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This thesis marks the end of a five year-long teacher's education at the University of Stavanger. I am proud of what I have accomplished, and I feel ready to start the next chapter in my life. It has been a long and challenging process, but these five years have gone by so fast, and I am so grateful for them. My master's thesis has been challenging and exciting, and everything in-between. I have had the possibility and pleasure to immerse myself in a topic which I am very passionate about, which has made the whole process much better than anticipated.

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Abstract

The thesis presents an investigation of visual and textual representations of non-Western people in four Norwegian English Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks produced for 5th grade. In response to the increased communication between people with various cultural backgrounds, it is increasingly recognized pupils today need more than language skills and knowledge in order to participate in today's society. This is mirrored in the new national curriculum in Norway of 2020 where intercultural competence is introduced, which places emphasis on the English subject's role in opening up for new perspectives and preventing prejudice. As Norway is considered a Western country, non-Western representations should be represented in EFL textbooks to contribute to diversity and new perspectives. The study thus addresses the following research questions: *To which degree are non-Western people represented visually in Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade?* and *In which contexts are non-Western people represented in Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade, and how are they represented within these contexts?*

All images in the four textbooks were first analyzed quantitatively to identify the extent of representations of non-Western people. Following this, an in-depth qualitative analysis of the context surrounding the non-Western representations was conducted, including the related texts and images. The results from the quantitative analysis revealed that non-Western people were represented to a lesser extent than Western people, and as such could promote a perception of inequality. The qualitative analysis found that non-Western people were most often depicted in everyday contexts, such as sports, with friends, at school, etc. Only one textbook included a spread which could be said to illustrate a stereotypical depiction of non-Western culture. Although cultural aspects were sometimes mentioned, they were often not elaborated on, and several missed opportunities to discuss diversity were identified in the textbooks. As such, there is a risk that discussions about cultural diversity will not be prioritized or take place, based on the teacher and time available.

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1 Introduction

Education and training shall provide insight into cultural diversity and show respect for the individual's convictions. They are to promote democracy, equality and scientific thinking (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 1).

As the above quote from the Norwegian national curriculum (LK20) states, the schools are mandated to provide education which develops respect for others and insight into cultural diversity. This applies to education in all subjects, including English. In fact, the English subject has been given a central role in promoting learners' intercultural competence, which is defined as being able "to deal with different ways of living, ways of thinking and communication patterns" (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2019, p. 3).

The purpose of this study was to examine how Norwegian English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks for 5th grade promote insight into cultural diversity and equality. Diversity is here defined as people with different cultural backgrounds and/or different visible features. As such, it was especially focused on how the textbooks promoted intercultural competence through images and text which depicted non-Western representations. This decision was mainly based on two factors. Firstly, diversity represented in the textbooks is something the pupils will be exposed to. As such, it was of interest to investigate if non-Western people were depicted as often as Western people, and if the provided information about cultures which the pupils may be unfamiliar with were elaborated. Secondly, there was the aspect of time, and as such, non-Western representation was therefore prioritized. The study therefore addresses the following research questions:

- 1) To which degree are non-Western people represented visually in Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade?
- 2) In what contexts are non-Western people represented in Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade, and how are they represented within these contexts?

Over the past decades, there has been an increase in the focus on intercultural competence, both in politics and in media (Skulstad & Fenner, 2020, p. 69). Today, new platforms of communication make it both possible and necessary for individuals to communicate with one another (Skulstad & Fenner, 2020, p. 69). In many ways, Norway has become a more open society, as a consequence of travelling and business across national borders have become

more accessible (Dahl, 2015, p. 21). People who immigrate today can maintain a connection to their home country more easily now than previously possible. Culture has in many ways become transferable, and one does not need to alter cultural identity (Dahl, 2015, p. 21). Culture is transferred with the person, which suggests that when people meet, cultures meet as people interact with others; “It is when people meet that communication becomes intercultural. Cultures do not communicate, people do” (Dahl, 2015, p. 22). Because of globalization, migration, and technological revolution, one will face people from various cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds, both on the internet and in person (Fenner & Skulstad, 2020, p. 69). Scholars and policy-makers within the field of educational research have emphasized the important role education plays in the individual learner’s acquisition of intercultural competence. A part of learning a foreign language is acquiring knowledge of other cultures, and the English classroom is, therefore, an important arena for exploring intercultural competence (Fenner & Skulstad, 2020, p. 69).

In August 2020, a renewed curriculum took effect for all grades in primary school (LK20). The renewal consisted of a new core curriculum, which describes the underlying values and principles that shall guide the education from elementary through upper secondary school in Norway. These values and principles include *human dignity, identity and cultural diversity, critical thinking and ethical awareness, joy of creating, engagement and urge to explore, respect for nature and environmental awareness, and democracy and participation* (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017). The core value *identity and cultural diversity* involves educating the pupils about Norway’s history and culture, which is described as an important step in developing the pupil’s identity and taking part in society. Having a common framework in school is important to create solidarity and connection with other people through identity. Moreover, through this framework, there shall be given room for diversity and knowledge about a variety of perspectives, attitudes, and views of life (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 5). The Norwegian population has never been more diverse, which makes language skills and cultural understanding more important than ever (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 6). In line with this, the current study views culture as a complex phenomenon which a person carries with them, but which does not define a person’s identity. Furthermore, culture inhabits norms, values, traditions, and so forth, which are all equally important when acquiring knowledge about a culture.

Furthermore, three interdisciplinary topics were included in LK20: *health and life skills*, *democracy and citizenship*, and *sustainable development* (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017). Of these, two were included in the English subject curriculum and as such have a particular relevance to the current study. The first of these, *health and life skills*, involves the development of a positive self-image and confidence in identity. Other issues which are linked to health and life skills are to see importance of relations with others, respect one's own and other's boundaries, as well as to consider and deal with feelings, thoughts, and relationships (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 14). The second interdisciplinary topic included is *democracy and citizenship*. Here, the pupils are to acquire knowledge about democracy and its values and rules, to be prepared to later participate in democratic processes. Moreover, the pupils will learn about challenges with democratic principles, and acquire knowledge and skills to face them. Knowledge about majority and minority is also implemented, as well as critical thinking, learn to handle conflicts, and respect disagreements (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 15). In this study, *Health and life skills* considered relevant to mention as the contents can be applied to cultural diversity. Importance of relations with others and respect for one's own and other's boundaries can apply to Western and non-Western people. *Democracy and citizenship* aim to promote knowledge about both majorities and minorities, as well as to respect disagreement. Western and non-Western cultures may differ in various areas, and as such the promoted knowledge can be applied to lessen conflicts. Both interdisciplinary topics can be applied when encountering cultural diversity, and as such, were considered relevant for this study.

The current study has been divided into seven main chapters. Following the introduction, chapter 2 aims to provide an outline of the theoretical background of the study. Here, the concept of culture, reading images and multimodality, and the importance of textbooks will be discussed. Chapter 3 will look at previous research conducted which were relevant for the current study. Chapter 4 will present the methodology and materials which were applied in this study. This includes a presentation of the four textbooks that will be analyzed, as well as a detailed description of the methods that were applied. In chapter 5, the results from the analysis will be presented, both the quantitative and qualitative analysis. Chapter 6 will then discuss the findings in light of the theory and research questions. Lastly, chapter 7 aims to summarize the thesis, present the conclusions, implications, and limitations of the current study, as well as suggestions for further research.

2 Theoretical background

In the following chapter, the theoretical background of the study will be presented. The chapter has been divided into four sections, which are culture, visual literacy, and the importance and relevance of textbooks today. Each topic will be covered accordingly. Firstly, the concept of culture will be discussed, as it is essential in the context of this study. Subsequently, culture and diversity in the curriculum, views of culture, Otherness, culturalism, and stereotypes, diversity, and intercultural competence will be discussed. The second part of the chapter contains theory on visual representation and multimodality, as it is fundamental for the quantitative and qualitative analysis. The third section will cover theory and background on the importance and relevance of textbooks, and a description of their relevance in schools today.

2.1 Culture

There is no universal agreement of what culture is or consists of. In terms of language learning, culture is always present (Kramsch, 1993, p. 1), however, “[...] culture is often seen as mere information conveyed by the language itself [...]” (Kramsch, 1993, p. 8). Dahl (2015) defines culture as a dynamic concept where culture is not something people are in possession of, but rather something people do (p. 40). This definition could be said to correspond with Geertz (1973), who describes the term as “an historically transmitted pattern of meanings [...]” (p. 89). Dahl (2015) also specifies that culture is something people carry with them and is applied when interacting with others (p. 42). As mentioned in the introduction, chapter 1, this study views culture as a complex phenomenon which a person carries with them, but which does not define a person’s identity. Furthermore, culture inhabits norms, values, traditions, and so forth, which are all equally important when acquiring knowledge about a culture.

Culture can be divided into two groups: ‘big C’ and ‘little c’ culture. Tomalin and Stempleski argue that ‘big C’ culture, or achievement culture, consists of history, geography, institutions, literature, art, and music (Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993, p. 6). ‘Little c’ culture, or behavior culture, includes “culturally-influenced beliefs and perceptions, especially as expressed through language” (Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993, p. 6), but also behavior that is accepted as the norm. Examples of ‘little c’ culture are “ways of behaving, eating, talking, dwelling, [and] customs, beliefs, and values” (Kramsch, 2013, p. 66). Tomalin and Stempleski (1993) further

argue that while ‘big C’ culture has been clearly identified in the curricula and textbooks, and thus has been represented greatly, ‘little c’ culture has often been treated as a supplement, or not been represented at all. Both should be featured regularly in language learning (Tomalin and Stempleski, 1993, p. 7) as ‘little c’ and ‘big C’ culture provide different elements which could be important to the individual cultures. As the two categories specify different elements, both of them are important to get a broader and more nuanced understanding of the culture.

Holliday (2011) describes dimensions of cultural complexity where cultural realities differ to some degree, three of which are relevant for this study. The first dimension is nation, which “is often an external cultural reality which provides a framing for identities which may be in conflict with personal cultural realities” (Holliday, 2011, p. 54). As such, national culture is a cultural frame which embody the people within the nation. However, the culture may not be applied to everyone, and can conflict with personal beliefs. Cultural identity constitutes the second dimension and is made up of different elements which can cross national borders, such as “religion, ancestry, skin colour, language [...] community, family” (Holliday, 2011 p. 55) and so forth. The third dimension, cultural reality is the culture people carry and which can be altered depending on the arena one is in. A person can be a member of different cultural realities at once, as such, one can have a cultural belonging to several groups simultaneously (Holliday, 2011, p. 55).

2.1.2 Views of culture

The current study has focused on two views of culture do investigate further, as culture is such a complex concept, which are an essentialist and non-essentialist view of culture. Within an essentialist view of culture, cultural identity is tied to a country or a given language and a person from a given national culture is seen as essentially different from someone with another cultural background (Holliday, 2011, p. 4). Essentialism is often subject to strong critique, because it implies that individual behavior is “entirely defined and constrained by the cultures in which they live so that the stereotype becomes the essence of who they are” (Holliday, 2011, p. 4). Furthermore, anthropologists and communications researchers have expressed constraint against “describing modern, complex societies with an all-embracing culture concept” (Dahl, 2015, p.39). Despite this critique, essentialism is a common perception both in academia and in everyday life (Holliday, 2011, p. 4). Holliday describes elements which are central in an essentialist view of culture; culture is seen as a physical place, often associated with a country and a language. People from one culture are seen as

essentially different from people from another culture (2011, p. 5). This view could be seen as normal and natural, as it points to how people and groups are different from each other. A mentality such as this could lead to a view of Otherness, which will be described later.

