

PRESENTATION OF
ENGLISH-SPEAKING CULTURES:
Upper secondary school textbooks
of English in the 1980s and in the 2010s

Bachelor's thesis
Saara Lindström

University of Jyväskylä
Department of Languages
English
3.5.2012

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiedekunta – Faculty Humanistinen tiedekunta	Laitos – Department Kielten laitos
Tekijä – Author Saara Lindström	
Työn nimi – Title PRESENTATION OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING CULTURES: Upper secondary school textbooks of English in the 1980s and in the 2010s	
Oppiaine – Subject Englannin kieli	Työn laji – Level Kandidaatintutkielma
Aika – Month and year 3.5.2012	Sivumäärä – Number of pages 26
Tiivistelmä – Abstract <p>Englanti on yksi maailman levinneimmistä kielistä ja sitä puhutaan sekä äidinkielenä että vielä useammin toisena tai vieraana kielenä. Tämän moninaisuuden vuoksi on myös monia englanninkielisiä kulttuureja. Näistä tunnetuimpia ovat brittiläinen ja pohjoisamerikkalainen kulttuuri, jotka ovat myös hyvin esillä jokapäiväisessä elämässämme muun muassa television ja musiikin kautta. Tekstikirjoilla on tärkeä osa kielten opetuksessa ja niiden olisi hyvä heijastaa kohdekielten ja -kulttuurien todellista tilannetta maailmalla.</p> <p>Aikaisemmat tutkimukset kulttuurista kielten opetuksessa ovat nostaneet esille joitakin puutteita tekstikirjoissa. Ensinnäkin kirjat sisältävät usein stereotyyppioita, ja toiseksi niissä keskitytään enemmän maiden ominaisuuksiin kuin erilaisiin ihmisiin. Suomalaiskontekstissa tekstikirjat ovat usein hyvin brittiläis- ja pohjoisamerikkalaispainotteisia. Tutkielman tavoite on pohtia, miten kulttuurien käsittely tekstikirjoissa on muuttunut 1980-luvulta 2010-luvulle.</p> <p>Tutkielmassa tutkittiin kolmea tekstikirjasarjaa. <i>Action</i>-sarja kuvaa tilannetta 1980-luvun alkupuolella, <i>Guys 'n gals</i>- sarja 1980-luvun lopulla ja <i>ProFiles</i>-sarja 2010-luvulla. Kustakin sarjasta tarkasteltiin kahta kirjaa, yhtä yhteiskuntakurssista ja toista kulttuurikurssista.</p> <p>Tulokset osoittavat, että brittiläistä ja pohjoisamerikkalaista kulttuuria painotetaan yhä kaikissa tutkituissa kirjoissa, vaikka toisessa <i>ProFiles</i>-sarjan kurssissa nähdään kehitystä monipuolisempaan suuntaan. Lisäksi voidaan todeta, että stereotyyppioita esiintyi. Ne olivat kuitenkin yleisempiä 1980-luvun kirjasarjoissa, kun taas <i>ProFiles</i> onnistui välttämään niitä paremmin. Toinen merkittävä ero kirjojen välillä on se, että vanhemmissa kirjoissa on enemmän informatiivisia lukuja, jotka keskittyvät esimerkiksi johonkin maahan, kun taas <i>ProFiles</i>-sarjassa aiheet ovat yleisempiä, kuten etiikka tai mainostaminen.</p> <p>Tutkimuksen otanta oli suhteellisen pieni, joten jotta saataisiin laajempi kuva muutoksista, olisi tutkimukseen sisällytettävä useampia kokonaisia kirjasarjoja. Saadut tulokset kuitenkin osoittavat, että uudemmissakin tekstikirjoissa on parantamisen varaa. Tulevaisuudessa kirjantekijät voisivat kiinnittää enemmän huomiota eri kulttuureiden esittämiseen, koska opiskelijat tuntevat jo ennestään Isoa-Britanniaa ja Yhdysvaltoja. Sen sijaan tuntemattomampia kulttuureja olisi hyvä painottaa enemmän, koska ne eivät ole paljon esillä koulun ulkopuolellakaan. Näin pystyttäisiin esittelemään kulttuurien monipuolisuutta ja sitä kautta lisäämään suvaitsevaisuutta ja erilaisuuden ymmärtämistä, jotka ovat nykymaailmassa tärkeitä taitoja ja lisäksi opetus suunnitelman tavoitteita.</p>	
Asiasanat – Keywords cultures, textbook analysis, content analysis, intercultural learning kulttuuri, oppikirjat, sisällönanalyysi, kulttuurienvälisyys	
Säilytyspaikka – Depository JYX	
Muita tietoja – Additional information	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION	3
2 THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING.....	4
2.1 Definitions of culture	4
2.2 Culture in foreign language teaching	6
2.3 English around the world	8
2.4 The curricula in the 1980s and in the 2010s	10
3 THE PRESENT STUDY	12
3.1 Research questions	12
3.2 Methods of data collection	12
3.3 Methods of data analysis	13
4 PRESENTATION OF CULTURES IN TEXTBOOKS OF ENGLISH	14
4.1 Presentation of countries	14
4.1.1 Countries	14
4.1.2 Statistical information	16
4.2 Culture.....	17
4.2.1 Literature	17
4.2.2 Film and music.....	18
4.3 Stereotypes	19
4.4 Features of the teaching material	20
4.4.1 Authenticity.....	20
4.4.2 “The ambassadorial aspect”	21
4.5 Correspondence with the curricula	22
5 CONCLUSION	23
BIBLIOGRAPHY	25

1 INTRODUCTION

At present, English is considered to be one of the most widespread languages in the world and a lingua franca in many different contexts. It is spoken as a first language by many and as a second or a foreign language by even more. Because of this diversity, there are also many different English-speaking cultures. Thus, its global status means that today's English is more than the English spoken in Britain or in the USA. For example, speakers in Australia and India and EFL (English as a foreign language) speakers are a significant part of English users.

Textbooks have an important role in foreign language learning and are one of the major sources of the target language for learners. In teaching they are often the only material used. Therefore, they should reflect the worldwide situation of English and provide learners with a realistic and versatile presentation of the target cultures. Moreover, learners are often familiar with British and North American cultures through music, television and film, whereas cultures such as Australian or Indian are less known. Thus, textbooks could fill the gap and give learners a many-sided picture of the English-speaking world.

Researchers have pointed out several flaws in the cultural content of textbooks. First, a common conception is that British and North American cultures tend to be emphasised the most. In the Finnish context this is supported for example by Pohjanen (2007). When considering the worldwide role of English, knowing only about the British and North American societies is not sufficient in order to be able to use the language globally (Baker 2011: 3). Second, another feature investigated is the occurrence of stereotypes. Yuen (2011) found out that textbooks often lack depth and have an overgeneralised approach, which can result in stereotypical thinking. A versatile selection of cultures and people would be highly important in familiarising learners with different cultures and in reducing prejudices. Third, also the amount of statistical information is often criticised. This convention tends to provide learners with irrelevant facts and therefore promotes a so called tourist's viewpoint, as was also noted by Pohjanen (2007). Textbooks with references to real life would be more appealing to learners and with authentic materials they would offer an inside point of view to the target cultures.

