THE PRESENTATION OF MINORITIZED GROUPS' CULTURES IN EFL TEXTBOOKS

Minor's thesis
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Tekijä – Author Marjo Männistö	
Työn nimi – Title The presentation of minoritized groups' cultures in EFL textbooks	
Oppiaine – Subject Englanti	Työn laji – Level Sivututkielma
Aika – Month and year Heinäkuu 2020	Sivumäärä – Number of pages 39

Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Kielet ja kulttuurit nivoutuvat läheisesti yhteen, joten myös kulttuuriin liittyvät sisällöt ovat osa kielten opetusta, ja sitä kautta ne ovat osa myös opetuksessa käytettäviä oppikirjoja ja muita materiaaleja.

Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan neljää englannin kielen oppikirjaa kiinnittäen huomiota erityisesti kulttuuriaiheisiin tekstiin ja kuviin tavoitteena saada selville, ovatko erilaiset etniset vähemmistöryhmät edustettuina oppikirjojen kulttuuriaiheisissa teksteissä ja kuvissa, ja jos ovat, mitä nämä vähemmistöryhmät ovat. Tutkimukseni metodi on laadullinen sisällönanalyysi.

Tutkimukseni osoitti, että etniset vähemmistöryhmät ovat edustettuina kuvissa sekä alakoulun että yläkoulun englannin tekstikirjoissa, mutta vähemmän kuin enemmistöryhmät, joten tasapuolisesta esiintymisestä ei voida puhua. Lisäksi selvisi, että vähemmistöryhmiä tai heidän kulttuuria koskevia tekstejä on vain vähän, ja oppikirjoissa voisi olla enemmän johdattelua sosiaalisen oikeudenmukaisuuden edistämiseen esimerkiksi johdattelemalla sellaisiin aiheisiin kuten rasismi ja syrjintä.

Tällaisen kriittisen näkökulman puuttuessa opettajalle jää vastuu siitä, että kulttuuriaiheita käsiteltäessä otettaisiin huomioon pintaa syvemmältä löytyviä aiheita, ja tuotaisiin myös kulttuurien erilaisuutta ja dynaamista luonnetta enemmän esille.

Asiasanat – Keywords textbook, EFL, culture, content analysis, representation
Säilytyspaikka – Depository JYX-arkisto
Muita tietoja – Additional information

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1 INTRODUCTION

The general research area of this study is culture in EFL textbooks. It is an important area of research since learning languages goes hand in hand with learning about culture. Thus, culture is a part of language learning and teaching, and as most teachers rely on textbooks as a tool in teaching (see for example Luukka et al. 2008), it is of importance what kind of cultural contents the textbooks used have and what kind of a picture of culture they portray.

Culture in EFL textbooks has been studied before, but the previous research has focused more on specific countries (Lappalainen 2011, Lindström 2015), culture in general (Heininen 2018) or multiculturalism in textbooks at the upper secondary level (Järvinen 2017, Hentinen 2012). Canale (2016) studied how language textbooks represent foreign culture and how they often end up presenting cultures as static homogenous entities.

However, there is still little attention paid to the presentation of minoritized groups' cultures in EFL textbooks at the primary and upper comprehensive level. This study focuses on finding out what kind of a role the minoritized groups' cultures get in EFL textbooks compared to the presentation of dominant groups' cultures. The aim of the present study is to focus on the presentation of cultures from a social justice point of view. That is to say that the aim is to find out whether pupils get an accurate picture of the English-speaking countries' population and culture, or whether it is mainly the dominant groups' culture and people that are presented in the textbooks. I am not only interested in looking at the culture sections of the textbooks, but the textbooks as a whole in order to see who the people are that the characters in the chapters and pictures present.

This study consists of five chapters. Following the introduction, Chapter 2 focuses on defining the key concepts and presenting previous research on the topic, and begins with a brief discussion of social justice in education (Chapter 2.1). As my study focuses on the appearance of minoritized groups' cultures in EFL textbooks, I will also define the concepts of dominant and minoritized groups (Chapter 2.2). Then I will explain what can be considered as culture in EFL textbooks and why presenting culture in EFL textbooks is a complicated issue (Chapter 2.3). The role of culture in foreign language teaching will be also

looked at through the guidelines of the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (Chapter 2.4). I will then discuss the importance of EFL textbooks in teaching and learning (Chapter 2.5), followed by a summary of previous research on culture in EFL textbooks (Chapter 2.6). In Chapter 3, the data and methods of this study will be presented. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the study, which are then evaluated in response to the research questions. In the concluding Chapter 5, the research process and results will be summarized, and ideas for future studies will be presented.

2 CULTURE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN EFL TEXTBOOKS

In this section the key concepts will be defined (Chapter 2.1-2.5) and previous research on the topic will be presented (Chapter 2.6).

2.1 Social justice in education

Randolph and Johnson (2017: 101) regard "the scope of social justice to include any aspect of the language classroom through which participants (students, teachers, and other stakeholders) come to a greater understanding of or make progress towards equity in society." Some examples of such aspects will be given next.

Social justice in education can have several meanings (Boyd 2017). For some it means choosing and including teaching materials that deal with issues that demand deeper and critical approach, such as discrimination or racism. Moreover, it is not only about choosing and including such materials and topics, but also about the way the materials and topics are dealt with during lessons by looking at them critically to become aware of the issues of power and oppression, for example.

Social justice in education can also mean that the teacher is just and equal and ensures that all his or her students get similar chances of learning and the same expectations to perform one's part (Boyd 2017). A teacher can also perform social justice through the use of language by

avoiding any expressions that create and maintain stereotypes or discriminate. A teacher with a social justice point of view in mind acknowledges the existence of oppression, discrimination and unequal distribution of power, and intentionally works against those and brings them to the consciousness of students as well.

In the context of this study, I see social justice in education to be relevant in the sense that EFL textbooks can also play a part in making society more equal by presenting not only dominant groups and their cultures but also the cultures of minoritized groups. In addition, at least in the higher grades, the topics of cultures and inequality can be handled with a more critical and deeper approach that acknowledges that there is still oppression and discrimination happening in the current world.

2.2 Dominant and minoritized groups

Sensoy and DiAngelo (2017: 223) define the dominant and minoritized groups through stating that there are opposing groups that define each other (such as White/Peoples of Color, men/women etc.) and it is always either of those that is the dominant group that is more valued compared to minoritized groups and have a higher position in the social hierarchy. Dominant groups also define what is normal and accepted and have overall better access to resources and benefit from their position.

A minoritized group, on the other hand, is defined as "a social group that is devalued in society" (Sensoy and DiAngelo 2017: 226). Sensoy and DiAngelo (ibid.) prefer the term *minoritized* instead of *minority* to accentuate that the unequal relationship between dominant and minoritized groups is created instead of being something that simply exists and that the status of a group does not always have to do with population rates. Minoritized groups are represented in a devaluing manner and do not have equal access to the resources of society.

The opposing groups that can be used to define dominant and minoritized groups can be categorized into seven groups, according to Sensoy and Diangelo (2017: 45): race (White/ Person of Color), class (Poor/Owning or Ruling Class), gender (Cis-Men/Cis-Women),

sexuality (Heterosexual/Gay), religion (Christian/Muslim), ability (Able-bodied/people with physical disabilities), and nationality (Citizen/Immigrant). For the purpose of this study, I will concentrate more on the view of dominant and minoritized groups from the national and ethnic point of view. By ethnicity Sensoy and DiAngelo (2017: 45) refer to

> - - - a group of people bound by a common language, culture, spiritual tradition, and/or ancestry. Ethnic groups can bridge national borders and still be one group - - -. At the same time ethnic groups can live within the same national borders and not share the same ethnic identity.