In contrast, a non-essentialist view of culture sees the concept of culture as dynamic and complex in the sense that it may change, intermingle, and cut across national borders (Holliday, 2011, p. 5). As such, culture is understood as being open to change with time and other factors, as opposed to individual units which can be fully separated from other cultures. This approach to culture opens for a dynamic view where culture is not seen as something people are in possession of, but rather something people 'do' when encountering other people (Dahl, 2015, p. 40). Dahl (2015) also specifies that culture is something people carry with them, and is applied when interacting with others, such as cultural values and understandings (p. 42).

2.1.3 Othering, culturalism, and stereotypes

One of the problems with an essentialist view of culture is that it may lead to Othering, culturalism, and stereotypes. Holliday (2011) describes Othering as the process of constructing a demonized image of the Other, which leads to an idealized image of the Self (p. 69). With an essentialist view of culture, the demonized image of the Other will be applied to all members of the given group (Holliday, 2011, p. 69). Similar to Holliday's understanding of Othering, Dahl (2015, p. 70) suggests that Othering is the act of objectifying the Other by focusing on elements from and diminishing the Other (Dahl, 2015, p. 70). As such, Othering is a term which describes mechanisms that aim to isolate or distance people or groups, e.g., racism or sexism, and can therefore be seen as closely linked to prejudice and discrimination (Nustad, 2019).

Culturalism is the systematization of Othering, and Dahl (2015) describes the phenomenon as "[w]hen members of a group are reduced to participants who acts by a determined patters which is predetermined by their culture" (p. 71). This involves culture being used as a label which is then applied to describe and enlighten the reasoning for a person's actions. Such acts often result in reducing the Other (Dahl, 2015, p. 71). Both Dahl (2015) and Holliday (2011) have expressed criticism toward the use of culture to explain other people's actions, as the explanation in such cases are often colored by preconceptions (Dahl, 2015, p. 71).

Still, one may not be aware of Othering people in the process of contrasting different groups of people. As such, although the produced image of the Other is not neutral, there may be an assumption and belief of neutrality (Holliday, 2011, p. 70). In the process of Othering a group of people, one may have stereotypes toward them. The definition of stereotyping found in Merriam-Webster dictionary states that it is “a standardized mental picture that is held in common by members of a group and that represents an oversimplified opinion, prejudiced attitude, or uncritical judgment” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). As such, it is to oversimplify a group of people and define the individuals in a group as the same with no individualization. When stereotypes are at the base, prejudice can easily be developed, which then tends to lead to Othering (Dahl, 2015, p. 70). In relation to this, it can be understood that Othering is a process that often involves other aspects as well, such as stereotyping the Other.

2.1.4 Diversity

As stated in the introduction, diversity is in the current study understood as people with different cultural backgrounds and/or different visible features. Visible markers of difference could include skin color, and as such, it was considered relevant to discuss the topic of ‘race’. ‘Race’ is “the idea that the human species is divided into distinct groups on the basis of inherited physical and behavioral differences” (Smedley, Wade & Takezawa, 2020). The terminology ‘race’ is usually a reference to visible physical traits people have, such as skin color, hair texture, and facial features. Moreover, people who bear these distinctive features are generally placed into a category which is often based on geography. Examples given by Smedley et.al. are “African race”, “European race”, and so forth (Smedley, Wade & Takezawa, 2020), which is also the view with the U.S. Census Bureau. The U.S. Census Bureau aims to present data about the United State’s people and economy and has provided a written response on the question of race and ethnicity (The Census Bureau, 2021). Being white is described as “a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa” (The Census Bureau, 2022). Moreover, it is stated that self-identification is essential in an individual’s response to race and ethnicity (The Census Bureau, 2022).

A study from 2022 studied how Middle Eastern and North African Americans perceived themselves in regard to ethnicity. “People of Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) descent are categorized as non-White in many Western countries but counted as White on the US Census” (Maghbouleg et al., 2022, p. 1). As such, it was considered necessary to

investigate further as to whether people of 'MENA' heritage should be identified as Western or non-Western in this study. The study further discussed the issue of self-identification and that the majority of the informants of the study identified as 'MENA' and not White. Another issue mentioned was that there is the case of some identifying "as both White and MENA" (Maghbhouleg et al., 2022, p. 7). In such cases, the people identifying as both often identify as multiracial. However, these matters are complex and there are no definite conclusions (Maghbhouleg et al., 2022, p. 7). Self-identification is seen as an important aspect in the current study and will be considered in the qualitative analysis. As the qualitative analysis in the current study investigate visible markers of difference, self-identification will not be taken into consideration. However, it was regarded important to highlight this study in the discussion of 'race', as how people are identified may not correlate to how people perceive themselves.

Johnson elaborates on 'race', and states that races are a social construct, as it does in fact not define biological groups (2006, p. x). Historically, differences such as visible features a person has have been socially irrelevant, and the relevance of race was initiated "[w]hen white Europeans began to exploit people of color for territorial conquest and economic gain" (Johnson, 2006, p. x). Although skin color and other visible features were not relevant, it was then used to justify superiority over people of a different origin. To this day, 'race' still does not define biological groups or personal characteristics, and as such still has 'no importance', but it has become a way to justify privilege (Johnson, 2006, p. x). Privilege, then, is here understood as a recognition of how individuals with dominant cultural, or other, identities obtain more benefits or experience fewer obstacles (Johnson, 2006, p. 22). In this study, 'race' is understood as the visible features which can identify someone's origin. There is an understanding of the terminology being a social construct where visible markers of difference do not define someone's culture, identity or belonging. The current study uses 'race' as an indication of origin to be able to identify Western and non-Western representation in textbooks in order to determine the inclusivity of diversity.

2.1.5 Intercultural competence

The English classroom as an important arena for intercultural competence is reflected in the English curriculum for LK20, as well. "English shall help the pupils develop an intercultural understanding of different ways of living, ways of thinking and communication patterns" (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2019, p. 2). Consequently, the school and the English subject

should facilitate the learners' development of intercultural competence. An important note regarding LK20 and intercultural competence, is that although it is mandated to be taught in schools, there are no explicit guidelines as to how (Fenner & Skulstad, 2019, p. 80). Specific content and methods about how to promote intercultural competence in educational settings are not specified, which means the main responsibility is put on textbook authors and teachers (Fenner & Skulstad, 2019, p. 80).

As the world has become 'smaller', in the sense that knowledge and people, and the cultural aspects that follow them, have become more assessable. It is today recognized that learners need more than language skills and knowledge. The learners must acquire the ability to use the language appropriately, both socially and culturally (Byram, et.al., 2002, p. 7). The intercultural dimension of language teaching intends for the learners to become:

intercultural speakers or mediators who are able to engage with complexity and multiple identities and to avoid stereotyping which accompanies perceiving someone through a single identity (Byram et al., 2002, p. 9)

In essence, when discovering a person's qualities, this should not happen in light of cultural aspect and cultural identity. A person should not be seen as a representative of an identity which has been assigned to them, but as an individual with complexity (Byram et al., 2002, p. 9).

Byram et al (2002) argue that intercultural interaction is never perfect, and it does not have to be (p. 11). Cultures are continuously changing, and a single country may contain a variety of different cultures. Moreover, individuals develop their identities throughout life and can be a member of different social groups (Byram et al., 2002, p. 11). As such, a cultural encounter may not be the same, as people are individuals, and therefore different, even though one may belong to the same culture. "The components of intercultural competence are knowledge, skills, and attitudes, complemented by the values one holds because of one's belonging to a number of social groups" (Byram et al., 2002, p. 11). The four components of intercultural competence will be discussed further in the next paragraph.

Attitude is the foundation of intercultural competence (Byram et al., 2002, p. 11), more precisely, it is the attitude toward "people who are perceived as different in respect of the

cultural meanings, beliefs, values and behaviours they exhibit [...]” (Byram, 2021, p. 44). However, these attitudes do not necessarily need to be positive, as not only negative prejudice and tolerance can prevent mutual understanding between the interlocutors (Byram, 2021, p. 45). Intercultural attitudes are, then, curiosity and openness about other cultures, as well as being prepared to discard the preconceptions one may have (Byram et al., 2002, p. 12). Knowledge, then, is the information a person has of how the function of social groups and identities in intercultural interactions. As such, knowledge does not necessarily mean knowledge about specific cultures, but knowledge about other people and how they interact (Byram et al., 2002, p. 12). The component *skills* is divided into two; the first part is the ability to interpret a document from another country and to interpret and relate it to documents from one’s own culture. The second part of *skills* is the ability to learn about other cultures and their practices, and to apply knowledge, attitudes, and skills to communicate and interact with the given culture (Byram et al., 2002, p. 13). The last component of intercultural competence is values. Although one may have achieved attitude, knowledge, and skills, in order to interact with other cultures, it is important to be aware of one’s own values. A person’s values have the ability to affect the view of other people’s values, and as such, a person need to be aware of which values one has in order to prevent rejecting others (Byram et al., 2002, p. 13). Byram et al. (2002) further discuss that a language teacher’s role is “[...] to develop skills, attitudes and awareness of values just as much as to develop knowledge of a particular culture or country” (Byram et al, 2002, p. 13). It could then be argued that this role should be applied to the textbooks as well, as textbooks have a long history in the English subject in Norway (Fenner & Skulstad, 2019, p. 340). As textbooks usually are used in Norwegian schools today, the components of intercultural competence should be evident in these as well. The role of textbooks will be discussed further in section 2.3.

2.1.1 Culture and diversity in the curriculum

Under relevance and central values in the English curriculum, it is specified the subject’s significance in the development of cultural understanding. One of the overarching aims of the English subject curriculum is that it should “develop the pupil’s understanding that their views of the world are culture-dependent” (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2019, p. 2).

The core curriculum contains information about the aim of pedagogical practices, which applies to primary and secondary education (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 1). Moreover, one can find values located in the section called objectives clause, which has the intention to

aid the pupils to live, learn and work together in a complex world (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 2). The core value identity and cultural diversity, which was described in the introduction, elaborates on why culture and diversity is implemented in the curriculum. It states that the school is obligated to “give pupils historical and cultural insight that will give them good a foundation in their lives and help each pupil to preserve and develop her or his identity in an inclusive and diverse environment” (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 5). From the citation, culture and diversity is considered important for the pupils’ identities. Experiencing and learning about other cultures, traditions and values are to help the development of the pupils’ identities, and to expand the positivity of inclusivity and diversity (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 5-6).

In 5th grade in Norway, the pupils are working with “Competence aims and assessment Year 7” (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2019, p. 7). One of the competence aims which explicitly mentions culture is the last one, which reads: “investigate ways of living and traditions in different societies in the English-speaking world and in Norway and reflect on identity and cultural belonging” (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2019, p. 8). As such, the pupils are at this stage working with cultural competence.

2.2 Reading images and multimodal texts

Each day, people see and interact with images. Seeing is a tool to make sense of the world, as the world around us is “so strongly organized around visual and spatial cues that take seeing for granted” (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 9). Sturken and Cartwright (2009) further describe that seeing and visualizing is as important to those who are blind or have low vision. Through looking, touching, and hearing, one can organize the world and mediate relationships and meanings. As such, looking is a social practice (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 9).

A key concept here is power relations, as the action of looking communicates to and influences the person looking. The element of power concerns “[t]o be made to look, to try to get someone else to look at you or at something you want to be noticed, or to engage in an exchange of looks” (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 9). A variety of cultures are increasingly using images that convey purpose and that have effect on the viewer. The images people see will develop a variety of emotions and responses, which again will vary from person to person. A visual image possesses significant power, as it can convey different purposes,

possess meaning, and it can appear in a variety of settings accessible to people (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 9).

