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Abstract

This thesis presents an analysis of how indigenous cultures are visually represented through images in four English Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks produced for Norwegian lower secondary schools. Building on the concept that images are texts, and therefore can convey meanings, the thesis is based on the premise that images are not merely neutral reproductions of reality, but may also be carriers of ideologies. The thesis considers whether images can in fact be even more powerful than verbal texts in communicating ideologies, as images, and photographs in particular, are often perceived by the viewer to be objective and are consequently taken for granted as conveying the 'truth'.

With the aim of investigating the extent to which images of indigenous people contribute to, or contradict, the general cultural aims of the English language learning curriculum in Norway, the study focuses on the following aspects: cultural stereotyping, power relationships and level of identification. The main method applied in the study is visual content analysis, which is a qualitative method used to measure the relative frequency of a certain class of visual content. In the thesis, content analysis is used to measure the extent to which indigenous cultures are represented through their traditional cultural heritage, rather than their present-day culture. Additionally, the aspects of power and identity are addressed through the application of concepts from semiotic image analysis, where people from both indigenous cultures and 'white' people were categorized and compared in relation to image composition, including the horizontal and vertical angle, the gaze and the frame.

The results from the study show that there is a strong trend, in the four textbook series evaluated, to focus on the traditional costumes and settings in the visual representations of indigenous people, with over half the images in the corpus not including any sign of modernity. Additionally, the comparative study shows that the indigenous people are more frequently depicted from a high angle than the white people, implying a trend towards representing indigenous people in a lower position of power than the viewer. The analysis of the gaze and the frame also shows that the images of indigenous people more frequently position the viewer from a long distance, as an observer, whereas the images of white people are more frequently inviting the viewer to interact and empathise with the participants. Consequently, the study concludes that the images in the four EFL textbooks analysed are, to a large degree, potential carriers of myths and ideologies that directly contradict the general cultural aims of English language learning in Norway.

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1. Introduction

Figure 1

Calvin and Hobbes comic strip[1]
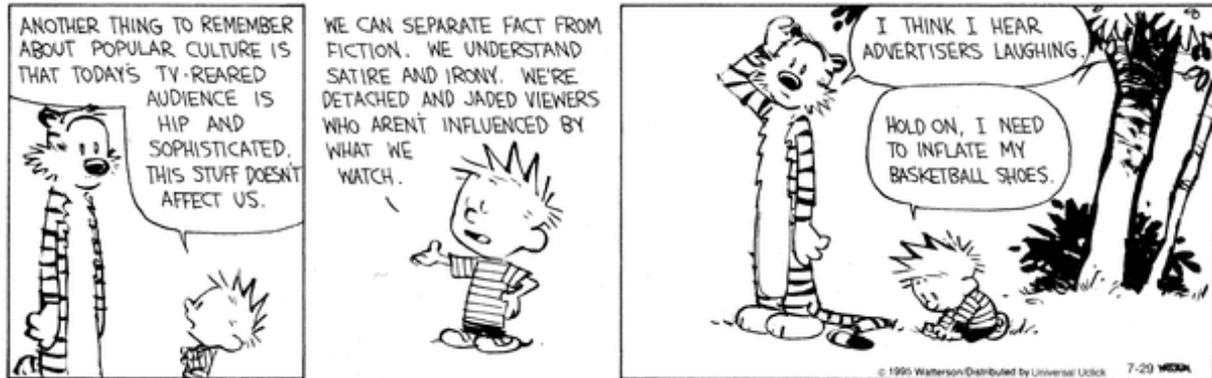
As the comic strip about Calvin and Hobbes above ironically illustrates, people are frequently influenced by what they watch, even though they might believe otherwise. The following thesis presents a comparative analysis of visual representations of indigenous cultures in English Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks using image analysis. The aim of the study is to investigate how the images position the viewers towards indigenous people from English speaking countries in four different EFL textbooks for Norwegian lower secondary schools. By applying visual content analysis, using elements of semiotic image analysis and critical visual literacy, the study attempts to shed light on the following research questions:

(1) To what extent do the images of indigenous people in EFL textbooks for lower secondary schools contribute to or contradict the general cultural aims of English language learning in the Norwegian LK06 curriculum?

   a. To what extent do the images that are presented as depicting indigenous cultures reinforce cultural stereotyping?

   b. Comparatively, how do the images position the viewer in relation to indigenous and white participants respectively on the subjects of power and identity?

Culture is intimately intertwined with language (Brown 2007: 189), to the point that attainment of a second or foreign language can be said to also imply the attainment of a

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[1] From Calvin and Hobbes July 29, by Bill Watterson, 2015. Retrieved August 2, 2015, from http://www.gocomics.com/calvinandhobbes/2015/07/29

second or foreign culture. This is reflected in the Norwegian *National Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion* (LK06), where the English subject curriculum includes 'Culture, society and literature' as one of four main subject areas. However, culture is a term which is very hard to define, and which can be approached in widely different ways. Article 29(1)(c) of the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child from 1989, which Norway has contributed to and signed, states that the child's education should aim to develop respect for cultures, both the culture of the child as well as cultures that differ from this (FN 1989: 10). Furthermore, article 29(1)(d) states that the education should aim to "prepare the child for a responsible life in a free society in a spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, gender equality and friendship between all peoples, ethnical, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin" (FN 1989: 10, author's translation). Through signing the convention, Norway committed to providing children in Norway education that coincides with these statements, providing clear guidelines for the national curricula on the concept of culture that should be predominant. This is consequently reflected in the curriculum, when it emphasizes that the development of communicative language skills and cultural insight are important contributors towards "…greater interaction, understanding and respect between persons with different cultural backgrounds" (Ministry of Education and Research 2013: 2).

The focus on intercultural communication in the Norwegian national curriculum is reflective of a more general trend in Europe, as a more globalized society relies upon increased interaction between people from different cultures. Intercultural competence can be defined as the knowledge, skills and values required in order to communicate in an appropriate way with people from different cultural backgrounds (Bøhn & Dypedahl 2009). The constituents of intercultural competence can be related to the general cultural aim of English language education in Norway, where the knowledge and skills refer to the language skills and cultural insight mentioned in the curriculum as contributors to greater interaction and understanding. Respect, on the other hand, can be said to relate specifically to the values required for intercultural competence. This implies among other things an avoidance of stereotyping and 'otherizing', points that will be elaborated on further in chapter 2.

People in today's society live in a progressively more visual culture, where the visual is prominent both in the visual media forms, as well as being integrated in traditionally textual media such as newspapers (Sturken & Cartwright 2009). Simultaneously as the use of images has increased in society, an understanding of the significance of images has emerged. Increasingly, therefore, the visual image is being acknowledged for its strong position in today's society. Rather than being viewed as simply illustrations of the verbal text, it is now

generally accepted that images carry meaning in themselves. As a consequence of this, the concept of reading images becomes relevant. This is also reflected in the wide definition of texts applied in the current national curriculum in Norway, which includes illustrations among other media (Ministry of Education and Research 2012: 8).

Just as a text can be read in multiple ways, so can images, as the meaning of an image is not found within the image, but is created anew with every viewing (Sturken & Cartwright 2009). However, neither the image nor the interpretations of it are created in a void, but within a social context, which limits how images can be produced and interpreted (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 114). In order for the images to communicate, the producer has to use the visual language of the culture in which they want to communicate. Similarly, the viewer will use their knowledge of the visual language when interpreting an image. As such, the image will contain certain guidelines that make certain readings of the image more likely within any given culture and context, than others. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 1) has taken advantage of these guidelines and created a visual grammar, which seeks to "describe the way in which depicted elements – people, places and things – combine in visual 'statements' of greater or lesser complexity and extension".

Furthermore, images are not neutral reproductions of reality. Even the objectiveness of the photograph can be challenged, as choices have to be made about composition, such as angle, lighting, position of the elements, etc. Subsequently, a choice always exists in how an image is structured, whether consciously or subconsciously made by the producers. Visual structures are therefore ideological, in that "they produce images of reality which are bound up with the interests of the social institutions within which the images are produced, circulated and read" (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 47). The idea that images are structured, however, is not necessarily a part of people's common sense. Sherwin (2008: 184) contend that "unlike words, which are obviously constructed by the speaker and thus are understood to be at one remove from the reality they describe…images tend to be taken as credible representations of that reality." Consequently, images are read and interpreted on a subconscious level, and are often perceived as an objective representation of reality. Hebdige (1979/2007: 435) argues that it is beneath consciousness, at the level of 'normal common sense' that ideologies are most powerful. Thus, it is the combination of the fact that images are carriers of ideologies and because people generally believe images and photographs to be objective and neutral, that makes visual images such a powerful mode of communication.

As images are such a powerful mode of communicating ideologies, the present study seeks to explore whether the images of indigenous people in EFL textbooks does in reality

promote greater interaction, understanding and respect, which is an important aim for English language learning in the LK06 curriculum. The textbook was chosen as the focus of the current study because of its widespread use in Norway (Hopmann, Afsar, Bachmann & Sivesind 2004). In addition, it is also a powerful mode of communication, as it carries authority through its function in the schools. An argument can therefore be made of the importance of raising awareness of the potential of hidden ideologies in textbooks (Marefat & Marzban 2014). Research conducted on culture in EFL textbooks by Lund (2006) showed that the textbooks on a whole did not encourage intercultural learning. As Lund's study was conducted on textbooks written for the previous curricula L97, the present study will look at textbooks written for the current curricula LK06, and consequently it will also bring the research up to date. Moreover, the study pursues to expand on the research by focusing particularly on the images, and providing a more in-depth analysis of these.

Four different EFL textbook collections made for lower secondary school in Norway were analysed in the study, namely *Crossroads*, *Key English*, *New Flight* and *Searching*, representing four different major publishing companies. The methods applied in the current study represents a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, where the relationship between the two is such that the qualitative is applied only to exemplify the quantitative. The main method in the study is visual content analysis, which is a quantitative method in which classification of certain types of occurrences are systematically counted in order to make generalizations (Bell 2001). The qualitative was chosen as the main approach in order to enable comparisons between the different textbooks, as well as between different groups of images. In addition to visual content analysis, semiotic image analysis was applied through the use of structural elements from the framework provided by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). Finally, some of the images were analysed in a qualitative approach based on critical visual literacy, which is an effective method of deconstructing images with the aim of uncovering how the images position the viewer in relation to its content (Janks, Dixon, Ferreia, Granville & Newfield 2014).

It was deemed necessary, due to the available time and resources, to impose limitations on the number of cultures, and images, which would be analysed as part of this study. Subsequently, it was not possible to include an analysis of all the cultures that are represented in the textbooks. The focus on indigenous cultures, rather than for example American or British culture, was selected for two main reasons. Firstly, it was within the author's own experience, both as a student and a teacher, that indigenous people are frequently represented as traditional and 'Other' in the educational context. Subsequently, it

was deemed of interest to see how these cultures are represented in textbooks that are currently used in Norwegian schools. Secondly, because indigenous peoples are explicitly mentioned in one of the competence aims in the English curriculum in Norway, it could be expected that these would be represented in all the textbook series. At the same time, the amount of images related to these cultures were expected to be more restricted than that of, for example, British or American cultures, and subsequently be more manageable within the scope of the study.