When referring to ethnic minorities, aboriginal peoples also come into question. Aboriginal peoples are "[p]eople who are indigenous to (native or the original habitants of) a specific continent or geographic region" (Sensoy and DiAngelo 2017: 221).

2.3 Culture in education and EFL textbooks

There are multiple different kinds of definitions of culture, and relevant dictionary definitions to this study can be found in the Oxford English Dictionary, which defines culture as:

> Refinement of mind, taste, and manners; artistic and intellectual development. Hence: the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively.
>
> The distinctive ideas, customs, social behaviour, products, or way of life of a particular nation, society, people, or period. Hence: a society or group characterized by such customs, etc.
>
> - - - a way of life or social environment characterized by or associated with the specified quality or thing; a group of people subscribing or belonging to this.

Jenks (2004: 12) describes culture as "the collective body of arts and intellectual work within any one society" and sees that this description is what is commonly understood by the term. Jenks (2004: 12) adds that culture can also be seen as "the whole way of life of a people", and this is how sociologists and anthropologists approach the concept.

Kaikkonen (1994) approaches the definition of culture from the perspective of theories of learning. Kaikkonen (1994: 72) first presents the behavioristic definition which sees culture

as being created by separate ways of behavior, including traditions, customs and rituals. According to this viewpoint culture would be something that is observable, and it is the different habits and actions that are learned about foreign language teaching (Kaikkonen 1994: 72-73).

According to the functional definition of culture, culture is perceived as a social phenomenon (Kaikkonen 1994: 73). What is different compared to the behavioristic view is that there is an attempt to find an explanation to social behavior (Kaikkonen 1994: 73). Kaikkonen (1994: 74) explains this through how the topic of food can be discussed at lessons by not just stating what people in the target country eat, but for example thinking about how age, gender and social class affect what people eat. From a social justice point of view, I see the functional definition of culture to be the most relevant, since instead of accepting rather static descriptions of culture and people's behavior and habits, it strives for a deeper understanding of why things are the way they are.

In the cognitive definition of culture focus is on the process that happens while learning about culture (Kaikkonen 1994: 76). According to this definition, culture does not consist of things, artifacts, peoples or their behavior or emotions, but of the models and shapes of things etc. that are placed in the memory of an individual (Kaikkonen 1994: 76). As last of the definitions of culture based on theories of learning, Kaikkonen (1994: 77-78) presents the symbolic definition, which defines culture as the system of symbols and meanings in which experience, meaning and reality are seen to be connected dynamically. This definition emphasizes that culture is dynamic and continuously changing and that an individual is a part of the change (Kaikkonen 1994: 78). Kaikkonen (1994: 77-78) states that homogenous culture exists only limitedly. He explains that cultures with their own features have developed inside the different states, societies and communities, and that in these subcultures all individuals have their own culture that is unique and partly corresponds to the ones of the states, societies and communities (Kaikkonen 1994: 78).

Kramsch (2006: 328) describes the difficulty of defining the term culture by stating that:

> The term 'culture' has come to cover a host of phenomena that mean different things to different people: literate tradition or high culture, level of civilization, way of life, ethnic membership, country of origin, nationality, ideology, religious affiliation, or moral values. It is difficult to find a common objective denominator. However, in our contentious times, culture has retained a sense of the irreducible, the sacred, that touches the core of who we are – our history and our subjectivity. Culture is embodied history.

My understanding of what culture in EFL textbooks is fundamentally corresponds to what the field of EFL has, according to Rodríguez (2015: 169), typically seen culture to represent and that is "the main collective sociocultural norms, lifestyles, and values that are learned, *shared,* and transmitted by the people of a community". Additionally, I consider culture in EFL textbooks to include both literature, art, history, music and the everyday life of people and their customs, beliefs, and values.

EFL textbooks have concentrated on presenting culture as homogenous static entities in either celebratory or neutral ways (Rodríguez 2015: 169-170). Rodríguez (2015: 169) argues that this is problematic since by doing so, stereotypes are being created and the continuous change in culture is being ignored while also creating "the idea that all cultures of the world happily coexist through mutual respect and tolerance". What Rodríguez (2015: 169-170) suggests is that EFL classrooms should take a more critical approach to culture that acknowledges oppression, injustice, the minoritized groups, and the issues of power. By doing so, learners would "recognize that there are also subgroups and subcultures within a particular society with their own values and ideologies that differ from those of the dominant group" (Rodríguez 2015: 170). This would promote intercultural understanding better than approaching culture from the celebratory and homogenous point of view (Rodríguez 2015: 170).

Kramsch (2006: 322) states that culture has had a fundamental role in language teaching at all times. She describes how culture in language teaching has taken new forms and meanings over time. According to her, before World War II, culture was considered as "the literate or humanities component of language study" (Kramsch 2006: 322). She explains that it was after the war that language pedagogy took a more communicative approach, and culture in language teaching started to mean "the way of life and everyday behaviors of members of

speech communities" (Kramsch 2006: 322), and that those members of communities were assumed to have very similar backgrounds. What is problematic about this perspective is that:

> In the pedagogic imagination of most language teachers around the world, the term 'culture' is associated with the context in which the language is lived and spoken by its native speakers, themselves seen as a more or less homogeneous national community with age-old institutions, customs, and way of life. (Kramsch 2006: 323)

Kramsch (2006: 323-324) explains that when approaching culture in language teaching from this kind of a point of view, the assumed national homogeneity is characteristic, and it is the dominant groups' habits and ways of life that are being presented. What can be summarized about both Kramsch's (2006) and Rodríguez' (2015) thoughts is the need for a more deeper, critical, and varied presentation of cultures in today's EFL textbooks.

As Elomaa (2009: 107-108) states, it is the language, culture and intercultural interaction that make teaching languages meaningful. Elomaa (2009: 108) wonders if striving to achieve all other learning objectives leaves enough time and space for cultural issues, which is probably a concern for many teachers who aspire to present culture in depth. According to Elomaa (2009: 109), in addition to the teacher's relationship to the language and its cultural background, it is also the teaching material used that has a significant impact on the learners' attitudes.

Byram and Esarte-Sarries (1991: 197) point out that although culture contents in textbooks may be separate and culture is thus presented explicitly, there is also implicit exposure to culture for example through non-verbal means such as pictures, and even practicing language skills is a way of conveying cultural content. As an example they mention how pupils had pointed out that the French seem very polite because of the recurrent usage of "*s'il vous plait* and *Monsieur* or *Madame* (Byram and Esarte-Sarries 1991: 197).

2.4 The role of culture in foreign language teaching in the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education

Teachers in Finland need to take into account what is regulated about teaching and learning in the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education. Equality is mentioned as one of the key values of education and it is stated that cultural diversity is seen as a richness (POPS 2014: 14). Learning about culture and cultural diversity are mentioned as part of foreign language learning both at the primary and upper comprehensive levels (POPS 2014: 250-251, 417-418, 420-421). There are some specific learning goals about culture in the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (2014) that I will summarize next.

From grades 3 to 6 one of the goals of teaching English is the growth into cultural diversity. The more specific goals are to motivate pupils to appreciate their own language and cultural background and to guide pupils to appreciate different languages, their speakers and different cultures (POPS 2014: 250-251). The aim is also to help pupils to find out what languages and cultures mean to an individual and to the society (POPS 2014: 251).

From grades 7 to 9 pupils are still guided to appreciate different languages and their speakers and different cultures, and the goal is that an interest into the linguistic and cultural diversity of the school community and the world is aroused (POPS 2014: 417). During these last years of foreign language education at the comprehensive school, the aim is that the understanding of cultural diversity deepens while pupils reflect on different kinds of values that are related to language communities (POPS 2014: 418). The goal is that pupils discover that the values vary according to individual experience and cultural point of view (POPS 2014: 420-421). The National Core Curriculum for Basic Education does not mention specifically which countries and whose cultures should be learned about, since it states that pupils are to learn about cultures that have English as their most used language (POPS 2014: 418).