The language and visuals one use to create meaning about the world are referred to as representation. Representations are tools to help people understand, describe, and define the world. However, images and language are not copies or exact representations of the truth. Visual representations do not necessarily reproduce reality, as they are created “within the interests of the social institutions within which the images are produced, circulated and read” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 47). Nor is the meaning taken from these identical to how the creator aimed for them to be interpreted. Rather, the person looking at the image or reading the text constructs their own meaning, based on their previous knowledge, experiences, beliefs, etc. (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 12) as well as the rules and traditions of representation that are acquired through participating in a given cultural context (p. 14). This suggests that each individual person have their own interpretations and ways of reading images and texts, which is related, but not limited, to their cultural context.

Images are often not read in isolation, but in relation to surrounding text. The pages in textbooks, for example, often include a combination of images and verbal text and as such rely on the reader to interpret multiple modes. Multimodal texts are a combination of images and verbal text, and perhaps other graphic elements, on a television or computer screen, or a page (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 177). Therefore, multimodal literacy “[...] is the ability to interpret and use multimodal semiotic resources and multimodal genres in a successful way” (Fenner & Skulstad, 2020, p. 267). As such, to reach the full potential of multimodal texts, a person is required to have the ability to utilize the different modes. English textbooks in Norway have a long history of multimodality, and today, textbook normally contain photographs, art, and so forth (Fenner & Skulstad, 2019, p. 264-265). This could suggest that there is a need for multimodal literacy when interacting with the textbooks, in order to fully interpret and use them successfully.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) raise the question of whether text and image should be analyzed separately, or in relation to each other (p. 177). Although an image may convey a given meaning, the said meaning may change based on what surrounds the image (Berger, 1972, p. 29). Additionally, the context in which the image is viewed, as well as what comes before and after, contribute to and influence the meaning of the image (Berger, 1972, p. 29).

Berger exemplifies this by showing a painting by Van Gogh, first with a description of the painting, and then, the same painting, but with context. The first time the painting is provided, the caption states “This is a landscape of a cornfield with birds flying out of it” (Berger, 1972, p. 27). After turning the page, the same image appears, but this time with a caption that states “This is the last picture that Van Gogh painted before he killed himself” (Berger, 1972, p. 28). The context has in some way affected how a person views the painting, however it is not necessarily clear how. Now, the image illustrates the sentence below it, and the words have therefore impacted the image. “It is hard to define exactly how the words have changed the image but undoubtedly they have” (Berger, 1972, p. 28). The context in which an image is viewed affects the meaning of the image. As technology has become more accessible to people, images can appear in various places at the same time, which they could not before. Images can therefore appear in multiple contexts, and therefore, images can have various possible meanings (Berger, 1972, p. 19). As such, multimodal texts should be seen as complimentary of each other, where one is not more important than the other. Each component in a multimodal text interacts with and affect the other (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 177).

2.3 The importance and relevance of textbooks today

According to the Regulation of the Education Act, didactic materials are printed, non-printed or digital works that aim to be used in education. These materials are to cover the competence aims of the curriculum for the promotion of knowledge (Forskrift I Opplæringslova, 1998, §17-1). Textbooks, as well as other materials for teaching, have a long history in the English subject. The tradition can be dated a few hundred years back in time, where “the first textbooks in modern foreign languages were introduced in Norway” as early as 1782 (Støren & Schmidt, 1956, p. 48, in Fenner & Skulstad, 2019, p. 340). The role of textbooks has become less authoritative today than before, as the Norwegian education authorities discontinued textbook approval in year 2000, which had previously been performed by the ministry (Fenner & Skulstad, 2019, p. 347).

Textbooks are based on the national curriculum which is to be based on themes as well as grammatical points. A textbook can be presented in an authoritative and definite manner or in an intercultural and critical perspective (Byram et al, 2002, p. 21). A contribution to the intercultural perspective may be to include vocabulary that assists the pupils in talking about

cultural diversity. “This can include terms such as human rights; equality; dignity; gender; bias; prejudice; stereotype; racism; ethnic minority; and the names of ethnic groups, including white groups.” (Byram et al, 2002, p. 22).

3 Previous research

There is a large body research on representations of culture in textbooks, focusing on cultural representation (e.g., Thumvichit, 2018 and Yuen, 201), cultural bias (e.g., Ndura, 2010), and cultural inclusivity (e.g., Normand, 2020). Other studies that have been conducted have focused on textbook images (e.g., Derakhshan, 2021), and textbook analysis (e.g., Maslak, 2008). Some of these studies have been conducted in other countries, and some in Norway, which display the interest and relevance for this kind of research throughout the world. There has not, however, been found a large body of research conducted on non-Western representation in Norwegian EFL textbooks from LK20, as the curriculum and textbooks are still quite new. In regard to studies conducted on cultural representations in textbooks for 5th grade, there has been found little research, which is a reasoning for why this grade level was chosen for the current study. The next paragraphs aim to present two Norwegian studies which have been conducted recently and were regarded relevant to the current study’s focus.

Eira (2018) examined three English subject textbooks developed for Norwegian pupils developed for the curriculum Knowledge Promotional Reform (LK06), and how they “affect the development of upper-secondary pupils’ understanding of indigenous populations” (p. 1). The study carried out a textbook analysis, applying both qualitative and quantitative methodology. All three textbooks were found to have a tendency to focus on oppositions and distinctiveness of indigenous cultures, thus creating “distance between cultures” (Eira, 2018, p. 61). Moreover, Eira (2018) found that the images and texts representing indigenous cultures in the textbook promoted descriptive cultural understanding, and thus not promoting a dynamic understanding of culture. Based on this, Eira (2018) argues that the representations found in the textbooks did in fact reduce cultural understanding and intercultural competence (Eira, 2018, p. 61). She concludes by stating that the three textbooks to a lesser extent maintained the cultural aims of English teaching in the Norwegian curriculum, and that the textbooks had great potential for improvement (Eira, 2018, p. 62).

Another study of textbooks in the Norwegian context was conducted by Danielsen (2020), who researched the potential for development of intercultural competence in two Norwegian English language textbooks. Both textbooks were produced by Cappelen Damm; *Stairs 5* (2014) and *Engelsk 5* (2020). The study was a comparison between the two textbooks and used critical discourse analysis to examine the materials. Danielsen explored materials that implicitly represented and encouraged intercultural understanding and as the teacher's books provided overview of the textbooks, they were therefore included in the analysis (Danielsen, 2020, p. 8). Both textbooks were found to include people of different ethnic backgrounds (Danielsen, 2020, p. 61). After going through the analysis and comparison, Danielsen found that *Stairs 5* promoted intercultural competence on a surface level and cultural knowledge. *Engelsk 5*, on the other hand, encouraged in-depth learning, and as such, promoted cultural understanding and intercultural competence on a deeper level (Danielsen, 2020, p. 59). As both textbooks were produced by Cappelen Damm, it was also mentioned that *Engelsk 5* had positive and improved changes from its predecessor (Danielsen, 2020, p. 60).

Previous research has been conducted on cultural representations in English EFL textbooks, both textually and visually. There have not been found a wide range of studies conducted on non-Western representations in Norwegian EFL textbooks, neither on textbooks for the curriculum LK20. Therefore, based on previous research and the recent curriculum renewal which places particular emphasis on the importance of cultural diversity and intercultural competence, it was regarded important to investigate how this is mirrored in the textbooks for the learners in the English subject in Norway.

4 Material and methodology

This section will present the methodological approaches and materials used for the current study to answer the following research questions: "To which degree are non-Western people represented visually in Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade" and "In what contexts are Non-Western people represented in Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade, and how are they represented within these contexts?". Firstly, the materials will be introduced, which are four Norwegian EFL textbooks produced for 5th grade. Secondly, the methodological approach, which includes textbook analysis of images and text, will be presented. Lastly, the validity and reliability of the results from the study will be discussed.

4.1 Materials

The textbooks selected for this study consists of four EFL textbooks created for 5th grade, which were Fagbokforlaget's *Link 5* (Mezzetti, Oddvik, Stuvland & Szikszay, 2021), Gyldendal's *Explore 5* (authors), Cappelen Damm's *Engelsk 5* (authors), and Aschehoug's *Quest 5* (Bade, Pettersen & Tømmerbakke, 2020). These four textbooks were chosen as they are produced by the four major publishing companies in Norway (Fagbokforlaget, Gyldendal, Cappelen Damm, and Aschehoug), which allows for comparison between books that are likely to be represented in Norwegian schools. By including a wider range of textbooks, a more in-depth comparison of the materials available for primary school pupils is possible. Since Norwegian schools assess and evaluate textbooks and teaching aids themselves, it is reasonable to assume that there is a variety of teaching materials currently represented in Norway.

All four publishers had produced and released new editions of their 5th grade English textbooks for LK20 at the point of this study, which, in addition to the research gap described above, was one reason for choosing this grade. Moreover, at this stage, the pupils are working with competence aims related to exploring cultures and diversity (see section 2.1.1), which means that the target age should encounter and work with cultural aspects in the textbooks. In addition to textbooks, there are also workbooks and teacher guides available, that could have contributed with more in-depth results. These, however, were not included due to the limited time and resources available for this study. Moreover, teachers' guides are not generally available for the pupils, and workbooks mainly consist of tasks, which were not a focus of the current study, and generally contain fewer images. Because of these factors, it was considered more likely that pupils were exposed to images and text relating to non-Western culture in the textbooks.

Engelsk 5 (Solberg & Unnerud, 2020) is a first-edition textbook from Cappelen Damm. It is intended to use throughout the fifth year in secondary school. The textbook is divided into four chapters: "Good talking to you", "take an interest", "Trave through old and new", and "Respect our Earth" (p. 4-5), additionally there is an introduction and a glossary at the end of the book.

Quest 5 (Bade et.al, 2020) is a second-edition textbook from Aschehoug. This textbook is divided into seven chapters: “It’s My Life!”, “School and Spare Time”, “How the Body Works”, “Let’s Go to the UK!”, “Let’s Read!”, “The Three Rs”, and “Hidden Treasures” (p. 4-5). There is also an introduction to the subject, as well as a glossary at the end.

Link 5 (Mezzetti et.al, 2021) is a first edition textbook by Fagbokforlaget, and is the newest one in this study. The content in this book is divided into nine chapters, which are “On the go!”, “Sports”, “Health and resilience”, “Harvesting”, “Maps and directions”, “Behind the monsters”, “International food”, “Bugs and insects”, and “Art” (p. 3). There is also an introduction, a section at the end with grammar, as well as a word list.

Explore 5 (Edwards, 2020) is a second edition textbook by Gyldendal. The textbook is divided into seven chapters; “My school”, “My family”, “World mysteries”, “In the shop”, “My spare time”, “Extreme records”, and “About the UK”. This textbook also includes an introduction to the English subject, as well as a wordlist at the end.

4.2 Methodology

The current study employed both quantitative and qualitative methodology and can as such be defined as a mixed methods study. As argued by Creswell (2015), quantitative and qualitative data differ very much, but they are nonetheless equally important. Generally, quantitative data involves using statistical analysis to gather information and interpret the results to answer a research question or hypothesis (Creswell, 2015, p. 4). Quantitative analysis has usually been applied to understand representation and re-representation of culture (Weninger & Kiss, 2013, p. 695). In relation to analyzing cultural diversity, Weninger and Kiss (2013) argue that a sole count of frequency of content runs the risk of objectifying culture (p. 699). Expressing culture as numbers risk assuming that meaning is fixed, and accordingly focusing on the analyzer’s interpretation of what something means or represents, rather than the learners’ interpretations (Weninger & Kiss, 2013, p. 699). Although a quantitative approach runs the risk of objectifying culture and regarding culture as a static phenomenon, it can also provide valuable insight into numbers of representation and therefore provide an overview of cultural depiction. For the current study, a quantitative method of representation of culture was therefore seen as useful in cooperation with a qualitative method, with the main focus on the latter.