The thesis has been divided in to six main chapters. Following the introduction, Chapter 2 aims to provide an outline of the theoretical background of the study. Here, the concepts of culture and visual culture are discussed both in general terms, as well as in relation to EFL education. In Chapter 3, the materials and the methodology used in the study will be presented and discussed. This includes an explanation and justification of the selection of materials, as well as a detailed account of how the methods were applied in the current study. The results from the study will then be presented in Chapter 4, addressing both the quantifiable and the qualitative results. These will then be discussed in relation to the theory and research questions in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 presents the conclusions and implications that can be drawn from the study, as well as suggestions for further research.

2. Theoretical background

In the following chapter, the theoretical background for the study will be presented. The chapter has been divided into two subsections, covering the topics of culture and visual culture respectively. Throughout this thesis, the term culture is referred to mainly from two different perspectives. Firstly, the aim of the thesis is to investigate how indigenous cultures are represented in EFL textbooks. How culture is viewed and defined has been contested throughout history, and a consideration of different views on culture will therefore be presented. Following this, a discussion will be given on cultural representations, with particular focus on how they can contribute to stereotypes, as well as a dichotomy between 'us' and 'them'. A definition will also be given of how the terms 'indigenous people' and 'white' has been used and understood in the current thesis. Since the materials of this study consist of images in EFL textbooks, it follows that a didactic perspective is necessary in order to understand the context of which the images appear. A presentation will therefore be given on the concept of culture within EFL teaching. This will include an argument on how culture and language are intertwined, as well as how culture is and has been incorporated if EFL education at different times.

Secondly, a statement was made in the introduction claiming that people live in an increasingly more visual culture. In the second subsection, therefore, a discussion will be included on what visual culture means, both in definitions and as to how it affects the daily lives of people in a society. Within this section, the idea of reading images and how ideologies are communicated through images will also be covered, as well as a description of two different approaches to the reading of images and the uncovering of ideologies. Following this, the role of images in EFL teaching will be discussed. Questions such as how culture and images function within EFL teaching will be addressed through looking into the current national curricula in Norway, as well as textbooks and theories.

2.1. Culture

As presented in the introduction, the term culture has contested and mutable definitions. Traditionally, the term was used mostly in the sense of 'high culture', referring to what was perceived as the best of literature, paintings, music and philosophy (Hall 1997: 2). By definition, then, the term inevitably included a judgement of value, where culture is "the best

which has been thought and said in the world" (Arnold 1869/2006: 5). Another definition can be found in the terms 'popular culture' and 'mass culture', where culture implies arts, entertainment and leisure-activities. This approach towards culture is contested by the anthropological definition, where the term culture then refers more widely to "…whatever is distinctive about the 'way of life' of a people, community, nation or social group" (Hall 1997: 2). It is in this context that it becomes natural to talk about a Native American, Aboriginal, or Inuit culture. Williams (1989/2002) challenges the separation between culture as a "way of life" or "arts and learning", and argues that culture is in fact a combination of both aspects. In this view, culture is everything, or as Williams (1989/2002: 93) describes it: "Culture is ordinary".

Another way of dividing views on culture is between a descriptive and a dynamic concept of culture (Dahl 2013: 44). In a descriptive concept of culture, culture consists of ideas, values, rules and norms, which are transferred from the older generations to the newer. Culture is seen as something essential, something people *have*. Consequently, it represents an essentialist view of culture. In an essentialist view of culture, culture is viewed as a physical entity that is associated with a specific nation or people. People within a nation are viewed to be sharing the same essential culture, which is static and innate, and as such also being essentially different from people in other cultures (Holliday et al. 2010: 3-4). A statement such as 'Norwegians are cold people' derives from a descriptive concept of culture. Culture is implied to be something that can be simultaneously inclusive and restrictive (Norwegians), and that determines essential traits that are common to all the people within these boundaries (being cold). This is similar to what Bhabha (1988: 206) refers to as the notion of cultural diversity, where culture is viewed as an "object of empirical knowledge". However, Bhabha disclaims this idea of culture as a unique separated entity, calling it a utopian myth. Furthermore, he states that the "native intellectual who identifies the people with the 'true national culture' will be disappointed" (Bhabha 1988: 208), implying that no such true national culture exists.

The dynamic concept of culture, then, opposes the idea of culture as a pure unit that can be delimited. Rather than being something people *have*, culture is viewed as the things people *do* (Dahl 2013: 42). It is therefore a constructivist view of culture, as people construct culture. Culture is related to the negotiation of meaning, and relies on the fact that people within the culture give and take meaning in similar ways in order to achieve a common understanding (Hall 1997: 2). Consequently, culture is dynamic in the sense that it is continually created in the interactions between people. Bhabha argues that "cultures are never

unitary in themselves, nor simply dualistic in relation to the Self and Other" (Bhabha 1988: 207). Instead, culture is always fluctuating. The dynamic concept of culture recognizes that people can be members of more than one culture, and furthermore that people within can differ from each other. It follows then, that within this view, a statement such as "Norwegians are cold people" is false, because there is no such thing as a unitary "Norwegian" culture in which all people share the same qualities.

This is not to say that there is no such thing as difference between cultures. It was stated that culture relies on the shared understanding of meaning. However, different cultures create meanings in different ways. It follows, therefore, that the "…problem of the cultural emerges only at the significatory boundaries of cultures, where meanings and values are (mis)read or signs are misappropriated" (Bhabha 1988: 206). Culture is a performance, through which people within a culture give things meaning (Hall 1997: 3). It is through representing people, objects and events that they are ascribed meaning, and different cultures might represent things in widely different ways. Because of this, as well as the increase in contact between different cultures in the current, globalized, society, the concept of intercultural competence has emerged. As described in the introduction, the term intercultural competence seeks to cover those skills and attitudes that are necessary in order for people from different cultural backgrounds to successfully communicate. This concept will be discussed further in section 2.2.2.

2.1.1. Representations of culture

As stated above it "…is by our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them – how we represent them – that we *give them a meaning*" (Hall 1997: 3). People represent the world in a number of ways, through language, images, systems of classification etc. Re-presentations are never exact copies of reality, as "any re-presentation of the world is a version of the world" (Janks et al. 2014: 11). Because of this, representations can never be neutral, a point that will be elaborated on in section 2.3.2. Sturken and Cartwright (2009: 3) suggest that there is in fact a dynamic relationship between representations and people. Not only do people assign meaning to objects, but objects can also give meaning to people. Just as a meaning is created in a culture, meaning is also created on a culture through representations. In this thesis, the aim is to look at how indigenous cultures are re-presented visually in the Norwegian culture, or more specifically the culture of teaching English as a foreign language in Norway. As such, it aims to investigate cultural representations of cultures. In the

following, theories about race, otherness and stereotypes will be discussed, in order to understand the background and mechanics behind representations of cultures.

The idea of otherness is central to representations of cultures. Saussure (1916/2011: 121) claims that in language, as well as any other semiotic system, signs are constituted by their difference from other signs. Difference is therefore essential to representational systems. Furthermore, in representational systems, meaning is organized through binary oppositions, such as between culture and nature: "We believe we know what culture is because we can identify its opposite (nature); thus difference is essential to its meaning" (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 111). In Derrida's concept of logocentrism, saying what something is necessarily also implies what it is not (Derrida 1976). This also applies to cultural and personal identities. People are inclined to construct an identity, a sense of self, based on their differences to other people (Janks et al. 2014: 43). The same mechanics apply to cultural identities, as all classification relies on binary oppositions (Hall 1997: 236). Without the Other to distinguish from, the process of classifying a culture as 'Norwegian', or 'Native American' becomes meaningless.

However, although difference is necessary and essential in the creation of meaning, identity and culture, it is not unproblematic. Derrida (1972, cited in Hall 1997: 235) argues that binary oppositions very rarely are neutral, but contain a relationship of power where one pole of the opposition is dominant. This can be seen in the binary oppositions between male/female, white/black, and civilized/primitive. Ideas of values, power, superiority and worth are intimately encoded in the poles (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 111), where one is the dominant and one the Other. The idea of otherness is thus created through a binary opposition between what is considered normal (us) and what differs from that (the Other). What is normal is not given or natural, although ideas of nature are often used to justify arguments about norms, but is decided within and by a society (Janks et al. 2014: 44). People, who in some ways differ from the norm or majority, are then marked as the Other in the binary opposition between 'us' and 'them', where 'we' are the norm and the dominant pole. Furthermore, through the history of race as a concept, white people have been seen as the norm, to the point where while "…other people are raced, we are just people" (Dyer 1997: 1). This is a problem because if whiteness is the norm, then other races cannot be normal and thus will forever remain the Other.

Sometimes the relationship between 'us' and 'them' results in the construction of the Other as inferior, or even threatening and dangerous, in order to justify for example uneven power dynamics (Janks et al. 2014: 7). An example of this, which can be found in Western

representations of culture, is the binary opposition created between the West (the Occident) and the East (the Orient). This is often referred to as Orientalism, and refers to "the tendencies of westerners who have fetishized, mythologized, and feared the cultures, lands, and peoples of Asia and the Middle East" (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 113). Through the use of language, photographs, literature, and film, Oriental cultures have been represented as exotic and barbaric, creating a binary opposition between the Occident and the Orient, where the latter has negative and fetishistic connotations connected to it (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 113-114). Furthermore, as Janks et al. (2014: 46) points out, "…history teaches us that when we see people as Other we are capable of committing terrible acts of cruelty against them". By viewing a group of people as Other, it means that they are not 'us', and thus the inhibitions against treating them unjustly are reduced.

Another problem with binary oppositions is that they are predisposed to oversimplify relations that are otherwise complicated and multidimensional (Hall 1997: 235). This can be seen in relation to the two different concepts of culture introduced in the previous section, where binary oppositions between different cultures can be said to contribute to a descriptive concept of culture. From a dynamic concept of culture, it is clear that the binary oppositions overgeneralize as cultures do not exist in isolation, but are influenced by other cultures. Accordingly, the idea of a binary opposition between for example Oriental/Occidental, black/white, good/bad, primitive/civilized, is false, as most people will be somewhere in between.

Holliday et al. (2010: 26) suggest that otherizing, which they define as "reducing the foreign Other to less than what they are", is constituted by stereotyping and prejudice. Hall (1997: 257) defines stereotyping as the process of reducing "…people to a few, simple, essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by Nature" (Hall 1997: 257). Stereotyping is therefore closely related to the descriptive concept of culture, whereby culture is viewed as something people have and possess. People understand the world around them through a filter, or their worldview, which is constituted through their cultural experiences. Stereotypes occur when people are not aware of the subjectivity of their worldview, and see their own worldview as an objective norm (Brown 2007: 191). In the meeting of other perspectives, these are then perceived as false, or foreign, and as a result of this, simplification and stereotyping are likely to occur. Furthermore, stereotypes are rarely neutral, and consequently often result in a devaluation of the culture in question (Brown 2007: 191-192).

This is not to say that generalisations of national cultures necessarily should or can be

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avoided completely. Dahl (2013: 67) argues that stereotypes can be necessary and useful in the attempt to understand a complicated world, and are essential to the process of classification. It can be useful, for example, to know that most Indians do not eat beef if one is inviting a person from India over for dinner. Holliday et al. (2010: 25), on the other hand, disagrees with this view and states that people are not sufficiently rational in intercultural interactions to be able to use stereotypes in an objective way. Furthermore, it is problematic when stereotypes lead to, or are infected by, prejudices (Dahl 2013; Holliday et al. 2010). A prejudice is a "judgement made on the basis of interest rather than emergent evidence" (Holliday et al. 2010: 26). It is a frozen stereotype, which does not change even when met with evidence that disproves it (Dahl 2013: 69). Prejudices also often have negative connotations, as in "muslim men beat their wives". The step from this, to otherizing, is therefore not very far: 'we' don't hit our wives, 'they' do.

