AN ANALYSIS OF CULTURE-RELATED IMAGES IN TWO FINNISH EFL TEXTBOOKS FOR GRADES 7-9 OF BASIC EDUCATION

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Vieraiden kielten opetuksessa on ollut viime vuosikymmenten aikana selkeä muutos kohti kommunikatiivisempaa suuntaa, ja kielioppikeskeisyyttä on ruvettu kritisoimaan. Globalisaation, vapaan liikkuvuuden ja kehittyneen teknologian ansiosta ihmiset ovat entistä useammin tekemisissä vieraiden kulttuurien kanssa. Useat tutkijat ovatkin sitä mieltä, että kulttuuri kuuluu olennaisesti kielten opetukseen, ja tuntemus vieraasta kulttuurista edesauttaa kulttuurien välistä viestintää. Suomalaisen koulun näkökulmasta katsottuna tehokkain tapa tutustua vieraaseen kulttuuriin on tekemällä siitä havaintoja koulusta käsin, ja kuvat tarjoavat mahdollisuuksia vieraan kulttuurin ilmiöiden observoimiseen.

Tutkin maisterintutkielmassani kulttuuriin liittyviä kuvia oppikirjasarjoissa *Scene* ja *On the Go*. Tutkimus keskittyi kirjasarjojen tehtäväkirjoihin, sillä ne sisälsivät huomattavasti enemmän kulttuuriin liittyviä kuvia kuin tehtäväkirjat. Tekstikirjojen kaikki kuvat käytiin järjestelmällisesti läpi, ja ne kategorisoitiin käyttämällä Byramin ehdottamaa luokittelua. Alkuperäiseen luokitteluun tehtiin pieniä muutoksia, jotta se sopi paremmin tutkimukseeni.

Tutkimus osoitti, että *On the Go*-kirjasarja sisälsi enemmän kulttuuriin liittyviä kuvia kuin *Scene*. Molemmat oppikirjasarjat olivat kuitenkin lähestyneet kulttuuria samankaltaisesti, ja samat kategoriat painottuivat molemmissa oppikirjoissa. Erityisesti aihealueet kuten urheilu, koulu, luonnonnähtävyydet, kuuluisat rakennukset ja ruoka painottuivat molemmissa oppikirjasarjoissa. *On the Go* sisälsi merkittävästi enemmän historiaan liittyviä kuvia kuin *Scene*, ja *Scene* sisälsi enemmän kuvia symboleista, jotka kuvaavat eri kulttuureja.

Molemmat oppikirjat esittelivät monipuolisesti englanninkielisiä maita, mutta Yhdysvallat ja Yhdistynyt kuningaskunta olivat hieman keskeisemmässä asemassa kuin muut maat. *On the Go* esitteli useita tunnettuja näyttelijöitä, urheilijoita ja muusikkoja eri puolilta maailmaa, kun taas *Scene* keskittyi enemmän yhdysvaltalaisiin ja Yhdistyneestä kuningaskunnasta kotoisin oleviin näyttelijöihin, urheilijoihin ja muusikkoihin. Oli tosin tyypillistä, että kuvat, jotka liittyivät Kanadaan, Etelä-Afrikkaan, Irlantiin, Intiaan, Uuteen-Seelantiin ja Australiaan olivat usein yksipuoleisempia. Esimerkiksi suurin osa Australiaan ja Uuteen-Seelantiin liittyvistä kuvista esittelivät maiden luontoa, ja päivittäistä elämää kuvaavia kuvia oli vähemmän. Toisaalta, yhtään englanninkielistä maata ei esitelty täysin yksipuolisesti.

Tulokset olivat verrattavissa muihin samasta aiheesta tehtyihin tutkimuksiin. Vanhemmissa oppikirjasarjoissa tosin Yhdysvaltojen ja Yhdistyneen kuningaskunnan painottaminen oli selkeämpää, ja muista maista annettiin vain vähän tietoa. Vaikuttaa siltä, että modernit oppikirjat ovat ottaneet muutkin englanninkieliset maat paremmin huomioon, vaikkakin oli tyypillistä, että eri asioita painotetaan kuvissa, jotka käsittelevät eri maita.

Scene-oppikirjasarjan heikkous oli historiaan liittyvien kuvien puute. Vaikkakin historia on monimutkainen ja vaikeasti lähestyttävä aihe kieltenopetuksessa, vieraiden kulttuurien historian ymmärtäminen auttaa ymmärtämään kulttuurien edustajia ja ilmiöitä.

Asiasanat – Keywords Textbook analysis, content analysis, cultural knowledge, visual images

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1 INTRODUCTION

> I didn't learn until I was in college about all the other cultures, and I should have learned that in the first grade. A first grader should understand that his or her culture isn't a rational invention; that there are thousands of other cultures and they all work pretty well; that all cultures function on faith rather than truth; that there are lots of alternatives to our own society. (Vonnegut, 1974: 139).

When thinking of a language as a subject of learning and teaching in a school context, it is traditional to divide it into eight components, as in Palviainen (2011). The components are grammar, vocabulary, reading comprehension, listening comprehension, writing, speaking/verbal communication, pronunciation and culture. These components are strongly linked to each other, for example, reading comprehension builds on grammar and vocabulary, but also on other aspects and skills. In 2009, a survey was conducted among 83 students who studied Swedish at the University of Jyväskylä, and one of the questions was related to students' perception of what they had learned about Swedish in basic education and upper secondary school (Palviainen 2011). Most of the students perceived that they had learned mostly grammar and vocabulary, whereas verbal communication and culture were perceived as the components that they had learned the least about (Palviainen 2011). Dufva, Alanen and Kalaja (2007) made a similar survey for students who studied English as their major at the University of Jyväskylä, and the English students responded that they felt that they had learned mostly about grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation in basic education and upper secondary school. Yet culture is strongly present in contemporary textbooks (Lappalainen 2011, Lamponen 2012), and more importantly, it is explicitly emphasized in The Finnish National Core Curriculum for basic education (The National Board of Education 2016: 348, 349). As Vonnegut (1974: 139) states in the quote above, knowledge about cultures of the world is essential, but as the studies conducted at the University of Jyväskylä show, students tend to report that they have not learned as much about culture as of other aspects of language in basic education and upper secondary school. Therefore, it is important to find out how cultures are presented in the contemporary English textbooks in Finland and how images are utilized in the presentation. This information is needed to find unbalances and develop ways to improve the textbooks.

Studying and teaching languages has a very long history, and culture has been seen as a fundamental part of language. The relation between language and culture is not simple, and some researchers believe that culture is a product of language (Kaikkonen, 1994: 66). According to Segall et al. (1990: 9), cultures could not exist without language. People who spoke the same language formed communities, and these communities formed cultures (Segall et al., 1990: 9). In contrast, Kaikkonen (1994: 67) looks at the issue from a wider perspective and highlights the relation between culture and interaction and communication, instead of focusing on the relation between culture and language. Even though there are various different theories about the birth of language and culture, it is quite safe to say that they are closely related to each other, and the development of modern languages has occurred simultaneously with the development of cultures (Kaikkonen, 1994: 69).

The theories about teaching languages have changed remarkably during the last century, and so has the role and definition of culture. According to Byram (1993: 13), the introduction of Communicative Language Teaching has been one of the most influential changes to the way language is taught and viewed. Instead of focusing on grammar and vocabulary, Communicative Language Teaching emphasizes the importance of successful communication in different socio-cultural contexts. Thus, the aim of learning a language is to understand how people use the language in different situations. Even if one learns the vocabulary and grammar of a foreign language but is not familiar with how the speakers of that language live and view the world, it is possible that the cultural differences cause misunderstandings in communication. Due to globalization, mobility of people and modern technology that enables communication among people, the need for intercultural communication has increased, and schools should provide tools for enhancing knowledge of foreign cultures. Elomaa (2009: 13) states that people with better language proficiency will have greater chances for success in the modern world, and therefore students should also learn about the people and circumstances where the language is used.

The Finnish National Core Curriculum (The National Board of Education 2016: 348, 349) states that one of the tasks of foreign languages as a subject is to support pupils' interest in the cultural diversity of the school community and the surrounding world, and one of the key content areas of English in grades 7-9 is exploring "cultures and ways of life in countries where English is the main language of the society".

Culture is clearly considered as an important part of language teaching, but a lot of freedom is left for teachers and textbook creators on how to approach culture in teaching.

Cultural contents have been studied in language teaching and in English as a foreign language (EFL) textbooks in Finland from various viewpoints. Kim and Paek (2015) studied the dimensions of culture in Korean EFL textbooks, and they also studied which cultures were presented. Lappalainen (2011) studied how the American culture is presented in Finnish EFL textbooks for secondary and upper secondary students, and Lamponen (2012) compared the cultural contents in Swedish and English textbooks for Finnish high school students. As these studies highlight, research on cultural contents in EFL textbooks has mainly focused on textual elements, while the illustration of EFL textbooks and how the cultures are presented in them is still often disregarded. Despite this, Salbego et al. (2015) studied how image analysis can be used in scaffolding language learning, and Hannus (1996) studied how Finnish 10-year-old pupils used the illustration of a textbook in learning using eye-tracking technology. The importance of images in teaching cultural contents cannot be overstated, as students can use images in observing a culture, which otherwise might be impossible. When learning about a foreign culture, images can provide information that could not be delivered in text, for example information about items that are related to a foreign culture, such as clothing, musical instruments and foods.

The purpose of this study is to find out what kind of cultural content is presented in the illustration of two Finnish EFL textbook series (*Scene* and *On the Go)* for grades 7-9. The aim is to find out which aspects of culture are presented in the textbook series, and how balanced the presentation of culture is. The aim is also to find out if the textbook series differ from each other. This information is useful for teachers who already use one of these textbooks, as it shows which aspects are given less emphasis, and need to be presented via other teaching materials. The present study also provides information for teachers who are transitioning to newer textbooks and are choosing between *Scene* and *On the Go*. The method of the present study is theory-based content analysis, and all the images in the textbooks were categorized using a categorization system related to cultural contents developed by Byram et al. (1994: 51-52).

The present study consists of six chapters. In the second chapter, background information about multiliteracy and multimodality in textbooks will be given, and Chapter 3 will deal with textbooks and teaching and learning. In Chapter 4, the data and methodology of the present study are described and explained. In Chapter 5, the textbooks are first looked at from a wider point of view, and the distribution of images in different categories are briefly analyzed. Secondly, *Scene* is analyzed, and the categories are divided into subcategories, and the images in each category are briefly described. Then, the same is done for images in *On the Go*. After that, in 5.4, the textbook series are compared, and the main differences are analyzed. In Chapter 6, the findings and their applications are discussed. Chapter 7 summarizes the present study and gives suggestions on how the information gained from the study can be used by teachers and textbook creators, and what kind of research could still be done related to cultural contents in EFL textbooks.

2 THE USE OF IMAGES IN TEXTBOOKS

2.1 Multiliteracy and multimodality

Older definitions of literacy are not adequate for the type of literacy that is needed in the 21st century. Unsworth (2001: 1) points out that the rapid cultural and technological changes in literate forms of communication have extended the parameters of school literacies and especially images have had a large impact on this. Texts have always been multimodal, but they are becoming increasingly more multimodal, since it is more common to incorporate images in verbal texts (Unsworth 2001: 9). This is apparent in newspapers, but also in the school textbooks, were most of the space is given to images and they support the verbal text in communicating important information about a given topic (Unsworth 2001: 9-10). According to Kress (1997), visual and verbal elements have different roles in carrying information. Images are typically used for carrying information that displays what the world is like and written language is often oriented to the recording and reporting of actions and events (Kress 1997). According to Kress' (1997) statement, images are essential in teaching about foreign culture.

The National Core Curriculum for basic education (2014: 22) acknowledges the importance of multiliteracy, and it is stated that students need multiliteracy in order to interpret the world and understand cultural diversity. The National Core Curriculum for basic education (2014: 22) states that students should be able to understand texts that compose of verbal, visual, auditive, numeric and kinesthetic components. In the context of EFL textbooks, the focus is on verbal, visual and numeric components, but publishers also provide extra materials, such as recordings and videos that can accessed via internet.

In order to analyze and discuss images, meta-language is needed. As there was a lack for this meta-language, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) applied meta-language from systemic functional linguistics to fit into the context of images and Unsworth (2001:71-112) explored how that framework can be used in describing visual meaning-making in school texts. As language, images make three kinds of meanings: ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings (Unsworth 2001:72). When referring to images, the following terms are used in describing the structures that construct meaning: representational, interactive

and compositional structures. Representational structures construct the nature of events, the objects and participants involved, and the circumstances in which they occur, interactive structures construct the relationship among writers/readers and viewers and what is viewed, and compositional structures are concerned with how the information is distributed and what is the emphasis along the elements of the text and image.

Unsworth (2001:73-94) divides the representational structures as follows: visual representation of material, mental and verbal events, images that classify, images that show part/whole relationships, timelines and symbolic images. Categories that are essential for the present study will be discussed briefly below.

The visual representations of events are related to participants involved in action, reaction, thinking and speech processes. Participants can be any humans, animals, mythical creatures, or they can be artificial objects like buildings or furniture or natural phenomena like rivers and trees (Unsworth 2001:73). Participants in images are identified on the basis of their functional role in the image. If there is a participant that performs an action directed to another participant, the participant who performs the action is Actor, and the other participant is Goal. If there are both Actor and Goal in the same image, it is referred to as transactional structure. In some cases, the actions are bi-directional so that both participants have roles of Actor and Goal. It is possible that there is the Actor in the image, but there is no other participant to whom the action is directed, also the image does not have a Goal. This makes the image non-transactional. If an image represents a reaction instead of an action, the participants are called Reactor and Phenomena. In images which include a speech process, the corresponding terms are Sayer and Senser.

Images that classify have the function of organizing participants into certain categories. In the context of teaching culture, a textbook could include an image that organizes different products of culture into certain categories. There are two types of taxonomic images, overt and covert. Overt taxonomic images show the category or superordinate in the image, but in covert taxonomic images it is not shown.

Images that show part/whole relationships are often used in textbooks and they are called analytical images. The participant that represents the whole is referred to as the Carrier and the parts as Possessive Attributes. In the context of teaching culture, there could be an analytic image of an Australian music instrument. If the parts are labelled, the image would be referred to as structured analytical image, and if the parts are not labelled, it would be an unstructured analytical image.

Timelines are concerned with sequences in which events take place over time, and they can show what happens to a certain object through time or they can be used in explaining what happened in a certain place during a certain time period.

Interactive visual resources construct the nature of the relationship between the viewer and what is viewed. Unsworth (2001:94-104) states that interactive meanings should be analyzed from the following perspectives: interaction, social distance, attitude, power, realism, objective images and coding orientation.

When images contain human, human-like or animal participants who look directly at the viewer, the viewer automatically engages interpersonally. Such images as referred as Demands. The nature of the relationship between the viewer and the participant is influenced by other factors, such as facial expression of the participant. If the participant is not looking at the viewer or the participant is not human, human-like or animal, the image is referred to as Offer, and what is shown in the image is offered to the viewer without an interpersonal relationship.

There are two ways to analyze the social distance in images: how close the participants are to each other and how close they are to the viewer. If the participants are close to each other, it can be implied that they are in a close interpersonal relationship. Similarly, if the participant is close to the viewer, there is a small social distance between them.

According to Unsworth (2001: 97-98), the attitude of the image maker and the viewer can be determined from the angle from which the represented participants are portrayed. If the participant is facing the image maker, and therefore the viewer, their frontal planes are aligned, which suggests maximal involvement between the image maker and the viewer, but if there is an oblique angle between them, it can be implied that there is detachment between the participant and the image maker and also the viewer.

2.2 Illustration in textbooks

The words *image* and *illustration* appear often in the present study, and *image* is used when referring to individual images, such as photographs, drawings and graphs. *Illustration* is used when referring to images within a textbook as a whole. Textbooks consist of text and images and there is a long tradition of an illustrated textbook (Hannus 1996). Hannus (1996:6) questions the role of images in textbooks, as it is more expensive to print colored images than text, and it is not clear if students can use the images in their learning. As the printing technology has improved and become more inexpensive, teachers and publishers probably do not think about the economical side as much as earlier. It still is important to evaluate the images used in textbooks and what functions they have. Unsworth (2001: 1) points out that the rapid cultural and technological changes in literate forms of communication have extended the parameters of school literacies and especially images have had a large impact on this.

As printing colorful images is less expensive currently, it should be considered if the number of images replaces the quality of images from a pedagogical point of view. Decorative images make teaching materials appealing, but if the main function of the illustration is to be decorative and the selection of images is not as considered, students cannot use images in their learning as effectively and learning might become more dependent on the textual elements of a textbook.

Hannus (1996: 138) criticizes the function of visual images in learning, and according to his studies the use of visual images enhances learning only in situations where the image, textual content and the activity are closely linked to each other. As Seeley (1994: 33) demonstrates, visual images can be used in teaching culture in various ways, so it would be logical for textbook authors to try to construct units where the textual elements, visual images and activities are clearly related to each other.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 16), in technical and scientific subjects, such as Information Technology and Geography, images are the main means of representing curricular information, whereas in more humanistic subjects, such as History and English, images tend to function as illustrative, decorative and informational. Barthes (1967) argued that images are always related to and dependent on verbal text. Without the verbal text, images are too open to variety of possible meanings (Barthes 1967), and thus images that are used in textbooks should be related to the verbal text or accompanied by captions describing the image.

Guo (2004) presents a framework for researching multimodality in a biology textbook. Even though studying biology differs greatly from studying culture, they both use observation as an approach. Visual images enable observation of phenomena that would not otherwise be accessible in a classroom setting. For example, photographs can depict people having a meal, and students can observe various phenomena from them, such as what and how they eat and what kind of clothes they wear. Guo (2004) points out that biology textbooks have always been multimodal, because natural language cannot communicate all the necessary aspects of biology. The same applies to teaching culture, as it is nearly impossible to describe some aspects of a foreign culture with natural language that is comprehensible to the reader. For example, a student who has studied a foreign language for two years might not understand all details of a text that describes the appearance of a cricket bat, but an image of a cricket bat could give all the necessary information that is needed.

Myers (1990: 233-249) identifies five categories of visual displays in a sociobiology text, which are photographs, drawings, maps, graphs/models/tables and imaginary figures. Out of these categories, photographs have the highest modality and authenticity, which makes them suitable for teaching culture, but other categories should not be devalued, as they can be used to transmit such information about culture that could not be done through photographs. For example, graphs are very useful in displaying a lot of information without using a lot of space, and they can be used to show general information about population within a certain area.

2.3 Images and culture

It should be considered what kind of information should be taught using images. Sometimes images do not add a lot meaning when teaching language, for example when teaching grammar, although other visual aspects can be used to support the learning. When it comes to teaching about culture, images can sometimes be crucial, since students might study something that they have never seen or experienced before. For example, images of foods, musical instruments, buildings and places provide more information than a text describing them.

Seeley (1994: 33) presents six instructional goals, which are labelled as 'interest', 'who', 'what', 'where and when', 'why' and 'exploration' and gives an example of how they can be used on pictures from foreign language magazines. Each image can be used in multiple ways to teach culture, if the right questions are asked. However, some images might be useful in working toward only some of the goals presented by Seeley (1004: 33). For example, if the image is a close-up photograph of food and the background is unclear, students might only be able to study what is clearly visible in the image. If an image depicts people eating a dinner at home, one might ask questions about what they are eating, who is eating, at what time they are eating, what they are wearing etc. Thus, it is important to select images that enable versatile observation of a phenomenon.

Seeley (1994: 99-100) points out that one way for students to experience the cultural connotations of common words is by observing the target culture and how these words occur in it. In situations where students do not have direct access to the target culture, the graphics of magazines, newspapers and movies can be used (Seeley 1994: 100). Even though language textbooks are not mentioned here, there should be no reason why textbooks could not include images that can be used in a similar way. According to Seeley (1994: 143), even students with little or no fluency in the target language can draw generalizations of the target culture from small pieces of authentic information contained in foreign language newspapers. In such cases, images are important tools for transmitting information. Thus, from the point of view of scaffolding, images play a crucial role, and especially students with less fluency in the target language benefit from the use of images.

2.4 Previous studies about textbook illustration

Two studies and their findings will be discussed in this section. They were conducted by Salbego et al. (2015) and Hannus (1996).

Salbego et al. (2015) studied multimodality and how image analysis can be used in scaffolding language learning. They used Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) visual grammar as a ground for their image analysis. They found that analyzing images can help students in understanding the texts and the images support language-related tasks in the textbooks. Salbego et al. (2015) suggest that students will be more successful in language-related tasks, if they know how to analyze images. For example, they pointed out that photographs of people as participants can give a lot of information to students. They used a photograph of a woman as an example. She was wearing a suit and talking on a mobile phone. Salbego et al. (2015) stated that if students can interpret on the basis of the attributes of the participant that she is more likely to be a businesswoman than a tourist, it may help them in understanding the content presented in verbal texts. This could also be applied to culture-related tasks, and if the students are aware of the cultural content in the images and how to analyze them, they can use the information in developing their own cultural competence. Therefore, it is important that the textbooks contain enough images that are related to culture.

Hannus (1996) used eye-tracking testing to find out how 10-year-old students process material that consists of verbal text and images. The students studied a material package, and after that it was tested how much they had learned. Eye-tracking testing showed how much time students used on processing the images and texts. Hannus (1996) found that students spent 94 % of the time on processing texts, and only 6 % of the time was used to process images. He also found out that the students did not utilize the images in their reading, and instead they focused solely on the texts. Hannus (1996) states that the illustration of textbooks does not contribute to learning, because students do not use enough time to study the images. Hannus (1996) suggests that textbooks should contain less images, since the function of them seems to be decorative, and they rarely assist the understanding of contents. However, if Hannus' (1996) findings are compared to findings of Salbego et al. (2015), the importance of teaching students to interpret images becomes even more crucial. If the students are not instructed and guided to analyze images, they will most likely not pay attention to them.

