono from a Colombian company (On Track 6, 167).

Even though these cultural representations are high in numbers in the textbooks, they are still somewhat stereotypical and superficial. Then again, deep culture forms like power-distance, body language, or attitudes towards family would not be very recognisable, or in a culturally inclusive textbook context, interesting or engaging. The students are more likely to be able to relate to and be interested about something or someone they are already familiar with, a famous movie star for instance.

Additionally, it could be argued that having somewhat simplified cultural representations in this context is not an inherently negative thing: According to Barth (1969, cited in Byram & Morgan 1994, 50) the emphasis on some characteristics of a social group (culture in this case) is an attempt on maintaining the identity of the group. Even though Byram and Morgan (1994, 50) also recognise that this emphasis leads to simplifications, and “ignore(s) ... the complex cultural beliefs and shared values and meanings of a given society”, for the purposes of language education, simplifying some matters could give way to learning the target language.

4.3 Glocalisation

Global culture can take interesting forms locally. For example, the skyscraper – a global architectural concept – Burj Khalifa is described (On Track 3, 142) as echoing “the onion dome motif common in Islamic architecture”, and On Track 2 (91) mentions a restaurant which fuses the global and the local in its name, “Thai Tanic”.

Glocalisation occurs in the context of the book (as opposed to existing in the real world) as well. For example, some exercises include for example the Princess of Sweden alongside a list of figures like Darth Vader and Disney’s Scrooge McDuck (On Track 1, 90). However, lists of musicians, famous writers, fictional characters, and so on were dominated by the West (see Figure 1). One example, listing famous friendships in fiction (On Track 1, 42), includes Snow White and the Seven Dwarves – originally a German fairy tale but most likely more recognisable from Disney’s movie adaptation. While the element of hybridisation is obvious, it is impossible to say which one the book is referring to.

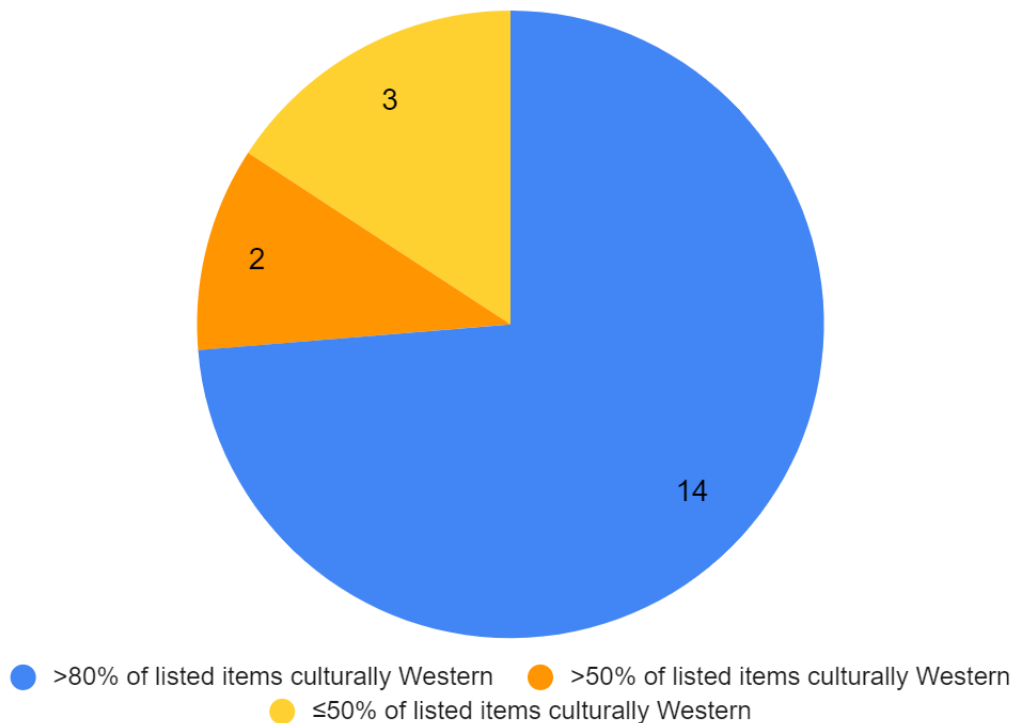


Figure 1. Percentage of Western cultural items included in lists in On Track.