Although the role of culture in textbooks has been widely examined (Byram 1989, Kaikkonen 1994, Yuen 2011), few studies have actually concentrated on the progress and development in the presentation of cultures. Thus, the purpose of the present study is to examine how the presentation of cultures in Finnish upper secondary school textbooks has changed from the early 1980s to the

2010s. The main points to be considered are whether British and North American cultures are still emphasised the most and whether the books contain stereotypes. In addition, attention will be paid to the curricula and their changes and how they affect the cultural content. Furthermore, the author will suggest what could be improved in future.

The following chapter will present views on the role of culture in foreign language teaching. The section includes definitions of culture, references to previous studies, the position of English as a global language and conceptions of the National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools in the 1980s and in the 2010s. Chapter three outlines the research questions as well as methods of data collection and of data analysis. Results are presented and analysed in chapter four. Finally, chapter five will summarise the findings and include suggestions for future improvements.

2 THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

In this section the role of culture in foreign language teaching is discussed. First, general definitions of culture and conceptions of the relationship between language and culture are introduced. Second, I focus on culture in language teaching, including its benefits and disadvantages and opinions of the presentation of culture in textbooks. Third, the worldwide role of English and why it should get more emphasis in language teaching is discussed. Fourth, a summary of how the curricula in the 1980s and in the 2010s refer to culture is presented.

2.1 Definitions of culture

In the study of language a common definition of culture is that culture is “socially acquired knowledge”. It is ideas of our environment and people that we, as members of society, have acquired without consciously learning them, just as we acquire our first language. (Yule 2006: 216.) Lyons (1981: 302) analyses the term “socially acquired knowledge” further. He points out that in this context knowledge has two meanings, practical and propositional. Practical knowledge is about knowing how and why to do something whereas propositional knowledge means that the fact that counts is that something is thought to be true, not whether it actually is true or false. The shared values, norms and behaviour are an important factor in making us part of a certain group, as culture is composed of something that one needs to know or believe in in order to be accepted by other members of society (Goodenough 1964, cited in Byram 1989: 81). However, as Kaikkonen (1994: 65) points out, sociology of culture wants to separate culture and society because in every society there are sub-cultures within cultures. Young people all over the world, for example, can have more

in common than the young and elderly within a nation's borders. Therefore, it is impossible to find a mutual culture within nations without generalising. In short, a possible definition of culture is the following by Nieto (2002: 53):

I define culture as the ever-changing values, traditions, social and political relationships, and worldview created and shared by a group of people bound together by a combination of factors (which can be a common history, geographic location, language, social class and/or religion).

The culture and environment that surround us have an influence on our language use. Yule (2006: 217) gives an example of this phenomenon: in English the word *grandmother* is used for both male parent's father and female parent's mother, whereas in Norwegian there is a distinction between *farmor* and *mormor*. A similar example is how in Finnish the female parent's brother is called *eno* and male parent's brother *setä*, whereas in English *uncle* is used for both. Yule (2006: 218) distinguishes two important views about culture and language. The first, linguistic relativity, means that the structure of our language influences the way we see the world and that the vocabulary and structure modify our worldview. The second, linguistic determinism, however, means that "language determines our thought" and that we can only think in the way our language suggests.

One conception that analyses the relationship between language, culture and thought is The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which combines linguistic determinism with linguistic relativity (Lyons 1981: 304). Yule (2006: 218) illustrates its strong form with Whorf's view of the Hopi people. The Hopi, a native American tribe, have a distinction between animate and inanimate in their language and therefore, according to Whorf, they perceive the world differently from other tribes. Among the animate group there are clouds and stones and Whorf claimed that the Hopi believe they are actual living entities because their language suggests so. However, as Yule (2006: 219) points out, the problem of the theory lies in confusion between the linguistic classification 'animate' and the biological classification 'living'. The strong view is nowadays rejected by many linguists, also by Lyons. One of his examples that disproves it is the following: speakers of Zuni, an American-Indian language, do not have a difference between *orange* and *yellow* in their language. When learning English they had some difficulties in remembering the particular words but they could see the difference between the colours when asked to compare them. Therefore, the strong form of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is invalid because they can perceive both colours. However, the weak view, in which cultural differences and language slightly modify our worldview, memory and thought, is accepted.

2.2 Culture in foreign language teaching

In foreign language teaching culture and language have often been separated from each other. Some have even claimed that in order to teach a language purely and successfully one has to exclude the cultural context. (Kaikkonen 1994: 71.) The aim of modern language learning, as Kaikkonen (2000: 49-50) points out, is intercultural communication. The term *intercultural* means the dynamic process of encountering other cultures and its aim is not reaching a perfect, native-like linguistic competence but learning how to survive in intercultural encounters, where besides the target language the target culture and appropriate behaviour are important.

Learning and teaching cultures has many benefits. Firstly, learners will learn to understand foreign cultures and their representatives (Kaikkonen 1994: 114). It will also reduce prejudices and increase tolerance (Byram 1989: 15). However, Byram (1989: 18) reminds us that learners have a sense of what is right, wrong or appropriate in their own culture, which can lead to intolerance. Therefore, in order to avoid such a situation, one should consciously discuss the issues. Secondly, in foreign language learning one not only learns about the target language and culture. Instead, according to Kaikkonen (2000: 52), learners also learn more about their own language as well as about their culture, its norms and customs. As Byram (1989: 49) says, it offers learners a chance to reflect on their own language and culture by getting experiences from others. Thirdly, as Kaikkonen (1994: 114) illustrates, when learners get to know their own culture better through mirroring their values, norms and behaviour with other cultures and reflecting their conceptions and customs, which often are self-evident or automatic, it will result in increasing learners' self-knowledge. Thus, besides expanding learners' cultural view, it will also develop their identities (Kaikkonen 2000: 52).

Not everyone is convinced of the benefits of learning cultures. Alptekin and Alptekin (1984: 14-20) criticise the convention of teaching languages and cultures together. First, Alptekin and Alptekin argue that the convention of teaching language and culture together lies on empirically unverified linguistic relativity. They claim that teaching culture aims at changing learners' behaviour by introducing new norms and values and therefore learners will take a new identity. In addition, when native teachers bring their own culture to the classroom, it ignores the educational policies of the host country and may therefore result in the host country losing its own culture. Furthermore, while they admit that foreign language learning is important, they say teaching cultural norms and values is useless as learners often consider them to be "alien and unacceptable". Moreover, they suggest "de-Anglo-Americanizing" EFL, which means changing the linguistic and cultural features to suit the host country because in their opinion culture teaching is too idealised and threatens national

identity. In conclusion, they claim that teaching cultural aspects will either make learners quit learning because they do not want to acquire the foreign culture or the learners who do continue to learn will become estranged from their own culture as they adjust to the values and norms of the target culture.