Figure 2

Circle of essentialism[2]
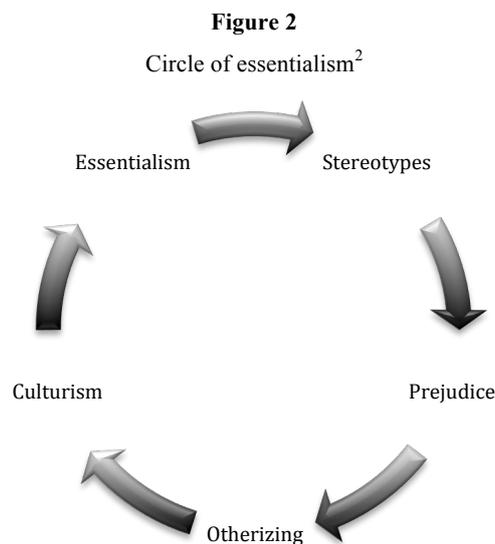
So far otherizing has been explained from its constituents; however, otherizing can also lead to culturism. Culturism is when the members of a group are reduced to pre-defined cultural characteristics (Holliday et al. 2010: 26). They are actors, which act from a fixed, predestined pattern defined by their culture (Dahl 2013: 71). From this, then, it follows that a person's behaviour can be explained by their cultural identity. In this view, if a Muslim man hits his wife, he does so because it is in his culture, reflecting an essentialist view of culture. Consequently, stereotypes and prejudices constitute otherizing, and these again are constituents of essentialism and culturism (Holliday et al. 2010: 26). This circular relationship

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[2] Adapted from Dahl 2013: 72

is represented in the 'Circle of essentialism' (Figure 2), which shows how essentialism may lead to stereotypes, which again may lead to prejudice and so on. An essentialist, or descriptive, view of culture can therefore be problematic.

2.1.2. Definition of indigenous cultures and Whiteness

As the current thesis takes a view not only on culture in general, but specifically indigenous and white cultures, a definition of what is understood by this terms 'indigenous' and 'white' is necessary. No universal definition exists for the term indigenous people. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the adjective *indigenous* is primarily used to describe aboriginal inhabitants or natural products that have been "born or produced naturally in a land or region" ("indigenous, adj." 2015). Rather than an official definition of the term, the United Nations have developed an understanding of the term based on a list of characteristics:

- They identify themselves as indigenous peoples and are, at the individual level, accepted as members by their community;
- They have historical continuity or association with a given region or part of a given region prior to colonization or annexation;
- They have strong links to territories and surrounding natural resources;
- They maintain, at least in part, distinct social, economic and political systems;
- They maintain, at least in part, distinct languages, cultures, beliefs and knowledge systems;
- They are resolved to maintain and further develop their identity and distinct social, economic, cultural and political institutions as distinct peoples and communities;
- They form non-dominant sectors of society.

(United Nations 2008: 8)

Accordingly, indigenous peoples are communities that have maintained their culture through colonialism or settling, and as a result of this now form minority communities in their native land. By definition, they are therefore significantly different than the majority culture of the lands they inhabit, and are therefore in risk of being labelled as Other.

In section 2.1.1, a brief reference was made to the relationship between 'white' and 'non-white' races. This will be elaborated on in the following, beginning with an attempt to define what 'white' is. Firstly, it is important to state that race is not a biological trait, but a

concept which has been socially constructed. Instead, the idea of racial difference refers mainly to insignificant differences of a genetic or geographical nature (Dyer 1997: 1). Hall (1997: 239) argues that Western ideas about race and an increase of racial representations originated from three encounters between the West and Africa, namely the "sixteenth-century contact between European traders and the West African kingdoms", the "European colonization of Africa", and the "post-World War II migrations from the 'Third World' into Europe and North America". Through these encounters, a discourse was created where ideas about racial difference based on binary oppositions between white and black, civilized and savage, thrived. It is also of importance that these are encounters in which the so-called white races were in control of the channels of power, both over the people and the discourse. However, although these encounters are a matter of history, the legacy of these still exists today, and as Sturken and Cartwright (2009: 26) point out: "We live in a culture in which the association of dark tones with evil and the stereotype of black men as criminals still circulate."

Having thus pointed out the nature of races, it is possible to start investigating what Whiteness refers to. Unlike other races, Whiteness has to a large degree been defined by a lack of racial qualities. Kubota and Lin (2009) argue that the idea of Whiteness incorporates both biological factors, such as a lighter skin colour, as well as historical cultural knowledge. However, there are no clear boundaries determining who gets to be defined as 'white', with some groups (like Mexicans) being included or excluded from the category depending on historical or political contexts (Dyer 1997: 19). Subsequently, it is difficult to give a clear definition of what Whiteness is. As discussed previously, white people have been seen as 'just people', whereas the Other is raced. Dyer (1997: 2) points out the danger of such a view, stating that the gap between this and saying that other races are something other than people is small. This dichotomy between 'us' and 'them', between the white and the Other, is also one of uneven power relationship. As long as Whiteness remains the social norm, the people who are included in this concept preserve the power of definition (Kubota & Lin 2009), and as Dyer (1997: 2) state: "There is no more powerful position than that of being 'just' human."

2.2. Culture in EFL education

Up to this point, different perspectives on culture and their implication and consequences have been discussed from a general perspective. Henceforth, these concepts will be discussed

from the perspective of teaching English as a foreign language, with particular focus on EFL teaching in Norway. It has been argued so far that culture is closely related to representational systems. As languages are representational systems, they are therefore intimately tied to the culture in which they originate. Learning another language, then, must therefore also inevitably involve the learning of another culture, as argued by Brown in the following citation:

> It is apparent that culture, as an ingrained set of behaviours and modes of perception, becomes highly important in the learning of a second language. A language is a part of a culture, and a culture is a part of a language; the two are intricately interwoven so that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture.
>
> (Brown 2007: 189)

It is clear, therefore, that cultural knowledge needs to be a part of foreign language education. However, how culture is integrated in English language learning has changed through history, and also depends on the concept of culture that is predominant at the time.

From a descriptive perspective, culture in foreign language education can be seen as "a list of facts to be cognitively consumed" (Robinson-Stuart & Nocon 1996: 434). This was a dominant approach in Norway prior to the 1970's, when the cultural knowledge was geared towards encyclopaedic facts such as geography, economy, history, literature etc. (Dypedahl & Eschenbach 2011: 215). The focus of language teaching shifted towards a communicative perspective in the 1970's, making communication the aim of language education. This had an effect on the cultural content as well, as the cultural knowledge was to be geared towards facts about the culture which the language learners might need in future communicative situations (Dypedahl & Eschenbach 2011: 215). When the aim of teaching English is communication, it follows that such a communication will be intercultural, or between people of different cultures. However, this does not necessarily imply a dynamic approach to culture. An approach to intercultural communication that focuses on learning of detailed facts, or stereotypes, of cultures is principally essentialist (Holliday et al. 2010). Subsequently, both these approaches fit within the descriptive concept of culture. In contrast, culture in foreign language teaching would from a dynamic perspective focus more on culture as a process. In this perspective, how cultures produce meanings will become important, and the aim is increased intercultural competence (Robinson-Stuart & Nocon 1996: 432-433).

In the following, a discussion will be given on the concepts of culture and foreign

language education in official documents in Europe and Norway, with the aim of providing a review of the role of culture in current-day EFL teaching in Norway. Starting with a short historical outline, the discussion seeks to present the progress in the role of culture in EFL education towards a dynamic, communicative view. Following this, the term intercultural competence, and the consequences of taking such an approach, will be discussed in relation to culture in EFL teaching.

2.2.1. Curricular requirements and other official documents

The current national curriculum for English as a subject in Norwegian schools include "culture, society and literature" as one of four main subject areas, indicating that culture is seen as a central part of language learning. In the description it is stated that the subject area "focuses on cultural understanding in a broad sense" and that it covers "topics connected to social issues, literature and other cultural expressions" (Ministry of Education and Research 2013: 3). Based on the discussion in Section 2.1, it can be said that this "broad sense" refers to including both cultural expressions, as well as culture in a more anthropologically focused definition where "topics connected to social issues" would fit in. This is also reflected in the learning aims from this subject area. After year ten, the pupils are expected to be able to "discuss and elaborate on the way people live and how they socialise in Great Britain, USA and other English-speaking countries and Norway" as well as "describe and reflect on the situation of indigenous peoples in English-speaking countries" (Ministry of Education and Research 2013:10). Both of these aims reflect an anthropological perspective on culture. Cultural expressions are also represented, through the pupils being expected to be able to "discuss and elaborate on different types of English literature from English-speaking countries". Furthermore, by aiming to enable pupils to "explain features of history and geography in Great Britain and the USA" (Ministry of Education and Research 2013:10), the subject area includes an encyclopaedic approach to culture as well. Based on this, it is clear that the curriculum does indeed focus on cultural understanding in a broad sense. The aspect of intercultural communication, however, is decidedly absent. Although two of the learning aims focus on communication, neither of them do so from an intercultural perspective. It can therefore be concluded that the learning aims are disposed towards a descriptive concept of culture.

However, despite these explicit requirements, there is allowance in the curricula for adopting a more dynamic approach to culture. In the description of the purpose of English as

a subject in Norwegian schools, the following excerpt can be read:

> Development of communicative language skills and cultural insight can promote greater interaction, understanding and respect between persons with different cultural backgrounds. Thus, language and cultural competence promote the general education perspective and strengthen democratic involvement and co-citizenship.
>
> (Ministry of Education and Research 2013: 2)

The citation clearly states that an important aim of English as a subject is to promote greater intercultural interaction, understanding and respect, which again will strengthen democratic involvement and co-citizenship. These are all concepts which points towards an approach which emphasizes intercultural competence.

Furthermore, a recent document published by the Norwegian government, NOU 2015:8: *Fremtidens skole* ('*the school of the future*'), points towards a development where the intercultural communication will be integrated in the national curricula to a larger degree. The aim of the NOU is to report on which areas in the Norwegian school needs to develop, in order to meet the future requirements of society. With a development towards a continuously more diverse, complex and changing society in which diversity, four areas of competence are presented as important, of which one is "competence in communication, interaction and participation" (Ministry of Education and Research 2015: 8). Although intercultural competence is not explicitly mentioned in the document, it is insinuated on several occasions. It is for example pointed out that being able to communicate and interact in a range of different social arenas is important, specifically mentioning tolerance and social responsibility as important factors (Ministry of Education and Research 2015: 10). Furthermore, the ability to listen to others as well as seeing another's perspective and accepting diversity is pointed out as important in a diverse society (Ministry of Education and Research 2015: 30). It is clear that these are all factors which intercultural competence seeks to expand. Additionally, developing communicative competence ultimately leads to intercultural development, as the different arenas that are referred to will represent different cultures in the widest definition. Finally, it is also specifically mentioned that language teaching has to be seen in relation to the aim of raising competence in communication, interaction and participation (Ministry of Education and Research 2015: 24).