There were also several instances where the Finnish context was taken into account along with the global. Notable examples include Moomin and Snufkin in a list of famous friendships (On Track 1, 42), Finnish comedian Ismo Leikola featured in a chapter about stand-up comedy otherwise populated by foreign comedians (On Track 3, 73), and a list of well-known foreign human rights activists including President Martti Ahtisaari (On Track 4, 91). The textbooks often placed Finnish people in international settings or included international people in the context of Finland. This inclusion ties with Haaranen's (2006, 51) interpretation of Yim's (2003) third level as giving the students some relation to how they can express themselves through their English language skills. Constantly depicting Finns – and other nationalities – in coexistence with one another also promotes cosmopolitan values. Even if not very inclusive, including at least some cultural figures from outside the Western world creates an image of a global community – which Finland is a part of. This may bring the benefits of language proficiency a bit closer to the students.

4.4 Hybrid identities

One of the clearest example of hybrid identities is in On Track 1 (14). A chapter text there features an excerpt about an impliedly British girl residing in the UK, who does not have a British accent and mentions how she has connected with her Bangladeshi roots. There are also more ambiguous examples: a listening exercise (On Track 3, 72) talks about a dance teacher of Irish-Palestinian descent, there are multiple mentions of people living in foreign countries (On Track 4, 94), and a text in On Track 1 (106-107) features people with names one could associate with a multicultural background given the context of the text. In instances like the above mentioned, there are characters whose backstory or other features suggest a multicultural background, but the text doesn't explicitly mention anything clearly hinting towards a hybrid identity. It is however, relatively safe to assume that any cultural hybridity visible in a person results in a hybrid identity within – Scholte (2000, 180) suggests that even holding multiple nationalities, which doesn't necessarily require multiple ethnicities or a mixed cultural background, can act as a foundation for a hybrid identity. These examples may not be as clearly hybrid identities as the first example of this section is, but do still give out a message globalisation – and perhaps of cosmopolitanism.

4.5 Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism is mentioned in the 2015 NCC as something to encourage the students towards, and in *On Track*, many of the listening exercises often feature a cast of characters of differing nationalities creating this cosmopolitan atmosphere. In addition to Finnish ones, the most common nationalities were American (USA), Canadian, British, Irish, South African, Australian and New Zealander. Excluding the Finns, all of the above are from English-speaking countries, but more importantly they are culturally Western countries.

These countries represent the English-speaking world where English is an official language and the country itself is strongly associated with English. However, in addition to these well-known countries there are for example multiple Caribbean islands (Crystal 2012, 38) and some former colonial countries in Africa (Crystal 2012, 51-54) that have adopted English as an official language, making the representation of the English-speaking world in the textbook limited. But even if the textbook included more countries to represent places where English is the official language, large parts of the English speaking world would still remain uncovered since the language transcends national borders as demonstrated by Kachru (1998, 5) in Crystal (2012, 60).

Even if lacking in the context of the wide-spreadness of the English language, the constant inclusion of nationalities from around the globe could be seen as promotion of a global lifestyle – cosmopolitanism in other words. Interestingly, based on the textbooks, the coexistence of different cultures and nationalities seems mostly easy, relaxed and issue-free. In reality, however, miscommunication is common and for example exchange students tend to form groups with their countrymen. Perhaps this exclusion of the hardships of intercultural environments is an oversight by the authors, perhaps it is a conscious attempt to promote a cosmopolitan lifestyle as more desirable. In any case, it does fall in line with the curriculum's notion of cosmopolitanism (LOPS 2015, 13)

4.6 Comparison

Haaranen only lists seven instances of cultural hybridisation in the *In Touch* series, all of which seem to fall into the category of glocalisation. No examples of hybrid identities are listed (Haaranen, 2006, 90-91). Haaranen (2006, 101) also mentions that “‘hybridisation’ is mainly present in one unit of one book in the *In Touch* series”. In contrast, the other textbook series

Haaranen (2006) analysed, *Culture Café*, contained considerably more examples of hybridisation and its subcategories and the examples were more spread over the books. *On Track*, however, has 19 instances of cultural hybridisation, eight instances of glocalisation if understood as global mixing with local and 24 if understood as global mixing with the Finnish as Haaranen had it, eight instances of hybrid identities and five instances of cosmopolitanism (see Figure 2). In the light of these numbers it can be stated that *On Track* has focused more on the area of cultural hybridisation compared to *In Touch*. This focus is also in line with the increasing focus on globalisation in the NCC of 2015.