A qualitative method, on the other hand, aims to evolve and expand an understanding of the social phenomenon being studied (Thagaard, 2018, p. 16), and often involves the collection of data in the form of texts, audio, or video (Creswell, 2015, p. 4). Verbal and visual expressions have had an increased role in qualitative method and analysis (Thagaard, 2018, p. 11). Nonetheless, a qualitative approach to cultural content in textbooks pose issues, as well as a quantitative approach (Weninger & Kiss, 2013, p. 699). In a qualitative analysis, the researcher may have a more distant relation to the sources if the sources are established data, e.g., various documentation, text, or visual expressions (Thagaard, 2018, p. 16). It could be beneficial to highlight “the dynamic nature of culture and interpretation” (Weninger & Kiss, 2013, p. 699). Although a qualitative approach to cultural content in EFL textbooks has its complexity and obstacles, it was seen as a beneficial method to investigate the research questions in order to get an insight into the non-Western cultural representations provided in the textbooks.

The analysis was carried out in three stages. During the first stage, the textbooks were read from cover to cover to familiarize myself with the data and gain an overview of the books as a whole. Secondly, a count was conducted to find out how many spreads each of the textbooks consisted of, followed by a visual content analysis? of how many of these included Western representations (WR) and non-Western representations (NWR). This stage provided quantitative data addressing the first research question, “To which degree are non-Western people represented visually in Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade?”, enabling a general overview of representation and making it possible to identify trends. In the last stage, all the spreads identified during stage 2 as including NWR representations were subject to a qualitative analysis, focusing on the surrounding text and context of the non-Western representations. Addressing the second research question, a qualitative method was seen as best suitable for this stage in order to get a deeper insight into the cultural aspects and as a tool for exploring the contents provided by the textbook authors. In the following, the analytical procedures for stage 2 and 3, covering images and surrounding context respectively, will be described separately.

For the purpose of this study, it was necessary to define who would be identified as Western and non-Western people. People who were identified as Western were people of White race¹, concretely, people who descend from the original peoples from Europe (The Census Bureau). Moreover, as there has been some unclarity or lack of unity as to whether ‘MENA’ is considered to be included into the category White, this study considered people of Middle Eastern and North African descent to be non-Western. Non-Western people were identified by having visible features which linked them to non-Western nationalities, such as darker skin color, and dark, textured hair. Although it was necessary to categorize visual representations as Western or non-Western, self-identification was regarded as important. Even though self-identification was not considered in the quantitative research, it was taken into consideration in the qualitative analysis

4.2.1 Visual representation in the textbooks

For the quantitative analysis of the EFL textbooks, the aim was to get an overview of the frequency of Western and non-Western representations in the images.

This section describes the methodological approach to the visual content analysis of the textbook.

A count of number of spreads were conducted. This involves that the two pages open together counted as one spread. The reader will often take in the whole spread when opening the book, not just one page or image at a time. Next, each spread was investigated further in order to identify non-Western representation. To be able to categorize which images pictured diversity, it was considered necessary to identify who the “diversity” was. People who had light skin and with no obvious connection to a non-white ‘race’ were categorized as Western representation (WR). White people were considered the ‘standard’, so where there was any doubt about the origin, a person was categorized as white. People with visual features, which may indicate a non-Western origin were considered diversity, and was categorized as non-Western representation (NWR).

All images depicting cultural diversity were investigated. For this study, the terminology “images” include photos, paintings, and drawings. Only images depicting people were

¹ ‘Race’ will be written with quotation marks from now on, as the content of the terminology historically reflects justifying superiority, which this study does not vouch for.

categorized. As such, images of beings such as mermaids, trolls, or other creatures were not a part of the analysis. Any symbols with function, such as pointers to tasks, writing- and listening exercises were excluded from the study. Investigating what these exercises involve could have given additional information and data, however it could not be prioritized at this time.

The textbooks were analyzed by reading, scanning, and considering the whole work. Images were searched in order to find representations depicting people of non-Western features. If an illustration depicted a person of Western origin, the spread counted as WR. Therefore, if an illustration depicted a person of non-Western origin, the spread counted as NWR. If an image depicted both Western and non-Western people, or if a spread contained images of both, the spread was categorized as WR and NWR. If one textbook had 10 spreads, where 4 depicted WR, 3 depicted NWR, and 2 depicted both, the numbers would look like the following: spreads: 10, WR: 6, NWR: 5. As such, people who appeared in illustrations and who matched at least one of the criteria below, were identified as NWR:

- Darker skin color
- Dark textured hair
- Clothing or accessories identified with a non-Western culture/tradition

Lastly, it was also of interest to examine where in the textbook NWR was present. Could the reader encounter NWR throughout the book, or were they only appearing in specific chapters or topics? As the textbooks cover a variety of topics, it was of interest to investigate if NWR was included in all areas, and as such, investigate Othering.

4.2.2 Non-Western cultural representation in text

The qualitative analysis of this study drew on the thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006). The thematic analysis consists of six stages, which are not unique to this type of analysis, as other qualitative methods have similar phases (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 86). However, this study did not follow all the steps, but drew upon the model.

As mentioned earlier, the first step was to get familiarized with the material, which was an important part of the thematic analysis. It is important to be familiar with the content of the material being investigated. If one is collecting data through interactive means, one may have

some initial thoughts when starting to analyze, as “ideas and identification of possible patterns will be shaped as you read through” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87). The second step was to work systematically through the material to identify aspects of interest to the study, which was the base for identifying themes later. This can be done by highlighting text or by using post-it notes (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89) while working with the material. Codes to notice could be repeated and potential patterns and identifying interesting information (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89). For this part, post-it notes with initial thoughts and reflections were placed on the pages of which settings non-Western people appeared, and where non-Western representations and cultural references occurred. Afterward, the codes of non-Western representations were investigated further and categorized into context and themes. The contexts were school, with friends, sports, travelling, family, at home, and various activities. Themes that were identified were explicit and implicit mention of culture, origin mentioned or not mentioned, non-Western representations in Western countries and in non-Western countries, and lastly, Othering. The next step in the thematic analysis was to take a closer look at the different themes as “it is important not to try and get a theme to do too much, or not to be too diverse and complex” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 92). The themes were recognized to blend with each other, however in such a way that they did not have to be compressed. Each theme was identified to cover different aspects of cultural diversity which complimented each other and were therefore maintained as different themes. The final step was to write the analysis. An analysis such as this should describe the data and include extracts. Moreover, the analysis should include more than just data, it should also contain argumentation regarding the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 93).

For the qualitative analysis, each spread depicting NWR were investigated further. Given the discussion provided on multimodality in section 2.2, it was considered essential to look at the relationship between image and text, and to investigate possible interpretations and how textbook authors invite the learners into the cultures. Where images of diversity were represented, it was also of interest to search the surrounding text to investigate if the textbook provided cultural information. The study limited the content analysis to only investigate the text which was related to the spread which had an image depicting NWR.

When reading, these criteria were used:

- Explicit mention of a non-Western country
- Mentioning of a person’s origin

- Mentioning of cultural values and/or traditions

4.3 Validity and reliability

As the material and methodology have been provided and discussed, it is also important to review the validity and reliability of the study's findings. Reliability relates to whether the researcher's approaches are reliable (Creswell and Creswell, 2018, p. 201), whereas validity is the determination of "whether the findings are accurate from the standpoint of the researcher" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, in Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 199). Validity and reliability are important issues to evaluate the quality of the research being conducted. This section will therefore contain a brief discussion of the validity and reliability this study has taken into consideration. The discussion will be based on a list of topics to take into consideration when assessing validity and reliability provided by Creswell and Creswell (2018).

Firstly, an important element of validity is to clarify the bias of the researcher. This clarification aims to provide an honest and open narrative, as the bias will influence the interpretation and findings (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p 200). An essential step towards increasing the validity of the current study is therefore to make the relevant background of the researcher visible. As the study aims to investigate non-Western representations in EFL textbooks, it is necessary to clarify that the researcher, being a Caucasian woman with Norwegian origin, does not identify as non-Western and will therefore, by default, look at the textbooks from a Western point of view. The researcher has no cultural ties to other national cultures, and no religious background. In the analysis of the textbooks, this was attempted to keep in mind, as being aware of personal background promoted a continuous awareness of the bias. The researcher's interests of cultures and intercultural competence inspired this study. Knowledge and tolerance towards people with a different background is aspects that are of great interest, which lead to the current study of cultural diversity in EFL textbooks for Norwegian primary schools.

Secondly, the validity of the study is increased by employing analytical triangulation. Qualitative research method is highly subjective (Creswell, 2015, p. 5), as it is the researcher's interpretations of the images and texts conveying the message. As argued in section 2.2, everyone who will encounter the textbooks have their own background and thoughts which could influence the interpretation of an image and text. As such, this study can

only imply a possible meaning of images and texts, in the same way that the researcher's background and thoughts could influence interpretations and perceptions. Both a qualitative and quantitative analysis were therefore seen as insufficient to conduct on their own. To increase the validity of the findings, and as such the study, a combination of qualitative and quantitative were determined necessary. Fixed numbers from the quantitative analysis could give an overall visualization of cultural representation, and the qualitative analysis could both be supported by these numbers as well as the set criteria.

Finally, the validity of the current study is strengthened by providing rich descriptions of the materials (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 200). In the section about findings, a rich description has been provided of the data from the four textbooks. Detailed descriptions make the results more realistic to the reader and provides validity to the research conducted (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p 200). Triangulation is further provided by examining evidence from a variety of sources and using the evidence to justify claims and discussions (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p 200). A variety of relevant theory and sources have been introduced, as well as providing a thorough description of findings. Both theory and findings are incorporated in the discussion to gather the elements together.

The reliability of this study is strengthened by presenting theories, materials, and methodology this study will use. The findings have been thoroughly checked in order to ensure there are no obvious mistakes (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 202). Moreover, the codes and definitions have been checked to ensure there are no "shift in the meaning" (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 202). It has also been attempted to clarify elements of the current study in a detailed manner, in order to create transparency and clarity. As a result, there could be a higher chance that the current study may be controlled and conducted by other researchers.

5 Findings

All four textbooks included in the study depicted diversity in the sense that both WR and NWR were identified. Table 1 shows the number of spreads of which WR and NWR were represented in each textbook, as well as the percentage of total spreads this reflects (note that the percentages do not add up to 100 as not all spreads included illustrations of people, and some spreads included both WR and NWR). As can be seen, all the textbooks had a higher

percentage of WR than NWR. Explore 5 had the lowest percentage of spreads with NWR, while Engelsk 5 came closest to an equal representation of WR and NWR with only 23% differentiating the two.

Textbook	Total number of spreads	Number of spreads with WR (percentage of total)	Number of spreads with NWR (percentage of total)
<i>Engelsk 5</i>	91	55 (60%)	34 (37%)
<i>Quest 5</i>	78	68 (87%)	38 (49%)
<i>Link 5</i>	96	71 (74%)	41 (43%)
<i>Explore 5</i>	84	69 (82%)	21 (25%)

Table 1. Overview over WR and NWR in the four textbooks

As the quantitative visual content analysis results indicate, more Western than non-Western representations were depicted in the four EFL textbooks. *Engelsk 5* had 91 spreads, where 55 (60%) included WR and 34 (37%) included NWR. Therefore, this textbook came closest to an equal representation of WR and NWR, with only 23% differentiating the two. On the other side, *Explore 5* had 84 spreads, of which 69 (82%) depicted WR and 21 (25%) depicted NWR. In contrast to *Engelsk 5*, this textbook was the furthest away from an equal representation of WR and NWR, with 57% differentiating the two categories. Moving on to *Quest 5*, which had 78 spreads, of which 68 (87%) included WR and 38 (49%) included NWR, giving a total of 38% differentiation. *Link 5* had 96 spreads, of which 71 (74%) depicted WR and 41 (43%) depicted NWR, presenting a total of 31% differentiation.