2.5 EFL textbooks and their significance in transmitting a picture of English-speaking cultures

In my study I will concentrate on Johnsen's (1993: 24) definition of a textbook as a book "made and published for educational purpose". As has been studied by Luukka et al. (2008), textbooks have a great impact on teaching and not only do they perform as a tool for teachers,

they also influence the conception of what is of importance in learning languages (Luukka et al. 2008: 64). More importantly, as most teachers use textbooks frequently in their lessons (Luukka et al. 2008: 94), one could argue that EFL textbooks have a significant role also in transmitting a certain picture of the different cultures of the English-speaking countries.

Textbooks are likely to have an important role in forming language learners' perception of what the English-speaking countries' cultures are like, since as Kalmus (2004: 471-472) states, textbooks are considered to be reliable sources of information and they most likely affect learners. Textbooks convey messages about social beliefs, attitudes, and values, and because of their authority, their hidden messages may be assumed to be true without students questioning them (Kalmus 2004: 470, 472).

Although, in my experience, at least the older editions of EFL textbooks contain a rather one-sided picture of the English-speaking countries' cultures as them being that of the dominant groups' culture in particular countries, Tomlinson (2001: 70-71) points out that textbooks are becoming more international than before and present English as a world language, and at the same time, textbooks will no longer focus purely on the USA or the UK. Thus, it could be argued that it is not irrelevant how and whose cultures in EFL textbooks are being presented, since textbooks are likely to have a rather central role in teaching and learning, and they can thus have a great impact on the learners' perceptions of culture in specific countries.

2.6 Previous studies of culture in EFL textbooks

Culture in EFL textbooks has been the subject of several studies, but the previous research has focused for example more on specific countries (e.g. Lappalainen 2011, and Lindström 2015) or culture in general (e.g. Heininen 2018). In the following, first these three qualitative content analysis studies will be presented in more detail. Then, I will present two studies that focus on multiculturalism in EFL textbooks. The first of these two studies focus on multiculturalism in the reading tasks and texts in EFL textbooks at the upper secondary level, and the second one on the presentation of multiculturalism at the upper secondary school's EFL textbooks.

Lappalainen (2011) studied American culture in EFL textbooks in her MA thesis. The goal of Lappalainen's (2011) thesis was to find out how the Finnish secondary and upper secondary schools' EFL textbooks support the principles of learning and teaching culture. She also wanted to find out whether there has been progress in the EFL textbooks in recent years and if there are differences in the cultural contents in the books between the secondary and upper secondary school books. Lappalainen chose to concentrate on the American culture because of the negative attitude Finnish youngsters have towards Americans.

Her research results demonstrate that the EFL textbooks she studied do not fully support the principles of learning and teaching culture. She states that EFL textbooks still present a lot of stereotypes and that the books often have a rather touristic approach and little comparison to other cultures is being made. But what she found as positive was that textbooks have progressed since they are more versatile and that for example ethnic minorities have been concentrated on. Lappalainen's (2011) research showed that older textbooks contain more culture than the newer textbooks but that they also present more stereotypes.

Lindström's study (2015), on the other hand, concentrated on the presentation of the British culture. She studied three EFL textbook series, one from primary, upper comprehensive and upper secondary schools. She wanted to find out if the textbooks provide a profound presentation of the British culture that has been weighed a lot in the presentation of English speaking cultures. Lindström (2015) states that textbooks have always played a central part in teaching languages and that they therefore have a great impact on the students and what kind of knowledge they get from the target cultures.

Lindström's (2015) research results show that intercultural communication was taken into account quite well on each level of education. What she found problematic, though, was that the presentation of target cultures and their representants was lacking critical approach, especially in one of the textbooks she studied. According to her, the presentation of high culture and people's everyday life were balanced, although she noticed that there could still be more authentic people in the books instead of fictive characters. Lindström states that the

series she studied leave a relatively thorough picture of the UK, although it is England that is presented most often. She also found that the cultural content could be handled in more depth since part of it was somewhat superficial.

Heininen (2018) also states that it is the textbooks that guide teaching of cultures and they thus have an impact on what the students learn during lessons. Her goal was to find out which of the English speaking cultures are presented in a book series called Go for it! Heininen wanted to study what kind of culture knowledge the books transmit and whether some cultures are presented more often than others. Her research results point out that the series she studied provides versatile information of the USA, the UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. She also points out that cultural information is presented both explicitly and implicitly, and the cultural knowledge provided becomes deeper and richer as the learner's language skills improve.

A study that takes 'racial' and ethnic diversity into account has been done by Järvinen (2017). She concentrated on upper secondary school's textbooks in terms of texts and reading exercises that are themed around the variety of 'racial' and ethnicities in the English speaking countries. The goal of the study was to look at which minority groups and themes are presented in the texts and what the reading exercises are like, and whether the reading exercises guide towards critical approach and reflection of the English speaking countries and their cultures and the student's own culture and society.

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used in Järvinen's (2017) study, and her research results show that the texts often reflect only certain minority groups and issues. The texts deal with cultural and linguistic identity, social injustice and racism, which again proves that the texts mainly correspond to the basis of critical multiculturalism. Järvinen states that critical approach and reflection are not in the center of the exercises though, since it is the understanding and interpretation of the texts that are more emphasized.

Hentinen (2012) was also interested in finding out how multiculturalism is presented in upper secondary school's textbooks. She studied three EFL textbook series both quantitatively and

qualitatively in order to find out in how many of the textbook texts ethnic and national minority cultures are in focus and what the minority culture presentations are like. Her research results show that there were relatively few texts that deal with multiculturalism and minority cultures and that the presentation of minority cultures vary greatly between different textbook series.

Canale (2016) studied how language textbooks represent foreign culture. He used qualitative methods to analyze the results of quantitative studies. The study was based on research studies that had focused on the representation of culture in language textbooks. Canale states that textbooks most usually have to leave some aspects of the presented culture out to keep the information load at an appropriate level. Canale adds that this sort of exclusion of things may however lead to simplifying the representation of a culture and its features and they thus fail to present its diversity. Canale points out that cultures are often presented as static homogenous entities within national boundaries where individuals' behavior is almost identical. The study also shows that textbooks point to differences that cultures have but do not offer space for critical thinking.

Gulliver and Thurrell (2016) studied denials of racism in English language textbooks. In their critical discourse analysis, they concentrated on the descriptions of Canada and Canadians. They state that most of the textbooks they studied present Canada as multicultural and that the texts deny the existence of racism and sexism in Canada, and through the denials, the experiences of immigrants and refugees become invalidated. Gulliver and Thurrell conclude that it is irresponsible to present Canada and Canadians with such an uncritical view.

The present study has the most in common with Hentinen's (2012) and Järvinen's (2017) studies in the sense that the focus is on ethnic minorities. Instead of the two above mentioned studies that focused on upper secondary schools' EFL textbooks, the present study will concentrate on EFL textbooks intended for primary and upper comprehensive schools.

3 DATA AND METHODS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

This chapter first presents the aims and research questions of the present study (Chapter 3.1),

then the data and data collection will be discussed (Chapter 3.2), and last, the method of analysis will be described (Chapter 3.3).

3.1 Research questions

The purpose of this research is to study whose culture, specifically in terms of dominant and minoritized groups' cultures, is presented in EFL textbooks.

The research questions are:

1. Are minoritized groups' cultures presented in EFL textbooks?
2. Which minoritized groups' cultures are presented, and how?