As Kaikkonen (1994: 5) points out, language teaching is often merely dependent on teaching materials, in other words on textbooks, and therefore they have a substantial influence on learners. Textbooks have been criticised for many reasons, some of which I introduce here. First, Gray (2000: 274) points out that teaching materials are not only about grammar and vocabulary. Instead they include a “cultural promise” and tend to present the target culture in an idealised light. He calls it “the ambassadorial aspect” and one of the main sources of criticism. Another issue that is often brought up is how textbooks offer a tourist's perspective to culture focusing on entertainment, travel, food and factual information and lack depth (Yuen 2011: 464). Also Pohjanen (2007) mentions the superficial tourist viewpoint and describes how the cultural focus is mainly on countries and their features rather than on people and their values and norms. Thus, textbooks tend to deliver factual and statistical information and do not show examples of ordinary life. Furthermore, as textbooks are usually generalised, textbook users may think that the norms and behaviour presented in them apply to the whole culture, which can result in stereotypical thinking (Yuen 2011: 460). Also Byram (1989: 54) mentions that textbooks often promote traditional roles, for example family and gender roles, which do not describe the situation of the real world. In other words, there is "exaggeration of the typical" and the target culture is presented as an idyll (Byram 1989: 16). Moreover, there are certain countries, cultures and varieties that have a bigger emphasis than others. When the language of a certain country or an area is a prestige variant, it is a result of habitual conventions and shows appreciation towards the culture in question. (Kaikkonen 1994: 71.) In Finnish textbooks the main focus tends to be on British and North American cultures as Pohjanen (2007) also found out.

Byram (1989: 54) suggests that textbooks should introduce a wider range of people and therefore offer a more realistic picture of the world. Because, if learners can identify themselves with certain people or situations, they will find the texts more interesting. He (1989: 16) adds that texts where the target culture is presented as idyllic and perfect, are not attractive to learners. Learners want to know about real life and real people, not about facts for tourists. Guest (2002: 157) goes slightly further suggesting that in order to show learners the real world, textbooks should focus more on individual features rather than on cultural features. Furthermore, Byram (1989: 54) suggests there

should be a move from the descriptive level to a level where one would interpret and explain things. He adds that it would require mentioning the underlying values and meanings. Yuen (2011: 8), on the other hand, emphasises the role of teachers because it is they who choose which textbooks to use. According to him, teachers should take a more active role by evaluating textbooks and by giving constant feedback to publishers and that way contributing to the quality of the materials. As a conclusion, Byram (1989: 71-79) introduces several criteria that make a good textbook. These criteria include, for example, presentation of different varieties of language, different social groups, giving a realistic picture of the country and using authentic texts.

2.3 English around the world

English, with its estimated 1,500 million speakers worldwide, has become one of the most successful languages in the world and today is a global language (Crystal 2003: 4) and a lingua franca (Harmer 2001: 1). A global language is a language that has a special place in a community where there are few or no native speakers. It can, for example, be an official language used in government or law (as in Singapore) or have a priority in foreign language teaching (as in Finland). (Crystal 2003: 4.) A lingua franca is a language that two speakers whose native languages differ from each other use for communication (Harmer 2001: 1). To enable a language to gain such an international prestige requires economic, political and military power and influence (Crystal 2003: 9). Crystal (2003: 59) identifies the two most important factors behind the current status of English: the colonial power of Britain, which had its highest point at the end of the 19th century, and the role of the United States as the leading economic power in the 20th century. At present, English is the dominating language in advertising, television, cinema, popular music and international travel, which strengthens its status and spreads it even further (Crystal 2003: 86-122).

The spread of English around the world can be described with a circle model (see Figure 1 below), which shows how the language has been learned and how it is used (Kachru 1988, cited in Crystal 2003:60). The inner circle involves the countries in which English is the first language. Such countries are, for instance, the USA, the UK and New Zealand. The outer circle includes the countries where English is an official language, for example India, Singapore or Nigeria. The expanding circle refers to those countries in which English is taught as a foreign language, including Finland, Japan or Germany. Crystal (2003: 67-68) has suggested some estimations of how many English speakers each circle has. The estimations have been gathered from several sources and portray the situation in the early 2000s. First, the number of L1 speakers is somewhere between 329 – 400 million speakers. Most often 400 million is cited as the total. Second, an estimate for L2

speakers is about 430 million. The number can be even larger because it is hard to estimate the population, for example, of India or Pakistan, let alone the number of L2 speakers in those countries. Whatever the case, the number is still larger than that of L1 speakers. Third, the estimation of those who learn English as a foreign language is about 750 – 1,000 million, which makes it by far the largest group. However, as Crystal says, one has to keep in mind that it includes both beginners and advanced learners. Thus, some of the speakers may have very little language proficiency.

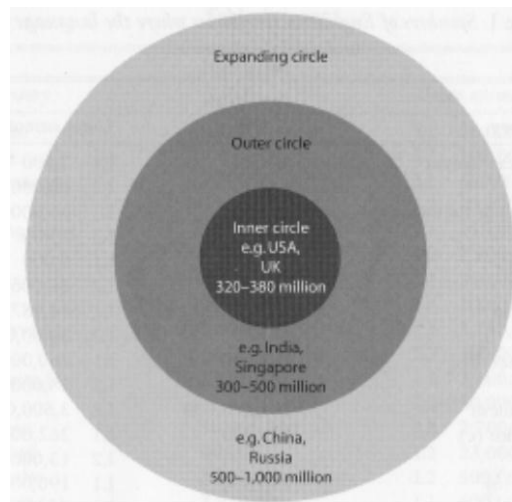


Figure 1. *The three circles of English by Kachru, adapted by Crystal (2003: 61)*

There are several reasons why language teaching and textbooks should take into account the worldwide role of English. First, the number of L1 speakers of English is falling in contrast to L2 speakers or to EFL speakers. Therefore, in the future L2 and EFL speakers will gain more prestige and it is possible that some of their linguistic features may appear in standard language one day. For example, in the future it might be possible to say *furnitures* as the plural form of *pieces of furniture*. (Crystal 2003: 173.) Second, as English has different versions and features according to the country where it is spoken, also the country's variations have differences. For instance, British English has many varieties, such as RP or Cockney, and so does American English. Many different factors, such as geography, social class, age and sex, affect the language used. (Harmer 2001: 7.) Third, Baker (2011: 2) reminds us that EFL learners will most commonly use English with other EFL users rather than with native speakers due to English's role as a lingua franca. This together with the fact that the number of EFL speakers is larger than the number L1 and L2 speakers combined, should get more attention in textbooks too. In conclusion, knowing about the culture of a particular community, for example about that of the United Kingdom, is not enough to be able to use the

language globally (Baker 2011: 3) because today's English is more than the English spoken in Britain or in the USA. Thus, syllabus makers and book publishers should take the global aspects and versatility of English into consideration.