In the following, the findings from the qualitative analysis of each textbook, addressing *how* diversity was depicted, will be provided. Each textbook will be addressed separately in order to create an uncluttered layout, and to ensure each textbook is provided with an equal amount of space.

5.1 Engelsk 5

Engelsk 5 is a textbook with a total of 91 spreads, where 55 include WR and 34 include NWR. People who were identified as NWR appeared in all chapters of the textbook: Good talking to you, Take an interest, Travel through old and new, and Respect our earth. The

contexts in which NWR were noticed were sports, travelling, with friends, school, once with family, and at the beach.

Sports is a particularly frequent recurring context where NWR is present in *Engelsk 5*. In these representations they are often depicted alongside WR, giving an impression of equality. For example, on page 25 there is an illustration of a soccer team consisting of seven children in their soccer uniform, of which three can be identified as NWR. The children are placed in two lines, and all of them are facing the camera and smiling. As such, there are no differences between the NWR and WR children in how they are being depicted, which signals equality. Another example of NWR in a sports context is in the spread on pages 72-73. Page 72 consists of an illustration depicting nine people in a skate park, of which three were identified as NWR. The illustration depicts three people in front smiling to each other, and in the far back there are two people waiting on the edge of the ramp, as four people are actively skating. People identified as NWR were spread out in the different positions. As such, WR and NWR can be seen as equal in this spread since both are represented in the front and back of the illustration. The text on page 73 is a dialogue between five people, greeting each other and talking about skating. The subheading states “In a skate park you can improve your skateboarding skills. You can also meet new friends. Friends can help each other and teach each other new tricks” (Solberg & Unnerud, 2020, p. 73). This spread provides an example of people with different visual physical features becoming friends and having fun together in an informal, everyday setting.

Throughout *Engelsk 5*, the origins of the NWRs mainly remain unknown. One exception is on pages 20-21, where there is an illustration connected to a dialogue between two junior journalists from Norway and a player from a South African soccer team. In the introduction to the dialogue the reader is told that this dialogue is happening during Norway Cup and it is explicitly stated that the interviewee, Sarah, “is from South Africa” and that it is “her first time in Norway” (Solberg & Unnerud, 2020, p. 21). Her origin is repeated in the dialogue and the dialogue also includes some discussion about cultural differences between Norway and South Africa, mainly focusing on differences in weather. More interesting, perhaps, is the introduction of a misunderstanding surrounding an English idiom, when one of the journalists, Chris, tells Sarah to “break a leg”. The dialogue ends with Sarah saying, “Thank you, hope I won’t break a leg though” (Solberg & Unnerud, 2020, p. 21). Based on her response, it is clear that Sarah understood the statement literally, and not as an idiom with culturally situated

meanings. This cultural misunderstanding is not followed up in the textbook, and the only task addressing the idiom is on page 22 where the learners are asked to “Explain the idiom ‘break a leg’” (Solberg & Unnerud, 2020, p. 22).

Another example of the textbook alluding to the origin of NWR can be found on pages 18-19. On the top of page 18, there is an illustration that depicts four children in their soccer uniform, of which two were identified as NWR. Each of the children is smiling at the camera. Below the image, there is a Jamaican proverb “Make a friend when you don’t need one” (Solberg & Unnerud, 2020, p. 18). As the proverb’s origin is provided to the reader, and given the proverb’s close proximity to the image, the reader could make the assumption that the children identified as NWR are Jamaican. However, the rest of the text on the spread does not follow up this information. Below the Jamaican proverb, there is a riddle and a joke about football. On page 19, the learner is encouraged to “Talk and tell” (Solberg & Unnerud, 2020, p. 19) about questions the textbook has provided about sports. As such, while the Jamaican proverb is related to the topic of the spread, as the heading is “Playing pals” (Solberg & Unnerud, 2020, p. 18), the proverb is not discussed further, nor are the learners encouraged to discuss it through the tasks. Similar spreads, including images with an accompanying quote or proverb, can be found in all the chapters in *Engelsk 5*.

In general, the textbook contained few explicit references to culture in relation to NWR. One example of such references is the spread on pages 134-135. The title of the spread is “A nice cup of tea” and the text provides the reader an account of the history of how tea was invented and distributed, from 2700 BC to 1800. The spread consists of five illustrations, each juxtaposed to a paragraph describing different aspect of the history of tea in chronological order. Three of the illustrations include NWR, each depicting one man of Chinese origin in what could be described as traditional clothing. For example, two of the men are depicted in Asian conical hats, and all the men are wearing gowns. These illustrations are juxtaposed to the three first paragraphs, covering the early history of tea. The rest of the history, from when the tea “finally reaches Europe in the mid-1600s” (Solberg & Unnerud, 2020 p. 135), is only illustrated by WR. Furthermore, while the history continues up to the current time on page 136, no NWR was identified on this page.

5.2 Quest 5

The textbook *Quest 5* consists of a total of 78 spreads, where 68 include WR and 38 include NWR. People who were identified as NWR appeared in all chapters of the textbook: It's my life!, School and spare time, How the body works, Let's go to the UK, Let's read, The three Rs, Hidden treasures. The contexts in which NWR were identified were as portraits and visualization, school, with friends, travelling, sports, and various activities, such as scouts and chess.

Being together with friends is a recurring context where NWR is present in *Quest 5*. Similar to what was found in *Engelsk 5*, the NWR are often depicted alongside WR in these representations, giving an impression of equality. For example, on page 36 there is a picture of seven children in their school uniform, of which three were identified as NWR. The children are placed in two lines of six people, and one child, identified as NW/NWR, is placed in front. All of them are facing the camera and smiling. As such, similar to the picture described on page 25 of *Engelsk 5*, there are no visible differences between the children, other than their visual features. Another example is on page 61, where seven children are depicted in their sports uniform, of which two were identified as NWR. The children are depicted on what could look like a field of grass, where they are all holding hands around each other. The images on pages 36 and 61 depict friendship, and they give an impression of equality between the children.

Similarly to *Engelsk 5*, the origins of the NWR mainly remain unknown. The only example of the textbook explicitly mentioning the origin of NWR is on pages 76-77. Here, the text juxtaposed to an image depicting NWR refers to part of their cultural background. The image depicts six people walking through an airport, where two were identified as NWR. In the text, the reader gets to see a dialogue between Lucy, Alice, and Sunniva, who are travelling from Oslo to London. At the end of the dialogue, Lucy tells Sunniva that she is travelling to Brixton to see her father and siblings. Sunniva does not know where it is, to which Lucy replies "Brixton is in south London, Sunniva. "You'll see lots of people there who are of Jamaican heritage, like my dad" (Bade et al., 2020, p. 77). Alice comments on Lucy's reply with "That's because many Jamaicans came to live in the UK" (Bade et al., 2020, p. 77). This is elaborated upon in a box below the dialogue, which explains that many Jamaicans travelled to the UK for work after the Second World War (Bade et al., 2020, p. 77). In the dialogue,

the reader gains insights into some of Lucy's background, as her father is Jamaican, but living in the UK. There is no more mention of this as the dialogue reaches its end.

Quest 5 also includes a spread in which the NRW are given a Western origin, which is the first spread of chapter one. Four young children are depicted, of which two were categorized as NWR. The four children stand in a line in front of a world map, with red dots accompanied with speech bubbles marking and naming the countries they are from. Each of the children introduces themselves through speech bubbles above them, stating their name and place of origin to the reader. An example is a young boy saying "My name is Steven. I come from Texas in the USA" (Bade et al., 2020, p. 10). The children are all from Western countries, specifically the USA, England, Australia, and Scotland. Since two of the children have non-Western features that are visible to the reader, such as dark, textured hair and darker skin, the spread can be said to depict diversity within Western countries.

5.3 Link 5

Link 5 is a textbook with a total of 96 spreads, where 71 include WR and 41 include NWR. The textbook series has five recurring characters which the reader can follow throughout each book: Jonathan, Mercy, Thea, James, and Aryan. Two of these, Mercy and Aryan, were identified as NWR. In the introduction, there is a paragraph describing the importance of intercultural competence, and that the authors have therefore incorporated this as a recurring theme throughout the textbook. People who were identified as non-Western appeared in all chapters of the textbook: Back to school, Sports, Health and resilience, Harvesting, Maps and directions, Behind the monsters, International food, Bugs and insects, and Art. NWR were represented in the contexts of school, with friends, family, at home, sports, a story.

Sports is a theme that reoccurs in *Link 5* where NWR is present, and one example of this is on pages 34-35. The spread depicts seven pupils and a teacher in a locker room. Two of the eight people depicted in the illustration were identified as NWR. The teacher asks the pupils "Which sports do you know that use a ball?" (p. 34). Each pupil is thinking of a sport with excitement. Each sport appears through bubbles with illustrations, where three out of seven athletes were identified as NWR. The sports depicted on page 34 are polo, basketball, and tennis. On page 35, the teacher says "Good! Now, can you think of sports that do not use a ball?" (p. 35). Two pupils are raising their hand, while two pupils are not, however all the

children are smiling and looks excited. The sports thought of this time are long jump, gymnastics, cycling, and snowboarding. NWR are present amongst both pupils and athletes. The spread depict diversity within an everyday context

In addition to depicting NWR in everyday activities such as sports, *Link 5* also includes explicit references to non-Western cultures. An example of this in in chapter four, titled “Harvesting”, where the spread on pages 64-65 describes and depicts a Nigerian harvest celebration. On page 64, three women are depicted smiling in the night with yams, which is “the first crop harvested” (Mezzetti et al., 2021, p. 64). There is a paragraph above the women, giving a short introduction of the history of the Nigerian festival, which explicitly situates the illustrations and text in a non-Western cultural context. The women are wearing what could be seen as cultural dresses, headwear, and necklaces. Page 65 depicts three men wearing “raffia skirts and masks that portray turtles, lizards, trees and the sun or moon to celebrate a cycle for nature” (Mezzetti et al., 2021, p. 65). Below this illustration, there is a paragraph giving some explicit cultural meaning behind the elements of the festival and attire. The combination of texts juxtaposed to illustrations may provide the reader with insight to visual culture, as well as traditions and values.

There are also several examples of implicit references to culture. For example, in chapter seven, “International food”, the spread on pages 140-141 depicts eight pupils categorized as WR and four pupils categorized as NWR. The children are sitting in a cafeteria talking about the foods they have brought for potluck. Four children are sitting at a table in the back of the illustration, and eight children are in the front. In total, four of the children have their back to the reader. All the children look happy and are smiling at each other, except for one girl who, identified as WR, who is placed in the middle of the illustration. According to the text, the girl who was perceived as sad did not bring any food to the potluck, but her friends are happy to share: “There’s plenty of food for everyone. It doesn’t matter if you didn’t bring anything” (Mezzetti et al., 2021, p. 141). The children in the illustration are eating a variety of foods. For example, there are waffles, kebabs, fruit salad, coconut rice, Canadian bacon, and spring rolls. There is more information about the potluck on pages 138-139, where it says “When you are going to a potluck, you bring good to share. The food is often homemade” (Mezzetti et al., 2021, p. 139). The spread, consisting of pages 140 and 141, include non-Western foods, such as kebab, coconut rice, and spring rolls. The children are sharing with each other, and they can therefore experience a variety of foods. Moreover, the text includes some implicit

cultural references, such as Maira saying “Not really, I don’t eat pork” (Mezzetti et al, 2021, p. 140). Another example is when Maira explains what a kebab is “Haha, kebab means grilled meat, Oliver” (Mezzetti et al., 2021, p. 140). The mentioning of these cultural aspects provides an opportunity for discussions about cultural differences. However, this potential is not realized in the context of this spread. Furthermore, the spread provides an example of a group of friends consisting of people with non-Western and western characteristics. Similarly to pages 36 and 61 in *Quest 5*, the spread depicts friendship, and give an impression of equality between the children.