2.2.2. Intercultural competence

Bøhn and Dypedahl, who work within the subject areas of intercultural competence and teaching of English in Norway, define intercultural competence as "the ability to communicate appropriately with people from a different cultural background" (Bøhn & Dypedahl 2009: 152, Author's translation). Consequently, the term intercultural competence is closely related to intercultural communication. However, as discussed previously, the competencies required for intercultural communication differs depending on the view of culture. Whereas an essentialist approach to intercultural communication would focus on the acquisition of knowledge about the culture in question and its stereotypes, a dynamic approach would focus on an understanding of the complexity and the individuality of the people within the culture (Holliday et al. 2010: 3-4).

In the 1990's, theories developed around intercultural communication in Europe circled mostly around the effectiveness of linguistic communication (Martin, Nakayama & Carbaugh 2012: 22). This approach, which focuses on the functional aspect of intercultural communication, is reflected in the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), and subsequently also the Norwegian national curriculum, which was developed from the CEFR. As argued in the previous subsection, although the Norwegian national curriculum calls for "greater interaction, understanding and respect", it is extremely vague on what type of intercultural competence students are expected to develop. In the recent years theorists such as Kramsch and Holliday have developed the notion of *critical* intercultural competence. In this approach to intercultural competence, the concept goes beyond a functional approach and puts more emphasis on the aspect of values. Holliday subsequently criticises the previous approaches as being essentialist and reductive (Holliday et al. 2010: 1).

In this latter view, intercultural competence can be said to consist of a combination of three parts, namely knowledge, skills and values. Firstly, in order to promote intercultural competence, the school needs to provide the pupils with opportunities to acquire knowledge about the processes that typically are involved in intercultural interaction (Bøhn & Dypedahl 2009: 153). This includes knowledge and awareness of the concepts of stereotypes and otherness. Additionally, the pupils also need to obtain knowledge about their own cultural background, as well as that of the persons they wish to communicate with. Secondly, intercultural competence includes certain necessary skills, such as the ability to adjust style or approach based on the feedback given in a communicative setting (Bøhn & Dypedahl 2009: 153). This is very much in line with the functional approach taken in the CEFR, and is

reflected in the English subject curriculum in Norway when it points out that "when using the language for communication we must also be able to take cultural norms and conventions into consideration" (Ministry of Education and Research 2013: 2). It is clear that in order to do this, both knowledge and skills, which were described as a part of intercultural competence, are necessary. However, in order to avoid stereotyping, it is important in an EFL situation "…to provide the students with *many* examples of 'the other', and to underline the diversity of all cultures" (Lund 2006: 281). If not sufficiently differentiated and nuanced, students risk "…essentializing foreign cultures in the desire to understand them" (Kramsch 2002: 277).

Finally, attitudes such as curiosity, openness and tolerance are an essential part of intercultural competence (Bøhn & Dypedahl 2009: 154). In order to successfully communicate with people from a different culture, it is important to realise that the culture of which one is a part is acquired rather than natural, and not an objective model to which other cultures should be compared. To have intercultural competence therefore implies not dichotomising the world in to 'us' and 'them' (Bøhn & Dypedahl 2009: 157). The schools, and teachers, have the opportunity to dispel myths about other cultures "...and replace those myths with an accurate understanding of the other culture as one that is different from one's own, yet to be respected and valued" (Brown 2007: 193). Furthermore, as Freire (1998, in Taylor-Mendez 2009: 66) argues, inequalities in power should not be left unexamined in teaching, because the schools are then essentially reproducing or legitimizing unequal power relationships.

2.3. Visual culture

As the current study is concerned with the visual representations of culture, the focus of the following sections will be tapering towards the visual, rather than the more general perspective provided in the previous subsections. Visual culture can be defined as "…the shared practices of a group, community, or society through which meanings are made out of the visual, aural, and textual world of representations and the ways that looking practices are engaged in symbolic and communicative activities" (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 3). Practices of looking are important in all cultures. As author and art critic Berger put it: "Seeing comes before words" (Berger 1972: 7), a statement that he defends with two arguments. Firstly, Berger argues, children look and recognize things before they are able to name them. Secondly, people establish their place in the world through seeing. Although people attempt

to explain the world around them using language, therefore, it does not diminish the fact that they are surrounded by the world and that this world is perceived first through vision.

As discussed in the introduction, the current Western society is a predominantly visual society. The word current is used because historically, visual representations have never been as concentrated, widespread and important, as they are today (Dallow 2008: 91; Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 1; Berger 1972: 129). Accordingly, it is possible to talk of a 'new cultural era', where the visual mode of representation is more important than ever before. W. J. T. Mitchell (1994: 16) argues that a pictorial turn occurred in the 90's, which he defines as "…the realization that while the problem of pictorial representation has always been with us, it presses inescapably now, and with unprecedented force, on every level of culture…" Consequently, he argues, the previous focus on linguistics and the textual, or the linguistic turn, has been replaced by a visual focus. In this context, it is important to keep in mind that the visual is only one of several modes of representation, and that these for the most time do not work in isolation (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 41). Verbal and visual representations can work together to create meaning, and in some cases the verbal and visual can contradict each other (Jewitt & Oyama 2001: 155). An investigation of the visual representations of a culture therefore needs to be analysed in relation to the other modes of representations present. However, even in a multimodal text, such as the ones that have been analysed in the current study, the visual part of that text will still be "an independently organized and structured message, connected with the verbal text, but in no way dependent on it" (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 18). The visual can therefore be studied as a relatively independent text, which exists within and in relation to a larger discourse.

2.3.1. Reading images

In the following, the idea of reading images will be discussed using a semiotic approach. The idea of a science of signs came largely from Saussure (1916/2011: 16) who proposed the name 'Semiology' to describe "…a science that studies the life of signs within society". Since then, the semiotic approach has emerged, in which signs "…and their general role as vehicles of meaning in culture" are studied (Hall 1997: 6). Although Saussure was a linguist, and therefore largely concerned with verbal language, his concepts about the signifier-signified relationship as culturally bound and arbitrary are still central to the semiotic approach. According to Saussure (1916/2011: 67), the linguistic sign consists of two parts: the signifier and the signified. In this relationship, the signifier is the word, for example 'cat', whereas the

signified is the concept that the signifier indicates, in this example the concept of cat as an animal. The relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary (Saussure 1916/2011: 67-68). This can be illustrated by the fact that different languages use different words to refer to the same concept. The English 'cat', Norwegian 'katt', and French 'chat' are all signifiers referring to the same signified. However, while the relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary, people are not free to use whatever signifier they would like within a linguistic community, and the signifier is therefore fixed culturally (Saussure 1916/2011: 71).

In the context of visual representations, images can be said to work like a language because it uses "…some element to stand for or represent what we want to say, to express or communicate a thought, concept, idea or feeling" (Hall 1997: 4). This element is a sign because they (the signifier) carry meaning (the signified). An obvious example of this is the sign of a lady on a door in a restaurant. The image (signifier) communicates to the reader both that there is a toilet behind the door (signified) and that this is reserved for ladies (signified) (see Figure 3). However, as will be shown later, visual signs can work on much more subtle and complicated levels as well. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 19) propose that although the semiotic means of language and the visual are widely different, the semiotic processes are still similar, as they both communicate meanings that are constructed within the same society. Accordingly, no clear distinction between verbal and visual communication is necessary in a semiotic approach.

Figure 3
Iconic toilet sign[3]

Figure 4
Toilet sign[4]

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[3] From Classic Ladies Toilets Sign, by The Goodie Shop. Retrieved September 20, 2015, from http://www.goodie.co.za/safety-signs/toilet-signs/T20-classic-ladies-toilets

[4] From Toilet/WC Signs – Ladies symbol, by Proshield Safety Signs. Retrieved September 20, 2015, from http://www.proshieldsafetysigns.co.uk/signs/Toilet_WC_Signs_ladies_symbol_59194.html

Just as verbal language is specific to a linguistic community, so is visual language specific to a culture. While both visual and verbal languages throughout the world share some basic underlying principles, both manifest themselves differently in different cultures (Cohn 2013: 139). Visual signs are abstract representations of concepts in the world. Even when the sign visually resembles the thing it signifies, it still has to be interpreted (Hall 1997: 19). Using the example of the ladies toilets sign, it is clear that even though the signifier resembles a woman, the meaning of the sign, or the signified, can only be understood through a process of interpretation. This example also shows how important the context is for the understanding of signs, without the context of a door in a public place; the mere image of a woman might signify a variety of different things. Although signs such as Figure 3 are iconic, and would perhaps be recognized as a ladies toilet sign in most contexts, the image shown in Figure 4 is more ambiguous. However, in the context of a door in a public place, it still functions as a sign. To function as a semiotic system, then, images need to communicate in a way that the readers can interpret the intended meaning (Hall 1997: 5). The relationship between the signifier and the signified are produced through social practices, and are therefore fixed in culture (Hall 1997: 22).

In order to read the images in a culture, the participants therefore need the ability to take meaning from the visual signs that are used (Janks et al. 2014: 83). They must learn the visual language of the culture in which they participate, because visual language is not universal. Sturken and Cartwright (2009: 26) use the term 'conventions' to refer to the tools that are used in the creation and interpretation of images. These conventions, they argue, must be learned and once they are learned become second nature and thus are used mostly automatically by the reader. Participants of a culture have to learn the systems and conventions of representation, in order to "…function as culturally competent subjects" (Hall 1997: 22). However, this is not to say that readers passively take in visual messages that are predetermined by the society in which they live.

The meaning of an image is produced in a complex relationship, which goes beyond the image and the producer. In addition to these, Sturken and Cartwright propose that at least three other elements contribute in the production of meaning:

> (1) the codes and conventions that structure the image and that cannot be separated
> from the content of the image; (2) the viewers and how they interpret or experience the
> image; and (3) the contexts in which an image is exhibited and viewed.
>
> (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 49)

Readers are therefore not passive receivers of meaning, but participate actively in the interpretation based on their own cultural background and the context in which the image is viewed. Studies have for example shown that children from different cultures draw human bodies in different ways (Sully 1896; Wilson and Wilson 1977; Wilson and Wilson 1984; Wilson 1988, in Cohn 2013: 27-28), and that when children visually represent the human body, they therefore rely more on the cultural conventions of drawing, than on their perception (Cohn 2013: 28). Similarly, readers will take different meanings from images depending on their cultural background. The meaning that is taken from an image can therefore never be an exact copy of the intended meaning (Hall 1997: 32). As such, one can only talk of *potential* meanings, as there is no one true meaning that can be taken from any image. However, as Jewitt & Oyama (2001: 135) point out, "…this field of possible meanings is not unlimited." The image will carry signs that make some readings more likely within a cultural context than others. Berger summarizes this relationship in the following statement: "…although every image embodies a way of seeing, our perception or appreciation of an image depends also upon our own way of seeing." (Berger 1972: 9).