2.4 The curricula in the 1980s and in the 2010s

In this section I introduce the references to culture in the curricula for Finnish upper secondary schools: the most recent curriculum of 2003 (*Lukion opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2003*) and the two curricula in the 1980s (*Lukion englannin kielen kurssimuotoinen oppimäärä ja oppimääräsuunnitelma 1981* and *Lukion opetussuunnitelman perusteet 1985*). Two curricula from the 1980s are included because although parts of them are almost identical, there are some changes and updates particularly in the course descriptions. I will only focus on the mentions of culture and on the courses that are relevant to the present study. From now on the following English abbreviations are used for the curricula:

National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools 1981 = NCCUSS 1981
 National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools 1985 = NCCUSS 1985
 National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools 2003 = NCCUSS 2003

The National Core Curricula for Upper Secondary Schools in 1981 and in 1985 have many similarities. The aim of foreign language learning is learning how to communicate, which requires not only mastering the linguistic structures of the target language, but also knowing about the target culture and deepening the understanding of its central features (NCCUSS 1981: 3, NCCUSS 1985: 61). They both highlight the meaning of culture when choosing the topics (NCCUSS 1981: 5, NCCUSS 1985: 62) and say that the topics should support intercultural understanding and also provide information of learners' own country. According to the both curricula (NCCUSS 1981: 6, NCCUSS 1985: 64), the goal of speech comprehension is that learners can understand colloquial British and American English.

The most significant changes between the curricula of 1981 and 1985 are the course descriptions. In NCCUSS 1985 five out of eight courses mention cultures or international themes, whereas in NCCUSS 1981 there is only one mention. For example, the viewpoint of course 4 in the curriculum of 1985 is on sociological and global themes and the aim is to widen the perspective from learners' own country to the rest of the world (NCCUSS 1985: 69). In contrast, the curriculum of 1981 (NCCUSS 1981: 6) emphasises only learners' own country and society. Furthermore, course 6 has encountered the most significant change. In the curriculum of 1981 (NCCUSS 1981: 7) the themes are film, theatre, art, literature and education with no references to other cultures or countries. The

curriculum of 1985 (NCCUSS 1985: 70-71), on the other hand, includes the education systems in English-speaking countries, introduction of culture personalities from Anglo-Saxon countries and presentation of traditions and customs.

The curriculum of 2003 (NCCUSS 2003: 100-101) deals with culture quite extensively. First, it emphasises that foreign language learning should develop learners' intercultural communication skills and enable learners to increase their knowledge, understanding and respect towards the target language and culture. Second, one of the aims is learning to communicate in a way that is appropriate according to the target language and culture. It also states that the emphasis is on European identity, multilingualism and culture. Third, depending on the topic, besides discussing topics of learners' own country, target language and culture, the point of view should also be broader so that learners can make comparisons between their own culture and the target culture.

In the curriculum of 2003 differences between learners' mother tongue and the target language are taken into account and attention is paid to cultural aspects creating the differences. It is also noted that in order to develop learners' cultural knowledge, learners should become conscious of the fact that their culture has an effect on their own behaviour and values. (NCCUSS 2003: 100-101.) Out of eight courses, three course descriptions mention culture or international themes. According to the curriculum (NCCUSS 2003: 102), course 4 should include texts about learners' own country, the target country and their societies. Course 5 promises to discuss culture extensively and include topics such as culture identity and cultural knowledge (NCCUSS 2003: 102).

In summary, the three curricula differ from each other but also have some similarities. First, the aim of all three is good communication skills and the role of cultural knowledge is acknowledged. However, the curricula of 1981 and 1985 stress the ability to talk about learners' own country (NCCUSS 1981: 3, NCCUSS 1985: 62), whereas the curriculum of 2003 also emphasises the appropriate language use and behaviour according to the target culture (NCCUSS 2003: 100). Second, the curricula of 1981 and 1985 clearly highlight the focus on Britain and North America (NCCUSS 1981: 6, NCCUSS 1985: 64), whereas the curriculum of 2003 mentions European cultures and does not name any English-speaking countries separately (NCCUSS 2003: 100). Third, although the curriculum of 2003 mentions fewer cultures in the course descriptions than the curriculum of 1985, it deals with culture in the most versatile way taking by into account how culture affects behaviour, values and language use and points out that learners should be able to make comparisons between cultures (NCCUSS 2003: 100), which suggests a deeper perspective.

3 THE PRESENT STUDY

In this section the present study is introduced more precisely. First, the research questions and the aim of the study are defined. Second, the primary data is introduced as well as how it was selected and examined. Third, the method of analysis is discussed in greater detail.

3.1 Research questions

Textbooks are often the main source of information in foreign language teaching (Kaikkonen 1994: 5) and therefore have a substantial influence on learners but their cultural content has been criticised over the years for several reasons (Byram 1989, Pohjanen 2007, Yuen 2011). The purpose of the present study is to describe how the presentation of cultures has changed from the 1980s to the 2010s. First of all, it is to be examined which English-speaking cultures are introduced and how they are presented. Attention is paid to whether British and North American cultures are still emphasised the most. Several factors indicated by previous studies, such as stereotypes, statistical information and “the ambassadorial aspect”, are taken into consideration. Second, it is reviewed how the suggestions of the curricula concerning cultural content are fulfilled in the textbooks. The aim is to illustrate what kind of progress there has been but also to draw attention to factors that could be improved in the future. The research questions are the following:

- Which English-speaking cultures are introduced in upper secondary school textbooks of English in the 1980s and in the 2010s and how are they presented?
- Are British and North American cultures still emphasised the most?
- Does the presentation of cultures correspond with the suggestions of the curriculum?

3.2 Methods of data collection

The primary data are three textbook series of Finnish upper secondary schools, two from the 1980s and one from the 2010s. They are aimed at learners who are between the ages of 16 and 19. From each series I will examine textbooks about society (course 4 in each curriculum) and culture (course 6 in NCCUSS 1981 and 1985, course 5 in NCCUSS 2003). By examining courses that have similar themes will hopefully show more clearly how the textbooks have developed over the years. The textbook series from the early 1980s is *Action* and was published by Weilin+Göös. The textbook series from the late 1980s is called *Guys 'n gals* by Otava. The books examined were released in 1990, so it can be assumed that the effects of the new curriculum of the year 1985 will be visible. The textbook series from the 2010s is *ProFiles* by WSOY. There was plenty of choice of recent

textbooks but *ProFiles* was chosen because the author wanted to have a series that is as new as possible.

The data was analysed through content analysis (see section 3.3). The author concentrated on both qualitative and quantitative references to culture. First, attention was paid to aspects with which certain cultures were associated, in other words, in which contexts the cultures are referred to. Second, occurrences of certain countries in text or in pictures were counted and organised into tables in order to see the cultures that are mentioned the most often. The results were grouped to different themes, which partly derive from themes of previous studies and partly arose from the current findings themselves.