Another opportunity which is not entirely followed up on in the textbook can be found in the last chapter of the book, called “Arts”. The chapter include six consecutive pages which represent a variety of cultures. These pictures are located on pages 186-196, and depict people, clothing, patterns, and objects that mostly illustrate NWR. On pages 186-187, the textbook provides questions such as “Compare the different patterns. What is similar? What is different?” (Mezzetti et al., 2021, p. 186) and “What do you see in the images? What similarities and differences do you see between the images?” (Mezzetti et al., 2021, p. 187). These questions encourage the reader to compare the pictures, and to find differences and similarities between them. These pictures are located on the last pages of the chapter, and what comes next is a grammar section about “building language”. No captions or descriptions are provided of the pictures.

5.4 Explore 5

Explore 5 is a textbook with 84 spreads, where 69 include WR and 21 include NWR.

People who were identified as NWR appeared in all chapters of the textbook: My school, My family, World mysteries, In the shop, My spare time, Extreme records, and About the UK.

The contexts in which NWR were identified were school, with friends and family, sports, and various activities, such as running, shopping, and playing music.

School is a recurring theme where NWR is present. On pages 12-13, there are four pictures of children adjacent to texts describing who they are. There is Madison from the USA, Harry from England, Thulani from South Africa, and Jessica from New Zealand. Harry was identified as WR, and Madison, Thulani and Jessica were identified as NWR. Each person introduces themselves in first person, giving an opportunity for the reader to interact with the

children more personally. For instance, Jessica introduces herself by saying “Hi! I am Jessica” (Edwards, 2020, p. 12), while smiling and looking at the camera. Madison, Harry, and Jessica are from Western countries, such as the USA, England, and New Zealand. Thulani is the only NWR of the four who lives in a non-Western country, South Africa. On page 13, the subheading describes “All over the world children go to school to learn.” (Edwards, 2020, p. 13). The reader will get to know Madison and her school on page 13, and texts about Harry, Thulani, Jessica, and their schools, appear on pages 14, 15 and 16.

Explore 5 does not provide many examples with explicit mention of culture in relation to NWR. One of the few exceptions for this can be found on pages 144-145. The spread tells the story of Malavath Poorna, who “is the youngest girl to climb Mount Everest” (Edwards, 2020, p. 144), and her journey to climb the highest mountain in the world. Malavath “comes from a poor family” (Edwards, 2020, p. 144) in India. There are four pictures, each of which is related to the text. The picture on the top left is of Malavath herself, next to the text introducing her and her story. The image below is of Mount Everest and depicts the journey Malavath and her team made. On the top right, there is an image of tents, which can give the reader an impression of how the team lived while on the journey to reach the top of the mountain. Lastly, there is an image of what could be assumed to be Malavath and a fellow mountain climber when they had reached the top. The image is of two climbers, dressed in much clothing, holding the Indian flag while looking at the camera. The last bit of text on page 145 describes how she went back to school after reaching the top of Mount Everest, and the reader learns that that “In her town, few people can read and write” (Edwards, 2020, p. 145). Although there is found explicit mention of cultural aspects, the spread does not provide any tasks or additional information about it.

Another spread which can open for discussion about non-Western cultures is on pages 50-51. The heading for this spread is “Kids around the world” (Edwards, 2020, p. 50), and the spread gives examples of three children and their lives. On page 50, there are three pictures, each of which depict a different child. There are three paragraphs on the spread, and each text have an image of an animal next to it. Each of the three images depict children, all of which are looking into the camera. One image depicts a girl running towards on the beach and towards the camera. Another image depicts a girl on the grass smiling at the camera while giving thumbs up. The last image depicts a boy in a library, smiling while holding a stack of books. On page 50, the text is about Brid who lives in Ireland. On page 51, one paragraph is about

Beatrice from England, and one paragraph is about Vijay from Australia. Out of the three children, only one was identified NWR. The text about Vijay provides some of his background information, for instance, he is from India and the family speaks Hindi at home. Given this information, it could therefore be understood by the reader that the child identified as NWR is Vijay. The elements provided in the text about Vijay can open for discussion about non-Western cultures, for example speaking another language at home. Seeing as Vijay is originally from India, he could identify with a non-Western culture, which could be discussed.

6 Discussion

The main aim of the current thesis was to investigate which contexts non-Western people were represented in Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade, and how they were represented within these contexts, both visually and textually. This section will discuss the findings from the analysis of the four EFL textbooks in the light of presented theory and previous research conducted on topics related to this thesis. The chapter will start by discussing the findings from the quantitative content analysis, and as such addressing the first research question: To which degree are non-Western people represented visually in Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade? Following this, the qualitative thematic analysis will be discussed in order to answer the second research question: “In what contexts are non-Western people represented in Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade, and how are they represented within these contexts?”. Based on an analysis of the overall findings from the four textbooks, three overarching themes were identified and will be discussed successively: frequency of representation, explicit references to culture, non-Western representations in everyday contexts, and missed opportunities, both visually and textually.

6.1 Frequency of representation

The quantitative content analysis revealed that Western people were more represented than non-Western people. Table 1 revealed that *Quest 5* and *Link 5*, according to these numbers, resulted in being placed in the middle of *Engelsk 5* and *Explore 5*. Based on the results of the quantitative analysis, *Engelsk 5* came closest to an equal representation of Western and non-Western representations, therefore appearing to be more diverse in the portrayal of people and cultures of non-Western origin. On the other hand, *Explore 5* were found to have the lowest percentage of non-Western representation, with a difference of 57% between WR and NWR,

and therefore appears to be the least diverse of the four textbooks in portraying cultural diversity.

As culture and diversity are significant topics in LK20, it was considered significant to examine how this was mirrored in the textbooks. “[...] views of the world are culture-dependent” (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2019, p. 2), which the English subject is to help the pupils develop an understanding of (p. 2). As such, it could be argued that the pupils should encounter different cultures, both visually and textually, in order to develop this understanding. Moreover, learning about other cultures, and what they consist of, such as values and traditions, can generate a positive attitude towards diversity and inclusivity (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 5-6). Seeing diversity in the textbooks could be one step towards a positive attitude towards the unfamiliar, and as such, diversity. As people of various backgrounds are represented, it could normalize the unfamiliar and promote inclusivity. In relation to this, the images in the textbooks were not recognized to fully implement these factors. There were both Western and non-Western representations depicted visually. However, as there was a majority of Western representations, it could indicate that non-Western representations were less prioritized, and as such, not fully promoting diversity and inclusivity.

The overall result is that the textbooks had quite a low number of visual representations of non-Western people, some more than others. As such, it is relevant to discuss the element of diversity in this section. Race, as a social constructed phenomenon, is today a way to justify privilege (Johnson, 2006, p. x). As Western people were to a greater extent represented in number of representations, there is a risk that learners make the assumption that Western people have privilege over non-Western people. As Norway has become a more diverse country with a variety of nationalities, ethnicities, and cultural background, it could be argued that this should be mirrored through the textbooks. Just as there is diversity in the Norwegian society, and different cultures are more accessible, there could be diversity within the classroom as well. If a variety of cultures are represented in the textbooks, it enhances the likelihood of the pupils finding themselves represented, as representation is a tool which help people understand, describe, and define the world (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 47). As such, if the pupils’ features are depicted, the pupils can see themselves represented in the textbooks. It could be argued that if the pupils can see themselves, and as such relate to the characters and people in the textbooks, it could potentially create engagement toward the

topic being covered and the English subject as a whole. As the English subject is to promote a positive attitude towards diversity and inclusivity (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 5-6), the English subject could therefore also provide a feeling of inclusivity and belonging. It could be argued, in regard to the curriculum, that seeing oneself represented and depicted alongside the majority manifests the importance of everyone, and not just one or a few groups. Moreover, images possess significant power, as they have the ability to convey meanings (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 9). The representation of diversity could convey a meaning of inclusivity, or the opposite. In regard to the aims in the English curriculum and core curriculum, cultural diversity is not represented enough visually in order to praise the diversity the society inhabits today.

6.2 Explicit references to culture and/or origin

So far, the discussion has considered the findings from the quantitative analysis, where it was revealed that non-Western people were represented to a lesser extent than Western people. This section aims to discuss the explicit references to non-Western culture and/or origin which were presented in chapter 5. Although the textbooks generally included visual representations of Western and non-Western people, within the materials analyzed in this study, explicit discussions about non-Western cultures were scarce.

There were few explicit cultural references identified in the four textbooks which were identified as non-Western. One of the few examples of such a reference was found in *Engelsk 5* by Cappelen Damm on pages 134-135. The spread gave a historical account of the history of tea, starting in China where it originated, and continuing toward modern time. However, the pages about the history of tea only discussed tea in China in the year 2700 BC. As the story continued toward modern time, the setting had changed to England, categorized as a Western country. Whether tea is an important cultural aspect in the Chinese cultures today or not remains unknown to the reader. The change of setting and lack of modern knowledge of the tea's status in China could imply that tea has become Westernized. While learners might assume that tea is still important in China considering it originated there, there was no mentioning of this, and it could not be assumed that pupils in 5th grade know the tea's status in today's China. Othering is the process of constructing a demonized image of the Other, and as such, creating an idealized image of the Self (Holliday, 2011, p. 69), which could be the case on this spread. As there was no mention of China today, only in the past, it could imply

that ‘they’ are in the past, and ‘we’ are in the present. In such an interpretation, it could imply that the West is more modern, and that China is fixed in the past, and as such, creating an idealized image of the West. Through an essentialist view of culture, the demonized image of the Other is applied to all members of the group (Holliday, 2011, p. 69). The depiction of China on this spread were not found to convey diversity within the country, which could portray a view of people from one culture are different from people from another culture (Holliday, 2011, p. 5).

Othering could involve the aspect of stereotyping, which could be present on pages 134-135 in *Engelsk 5*, through the clothing the Chinese men were depicted wearing. The three images illustrating tea in China depicted men in what could be perceived as traditional clothing, such as gowns and conical hats. This was the only depiction provided of China in this book, and as such, the only cultural image of China presented to the reader. This illustration could establish a stereotypic image of Chinese people with the pupils, especially if one does not have any previous knowledge of the country and its national culture. A stereotype consists of oversimplifying a group which then is applied to all members (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). The perception of stereotype was strengthened by there not being any visual or textual depictions of China today. As such, the men in traditional clothing could be the perception of how Chinese people are dressed, and as such a stereotypical view of cultural and traditional clothing. When one has a stereotypical view of a group of people, it tends to lead to Othering (Dahl, 2015, p. 70). As the Chinese men were depicted in clothing which were identified as non-Western, it could be interpreted as a distance between Western and non-Western people. Isolating or creating distance between groups is a part of Othering (Nustad, 2019), which could be perceived as present on the spread. On the other side, the text and image describing China was set in the year 2700 BC, which could give an impression of the clothing being important elements to the national culture’s history. However, this historical aspect was not found to be more apparent than the aspect of stereotype and Othering and were therefore not recognized to justify the lack of modern representation of China.