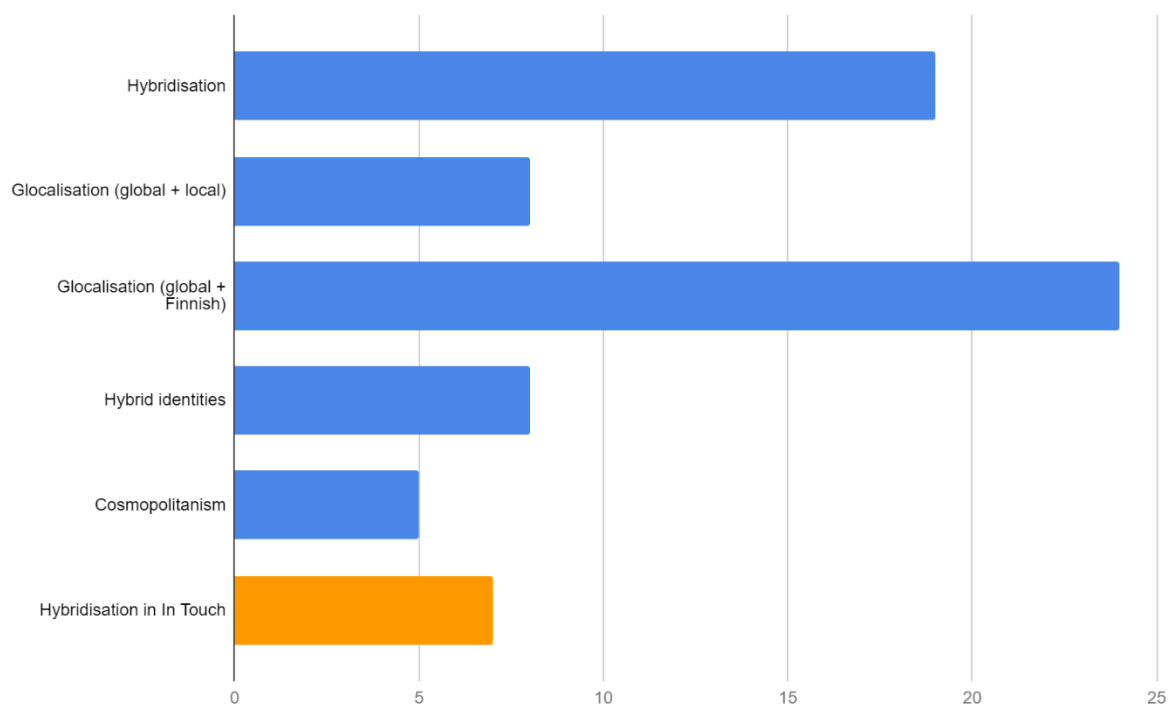


Figure 2. Cultural Globalisation in *On Track*

While cultural hybridisation content was, as mentioned above, compressed to “one unit of one book in the *In Touch* series” (Haaranen 2006, 101), it is not the case with *On Track*. The majority of the examples identified in the analysis are spread throughout books 1-4, with books 5 and 6 having only a few examples each.

Haaranen (2006, 89-91) describes the *Culture Café* series containing multiple examples of the local (the Finnish) appearing alongside the global: Finnish musicians are mentioned when talking about music in general, Finnish folklore is mentioned as inspiration for the Lord of the

Rings, and a chapter recounts observations of Finland by foreigners. In *Touch*, on the other hand, concentrates mainly on the nature in Finland and of the Finnish as a people (Haaranen 2006, 90-91). With *On Track*, the authors have taken a route more akin to *Culture Café*: The books contain numerous references to Finland, both through the eyes of foreigners (On Track 1, 55-57, On Track 2, 149, On Track 4, 94) as well as Finns (On Track 1, 77, On Track 2, 134-136, On Track 4, 1161-163, On Track 6, 43-44, 60-61), and on multiple occasions famous Finns have been included next to famous people from other countries (On Track 3, 63, On Track 3, 73, On Track 4, 91). Altogether there are 24 instances of Finland mentioned in an intercultural context.

4.7 On Track and the NCC

The textbook series mirrors the development of the curriculum. The curriculum mentioned the development of the students as actors in a culturally diverse world, as well as in local, national, European, and global communities (LOPS 2015, 109). The books in the *On Track* series clearly aim for including many sorts of possible combinations of ethnicities and nationalities, but while the curriculum mentions global and European contexts, the textbooks often concentrate only on English speaking countries in its texts and exercises. This is to an extent natural since they are English textbooks, but the full potential of English as a global language remains unfulfilled. Additionally, as mentioned in chapter 4.2, in some cases the inclusion of cultures are executed in a superficial way giving only a narrow glimpse into the cultures.