In addition to the image itself and the reader, the context in which the image is viewed also contributes to the meaning, as was discussed in relation to Figure 4. The meaning of an image is influenced both by what comes before and after the image (Berger 1972: 29). Berger uses the example of the last painting made by Van Gogh before he killed himself, and compares the meaning of the image that is taken by the viewer with and without this background information: "It is hard to define exactly how the words have changed the image but undoubtedly they have. The image now illustrates the sentence" (Berger 1972: 28). Others have contended this illustrative view of images, however, and suggest that the image is much more than an illustration of the written text (Jewitt & Oyama 2001: 155). The meaning of an image may in fact contradict the verbal message that surrounds, or is surrounded by it. An important point is therefore that just as the meaning of an image is influenced by what comes before and after, so does the image itself influence the meaning of the modes that appear in the context. These can be verbal texts, but also other modes of representation such as other images. As argued earlier, although the different representational modes can work as independent units, they ultimately are and have to be understood in relation to each other. Readers cannot ignore the context of which an image is viewed. In a world where the endless multiplication of visual images have been made possible by technology, an image has multiple possible contexts and therefore also multiple possible meanings (Berger 1972: 19).

Barthes speaks of images as having two separate levels of meaning, and named them

the denotative and the connotative level. The denotative meaning is the literal or descriptive meaning of the image (Hall 1997: 38). This level of meaning of an image will rarely be contested, as in most cases it will be obvious. At the second level, the connotative level, however, the meaning is more susceptible to dispute as it relies on "the cultural and historical context of the image and its viewers lived, felt knowledge of those circumstances" (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 20). On the connotative level, the reading goes beyond the simple decoding of the literal meaning of the image, and enters a wider discourse (Hall 1997: 38). It is at this level that the role of the reader and the cultural context becomes apparent.

2.3.2. Images and ideologies

So far, it has been argued that the meanings of images are not fixed, but are created anew with every viewing through a complex relationship including both the viewers own background and cultural context. In the following, a discussion will be given of how the potential connotative meanings of an image are tied to the ideologies within a society. Ideologies can be defined as "the broad but indispensable shared sets of values and beliefs through which individuals live out their complex relations in a range of social networks" (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 23). In any society, certain collective assumptions exist about how things are or should be. These are ideas that are taken for granted by the participants in a society, but which are ultimately bound up with the interests of certain groups.

Figure 5
Magazine cover, Match[5]

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[5] From Issue 326, by Match Paris, June 1955. Retrieved October 13, 2015, from http://french-adverts.com/Numeros/1955/1955.htm

Barthes (1957/2012) introduced the idea that the dominant ideologies in a society are created and maintained through *myths*. He built on Saussure's ideas of the semiotic sign, and proposed that myths are second-order semiotic systems, where already established signs become the signifier in the myth (Barthes 1957/2012: 223-224). Barthes used an example of a French magazine cover (Figure 5) to illustrate this point. The image has a denotative meaning, which is the initial sign: "a black soldier is giving the French salute" (Barthes 1957/2012: 225). This sign then becomes the signifier in the myth, which is "that France is a great Empire, that all her sons, without any colour discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag…" (Barthes 1957/2012: 225). The myth is therefore related to the connotative level of meaning in an image. From this example it is clear that images can be carriers of myths, and therefore also of ideologies. Barthes contests that "since myth is a type of speech, anything can be a myth, provided it is conveyed by a discourse" (Barthes 1957/2012: 217).

Berger (1972: 9) states that "…an image is a sight which has been recreated or reproduced". The process of recreating, or representing, inevitably involves choices, and although these choices are not always deliberate they can never be neutral (Janks et al. 2014: 3). It follows then that images are not unbiased reproductions of reality, but that "they produce images of reality which are bound up with the interests of the social institutions within which the images are produced, circulated and read" (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 47). Moreover, images do not just represent, but constitute an integrated part of the ideologies and myths in a society (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 22-23). In this way, they both create and maintain myths. It was stated in Section 2.3.1, that the relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary. However, people are not always conscious of this arbitrariness. Instead, they often view the relationship as natural (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 30). Sherwin (2008:184) contend that "unlike words, which are obviously constructed by the speaker and thus are understood to be at one remove from the reality they describe…images tend to be taken as credible representations of that reality." As such, images are read and interpreted on a subconscious level, and are often perceived as an objective representation of reality.

Before advancing further in the discussion of images and ideologies, it is of relevance to add a short discussion on the photograph as a representational mode. Historically, the photograph has in large parts been considered as a relatively objective representation, compared to that of painting or drawing (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 16-17). Sontag gives an explanation on how photographs furnish evidence, and how seeing a photograph of something that was previously doubted, can prove its existence (Sontag 1977: 5). This does not apply to other modes of mimetic objects, such as paintings, and photographs are therefore perceived to

be nearer reality than other types of images. However, it is clear that choices have to be made by the producer also in relation to photography, in regard to composition i.e. angle, lighting, positioning of the elements etc. In other words, "the photographer's way of seeing is reflected in his choice of subject" (Berger 1972: 9). These choices are not arbitrary, as they represent signs, which again convey meaning to the reader. Photography is therefore a representational system, in the same way that comics or paintings are (Hall 1997: 5). Furthermore, in today's society photographs are often manipulated through the use of digital technology. Consequently, they are potentially even further removed from the reality they represent, as physical attributes are altered and imperfections are removed. However, people's awareness of the subjectivity of the photograph is largely subdued (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 18). Much of the authority of photograph then, originates from the fact that it is perceived as objective, and thus natural.

The power of the myth, according to Barthes, is not in hiding the relationship between the signifier and the signified, but in naturalising it (Barthes 1957/2012: 231). Unlike the first level sign, the relationship between the signifier and the signified in the myth is not arbitrary, but is bound up with the interests of the people in power. It is possible to maintain power through myths, by making the arrangements of society appear natural, though they are in fact historical (Janks et al. 2014: 5). Accordingly, the relationship between the signifier and the signified both in signs and in myths gain their power by the fact that they are perceived as natural. Whenever there is an asymmetrical relationship of power, it follows that some groups will have power and others not. Who holds power in a society is determined with which values the society holds as ideals (Janks et al. 2014: 5). Hebdige (1979: 438) uses the term hegemony to refer to a situation where a dominant group can rule over other groups by making their position of power seem legitimate and natural. As hegemony is not fixed by nature, it has to be continuously renewed. The process of re-establishing hegemony happens partly through myths, as the very principle of myth is that "it transforms history into nature" (Barthes 1957/2012: 240). Althusser argues that one way the state maintains its hegemony is through Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA's), and that the most dominant ISA is the school (Althusser 1970/2001: 240). Consequently, the school is the apparatus in which the values and beliefs of the dominant culture can most easily be instilled.

In section 2.1.1, it was shown how society's norms are often placed in opposition to that which deviates from this, or in other words the 'Other'. The idea of otherness is consequently maintained through myths, which manifest themselves in representational systems. Similarly, stereotypes can contribute to the maintenance of myths. Janks et al. (2014:

90) argue that "stereotypes naturalize things that should be questioned or changed". Through repeatedly representing groups of people in a certain way, the stereotype can become the norm and consequently manifest itself as a natural truth, or a myth. One example is the typical depicting of Arab men as terrorists in film and TV (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 114). In this context one might ask how the myth that all Arabs are terrorists is connected to the discourse among people in power in America, in which interests in distinguishing between 'us' (the Americans) and 'them' (the Arabs) is central. The repeated stereotyping of Arabs as terrorist in films contributes to the maintenance of this myth.

Texts, including images, are therefore "…positioned and they work to position their audiences" (Janks et al. 2014: 2). Furthermore, they work to position their audiences in such a way that the audience seldom is aware of the fact that they are being positioned. Every image contains a message, and when the innumerable images that surround people combine, the message will be even stronger. Even though each message might not be reflected on closely, it will, even if just for a moment, "…stimulate the imagination by way of either memory or expectation" (Berger 1972: 129). On this point, it is important to keep in mind the fact that ideas and values cannot be simply transferred to viewers, or readers. Simultaneously, however, the viewer does not have absolute power to take any meaning from an image within a social context (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 72). Berger (1972) uses the example of the traditional nude paintings of women to illustrate this. He suggests that the reader transform one of these nude women into a man, maintaining the pose and then asks the reader to "notice the violence which that transformation does. Not to the image, but to the assumptions of a likely viewer" (Berger 1972: 64). By replacing the woman with a man, he illustrates how what seems normal and natural is in fact not. Society has positioned the viewer's view of what is natural, but this position can be challenged.

2.3.3. Critical visual literacy

Just as representational systems can contribute to the myths and ideologies of a culture, they can be used to challenge the naturalised ideas of how things are and work in a society (Janks et al. 2014: 99). One method of doing this is through critical visual literacy. The idea behind critical literacy is that as an image, similar to a text, is constructed, it can also be de-constructed (Janks et al. 2014: 2). Reading a visual text critically therefore requires knowledge of how texts are constructed with the aim to communicate (Crouch 2008: 196). Sturken & Cartwright (2009: 52) point to this when they argue that "it is the job of the critical

reader not to simply point out dominant meanings for others to see but to show how these meanings are made". In addition to the knowledge of how texts are constructed and can be de-constructed, critical visual literacy aims to develop awareness of how texts are positioned, as well as skills in recognizing how the texts attempt to position the viewer (Janks et al. 2014: 1). In reading a visual text critically, examinations of the positions that the text offers the viewer are conducted, with the aim of revealing which interests are served by the image, or the images' "…effects in the world" (Janks et al. 2014: 83). By de-constructing the image, it is possible to bring the ideologies and myths that the image carries out in the open, where they are less persuasive. The critical reader can therefore take an active stance toward the meanings that are communicated, and decide to agree or disagree. It is through seeing the position that is created through the image, that the viewer can more easily refuse the position it offers (Janks et al. 2014: 17). This is not to say that all positioning is bad, but that any positioning should be brought in to the open. Through critical visual literacy the reader can be empowered, because "…by looking at and engaging with images in the world, we influence the meanings and uses assigned to the images that fill our day-to-day lives" (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 46).

2.3.4. Semiotic image analysis

Another approach to uncovering the ways images position their viewers is through semiotic image analysis. Semiotic image analysis attempts to answer two questions. Firstly, it attempts to say something about the semiotic resources that are available to image-makers, or in other words "what can be said and done with images" (Jewitt & Oyama 2001: 134). Secondly, it endeavours to describe how the things that are said and done with images might be interpreted by the viewers (Jewitt & Oyama 2001: 134). For this reason, it can be a useful tool towards understanding the messages pupils might take from the images in EFL textbooks. Semiotic image analysis builds upon Saussure's linguistic concepts of the sign, such as the signifier/signified distinction, the arbitrariness of the sign and ideas about underlying codes and structures (Hall 1997: 36). These concepts, although linguistic in nature, can be transferred to the visual image because the conveying of meaning in images relies upon signs. Whenever an image is interpreted, the viewer makes use of the semiotic signs that are in the image in their search for meaning (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 26). It follows then that these semiotic signs must be displaying certain regularities, in order to communicate and that these regularities can be described formally (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 20). Consequently,

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although the visual system of representation is not a language, it is in many ways similar to a language system and can therefore be analysed using similar methods (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 12).

The semiotic image approach that was applied for the study in the current thesis, is based on the framework of visual analysis such as it has been presented by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). In their book *Reading Images* the focus is mainly on the structural aspect of images, as the subtitle *The Grammar of Visual Design* implies. There are a number of structural concepts that can potentially be looked at in an image in order to reveal it's positioning. In the following, however, only the concepts that have been used in the study for the current thesis will be outlined and explained.