As mentioned in Findings (chapter 5), *Link 5* included a paragraph in the introduction about having incorporated intercultural competence throughout the textbook. Out of the four textbooks, *Link 5* was the only textbook to specifically state this in the introduction. The message was perceived to be a message to the teacher, and not to the pupils. The curriculum has not provided specific methods of promoting intercultural competence, which places the

responsibility on the textbook authors and teachers (Fenner & Skulstad, 2019, p. 80). As the introduction explicitly stated that intercultural competence was a recurring topic in *Link 5*, it could help the teachers notice it throughout the textbook. Moreover, it could also encourage the teachers to discuss intercultural competence, and to be aware of the aspect of intercultural competence in the textbook. On the other side, as there was not such a note to the pupils, they might not be aware of the aspect being present. Moreover, as the terminology ‘intercultural competence’ was not described and explained in the introduction, it cannot be assumed that the pupils understand the meaning of this. Giving the pupils tools to understand topics such as intercultural competence, namely vocabulary, can be a contribution to the intercultural perspective in a textbook (Byram et al., 2002, p. 22). Including tools to help the pupils understand intercultural competence can assist the pupils in talking about cultural diversity, which “can include terms such as human rights; equality; dignity; [...] prejudice; stereotype; racism; ethnic minority; and the names of ethnic groups, including white groups” (Byram et al., 2002, p. 22). Tools such as this was not evident in the four textbooks, which could result in the pupils not having the knowledge or understanding of the aspects of intercultural competence, unless the teacher provides this. Considering intercultural competence is an important topic, and the schools are mandated to include this in the teaching, it could have been beneficial to introduce the terminology to the pupils as well, although in a more non-complex manner.

The origin of NWR often remained unknown, which was the case for all four textbooks. One exception was in *Quest 5* on pages 76-77. The spread was a dialogue between Lucy, Alice, and Sunniva, who were travelling from Oslo to London. In the dialogue, Lucy tells Sunniva that her father is Jamaican. Another exception was in *Engelsk 5* on pages 18-19 where four children in soccer uniform were depicted. Below the image, there was a Jamaican proverb “Make a friend when you don’t need one” (Solberg & Unnerud, 2020, p. 18). As argued by Berger (1972), the meaning of an image is influenced by what surrounds said image (p. 29). Given the close proximity to the image in *Quest 5*, it could be perceived that the children identified as NWR were of Jamaican origin. Neither the proverb nor the children’s nationality were discussed any further. Similar situations, where an image, accompanied by a quote or proverb, were found in all chapters of the textbook. Each page had a different proverb or quote, with a different origin. Because the Jamaican proverb was not further elaborated on, it might not be perceived as crucial information. However, in terms of intercultural competence, the quotes and proverbs of different cultural origins that were included in the textbook could

promote *attitude*, one of the components of intercultural competence. As there were not provided elaborated information about the Jamaican proverb, the pupils could be encouraged to find out more. In terms of this, the pupils could develop curiosity and openness about other cultures (Byram et al., 2002, p. 12), as one would have to find out more through other resources. As the textbooks have limited space, there may not be room to discuss or include information about every culture. However, such a minimal provided space for non-Western representations could be argued to be problematic. The origin of the quotes and proverbs were seemingly random, as they were not elaborated on. As such, the quotes and proverbs could risk being overlooked or not be seen as just as important as the other elements in the textbook.

As the origin of non-Western people depicted in images were most often not explicitly declared, may leave the reader guessing, and as such, open to interpret the origin themselves. Through an explicit reference to culture, an opportunity is opened for initiating discussions about certain cultures. As such, it could promote knowledge of certain elements a culture inhabits, which could provide learning about ‘big C’ and ‘little c’ culture. ‘Big C’ culture consists of history, geography, literature, and art (Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993, p. 6), which could be discussed. Customs, beliefs, and values are elements of ‘little c’ culture, which could be discussed as well (Kramsch, 2013, p. 66). By declaring a person’s national or cultural origin, it could also open for explicit inclusion of intercultural competence. This could take place by initiating discussions about certain cultures or by promoting knowledge of certain elements a culture inhabits, which would include ‘little c’ culture. The component *knowledge* of intercultural competence consists of knowledge about other people and how they interact (Byram et al., 2002, p. 12), which could be explored and discussed with the pupils. Although the origin of non-Western people are not declared, this does not completely eliminate cultural discussions. It could open for the possibility to discuss diversity as a whole, as people with visible markers of difference may be present. However, this could be argued to rely on the teacher to initiate the discussion of such topics.

Explore 5 provided a spread depicting non-Western children living in both non-Western and Western countries. The spread can be found on pages 12-13, where four children were depicted, of which two were identified as NWR. Thulani and Jessica were the children identified as NWR, however, only Thulani was explicitly confirmed coming from a non-Western country, South-Africa. The spread illustrates diversity both within Western countries, but also the world. The pupils will encounter people with different cultural backgrounds

today, because of globalization, migration, and technology (Fenner & Skulstad, 2020, p. 69). As such, by depicting diversity within Western countries, the reader is exposed to the reality we live in today. As discussed earlier, Norway today has become a multicultural country, and with a variety of ethnicities and cultures, the reader is shown what could be described as an authentic representation of the country they live in. The society is noticeably diverse, and it could therefore be argued that the textbooks should reflect this diversity. By including diversity in visual representations, it can assist in normalizing diversity, both ethnic and cultural.

One incident of explicit discussion about non-Western culture was found in *Link 5*, concerning Nigerian traditions of the harvesting festival. The spread was found on pages 64-65 and depicted both ‘big C’ and ‘little c’ culture. As the reader was given an insight into the visual culture, such as clothing and art, ‘big C’ culture was depicted (Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993, p. 6). On the spread, women were depicted in what was perceived as cultural clothing, and men in what was perceived as traditional attire. The text described the images on the spread, which have an insight into ‘little c’ culture, such as cultural beliefs and traditions (Kramsch, 2013, p. 66). As discussed in section 2.1, ‘Little c’ and ‘big C’ culture should be featured regularly (Tomalin and Stempleski, 1993, p. 7) as they provide different elements of cultural aspects. Nigerian culture was represented in a situation of celebrating an important tradition within the culture, which provided insight into both groups of culture. which gave an impression of festivities, and not everyday event and clothing. Even though this spread was the only representation of Nigerian culture, it can be said to not enhance Othering, as the spread were not perceived to objectifying and diminishing the culture (Dahl, 2015, p. 70). The illustration of non-Western culture could be said to follow the school’s mandate to “give pupils historical and cultural insight that will give them good a foundation in their lives and help each pupil to preserve and develop her or his identity in an inclusive and diverse environment” (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 5).

Some explicit references to culture or origin included implicit discussion about cultural elements. One example of this was found on pages 140-141 in *Link 5* where the reader encounter Maira, who does no eat pork. As there was not provided any cultural or religious background, one cannot know the reasoning. However, this could be connected to ‘little c’ culture, which include behavior which is accepted as the norm, as well as customs and beliefs (Kramsch, 2013, p. 66). As such, Maira mentioning she does not eat pork could open for

discussion about 'little c' culture. *Explore 5* provided implicit discussion about cultural elements on pages 144-145, where one can find the text about Malavath Poorna from India. It is mentioned her origin, which could open for discussion about 'big C' culture (Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993, p. 6). Moreover, Malavath Poorna's background was slightly mentioned, so it would be up to the teacher to take the discussion further. The last going to be mentioned here was found on pages 76-77 in *Quest 5*. On this spread, the reader meets Lucy, who is travelling to London to see her father. It is briefly mentioned that her father is Jamaican, and as such indicating to her background. Another brief mention of Jamaica is "That's because many Jamaicans came to live in the UK" (Bade et al., 2020, p. 77). Below the dialogue, the reader is provided with some additional information, which explains that many Jamaicans travelled to the UK after the Second World War for work (Bade et al., 2020, p. 77). Similarly to the example from *Explore 5*, this spread opens up for discussion about 'big C' culture, as one can discuss both geography and history (Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993, p. 6).

6.3 Non-Western representation in everyday contexts

Although the textbooks generally included visual representations of Western and non-Western people, within the materials analyzed in this study, explicit discussions about non-Western cultures were scarce. Instead, the textbooks were found to most frequently depict diversity in everyday settings. As discussed in section 2.2, images possess significant power, because they have the ability to convey different purposes and possess meaning (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 9). It may be assumed that the pupils can see themselves represented in the textbooks, which then could counteract Otherness, which could be argued to contribute to even out the visible differences between people and shows the reader that we are all the same.

Some textbooks had cases where non-Western culture was not the focus. On pages 34-35 in *Link 5*, the spread shows diversity amongst both pupils and athletes. Here, diversity is present in a casual everyday setting in school, which gives an impression of equality of Western and non-Western representations. In *Engelsk 5*, pages 25 and 72 depicted non-Western and Western people together. Page 25 depicted a photo of a soccer team, where the pupils were placed in two lines where everyone was facing and smiling at the camera. The image gave an impression of equality of the pupils, as the only distinction between them were visible, ethnic differences. On page 72 in *Engelsk 5*, nine people, both WR and NWR, were depicted in the skatepark having fun. NWR were depicted in the front and back of the image, interacting with

people identified as WR. This page depicted people of different ethnic backgrounds becoming friends, where the activity was the focus, not their visible features. On the above-mentioned pages, people who were identified as non-Western representations cannot necessarily be defined to belong to a certain culture, as no text verified the interpretation. However, it could be reasonable to expect there could be an assumption by the reader that the NWR belongs to a non-Western culture. The spread depicts ethnic diversity in a Western country, and as such, cultural diversity across borders. An interpretation such as this could enhance the meaning of culture as a complex concept which is not bound to one place (Holliday, 2011, p. 5). It is reasonable to assume, that the depicted pupils belong to different cultures, either Western or non-Western cultures, as no text discussed the pupils' cultural heritage. An interpretation such as this could be transferred to the pupil, as schools consist of a variety of people with different cultural backgrounds. The reader could be assumed to identify with the pupils in the text, no matter their background, as the images depict a variety of ethnicities, and opens for interpretation.

By depicting cultural diversity in everyday settings, the textbooks could counteract Otherness. As Holliday (2011) described non-essentialism, culture is viewed as dynamic and complex, and goes beyond national borders (p. 5). In the aforementioned examples from *Link 5* and *Engelsk 5*, people of different ethnicities were depicted together, and as such may represent different cultures. In that case, cultures are depicted to be represented in other countries than their origin. In depicting cultural diversity in such a manner, it can reduce the possibility of Othering people of unfamiliar origins. Additionally, as diversity was depicted in everyday contexts, it depicts a perception of inclusivity of Others, not just the Self. Normalizing diversity could be argued to be beneficial in preventing Othering of people one is unfamiliar of. Not only should one learn about cultures and their complexities and how to use language appropriately (Byram et al., 2002, p. 7), but the pupils should also be able to see diversity represented in the textbooks used in schools. The depictions of cultural diversity in different everyday contexts can enhance the perception of acceptance and encouragement of diversity. Cultural reality is also present on these spreads, which is the culture a person carries with them, and that alters depending on the setting and context one is in (Holliday, 2011, p. 55). It could be assumed the people depicted do not come from the same cultural background, based on their visual markers of difference, however it does not mean they do not have the same cultural reality in the setting they are in. As an individual can belong to different cultural groups concurrently (Holliday, 2011, p. 55), the people depicted in the textbooks could still

have the same cultural belonging, even though they have different cultural backgrounds. As such, Western and non-Western people may have the same cultural reality in the context they are in, and perhaps a cultural belonging.

6.4 Missed opportunities

All four textbooks that were analyzed had explicit and implicit cultural references, however most cases were not followed up on. This section will provide examples from each textbook which were found to have missed opportunity regarding non-Western cultural discussions.

Link 5 provided images of art which encouraged the pupils to compare the images depicting cultural art. The images were on pages 186-191 and encouraged the pupils to find both similarities and differences. However, no captions or texts were provided to explain the images, their origin, or cultural significance. As a consequence, it is probable that the learners will not be able to identify which culture each picture represented. It is likely that a discussion of the images would require additional resources, in order to discover which culture they represent be able to discuss these pages further. These images provide an opportunity to start a dialogue or discussion, guided by the questions, but it is up to the teacher to put focus on this and take the opportunity. Although there were no explanations of the images, a discussion based on the questions could be considered a task. It would also be reasonable to point to which resources are available to the teacher, especially time. A discussion of the images might not be prioritized.