3.3 Methods of data analysis

The data was analysed through qualitative methods and more precisely through content analysis. Content analysis is a basic method of qualitative analysis and can be used in all kinds of qualitative research (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 104). The purpose of the analysis is to describe the data and the examined factors verbally. In other words, content analysis organises the data into a clearer form. (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 108.) One of the most important requirements of content analysis is that it should be reliable and replicable. In other words, researchers who examine the same data later should be able to get the same results. (Krippendorff 2004: 18.) The main difference between content analysis and discourse analysis is that “content analysis searches for meanings of the texts, whereas discourse analysis analyses how the meanings are produced” (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 104).

First, as Krippendorff (2004: 19) points out, content analysis is not restricted to written material. Instead, it can also be used to examine, for example, images, maps, symbols or works of art. Furthermore, the results can be changed to a quantitative form (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 107). Second, content analysis is a context sensitive method. It takes into account that the data is read by others and therefore creates new meanings, in contrast to some other methods that separate single words from their contexts. (Krippendorff 2004: 41-42.) Third, controlled experiments or interviews are prone to certain factors that may affect the results. Such factors can be the following: the subjects are aware that they are being tested, the tests may feel artificial or the experimenter or the interviewer's behaviour can have an effect. Through content analysis such issues can be avoided because it is typically interested in materials that have already been produced. (Krippendorff 2004: 40-41.) Finally, as content analysis often examines unstructured data in contrast to surveys or

structured interviews, where the data is already more or less organised, it is sometimes difficult to find what one is looking for. On the other hand, the lack of structure enables maintaining the ideas and concepts of the material's source. (Krippendorff 2004: 41.)

According to Krippendorff (2004: 340), content analysis can be applied from different starting points. These are text-driven content analysis, method-driven content analysis and problem-driven content analysis. The most relevant for the present study is the problem-driven content analysis. The analysis is based on questions to which the material is believed to provide answers. In other words, the starting point is the research questions and the researcher then tries to find answers to the questions in the data. In problem-driven content analysis there is a need to know something that at the moment is unknown or uncertain and it is usually a real-world problem. (Krippendorff 2004: 341-342.)

4 PRESENTATION OF CULTURES IN TEXTBOOKS OF ENGLISH

The following section presents and analyses the findings from several points of view. These are presentation of countries, culture, stereotypes, features of the teaching material and correspondence with the curricula. When possible, the findings are organised in tables to facilitate the presentation.

4.1 Presentation of countries

This section gives a general presentation of the countries that are introduced in the textbooks examined. The presentation includes both discussion and quantitative illustration. Also the amount of statistical information is analysed.

4.1.1 Countries

Table 1 shows the significant shift towards a more versatile presentation of cultures in the society course (*Action 4*, *Guys 'n gals 4* and *ProFiles 4*).

Table 1. Countries presented in text chapters of course 4

	<i>Action 4 (1983)</i>	<i>Guys 'n gals 4 (1990)</i>	<i>ProFiles 4 (2009)</i>
The USA	6	10	3
Britain	7	10	-
Australia	1	-	3
South Africa	1	-	-
Finland	1	4	3

It can be seen that *Action 4* and *Guys 'n gals 4* have more cultural material and themes but they are clearly focused around Britain and the USA, whereas *ProFiles 4* has less material but it is more evenly shared. In *ProFiles 4* a country other than the USA or Britain has the central role: Australia is the theme culture of the course and there is a whole unit about it. What is also notable in *ProFiles 4* is the fact that Britain is not directly mentioned at all. Another cultural factor dividing the books is the presentation of Finland. All the curricula (NCCUSS 1981: 5, NCCUSS 1985: 62 and NCCUSS 2003: 100) say that learners should also learn about their own country and the books have adopted different approaches. In *Action 4*, Finland is mentioned less than in *Guys 'n gals 4* and *ProFiles 4*. Although *Guys 'n gals 4* has more individual mentions of Finland, it is *ProFiles 4* that is the most Finland focused course as one whole unit is dedicated to it.

As can be observed in Table 2, the versatile presentation of English-speaking countries is very limited in all of the books of the culture course (*Action 6*, *Guys 'n gals 6* and *ProFiles 5*). The table below shows references to bands, films and famous people including actors, musicians, authors and artists that are referred to in text or in pictures and provides a general view of different countries mentioned. Cultural aspects such as literature, music and film will be examined more thoroughly in section 4.2.

Table 2. Notable mentions of famous people, bands or films in text or in pictures in courses 5 and 6

	<i>Action 6 (1984)</i>	<i>Guys 'n gals 6 (1990)</i>	<i>ProFiles 5 (2010)</i>
The USA	30	32	22
Britain	20	13	25
India	-	-	1
Jamaica	1	-	-
New Zealand	1	-	-
South Africa	-	1	-

Although *ProFiles 4* managed to present a versatile selection of countries, the positive tendency does not continue in *ProFiles 5*. All the books emphasise British and North American cultures while others are almost completely omitted. In all of the books combined, India, Jamaica, New Zealand and South Africa get only one mention each. On the other hand, the curricula of 1981 and 1985 (NCCUSS 1981: 6, NCCUSS 1985: 64) themselves emphasise British and American cultures and the books only follow these guidelines. In short, a change in the selection of cultures can be seen but the positive shift is not consistent. As Baker (2011: 3) says, knowing about the culture of an individual country, in this case of Britain or the USA, is not enough to be able to use the

language globally. Thus, even the newest books give learners inadequate tools to perceive the various cultures of the English-speaking world.

Furthermore, another group of people that is not visible in any of the books is EFL speakers. As was discussed in section 2.3, there are several reasons why the expanding role of English around the world should be considered in teaching and in textbooks. The number of L1 speakers is falling in contrast to L2 speakers and therefore L2 speakers will gain more prestige in the future (Crystal 2003: 173). In addition, EFL learners will most commonly use English with other EFL users rather than with native speakers (Baker 2011: 2). Thus, the significant effect of EFL speakers should be taken into account in textbooks too in order to prepare learners for realistic situations.

4.1.2 Statistical information

Textbooks are often criticised for presenting factual and statistical information that does not have any actual value for learners (Yuen 2011: 464) but is more useful for tourists (Pohjanen 2007). It is positive that none of the books promotes a clear tourist's viewpoint or contains information boxes with a certain country's area, capital and currency. However, in some occasions the text chapters give a presentation of figures. For example, in *Action 4* the fact that there are 12,000,000 cars registered in Los Angeles hardly deepens anyone's cultural understanding. The text chapter is full of figures that perhaps could have been omitted in order to make the text more fluent. Also *Guys 'n gals 4* presents figures, for instance, about visually handicapped people in Finland and in Britain. However, the text chapter that follows has a more profound approach as it is an extract of a blind woman's autobiography.

Some trivial figures can be found in *ProFiles 4* too. For example, in a text chapter about volunteer work in America learners are told that about 140 million Americans engage in volunteer activities each year and that people between the ages 16 to 24 are the most active. The figures are given in a short introductory section and the actual text is why and how to volunteer. Also quizzes in all of the books often include at least one question with numbers. Thus, most of the statistical figures are given as background information and in quizzes and do not, therefore, determine the whole text.