3. TEXTBOOKS AND CULTURE IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND LEARNING

3.1 Textbook in teaching and learning

Textbook is the most central learning tool in the Finnish school system (Hannus 1996:13). Creating textbooks has two goals: create educational materials for schools and make financial profit for the publishers. Therefore, it is not a purely pedagogical product, and from the publishers' point of view a textbook is successful when it creates profit (Hannus 1996:13). From school's point of view, a good textbook can be used practically in teaching, is durable and reasonably priced (Hannus 1996:14). Thus, textbook is always a compromise of many factors.

In a school setting, there are two main user groups of textbooks: teachers who use them in teaching and students who use them in learning. Pingel (2010) points out that usually adults design the books and decide which books are used, but in order for learning to happen, the textbook must be suitable for students. The suitability depends on the age of the learners and the goals of what they are supposed to learn at a certain grade.

Teaching in Finland is strongly guided by textbooks and teachers trust textbooks (Luukka et al. 2008: 64). Textbooks are even often viewed as "hidden curricula", since teachers tend to adjust their teaching according to what is presented in the textbooks, without consulting the national curricula (Luukka et al. 2008: 64). As new curricula are released, publishers renew their textbooks so that they are in agreement with the new curriculum, which makes the marketing of the new textbooks easier (Luukka et al. 2008: 64). Luukka et al. (2008: 64) state that textbooks impact greatly the contents of teaching. As everything cannot be included in a textbook, textbook creators must decide which contents are included and which are left out, and thus some contents are given more value than others. For example, the teaching of English in Finland covers different topics, such as health and well-being, free time, food etc., and the chapters of textbooks typically focus on one topic at a time. If the chapter about food focuses on American culture, students might not get a chance to learn about habits and customs related to food in other English-speaking cultures. According to Derwing & Munro (2005), teachers without proper training tend to rely heavily on textbooks, which might lead to students missing an opportunity to learn

about something essential, which happens to be left out from the textbook. Tergujeff (2013: 53) pointed out that contents and exercise types that were not present in the EFL textbooks were also often absent in teaching, and thus trusting and following textbooks without evaluating their contents can lead to neglecting important areas of teaching.

3.2 Teaching culture

The definition of culture is problematic, as there are so many ways to define it. Originally, anthropologists tried to define culture, as it was the main component of their science (Seeley 1994: 15). Kroeber and Kluchhohn (1954) examined approximately 300 definitions in *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, but they were not able to find a precise common denominator, as every researcher had their own definition of culture. Seeley (1994: 15) states that previously culture in language teaching has been approached from a limited point of view, which focuses more on high culture, in which fine arts, science, history and geography were in a central role. Integrating these aspects to teaching was probably also practical, as it is not too difficult to find information about these aspects from literature and maps. As culture was integrated into language classes, many language teachers were slow to accept the wider definitions of culture that go beyond high culture (Seeley 1994: 15). Many important aspects were ignored, such as descriptions of typical ways of life in different countries. Seeley (1994: 15-16) criticizes the narrow view of culture, as it does not prepare a student to fully understand the behavior of people. Seeley (1994: 22) states that from the point of view of intercultural communication it does not matter how culture is defined, as long as the definition is broad. According to Seeley (1994: 8), "culture includes anything that people have learned to do". Therefore, as the definition of the word "culture" is so open, it is difficult to determine what is and what is not culture.

In 1988, in a conference held at the Georg Eckert Institute in Braunschweig, Germany, representatives from African countries pointed out that English and French language textbooks have the main role in shaping the image their students have of Europe in general and of France and the United Kingdom especially. Even though the main purpose of foreign language textbooks is to "enable the students to use the language correctly" (Pingel 2010: 76), they contain a lot of information about the relevant country or countries and modern curricula recognize the importance of cultural knowledge and awareness as a crucial aspect in developing intercultural competence. Therefore, textbook authors have an important

role in constructing textbooks that avoid one-sided and biased views of foreign cultures and the Braunschweig conference recommended that particular attention should be paid to the cultural information in foreign language textbooks (Pingel 2010:76).

Pingel (2010: 77) points out that there is a risk of stereotyping, because the contents are often simplified, especially in the beginning of language studies. The risk of stereotyping is bigger if only simple, typical situations and touristic views of the countries are presented. Pingel (2010: 77) elaborates that authors often try to introduce contrastive situations as early as possible to avoid giving a biased view. In contrastive situations, everyday situations are compared in the foreign and the native country. Sometimes the comparison may happen also between different cultures of the target culture.

Students need knowledge of culture for effective intercultural communication, and if a language is learned in isolation of its cultural roots, it is difficult to become socialized into its contextual use (Seeley 1994:10). This is problematic in the context of teaching and learning EFL in Finland, as there are so many countries where English is spoken, and English is often used in contexts where participants speak English as their L2. The Finnish National Core Curriculum takes the role of English as a global lingua franca into consideration, but it is stated that students should study cultures of countries where English is the main language of the society (POPS 2014).

Seeley (1994: Preface) points out that one cannot isolate a manageable stack of facts that will increase one's ability to communicate across cultures. Instead of teaching key facts, Seeley (1994: Preface) suggests that key skills should be taught. Using and developing these key skills lead to better awareness of foreign cultures and will lead to improved quality of intercultural communication (Seeley 1994: 30). According to Seeley (1994: 30-31), the key skills can be developed by working toward six instructional goals, which are:

> **Goal 1** – *Interest:* the student shows curiosity about another culture (or another segment or subculture of one's own culture) and empathy toward its members.

> **Goal 2** – *Who:* The student recognizes that role expectations and other social variables such as age, sex, social class, religion, ethnicity, and place of residence affect the way people speak and behave.

Goal 3 – *What:* The student realizes that effective communication requires discovering the culturally conditioned images that are evoked in the minds of people when they think, act, and react to the world around them.

Goal 4 – *Where and When:* The student recognizes that situational variables and convention shape behavior in important ways.

Goal 5 – *Why* – The student understands that people generally act the way they do because they are using options their society allows for satisfying basic physical and psychological needs, and that cultural patterns are interrelated and tend mutually to support need satisfaction.

Goal 6 – *Exploration*: The student can evaluate a generalization about the target culture in terms of the amount of evidence substantiating it, and has the skills needed to locate and organize information about the target culture from the library, the mass media, people, and personal observation. (Seeley (1994: 31)

Seeley (1994: 33) gives concrete examples how these could be applied to teaching units about food or cities and points out that these goals give reason for teachers to use any images or artifacts of foreign culture in teaching about it. There are multiple questions that could be used when teaching these units, and many of those could be supported with images. For example, the question "How would a typical middle-class dinner differ from a working-class dinner?" works toward Goal 2 and could be supported by two photographs of food or people having dinner, and it would provoke thoughts about social stratification in a certain country. The question "What do different foods look like in the target culture?" works toward Goal 3, and after showing photographs the teacher could tell about idioms where the food appears or about occasions where one would eat such food.

According to Seeley (1994: 16–18), some professors claim that literature is the best tool for teaching about the life of the people, but the literature must be suitable and reflect reality. Some researchers think that students need knowledge of the culture before they can appropriately interpret and analyze literature (Seeley 1994: 17). Excerpts of literature are often seen in Finnish EFL textbooks, but especially for beginners, the language used is too complex, and the processing of the text takes a lot of effort, and less attention is given to the cultural side.

3.3 Categories for cultural content

There are many theories for categorizing cultural content, and they typically build on the definition of culture. For example, Keller (1983, cited in Kaikkonen 1994: 81) views culture as an entirety that consists of ten smaller categories that are in a relationship with each other. According to Keller (Ibid.), the categories are *customs, language, values, literature and arts, social structures, politics, economics, science and technology, geography* and *history*. In comparison, Rissager (1991) used four categories in analyzing cultural content in Scandinavian basic education level language textbooks. The first category was *the micro level* which contained phenomena that described the life and the world around the characters of the textbook and their feelings, attitudes and values. The second category was *the macro level* which dealt with political, social and historical matters and problems. The third category was *international and intercultural issues* which dealt with stereotypes of a culture, relationships between countries and possible conflicts. The fourth category was *point of view and the style of the author(s)* which focused on aspects that may influence the way a culture is viewed. As a third example, Takala (1991: 202-204) presented a list of 18 categories for making observations of American culture. To name a few, these categories included *family structure, youth culture, religion, politics* and *sports*. Even though the list of 18 categories sounds quite inclusive, Elomaa (2009: 164) added three categories to Takala's (1991: 202-204) list, which were *housing/living, food* and *media/TV*. Even though the number of categories differ greatly, they all seem to cover similar aspects of culture. For example, Keller's (1983, in Kaikkonen 1994: 81) categories could easily be used as subcategories in Rissager's (1991) categories.

Two theories will be presented here in more detail, since they are often used in textbook analyses. First, the categorization proposed by Byram et al. (1994: 51-52) will be presented, and then Moran's (2001) list of dimensions will be introduced, and finally they will be compared to each other.

Byram et al. (1994: 51-52) proposed nine categories for the minimum content of cultural learning. Below is the list of areas of study and descriptions of what is included in each area.

> *social identity and social groups*: groups within the nation-state which are the basis for other than national identity, including social class, regional identity, ethnic minority, professional identity, and which illustrate the complexity of individuals' social identities and of a national society (NB the issue of national identity is dealt with under 'stereotypes');

social interaction: conventions of verbal and nonverbal behaviour in social interaction at differing levels of familiarity, as outsider and insider within social groups;

belief and behaviour: routine and taken-for-granted actions within a social group—national or subnational—and the moral and religious beliefs which are embodied within them; secondly, routines of behaviour taken from daily life which are not seen as significant markers of the identity of the group;

sociopolitical institutions: institutions of the state—and the values and meanings they embody—which characterise the state and its citizens and which constitute a framework for ordinary, routine life within the national and subnational groups; provision for healthcare, for law and order, for social security, for local government, etc.;

socialisation and the lifecycle: institutions of socialisation—families, schools, employment, religion, military service—and the ceremonies which mark passage through stages of social life; representation of divergent practices in different social groups as well as national auto-stereotypes of expectations and shared interpretations;

national history: periods and events, historical and contemporary, which are significant in the constitution of the nation and its identity—both actually significant and, not necessarily identical, perceived as such by its members;

national geography: geographical factors within the national boundaries which are significant in members' perceptions of their country; other factors which are information (known but not significant to members) essential to outsiders in intercultural communication (NB national boundaries, and changes in them, are part of 'national history');

national cultural heritage: cultural artefacts perceived to be emblems and embodiments of national culture from past and present; in particular those which are 'known' to members of the nation—e.g. Shakespeare in Britain, the Impressionists in France, Wagner in Germany—through their inclusion in curricula of formal education; and also contemporary classics, not all of which have reached the school curriculum and some of which may be transient but significant, created by television and other media—e.g. Truffaut's films in France, Agatha Christie in Britain, Biermann's songs in Germany;

stereotypes and national identity: for example, German and English notions of what is 'typically' German and English national identity; the origins of these notions—historical and contemporary—and comparisons among them; symbols of national identities and stereotypes and their meanings, e.g. famous monuments and people.

This list was originally used as a check-list for the evaluation of cultural contents in German courses in Britain at lower secondary level (Byram et al. 1994: 53). A balanced language course would include content from each category, but it should be ensured that the materials are suitable for language courses. For example, geographical knowledge should be selected on the basis of what the members of a certain culture regard as important in the geography of their country, and not from a perspective of a geographer (Byram et al. 1994: 52).

Moran (2001: 24) suggested that there are five dimensions of culture and defined culture as "the evolving way of life of a group of persons, consisting of a shared set of practices associated with a shared set of

products, based upon a shared set of practices on the world, and set within specific social contexts". The five dimensions are:

1. Products (artifacts, places, institutions and art forms)

2. Practices (operations, acts, scenarios and lives)

3. Perspectives

4. Communities

5. Persons

Moran's (2001) list has four categories less than the check-list proposed by Byram et al. (1994), which suggests that the categories have more subcategories. If the categories are compared, some similarities can be found. For example, the following categories proposed by Byram et al. (1994) could be placed under Moran's (2001) category "Products": "Socio-political institutions", "Socialization and the life-cycle" and "National cultural heritage", whereas "Belief and behavior" could be placed under "Perspectives". It is more difficult to apply categories such as "National history" and "National geography" to Moran's (2001) list of dimensions. In Moran's (2001) list of dimensions, there is a separate category for 'Persons'. In the list proposed by Byram et al. (1994:51-52), persons are mentioned in 'National cultural heritage' and 'Stereotypes and national identity'. As culture is such a complex term, a more detailed way to categorize it could be beneficial, as a system with only few categories leads to wider generalizations and the analysis of the cultural content becomes more challenging.

3.4 The National Core Curriculum and culture

The National Core Curriculum is the most important document from the point of view of designing education in Finland (Luukka et al. 2008: 53). It defines the values and goals of education as a whole, as well as the goals, contents and assessment of each subject. The National Core Curriculum is not only used by teachers, but also by textbook writers. As Hannus (1996: 14) mentioned, a good textbook can be used practically in teaching, and therefore it is essential that textbook writers create textbooks that have similar goals and contents as the curriculum.

The most recent National Core Curriculum (POPS 2014) has ten goals for teaching English that should be achieved during grades 7-9. Especially goals 1, 2 and 8 are central from the point of view of the present study. Goal 1 is to support students' ability to consider phenomena and values that are related to the status and variants of English and to provide readiness for development of intercultural capability. Goal 2 is to encourage students to look for interesting contents and operational environments in English that widen their view of the globalizing world and of the possibilities that it provides. Goal 8 is to help students to recognize cultural features of communication and to support their intercultural communication. The criteria for contents in POPS 2014 are vague, for example it is mentioned that students should study culture and life in some countries where English is the most central language of the society (POPS 2014: 349). POPS 2014 does not specify which aspects of culture should be studied or if some aspects should be given more emphasis, and it is not explicitly specified which countries should be studied. As the National Core Curriculum is so vague in describing the cultural knowledge that should be learned, a lot of freedom is left for teachers and textbook creators to choose which themes to emphasize and what to leave out. As mentioned in Section 2.1, Finnish teachers tend to trust and follow textbooks (Luukka et al. 2008: 64), and therefore it is crucial that textbooks cover cultural contents from various points of view.

3.5 Previous studies about cultural content in foreign language textbooks

Cultural contents of foreign language textbooks have been studied from different perspectives. Kim and Paek (2015) studied how culture-related content in five English textbooks for second year middle school students in Korea supported the interplay among the five cultural dimensions (products, practices, perspectives, communities and persons). They found out that there were imbalances in the representation of cultural dimensions. Out of the five dimensions, 'Products" was the most common, and only 4% of the total content was related to 'Communities' and 'Persons'. They also found out that the textbooks did not have a lot of material that would have prepared students for intercultural communication.

A lot of research has been done on cultural content in foreign language textbooks in Finland. For example, Lappalainen (2011) studied how the American culture is presented in Finnish EFL textbooks, Lamponen (2012) compared the differences of cultural contents in English and Swedish textbooks and Pohjanen (2007) studied how target cultures are presented in two Finnish EFL textbook series. They all

focused on texts and topics presented in the books and paid little attention to the images and considered them as having less importance. Still, images have greater roles in modern texts (Unsworth 2001: 1) and they are an important tool in teaching about culture (Seeley 1994).

Pohjanen (2007:37) pointed out that there was a clear absence of information about how an American family lives. She stated that the only time the analyzed textbook showed anything related to that issue, it was in the form of a picture where a Texan family stands in front of their home and all their belongings are laid out on the front lawn. Pohjanen (2007) used the categorization by Byram et al. (1994: 51-52) in the analysis of cultural content in textbooks for upper elementary school students, and she found out that different textbooks had emphasized different aspects. The series that she had analyzed were *The News Headlines* and *Key English*. According to Pohjanen (2007), *The News Headlines* included a lot of statistical facts about English-speaking countries, and she stated that the chapters in *Key English* that dealt with other English-speaking countries than the United Kingdom and the United States resembled travel brochures, and the cultural contents were approached from a touristic point of view. She also pointed out that the textbooks did not contain any good maps about the countries that were presented.

Lappalainen (2011) evaluated the culture content that was related to the United States using criteria that she had created based on the criteria by Byram et al. (1994: 51-52) and Rissager (1991: 182-183). She found out that famous monuments and people were emphasized, and less attention was given to daily life. She also found out that older textbooks included more stereotypes and included criticism towards American culture. For example, *In Touch 2* criticized the differences in the standard of living in the United States, racism and eating habits (Lappalainen 2011).

Lamponen (2012) studied cultural contents in *Open Road* and *Galleri*. *Open Road* is an EFL textbook for Finnish upper secondary school students and *Galleri* is a Swedish textbook for Finnish upper secondary school students. In the analysis she used a modified version of the categorizations by Byram et al. (1994: 51-52) and Karjala (2003). She found out that *Open Road* had emphasized education, arts and sports, and less emphasis was given to view of life in different cultures. She also pointed out that there was a clear emphasis on the United Kingdom and the United States, while the cultures of India, South Africa and Canada were not presented as well.

4 PRESENT STUDY

4.1 Research questions

The aim of the present study is to find out how images are used in teaching culture-related content in contemporary Finnish EFL-textbooks. The material is approached through the criteria set by Byram et al. (1994: 51-52) in order to find out whether images chosen to be used in the Finnish EFL-textbooks follow the principles of intercultural learning and teaching.

The research questions are as follows:

1. How is cultural content represented in *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3* through illustration and how wide and balanced is the representation of culture?

2. What are the similarities and differences in the illustrations of *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3* from cultural contents' point of view?

In order to answer RQ1, a theory-based content analysis was done on the material and all the images in the textbooks were analyzed. Images that are culture-related were categorized using the categories proposed by Byram et al. (1994: 51-52). I chose to use this framework, because it had been used in similar studies successfully, and it seemed applicable for the present study. The total number of images was counted in order to find out the proportion of culture-related images in the textbooks. Visual grammar (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) and its terminology was used in making notes of the images.

In order to answer RQ2, the results were compared to each other and similarities in order to identify differences. The results will be beneficial to teachers, as they will show, what is emphasized or left out in a certain textbook, and that information can be used by teachers in creating their own materials in order to present students a more versatile view of culture.

Content analysis can be used in a wide field of research, and it has several functions. Berelson (1952, in Krippendorff 2019: 52) lists 17 uses, and one of them is "to reveal the focus of attention". This is the

main use in the present study, which aims to show and describe how cultural content is represented in Finnish EFL-textbooks through illustration and how wide and balanced the representation of culture is.

4.2 Data

In the present study, two Finnish EFL-textbook series for grades 7-9 were analyzed. The textbook series were selected from two different publishers. *Scene 1-3* is published by Otava. Each textbook is divided into six "Sets", and each "Set" consists of the following sections: "Kick-Start", "Text", "More Than Words", "In Action", "Get This!", "FlexiText" and "Culture". In the end of each textbook there are the following sections: "Extra Reading", "Got It?" and "Alphabetical vocabulary". "More than Words" sections are vocabulary lists, "In Action" sections are dialogues and "Get This!" and "Got it?" sections are related to teaching grammar. In the foreword, the textbook authors state that "FlexiTexts" are texts that can be studied independently or in groups. They also state that in "Culture" sections students get to choose a point of view and way of studying culture that is interesting to them. Even though there are sections dedicated to culture, images that contained culture-related contents appeared in all sections. The titles of the "Culture" sections in *Scene 1* are "The USA", "The United Kingdom", "Australia", "The Caribbean", "Multiculturism" and "Canada". In *Scene 2* they are "Home Away From Home", "English Around the World", "The United States of America", "The European Union", "Africa" and "The United Kingdom and Ireland", and in *Scene 3* they are "India", "The USA and the UK", "Travelling", "New Zealand and Australia", "Studying the English-Speaking World" and "Got it?"

On the Go 1-3 is published by SanomaPro, and the textbooks were divided into "Units" that consisted of sections labelled as "Start", "Study", "Know", "Talk" and "Your choice". There is no separate section for culture, but almost all of the "Your choice" texts are related to culture. For example, there are chapters about the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, India, Canada, South Africa and Ireland and they are titled as "Let's go USA", "Let's go UK" etc.

Both textbook series contained also an exercise book that supplemented the textbook. The exercise books contained a very small number of culture-related images, and thus they were only browsed, but the images were not recorded nor analyzed.

In the data collection every textbook was examined thoroughly, and all the images were counted and analyzed. Images that function only as instructive (such as an image of headphones in the beginning of a listening comprehension test), were excluded in the analysis. Images were categorized using the categorization by Byram et al. (1994: 51-52). The original checklist by Byram et al. (1994: 51-52) was slightly modified in order to fit better into this study. Since sports are not mentioned in the original checklist, the title of the category 'National cultural heritage' was changed into 'Arts and sports'. The only change that was made into the content of the category was that sports were added into it. Additionally, 'Other culture-related' was added to the list, and all images that were related to culture, but did not fit into any of the existing categories, were put to this category. Notes were also written about each image. The function of the notes was to enable the finding of patterns and making subcategories, and to ease the discussion and comparison of images. I wrote a small description of each image in the notes, which included at least the type of image (photograph, drawing, cartoon etc.) and what and who appeared in the image. Those images that were not culture-related, were categorized as "Not culture-related".