3.2 Data of the study

The data of this study consists of EFL textbooks that are used at lower and upper comprehensive schools. The textbooks were chosen from two learning material publishers Otava and Sanoma Pro, one book from each publisher for lower and upper comprehensive level, i.e. altogether four books. As I am interested in finding out what the current situation in EFL textbooks is in terms of presenting the cultures of minoritized groups, the books studied are relatively new. Each of the selected books also have specific cultural content, as will be pointed out in the following introduction to each book.

High five! 3 (Otava) is an EFL textbook for third graders. The third grade book concentrates on presenting Great Britain and the features that are typical to it (High Five! and OPS 2016). The book consists of four different units that all contain four chapters. The book also contains extra texts, presentation of four different festivals (Halloween, Christmas, Valentine's Day and Easter), grammar and an alphabetical vocabulary. According to the publisher, the series provides opportunities to familiarize oneself with culture and different environments, as well as comparing the similarities and differences between cultures with the help of pictures and texts (High Five! and OPS 2016).

Go for it! 3 (Sanoma Pro) is an EFL textbook for third graders. It has five different units that each comprise three texts. There are also extra texts for both advanced and less advanced pupils and an alphabetical vocabulary. In terms of culture, the book concentrates on familiarizing the pupils with the culture of England. Overall, the series guides pupils to recognize cultural diversity (Go for it!).

Scene 2 (Otava) is an EFL textbook for eighth graders. The book consists of six sets and each of them contains two chapters. At the end of each set there is a culture unit where pupils can deepen their knowledge and understanding of cultures that are associated with the English language. The book also has an extra reading, grammar, an alphabetical vocabulary and key to exercises. The publisher states that the pupils are guided to get acquainted with the English-speaking world and its versatile culture (Scene and OPS).

On the go 2 (Sanoma Pro) is an EFL textbook for eighth graders. It has nine units and each of the units also contain "Your choice" texts that the pupils can choose from. According to the publisher, multiculturalism is one of the themes of the book, and there is a versatile presentation of English-speaking countries, including Australia, New Zealand, India, Canada, Jamaica and Hong Kong (On the Go 2 Textbook).

3.3 Methods of analysis

The method of analysis used in this study is qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis (QCA) can be used to analyze different kinds of materials, and textbooks are one of them (Schreier 2012: 2-3). QCA is the type of method that is suitable for research that includes data that requires some interpretation (Schreier 2012: 2). What can be done with the help of QCA is to "systematically describe the meaning of your material" (Schreier 2012: 3). A central aspect in QCA is that it is the research question that defines the viewpoint to studying the data, and that it is only particular features of the data that are at the center of the focus in the research (Schreier 2012: 4).

Content analysis is a method that can be used in several contexts in order to find answers to various research questions (Krippendorff 2019: 93). Krippendorff (2019: 24) states that when referring to text it is not only written material that is meant. The data of a content analysis can consist of for example "works of art, images, maps, sounds, signs, symbols, and even numerical records" (Krippendorff 2019: 24). In addition to Krippendorff, also Schreier (2012: 3) states that the data of the analysis can be verbal or visual, but refers to both of them as "text".

Krippendorff (2019: 24) states that "[*c*]*ontent analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use.*" It is important that the research techniques used are reliable and most importantly replicable, which means that when the same technique is used to research the same phenomena, the same results will be found (Krippendorff 2019: 24). However, Schreier (2012: 20) states that "[q]ualitative researchers are comfortable with the idea that there can be multiple meanings, multiple interpretations, and that these can shift over time and across different people." What is meant by this is that meaning is constructed, and that the individual background of the interpreter of the data affects the analysis, and that leads to having to accept that there is not just one correct meaning of data. Therefore, several interpretations can be regarded as equally valid. (Schreier 2012: 20.)

It is not only the reliability of the research, but also the validity that needs to be taken into account. By validity, according to Schreier (2012: 27), "the overall quality" of the research is being referred to when talking about validity in its broad sense. Schreier (2012: 27) defines the overall quality of the study to include aspects such as systematicity, transparency, appropriate design and method considering the research question, and taking into account negative cases and alternative interpretations. In the analysis of this study, systematicity means creating a predetermined criteria for defining what can be counted as a culture-related text or picture. To meet the requirement of transparency, all the steps of the study will be reported in this paper, and it will be explained why certain conclusions are made.

According to Krippendorff (2019: 48), content analysis is a method that is context sensitive. Context-sensitive methods

> acknowledge the textuality of the data - that is, they recognize that the data are read by and make sense to others, and they proceed by reference to contexts of their own. (Krippendorff 2019: 48)

Schreier (2012: 26) states that context is such a relevant factor in qualitative research that it would not be reasonable or even possible to repeat data collection later, since the context and the situation change, and the same research questions might not be relevant any more.

According to Schreier (2012: 5-6), QCA is a systematic method since there are certain steps that are to be followed. QCA starts with deciding on a research question, after which the material of the study is to be selected. Once the first two steps are completed, the coding frame can be build, and material should be divided into units of coding. After these steps, the coding frame can be tested and evaluated and modified if needed. The last steps involve analysis, and interpretation and presentation of the findings. (Schreier 2012: 6.)

Content analysis is an approach that suits the purposes of this study since it enables the analysis of "relatively unstructured data in view of the meanings, symbolic qualities, and expressive contents they have" (Krippendorff 2019: 51) and because it allows to concentrate on one or a small number of notions while finding out how they are presented in a text (Krippendorff 2019: 207).

According to Krippendorff (2019: 384), there are three different kinds of starting points to content analysis. Content analyses can be either text-driven, problem-driven, or method-driven. In the text-driven content analyses the research questions arise from the texts themselves. Problem-driven content analysis, which is the most relevant of the three considering this study, is used when a research question or research questions already exist, and a text and its analysis are thought to be able to answer those questions. In method-driven analyses areas that have already been studied are approached by using a different method. (Krippendorff 2019: 384.)

Content analysis is relevant in this study also because

> [c]ontent analysts are interested in what is said as much as what is not said - that is, they are interested in what texts reveal about phenomena of interest. Ethnic prejudices and unquestionable ideological commitments are rarely made explicit but may become evident in their consequences. (Krippendorff 2019: 388-389.)

According to Krippendorff (2019: 393), if the units that will be analyzed are very large, the reliability of the analysis is at risk. Therefore larger texts can be broken into units, which not only increases the reliability of the content analysis but also makes it more feasible (Krippendorff 2019: 392). I chose content analysis as a method of analysis in this study because of its flexibility, and because it can be applied to different sorts of data that I expect to be present in textbooks (such as texts, pictures and charts). The goal is to answer the research questions, which means that this analysis is problem-driven.

As has been mentioned in chapter 2, what I understand to present culture in textbooks includes both literature, art, history, music and the everyday life of people and their customs, beliefs and values. This functioned as the basis for my understanding, focus and categorization of what defines as culture in textbooks.

I started the analysis by going through the books systematically. My goal at this point was to perceive what sort of cultural content the books contain in general, and then to separate the kind of cultural content which presents minoritized groups' cultures. I separated dominant and shared/general (the kind of cultural content that can be seen to be shared with the dominant and minoritized groups) from the minoritized groups' cultural content by looking for direct references to minoritized groups, such as textual or pictorial (color of the skin, dressing) references. To complement this qualitative content analysis, I counted the texts and pictures to be able to compare both between the amount of cultural content that presents the cultures of dominant groups (or shared/general cultural content) and minoritized groups, and to be able to identify the possible differences in the amount of cultural content of the minoritized vs. dominant groups' cultures between the book series and the grades that the textbooks are aimed at. As a text I defined all clear cut entities that were so called study texts. That means I did not include for example exercises or grammar sections as texts in this study.

As one picture I defined an entity, meaning that a picture could spread across more than one page. No exercise books or teacher's materials were included in the analysis, and in the textbooks grammar sections and alphabetical glossaries were also excluded from the study.