In the introduction, an analysis of the national curricula as well as other official documents showed that an important aim of the teaching of English in Norway is to promote interaction with, respect for and understanding of other cultures. In other words, it can be said to aim to avoid essentialism, otherness and stereotypes and to promote a dynamic view on culture. These are therefore the aspects that have been prioritized, and the selection of concepts is structured based on the areas of which the structural concepts might shed light, rather than the more formal structure to which they belong in Kress and van Leeuwen's grammatical approach. Based on suggestions from Janks et al. (2014), power and identity have been chosen as focus areas. Following Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) terminology, the people who are depicted in images will henceforth be referred to as participants.

One of the structural concepts that are useful in this context is that of the image act, or the gaze. The term gaze carries many meanings and connotations, but is in this context used in its simplest form as 'the act of looking' (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 94). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 117) suggest that a fundamental difference exists between images where the represented participant is looking directly at the viewer and not. When a represented participant is depicted looking out of the image, towards the position of the viewer, he or she "…interpellates the human subject who looks at it with a look back – that is, a call, an appeal, or an address (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 104). The nature of this contact, or imagined relation, depends on other factors in the image, such as facial expressions (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 118). At any rate it constitutes an image act, in which a demand for a relation between the participant and the viewer is formed. These images are in Kress and van Leeuwen's terminology classified as demand. In contrast, images where the participants are not looking at the viewer do not demand a relation between the participant and the viewer in the same way, are therefore classified as offer.

An analysis of the gaze in to these two categories can be used to analyse the level of viewer engagement, in which viewers may be asked to identify with some participants and not others. For example, Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 119) found that in an Australian primary-school textbook[6], the Aboriginal participants rarely looked directly at the viewer. They conclude from this that in this textbook, Aboriginal people "…are depicted as objects of contemplation, not as subjects for the pupil to enter into an imaginary social relationship with" (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 120). In addition to viewer engagement, the gaze can also reveal power relationships. Sturken and Cartwright (2009: 111) point out that the viewer is conventionally awarded more power than the viewed. An analysis of the gaze can therefore say something about the implied contact between the represented participants and the viewer, as well as the embedded power relationship between them.

Another structural concept that can shed light on the implied power relationships is the vertical angle. If the represented participant is depicted from a high angle, it typically indicates that he or she is of a lower status than the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 140). In such a case, the viewer is literally looking down upon the represented participant. In contrast, if the participant is depicted from a low angle, the viewer is looking up at the participant and they are therefore typically awarded more power. This has a consequence in relation to how the viewer is positioned to view the participants. Whereas a high angle "…makes the subject look small and insignificant, a low angle makes it look imposing and awesome" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 140). Finally, the participant can be depicted in an eye-level angle, in which case the implied power relationship between the participant and the viewer is neutral, or equal.

The viewers' involvement in an image can, in addition to the gaze, be predicted by the horizontal angle at which the participants are represented in an image. If the participants are represented at an oblique angle, it enforces detachment, and involvement is increased if the participants are represented at a frontal angle (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 136). This is also related to whether the participants in the images are considered part of the viewers world or not. Whereas the frontal angle positions the viewer to see the content as "…part of our world, something we are involved with", the oblique angle communicates that "what you see here is *not* part of our world; it is *their* world, something *we* are not involved with" (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 136). By analysing the angle at which the participants are represented, then, it is possible to reveal which participants the viewers are asked to identify with.

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[6]The textbook in question is called *Our Society and Others* by Oakley, M. Et al. and was published in 1985 in Sydney by McGraw-Hill.

Furthermore, the choice of frame can suggest a close or distant relationship between the represented participants and the viewers. The distance people keep between themselves and others is dependent on their social relation, in addition to other aspects such as context (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 125). Although the relationship between the viewers and the participants in images for the most case is imaginary, the choice of frame still replicates this. When participants are depicted in a close shot, they are "…portrayed *as though* they are friends" (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 126). In comparisons, a long shot positions the viewer to see the participants as strangers, not as people who they may become acquainted with. Subsequently, whereas a close shot implies intimacy, the long shot is more impersonal. The medium shot, or the social shot, is somewhere in between (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 148).

So far, the concepts that have been covered are mainly related to the structure within one image. However, in a multimodal text, such as the EFL textbooks used in the current study, the images interrelate with other images or textual elements. In this context, the concept of salience is of importance. Salience, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 201) can create a hierarchy between the different visual or textual elements in a layout, outlining some elements as more important than others. There is no objective way of measuring salience; rather it is created through "…a complex trading-off relationship between a number of factors" (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 202). Among the factors presented by Kress and van Leeuwen are the size, sharpness, colour contrast and placement (top left being most salient).

The content and the structure of the image, as well as the structure in which the image appears, can therefore function as semiotic signs (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 47). If the depicted items and persons in an image could be said to comprise the vocabulary of an image, then its structure will embody the grammar. The grammar and vocabulary of a visual image aids the viewer in uncovering meanings, similar to the grammar of a language. However, understanding the grammar and vocabulary of an image, or even a language, cannot alone uncover the whole meaning. Because signs are created within cultures, signs embody culture and can only be understood when seen in relation to the culture in which they were created. Accordingly, semiotic analysis is not an end in itself, but a tool for understanding, which can be used within a wider approach of critical visual literacy (Jewitt & Oyama 2001: 136).

2.4. Images in EFL education

It has been argued so far that the visual takes up a larger part of society today than previously, and that "in no other form of society in history has there been such a concentration of images, such a density of visual images" (Berger 1972: 129). In the time after this quotation was written in 1972, a whole new technology of images has been made available to people through personal computers and the World Wide Web. The increase in images is also noticeable in EFL textbooks, which today are richly illustrated. Even within the frame of ten years, from when the textbook *Search* (Fenner & Nordal-Pedersen 1999) and its successor *Searching* (Fenner & Nordal-Pedersen 2008) were published, a significant increase in the amount of illustrations can be noted. Furthermore, research shows that textbooks are widely used in English as a foreign language teaching in Norway. Charboneau (2012) conducted a study investigating EFL teachers' literacy approach and found that a majority of the teachers in the study use a textbook-based literacy approach. Since textbooks are used extensively in EFL teaching in Norway, there are reasons to conclude that the amount of images that pupils are exposed to in EFL education has also increased. However, little is known about how these images are used in actual education. Although images are not mentioned explicitly in the English subject curriculum, it clearly states that "language learning occurs while encountering a diversity of texts, where the concept of text is used in the broadest sense of the word" (Ministry of Education and Research 2013: 2). It is also clear from the 'Framework for Basic Skills' that in the context of reading as a basic skill, texts are defined to "…include everything that can be read in different media, including illustrations, graphs, symbols or other modes of expression" (Ministry of Education and Research 2012: 8). There are therefore arguments to support the reading of images in teaching English as a foreign language in Norway.

Arizpe and Styles (2004) conducted a study in which they investigated how a group of English pupils extracted meaning from a picture book. Although the group they conducted the study with mostly consisted of first language learners, it also included pupils who had English as a second language. They found that "analysing visual text, and the relationship between word and image, makes demands on what are often called 'higher order reading skills' (inference, viewpoint, style and so on) and involves deep thinking" (Arizpe & Styles 2004: 195). Furthermore, they indicate that the skills that are used and developed in the process of taking meaning from visual texts were transferable to written texts. This coincides with the idea that both visual and verbal texts are semiotic systems, and that apart from the semiotic signs that are used, they are widely similar. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argue that:

If schools are to equip students adequately for the new semiotic order, if they are not to produce people unable to use the new resources of representation actively and effectively, then the old boundaries between the mode of writing on the one hand, and the 'visual arts' on the other, need to be redrawn.

(Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 34)

This means that the reading of images alongside other semiotic modes in multimodal texts should be an integrated part of all literacy education. Reading and writing are two of the basic skills in the Norwegian national curricula, which should be integrated into all school subjects. Consequently, there are several arguments to support the proposal that the reading of images should be included in the teaching of English in Norwegian schools.

When the textbook has been chosen as the medium in focus in this thesis, it is not only because it is widely used in Norwegian schools, but because of its authority both in relation to teachers and students. The textbook has a major influence on how the curriculum is understood by teachers, pupils and parents (Hopmann et al. 2004: 61). A study conducted on how the national curricula from 1997 in Norway was implemented, found that sixty per cent of the teachers in the study used the textbook as a point of reference when the higher level planning was made for the semester or year (Hopmann et al. 2004: 112-113). Ninety per cent of the teachers reported to use the textbook as a material for planning day-to-day instructions (Hopmann et al. 2004:109). Furthermore, English stood out as one of the subjects in which the teachers reported using textbooks more often than other subjects (Hopmann et al. 2004: 122). There are no reasons to assume that this has changed drastically with the transfer to the current curriculum, and it is therefore clear that the textbook is important in terms of the actual implementation of the curriculum.

The textbook, in addition to influencing the formal curricula, is also an important contributor in regards to the hidden curricula (Lee 2014: 40). The hidden curriculum is a term coined by Philip Jackson in 1968, and is used to refer to the things that the pupils actually learn in schools, but that might not be intended (Cotton, Winter & Bailey 2013: 192). In the context of this thesis, it is used in relation to how texts and images in textbooks can be carriers of cultural myths or ideologies. Sturken and Cartwright (2009: 21) point out how the context around the images "…influences our expectations and uses of images with respect to their truth-value." Although young people today might be critical readers of images in magazines or on the Internet, it is not certain that they automatically apply the same critical view towards images that are provided to them in the context of the school and the textbook.

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The teacher, school and government are all powerful channels of authority through which the textbook is provided to the pupils.

Lund (2006) conducted an extensive study on culture in EFL textbooks in Norway and concluded that "many cultural groups are presented in one text only, and the pictures that are provided are sometimes fragmentary, one-sided and superficial" (2006: 281). Furthermore, the study showed that on the whole, the textbooks used in Norway at the time of the study did not encourage intercultural learning (Lund 2006: 290). Instead, the textbooks provided many examples of stereotypical representations of cultures, for example by representing the Hispanics "…only as people who try to cross the Mexican border illegally" (Lund 2006: 281). A tendency was also found towards a focus on the cultures' most exotic characteristics (Lund 2006: 282). As an improvement on this, Lund (2006: 329) suggests that "more texts could be devoted to providing students with pictures of 'real' people, and more texts could present the foreign culture in ways that will trigger the students' emotional involvement". Consequently, the textbook might teach the pupils stereotypical views on cultures, even though the curriculum states that the opposite is the aim.

While studies have been undertaken in Norway on reading graphic narratives (Rimmereide 2013), no studies on reading culture in textbook images have been conducted to date. There are, however, studies outside Norway that have focused on images in EFL textbooks, although predominantly with focus on gender representations rather than representations of culture. One example is Lee (2014) who conducted research on gender representation in Japanese EFL textbooks, with focus on the verbal discourse. The study revealed that "…gender bias against women is still prevalent in the books examined" (Lee 2014: 51). Furthermore, Marefat and Marzban (2014) conducted a multimodal analysis of gender representation in Iranian textbooks for teaching English. In this study, the focus was both on the verbal and visual discourse and the data analysis indicated that while men were depicted in a more visible and active way, the women were both invisible and underrepresented (Marefat & Marzban 2014: 1098).