After the images had been divided into categories and subcategories, the number of images in each category were counted and the numbers were compared to each other. The aim of this this phase was to show if there were any major differences in how culture-related images were selected for different textbook series and if there was a clear focus on some aspects of culture.

In order to answer RQ2, I looked more closely at what appeared in the culture-related images and how they were different in *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3*. The aim was to look for similarities and differences, and to find out if both textbook series had emphasized similar aspects of culture.

4.3 Methods of analysis

Theory-based content analysis was used in this study. Originally, content analysis was mostly quantitative, and it typically focused on counting how often certain words were used in newspapers (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2018). Around 60 years ago, researchers started to consider their approaches to

content analysis more qualitative than quantitative (Krippendorff 2019: 21). Krippendorff (2019: 21) states that the distinction between qualitative and quantitative content analysis is not useful, and he also points out that all reading of texts is qualitative, even when certain characteristics of the text are later converted into numbers. For example, in the present study, frequency analysis was done on the images to show the proportions between different categories, but more descriptive analysis of the images was also done.

There are multiple ways to approach content analysis, and different researchers have used slightly different terms of them. Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2018: 96-97) refer to the approaches as *data-based, theoretically directed* and *theory-based* approaches. In data-based content analysis, the data is in the main role and the theoretical schema is based on it. Theoretically directed content analysis is done with the help of an existing theory, but it is often adapted, and additional categories might be used in the analysis. Additional categories can also be used in theory-based content analysis, but it is typical for that approach that the already existing theory is in a more important role than in the theoretically directed approach.

In comparison, Krippendorff (2019: 384) uses the following terms: *text-driven content analysis*, *problem-driven content analysis* and *method-driven content analysis*. Krippendorff (2019: 384) describes the text-driven approach as a "fishing expedition". The analysis starts with the analyst becoming involved with the texts available, and the research questions emerge from the texts. In other words, the analyst starts reading the texts, and then decides which aspects of the texts are interesting to study. In problem-driven content analysis, analysts are interested in certain phenomena and create their research questions and then proceed to find ways to collect data that will answer the questions. In method-driven content analysis, analysts want to apply known analytical procedures to areas that are not yet explored through content analysis or might have been analyzed from a different angle.

There are some differences in how Krippendorff (2019: 384) and Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2019: 96-97) describe the approaches to content analysis. Tuomi and Sarajärvi's (2019: 96-97) list of approaches describe how the analysis is done, whereas Krippendorff's (2019: 384) list describes how the texts are approached. This study could be described as a problem-driven and theory-based content analysis, as the material is approached with a certain phenomenon (the use of images in teaching of culture-related

content) in focus, but an already existing theoretical framework by Byram et al. (1994: 51:52) is used in categorizing the data. There are also some characteristics of method-driven content analysis, since the criteria by Byram et al. (1994: 51-52) are used, but they were originally developed as a checklist to ensure that a German course in Britain included the minimum content areas of culture. Therefore, the criteria are applied to a context that they were not originally developed for, but they still provide a versatile tool for studying how images are used in teaching culture-related content. If this study were purely method-driven, it would be more restricted to evaluating and describing the cultural content in the textbooks. Bell (2004) uses the term *visual content analysis*, which focuses on visual aspects of certain texts. The aim of visual content analysis and also the present study is not to analyze individual images in detail, but instead, the focus is on providing a description of how and what type of images are used in a certain context or setting (Bell 2004).

Even though the main method of analysis is content analysis, it should be noted that it is also a textbook analysis. Already in the 1920s, the League of Nations pointed out the importance of comparative textbook analysis, especially in the context of history textbooks (Nicholls 2003). After World War 2, UNESCO continued developing textbook analysis. The focus was first on bilateral projects, often between former "enemies", but by the 1970s, a more global approach became more common. The purpose of these projects was to improve history textbooks in Europe and to assist textbook authors to avoid bias and prejudice in their writing (Nicholls 2003). Even though the nature of textbook analysis has changed, textbook analysis is still important in the development of textbooks. The main aim of the present study is also to find out how textbooks could be developed from the point of view of teaching about cultures.

5 ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I will present an analysis of the images in textbook series *Scene* and *On the Go* from the point of view of cultural content by placing all the images under 11 categories presented in the previous chapter and briefly describing the images in each category. First, the number of images in each category will be presented and discussed. Then, *Scene* will be analyzed, and using the same categorization, *On the Go* will be analyzed. After the analysis and description of textbook series, the textbook series will be compared to each other.

5.1. Images in *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3*

As Tables 1. and 2. show, when the categories are put to size order according to the number of images in each category, the same seven categories are the largest in both textbook series, but the order is slightly different. In both textbooks 'Not culture-related' was the biggest category, and this category was clearly larger in *Scene* than in *On the Go*. This can be explained by the abundant use of drawings in *Scene*, and the fact that often images were mainly decorative. It was also sometimes unclear where the photographs were taken, so it would be challenging to use them in teaching and learning culture. So even though *Scene 1-3* had a larger number of images in total than *On the Go 1-3,* it had less culture-related images (406 culture-related images in *Scene 1-3* vs. 466 in *On the Go 1-3*). There were 691 images in *Scene 1-3* and 634 images in total in *On the Go 1-3*, but many images were categorized to more than one category. It was typical that there were images that depicted multiple aspects of culture simultaneously. For example, a photograph of a man hiking at Franz Josef Glacier was categorized as 'National geography' and 'Arts and sports'. Thus, Tables 1. and 2. show that there were 769 references to categories within images in *Scene 1-3* and 818 in *On the Go 1-3*. The percentages were counted based on how many references there were to categories in total, not based on how many images there were in total.

Table 1. Images in *Scene 1-3*.

Scene 1-3	References to a category within images	Percentage
Not culture-related	285	37,1 %
Arts and sports	124	16,1 %
Stereotypes and national identity	96	12,5 %
National geography	82	10,7 %

Social identity and social groups	50	6,5 %
Socialization and the life-cycle	47	6,1 %
Social interaction	38	4,9 %
Beliefs and behavior	21	2,7 %
Other culture-related	15	2,0 %
National history	6	0,8 %
Socio-political institutions	5	0,7 %
Total	769	100 %

Table 2. Images in *On the Go 1-3*.

On the Go 1-3	References to a category within images	Percentage
Not culture-related	168	20,5 %
Arts and sports	127	15,5 %
National geography	119	14,5 %
Stereotypes and national identity	89	10,9 %
Social identity and social groups	88	10,8 %
Socialization and the life-cycle	72	8,8 %
Social interaction	50	6,1 %
National history	42	5,1 %
Beliefs and behavior	33	4,0 %
Other culture-related	15	1,8 %
Socio-political institutions	15	1,8 %
Total	818	100 %

The second biggest category in both textbook series was 'Arts and sports', which was probably the broadest category, as it included all the images that were about music, movies, literature, sports and arts. The third largest category in *Scene* was 'Stereotypes and national identity', which was the fourth largest category in *On the Go 1-3*. This was the main difference when it comes to comparing the proportions of each category within the textbooks. The percentages of 'Stereotypes and national identity' were quite similar when counted on the basis of all the images in the textbooks (*Scene 1-3* 12,5 % and *On the Go 1-3* 10,9 %), but when counted on the basis of culture-related images, the respective percentiles are 23,6 % (*Scene*) and 19,1 % (*On the Go*). 'National geography' was the third largest category in *On the Go 1-3*. It was notable that the seven largest categories were the same in both textbooks, and the order was almost

identical. In both textbook series the sixth and seventh largest categories were 'Socialization and the life-cycle' and 'Social interaction'. When comparing the four smallest categories in both textbooks ('National history', 'Belief and behavior', 'Other culture-related' and 'Socio-political institutions'), the biggest difference between the series is in 'National history'. *On the Go 1-3* had 42 images that were categorized in this category, but *Scene 1-3* had only 6 images that were about history. In conclusion, *On the Go 1-3* had more images in every culture-related category than *Scene 1-3*, with the exception of 'Stereotypes and national identity' (*On the Go 1-3* had 89 images, *Scene 1-3* had 96 images).

5.2 *Scene*

Scene's illustration consists mainly of drawings and photographs. Especially imaginary cartoon characters *Action Jackson* and *Jane* appear often throughout the textbook series. Typically, they are the participants in dialogues, and they present example sentences on sections of the books that are dedicated to teaching grammar. A few times, they are also present in images that are related to culture, but these appearances were rare.

5.2.1 Social identity and social groups

Scene 1-3 had a total of 50 images that were categorized as 'Social identity and social groups'. This category was divided into the following subcategories: 'Occupational groups', 'Ethnic minorities and immigrants', 'Sub-culture identities', 'Population' and 'Language policies', as shown in Table 3. *Scene 1* and *Scene 2* contained only five images in total that were categorized as 'Occupational groups', but *Scene 3* had 11 images in this category. All of these images were in the same 'Set', which had themes such as summer jobs and employment. These images were all photographs of people working or close-distance photographs of them with a caption that provided information about their occupation. The locations were spread in different English-speaking countries, such as the United Kingdom (Scotland and England), Australia, Ireland, South Africa and the United States.

Table 3. 'Social identity and social groups' in *Scene 1-3*.

Subcategory	Number of images
Ethnic minorities and immigrants	23
Occupational groups	16
Sub-culture	10
Language policies	1
Total	**50**

The subcategory 'Ethnic minorities and immigrants' was slightly larger than 'Occupational groups', and the images in this category were evenly spread across the three textbooks. Photographs in this category were often quite uninformative, as the context in which they were was unclear. For example, in *Scene 2* there is a culture-related sector called 'English Around the World', which consists of three activities and seven images. Five of those images displayed situations where English is used, but there was no text that would describe what actually happens in the image and where it takes place, so the function of the images is mainly to provoke thoughts on where English is used and by whom.

Subcategories 'Subculture' and 'Language policies' were clearly smaller than 'Occupational groups' and 'Ethnic minorities and immigrants'. Subcultures that were presented were related to the world of videogames and music, and with the exception of one drawing where an older person was dressed as a hippie, all the participants in the images were young people. *Scene 1-3* did not include many images that were explicitly about linguistic minorities or language policies in different countries. The only image which was categorized to this subcategory was of a Canadian stop sign, which had text in English and French, and the caption gave information about official languages in Canada. Naturally, it is quite difficult to have photographs that display multilingualism explicitly, but with the use of graphs, such as tables and charts, one could display a lot of information about people in a certain area.

5.2.2 Social interaction

Using the description by Byram et al. (1994:54), this category was divided into three subcategories: 'Levels of formality in language', 'Behavior at meals and explanation of food' and 'Gender relationships'. There were no images placed under the last subcategory. Since behavior at meals and

explanation of food are in close connection to each other, most of the food-related images were categorized as 'Social interaction'. Those food-related images that did not have cultural value (for example decorative photos of vegetables without context or common foods that did not have any explanation) were categorized as 'Not culture-related'. There were 21 images in total that were categorized as 'Levels of formality in language', and 11 of these were in *Scene 2,* and 7 of these were in a chapter that discussed the use of hand gestures in France, Germany, Belgium, Greece, Japan and Malaysia. The rest of the images in this subcategory were typically cartoons, where the characters were in different situations and needed to use English in different ways, often using politeness phrases, such as 'Excuse me' and 'Please'. There were also two photographs of a post card, which included important phrases that one needs to know when writing a post card or a letter to a friend or colleague, such as 'Dear Hanna' and 'Best regards!'.

'Behavior at meals and explanation of food' subcategory consisted of 17 images. *Scene 3* did not have any food-related chapters, and it did not have images that would have been useful in teaching about behavior at meals or foods in foreign cultures. Only one image was about behavior at meals, and the explanation relied heavily on the text. In the photograph, there were utensils inside a napkin, and the text was written from a point of view of an American living in Finland, who expressed that he was surprised that young Finns thought that knowing how to set a table is an important skill, whereas he used to think that it was an unnecessary skill when he was younger. Other images in this subcategory were photographs of different foods, such as Canadian maple syrup in a bottle, different types of Indian cuisines, Shepherd's pie, pancakes served with maple syrup, flying fish sandwich, pap en vleis and croissants served with jelly. Some of the images had backgrounds, and the foods were typically on a table, but some of the images had no background. As Seeley (1994: 33) points out, photographs are useful in studying a foreign culture, and one can ask questions such as 'How would a typical middle-class dinner differ from a working-class dinner?'. But as the backgrounds are removed, it becomes more challenging to study such aspects, as one cannot know in what kind of setting one would serve this food, for example, if it is a dish that one would buy from a street food vendor and eat while standing, or if it is a food that is eaten in a sit-down restaurant. Therefore, it is beneficial to present foods using photographs that have backgrounds that give information about the setting where one would eat that food.

5.2.3 Beliefs and behavior

As the name of the category suggests, images in this category were divided into two subcategories: 'Beliefs' and 'Behavior'. Most of the images categorized as 'Beliefs' were somehow related to religion, and they were all photographs. They were either photographs of people wearing clothing or jewelry related to religion, such as a cross necklace or a hijab or photographs of churches, temples or religious statues. There was not a clear focus on any religion, and in total, there were only seven images related to religion where people were involved. Other photographs focused on religious buildings and monuments, and there were no people in those photographs. From the point of view of the present study, it would have been interesting to see photographs of people attending ceremonies in these buildings, which would have given more possibilities to learn about a foreign culture, for example, one could have observed the way people dress for these ceremonies. India had a slightly larger role than other English-speaking countries presented in the textbook series, as religion was stated to be an important part of life in India.

Other images that were in the subcategory 'Beliefs' were about protests in sports. There were four photos of athletes (LeBron James, Neymar da Silva Santos, John Carlos, Tommie Smith and Colin Kaepernick) taking part in different protests and using body language (taking a knee, raising his fist) or clothing (LeBron James wears a 'I can't breathe' t-shirt). They all protested for equal human rights, and three of them were about African American rights and one about racism in general.

There were five images in the 'Behavior' subcategory, and four of them were cartoons. The only photograph in this subcategory was taken from inside a bus, where all participants stared at their mobile phones. There was no mention about the country where the photo was taken, but it can be assumed that it represents a common type of behavior in buses in almost any country. The interior of the bus was quite modern, and it was not an American school bus or a double-decker bus. Since there was no further information about the photograph, the message of it is quite vague and leaves a lot of room for interpretation by the reader.

There were four cartoons where *Action Jackson* demonstrates how to behave in different situations, such as at doctor's appointment or in a restaurant. These cartoons lack context, and it is unclear where some

of the events take place. In one cartoon, *Action Jackson* buys train tickets to Toronto, but in other cartoons the locations are not explicitly told. Some features of behavior apply to all English-speaking countries, such as using politeness phrases when ordering food in a restaurant, but it would have been interesting if there had been comparison between restaurant behaviors in different countries.

5.2.4 Socio-political institutions

This was the smallest category with only five images. Three of them were drawings of the Queen's guards, one was a photograph of a Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer in a parade uniform and in one photograph there were members of the British royal family (Duchess Catherine, Princess Charlotte, Prince Harry, Prince George, Prince William and Queen Elizabeth II). None of these images had captions or texts that would have given more information about the images. None of the books had information about how different states and their governments operate and how the healthcare or social security is organized. Naturally, it is challenging to present this kind of information using images, and these topics might not be interesting or essential for the target group. However, there could be more images of political leaders in different countries, but politics might be a topic that is too complex to deal with in an EFL textbook.

5.2.5 Socialization and the life-cycle

This category consisted of the following subcategories: 'School', 'Work and leisure', 'Family' and 'Life-cycle'. Out of these, 'School' was clearly the largest subcategory with 36 images. This is quite natural, as the textbooks are for upper elementary school students, and thus, school is an important theme for them. *Scene 1* had a chapter about clothing and school, and it included many photographs of students from different countries, telling about how they dress for school. That chapter included photographs of students from Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States and Trinidad and Tobago. Other photographs about school had usually students in them as participants, and they were often smiling for the camera. There was also a chapter about extracurricular activities, which had a focus on an English school. Clubs that were presented were band club, robotics team, book club, netball team and rowing club, and each had a photograph next to the text that described the club, with the exception of book club, which had two photographs, but the other one was a decorative photograph about a book. There were five photographs of exchange students, and two of them were group photographs, where each student

held a flag in their hands. The other three photographs were portraits of exchange students. One was from Canada, one was from Germany, and one was a Finnish student who was on exchange in Michigan. These photographs were all in *Scene 3*, which is logical, as applying to an exchange program is more topical to older students. Some of the photographs displayed students participating in different school-related events, such as lectures and book clubs or sitting in a corridor. There were also some images of different schools in Denmark, the United States, Bali and Finland. For example, photographs of Green school in Bali focused on showing how the school is built, whereas there was a photograph of four students representing the American school Harvey Milk High School, and there was a listening comprehension exercise about the schools, which provided further information about them.
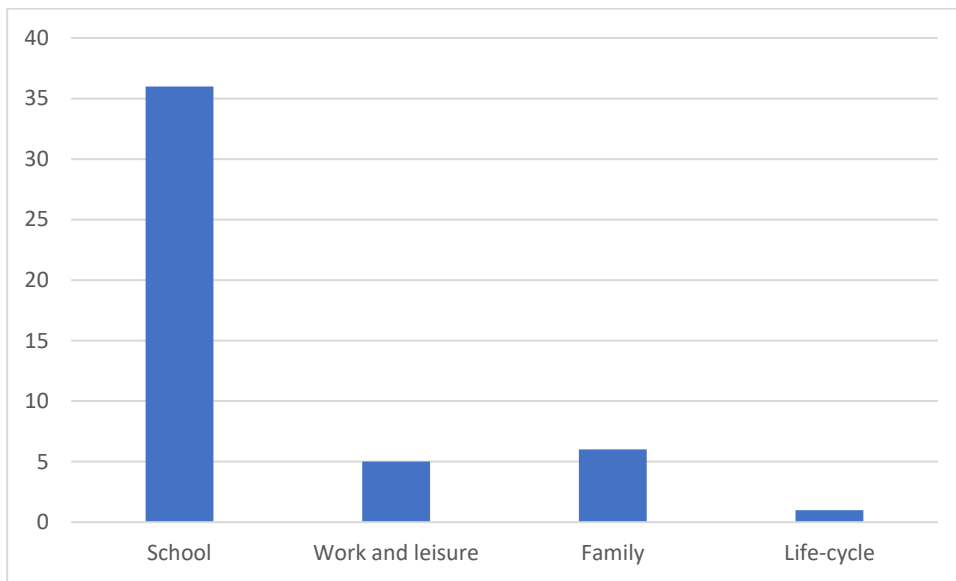
Graph 1. 'Socialization and the life-cycle' in *Scene 1-3*.

There were five photographs in the subcategory 'Work and leisure'. There were more images that had themes related to work and leisure, but since the context of most of them was vague, only five images were subcategorized as 'Work and leisure', and the rest were categorized as 'Not culture-related'. Two of the images in this category were about work, and three were about leisure. The photographs about work displayed people at workplaces. The setting in one of the two photographs was quite unclear, as it was presented in a chapter about English as a world language, and in the other photograph the setting was a bit clearer, as it was in a chapter about technology in Africa, but it did not have a more precise description about the man who was the participant in the photograph.

The subcategory 'Family' consisted of 6 images, four of which were in a chapter about Damon Williams and his son Kion. None of the images focused on comparing thoughts about family in different cultures, which could have been interesting.

The subcategory 'Life-cycle' had one image. It was a cartoon that depicted Jane's birthday. Other important ceremonies of life, such as school graduation, weddings and funerals were not presented in *Scene 1-3*.

5.2.6. National history

This category was the second smallest in *Scene 1-3* with 6 images. *Scene 1* did not have history-related images, *Scene 2* had two and *Scene 3* had four. Charles Darwin and Christopher Columbus were the only people presented in this category. In addition to that, there were photographs of a chessboard and a cell phone, and they were presented in a context where the texts were about inventions. History is a complex issue, just like politics, and some historical events are difficult to present in a neutral manner.

5.2.7. National geography

This category had a total of 82 images. In most cases the images focused on one country, but Africa and the Caribbean were presented from a wider perspective and with less focus on separate countries. The only African country that received more attention was South Africa and of the countries in the Caribbean, Jamaica and Barbados had their own chapters. The number of images of each country is presented in Graph 2.
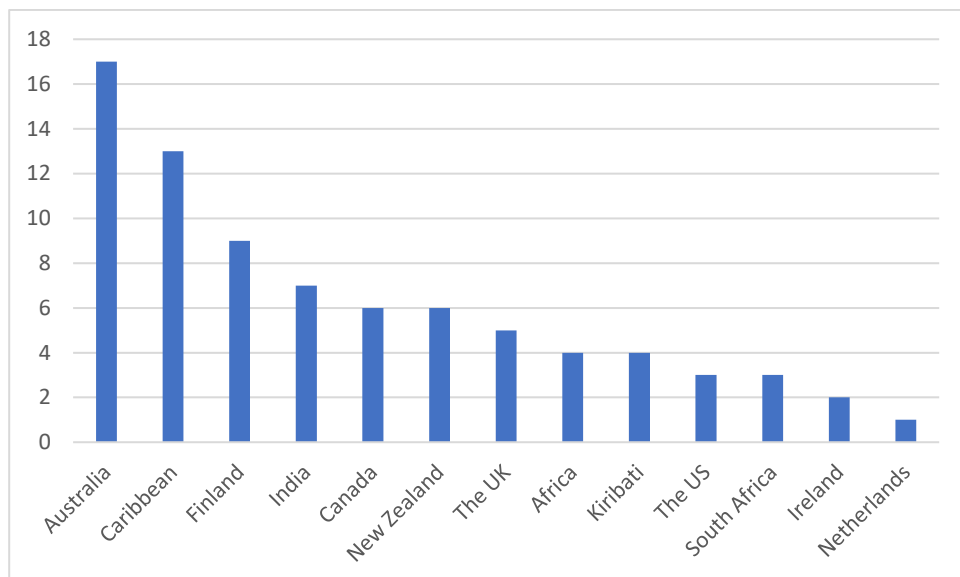
Graph 2. 'National geography in *Scene 1-3*.