4.2 Culture

The following section focuses on literature, film and music. The various aspects of culture are examined from the perspective of their type and of the country of origin.

4.2.1 Literature

As can be observed in Table 3, the selection of authors mentioned in the culture courses (*Action 6*, *Guys 'n gals 6* and *ProFiles 5*) offers learners a very limited view of different English-speaking countries. British and North American writers are emphasised as the only person outside this area is Katherine Mansfield from New Zealand. As a result, the exploration of literature of English-speaking areas is very restricted.

Table 3. Home country of authors mentioned in courses 5 and 6

	<i>Action 6 (1984)</i>	<i>Guys 'n gals 6 (1990)</i>	<i>ProFiles 5 (2010)</i>
The USA	16	9	15
Britain	14	12	17
New Zealand	1	-	-

The books differ in terms of the number of literature samples. *Action 6* is clearly the most literature-oriented. In fact, the majority of the course is dedicated to literature extracts and author introductions. It also introduces different genres, such as detective stories and short stories and includes examples of each. *Guys 'n gals 6* and *ProFiles 5* both have one section for literature as they also present other forms of culture, such as art or photography. The actual literature section of *Guys 'n gals 6* includes four extracts but some of the text chapters elsewhere in the book are also from books. In addition to extracts and author introductions, *ProFiles 5* also includes book reviews.

Moreover, also the type of authors divides the books. The selection of writers in *Action 6* emphasises classics such as Dickens, Doyle or Hemingway and there are few contemporary examples. *Guys 'n gals 6*, on the other hand, includes more writers that were significant in the late 1980s but not perhaps very known today. *ProFiles 5* introduces writers from Daniel Defoe to Stephen King and thus succeeds to include both classic and contemporary authors. In other words, *ProFiles 5* presents the most versatile selection of authors but in terms of versatile presentation of the target cultures no course is very successful.

4.2.2 Film and music

As Table 4 shows, the selection of films is rather North American-oriented although there are some examples of other English-speaking countries too.

Table 4. The country of origin of films mentioned in courses 5 and 6

	<i>Action 6 (1984)</i>	<i>Guys 'n gals 6 (1990)</i>	<i>ProFiles 5 (2010)</i>
The USA	9	5	7
Britain	1	1	1
India	-	-	1
South Africa	-	1	-

Action 6 includes a picture collection of film related examples, such as Marilyn Monroe, Charles Chaplin, Woody Allen, *Citizen Kane* and *Gone With the Wind*. All of them are very classic and ageless. It also has a section with a short account of the history of film. *Guys 'n gals 6* starts with an interview with Steven Spielberg. The interview is followed by a spread of black and white pictures of old classic films, such as *Gone with the Wind*, almost all of them North American. The movie theme and focus on Britain and the USA continues further in the book. A film presenting other English-speaking cultures is *Cry Freedom*, which was directed by British Richard Attenborough but is set in apartheid South Africa. Also in *ProFiles 5* British and especially North American cultures clearly stand out and the only other English-speaking country mentioned is India, as *Slumdog Millionaire* is set and filmed there. However, the choice of actors and films in *ProFiles 5* is a good mixture of both classic and contemporary ones. Pictures include for example Helen Mirren as the Queen and Marilyn Monroe in *Some Like It Hot*. There is also a quiz where, for example, the following American films appear: *Dead Poets Society*, *Pretty Woman*, *The Shining* and *Psycho*.

Table 5 presents the home country of musicians and bands mentioned in text or in pictures in the culture course (*Action 6*, *Guys 'n gals 6* and *ProFiles 5*).

Table 5. Home country of musicians and bands mentioned in courses 5 and 6

	<i>Action 6 (1984)</i>	<i>Guys 'n gals 6 (1990)</i>	<i>ProFiles 5 (2010)</i>
The USA	5	1	-
Britain	5	-	2
Jamaica	1	-	-

As can be seen in Table 5, music is not a central theme in any of the books. Quantitatively *Action 6* includes the most mentions of musicians and bands. The book continues with its focus on classics as in the literature and film sections mentioning such names as Elvis, the Beatles, the Rolling Stones and David Bowie. *Action 6* is also the only book to acknowledge a musician other than British or North American by bringing up Bob Marley from Jamaica. Least musical material can be found in *Guys 'n gals 6*, where only Bruce Springsteen is mentioned. Instead of introducing music related acts, *ProFiles 5* takes another point of view. It includes an extract of London Evening Standard called *Is Pop Music Bad for Your Health?* The text is written from a British point of view and cites the British Psychological Society. The picture choice is likewise British-oriented, as there are photographs of British bands Judas Priest and Sex Pistols. Interestingly, the film section seems to be more American-oriented, whereas the music section includes more Britons.

4.3 Stereotypes

Textbooks have been criticised for being overgeneralised and therefore promoting certain stereotypes (Yuen 2011: 460). Some were also found in the books examined. Most often stereotypes are associations related to Britain and the USA. For example, *Action 6* introduces two schools: an art high school and an open university. The art school is located in New York and the text mentions *Fame* the movie and American dreams. The open university is placed in Britain and some prestigious institutions, such as Cambridge, Oxford and BBC, are listed. Thus, North America is presented as an artistic and a creative country, whereas Britain is more conventional and traditional. However, the comparison could have been even more drastic; at least an open university was introduced instead of a traditional one. Moreover, in *Action 6* the film section seems to be more American-oriented whereas the music section includes more Britons. In *Guys 'n gals 6* James Bond presents the British culture whereas the USA is linked to soap operas. In other words, Britain is associated to a celebrated film series and North America to airy television programs.

Furthermore, in *Action 4* different living conditions are introduced. The text chapter tells learners about distances in Australia, tough weather conditions in Alaska, air pollution in Los Angeles and insecurity in Belfast. Although the selection of locations is rather versatile, the text enhances stereotypes because the places chosen are the very extremes in the sense that all of them present extraordinary circumstances. In addition, in both *Action 4* and *Guys 'n gals 6*, South Africa is brought up only because of apartheid politics, which on the other hand reflects its current status in the 1980s. The *ProFiles* series does not contain as clear stereotypes, which can be due to the fact that the text chapters are more universal rather than restricted to a certain country. For example,

there are texts about ethics and advertising, whereas in *Action* and *Guys 'n gals* series the texts contain information of individual countries, such as the presidential election in the USA or an introduction of the British government. In fact, *ProFiles 4* turns around some stereotypes. There is a newspaper extract of a journalist who goes to spend a few months with the Amish. He describes his stay with an Amish family and says that there are people who would call the Amish way of life “brainwashing” (*ProFiles 4* 2009: 20) but having observed their community states that the western world has “brainwashed” us too, perhaps even more.

4.4 Features of the teaching material

This section focuses on some specific features of the textbooks. First, the amount and type of authentic material in each book are examined. Second, attention is paid to “the ambassadorial aspect”, which refers to the idealisation of the target culture.