The curriculum also encourages students to cosmopolitanism (LOPS 2015, 13), and the textbooks certainly present cosmopolitanism, internationality and world citizenry in a good light. Opportunities to work or study abroad are promoted often (On Track 1, 77, On Track 1, 53, On Track 2, 134-136, On Track 2, 148, On Track 6, 60-61), even when they are not the most realistic of opportunities for the majority of the students. The goals of the curriculum are therefore fulfilled, though there is room for improvement.

In addition to introducing many intercultural settings in other countries, interculturality is also brought to Finland (On Track 1, 55-57, On Track 2, 46, On Track 4, 94), which helps give the language learning a more concrete context: one does not necessarily have to leave Finland in order to gain opportunities to put their language skills to use. Finland, when talked about in a travel context, is also presented as a desirable destination for foreigners. The mentioned pros of

living in Finland overshadow the mentioned cons: clean water and safety compared to some people not greeting each other and summer nights being not dark enough (On Track 4, 94).

In most cases fictional characters, celebrities and other cultural figures included in the books were of Western origin. While the exclusion of non-Western celebrities could be seen as promotion of Western culture, it must be considered that the teaching materials have to remain relevant and interesting to the students. For example Western actors and actresses the students are familiar with are more likely to raise interest than actors and actresses from movies they are unfamiliar with.

This creates an interesting dichotomy: the authors have to promote globalisation and interculturality in their textbooks and at the same time keep the cultural inclusion concise enough to be engaging and to not steer the focus away from the target language. This seems to lead to shallow representation of the cultures in the textbooks in favour of achieving the goals set by the NCC. It is impossible to say whether this is an oversight, or a conscious choice by the authors due to the limitations of the format. However, since the curriculum does not end with the textbook, its shortcomings can be addressed in other ways in the classroom and ultimately are not as big an issue.

In this way, the results of the analysis indicate that the developments in globalisation in the curriculum have made it to the classroom, at least in the form of the textbook. It is of course up to each teacher how they use the textbooks in class, or if they opt to use other cultural materials to supplement the cultural representations in the textbooks.

5 CONCLUSION

The books in the On Track series clearly have more content in terms of cultural hybridisation than their predecessors in the In Touch series. Even though the numbers are higher, the elements of hybridisation are often superficial, and Western culture is largely dominant. These findings could be used to reinforce the cultural materials offered by the textbooks: A teacher might include materials of their choice from outside the textbooks in the classroom or simply remind the students to think critically of what their textbooks are presenting them with. The latter is

also supported by the NCC – learning experiences that encourage knowledge-based criticality is mentioned as a general learning goal for everyone (LOPS 2015, 35).

Every teacher uses the textbook in a different way, so in reality there is no way of knowing how many students the cultural content in On Track reaches, or how much of that content reaches those students who are more exposed to the textbooks contents. A teacher inclined to create their own teaching materials might have a very different approach to the matter of globalisation in those materials – if any. Despite that, the results indicate that the development of new textbooks follow the changes in the curriculum more subtly than just what kind vocabulary to include, and the analysis presents concrete evidence that the amount of different cultural representations has increased from the previous series textbooks. Of course, what is analysed here is only one series of textbooks and there are multiple series offered by different publishers but given how closely the textbooks seem to follow the curriculum, the results could be generalised.

Even though the textbooks include numerous cultural elements, identifying some cultural forms is difficult since it can require awareness and knowledge of said culture. Especially more subtle aspects of a culture, such as informal norms, speech, or one's attitude towards something are problematic because they might remain undetected for the uninitiated. This is true for the students as well: Their textbook may be filled with references to different cultures, trips to different countries and casts of multicultural characters but the student might only see the tip of the iceberg. For this reason, it also seems debateable whether a languages textbook even needs to include deep cultural norms: They might never reach the student, and they might take the focus away from the language itself. Future research could perhaps deal with this by looking at how much of the content actually reaches the average student, or how much of the content is meant to reach said student. It could also be worth investigating whether the inclusion of for example familiar cultural figures is more engaging to the students than the inclusion of famous cultural figures from other parts of the world that might be obscure to Finnish students.

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