What was surprising about this category was the very small number of images about the United States and the United Kingdom (three images of the US and five of the UK), which tend to otherwise be in a central position in the textbooks. There were 17 images related to the geography of Australia. Some popular tourist attractions, such as Uluru and the Great Barrier Reef were presented, and in addition to that, there were many scenery photographs from different places in Australia. There were also six photographs of Australian animals, such as koalas, kangaroos and echidnas. There were two photographs, which focused on showing the protection of the environment in Australia, and there was one map of Australia. Australia shared some chapters with New Zealand, but all the images were clearly about Australia or New Zealand. In total there were five images about New Zealand, and they all were quite different. There were no photographs of animals, but there was one photograph of a road and a warning sign with an image of a kiwi on it. Other photographs were mainly scenery photos, and in one photograph there was a person hiking in Franz Josef Glacier.

There were eight images about the Caribbean in general, and five of them were about animals, such as manatees and parrots. There was one map of the Caribbean Sea where the names of the larger cities were marked. The two remaining images were about hurricanes in the Caribbean. There were three images of Barbados, and two of them were of beaches. One image was a photograph of a turtle swimming in ocean. The text on that page was about school in Barbados, which gave the impression of a misplaced image,

as one could have expected that there could have been an image related to school. There were two images about Jamaican geography: one photograph of a beach in Jamaica and one photograph of a turtle.

There were six images about Canadian geography, and one of them was a map, where the territories and provinces where marked, but there was no further explanation about them. There was one photograph of Niagara Falls and the other four were scenery photographs, where mountains and forests were in a central role.

There were seven images of India, and one of them was a world map where India was marked with yellow. In one photograph, there was a flooding street. Two photographs were about animals, but neither of them had explanation about which animal was in the photograph. In comparison, the photographs of the Caribbean animals were presented with text that had at least the names of the animals in the photographs. Mountains, rainforests and rivers were central elements in the scenery photographs of India.

There were four photographs of Africa in general, and three of them were about South Africa. There was a map of Africa, where all the countries in which English is an official language were marked. There were also photographs of elephants and zebras. Two of the photographs of South Africa were related to a text about a wildlife park, and in addition to those, there was a scenery photograph of a hill.

There were three images about geography in the United States, and only one of them was a photograph (scenery photograph of Yellowstone National Park). One image was a map of both the United States and the United Kingdom, and one image was a modified American flag, where pieces of text were placed inside the stars, and some of them were related to geography, for example names of national parks.

In addition to the map of both the United States and the United Kingdom, there was one map of the United Kingdom and Ireland. Other images of the United Kingdom were scenery photographs of cliffs and fields. There was also one scenery photograph about Irish fields and one photograph of a cave in Northern Ireland.

There were nine images about Finnish geography, and they were all scenery photographs of fells, forests and lakes, apart from three images of lynx, swans and polar bears. The images of polar bears were in a chapter about false stereotypes about Finland.

Other European countries were in a smaller role in the illustration of *Scene 1-3*. There was one two-page chapter about the European Union, and it had a photograph of a flower field and a windmill in the Netherlands, a scenery photograph of the Alps and a map of Europe with only the borders of countries marked on it.

Scene 3 had a chapter about climate change and Kiribati, and there were four scenery photographs of beaches and islands of Kiribati. There was also one single photograph of a chrysopelea snake, and next to it was a text which stated that chrysopelea snakes live in south-east Asia.

5.2.8 Arts and sports

This was the biggest category in *Scene 1-3,* and it consisted of 123 images. There were five subcategories; 'Sports', 'Movies and TV', 'Music', 'Literature' and 'Arts and crafts'. Out of these, 'Literature' (47 images) was clearly the biggest, as shown in Graph 3. A large proportion of the images in this subcategory were related to 'FlexiTexts', which were designed to be more challenging texts for those students who might need extra activities. These texts were often extracts from novels, and they were often illustrated with images from the book. Second largest subcategory was 'Sports' (36 images), and it was followed by 'Music' (18 images) and 'Movies and TV' (16 images). 'Arts and crafts' was clearly the smallest subcategory with six images.
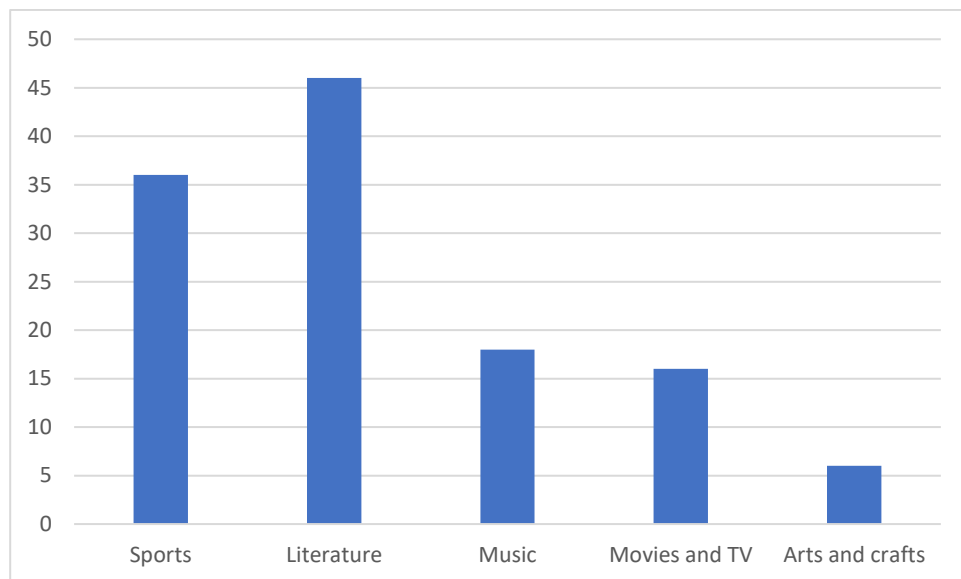
Graph 3. 'Arts and sports' in *Scene 1-3*.

A total of 18 different sports were presented in the images in *Scene 1-3*. Out of these, basketball (eight images), soccer (six images) and ice hockey (five images) were the biggest sports based on the number of images in the textbook series. There were photographs of three basketball players; LeBron James, Stephen Curry and Damon Williams. The first two are professional NBA players, whereas Damon Williams is a professional basketball player who played in Finland 1999-2001 and 2007-2018 and is currently a basketball coach in Finland. Damon Williams and his son, Kion, are interviewed in the first text of *Scene 1* and the next text is about his daughter, Kenisha. What is notable about the people in this subcategory is that they are all from the United States.

Out of the six images that were related to soccer, three were of the Emirates Stadium in London and three were of people who play soccer. Two of them were real people, Neymar da Silva Santos from Brazil and Jussi Jääskeläinen from Finland. The third person was a cartoon character from Namibia, and he appears only once in the textbook series.

There were images that were related to ice hockey in texts about Finland and Canada. Four of the images were about people playing ice hockey, but the names of the players were not mentioned. In *Scene 2* there was a culture-related chapter called 'Home away from home' which was about famous people who work

in the United States, Canada, or the United Kingdom, but are not born there. One of the people in this chapter is Patrik Laine from Finland, who plays ice hockey in an NHL team in Canada.

There were two images of surfing and two images of cricket. The following sports were presented in one image each; rugby, thai boxing, horseback riding, American football, tennis, sailing, hiking, diving, golf, yoga, netball and rowing. There were drawings were additional sports were also presented, such as mountain biking, volleyball and floorball, but these drawings did not include any cultural information, and their function was mainly to support the theme vocabulary list.

Nine of the 16 images in 'Movies and TV' subcategory were related to the American TV show *The Simpsons*, and they were all within two pages in *Scene 2*. The chapter was called "The Home of the Simpsons", and most of the images were photographs of places and street signs in Eugene, Portland. In addition, there was a photograph of Matt Groening, who created the TV show.

Four actors appeared in the images in *Scene 1-3*, and they were Onni Tommila, Idris Elba, Mila Kunis and Natalie Portman. There was one chapter in *Scene 2* where Onni Tommila was interviewed, and photographs of Idris Elba, Mila Kunis and Natalie Portman were in the earlier mentioned chapter 'Home away from home'. In the same chapter, there was also a photograph of Renny Harlin, who is a Finnish movie director. There were also photographs of both Hollywood and Bollywood signs, but those were not mentioned in the texts.

Out of the images in the 'Music' subcategory, most were photographs of singers or music producers. Six of them were from the United Kingdom, two were from the United States, one from Ireland and one from Jamaica. Overall, *Scene 1-3* contained a lot of images of celebrities, but there was very little in-depth information about them. There were also photographs of places in the United Kingdom that were related to Beatles, such as Abbey Road, and there was also a chapter where the main text was cartoon strip about The Beatles created by Mauri Kunnas.

There were also a few images where people played different instruments. Two of them were related to the United Kingdom. In one photograph, there was a man dressed in a kilt, cashmere clan scarf and feather bonnet who played bagpipe and one photograph was of two boys playing bass and guitar in a school band club in the United Kingdom. There was a chapter about Africa in *Scene 2*, and it had one music-related image. It was a photograph of three men playing drums. *Scene 1* had a chapter about The Caribbean, and in addition to the photograph of Bob Marley, there was a photograph of two men wearing rastacaps, which might be worn for religious reasons. Since the text next to the photograph was about reggae music, it can be assumed that the men were attending a reggae concert or that the hat is seen as embodiment of reggae music.

There were 46 images in the 'Literature' subcategory, and 21 of these were found in *Scene 2*, within a chapter of five pages. The chapter was an excerpt from *The Brilliant World of Tom Gates* by Liz Pichon, and the images were drawings from the book. Even though the textbook series included excerpts of other books as well, *The Brilliant World of Tom Gates* was the only one that was accompanied by a large number of images. This is probably due to the style of the book, as it is a children's book and drawings are in an important role in it.

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz by L. Frank Baum was also in a slightly bigger role than the other books based on the number of images. There were five images of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* in total. There were also images related to *Sherlock, Tomb Raider* (comic), *Emily Sparkles and the Friendship Fiasco*, *Mariella Mystery Investigates*, *Lucky Star, A Street Car Named Bob, Hamlet, Calvin and Hobbes (comic), Lord of the Rings, Hitchhikers Guide to Galaxy* and *Neverwhere*. Out of these, *Hamlet* and *Lord of the Rings* differ from other books, as there were no excerpts of these books. There were three drawings of man holding a skull, but there was not a textual reference to Hamlet. There was a drawing of a golden ring with text on it in *Scene 3,* and there was a question about *The Lord of the Rings* next to it.

'Arts' was clearly the smallest subcategory, with six images. Two of them were related to street art in London and Northern Ireland, and they were both photographs of walls covered in street art. Two images were in a chapter about Africa, and one of them was a photograph of pottery, and the image had a caption 'Arts and crafts', and the other one was a photograph of a woman dressed in a green dress, and the image

had a caption 'Clothing'. The two remaining images were about people who work in the field of arts and crafts. Vera Wong, an American fashion designer, was mentioned in an image of a modified American flag, where different people and places are placed inside the stars in *Scene 2,* and in *Scene 3,* there was a photograph of Lisa Walker in a chapter about work. Lisa Walker is an arts and crafts professional, and she was interviewed about her job in the chapter.

5.2.9 Stereotypes and national identity

This category was subcategorized as follows; 'Symbols of national identity and stereotypes', 'Cities and landmarks' and 'Famous people', as shown in Graph 4. Even though the word *landmark* refers to buildings and places that are easily recognizable, in this category the meaning of the word is limited to landmarks built by people, such as buildings, monuments and statues. Images of natural attractions, such as Uluru and Niagara Falls were categorized as 'National geography'. First, 'Symbols of national identity and stereotypes' are discussed one country/region at a time. The United Kingdom had a large role in *Scene 1-3*, and the Union Jack flag appeared nine times in the series, and in addition to that, the Welsh flag appeared twice and the English flag once. London was the most salient city, and there were three drawings of London guards and two images of red double-decker buses and London taxis. There were also two photographs of a Scottish man dressed in a kilt playing bagpipe, which were also mentioned in 5.2.8.
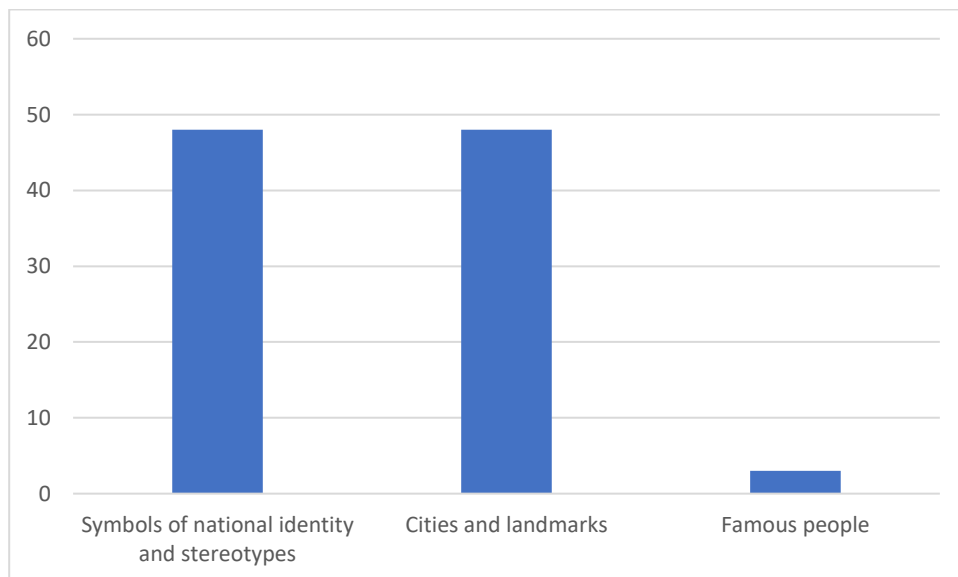
Graph 4. 'Stereotypes and national identity' in *Scene 1-3*.

On the basis of number of images in this subcategory, the United States was in a slightly smaller role than the United Kingdom, as the American flag appeared seven times in the textbook series. There was a drawing where *Action Jackson* was dressed as Uncle Sam, and in one drawing where the United Kingdom and the United States were compared, there was a fast food restaurant and two people sharing a bag of chips on the American side. There was also a photograph of an old American car, and next to it was text 'Car industry', and the task was to find more information about that topic.

The Canadian flag appeared twice in the textbook series, and there were three things that were presented about the Canadian identity; Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer wearing a parade uniform, maple syrup and ice hockey. Similarly, Finland was associated with ice hockey in the images. Finland was exceptional in *Scene 1-3* as there were tasks related to false stereotypes about Finland. One of these was related to polar bears living in Finland, and there were two images of polar bears on the same page. There were also three images of summer cottages, two of which were photographs. The third one was a drawing, where Santa Claus was eating a sausage after sauna while sitting on a jetty.

In total, there were 75 flags in *Scene 1-3*, and 24 of them appeared within one image. There were 39 different flags (38 countries and European Union flag). The flags that have not yet been mentioned represented Italy, Brazil, Wales, France, Spain, Germany, Russia, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Barbados, Australia, South Africa, Ireland, New Zealand, Nigeria, Switzerland, Romania, Albania, Turkey, Czech Republic, Croatia, England, Serbia, Belgium, Sweden, Poland, Georgia, Ukraine, Portugal, Austria, Iceland, Hungary and India.

In the second subcategory 'Cities and landmarks', there were three different types of images: photographs of skylines of cities, photographs or drawings of monuments and buildings and photographs of streets. There were 19 photographs of 17 different cities and their skylines. Toronto appeared three times, other cities appeared once. Six of the photographs were of American cities (Boston, Miami, Las Vegas, Dallas, Chicago and Seattle), four of Canadian cities (three photographs of Toronto and one of Vancouver), two of Australian cities (Perth and Sydney), one of a Scottish city (Edinburgh), one of a Finnish city (Helsinki) and in five photographs it was unclear which city was in it. One of them was on a page that was about India, and four were on a page that was about Europe.

There were 23 images of 17 different monuments or buildings. Eight of the images were of monuments or buildings in the United States, and seven were of monuments or buildings in the United Kingdom. The American monuments and buildings that appeared were the Golden Gate Bridge, the Hollywood sign (appeared twice), Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell, the Statue of Liberty and a statue of a fur trapper in Oregon. Of the British monuments and buildings, Big Ben and the Palace of Westminster appeared three times, Cardiff Castle appeared twice and Statford Station and Buckingham Palace both appeared once. Three images where of Indian buildings (Taj Mahal appeared twice, once in a photograph and once in a drawing), and there were two photographs from Australia (the Sydney Harbour Bridge and the Sydney Opera House). Egypt (pyramids), Italy (Colosseum) and Canada (Fairmont Le Chateau) appeared all once.

There were seven photographs of streets, and three of them were of New York. Other photographs were of Canberra, Helsinki, an unidentified city in Barbados and an unidentified city in India. In the photographs of streets in New York, Helsinki and India, there were many people walking on the streets, but in the photographs of Canberra and Barbados, the streets were empty. Including more images of streets would be useful from the point of view of teaching culture, as one could observe many different aspects, such as which vehicles people use, how they are dressed etc.

It was notable that in this subcategory, the United States and the United Kingdom were in a larger role than other countries. For example, in the 'National geography', there were clearly more images of Australia, India, the Caribbean and Finland than of the United States and the United Kingdom, but in this subcategory, the situation was reversed. Thus, it seems like the life in the cities and monuments built by people are emphasized when dealing with the United States and the United Kingdom, but nature is in a bigger role when dealing with Australia, India, the Caribbean and Finland.

The third subcategory was called 'Famous people', and even though many famous people appeared in the illustration of *Scene 1-3*, most of them were categorized as 'Arts and sports', as they were often images of famous athletes, artists or authors. This subcategory consisted of three images, one of which

was a drawing where 53 white stars appeared on a blue background, and on the right side, there were red and white stripes, as in the flag of the United States. Inside the stars there were names of people and places that were related to the United States, and some of them were famous Americans, such as George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and Neil Armstrong. There were also images of Christopher Columbus and Charles Darwin. They were categorized into this subcategory because they had had an impact on their nations or they were known beyond their career.

5.2.10 Other culture-related images

There were 15 images that were related to culture, but it was difficult to place them into any of the existing categories proposed by Byram et al. (1994: 51). Ten of these appeared in a chapter about Internet users around the world but with a focus on Africa, and four of the images were graphs that displayed statistical information about Internet and social network users around the world. Six of the images were photographs of people using laptops, tablets and mobile phones. The only time charts were used in *Scene 1-3* in teaching about culture was in the chapter about Internet users. It could have been beneficial to include more charts, as they can provide much information in a small space.

There were two photographs of Green School in Bali, and what stood out in those photographs was that the school was built of bamboo, demonstrating an alternative way of building. There was one photograph of Tomi Björck's restaurant in Helsinki, but as the photograph did not include any information about how one should behave there or what kind of food would be served, the focus of the photograph was mainly on showing what the restaurant looks like. There was also a photograph of a wallet with Canadian dollars in it. Other currencies where not displayed in *Scene 1-3*, even though they would have provided additional information about the countries that were presented in the series. For example, US dollars have faces of previous presidents on them and Queen Elizabeth and Charles Darwin appear in the British pound notes. There was also a drawing of *Action Jackson* and *Jane* using "Socialbook" and "Lazygram", which are references to social media applications Facebook and Instagram.

5.3 *On the Go*

The illustration of *On the Go 1-3* consisted also of drawings and photographs, but there were fewer drawings than in *Scene 1-3*. Most of the drawings were cartoon strips, and there were a variety of characters appearing in them, unlike in *Scene 1-3*, where there were two main characters who appeared throughout the series. Especially in *On the Go 1*, there were many drawings of these characters in oral exercises, and they typically said the sentences that were inside the speech bubbles, but in *On the Go 2* and *3,* there were typically only speech bubbles in corresponding exercises.

5.3.1 Social identity and social groups

There were a total of 87 images in this category, and they were divided into six subcategories, as shown in Table 4. In addition to the four subcategories that were already presented in 4.2.1 ('Occupational groups', 'Ethnic minorities and immigrants', 'Sub-culture identities' and 'Language policies'), the following two subcategories were used: 'Social stratification' and 'Native people'.

Table 4. Images in 'Social identity and social groups', *On the Go 1-3.*

Subcategory	Number of images
Occupational groups	28
Ethnic minorities and immigrants	26
Sub-culture identities	18
Native people	10
Language policies	4
Social stratification	1
Total	**87**

In 'Occupational groups', there were 28 images in total. There were 18 different professions presented, and typically only one profession was presented in one image, with the exception of one drawing of a school, where five different occupations were presented. There were 8 photographs of farmers, making it the largest occupational group within this subcategory. The photographs were from the United States, Australia and South America. There was a chapter about potatoes in *On the Go 1*, and Peru and Bolivia were mentioned in it, but it was not clear which country was presented in the photograph.

Other professions which were presented in multiple images were fishers, airport security workers and entrepreneurs. The fishers were from India, Jamaica and Ireland, but unlike with other professions in this subcategory, there was not any text related to these images, which would have given additional information. In the beginning of each "Unit", there was a collage of images, and the photographs of Indian and Jamaican fishers appeared in these collages. The Irish fishers appeared on a map of Ireland, where drawings were added on the map. In *On the Go 2*, there was a chapter about detector dogs in New Zealand, and a security worker appeared in three photographs. There were two entrepreneurs presented in *On the Go 1-3,* and both of them were from the United States. There was a chapter about Michael Jordan, and the text gave information about his life after the basketball career, and there was a photograph of a store selling his shoe brand and it was mentioned that he owns the Charlotte Hornets. The other entrepreneur was Moziah Bridges, who started his company at the age of nine.