4.4.1 Authenticity

According to Byram (1989: 71-79), using authentic materials is among the criteria of a good textbook. The following tables present how the textbooks examined deliver this expectation.

Table 6. Number of authentic text chapters in courses 4

	<i>Action 4 (1983)</i>		<i>Guys 'n gals 4 (1990)</i>		<i>ProFiles 4 (2009)</i>	
Number of authentic text chapters	4	33%	15	65%	6	50%
Number of text chapters	12	100%	23	100%	12	100%

The number of authentic texts divides the books of the fourth course. As can be observed in Table 6, *Guys 'n gals 4* clearly stands out as 65% of the text chapters are extracts of newspapers, magazines or books in comparison with 50% in *ProFiles 4* and 33% in *Action 4*. In *Action 4* all the samples are extracts from books or novels. *Guys 'n gals 4*, on the other hand, includes book extracts, poems as well as magazine or newspaper articles. What is also worth mentioning is the large number of text chapters in the *Guys 'n gals* series resulting in altogether 15 authentic text extracts in the textbook in question. Also *ProFiles 4* has both book extracts and magazine or newspaper articles. The use of authentic materials in textbooks is important because they allow learners to familiarise themselves with non-fictional topics, actual use of language and culture from the inside point of view. Thus, it is positive to see that all the textbooks examined have included at least some.

Table 7 shows the number of authentic text extracts and their type in courses 5 and 6.

Table 7. Number of authentic extracts in courses 5 and 6

	<i>Action 6 (1984)</i>	<i>Guys 'n gals 6 (1990)</i>	<i>ProFiles 5 (2010)</i>
Book extracts	11	10	4
Magazine or newspaper extracts	-	2	2
Poems	10	6	5

The type of the authentic text extracts in courses 5 and 6 varies. *Action 6* has eleven extracts of detective stories, short stories, novels and drama and also ten poems. Thus, all the extracts are from fictional sources. *Guys 'n gals 6*, on the other hand, has ten book extracts, six poems and also two magazine or newspaper extracts. However, only four of the book extracts are in the actual literature section, as the other six can be found elsewhere in the book, such as in person introductions, and therefore do not present literature examples in the same way. *ProFiles 5* includes two newspaper articles, four book extracts and five poems. In other words, it too has sources from the press in addition to fictional material. The selection in *Guys 'n gals 6* and *ProFiles 5* benefits learners more as different types of text extracts are introduced.

4.4.2 “The ambassadorial aspect”

Another factor criticised in textbooks is “the ambassadorial aspect”, which means that the target culture is presented in an idealised light or as an idyll (Gray 2000: 274). The books in question manage to avoid this setting rather well. On the other hand, it may be that “the ambassadorial aspect” would be more prone to be found in textbooks written completely by native speakers. All of the books examined have also Finnish authors.

Actually, in places the text chapters adopt a rather critical approach. For example, *Action 4* has a unit about welfare states and the discussion also includes problems in them. One text chapter is about the social support system in Britain and how families in need are struggling with their benefit while some can take advantage of free health services. In *Guys 'n gals 4* the North American culture is definitely not idealised, as a Finnish girl reports how she became more environmentally aware after being an exchange student in the USA and seeing “the superficial glitter of American culture” (*Guys 'n gals 1990: 42*).

Furthermore, also the *ProFiles* series allows learners to take a critical point of view. For example, *ProFiles 4* presents two different articles about banning sexist advertisements. One article is from a tabloid, the other from a broadsheet. Learners are then asked to compare them. In addition, there is a listening comprehension exercise about differences between tabloids and broadsheets. Moreover, *ProFiles 4* expands the critical approach to include not only the target cultures but also Finland. In one of the text chapters *ProFiles 4* chooses to present Finland through the eyes of foreigners and their opinions are not very positive. There are extracts of reader letters by foreigners living in Finland, who amongst other things complain about rude neighbours or vandalism. Thus, the books do not generally idealise the cultures presented and occasionally manage to adopt a critical approach.

4.5 Correspondence with the curricula

Correspondence of the contents of the textbooks with the curricula differs from book to book and some features of the content can be explained by the curriculum's suggestions and word choices. The themes in *Action 4* are well chosen and quite versatile and correspond with the recommendation of the curriculum of 1981 to include material of society (NCCUSS 1981: 6). In some ways the book exceeds the expectations of the curriculum. It manages to capture global themes, such as different living conditions around the world or welfare systems in Britain, although NCCUSS 1981 does not require a worldwide approach. The suggestion to widen the perspective from learners' own country to the rest of the world only appears in the curriculum of 1985 (NCCUSS 1985: 69). In course 6 the themes according to NCCUSS 1981 (NCCUSS 1981: 7) should be literature, film, theatre, art and education and the realisation in *Action 4* includes all of these with the main focus being on literature. In terms of the presentation of cultures, the curriculum of 1981 (NCCUSS 1981: 5) itself highlights the focus on Britain and the USA so the lack of other English-speaking cultures in the *Action* series can be explained by it.

According to the curriculum of 1985 (NCCUSS 1985: 69), course 4 should include sociological and global themes and the perspective is to be widened from learners' own country to the rest of the world. *Guys 'n gals 4* introduces important themes, such as homelessness and discrimination, and also gives an introduction of governmental institutions. Course 6, on the other hand, omits some topics. For example, education systems in English-speaking countries are not considered at all. The other aim is to introduce culture personalities from Anglo-Saxon countries but only British and North American cultures are included and the only other culture mentioned is South Africa. On the other hand, also NCCUSS 1985 mainly emphasises Britain and the USA and therefore explains the

emphasis (NCCUSS 1985: 64). Furthermore, neither the presentation of customs nor traditions is visible in the course although it was included in the curriculum (NCCUSS 1985: 70-71). In terms of cultural content there are no big changes between *Action* and *Guys 'n gals* series despite some additions in the curriculum. The most notable difference between *Action 6* and *Guys 'n gals 6* is the emphasis moving from literature to other areas of art but it can also depend on the authors' point of view rather than on the curriculum.

The curriculum of 2003 deals with culture in the most versatile way taking into account how culture affects behaviour, values and language use and points out that learners should be able to make comparisons about cultures (NCCUSS 2003: 100-101). The more profound touch can be seen in some contexts in the *ProFiles* series. For example, the definition of culture is discussed in *ProFiles 5* and it is said it depends on where one lives and grows up and therefore affects one's values. In *ProFiles 4*, which according to the curriculum (NCCUSS 2003: 102) should include texts about the target country and their societies, expands the concept from the target country to include also other cultures than British and North American by choosing Australia as the theme of the course. However, a notion in the most recent curriculum (NCCUSS 2003: 101) that is not visible at least in *ProFiles 4* or *ProFiles 5* is taking into account how cultural aspects affect the language and create differences.