4 ANALYSIS / FINDINGS

This chapter first presents the analysis of the four textbooks (Chapter 4.1-4.4), and in Chapter 4.5 there is a comparison of the textbooks, and discussion about how they connect with the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education. In Chapter 4.6 the findings are discussed in relation to the background and previous studies presented in Chapter 2.

4.1 High five! 3

In *High five! 3* the setting is London, and the readers of the book get to familiarize themselves with the famous sights (such as Big Ben and the London Eye) especially in the beginning of the book, but in some degree also throughout the book. There are eleven texts in the book that I considered to have cultural content. In this case the cultural content falls into categories that carry information about the norms and customs (such as greetings, being polite), and holidays (Halloween, Christmas, Valentine's Day and Easter) that the British people have. None of the texts present the cultures of minoritized groups specifically which is probably due to the fact that the assumption is that these norms, customs, and holidays are shared by the British people regardless of the cultural or ethnic background.

All the characters in the pictures are cartoon characters. The pictures are however realistic enough to make inferences about the ethnic groups they present. The pictures present both ethnic minoritized groups and dominant groups, and in the whole book in 23 of the 41 pictures (56%) minoritized groups are presented, although the dominant groups are the majority, meaning that if there are for example four people in a picture, just one of them presents the minority group and the three others present the dominant group (e.g. *High five! 3*: 7). The minoritized groups presented are black and Indian, from which the black are clearly in the majority (95% of the minoritized groups that are presented.)

4.2 Go for it! 3

In *Go for it! 3* the setting is London, and the reader of the book will get familiarized with its sights throughout the book. In addition to London, there is a chance to get to know Great Britain and Ireland through a map that represents the typical (or stereotypical) things that can be attached to each territory (such as bagpipes and Loch Ness Monster in Scotland, or four-leaf clover in Ireland).

The texts themselves do not contain a lot of specific cultural content, although as in *High five! 3* in *Go for it! 3* there is information about the norms and customs and everyday life, and in that way the texts convey cultural information. As was mentioned in Chapter 2.3, Rodríquez (2015: 165) sees this type of content to be how the field of EFL has typically presented culture. Out of the seven texts that I considered to contain cultural information, none present minoritized groups' cultures specifically, but rather concentrate on the perceived shared cultural conventions.

All of the characters in the pictures are cartoon characters, except in extra texts under the heading of Summer camp where there are real people in the pictures, so in these two aspects *High five! 3* and *Go for it! 3* have similar starting points. In this instance too, however, the pictures were realistic enough to make conclusions about the ethnicity of the people presented. Ethnic minority groups are presented in the pictures alongside the dominant white groups, as in 75 of the 90 pictures that present culture or people, ethnic minoritized groups were presented as well, meaning that 83% of the pictures include minoritized groups' people.

4.3 On the go 2

The textbook gives a wide presentation of where in the world English is widely spoken, so not just the "typical" English-speaking countries are presented, but also Hong Kong, India and Jamaica. Minoritized groups are not forgotten when the English-speaking countries are the topic, and multiculturalism is a theme of discussion. The focus in this book is about presenting foreign cultures.

In *On the go 2* the characters are mostly real human, there are some cartoons and cartoon characters too, though. The book starts with Australia as the topic and setting. The first two units present Australia and Australians from different parts of Australia, and aims at giving a picture of the Australian way of life and the Australians' way of celebrating Christmas. The Aboriginals of Australia are presented in a couple of pictures, Uluru is presented in one paragraph of a text, and Aboriginal foods presented in the same context. There is also an information box about a term which comes from the Aboriginal word. The unit also includes a text about how to throw a boomerang, with guidelines and a short information text about the history of a boomerang, and how the Aboriginal people used it. The unit ends with a two-page long "Your choice" text that raises the issue of oppression, since it is about the history of how Europeans first treated the Aboriginals, and an extract from a true story about three Aboriginal children escaping from the institute they were forced to, to get back to their families.

Altogether the first two units seem to concentrate mostly on presenting the Australian way of life, which I consider to present culture. Minoritized groups' cultures are not forgotten in this context, since the Aboriginals and their culture comprise a rather big part of the texts and pictures. In units 1-2, from the culture related texts, four out of 11 (36%) present the culture of the Aboriginals, and in 18 out of 31 (58%) of all the pictures that present culture or cultural groups, the pictures of Aboriginals or their culture or other ethnic minorities (black and Muslims, judging from pictorial clues) are presented (see Tables 1 and 2 for exact figures).

Unit 3 presents Hong Kong, and the study text is more precisely about Hong Kong through the eyes of an Australian living in Hong Kong. The text only touches on the issue of minoritized groups since it is mentioned that the main character of the text grew up in Australia, but moved to Hong Kong to live with his father who also had lived in Australia before but had now returned to Hong Kong. Therefore, both the father and the main character himself present, or have presented, minoritized groups.

The way of life and food are presented both in the pictures and texts in this unit. The end of unit "Your choice" texts present sights, carnivals, a famous person, way of housing, and a traditional Chinese story. This unit presents the point of view that English is widely spoken in the world, and brings into discussion the fact that since there have been British colonies around the world, it has affected where English is spoken nowadays. So the spread of the English language is not just about recent globalization, but about history, and as is the case in the study text in this unit, an English-speaker can be the one presenting a minoritized group "elsewhere".

Both unit 4 and 5 present New Zealand. Unit 4 presents New Zealand from the point of view of traveling. One of the "Your choice" texts at the end of the unit contain a chart presentation of ethnic groups and their percentage in New Zealand, so minoritized groups were not totally forgotten in unit 4 either. There are pictures of landscapes, and the pictures that present people, present mostly white people in this unit. Unit 5 still concentrates on presenting New Zealand, this time through the themes of health and wellbeing. Again, the landscapes are presented, and national sports are introduced - Maoris are mentioned in the context of rugby and haka. Two of the three end of unit "Your choice" texts present the Maori culture more specifically. One of them presents a critical approach into cultural issues, as it is discussed why Maoris get upset about non-Maoris getting Maori tattoos. I think the text could function as an introduction to a discussion about how cultures coexist, but not necessarily in harmony or total understanding of each other's sacred things. In these two units, the minoritized groups and their cultures are a part of the presentation of the culture of New Zealand. From the minoritized groups, it is the Maoris that are presented more closely, and the other minoritized groups (Asian, Pacific peoples, Middle Eastern, Latin American and African) in New Zealand are mentioned in the chart (p. 78). In three out of four (75%) of the culture related texts, Maoris are either mentioned or in the focus, and in 11 of the 23 (48%) of the culture related pictures in unit 4 and 5 minoritized groups and/or their cultures are presented.

Unit 6 concentrates on presenting India. It introduces the way of life in India, and the end of unit "Your choice" text tells more about the history and people of India, and facts about India, including why English is widely spoken in India and why Britain has had a big influence on

Indian culture. So, as with unit 3 and Hong Kong, India is presented because of the colonial history of Britain, and the consequences it has had on the spread of the English language and the British culture. Indians are not presented as a minoritized group, and there is no discussion of ethnic minority groups, but issues such as treating children differently according to their gender, and contradictions between the poor and the rich in India are discussed.

Unit 7 presents New York. Sports, art, and major events in New York are the themes of the unit. Differing from the previous units, this unit does not strive to present the culture and way of life of a whole nation, just one city is now in the center of focus. The main text of the unit can be seen to present culture in general, since it focuses on presenting sport, art and events in New York. None of the texts present minoritized groups' or their culture particularly, but they are presented in the pictures of the unit, since in six out of 13 (46%) of the pictures that present ethnic groups, minoritized groups (black and Latin American) are presented.