In *On the Go 3*, there was a chapter called "Essential 21st century skills" where six people with different professions told about skills that they thought were necessary. The professions represented in that chapter were police officer, game writer, marketing assistant, robotics engineer, journalist and vlogger. Their nationalities were not mentioned, but the uniform of the police officer revealed that he was working in the United States, and the names and the photographs suggested that they had diverse backgrounds. For example, the marketing assistant was called Ahel, the robotics engineer was Noriaki and the vlogger was Minna.

The remaining professions that were presented were Yosemite park ranger, waiter in Los Angeles, lifeguards in Bondi Beach and nomads in Sahara. There were longer texts about the waiter and lifeguards, and the photographs of park ranger and nomads were also accompanied by a text that gave further information about them.

There were 26 images in the 'Ethnic minorities and immigrants' subcategory. 14 of these were in the first unit of *On the Go 1*, which was about summer camps in the United States. The ethnicities were not discussed explicitly, but in all photographs with multiple participants, there were representatives of at least two ethnicities.

In addition to those 14 images about American summer camps, there were two photographs of American students in different settings, and in both photographs, there were students with diverse backgrounds, but the ethnicities in the United States was not discussed explicitly in the series. Similarly, there were two photographs of students from the United Kingdom with various backgrounds, but the ethnic distribution of the United Kingdom's population was not discussed.

Canada was in a larger role in this category than the United Kingdom. There was a unit about Canada which focused on the multiculturality of Canada, and there were seven images of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Canada. One image was a column chart of the nationalities of immigrants in Canada and there was one photograph of Canadian kids with different backgrounds and next to it was a list of 43 nationalities that are represented in Canada, and it was mentioned that there are many more that were not listed.

In *On the Go 2*, there was a chapter about Nick and Najid, and it was told in the text that Najid's parents emigrated from Lebanon to Australia and he appears in two drawings. It was told in the text that his family is Muslim, and they do not celebrate Christmas, but they spend the Christmas Day with Nick's family and they bring Lebanese dessert.

There was some information about ethnic groups in South Africa and New Zealand as well. In *On the Go 3*, there was a chapter about South Africa, and there was a photograph on young people with different ethnic backgrounds and under it was a text with a heading "Multicultural stew", that included information about the backgrounds of South Africans. In *On the Go 2*, there was a chapter about population about New Zealand, and there was a column chart of ethnic groups in New Zealand. Both of these chapters were "Your choice" chapters, which means that these chapters might not be studied by all students.

There were 18 images in the subcategory 'Sub-cultures', but they were quite monotonous, as nearly all of them were related to how young people dress in the United Kingdom. On the other hand, the series

gave a quite broad view into the clothing in the United Kingdom, but subcultural identities as themselves were not discussed.

In the subcategory 'Language policies', there were four images, and two of them were maps. The first one was a map of Canada which included a drawing of a stop sign that had text in English and French on it. The other map was a world map that included information about population and languages in different continents. For example, it was stated that the United States is "the world's second largest Spanish-speaking country" (On the Go 2: 36) and that "about 20 % of Canadians speak French as their mother tongue" (On the Go 2: 36). There was information about languages on every continent, including Antarctica. There was also a listening exercise related to the map which gave additional information that was not included in the text. In *On the Go 1*, there was a unit about California, and the first part of that unit consisted of four graphs. One of them was a pie chart about languages spoken at Californian homes. In *On the Go 3*, there was a chapter about Ireland which included a photograph of street signs which were written in both Irish and English. The text next to the photograph was about Ireland's official languages.

There were ten images in the subcategory 'Native people'. The images were from Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. Four of the images were from Canada. The Tlingit people, First Nations people and Inuit were mentioned. Two of the images were of totem poles. There was also a cartoon where Inuit and First Nations people were mentioned. There was only one photograph that had native people as participants, and it was a photograph of two First Nations people. There was also a small text about the first inhabitants of Canada under the photograph.

There were four photographs of Aboriginal people, two of them being from the movie "Rabbit Proof Fence", and the other two were photographs of Aboriginal people. In one photograph, there were six people who had their faces painted. In the other photograph there were three aboriginals, each representing different age group. They were not dressed in traditional aboriginal clothes, but there was a question about Aboriginals under the photograph, suggesting that they were Aboriginals. There were three images of Maoris, and they were all in a chapter about Ta Moko, which is a type of Maori tattoo. In all three images, the participants had Maori tattoos on their faces. The native people of the United

States were mentioned only in one image. There was a photograph of The Crazy Horse Memorial, and there was a text connected to it, which was about Mount Rushmore being a holy site for Native Americans. There were some people standing in front of the monument, but there was no information about who they were.

Another subcategory which did not appear in *Scene 1-3* was 'Social stratification', and there was only one image in *On the Go 1-3* which was put into this subcategory. It was a photograph of a city in India, and there was a slum in the front, and tall, modern buildings in the back. The text next to the photograph was about wealth inequality in India. This theme did not appear in the context of other countries.

5.3.2 Social interaction

This category was divided into three subcategories; 'Levels of formality in language', 'Behavior at meals and explanation of food' and 'Gender relationships', and unlike in *Scene*, there were images in all three subcategories. There were 49 images in total in this category, and 37 of them were subcategorized as 'Behavior at meals and explanation of food'. 27 were images of different foods, and virtually all of them were photographs. Burgers and smoothies were the only foods that appeared more than once. There were images of foods from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, China, New Zealand and South Africa, but there was a clear focus on American and British foods, as there were five images related to American cuisine and 13 images related to British cuisine. In *On the Go 1*, there was a food-related chapter, and the events took place in the United Kingdom, which explains the focus on British cuisine. There were also photographs of naan bread and curry in that chapter, but there was no explanation of how those foods became common British foods. Of the five images of American cuisine, three were in a chapter about Florida.

There were ten images that illustrated behavior at meals, and five of them were on one page in *On the Go 1*. The page had a heading "School lunches around the world", and there were photographs from the United States, the United Kingdom, Thailand, Tanzania and India. In the photographs of American and British schools, the students were queuing to get food, and in the other three the students were sitting and eating. The most divergent of these photographs was the photograph of Indian school lunch, as the

students were sitting on the ground and eating with their hands. Besides the name of the country, there was no additional information about school lunches in different countries. The other images displayed people gathered for a meal in different settings, for example in a restaurant or for a Christmas dinner.

In the subcategory 'Levels of formality in language', there were eight images, and they were all cartoons where people were in different settings where different registers were needed. In one cartoon in *On the Go 1*, there was a clear comparison between formal and informal registers. In one panel, there were two young people, who greeted each other by fist bumping, and the other asks "How's life?", and in the next panel, two adults shake hands and refer to each other using names "Mrs. Walker" and "Dr. Woods". There was not as clear comparison between registers in other images, but the characters use polite speech in other situations, for example they use "miss" when talking to their teacher and they use politeness phrases such as "excuse me" and "please" when talking to strangers when asking for directions or ordering food in a restaurant.

In the subcategory 'Gender relationships', there were five images, and four of them were in one chapter in *On the Go 2*. The name of the chapter was "Boys & girls - what are they really like?" and it consisted of extracts from the book *A Survivor's Guide to Love* by Jeanette Baker and of photographs of teenage boys and girls in different situations. The fifth image in this subcategory was a cartoon about a traditional Chinese love story. Zhu is the main character in the cartoon, and she falls in love with Liang, but when Liang asks for permission to marry Zhu from her father, her father announces that he has chosen another man for Zhu. Even though the cartoon includes interesting information about gender relationships, it would have been beneficial to include similar information about gender relations in a more modern context as well.

5.3.3 Beliefs and behavior

This category consisted of two subcategories, 'Beliefs' and 'Behavior' and there were 33 images in this category in total. As in *Scene 1-3*, most of the images in the subcategory 'Beliefs' were related to religion. Of the 27 images in this subcategory, 12 depicted people wearing clothing or other accessories related to religion, such as hijabs, kippahs or turbans. There were seven images that were related to holidays, such

as Christmas, Easter, Thanksgiving and Chinese New Year. All of these were not religion-related, such as Thanksgiving, but are related to the traditions of the countries presented in the textbook series. All of the images that were related to Christmas were presented from an Australian point of view, and it was pointed out that Christmas takes place during summer in Australia. The Christmas-related images did not have any religious references in them, as they depicted Santa Claus, Christmas decorations and people eating Christmas Day dinner. As mentioned in 4.3.1, there was one cartoon about Christmas in Australia, where a Lebanese family did not celebrate Christmas due to their religion, but they spent the Christmas Day together with a family that celebrates Christmas. There were also images of places and monuments that are important for native people. For example, there were two images of Uluru, and it was mentioned in the text that it is sacred for Aboriginals, and there were images of totem poles, but there was no information about their spiritual meaning to the communities that built them. There was also one graph in this subcategory, and it presented the religions in California. As in *Scene 1-3*, India had the largest role among the countries that were presented in this subcategory, but the number of images was distributed more evenly in *On the Go 1-3*.

There were six images in the subcategory 'Behavior', and five of them were cartoons. They presented different situations and how one would behave in those situations, such as buying movie tickets or ordering food at a restaurant. There was one chapter about Hong Kong, and one cartoon and one photograph were related to that chapter. Both images depicted how one should behave at a market, and it was mentioned that one has to haggle when buying goods at a market. Other images in this subcategory did not explicitly point out different norms of behavior, but they all depicted how does one behave in common situations.

5.3.4 Socio-political institutions

There were 15 images in this category, and they were divided into the following subcategories: 'Government', 'Security', 'Healthcare' and 'Law'. In the subcategory 'Government', there was only one image, and it was a photograph of Barack Obama. Next to the photograph there was a text giving some information about his background, and there was also an extract from his speech.

The biggest subcategory was 'Security' with seven images. Four of them were of airport biosecurity in New Zealand, two were of American police officers and one was of a London guard. There was a whole chapter about airport biosecurity, whereas the photographs of police officers and London guards were in a smaller role in the chapters where they appeared.

There were three images related to health care, but two of them were nearly the same image. The first one was a structured analytic image of Rishi's room. Each textbook included a "My space" text, where people from different countries told about their room, and the text was supported by two images, one of them being a black and white structured analytic image, and one being a photograph. Some of the items in the structured analytic image were numbered, and the explanations of those items were given under the image. For example, there were drugs against malaria on Rishi's bookshelf, and the text gave information about the medical situation in India. The third image in this subcategory was an advertisement by Cancer Council Victoria and VicHealth, and the advertisement gave information about protecting oneself from skin cancer.

There were four images in the 'Law' subcategory, and three of them were signs. Two of them were warning signs about drought in Australia and the precautions that people should take. One was traffic sign close to a school, and it gave information about state law related to special traffic laws in areas close to schools. There was also a cartoon about teens in Sacramento, and there was information about driver's licenses in California. It was mentioned that one can get a learner's permit when they turn 15, and on the next spread there was more information about other types of driver's licenses.

5.3.5 Socialization and the life-cycle

This category consisted of the following subcategories: 'School', 'Work and leisure', 'Family' and 'Life-cycle' and there were 72 images in total, as shown in Graph 5. 'School' was the biggest subcategory, and there were 35 images that were related to school. Especially *On the Go 1* had a lot of images related to schools, as many of its chapters had a school-related theme. There was a clear focus on schools in the United Kingdom, as 17 of the images were related to the United Kingdom. In most of the images, students wore school uniforms, and they were often mentioned in the texts, but not always. There was one chapter

that focused solely on wearing school uniforms, and there were images of students both wearing and not wearing a school uniform. There were also images of extra-curricular activities, such as rugby and different clubs.
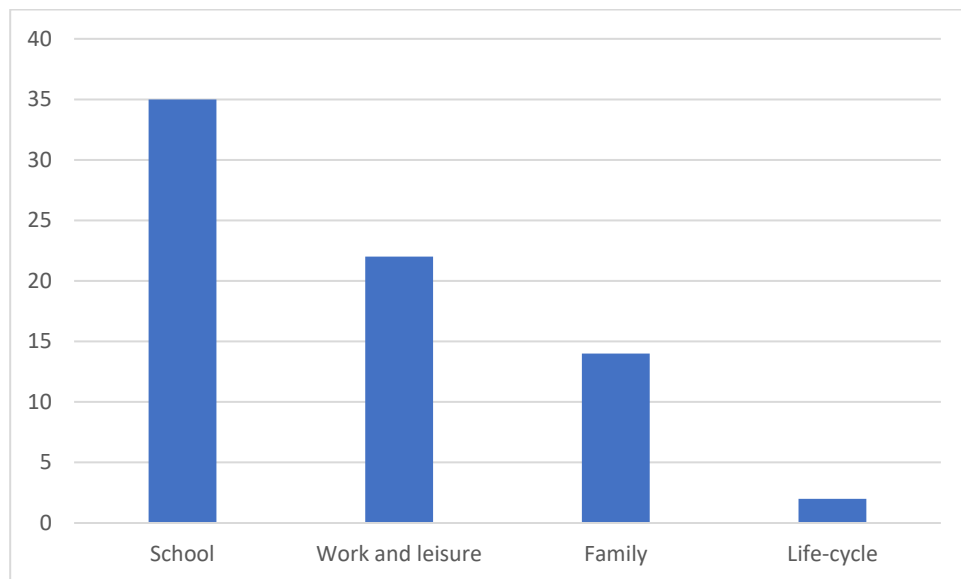
Graph 5. 'Socialization and the life-cycle' in *On the Go 1-3*.

The remaining 20 images were relatively evenly spread, and they represented 11 different countries. There were three school-related images of the United States, India, China and South Africa each. It was quite surprising that the United States had such a small role in this subcategory and that the difference between the United Kingdom and other countries was so prominent. There were two images of Australia, and they both were related to online school, as in the chapter about Australia the character lived in rural Australia, and due to the distance between home and school, she attended online school.

There was one image of each of the following countries: Thailand, Tanzania, Finland, Canada, Pakistan and Japan. Most of the images were photographs or cartoons of students or different school situations, such as lessons or students eating school lunch. There was also a chapter about human rights and how girls were not allowed to attend school in Pakistan, but Malala Yousafzai continued to attend school which led to Taliban attacking her school bus. The cartoon about Malala differed from other images in this subcategory, as it showed education as a human right, which is not obvious in every country.

The subcategory 'Work and leisure' consisted of 22 images, and nearly all of them were related to the chapter about summer camps in *On the Go 1*. The images depicted teenagers being involved in different leisure time activities, and the chapter gave the impression that it is common in the United States that children and teenagers attend a summer camp during the summer.

There were 14 images that were related to 'Family', and most of them were in Unit 6 in *On the Go 2* (106-120). As it was the only section of the book that focused on family, and it was built around an Indian family, this subcategory had a strong emphasis on Indian families. Besides the images of families in India, there were a few images depicting family relationships in other countries.

There were two images that were categorized as 'Life-cycle', and they were both related to birthdays. It would have been useful to see even more images related to birthdays and other ceremonies that are related to certain events in life, such as graduation from school, weddings and funerals, especially if they were presented in a comparative setting.

5.3.6. National history

This subcategory consisted of 42 images, and 17 different countries were represented. Additionally, there were three images where it was not clear which country was represented in it, and they were all in a chapter about the history of democracy in *On the Go 3*.

There were eight images of the United States in this subcategory, making it the biggest country by a clear difference. Five of these images were related to California, and four of them were related to gold mining. The fifth image was a bar chart about the population of California in 1950, 1970, 1990 and 2010. In the remaining three images of history in the United States, Statue of Liberty, Martin Luther King and Coretta Scott and an old Ford commercial were depicted.

There were four images of both Canada and Ireland. The images of Canadian history were divided into two groups: images of totem poles and photographs of Finnish immigrants in Canada. Thus, the history

of Canada is mainly presented through telling about the native inhabitants and the immigration, which clearly differs from the way the history of United Stated was presented.

In *On the Go 3*, there was a chapter about the history of Ireland, and all four images of Ireland's history were in that chapter. The images were related to The Great Famine, political history and Celts. Additionally, there was a timeline about historical events in Ireland. Utilization of timelines were rare in both *Scene* and *On the Go.*

There were three images related to the history of each of the following countries: the United Kingdom, India and Pakistan. One of the images related to the history of the United Kingdom was a photograph of the London Dungeon, and next to the photograph there was text that gave information about the history of the London Dungeon. The other two images were old drawings of women wearing high wigs, and the drawings were accompanied by a text about the Fashion Museum.

There was a chapter about India in *On the Go 2*, and it included 3 images about Indian history. One was a photograph of Mahatma Gandhi, one was a photograph of people playing chess, and the final image was an old painting of women playing chess, and all images were accompanied by texts about the history of India. Even though the text mentioned five inventions that were from India, chess appeared in two images, and the other inventions were presented only in text.

The images of Pakistan were the most contemporary in this subcategory, and they were all related to Malala Yousafzai. The story of Malala Yousafzai is told in a chapter about human rights defenders, and there were excerpts of her speech given at the UN and her book.

There were two images related to the history of each of the following countries: South Africa, China and Germany. The images about South Africa were related to colonization and apartheid. The images of Chinese history were a cartoon of traditional Chinese love story and a drawing of a Chinese pirate called Ching Shih. China stood out in this subcategory, as in both images about Chinese history, female

characters were in a central role, whereas in the images about German history, only male characters were presented, as there was a photograph of the grave of King Frederick The Great in *On the Go* 1 and a photograph of Albert Einstein in *On the Go 3*.

The following countries appeared once in this subcategory: Australia, France, Tibet, Egypt, Poland, Greece, The Bahamas and Tunisia. Images about Tunisia and Greece were in a chapter about the history of democracy. The history of Egypt was depicted through a photograph of a sphinx, which was accompanied by a text about the ancient Egyptian civilization. In *On the Go 2*, there was a chapter about the Rabbit-proof Fence in Australia, and there was a photograph of the fence, accompanied by a text about the fence. There were also images of Marie Curie, Dalai Lama, Anne Bonny, King Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, who represented Poland, Tibet, The Bahamas and France. Anne Bonny was originally from Ireland, but the text that accompanied the drawing of her focused more on her life in The Bahamas.

5.3.7 National geography

'National geography' was the third largest category in *On the Go* with 119 images. 80 of the images were in *On the Go 2*, and *On the Go 1* (17 images) and *On the Go 3* (22 images) had clearly less images about geography. As the distribution of images related to geography was unbalanced between the books, it was also unbalanced between the countries and areas which were presented. Graph 6 shows the distribution of images. As mentioned previously, the Caribbean and Africa (with the exception of South Africa) were approached from a wider point of view and presenting multiple countries simultaneously, instead of focusing on individual countries.
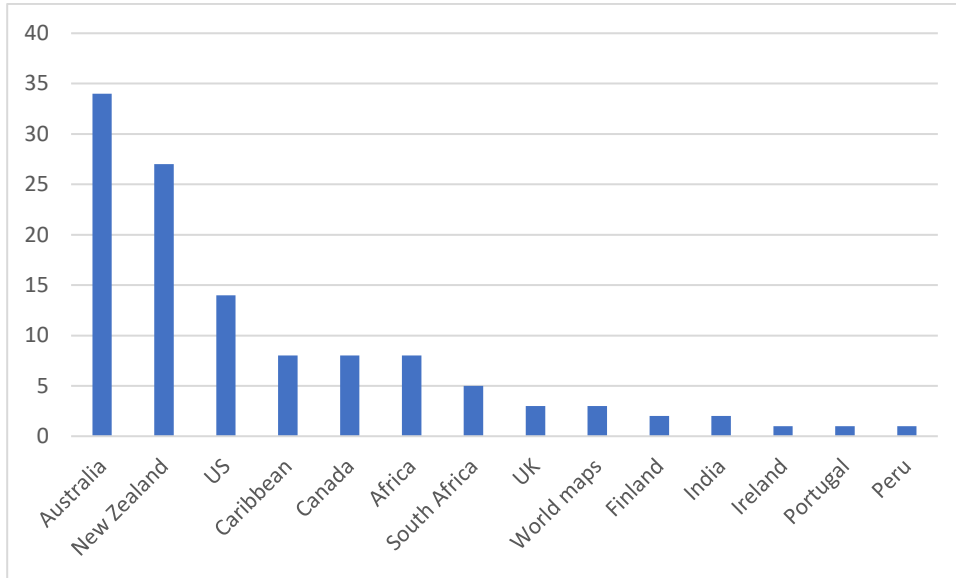
Graph 6. 'National geography' in *On the Go 1-3*.

The two most apparent countries in this subcategory were Australia and New Zealand. There were 34 images related to the geography of Australia, and all of them were in *On the Go 2*. 16 of the images were photographs depicting animals that live in Australia, and a total 14 different animals were presented. Kangaroo was the only animal that appeared more than once in the images. In addition to the photographs of animals, there were three maps, three photographs of different beaches, five photographs of desert, two photographs of Uluru and one photograph of the Great Barrier Reef. There were also two photographs of signs that warned people for bushfires and draught.

The images related to New Zealand could be divided into three groups: maps, nature, and animals. Even though sports are more closely looked at in chapter 4.3.8, it was noteworthy that out of the 20 images that depicted nature, 13 included people involved in outdoor sports. Sports that appeared were hiking, diving, windsurfing and snowboarding. There was one map of New Zealand, and there was a total of seven images of animals. Animals that appeared in the images were sheep, sharks, dolphins and a bird.