Giaschi (2000) conducted a critical image analysis of ESL texts made by the British Council, where both gender roles and how the British culture was depicted in the images was investigated. The results showed that the images communicated a strong gender positioning. While men where depicted as "…strong, active, in control…" women were represented as "…submissive, fashion-oriented, controlled…" (Giaschi 2000: 41). Furthermore, the idea of British culture that was being communicated, Giaschi argued, was a predominantly patriarchal and capitalistic one. Going beyond the images and textbooks themselves, Taylor-

Mendez (2009) conducted a study in which students' and teachers' exploration of images in EFL textbooks in relation to race, class or gender was in focus. She found that many of the textbooks work to enforce already established stereotypes of the 'white American' as powerful, in contrast to other nations who were represented as impoverished. She concludes from this that one of the problems might be that "EFL images do not so much represent culture as construct cultural and racial identities." (Taylor-Mendez 2009: 77).

So far it has been argued that images play a large role in current Western society, and that the participants in a culture need to learn the conventions of that culture in order to create or take meaning from images. Furthermore, it has been stated that images are both creators and carriers of ideologies and myths. In relation to English language teaching in Norway, it has been pointed out that the reading of images can and should be a part of the teaching of English. It has also been argued that because textbooks contain representational modes, and because they have authority in Norwegian schools, they can be significant carriers of cultural myths and ideologies, even when these are not intended. In addition, and as mentioned earlier through the concept of Althusser's ISA's (Althusser 2001), the school is one of the strongest promoters of the ideologies of the dominant culture. Arguments can therefore be made that the pupils not only need to learn to decode images mechanically, but to read the images critically.

3. Material and Methodology

As presented in the introduction, the current study was conducted in in order to answer the main research question: (1) "To what extent do the images of indigenous people in EFL textbooks for lower secondary schools contribute to or contradict the general cultural aims of English language learning in the Norwegian LK06 curriculum?" In the chapter 2, a discussion of the general aims of English language learning has been presented. In order to gain an understanding of whether or not the images contribute to or contradict these aims, it is necessary to analyse the image with the objective of uncovering their potential meanings, and this was therefore the aim of the study. In the following chapter, the methods and material used for the study will be presented. Firstly, an explanation will be given as to the choice of material. Here the basis on which the textbooks were selected will be explained. Furthermore, as not all images in the books were analysed, an outline of the corpora used in the study will be explained, and the criteria for selection will be presented. Following this, the methods of image analysis that was used for the study will be clarified and justified.

3.1. Materials

The focus of this study is textbooks that are used for teaching English as a foreign language in Norway. Four EFL textbooks from different publishers have been analysed. By focusing on a selection of textbooks rather than just one, a wider range of the English textbooks available to lower secondary pupils can be covered, and it also allows for comparisons to be made between the different textbooks. The study chose to focus on textbooks made for lower secondary school. The pupils are expected to be at a more advanced level in English at this point, which allows for discussion about more advanced subjects such as other cultures. In addition, as presented in section 2.2.1, one of the competence aims in the English subject curriculum is that by the end of lower secondary school the pupils should be able to "…describe and reflect on the situation of indigenous peoples in English-speaking countries" (Ministry of Education and Research 2013: 10). Consequently, it is expected that the textbooks made for the teaching of English in lower secondary schools in Norway will contain both verbal and visual representations of several different cultures as well as indigenous people.

After the year of 2000, Norway has not had an official system of textbook approval,

leaving the schools and teachers free to choose which books to include in their instruction. Consequently, it would be difficult within the scope of the current study, to include all textbooks currently in use in Norwegian schools. Based on unstructured observations made by the author, as well as teacher colleagues and the supervisor of this thesis, a list of four different textbooks was assembled, consisting of *Crossroads* (Fagbokforlaget 2006- 2008), *Searching* (Gyldendal 2006- 2008), *New Flight* (Cappelen Damm 2006-2007) and *Key English* (Aschehoug 2007-2008). The textbooks in question had all been observed to be in active use in lower secondary schools in Rogaland County, and there are no apparent reason to consider this as unrepresentative of other counties in the country. The four textbook collections were all written in response to the current national curricula, *LK06*. The four textbooks also represent the products from four major Norwegian publishing companies, which makes the corpus suitable in terms of being broadly representative of the texts available within Norway. One of the publishing companies, Aschehoug, also publishes a textbook collection for the same target group called *Stages*. This is the follow-up from the very popular primary school textbook *Stairs,* which is widely used in Norway with a market share of 80-90 per cent (Hagesæther 2013). For this reason, it would be interesting to include the *Stages* textbook series in the study. However, it is not known to what extent *Stages* is used in Norwegian lower secondary schools, and as such there is no indication that it is as popular as its predecessor. Furthermore, as the scope of the study could not admit more than four textbook collections, it was decided to remain with the original list.

All four textbook collections are comprised of textbooks, workbooks and teacher's guides from eighth to tenth grade. Due to the restricted scope of this study, it was necessary to limit the amount of material. The study therefore only includes the textbooks, and thus disregards both the workbooks and teacher's guides. Because the workbooks generally contain less images, and because the teacher's guide is not generally available to the pupils, it was considered that the images pupils are exposed to through the textbook collections will mainly be contained in the textbooks. As the national curricula in Norway divides the competence aims into groups of years, rather than individual years, the three years of lower secondary school share the same competence aims. Images of indigenous people may appear in any or all of the three textbooks from each textbook collections. For this reason, the study includes the textbooks for year eight, nine and ten from all the textbook collections.

3.1.1. Corpora

The data collection for the current study includes all images and their context from the four textbook collections, counting twelve textbooks in total. In addition to the images themselves, the context in which the images appear are also included in some parts of the analysis. This is due to the fact that images do not appear in isolation, and the readers' understanding of an image "occurs through the combination of the various visual features as well as the written text" (Janks et al. 2014: 99). However, as discussed previously, not all the images were included in the analysis. Due to the focus area of the study being indigenous peoples, a corpus containing all the images that are presented as representing indigenous cultures was collected. Additionally, although an analysis of how indigenous cultures are represented visually can provide information in itself, it was believed that some of the information would be more useful if compared to representations of other cultures. As it was argued in section 2.1.2, white people tend to be seen as the norm to which others are compared. Additionally, the textbooks in the study are all produced for the Norwegian market, where the majority of pupils are assumed to be ethnic Norwegian and therefore racialized as white[7]. Images of light-skinned European-looking people are consequently very frequent in all the textbooks. Two additional corpora were therefore gathered, consisting of all the images depicting indigenous and 'white' people. After a description of the general image count, an account of the three corpora, as well as the criteria for selection will be given in the following.

In order to gain an understanding of the relative proportion of images related to indigenous cultures, a total image count was conducted. Excluded from this count were icons, as these were mostly used in relation to tasks and repeated within each chapter or subchapter. Because the same icons were used regardless of topic, it was not considered to increase the validity of the count if they were included. In addition, illustrations of letters or writings, as well as symbols, etc., were excluded. In cases were images were unmistakably grouped together, although not clearly framed, these were counted as one image. Similarly, comic strips were counted as one image even if they consisted of more than one frame. Finally, in cases where the same image has been identically replicated more than once within the same book, it was only counted once. For example in the textbook series *Key English*, a number of

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[7] According to the publishing company, Aschehough, *Key English* builds on a Finnish textbook collection, which has been adapted for the Norwegian market (http://www.aschehoug.no/nettbutikk/key-english-8-10-1-aco.html). It is not known to which degree the images are specifically chosen for the Norwegian market. However, as both Finland and Norway have a white majority, the same arguments apply regardless.

images were replicated on each chapter front page, alternating the images so that the one belonging to the current chapter would be placed in front. However, although the other images would still be visible on the front page of the other chapters, they were only counted once.

Following this, the number of images related to indigenous cultures was counted and named. These images compose the first corpus, henceforth referred to as the 'Indigenous corpus'. An image was categorized as belonging in this corpus if depicting people from, items used by or art belonging to any indigenous culture. Since indigenous peoples are not defined by their external looks, or racial features, but by their cultural belonging, the selection of images relied on cultural references within the image, such as clothes or artefacts, or explicit reference in the surrounding text. Images were selected for this corpus if they met any of the following criteria:

- The image caption explicitly indicates that the image represents an indigenous culture
- The surrounding text explicitly indicates that the image represents an indigenous culture
- The image belongs in a chapter, or sub-chapter, about indigenous cultures and it is not explicitly indicated that the image is *not* representing an indigenous culture
- The image contains cultural artefacts or clothes which without doubt relates the image to an indigenous culture

Consequently, it is possible that images of indigenous people who appear in clothing and/or situations that are not connected to their cultural traditions exist, and where the context does not refer to their cultural background, which has not been made part of the count. However, if such images exist, it is perhaps not to be expected that the pupils viewing the images will identify their specific cultural background. Therefore, they are not likely to form a part of the total image the pupils will have of indigenous cultures after viewing the images in the textbook collection. Information gathered on this corpus was linked to the individual images through a naming-system, allowing cross-referencing.

Table 1 shows a breakdown of the total image count, as well as the number of images in the Indigenous corpus. As the table shows, there are very small differences in how many images the individual textbook collections contain, with *Crossroads* and *New Flight* containing the least and most images respectively. The results are similar also in terms of the

amount of images in the Indigenous corpus, with only 3 images separating between the highest and the lowest number. As to how the images in the Indigenous corpus have been distributed, however, there are some differences between the different textbook series. In the *Key English* and *New Flight* textbook collections, the majority of the images in the Indigenous corpus can be found within one chapter. Both collections have named the chapter "Native people", and they can be found in *Key English 10* and *New Flight 2*. However, both collections also have a number of images in this category outside the chapter, with 1 image in *Key English 8*, 2 in *Key English 9* and 3 images in *New Flight 1*. The *Crossroads* and *Searching* collections have however chosen a different approach to the learning aim of indigenous peoples. Rather than including one chapter with all the different indigenous peoples, the indigenous peoples have been included in other chapters, such as chapters relating to the country in which they reside. Consequently, the Maori are discussed in a chapter about New Zealand and so on. In other cases, information about indigenous cultures is included in chapters such as "The Wild West" in *Searching 9*. However, similar to the two previous collections mentioned, the *Crossroads* collection still contains the majority of the images related to indigenous peoples in one textbook, with 16 images in *Crossroads 9* and 7 images in *Crossroads 10*. The distribution of images in the Indigenous corpus are somewhat more evenly spread out between the textbooks in the *Searching* collection, with 5 images in *Searching 8*, 13 images in *Searching 9* and 6 images in *Searching 10*.

Table 1

Total image and Indigenous corpus count

	Total images	**Indigenous corpus**
Crossroads	515	23 *(4.5 %)*
Key English	528	23 *(4.4 %)*
New Flight	594	24 *(4 %)*
Searching	558	24 *(4.3 %)*
Total	2195	94 *(4.3 %)*

The last two corpora were gathered in order to answer research question 1(b): "Comparatively, how do the images position the viewer in relation to indigenous and white participants respectively on the subjects of power and identity?" In order to allow comparisons, as required by the research question, two corpora where gathered containing images depicting indigenous and white people respectively. As the question focuses on the

positioning of the viewer in relation to the participants in the images, only images that depict people are included. Due to the focus on participants, the corpora have been named Indigenous Participant (IP) and White Participant (WP) corpus.