Unit 8 presents Canada. The first two pages of the unit consist of pictures that present Canadian nature and landscapes, minoritized groups (both original habitants and immigrants), and one picture presents dominant group. Multiculturalism is thus brought up in the beginning of the unit and the theme continues in the study text Go Canada, which deals with the issues of multiculturalism in Canada and original Canadians, and the importance of nature to Canadians. Multiculturalism is also presented in charts in this unit, so it really is given emphasis in this unit. The end of unit "Your choice" texts revolve around cultural issues, from odd facts about Canada, to sports and a text about Finnish migrants. All in all, this unit approaches presenting a country through multiculturalism more than any other unit so far, and emphasizes the fact that there is a diversity of nationalities and ethnic backgrounds in Canada. What is lacking in the texts and the unit, is the critical approach and the problems that comes with multiculturalism, similar to what was stated about Gulliver and Thurrell's (2016) study about the presentation of Canada and Canadians in textbooks, as they stated that most of the textbooks they studies presented Canada as multicultural with an uncritical view. Minoritized groups and multiculturalism is the theme in three out of the five (60%) culture-

related texts, and minoritized groups (the original inhabitants of Canada, among many others) are presented in eight out of fourteen (57%) of all the culture-related pictures.

Unit 9 presents Jamaica. The focus is on nature and the study text is about preparing for hurricanes, so it gives a rather narrow picture of the Jamaican way of life. In the end of unit "Your choice" texts Jamaican music, an alternative way of life of an Irishman, pirates, and a French story *Around the world in 80 days* are presented, so the unit does not fully concentrate on presenting Jamaica alone.

To summarize the presentation of minoritized groups or their cultures in *On the Go 2*, the amount of culture-related texts and pictures that present people or cultures, and the proportion that present minoritized groups or their cultures, are presented in Tables 1 and 2. The tables contain only the units that had a specific cultural focus concerning the presentation minoritized and dominant groups.

Table 1. On the Go 2 number and percentage of culture-related texts

	Culture-related texts: general/shared/dominant groups	Culture-related texts: minoritized groups	Total
Unit 1-2	7 (64%)	4 (36%)	11 (100%)
Unit 4-5	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	4 (100%)
Unit 8	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	5 (100%)
Total	9 (47%)	10 (53%)	19 (100%)

Table 2. On the Go 2 number and percentage of culture-related pictures

	Culture-related pictures: general/shared/dominant groups	Culture-related pictures: minoritized groups	Total
Unit 1-2	13 (42%)	18 (58%)	31 (100%)

Unit 4-5	12 (52%)	11 (48%)	23 (100%)
Unit 7	7 (54%)	6 (46%)	13 (100%)
Unit 8	6 (43%)	8 (57%)	14 (100%)
Total	38 (47%)	43 (53%)	81 (100%)

4.4 Scene 2

The book consists of six sets and each of them contains two chapters that include word lists, grammar, exercises, flexi texts (that are intended for differentiating upwards) and the study texts. At the end of each set there is also a culture unit where pupils can deepen their knowledge and understanding of cultures that are associated with the English language, so culture issues are left for the pupils themselves to explore according to their own interests around a theme.

The pictures in this book consist to a large extent of cartoon characters, most of which present white dominant groups. In the whole book minoritized groups are presented in 35 of the 90 (39%) pictures that present culture or people. The first set is called Behind the scenes, and the first text is not about presenting culture elsewhere, but culture in the sense that the theme is movies/films/acting/TV. There is a separate culture section at the end of each "set" - and at the end of the first set, the culture section is about famous people, having a home away from home, and also minoritized groups are presented in the pictures of this section of the set. I think it is worth mentioning again that all of the culture sections in this book require pupils to do research on a chosen topic, meaning that not a lot of cultural information is given, but expected to be found out. Altogether, minoritized groups were presented in six out of fifteen (40%) of the pictures in the first set, and none of the culture related texts presented minoritized groups' cultures, since the culture related texts can be seen to present the shared cultural conventions.

Set 2 is called Fun and games. There are no minoritized groups presented in the pictures in the first pages of the set, not until flexi text cartoon and set 2 culture section, where the theme is English around the world. Multiculturalism and minoritized groups are presented in the pictures of the culture section. In total, this set presents minoritized groups in seven out of 24 (29%) of the pictures, and none of the actual texts present minoritized groups or their cultures, since the culture section is, as mentioned earlier, such that pupils do the research and create the content.

Set 3 is titled Better together. Text 5 is a culture related text since it is a literature extract (*The wonderful wizard of Oz*). The culture section at the end of set 3 concentrates on the US (people, places, holidays for example), in an exercise that requires the pupils to discuss or do further research on specific people or things that are connected to US. In this set, minoritized groups are presented in just two of the fifteen (13%) pictures, and some well-known members of the minoritized groups are mentioned by name in the culture section exercise along with representants of the dominant groups.

Set 4 is titled In touch. It is the most culture oriented of the sets so far, since it includes another piece of literature as text 7, and text 8 is also culture related in the sense that it is about cultural differences in using expressive signs, and the Flexi text is called Do you speak my language? - and deals with the history and similarities of languages. There is also the end of set culture section, which in this case is about the EU. Minoritized groups are presented in three of the seven (43%) pictures, but none of the texts present the cultures of minoritized groups.

Set 5 is called Stay Tuned. Text 9 is titled Africa Online, and it is a listening text, and at least just as a reader of the book who has no access to the recording, the pictures or the tasks do not tell much about culture in Africa. Text 10 is Who's Who Online? and it deals with social media. There is a lot of multiculturalism in the pictures in this set, since both dominant and minoritized groups are presented. The end of set culture section continues with Africa as its topic, as for example the geography, languages, and the British colonial history are given as possible topics for further research. There are couple of pictures about African culture

(people/tribes, history, cuisine, music, religion, arts and crafts), but not a lot of information, since it is left for research. In this set, altogether thirteen of the eighteen (72%) pictures present minoritized groups, and the cultures of minoritized groups are not presented in the texts since there are no culture-related texts in this set.

Set 6 is titled Feel the beat. The theme of the set is music, and the culture section is UK and Ireland with topics in boxes to choose from for further research. This set presents minoritized groups in five of the sixteen (31%) pictures, and one member of the minoritized group (black) is presented briefly in one of the two culture-related texts in this set.

To summarize the presentation of minoritized groups or their cultures in *Scene 2*, the amount of culture-related texts and pictures that present people or cultures, and the proportion that present minoritized groups or their cultures, are presented in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3. Scene 2 number and percentage of culture-related texts

	Culture-related texts: general/shared/dominant groups	Culture-related texts: minoritized groups	Total
Set 1	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	3 (100%)
Set 2	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2 (100%)
Set 3	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Set 4	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2 (100%)
Set 5	0 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (100%)
Set 6	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2 (100%)
Total	9 (90%)	1 (10%)	10 (100%)

Table 4. Scene 2 number and percentage of culture-related pictures

	Culture-related pictures: general/shared/dominant groups	Culture-related pictures: minoritized groups	Total
Set 1	9 (60%)	6 (40%)	15 (100%)
Set 2	17 (71%)	7 (29%)	24 (100%)
Set 3	13 (87%)	2 (13%)	15 (100%)
Set 4	4 (57%)	3 (43%)	7 (100%)
Set 5	5 (28%)	13 (72%)	18 (100%)
Set 6	11 (69%)	5 (31%)	16 (100%)
Total	59 (62%)	36 (38%)	95 (100%)

4.5 Comparison of the textbooks and how they connect with the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education

Compared to *High five! 3* it seems that *Go for it! 3* has taken ethnic minorities more into consideration as around a half of the pictures that present culture or cultural groups, minoritized groups (e.g. black, Indian, and Asian ethnic minorities) are presented, i.e. when a picture has six people in it, three of them present minoritized groups and three present dominant white groups (e.g. *Go for it! 3*: 32-33). Overall, there is clearly more emphasis on presenting minoritized groups in the pictures in *Go for it! 3*, since minoritized groups are presented in 75 of the 90 (83 %) pictures, whereas in *High five! 3* the corresponding percentage is 56 % (23 out of 41).