There were eight images related to the geography of Canada, and two of them were maps. There were three scenery photographs of Canadian nature, and forests, mountains and lakes appeared in them. There was one photograph of a street in Beebe Plain, which is a town on the border of Canada and the United

States. There was also a photograph of cars covered in snow, and under the photograph was a text containing information about weather in Canada.

As mentioned previously, Africa and the Caribbean were approached from a wider perspective instead of focusing on individual countries. There were eight images related to both the Caribbean and Africa. There was one map of the Caribbean, one image was a scenery photograph of a beach, and there was one photograph of people crossing a river on rafts during heavy rain. In *On the Go 2*, there was a chapter about hurricanes in Jamaica, and the remaining images were related to the effects of hurricanes.

The images related to African geography were more related to animals. Of the eight images, five were related to animals, and the animals that appeared in the images were leopard, lion, giraffe, gorilla, rhino, hippo and elephant. There was one photograph of nomads in the Sahara Desert and one photograph of a city. Under the photograph of a city was a text that contained information about how many people in Africa are living in the cities currently, and how the situation is changing.

South Africa was the only African country that was given more focus. There were five images related to the geography of South Africa, and one of them was a map. The four remaining images were photographs of a mountain in Stellenbosch, Table Mountain, Tsitsikamma National Park and two rhinos.

There were three images related to the geography of China, but to be more precise, two of them were from Hong Kong. One was a photograph taken from Hong Kong's highest point, Victoria Peak, and the other image was a photograph of a boat at sea, and it was accompanied by a text about the archipelago of Hong Kong. The third image was a map of China, and Hong Kong was marked on it.

There were only three images of the United Kingdom in this category, and two of them were maps. In the other map, Ben Nevis, Giant's Causeway and White Cliffs of Dover were marked on the map. There was also a scenery photograph depicting nature in Scotland.

Both India and Finland appeared twice in this category, and all four images of these countries were maps. In one map of India, Mumbai, New Delhi and the neighboring countries were marked, and in the other map Himalayas was marked in the northern India, and drawings of a tiger and a flower were located in the southern India. In one map of Finland, three cities were marked, and in the other map, seven cities were marked.

The following countries appeared once in this category: Peru, Ireland and Portugal. There was a photograph of potato farmers on a potato field in Peru in *On the Go 1* and *On the Go 3* had a map of Ireland and there was also a photograph of a wind energy farm in Portugal. Images of countries where English is not the main language of society appeared a few times, and they typically appeared in chapters that had a global theme, such as environment.

5.3.8 Arts and sports

This category consisted of the following subcategories; 'Sports' (70 images), 'Movies and TV' (24 images), 'Arts and crafts' (16 images), 'Literature' (14 images) and 'Music' (11 images). 'Sports' was clearly the biggest subcategory. Most of the images in this subcategory depicted people involved in a sport, but there were also images that depicted sports equipment and sports arenas. There were 11 images that depicted famous athletes, and the athletes were Michael Jordan (two photographs), Philippe Petit (two photographs), Jessica Watson (three photographs) and Wayne Gretzky (four photographs). There were a total of 23 different sports presented in the illustration of *On the Go 1-3*, and they are presented in Graph 7.
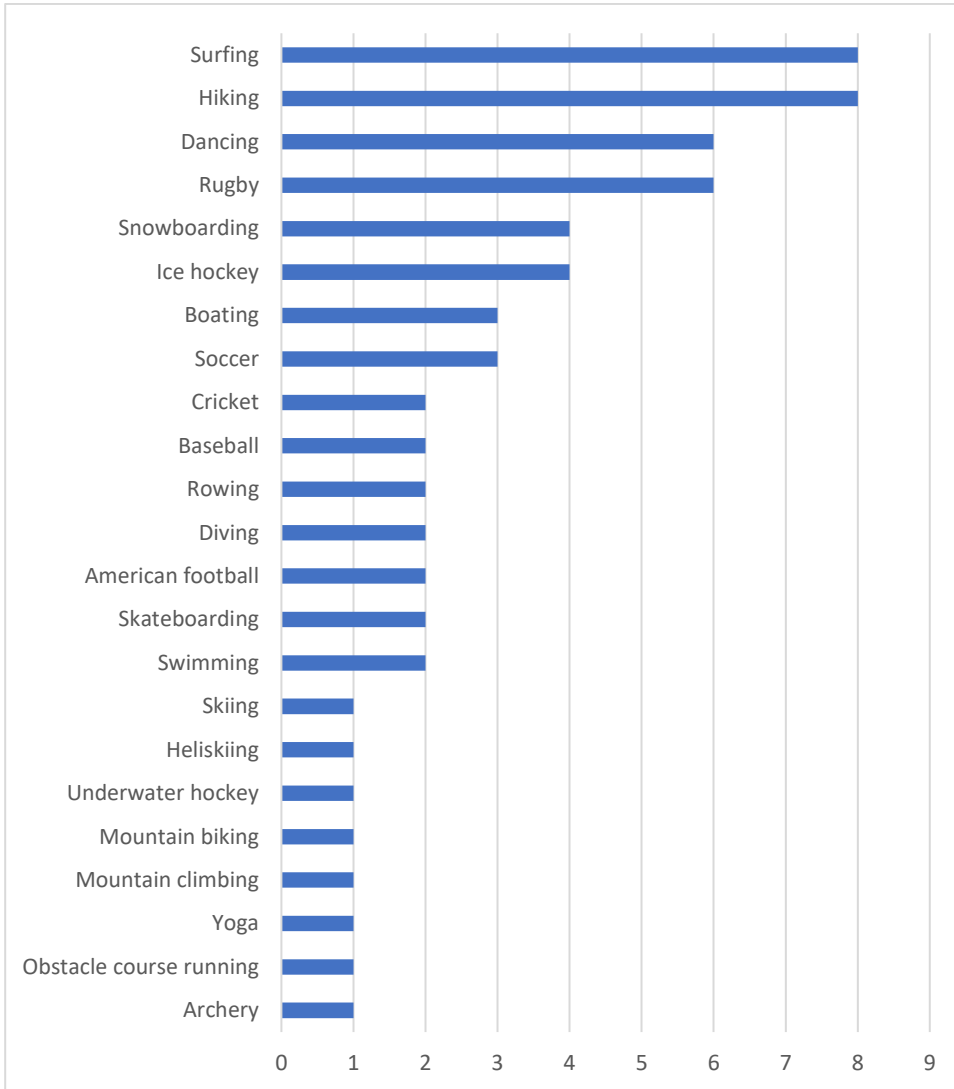
Graph 7. Sports in *On the Go 1-3*.

The most common sports depicted in the images were quite surprising, but the absence of images related to basketball was also surprising, as the only images related to basketball were photographs of Michael Jordan. Of all sports, surfing seemed to be the most international sport, as there were images of people surfing in the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Most of the other sports were more connected to one or two countries. For example, images related to rugby were related to the United Kingdom and New Zealand, ice hockey was related to Canada and Finland, and all hiking-related images took place in New Zealand. As a whole, *On the Go 1-3* depicted a wide range of

sports and there were images related to Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, China, the United Kingdom, Ireland, the United States, Canada, Finland and Jamaica.

'Movies and TV' was the second biggest subcategory, and it consisted of 24 images. There were images related to six different movies, and three of them were depicted in more than one image. *Lion*, which is a joint production between Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States and is based on the novel *A Long Way Home* by Saroo Brierley, was depicted in six images and there were five photographs depicting different places where *Harry Potter* was filmed. There were also two photographs of the Australian movie *Rabbit Proof Fence*. The movies that appeared once were *The Walk*, *Lord of the Rings* and *Pirates of the Caribbean*. There were two images that were related to New York Film Festival and there was one photograph of Jackie Chan and one photograph of Emma Watson. There were also references to television shows *Pokémon* and *Amazing Race*. What was notable in this subcategory was that it did not focus on the American film industry, even though some of the movies were produced by American production companies. *The Walk* was the only movie that took place in the United States, but the main character was French.

There were 16 images related to 'Arts and crafts'. Six of the images depicted people involved in hobbies related to arts and crafts, such as drawing, knitting and jewelry making. There were two images related to street art. Two photographs depicted an art gallery in New York, and there was also one photograph of a fashion show in New York. There was one photograph of a light show in Hong Kong and there was also one image of traditional Chinese decoration. There were also three nature photographs taken by Tim Flach, who is a professional photographer and there was a chapter about him in *On the Go 3*.

There were 14 images related to literature, and four of them were related to the novel *A Long Way Home¸* which is written by Saroo Brierley. There were two images related William Shakespeare, and one of them was a drawing of him, and the other one was a drawing of a person holding a skull, as a reference to a scene in *Hamlet*. Other works that appeared in the images were *Tom Sawyer, Sherlock Holmes, Treasure Island, Around the World in 80 days, Humpty Dumpty* and *Mister Pip*. There was also a cartoon about a traditional Chinese love story and a photograph relating to an African folk tale about a leopard.

'Music' was the smallest subcategory with 11 images. There were only two musicians presented in the images, and they were Bob Marley and Rahul Vaidya. In *On the Go 1*, there was a map of the United States, and there was a drawing of jazz saxophonist placed near New Orleans and a drawing of a country guitarist in the Midwest. There was a similar map of Ireland in *On the Go 3,* and it depicted the Irish duo Jedward performing and a man playing a harp. There were two images related to concerts, and one was a cartoon related to Rahul Vaidya's concert and the other one was a photograph from a concert in New York. There was also one photograph of a man playing the trumpet in an American summer camp and one photograph of two men playing the drums in an unspecified Caribbean country. In *On the Go 3*, there was a structured analytic image of William's room, and he had a lot of band posters on his walls. Most of the posters are related to American rap artists or bands, such as Redman, Method Man and Wu-Tang Clan.

5.3.9 Stereotypes and national identity

This category consisted of 84 images, and they were subdivided into three subcategories; 'Symbols of national identity and stereotypes', 'Cities and landmarks' and 'Famous people', as shown in Graph 8. Even though the word *landmark* refers to buildings and places that are easily recognizable, in this category the meaning of the word is limited to landmarks built by people, such as buildings, monuments and statues. The criteria for the last subcategory was that the people must have had an impact on their nation, and it should be explicitly explained why is that person known nationwide.
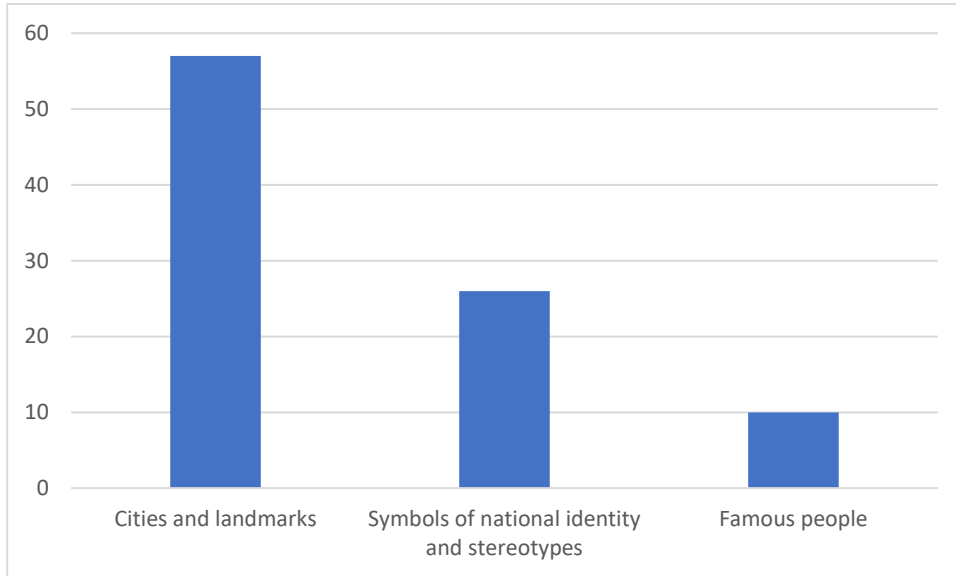
Graph 8. 'Stereotypes and national identity' in *On the Go 1-3*.

There were 26 images in the 'Symbols of national identity and stereotypes' subcategory, and 13 of them depicted flags. There were two images that depicted more than one type of a flag, so in total 15 maps were depicted, and they represented five different countries. If the same flag appeared more than once in the same image, it was counted as one flag. The Canadian flag appeared in six images, and the flag of the United States and the Union Jack both appeared three times. Indian flag appeared twice, and the Irish flag appeared once. It was surprising that the Canadian flag appeared most often in *On the Go 1-3*, but the absence of flags of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa was probably even more surprising.

The remaining images in this category were related to symbols and items that can be thought to be typical for some country. Three images were related to clothing. In one of them, there were 12 people on a pickup truck bed which was parked in the middle of a field in a small town in California, and they all wore jeans and most of them wore cowboy boots. The other two images depicted people from seven different countries, and the appearance of characters made it easy to guess where they were from. There were three images related to Ta moko, which is a type of a Maori tattoo, and two of them depicted people who had tattoos, and one of them was a photograph of a man getting a Ta moko. There was also a photograph of the All Black rugby team, and it was mentioned in the text next to the image that "rugby is as important to us as hockey is to Canadians" (On the Go 2, 2019: 99). Boomerang is an item that is

usually associated with Australia, and there were three images related to boomerangs, and all of them appeared within texts that were related to Australia. In one image, there was a kangaroo painted on a boomerang, and there was also a map of Australia, where a drawing of a boomerang appeared. Ireland was represented in this subcategory by two images of shamrocks and one photograph of people dressed as leprechauns. There was also a cartoon of an exchange student in South Africa, and he wrote notes about typical South African behavior. Behavior is quite challenging to depict in still images, and therefore the use of text enabled the description of behavior.

The 'Cities and monuments' subcategory consisted of 57 images, and 16 of them were related to cities and 41 were related to monuments and famous buildings. In most cases it was clear which city was depicted in the image, but there were three images of Indian cities and two images of African cities where it was not mentioned which city was in the image. As in *Scene*, there were two types of images of cities: photographs of skylines and photographs of streets. There were skyline photographs of Tampere, Hong Kong, Toronto, Sacramento, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Additionally, there were two photographs of African cities that were not mentioned in the texts. Only Hong Kong, New York, San Francisco and an unidentified Indian city were portrayed from a street level.

There were a total of 31 monuments and famous buildings depicted in the images of *On the Go 1-3*, and they appeared in 36 different images. Some images depicted more than one monument, for example, there was a map of the United States in *On the Go 1* which contained drawings of four different monuments. Of all the monuments depicted, 12 of them were located in the United States. There were three images of New York Time Square, and other New York's attractions were also depicted in the images, such as Central Park, Statue of Liberty and Metropolitan Museum of Art. Other American monuments and famous buildings were scattered around the country. It was noteworthy that there were two images of Mount Rushmore and one image of Crazy Horse Memorial, and it was accompanied by a text about the significance of Mount Rushmore for Native Americans. Another major country in this subcategory was the United Kingdom, and there were nine images of monuments and famous buildings. London Zoo appeared twice in the images, and even though it is not a monument or a building, but instead an attraction that consists of several buildings, it was categorized into this category. Other buildings and monuments appeared once, and most of them were located in London. It was noteworthy

that some of the tourist attractions that one could have anticipated to appear in this category were not present, for example there were no images of Big Ben or London Tower. However, there was a drawing of Big Ben in the exercise book.

Three different Australian famous buildings were depicted, and they were Sydney Harbour Bridge, Canberra Parliament House and Sydney Opera House. The last mentioned appeared in two images. Other countries were represented by only one landmark. There were two images of Taj Mahal, Canada was represented by a drawing of CN Tower and there was one drawing of Orlando Towers in South Africa. There was a photograph of wooden sculpture from New Zealand, but there was no text that would have given more details of it, leaving the function of the photograph mostly decorative. Italy and Sudan were the only countries where English is not one of the official languages that appeared in this subcategory, and there was a drawing of Colosseum and a photograph of Corinthia Hotel Khartoum.

Many famous people appeared in the illustration of *On the Go 1-3*, but most of those images were categorized as 'Arts and sports', as they were often athletes, authors, actors and musicians, and the images presented them with the focus on their careers. The people who were categorized into 'Famous people' category were Michael Jordan (three images), Mahatma Gandhi (one image), Mark Boyle (two images), Tenzin Gyatso (one image), Martin Luther King (one image) and Nelson Mandela (two images). The reason only these people were categorized into this subcategory was that they had had an impact on their nations or they were known beyond their career. For example, there was a text about Michael Jordan, and it included information about his life after basketball career, and that he was the third African American to become a billionaire and that he is a successful businessman currently. Mark Boyle is an Irish writer, but he is also known for his acts of activism.

5.3.10 Other culture-related

This category consisted of 15 images, and the biggest subcategory was labelled 'Living', which consisted of ten images. Each textbook contained a section called "My space" that consisted of two pages. On one page, there was a color photograph of a teenager's room, and on the other page there was a copy of the photograph, but it was presented as a smaller, black and white structed analytic image where items and

furniture were numbered, and there was a small description of each item in the image on the same page. The descriptions gave additional information about the items instead of just naming them. For example, in *On the Go 2* (62-63), there is a photograph of Sze Nga Lan's kitchen. It is explained in the text that his family lives in an apartment with three rooms and a kitchen, and that his brothers share a room while he sleeps in the kitchen, which is also the living room. There is a fan and decorations on the wall, and it is told that Hong Kong can get terribly hot in the summer and the decorations bring good luck. In *On the Go 1*, Rishi's room is presented and in *On the Go 3* William's and his sister's room is presented. Rishi lives in Mumbai and William lives in London. It was noteworthy that there was not a similar section in any of the books where a room of teenager living in the United States, Canada or Australia would have been presented, as these countries have been well represented in other categories.

Another clear subcategory was labelled as 'Global culture', and three of these images were in a chapter called "FAQs about language" (*On the Go 1*: 72-73), and they depicted statistics about world languages and how sneezing is written down in different cultures. In *On the Go 3* (159), there was an image of Sustainable Development Goals by United Nations. This image was categorized in this subcategory, since it depicts goals that all countries are expected to work towards.

There was also one image which was not categorized into 'Living' nor 'Global culture': a photograph of a Canadian license plate with the text "Explore Canada's arctic Northwest Territories". As there were no photographs of license plates from other territories or countries, one cannot compare them, but at least Finnish students can compare it to Finnish license plates, or they might look for photographs of other license plates from the Internet.

5.4 Comparison

In this section, the two textbook series will be compared to each other one category at a time. The purpose of this is to point out the main differences in the illustrations of these textbook series, and thus giving teachers information about what kind of images might be left out from one textbook that are present in the other textbook.

5.4.1 Social identity and social groups

What was common in both textbook series was that 'Occupational groups' and 'Ethnic minorities and immigrants' were the biggest subcategories in both textbook series. *On the Go 1-3* had 38 more images in this category, and each subcategory was bigger in *On the Go 1-3* than in *Scene 1-3,* as Graph 9 shows.
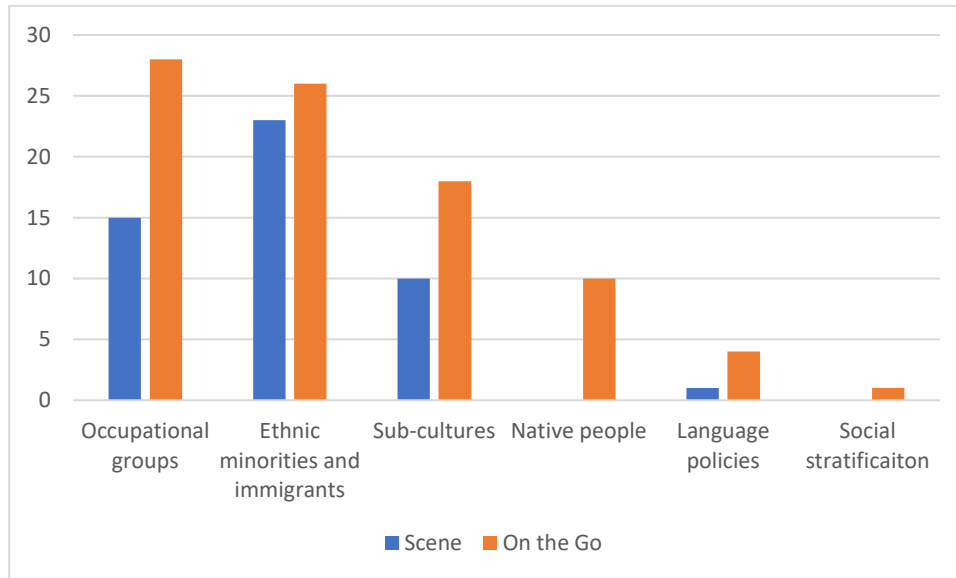

Graph 9. 'Social identity and social groups' in *On the Go 1-3* and *Scene 1-3*.

As mentioned earlier, *Scene 1-3* did not have any images that would have been categorized to 'Native people' or 'Social Stratification'. The absence of images of native people in different countries in *Scene 1-3* is noteworthy, and it is interesting that native people are not mentioned at all, whereas in *On the Go 1-3*, there are images of native people from Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and the native people of the United States are mentioned as well. 'Ethnic minorities and immigrants' and 'Sub-cultures' were approached similarly in both textbook series, but it was noteworthy that *Scene 1-3* included a chapter about protests against racism, and it included four photographs of professional athletes who had protested against racism towards ethnic minorities. The subcategory 'Occupational groups' was clearly bigger in *On the Go 1-3* than in *Scene 1-3*. *On the Go 1-3* included 11 images of farmers and fishers, whereas *Scene 1-3* did not include any images of them or other professions that were related to the production of food, but it did include images of chefs and waiters. Thus, *On the Go 1-3* is more successful in showing a wider variety of occupational groups.