Some spreads were identified to have missed opportunities regarding cultural discussions, as there was not provided elaborations on the information. In *Engelsk 5* on spread 18-19, there was included an image of four children in their soccer uniforms, where two were identified as WR and two as NWR. Below the image, in close proximity, there was a quotation of a Jamaican proverb. As discussed in section 2.2, the meaning of images is affected by what surrounds them (Berger, 1972, p. 29). The Jamaican proverb could be perceived as the context of the image, and as such, contribute to the meaning of the image. The context in which an image is viewed influences the reader's perception of the meaning (Berger, 1972, p. 29). It could be argued that the proverb creates a context, at least for the non-Western children depicted in the image. As such, the reader could interpret the children to have a Jamaican background. Another example of missed opportunity of cultural discussion was identified in

Explore 5 on pages 50-51. The spread depicts three children and their lived. Out of the three children, only one was identified as non-Western, a boy named Vijay. Although his family and him are from India, they currently live in Australia. The text mentioned that Hindi is the language his family speaks, and they speak it at home (Edwards, 2020, p. 51). As such, the reader is provided with what could be a part of the family's cultural identity, which are the elements which can cross national borders, for example language, family, and ancestry (Holliday, 2011, p. 55). The spread could open for a discussion about these aspects of cultural identity, however, there was not provided elaborated information about this in the textbook. As such, it could be up to the teacher to take the information further and discuss this with the pupils. Similarly to this, the spread in *Engelsk 5* which included a Jamaican proverb did not provide the reader with elaborations. The country was seemingly random, as there were no information or tasks discussing the proverb. Both spreads could be seen to provide opportunities for discussion about cultural diversity. Although the possibility may be present, the Jamaican proverb may be overlooked as it was not encouraged to be discussed. The spread in *Explore 5* where the reader encounters Vijay, there were also identified opportunity for discussions, it may be up to the teacher to pick up on this as a discussion was not explicitly encouraged on the page. Moreover, it may require additional resources as the text did not provide more information about the cultural identity which was identified. Concluding this paragraph, the spreads in both *Explore 5* and *Engelsk 5* were recognized to provide the possibility of discussion about cultural diversity, however it would be up to the teacher to take this further, as the discussion was not explicitly provided. As such, the discussion may not take place, depending on the teacher and the time available.

Explore 5 were identified to contain a spread which missed the opportunity of discussing cultural diversity inside and outside of Western countries. Pages 12-13 depicted Madison, Harry, Thulani, and Jessica, where three out of four children were identified as NWR. Out of the three children identified as non-Western, only Thulani was described as living in a non-Western country. The benefit of the spread is that the textbook depicted diversity within a Western country, giving explicit examples that one cannot assume the origin of a person of NWR. As such, the spread could be argued to counteract the view of 'race', where people with certain features are placed into categorized, usually based on geography (Smedley et al., 2020). Considering this, even though a person is identified as being non-Western, does it not mean they are non-Western. However, there was spotted missed potential on this spread. Non-Western countries were not as represented, because many people who were identified as

NWR were connected to Western countries, and perhaps therefore Western cultures. This, however, can be a possibility for discussion, but it requires the teacher to pick up on it, and it also requires external/additional resources, as the textbook does not provide additional information. There is a possibility that the teacher's guide provides resources, tips, or encouragement to take this further.

All of the examples of missed opportunities recognized to have potential for intercultural learning. They gave possibilities for discussions and to learn about a variety of cultures. Even though the possibilities were there, does not mean they were apparent. If the opportunities for cultural discussions are not obvious to the teacher or pupils, it cannot be assumed the discussions will take place. There is also the issue of whether or not the opportunities will be taken. As there is a lot to cover in a year, and the textbooks are full of important content, various cultural discussions may not be considered as important in all cases. It is not claimed that cultural discussions should always be prioritized, however, it could be reasonable to assume those discussions may happen more often if they are explicitly encouraged. Not all teachers are comfortable discussing cultures, especially cultures that one is not already familiar with. Such topics would often require preparations, and this may not always be prioritized. The textbooks could be more comfortable to lean on.

7 Conclusion

The following section will present the conclusions from the current study. To start, a summary of the main findings will be presented, as well as an attempt to answer the two research questions. Following this, limitations and implications will be provided, as well as some suggestions for further research.

7.1 Main findings

The main aim of this study was to examine how four Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade represented non-Western people, both visually and textually. Two research questions were created in order to answer this, where the first was designed to give an overall perspective of the visual representation of non-Western people in the textbooks, and the second went more in depth in the representations.

The study conducted by Eira (2018) concluded that the three textbooks that were analyzed had great potential for improvement in order to maintain the cultural aims. In the current study, it was found several cases of cultural implications. Some cultural references were more apparent than others, and there were cases of missed opportunities. However, non-Western people were depicted throughout all of the four textbooks, but the texts did not include elaborated information about non-Western cultures. As such, it seems that the textbook authors have come a long way in filling in the potential for improvement, but there is still more that could be included.

The spreads depicting non-Western people, and texts including non-Western cultures, promote an overall dynamic understanding of culture. This is contrary to the study conducted by Eira (2018), which found that the textbooks promoted a descriptive understanding of indigenous culture (p. 61). Danielsen's study (2020), had one case that promoted descriptive cultural understanding, *Stairs 5* from 2014, and one that promoted a dynamic cultural understanding (p. 59). The textbook that promoted a dynamic view of culture was *Engelsk 5*, which has been the case of this study as well. All four textbooks in this study have been found to promote a dynamic view of culture. As such, there seem to have been a positive improvement of textbooks over the year.

Research question 1 addressed the visual representations and asks: "To which degree are non-Western people represented visually in Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade?". To answer this research question, a quantitative visual content analysis was conducted. The visual content analysis revealed that Western people were more represented than non-Western people. *Engelsk 5* by xx came closest to an equal representation of Western and non-Western people with a difference of 23%, whereas *Explore 5* by xx were found to have the lowest number of non-Western representations with a difference of 57%. *Link 5* by xx had a difference of 31%, and *Quest 5* by xx had a difference of 38%. Images possess significant power in their ability to convey meanings (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 9), and representations is a tool which help people understand, describe, and define the world (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 47). The lack of non-Western representations could have a negative impact on the perception of cultural diversity. Learning about cultures can generate a positive attitude towards diversity and inclusivity (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 5-6), and as discussed in section 6.1, depicting diversity visually could be one step towards this goal. However, the visual content analysis found that the frequency of visual depictions of non-

Western people was much lower than Western people, although individual variations occurred between the different textbooks. Thus, non-Western people were represented visually in all four Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade, however, to a less degree. The implications of the visual content analysis could be that the lower number of non-Western visual representations may promote a perception of White privilege, and inequality. White privilege is that people with dominant cultural, or other, identities obtain more benefits (Johnson, 2006, p. 22), and one benefit in this context could be to be more frequently represented. As such, there could occur a perception of inequality between Western and non-Western people, as non-Western people were identified to be less depicted and represented in all four textbooks.

A qualitative approach was conducted in order to discuss the second research question: “In what contexts are non-Western people represented in Norwegian EFL textbooks for 5th grade, and how are they represented within these contexts?”. The themes that were identified in the textbooks were: *explicit references to culture and/or origin*, *non-Western representation in everyday contexts*, and *missed opportunities*. The findings from the thematic analysis presented in *Explicit references to culture and/or origin* revealed that within the contexts present here, few explicit cultural references were identified as non-Western (e.g., *Engelsk 5* pages 134-135), there were some tendencies to Othering (e.g., *Engelsk 5* pages 134-135), origin of NWR remained unknown, origin of NWR explicitly mentioned (e.g., *Quest 5* pages 76-77 and *Engelsk 5* pages 18-19, *Explore 5* pages 12-13). The findings from *non-Western representation in everyday contexts* revealed cases where non-Western culture was not the focus (e.g., *Link 5* pages 34-35 and *Engelsk 5* pages 25 and 72), spread that counteracted Otherness (e.g., *Link 5* and *Engelsk 5*). *Missed opportunities* mainly consisted of findings where cultural discussions were not explicit, and as such, might not be noticed. Missed opportunities were present in all textbooks. Implications of this were that cultural discussions would be up to the teacher to put focus on.

So, in which contexts are non-Western people represented in Norwegian EFL Textbooks for 5th grade, and how are they represented within these contexts? Non-Western people were found to be represented in the following contexts: sports, with friends, school, travelling, with family, at home, and in various activities. Although there were individual variations between the different textbooks, non-Western representations appeared in a variety of contexts. The results indicate that non-Western people were depicted as from both Western and non-Western countries, and as such, depicting cultural diversity across borders. In these cases, it

could be said that the textbooks promoted a view of culture as complex with no boundaries (Holliday, 2011, p. 5). Non-Western people were also represented in everyday contexts, which could be said to counteract Otherness. Only one textbook, *Engelsk 5*, included a spread which could be said to depict a somewhat stereotypical image of culture. The spread same spread, pages 134-135, could be said to present an essentialist view of culture, as the negative image of the Other could be interpreted to apply to all people of China (Holliday, 2011, p. 69). Other than this exception, many of the findings could be said to counteract Otherness and stereotyping, and as such, promoting a non-essentialist view of culture. Thus, the answer to the main research question is that non-Western people were depicted in a variety of contexts, and in a variety of ways, both explicitly and implicitly. The implicit references to non-Western people could have a negative impact on cultural discussions, as they were in several cases not apparent. As such, the textbooks still have potential for improvement.

7.2 Implications

Several implications appeared from the findings, both regarding teaching practices, and the textbooks. The textbooks provided cultural diversity within the textbooks, but non-Western people were represented less visually than Western people. As Western people were more frequently depicted, it could be argued they obtain more benefits (Johnson, 2006, p. 22), and one benefit in this context could be to be more frequently represented. As it has been argued, the lack of non-Western representations could then risk the promotion of Otherness and inequality. Textbooks have the ability to illustrate the cultural diversity present in the world. Thus, the frequency of representations found in the textbooks imply that the textbooks have more potential to display people of visible markers of difference, non-Western people.

In section 6.4, it has been argued that the textbooks had missed potentials of discussions about cultural diversity. Although textbooks cannot include elaborated information about everything, there was found to be lacking in cultural discussions. As such, many of these discussions are up to the teacher to pick up on, and the teacher themselves have to provide these discussions. It is therefore important that teachers are aware of this. There are possibilities for discussions about cultures and cultural diversity, however there are many implicit references to culture. One possibility in order to discuss diversity is then to go beyond the textbooks and supplement the teaching with additional resources.

7.3 Limitations and recommendations for further research

The current study has discussed images in light of theoretical background, however, as discussed in section 2.2., images are influenced by a person's previous knowledge and experiences (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 12), as well as the context in which an image is viewed (Berger, 1972, p. 19). As such, the analysis and discussion are characterized by the researcher's bias. It could therefore be suggested that future research could focus on the pupils' interpretation and perception of the images' meanings.

Additionally, the current study has only investigated four textbooks. Not all schools have the newest textbooks. The workbooks and teacher's guides were not investigated as well. The findings presented in this study can therefore not be applied to all pupils, which limits the findings of this research. It can therefore be recommended that future research investigate non-Western representations in the textbooks currently being used. In the context of missed opportunities, there is a possibility that the teacher guides say something about the cultural references. There may be additional information in the teacher's guides, and the workbooks may encourage to cultural discussions, and these could therefore also be analyzed.

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