The focus in *On the go 2* is about presenting foreign cultures in each of the units, which is a significant difference when compared to *Scene 2*. In *Scene 2* there were not many texts to regard as culture-related, let alone to present the cultures of minoritized groups, since the culture sections consisted of different kinds of tasks for the pupils to work on, which requires the pupils' active participation, and choosing of perspectives. *On the go 2*, on the contrary, offers culture-related texts, and thereby prefabricated content.

The goals of the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education to start noticing the cultural and linguistic diversity and to learn to appreciate it (POPS 2014: 250-251) show in *High five! 3* and *Go for it! 3* in that they do not attempt to present all the possible cultures or nations where English is spoken at once, but rather start with one country. The goals of the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education in teaching English at the upper comprehensive level are for instance to allow pupils to deepen their understanding of cultural diversity and to notice that the values attached to language communities vary by individual experience and cultural point of view (POPS 2014: 418, 420-421). In *Scene 2* and *On the Go 2* that are used at the upper grades, these goals show in both of the books, but in rather different ways, since, as has been mentioned, *Scene 2* lets cultural issues to be explored by the pupils themselves, whereas *On the go 2* is almost entirely constructed around presenting six different countries and their cultures.
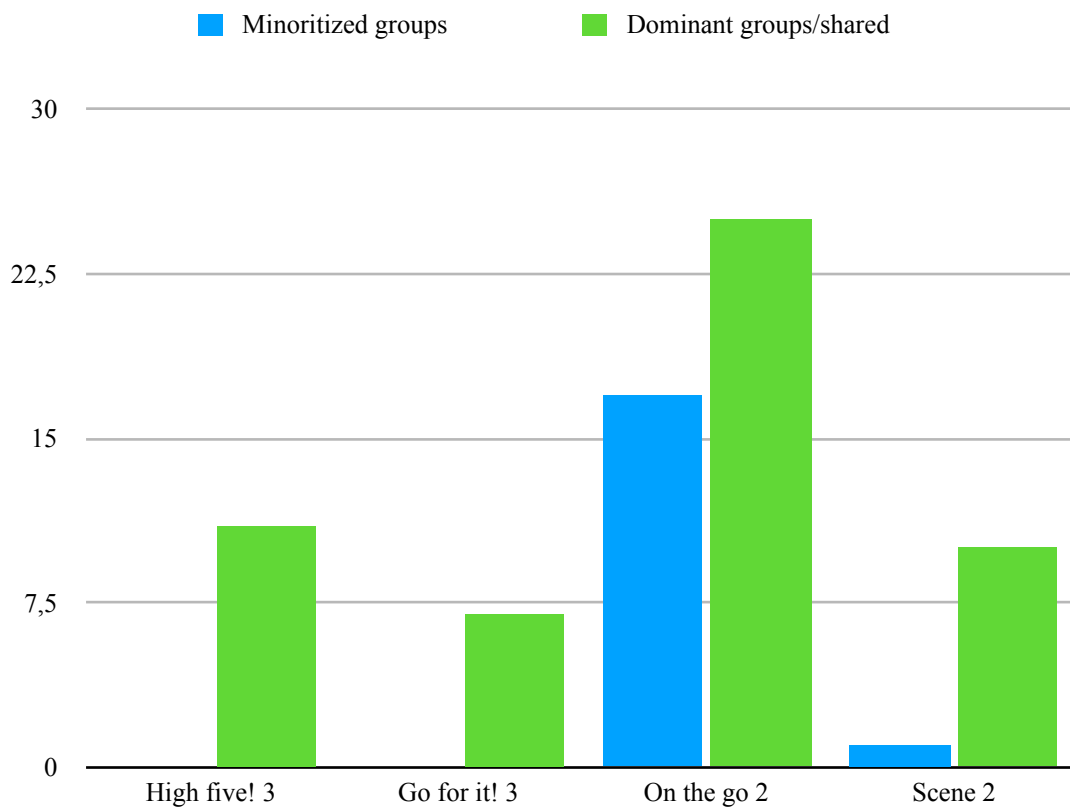

Figure 1. Texts that present minoritized groups' cultures vs. texts that present dominant/ shared culture-related texts

Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate the amount of texts and pictures that I consider to present the culture of minoritized groups cultures or people vs. the amount of texts and pictures that present dominant groups' cultures or people or culture that can be seen as being shared by both groups. As can be seen from figure 1, neither *High five! 3* or *Go for it! 3* contain texts that present the cultures of minoritized groups, whereas the amount of such texts increases in *Scene 2* and *On the go 2* meant for upper comprehensive school. *On the go 2* has a seemingly larger amount of culture-related texts both in terms of minoritized groups and dominant/ shared culture, since *Scene 2* has such as different approach to culture-related issues, which allows the pupils to create the contents. Another factor that explains the lack of culture in texts in *Scene 2* might be that there are plenty of exercises, games, and discussion tasks that take up space from texts.
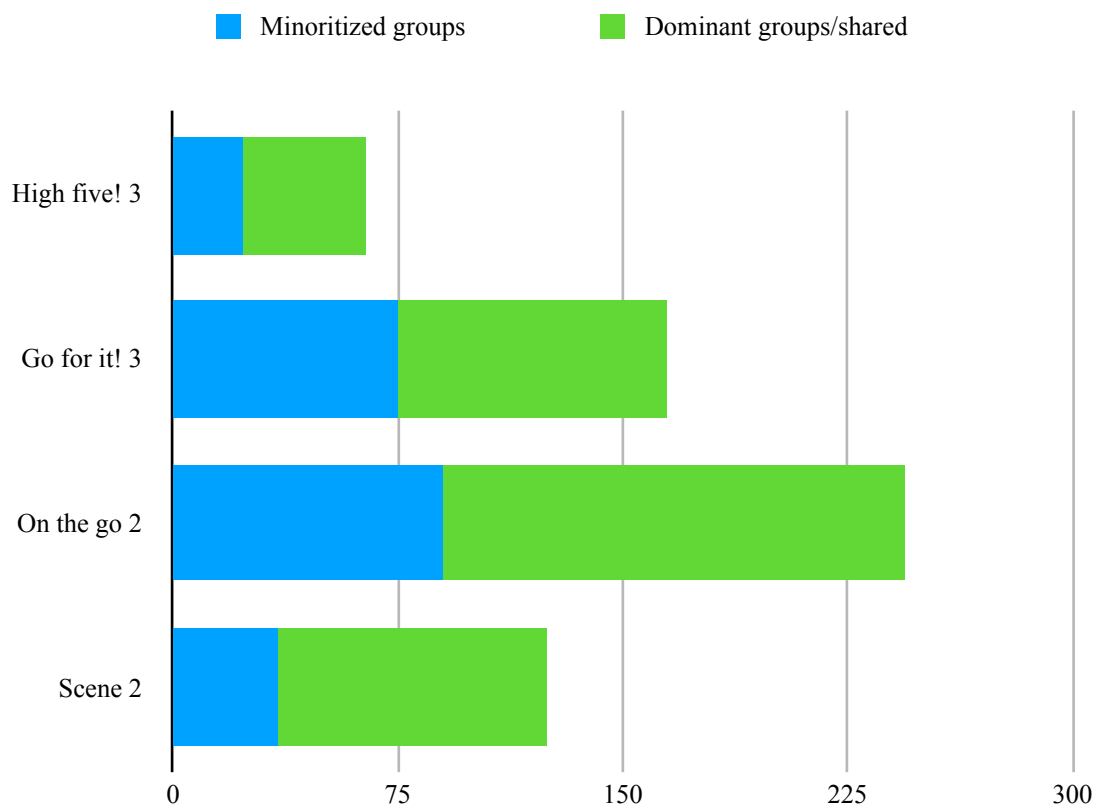

Figure 2. Pictures that present minoritized groups' people or cultures vs. pictures that present dominant/shared people or culture

Figure 2 shows the number of pictures that present minoritized groups' people or culture vs. dominant groups' people or culture. *Go for it! 3* contains more culture-related pictures than

High five! 3. *Go for it! 3* contains even more of them compared to the eighth grade *Scene 2*. *On the go 2* has the largest number of culture-related pictures, probably due to the fact that it is almost entirely constructed around presenting different countries.