5.4.2 Social interaction

There were 49 images in this category in *On the Go 1-3* and 38 images in *Scene 1-3*. The images were distributed to subcategories very differently, as shown Graph 10. In *Scene 1-3*, the subcategories 'Levels of formality in language' and 'Behavior at meals and explanation of food' had approximately the same number of images, but in *On the Go 1-3*, 'Levels of formality in language' was clearly smaller than 'Behavior at meals and explanation of food'.
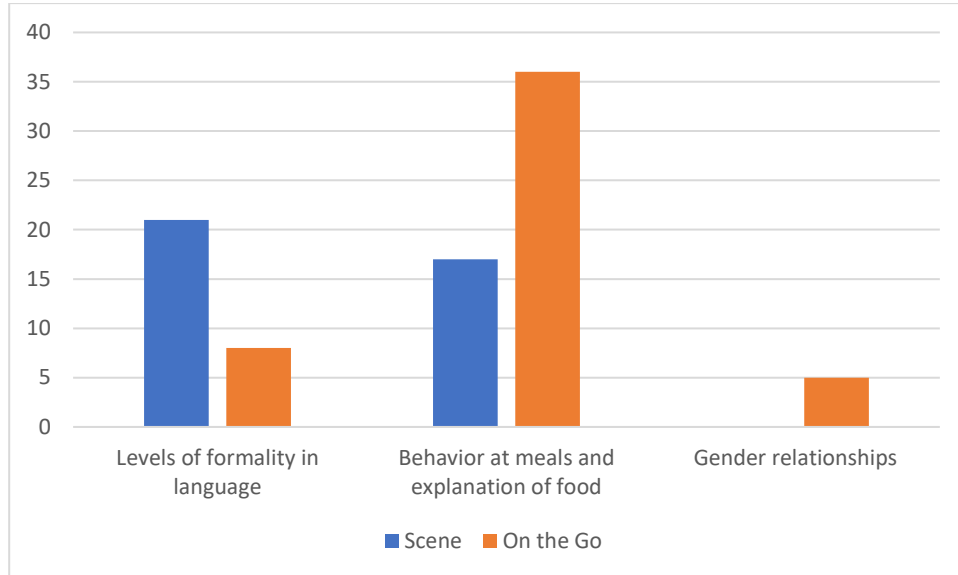
Graph 10. Social interaction in *On the Go 1-3* and *Scene 1-3*.

On the Go 1-3 had five images in the 'Gender relationships' subcategory, whereas *Scene 1-3* did not have any images related to topics such as dating and marriage. Instead, *Scene 1-3* included significantly more images related to 'Levels of formality in language' than *On the Go 1-3*. Most of the images in this subcategory in both textbook series were cartoons which depicted different scenarios, and the speech bubbles contained language that was appropriate for that situation. The use of titles, such as "Mrs." and "Sir" and politeness phrases, such as "please" were common in both textbooks, but *Scene 1-3* included clearly more of such cartoons.

The subcategory 'Behavior at meals and explanations of food' was approached from a wider perspective in *On the Go 1-3*, which included more images of different dishes from various countries and also images

that depicted people having meals. *Scene 1-3* focused more on presenting different foods, but it did not include as many images that would have shown typical meal situations than *On the Go 1-3*.

5.4.3 Belief and behavior

This category was quite similar in both textbook series, except that *On the Go 1-3* contained 11 images more that were related to 'Belief' than *Scene 1-3,* as shown in Graph 11. In both textbooks, the images in the subcategory 'Belief' were mostly related to religion, but there were also images related to folklore in both textbooks. Both textbooks presented India as a country where religion is important, but only *On the Go 1-3* included images of Jewish and Amish people, even though they were in a smaller role than other religions presented in the textbooks.
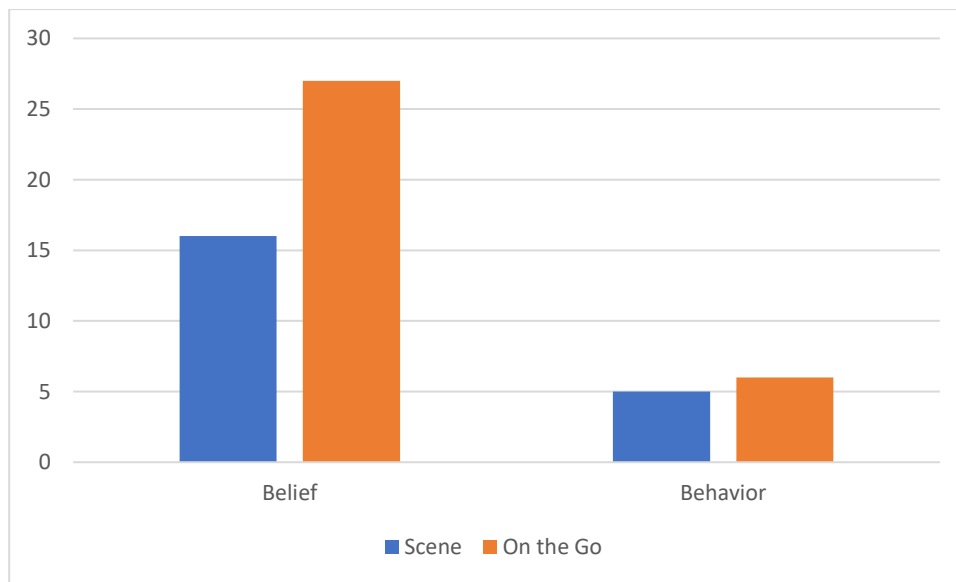

Graph 11. Belief and behavior in *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3*.

The subcategory 'Behavior' was approximately the same size in both textbook series, and the images in both of them were similar. They depicted common situations, such as buying movie tickets, ordering food at a restaurant and going to a doctor's appointment. They were typically cartoons and speech bubbles were important in them. It is challenging to describe behavior in still images, and thus cartoons with multiple panels are useful in showing action, if there is no possibility to show videos. Overall, this

category was very similar in both textbooks, but *On the Go 1-3* included more images that were related to religion.

5.4.4 Socio-political institutions

In both textbook series, this category was one of the smallest categories. However, *On the Go 1-3* contained images in four subcategories, while *Scene 1-3* only had images related to 'Security' and 'Government', as shown in Graph 12. There was a paucity of images that depicted political leaders, as *Scene 1-3* included one photograph of the British royal family and *On the Go 1-3* included one photograph of president Barack Obama. This is quite understandable, as the process of creating a textbook takes several years, and the political leaders might change during the time that the textbook is created or used, and the main aim of language teaching is not to teach about politics. Politics is also a controversial issue, which is challenging to approach in language teaching.
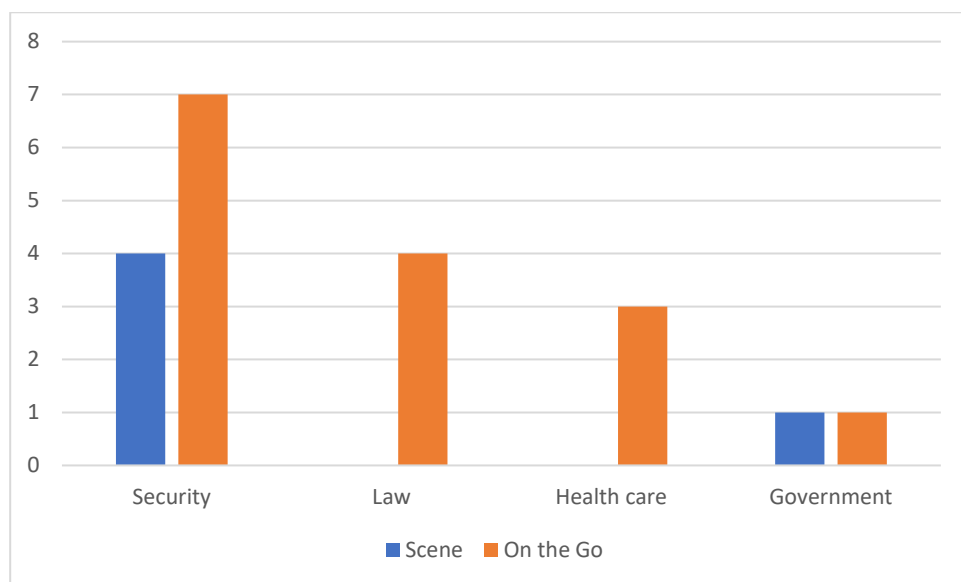

Graph 12. Socio-political institutions in *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3*.

Of the four images related to 'Security' in *Scene 1-3*, three were drawings of London guards, and in *On the Go 1-3,* there was also one photograph of a London guard. *On the Go 1-3* also had images of security workers in the United States and New Zealand, and *Scene 1-3* had one photograph of a Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer. Unlike in many other categories, only a few countries were presented in this subcategory. *On the Go 1-3* had a few images related to 'Law' and 'Health care'. It is difficult to

demonstrate for example how health care is organized in different countries with the use of images, but there were some photographs that depicted embodiments of law in the form of traffic and warning signs.

5.4.5 Socialization and the life-cycle

This category was divided into four subcategories, and both textbooks had images in each subcategory, as shown in Graph 13. The number of images related to 'School' was nearly the same in both textbook series, but the topic was approached from different perspectives. *Scene 1-3* had many images that depicted extra-curricular activities in a school in the United Kingdom and photographs of exchange students. There were also photographs of unusual schools in Bali, the United States and Denmark. The use of school uniform and opinions about them were discussed in both textbooks, but *On the Go 1-3* had clearly more images of students wearing school uniforms. *On the GO 1-3* also had images that depicted students eating school lunch in different countries, but *Scene 1-3* did not have similar contrastive images.
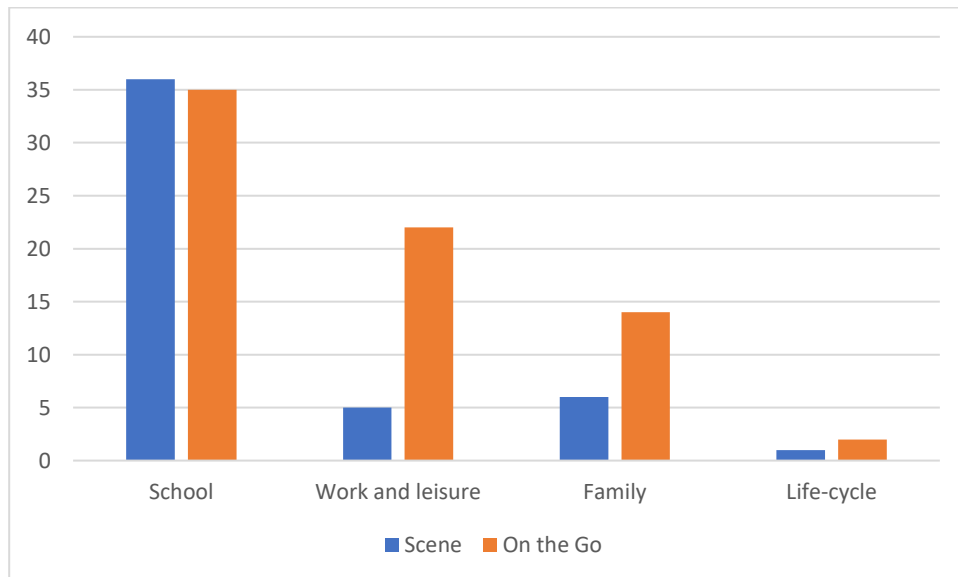
Graph 13. Socialization and life-cycle in *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3*.

On the Go 1-3 had clearly more images that were related to 'Work and leisure' than *Scene 1-3*, but most of them were related to summer camps in the United States, and thus the images did not give a much broader view about the relationship of work/school and leisure in English-speaking countries than *Scene*

1-3. This subcategory proved to be quite challenging to use in this study, as most images that were related to work were categorized as 'Occupational groups', and most images that depicted leisure time were categorized as 'Arts and sports', and it is difficult to present the relationship between work and leisure through the use of images.

On the Go 1-3 also had more images related to 'Family' than *Scene 1-3*. Both textbook series had topics related to family, but *Scene 1-3* focused more on the vocabulary related to family, and did not contain a lot of cultural information about families in different countries, whereas the chapter about family in *On the Go 1-3* was built around an Indian family, and thus the images that were used in the chapter were more culture-related than the images about families in *Scene 1-3*.

'Life-cycle' was a small subcategory in both textbook series, and all images in this subcategory were related to birthdays. Other ceremonies that are related to significant moments in life, such as weddings and funerals, were not presented in either textbook series. The absence of images depicting these ceremonies is probably due to the fact that these ceremonies are not interesting to the target group.

5.4.6 National history

This category was approached differently in the textbook series, as *Scene 1-3* had only six images that were related to history, whereas *On the Go 1-3* had 42 images in this category. The only thing that the textbook series had in common in this category was that they both had images of chess boards that where accompanied by text that stated that chess is an Indian invention. The historically significant people who appeared in *Scene 1-3* were Christopher Columbus and Charles Darwin, whereas *On the Go 1-3* had images of King Fredrik the Great, King Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, Mahatma Gandhi, Anne Bonny, Ching Shih, Dalai Lama, Martin Luther King, Malala Yousafzai, Albert Einstein and Marie Curie. As there were only six history-related images in *Scene 1-3*, it did not cover all English-speaking countries, and for example, Canada, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand did not appear in this category, whereas *On the Go 1-3* dealt with 17 different countries in this category, and thus approached history from a wider perspective.

5.4.7 National geography

This category was one of the biggest categories in both textbook series: there were 82 images that were related to geography in *Scene 1-3* and 119 images in *On the Go 1-3*. The countries that were presented in the images are shown in Graph 14. In both textbook series, the images were typically scenery photographs, maps or images of animals.
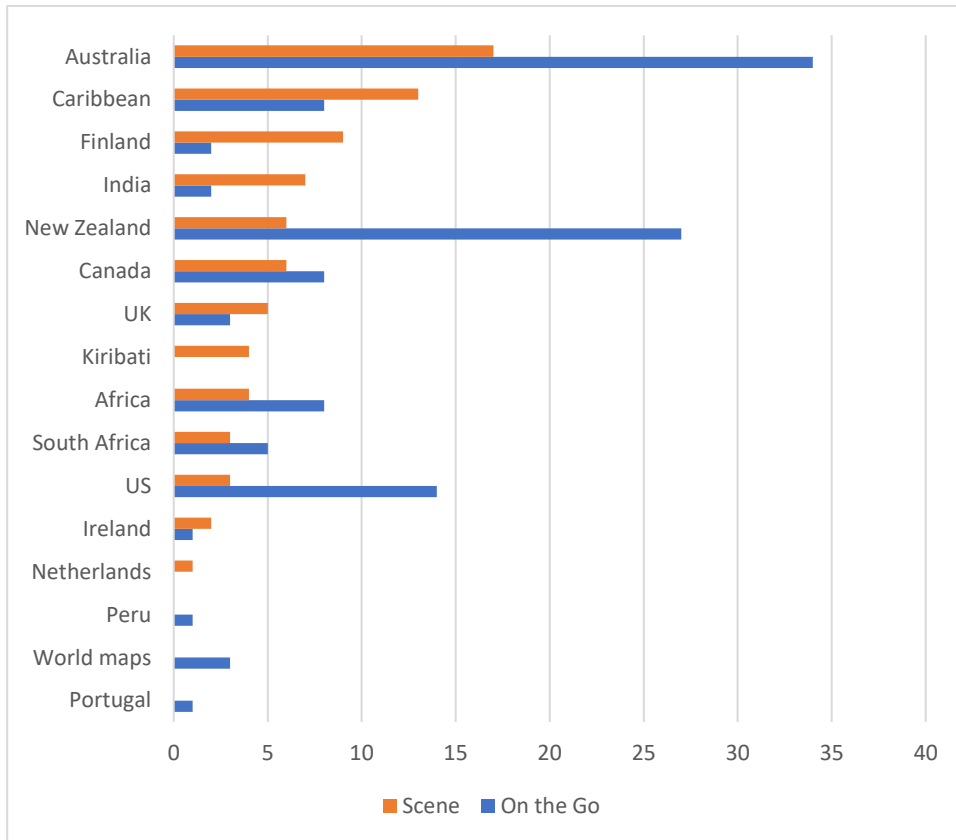

Graph 14. National geography in *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3*.

In both textbook series, the Caribbean and Africa were both approached from a wider perspective, and multiple countries were presented within one chapter. In *Scene 1-3*, the countries or regions with the most images in this category were Australia, the Caribbean and Finland, and in *On the Go 1-3* the biggest countries were Australia, New Zealand and the United States. The geography of the United States was given a lot more emphasis in *On the Go 1-3* than in *Scene 1-3*, where the United States was the second smallest English-speaking country in this subcategory. In *On the Go 1-3*, both Australia and New Zealand were presented through multiple images about their nature, whereas in *Scene 1-3*, there were clearly less

images of New Zealand than of Australia in this category. It was also noteworthy that *Scene 1-3* had nine images related to the geography of Finland, while *On the Go 1-3* had only two, and they were both maps. Similarly, there were clearly more images related to India in *Scene 1-3* than in *On the Go 1-3*. In both textbooks, there were only a few images related to the geography of Ireland, which was in smaller roles in other categories as well, if compared to other English-speaking countries.

5.4.8 Arts and sports

This was the biggest culture-related category in both textbook series, but the images were spread into the subcategories very differently, as shown in Graph 15. In *Scene 1-3*, 'Literature' was clearly the largest subcategory, whereas in in *On the Go 1-3* it was the second smallest. Most of the images that were categorized as 'Literature' in *Scene 1-3* were related to the literature excerpts in the textbooks. Similar literature excerpts were also found in *On the Go 1-3*, but they were typically accompanied by only one or two images, whereas in *Scene 1-3* there were often several images related to one text.
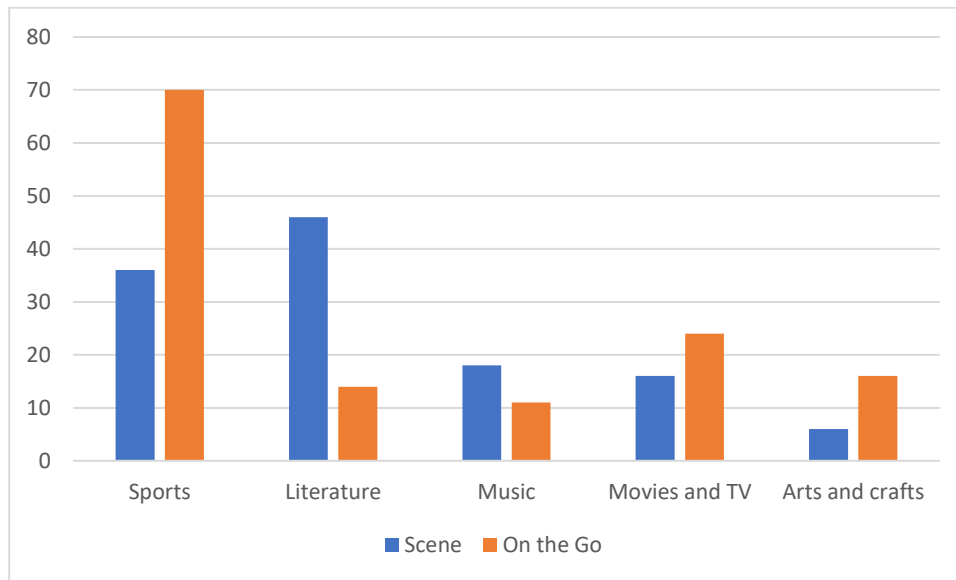
Graph 15. Arts and sports in *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3*.

'Sports' was the biggest subcategory in *On the Go 1-3* and the second biggest in *Scene 1-3*. Both textbooks presented a wide variety of sports, as in *Scene 1-3* there were images related to 17 different

sports, and *On the Go 1-3* presented 23 different sports through the use of images. There were several images related to ice hockey in both textbook series, and the images were all related to Canada or Finland. Rugby was one of the biggest sports in this subcategory in *On the Go 1-3,* but there was only one image related to rugby in *Scene 1-3*. Cricket, which is an especially popular sport in India, appeared only twice in both *On the Go 1-3* and *Scene 1-3*. In *On the Go 1-3*, it was played in India and Australia, whereas in *Scene 1-3* it was played in India and an unspecified Caribbean country.

In *Scene 1-3*, a large proportion of the images in the subcategory 'Movies and TV' were related to *The Simpsons*, whereas in *On the Go 1-3*, there were multiple photographs of places where *Harry Potter* was filmed. It was noticeable that the textbook series had chosen different movies, TV-shows and actors who appeared in the images, and thus different textbooks present a very different view of movies and TV-shows.

Of the 18 images in the subcategory 'Music' in *Scene 1-3*, eight were photographs of British bands or artists, and additionally there was one photograph of Bono. American bands or artists were not presented. Contrastively, *On the Go 1-3* did not have any images of British or Irish artists, but it had one image of Rahul Vaidya, who is an Indian pop artist. Both textbooks had one photograph of Bob Marley, making him the only person who appears in the illustration of both textbooks.

'Arts and crafts' was approached quite similarly in both textbook series, as most of the images in this subcategory depicted people performing arts and crafts, such as drawing and knitting. Additionally, *On the Go 1-3* included photographs of art galleries. Neither of the textbook series presented any famous painters or their works. All of the references in the subcategory 'Music' were related to more contemporary artists as well, with the exception of bands and artists such as Bob Marley, Beatles and Bono, and thus the focus seems to be on more modern aspects of culture in this category. Also, in the subcategory 'Literature', most of the excerpts were from books that were published less than 30 years ago. Thus, it can be stated that the textbook series have focused more on presenting contemporary works and artists rather than classic works and artists.