5 CONCLUSION

The aim of the study was to find out how the presentation of cultures in upper secondary school textbooks has changed from the early 1980s to the 2010s. Firstly, it can be stated that Britain and the USA are still the most emphasised countries. Although in *ProFiles 4* there is a positive shift towards a more versatile presentation of English-speaking cultures, it does not continue in *ProFiles 5*. The cultural emphasis in *Action* and *Guys 'n gals* series clearly derives from the curricula as they themselves highlight Britain and the USA. No such mentions can be found in NCCUSS 2003, so the reason for high occurrence of British and North American cultures in *ProFiles 5* could be explained by our society, where British and North American television series, films and music are dominant. Especially for that reason, learners being already familiar with those two countries, it would be important to introduce the less known cultures more. In addition, many learners do not have a chance to meet representatives of foreign cultures so getting to know them via textbooks would increase learners' knowledge and therefore could encourage tolerance.

As was expected from the previous studies (Byram 1989, Yuen 2011), some stereotypes arose. However, their amount decreased from book to book, which is very positive. It can be assumed that active discussion about stereotypes, increased immigration and therefore multiculturalism have affected the type of the cultural content in the *ProFiles* series. Furthermore, throughout the books there is a shift from informative texts to more general topics. In other words, the *Action* series contains the most factual text chapters, whereas in *ProFiles* the themes are more universal, such as advertising or ethics. However, none of the books includes as much statistical information as could have been expected from the results of previous studies (Pohjanen 2007, Yuen 2011), which is very positive.

Despite some additions in NCCUSS 1985, there are no notable differences in terms of the presentation of English-speaking cultures between the *Action* and *Guys 'n gals* series. As has been stated above, both curricula in the 1980s (NCCUSS 1981: 5, NCCUSS 1985: 64) emphasise British and North American cultures, as seen in the *Action* and *Guys 'n gals* series. NCCUSS 2003 has the most versatile approach towards culture and it is indeed handled more profoundly in the *ProFiles* series. However, there are some aspects that were not considered at least in the two books examined. For example, multilingualism or the effects of culture on language were not covered. In other words, some recommendations of the curricula, although very important, can be problematic to carry out in practice.

However, the present study is not extensive enough to give a thorough description of the changes of the cultural content, since only six textbooks and three book series were examined. Although books from three different eras were included, their small number gives a limited picture of the period and many features can derive from the book or book series, rather than from the time in question. For the same reason, it can be difficult to know which factors result from the suggestions of the curriculum and which are due to authors. In order to get more comprehensive results, it would require examining whole series instead of separate books. In this case, although the books were chosen with the aim of getting as much cultural material as possible, plenty of cultural content was nevertheless missed. In addition, more series from each era should be included in order to make more precise conclusions. Thus, because of the small amount of examined material, the results show some tendencies of the changes but are not inclusive.

In conclusion, there is room for improvement in terms of the versatile presentation of English-speaking cultures. Although *ProFiles* has taken a step forward, the selection of cultures could still

be widened substantially. Yuen (2011: 8) emphasises the role of teachers in the improvement process and the author agrees with him. Teachers are in an outstanding position and have enough knowledge and tools to actively and critically evaluate the books. By giving constant feedback to publishers, books can be developed further. In addition, feedback from learners could be useful too. English as a foreign language is in a privileged position compared to other languages in the sense that there are so many cultures that can be connected to it. By using this advantage and presenting as versatile selection of cultures as possible, textbooks could offer learners means to understand differences and therefore increase tolerance. These skills are very important in our present multicultural world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

- Billany, N., D. Folland, P. Hallikainen, M.L. Kallela, T. Laine, H. Lindroth and A.L. Suurpää 1983. *Action Course 4*. Helsinki: Weilin+Göös.
- Billany, N., D. Folland, P. Hallikainen, M.L. Kallela, T. Laine and A.L. Suurpää 1984. *Action Course 6*. Helsinki: Weilin+Göös.
- Lang, I., E. Ertola, K. Komsu, S. Leivo, R. Saarinen, M. Sarimo and P. Savontaus 1990. *Guys 'n gals Course 4*. Helsinki: Otava.
- Lang, I., P.W. Harrison, E. Ertola, K. Komsu, S. Leivo, R. Saarinen, M. Sarimo and P. Savontaus 1990. *Guys 'n gals Course 6*. Helsinki: Otava.
- Ikonen, J., A.M. Mäkelä, L. Nikkanen, O.P. Salo and T. Sutela. 2009. *ProFiles Course 4*. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Ikonen, J., A.M. Mäkelä, L. Nikkanen, O.P. Salo and T. Sutela. 2010. *ProFiles Course 5*. Helsinki: WSOY.

Secondary sources

- Alptekin, C. and M. Alptekin 1984. The question of culture: EFL teaching in non-English-speaking countries. *ELT Journal* 38 (1), 14-20.
- Baker, W. 2011. From cultural awareness to intercultural awareness: culture in ELT. *ELT Journal* [online]. (15 Nov 2011).

<http://eltj.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2011/04/28/elt.ccr017.full.pdf+html?sid=7783a100-5c14-476c-80fe-3c85a24b6b26>.

- Byram, M. 1989. *Cultural studies in foreign language education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Crystal, D. 2003. *English as a global language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gray, J. 2000. The ELT coursebook as cultural artefact: how teachers censor and adapt. *ELT Journal* 54 (3), 274-283.
- Guest, M. 2002. A Critical 'checkbook' for culture teaching and learning. *ELT Journal* 56 (2), 154-161.
- Harmer, J. 2001. *The practice of English Language Teaching*. London: Longman.
- Kaikkonen, P. 1994. *Kulttuuri ja vieraan kielen oppiminen*. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Kaikkonen, P. 2000. Autenttisuus ja sen merkitys kulttuurienvälisessä vieraan kielen opetuksessa. In P. Kaikkonen and V. Kohonen (eds.), *Minne menet kielikasvatus? Näkökulmia kielipedagogiikkaan*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopistopaino, 49-61.
- Krippendorff, K. 2004. *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology* (2nd edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lukion englannin kielen kurssimuotoinen oppimäärä ja oppimääräsuunnitelma* 1981. Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus.
- Lukion opetussuunnitelman perusteet* 1985. Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus.
- Lukion opetussuunnitelman perusteet* 2003. Finnish National Board of Education [online]. (6 Nov 2011)
http://www.oph.fi/download/47345_lukion_opetussuunnitelman_perusteet_2003.pdf.
- Lyons, J. 1981. *Language and Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nieto, S. 2002. *Language, culture and teaching: critical perspectives for a new century*. Mahwah: Erlbaum.
- Pohjanen, P. 2007. "No better, no worse - but definitely different": the presentation of target cultures in two English textbook-series for Finnish secondary school children [online]. University of Jyväskylä, Department of English. (17 Nov 2011)
<https://jyx.jyu.fi/dspace/handle/123456789/7341>.
- Tuomi, J. and A. Sarajärvi 2009. *Laadullinen tutkimus ja sisällönanalyysi*. Helsinki: Tammi.
- Yuen, K. 2011. The representation of foreign cultures in English textbooks. *ELT Journal* 65 (4), 458-466.
- Yule, G. 2006. *The Study of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.