4.6 Discussion

The purpose of this research was to study whose culture, specifically in terms of dominant and minoritized groups' cultures, is presented in EFL textbooks. The research questions were: Are minoritized groups' cultures presented in EFL textbooks; and which minoritized groups' cultures are presented, and how? The analysis revealed that both dominant and minoritized groups' cultures are presented in the EFL textbooks that were studied. However, it is the people of dominant groups and their culture, or the culture that is assumed to be shared by all groups, that are in the majority of the textual and pictorial culture presentations. The minoritized groups that were presented were the ones that are the biggest minoritized group in the country that was under examination in each of the books or units/sets/texts. That is to say that in the textbooks for lower comprehensive level, that concentrate solely on Great Britain, the minoritized groups presented were mostly black (*High five! 3*) or black, Indian and Asian (*Go for it! 3*). Of the two EFL textbooks for upper comprehensive level, *On the go 2* presented a rather wide range of ethnic minority groups, since the Aboriginals of Australia, Maoris in New Zealand, and the multiculturalism of Canada were presented and discussed in a rather large degree. *Scene 2* did not provide such a thorough presentation of minoritized groups or their cultures. However, it did provide the pupils an ample amount of options to choose from considering doing research on cultural issues, but minoritized groups were not really a center of attention in this book or its culture sections, although they were presented in some of the pictures of the book.

On the go 2 and *Go for it! 3* seem to have taken presenting minoritized groups and their cultures into account more than the two other textbooks that were studied here. *On the go 2* and *Go for it! 3* presented minoritized groups more in their pictures and presented a wider range of ethnic minority groups. However, all of the textbooks had what Byram and Esarte-Sarries (1991) refer to as implicit exposure to culture in terms of pictures, as there was at

least exposure to people of different ethnicities in the pictures. *On the go 2* has critical points of view in some of the texts where minoritized groups are presented, therefore it seems that the writers of the textbook have had a social justice point of view in mind while authoring it, meaning that issues such as oppression are raised when presenting the Aboriginals of Australia, and there seems to be a critical approach to cultural issues and differences when presenting Maoris. However, what I consider to be crucial in terms of social justice in teaching is that the teacher sees where a critical approach would be needed, and leads towards discussions of racism for instance, even when the textbook does not. For example, the unit about Canada and its multiculturalism in *On the Go 2* does not make any references to discrimination or racism that minoritized groups experience. As was indicated by Gulliver and Thurrell's (2016) study, the presentation of Canada as a multicultural nation is typical in textbooks, but the texts deny the existence of racism and sexism in Canada.

As was discussed in Chapter 2, EFL textbooks have presented cultures as static and stereotypical entities, and that there is a need to move away from such simplified presentations (Canale 2016, Rodríquez 2015, Kramsch 2006). I see this progress happening in the textbooks I studied in such ways that in *Scene 2* culture can mean a lot of things, as the pupils have a freedom of choice in selecting themes and ways of approaching them, and in *On the go 2* minoritized groups have been taken into consideration, while the textbooks for lower comprehensive school present people of different ethnicities only in pictures. As was mentioned in Chapter 2, Tomlinson (2001) has stated that textbooks are becoming more international, and English is presented as a world language in them. This seems to be true in both of the eighth grade textbooks, where English was connected to countries and cultures around the world. In the context of talking about the spread of the English language, *On the go 2* and *Scene 2* also point out that this is partly due to colonialism.

Compared to the findings of the other previous studies that were presented in Chapter 2, there are similarities with for example what Lappalainen (2011) states about the secondary and upper secondary EFL textbooks, as it was stated that ethnic minorities have been concentrated on. The same can be said about especially *On the go 2*, that showed concentration on minoritized groups both in texts and in pictures, and the other textbooks

studied in this paper showed concentration on different ethnicities at least in pictures. Lindström's (2015) study revealed that textbooks lack in critical approach in presenting target cultures, and called for more depth in the presentations, which can be seen in most part of the data of my study as well. Heininen (2018) noticed that the cultural knowledge provided becomes deeper and richer as the learners' language skills improve, which is also noticeable in the four textbooks studied here, and accords with the goals of the National Core Curriculum as well. Järvinen (2017) pointed out that her research results show that the texts often reflect only certain minority groups and issues. This is in accordance with the findings on *Scene 2* and *High five! 3* that do not present the different ethnic groups in great variety, whereas *On the go 2* and *Go for it! 3* present a greater variety of minoritized groups. Altogether, based on the overall findings of the four books studied in this thesis, I can agree with Hentinen (2012) in that there were relatively few texts that deal with multiculturalism and minority cultures and that the presentation of minority cultures vary greatly between different textbook series, or in this case different textbooks.

Overall, the findings of this study met the expectations in the sense that dominant groups and their culture is the one that is presented the most, but minoritized groups and their cultures were taken into consideration as well, and presented more often in pictures than in texts. But equal presentation cannot be talked about. The research process turned out to be demanding at times, since the textbooks had such different structures and manners of approach that defining between pictures and texts was a demanding task and could vary according to different people.

5 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to find out whether minoritized groups' cultures are presented in EFL textbooks, and if so, which minoritized groups' cultures are presented, and how. The research process started with going through the textbooks systematically in order to identify what sort of cultural content the books contain in general, and then separating the kind of cultural content which presented dominant and minoritized groups' cultures. The texts and pictures were counted to be able to compare both between the amount of cultural content that

presents the cultures of dominant groups (or shared/general cultural content) and minoritized groups, and to be able to identify the possible differences in the amount of cultural content of the minoritized vs. dominant groups' cultures between the textbooks and the grades that the textbooks are aimed at. After counting the culture-related texts and pictures, qualitative description and analysis of the material was conducted.

Based on the results of the study, it can be concluded that minoritized groups' culture and people are presented in EFL textbooks, but the extent of it varies according to the school grade in question, and the textbook used. The way of approaching cultural issues varies greatly in the textbooks studied here, which also explains the difference in the scope of presentation.

The EFL textbooks that are used might not have ready-made solutions when it comes to teaching culture, as was the case with *Scene 2*, and therefore teachers ought to bear in mind that it is of relevance *how* textbooks are used, and what the teachers bring into discussion about culture. They have the opportunity to raise issues of social justice into question, and approach culture from a critical point of view, even when the textbook used does not guide the users towards critical approach.

An interesting topic for further research would be to study the teacher's manuals to see whether they guide teachers to critical approach in teaching culture. As *Go for it! 3* has taken different ethnic minority groups into account in the pictures of the textbook, it would be an interesting topic for further research to see how the series *Go for it!* evolves in terms of presenting minoritized groups and their culture in the textbooks that are meant for higher grades. As this study did not focus on doing a comparison between older and newer EFL textbooks, I cannot say whether the presentation of minoritized groups has changed over time, which would also be an interesting topic of further research.

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