5.4.9 Stereotypes and national identity

The textbook series did not include many images that would have been clearly related to stereotypes related to foreign cultures or the auto-stereotypes that people in certain countries might have about themselves. Instead, there were many images that were related to symbols that are often associated with different cultures. Both textbooks included images of flags, which are symbols of countries. However, *Scene 1-3* had clearly more images of flags than *On the Go 1-3*. In total, *Scene 1-3* contained images of flags of 38 different countries, whereas *On the Go 1-3* presented only five different flags, leaving out flags of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa for example. It is interesting that the textbook series have approached this very differently, as *Scene 1-3* contained images of flags of many countries where English is not the main language, whereas *On the Go 1-3* had a lot of images that were related to countries such as Australia and New Zealand, but their flags did not appear in the textbooks. Obviously, images of flags are not crucial in teaching about culture, but teachers might want to be aware that different textbook series contain very different number of images of flags. Flags appeared with and without background in both textbook series, but there were no structured analytic images of flags, which could have been useful in giving information about the symbols and colors that appear in flags. *On the Go 1-3* had more images that were related to other symbols than flags, and most of them were items that are thought to represent the culture, and they were presented as such in the textbooks. For example, there were images where boomerangs appeared in chapters that were related to Australia and shamrocks appeared in two images that were related to Ireland.
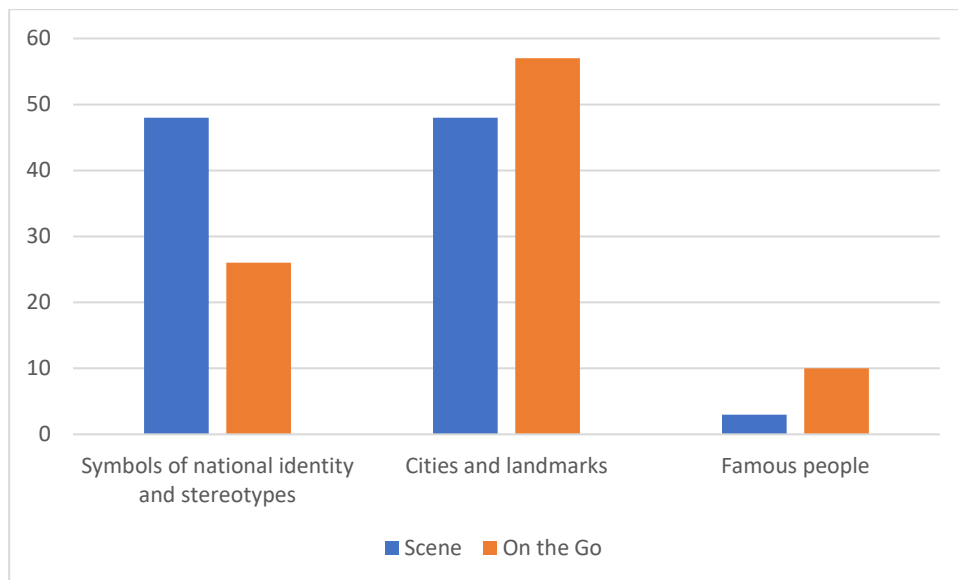
Graph 16. 'Stereotypes and national identity' in *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3*.

The number of images of 'Cities and landmarks' was nearly the same in both textbook series. There were many images of famous landmarks in different cities, but it was surprising that only six landmarks appeared in both textbooks. These were Statue of Liberty, Central Park, Golden Gate Bridge, Taj Mahal, Sydney Opera House and Colosseum. Both textbooks had almost the same number of images of cities, and they were all either photographs of skylines or photographs of streets. Images of some cities, such as New York, Sydney, London and Toronto appeared in both textbooks, but it was typical that certain cities appeared only in one of the textbooks. For example, Boston, Miami, Dallas, Chicago, Seattle, Edinburgh and Vancouver appeared only in *Scene 1-3*, whereas Hong Kong, Sacramento, San Francisco appeared only in *On the Go 1-3*.

The final subcategory, 'Famous people', but as already mentioned in sections 4.2.9 and 4.3.9, both textbook series contained many images of famous people, but most of them were categorized as 'Arts and sports', since they often depicted famous athletes, musicians or authors. Only people who were important to their nation beyond their career were categorized as 'Famous people'. This was a small subcategory in both textbooks, but it was noteworthy that *On the Go 1-3* contained images of Mahatma Gandhi, Tenzin Gyatso and Nelson Mandela, but *Scene 1-3* did not have any images of them or other peace activists. However, *Scene 1-3* contained images of Christopher Columbus and Charles Darwin, who are historically significant globally.

5.4.10 Other culture-related

This category was quite small in both textbook series. In *Scene 1-3*, this category mainly consisted of images related to technology in Africa, as there was one chapter about Internet and technology in Africa. In *On the Go 1-3*, most of the images in this subcategory were labelled as 'Living', and they depicted different types of houses and rooms that represented the standard of living in different countries.

There was one photograph of a wallet with Canadian dollars in it in *Scene 1-3*, but *On the Go 1-3* did not have any similar images. On the other hand, *On the Go 1-3* had one photograph of a Canadian license

plate, whereas *Scene 1-3* did not have any such images. Knowledge about what foreign currency or license plates look like is not crucial, but they could be used in teaching. For example, many historically significant people appear in the United States dollars, and each state in the United States has their own license plate and they often have text or images on them that are meaningful to the citizens of that state.

6. DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the findings are compared and discussed in light of previous studies. The methods used in this study will also be discussed, and suggestions for further research will be given.

6.1 Findings

I expected that there would be some imbalances in the presentation of different aspects of culture, because some aspects are more interesting and easier to demonstrate to students than others. For example, I expected that there would be more images in 'Arts and sports' than in 'Social interaction', and the United States and the United Kingdom would be emphasized. As I predicted, there were obvious imbalances between the categories, but it should not be interpreted as a weakness. Both textbooks had images in every category, and thus both textbook series offer a somewhat broad view of culture. 'Arts and sports', 'National geography' and 'Stereotypes and national identity' were the largest categories in both textbooks and 'Socio-political institutions' was the smallest category in both textbooks, which was surprising. On the other hand, it is difficult to present information about institutions of state using images, and knowledge about them is probably not considered as crucial for the target group. It was quite surprising that when the categories were put to order according to the number of images in them, the lists were almost identical. Thus, first it seems like the textbook series have approached cultural content in illustration similarly, but closer inspection of images revealed that *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3* contain very different types of images.

In 'Social identity and social groups', the main findings were that both textbooks presented ethnic minorities and immigrants in their images, but there was almost no explicit information about them in the texts. Similarly, while both textbooks presented a wide range of different occupational groups in their illustration, *On the Go 1-3* seemed to have a small emphasis on workers such as farmers and fishers, whereas *Scene 1-3* had more images of service industry workers. It was surprising that *Scene 1-3* did not include any images of indigenous people of different countries, whereas *On the Go 1-3* contained ten images that were related to them. Also, *Scene 1-3* did not have any images that were related to 'Social stratification', whereas *On the Go 1-3* had one, and it was related to India. These might be topics that are seen as too controversial for a foreign language textbook, and therefore they were left out.

'Social interaction' was quite similarly approached in both textbooks. However, *Scene 1-3* had seven images that were related to body language and hand gestures, whereas this aspect was not taken into account in *On the Go 1-3*. Knowledge about body language is important, especially when communicating with someone who is not from the same culture, and thus one would have expected that the textbooks contained more images about body language.

In 'Belief and behavior' it would have been interesting to see more images that would have depicted people attending religious ceremonies. Almost all of the images in the 'Beliefs' subcategory were related clothing and items or buildings and monuments that are related to religion. Photographs of people attending ceremonies could include a lot of information about how people dress for different occasions and how do they behave there in different countries and religions. However, it was positive that both textbooks included images that were related to various religions, and there was no emphasis on one religion.

As mentioned earlier, 'Socio-political institutions' was the smallest category in both textbook series. Neither of the textbook series presented how social security or healthcare are organized in different countries. *On the Go 1-3* referred to a malaria epidemic in India in two images, but there was no explanation about the distribution of drugs against malaria. Skin cancer was also brought up in a chapter that was related to Australia, and there was one image that was related to protection against skin cancer, which was created by Cancer Council Victoria. Health issues in other countries were not presented in the images.

'Socialization and the life-cycle' consisted of quite similar images. 'School' was an important theme in both textbook series, and especially school uniforms and extra-curricular activities were central topics. It would have been interesting to see images that would have given information about differences between schools in different countries, and tables could have been used in this. For example, there could have been information about the ratio of public and private schools, whether school lunch is free or not and what is the duration of compulsory education. All of the images that were related to 'Life-cycle' were related to birthdays, but there was no explicit information about how the celebration of birthdays differs in different cultures. The textbook series did not contain any images related to other ceremonies

that mark the passage through stages of life, such as weddings and funerals, but it might be beneficial to learn about how they are arranged in different cultures. However, weddings and funerals might not be interesting to the target group. Byram et al. (1994: 51) also mentioned that information about military service is included in this category, but the textbook series did not include any images that would have been related to this issue. Opinions on military service might be a theme that is more suitable for older students, and thus it is not surprising that the textbooks did not have any images related to it.

'National history' was a category that I expected to be in a more central role, but especially *Scene 1-3* contained a very small number of images that were related to history. Especially in the case of English, it might be beneficial to teach about the history of English-speaking countries, since their histories are in many ways connected to each other. However, imperialism and colonization are controversial topics, and might be avoided for that reason. *On the Go 1-3* contained remarkably more images in this category, and apartheid and colonization were brought up in images that were related to the history of South Africa. There were images related to all English-speaking countries, but the United States was emphasized in this category in *On the Go 1-3*. The fact that there was such a remarkable difference in the number of images in this category shows that *Scene 1-3* has emphasized modern culture, and history is not considered as essential.

It was a surprising finding that the United Kingdom was in such a small role in the category 'National geography' in both textbook series, and the United States was in a small role in *Scene 1-3*, but in *On the Go 1-3*, it was one of the most emphasized countries. It was expected that Australia would be emphasized in this category, and it was clearly the biggest country in both textbook series. New Zealand was also emphasized in *On the Go 1-3*, whereas *Scene 1-3* contained clearly less images related to the geography of New Zealand. However, it was notable that the countries that were emphasized in this category were typically in a smaller role in 'Stereotypes and national identity', and especially in the subcategory 'Landmarks'. Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the Caribbean were presented with images of nature, such as beaches, mountains, forests and lakes, but there was a paucity of images related to famous buildings and other monuments in them. Thus, the images give an unbalanced view of these countries. While the United Kingdom was in a smaller role in 'National geography', it was emphasized in 'Stereotypes and national identity', which also affects the way students view the United Kingdom.

However, it is probably not ideal that the textbooks would contain equal number of images related to the nature and cities in each country, but in order to give a well-rounded view of a certain country, there should be images related to various aspects. Especially New Zealand was presented mainly through images of nature, but there were no images of famous buildings in New Zealand in neither textbook series. Even though New Zealand is known for its nature, it would be beneficial to include more versatile images of it in textbooks. It would be beneficial if teachers were aware of this, and thus they could include more versatile images in their own materials.

Images in the category 'Arts and sports' in *Scene 1-3* were quite different from images in the same category in *On the Go 1-3*. *Scene 1-3* included a lot more images that were related to literature than *On the Go 1-3*, but there were not a lot of photographs of known authors. *Scene 1-3* also included more photographs of famous athletes, musicians and actors than *On the Go 1-3*. Most of the musicians and actors who appeared in *Scene 1-3* were from the United Kingdom, whereas most of the athletes were from the United States. *On the Go 1-3* approached these subcategories from a different perspective, and most of the athletes, musicians and actors were from Canada, India or Australia. For example, there were chapters about Canadian ice hockey player Wayne Gretzky and Australian sailor Jessica Watson. Indian pop star Rahul Vaidya was mentioned in one chapter and there was one image of him, and Jackie Chan appeared in one image, and it was mentioned that he is the biggest film star in China. *On the Go 1-3* also presented movies *The Rabbit Proof Fence, Lion* and *The Walk*. The first one takes place in Australia, the second in Australia and India, and the third takes place in New York, but the main character is French. There was also one photograph of The Hobbiton in New Zealand, which is one of the places where *The Lord of the Rings* movies were filmed, but there was no text related to that photograph that would have given more information about it. Therefore if the teacher does not recognize the place and tell about it, it might be unclear for the students what is depicted in the image. In conclusion, *On the Go 1-3* displayed versatile images related to sports, movies and music, without emphasizing the United States or the United Kingdom.

6.2 Comparison to other studies in the same field

Lamponen (2012) analyzed *Open Road* textbook series, which is an EFL textbook series for Finnish upper secondary school students. Lappalainen (2011) analyzed the presentation of American culture in

four different EFL textbook series for upper secondary school, and Pohjanen (2007) analyzed cultural content in two EFL textbook series for basic education. Their studies focused on themes and information that were presented in the textbooks, and thus the results are not completely comparable, but since there are no similar studies that would have focused on images, these studies provide the most applicable information that can be used in comparison.

According to Lamponen's (2012) findings, education was the most emphasized aspect of daily life, which can also be seen in *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3*. Similarly to my findings, arts and sports were emphasized in *Open Road*, and Lamponen (2012) points out that the reason why arts and sports have a central role in textbooks is that it is a category that is easy for the textbook creators to compose and it is interesting to the students. She also mentioned that it is easier to find information about athletes, musicians and actors than about daily life of an Australian or New Zealander. *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3* presented many English-speaking countries, but the United States and the United Kingdom were given a more central role. Similarly, Lamponen (2012) found out that British and American cultures were also given most attention in *Open Road*, and besides them, Australia was given some emphasis, whereas the remaining countries that were represented were given very little attention. Compared to *Open Road*, both *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3* present Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Ireland, South Africa, the Caribbean and India quite well. However, it was typical that these countries were presented from narrower point of view, and the emphasis was often on nature or famous monuments.

The most notable finding of Lappalainen (2011) was that older EFL textbooks tend to include more stereotypes than newer textbooks. It was positive that the textbook series analyzed in the present study contained almost no stereotypical images. However, Byram et al. (1995: 52) state that it is beneficial to have knowledge about stereotypes and self-stereotypes that people from foreign cultures might have, but it is crucial to notify that stereotypes are over-generalized beliefs and might not have anything to do with reality. Lappalainen (2011) also found that famous monuments and people were highlighted in the textbooks, whereas less emphasis was given on daily life. Similarly, *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3* contained many images of famous monuments, but both textbooks contained a lot of images of both regular and famous people, and thus there was not a clear emphasis on celebrities. Especially "My space" sections in *On the Go 1-3* gave versatile information about daily life of normal people, and it would be

beneficial if the textbooks contained more sections that give information about how regular people live in different cultures.

According to my findings, *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3* did not include a lot of statistical information in their images, but *On the Go 1-3* used graphs and timelines to show information about different countries and regions, but they were not used often. Pohjanen (2007) found out in her study that *The News Headlines* was quite deviant to other textbooks studied, because it contained a lot of statistical information about English-speaking countries. As my findings showed, *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1*-3 did not have any images related to weddings or funerals. Similarly, Pohjanen (2007) found out that the textbooks that she had studied did not contain any information about funerals, but weddings were mentioned once in *The News Headlines*. My study showed that *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3* have given quite a lot of attention to countries such as Australia, New Zealand, India and Ireland, but the United States and the United Kingdom were in a more central role. In comparison, Pohjanen's (2007) study points out that countries such as Australia, India, New Zealand and Ireland are approached from a narrower viewpoint, and the information about them is often limited to historical events, scenery and monuments. Thus, it seems like modern textbooks, such as *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3,* have given more attention to other English-speaking countries than the United Kingdom and the United States, even though the emphasis is still on these two countries. Similarly to Pohjanen' (2007) study, my findings show that there are some references to religion in the textbooks, but there is no explicit information about religions in the textbooks. For example, there was a mention of cows roaming free around the streets of India in *Key English*, and *On the Go 2* contained an image of a cow laying on a beach in India, but neither textbooks explicitly told about the meaning of cows to the people of India. As in *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3*, the textbook series that Pohjanen analyzed did not have any information about military service. Pohjanen (2007) also mentioned that the textbooks did not contain any good maps, whereas both *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3* included many maps that showed the countries and gave at least some information about them, such as neighboring countries and largest cities. *Key English* and *The News Headlines* did not include any information about classical musicians or painters, and thus it can be stated that EFL textbooks tend to focus on contemporary music and art.

6.3 Evaluation of the used method

The use of list of aspects of culture proposed by Byram et al. (1994: 51-53) was useful in the present study, but the analysis proved to be time-consuming and challenging in many ways. The focus was heavily on images, but Byram et al. (1994: 51-53) created the list as a checklist for minimum content in teaching, and thus it was not designed for evaluating illustration. Some aspects of culture are difficult to present in the form of a visual image, and therefore it was expected that unbalances would occur in the textbooks. However, there were images categorized to each main category, and 'Other culture-related' had a surprisingly small number of images in both *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3*. Thus, the list covered all aspects of culture that were presented in the illustrations of textbooks quite well, but a list that was designed for evaluation of culture-related images would have been more beneficial in the present study.

The amount of data was also surprisingly large, and it limited the precision of analysis. Recording and categorizing all the images in six textbooks was time-consuming, and thus the original aim of also analyzing the way images are connected to the texts and how are they used proved to be too challenging for a study of this scale. If only one textbook series were analyzed, it might have been more realistic to study the functions of images and how they support learning about culture. Thus, I suggest that in the future there should be more research on how images are used in teaching culture, instead of studying the aspects of culture that are presented in the images.

The statistics might also be misleading, as the images were simply categorized, but due to the amount of data, they were not evaluated on the basis of how they support learning about culture. Therefore, the statistics in the present study give information only about the number of images and themes and items that occur in them. The size of an image or how informational it is was not evaluated, and one should not assume that a large number of images means that something is well covered. However, as shown in the analysis, the textbooks contained versatile images that covered various themes and subjects, and if some themes were not absent in the illustration, it was mentioned in the analysis.

7. CONCLUSION

In this section, the aims and findings of the present study will be summarized and ideas for future studies will be presented. The original aim of the present study was to find out what kind of culture-related images occur in EFL textbooks and how are they used in teaching. The collection of data proved time-consuming, and due to the scale of the present study, the aim of the study shifted from evaluating the images to simply finding out what kind of culture-related images occur in *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3*. There are also exercise books that supplement the textbooks that were analyzed, but since they contained a very small number of culture-related images, they were not analyzed. *On the Go 1-3* contained more culture-related images than *Scene 1-3,* and it had more images than *Scene 1-3* in every category, except 'Stereotypes and national identity'. The main reason why *Scene 1-3* had more images in 'Stereotypes and national identity' was that it contained more images where symbols that are important to different cultures appeared, such as flags. When the categories were ranked according to the number of images in them, the lists were almost identical. The biggest difference was 'National history', as it was almost completely ignored in *Scene 1-3*, whereas *On the Go 1-3* contained 42 images that were related to history. Both textbooks had a slight emphasis on British and American culture, and other countries and regions that were presented were Canada, Australia, Ireland, New Zealand, India, New Zealand, the Caribbean and Africa. There were also some individual images related to countries where English is not the main language, such as France, Germany and Egypt in both textbooks, but they often occurred in context where the main theme was related to global issues, such as environment or democracy.

When the results were compared to other similar studies, it was noticed that similar themes have been emphasized in different EFL textbooks. Education is one theme that is often emphasized, which is natural, as the studied textbooks are designed for basic education and upper secondary school students. Also, the emphasis is typically on British and American cultures, but this study suggested that the studied textbooks have given more attention than older EFL textbooks to other countries where English is the main language of society as well.

The findings of the present study could be used by teachers when they make their own materials that supplement the studied textbooks. This study pointed out some aspects of culture that were not taken into account in the illustration of two textbook series, and suggestions were given about what kind of images

teachers could include in their own materials in order to give a more well-rounded view of culture. For example, it was noticed that most of the images that were related to Australia and New Zealand were related to nature in both textbook series, and thus teachers could include images that were related to daily life of Australians or New Zealanders in their own materials. *Scene 1-3* contained a lot of images of British singers and actors, but celebrities from other countries were not presented. On the other hand, *On the Go 1-3* introduced actors, musicians and athletes from countries such as Canada, India, Australia and China, but it presented only a few American or British famous people. Also, most of the images that were related to school were related to school uniforms, and other differences in school systems in different countries were given less emphasis.

I suggest that there should be more research conducted on the issue of cultural content in the illustration of EFL textbooks. As this study focused on answering the question "What kind of culture-related images are there in EFL textbooks?", the answer to the question "How useful are these images in teaching and learning about culture?" should also be found. The studies could also be conducted on other language textbooks, and the relationship of text and images could also be studied. Also, this study analyzed textbooks as products, but it did not answer the question "How do teachers utilize the illustration of textbooks when teaching about culture?". In order to answer this question, classroom observation, interviews or surveys should be conducted.

In conclusion, both *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3* contain a lot of culture-related images, and they have a similar approach to culture. 'Arts and sports', 'Stereotypes and national identity' and 'National geography' were emphasized in both textbooks, but the people, places and symbols that appeared in the images varied a lot. For example, Bob Marley was the only person who appeared in both *Scene 1-3* and *On the Go 1-3*, and only a few monuments appeared in both textbook series. Thus, it is important that teachers are aware of what kind of images appear in textbooks, and which aspects are left out. Textbooks can contain only a limited number of images, and thus something has to be always left out, and teachers have a great responsibility in supplementing the illustration of a textbook by including images in their own materials that do not appear in the used textbook.

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