An image was included in the IP corpus if the image qualified to form a part of the Indigenous corpus by meeting one or more of the requirements stated above, at the same time as depicting indigenous participants. The IP corpus therefore differs from the Indigenous corpus by the fact that images only depicting for example buildings or artwork are excluded. The amount of participants in the IP corpus was also counted. This was necessary because for parts of the analysis, the individual participants were analysed. It follows then that one image could represent more than one participant. A participant was generally counted towards the IP corpus if the participant was depicted in an image belonging to the Indigenous corpus. However, a few exceptions to this rule apply. On some occasions, images in the Indigenous corpus contain participants who are clearly not representing an indigenous culture. Subsequently, participants in images from the Indigenous corpus were not counted towards the IP corpus if any of the following criteria can be applied:

- An explicit reference is made in the image caption or surrounding text, indicating that the participant does not represent an indigenous culture
- The participant's external appearance indicates that he or she would be racialized as 'white' (see explanation of this in the following)

At this point it should be noted that these criteria were only met in three images in total over the twelve textbooks. Consequently, most of the participants in the Indigenous corpus were counted towards the IP corpus.

The WP corpus includes all images that contain one or more participants who are racialized as white, referred to as white participants (WP). As argued in section 2.1.2, there are no clear definitions of what Whiteness is. Instead, Whiteness has been seen as the norm, and subsequently it is inclined to be defined by a lack of racial qualities (Dyer 1997). For the purpose of the current study, therefore, participants were categorized as white if they are depicted showing a light skin colour, at the same time as their external looks do not obviously connect them to a non-white 'race'. In images containing a mix of people from different origins, only the people fitting this description were counted as white participants. Due to the fact that white people are considered the norm, participants were counted as white in cases where there was any doubt about the origin of the participant.

A few exceptions had to be applied in order to increase the comparability between the WP and IP corpus. Firstly, comic strips were excluded because these were deemed sufficiently different from the photographs and illustrations in which indigenous cultures were depicted in, and therefore do not provide comparable material. Similarly, highly abstract illustrations as well as supernatural creatures such as trolls, witches, and well known fictional characters were excluded for the same reasons. Furthermore, a significant number of images contain masses of people that are shot in a very wide frame. This makes analysis of the individual participants not only difficult, but very time consuming. As there were no similar wide shot images of indigenous people, these were therefore also excluded from the count. A photomontage containing numerous images of both white and non-white (not indigenous) participants was also excluded due to the same reason (*Crossroads 8*: 25). Other images have masses of people, but with a group of participants in the foreground being both larger and more in focus than the rest. In these cases, the group of foregrounded participants would be analysed, whereas the masses of people would be treated as background. This also applied to a small selection of images from the IP corpus. As a general rule, participants were analysed if the researcher deemed it possible to do so.

With these adjustments, then, both the IP and the WP corpora contain images that are of a similar nature, which enables better comparisons. Unlike the first corpus, the participants in IP and WP corpora were not named and the information gathered is therefore not available for cross-referencing between the different categories. The process of naming and collating information for the individual participants in all the images in the WP corpus was deemed too time consuming for the scope of this thesis, mainly due to the large amount of images. Subsequently, this information would not have been useful for the IP corpus either, as no comparisons could be made between the two on these subjects.

Table 2 presents details of the number of images included in the IP and WP corpora, as well as the number of indigenous and white participants depicted within these images respectively. The participants in the IP corpus are referred to as IP, and likewise the participants in the WP corpus are referred to as WP. Within the column titled 'Images', the percentage value refers to the number of images relative to the total image count, as presented in Table 1. It should be noted that the images in the textbooks that do not depict either indigenous or white participants are not included in the current study. As no total count was made of all the participants in the textbooks, the percentages presented in the columns 'IP' and 'WP' refer to the percentage of participants relative to the total sum of indigenous and white participants. The table shows that although the Indigenous corpus of the different

textbook series is relatively evenly spread out, the number of images and participants in the IP and WP corpora varies more. Although *New Flight* has the highest number of images in the IP corpus, it has the lowest number of indigenous participants.

Table 2

Indigenous participant (IP) and white participant (WP) corpus counts

	IP corpus		WP corpus	
	Images	*IP*	*Images*	*WP*
Crossroads	13 *(2.5 %)*	36 *(9.3 %)*	149 *(28.9 %)*	352 *(90.7 %)*
Key English	17 *(3.2 %)*	50 *(9.5 %)*	217 *(41.1 %)*	477 *(90.5 %)*
New Flight	18 *(3 %)*	29 *(4.9 %)*	244 *(41.1 %)*	564 *(95.1 %)*
Searching	15 *(2.7 %)*	43 *(9.4 %)*	176 *(31.5 %)*	415 *(90.6 %)*
Total	63 *(2.9 %)*	158 *(8 %)*	786 *(35.8 %)*	1808 *(92 %)*

3.2. Methodology

This chapter has so far been concerned with the materials used in the study. In the following, the focus will shift towards the methodology that has been applied to these materials. As argued in section 2.3.1, the meaning of an image is created through a complex relationship between different factors. These are; the image itself, its producers, the structure of the image, its context as well as the viewers' personal interpretations (Sturken and Cartwright 2009). As the current study focuses on images in textbooks made for schools, it could therefore be interesting to investigate which meanings the pupils themselves take from the image. This could for example be done through group interviews with pupils in the target age group. However, as the reading of images often is performed subconsciously, it is likely that the pupils would not be aware of or be able to express the meanings they take from the image. In the current study, the focus has instead been on the image itself, its content and structure, with the notion that through analysis of the images, their potential meanings can be discovered.

There are many different approaches towards image analysis, not all of which will be discussed here.[8] The different approaches have their strength and weaknesses, and are intended towards answering different types of questions. Some methods imply a qualitative

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[8] For a more elaborate account of the different approaches, see for example *Handbook of Visual Analysis* by Jewitt and Oyama (2001).

approach, such as critical visual literacy, whereas others are more geared towards a quantitative approach, such as content analysis. A qualitative method allows for a more inductive approach to the material, which opens up opportunities to discover things that might not have been anticipated in advance (Postholm & Jacobsen 2011: 41). However, in order to draw conclusions on general trends, a more quantitative approach is necessary. For the current study, a combination of the two approaches was chosen, with the qualitative method of visual content analysis as the main method, supplemented by qualitative image analysis of a selection of images. This was decided for two reasons. Firstly, a quantitative approach allows for easier comparisons between the different textbook series, as well as between the different corpora. Secondly, because the corpora, and particularly that consisting of white participants, involve a significant number of images, a qualitative approach would prove both time-consuming and difficult.

Within some parts of the visual content analysis, elements from semiotic image analysis were included. By applying a semiotic framework, such as that presented by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), it is possible to describe the potential meanings of an image (Jewitt & Oyama 2001: 135). As the terms 'potential' and 'possible' imply, this is not an exact science. However, for the purpose of this study, the method is valuable as it is effective in revealing hidden ideologies and meanings (Jewitt & Oyama 2001: 154). Semiotic resources have therefore been used as tools in the content analysis.

The element of qualitative analysis was included in order to expand on the findings with a more holistic approach to determining the effect that one image can produce on the viewer. As discussed in section 2.3, the visual elements of a text are at the same time an individual message and a part of a wider text (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). As textbooks generally are multimodal texts, consisting of both visual and verbal text, it is necessary to view the images in their context in order to gain a fuller understanding of how the images can potentially be understood by the reader. The qualitative analysis will therefore also address the contextual element of the image, which is not attended to in the quantitative analysis.

The study was conducted in three parts. In the first two parts, visual content analysis was used as a main method, with elements from critical visual literacy and semiotic image analysis applied in the first and second part respectively. Forming the third, and last, part of the study is the quantitative analysis, where critical visual literacy was applied. Constituting a part of both the theoretical framework, as well as the methodology, critical visual literacy and semiotic image analysis has been discussed in the theory chapter, in section 2.3.3 and 2.3.4 respectively. These will consequently not be expanded on here. In the following, therefore,

the method of visual content analysis will be presented first, followed by a sequential explanation of the approach applied in the three different parts of the study.

3.2.1. Visual content analysis

Bell (2001: 13) defines content analysis as "an empirical…and objective procedure for quantifying recorded 'audio-visual'…representation using reliable, explicitly defined categories". As such, it can be used as a method of testing hypotheses about the relative frequency of certain types of people or situations. Content analysis involves classification of for example people or actions, and then systematically counting these in order to make generalizations. Consequently, it requires a precise hypothesis or question, with clearly defined variables and a pre-defined corpus (Bell 2001: 13-14). If the hypothesis or question is of a comparative nature, two sets of corpora are necessary. Although content analysis can be used to test hypothesis or questions, there are certain limitations to the method. One of these is that it is rarely possible to draw conclusions based on content analysis alone (Bell 2001: 13). For this reason, content analysis should, particularly when applied to visual texts, be supplemented by examples, and therefore only be one part of a 'methodological armoury' (Bell 2001: 34).

For the current study, a visual content analysis was conducted in two parts, aiming to answer the research questions (1)(a) and (1)(b) respectively. In the first part of the analysis, concerning stereotypes, the focus is on the content of the image. The second part, however, looks at how people were represented in the images and as such focused on the structure. A holistic approach to the images within one textbook series was chosen because that is how the pupils are most likely to experience the images. As suggested by Bell (2001), the quantifiable data will be supplemented through examples in the form of qualitative analysis from the third part of the study. Finally, the results of the analysis will be viewed in light of theories about otherness, essentialism, and stereotypes/prejudices. On the basis of this, an attempt will be made to answer the main research question.

3.2.2. Part one: content

In the first part of the study, concerning the *who* and *what* of the image, information was gathered about the content of the images. This part of the analysis was mainly concerned with stereotypes, and aimed to answer the research question (1)(a) "To what extent do the images

that are presented as representing indigenous cultures reinforce cultural stereotyping?" In section 2.1.2, a list of characteristics related to indigenous cultures provided by the United Nations (2008) was presented. Among other characteristics, the list points to the historical associations of indigenous cultures to a specific region, which later has been colonized. Furthermore, the list points to the characterization of indigenous cultures by a desire to maintain and further develop their culture and identity, regardless of the colonization. Because of this historical perspective applied to the definition of indigenous peoples, as well as the researchers own experiences in school, both as student and teacher, the hypothesis for the current study is that the teaching of indigenous cultures is focused towards their cultural heritage, rather than culture understood as how they live today. If this hypothesis is true, it follows that the images in the EFL textbooks analysed in the current study will focus more on the cultural heritage of the indigenous people, rather than how they live today. A consequence of this is that the representations then communicate an essentialist view of culture, in which culture is something inherited, and thus static.

Subsequently, by applying visual content analysis to the Indigenous corpus, this part of the study aimed to test which parts of the culture the images in the EFL textbooks focus on. This was done through classifying the content of the images in the categories contemporary/modern or historical/traditional. Applying a dichotomy like this is not unproblematic, as it raises questions about what is traditional and modern, as well as who is empowered to define these terms. Historically, the clothing and technologies of indigenous peoples have been defined as traditional, in the sense of not modern. The definition of modernity is defined by the dominant culture, to which the traditional stands as a binary opposition, often with negative connotations. The terms traditional and modern might therefore carry negative connotations in which the traditional is seen as bad, or uncivilized, while the modern is seen as good. However, this is decidedly not what is intended by the use of the terms in the following analysis. It is the case today that indigenous people, although their cultures by definition are different to the majority culture, are not static, and in fact have adopted several aspects of the Western 'modern' culture, such as housing and clothing. As an example, the igloo is something that most people associate with the Inuit people. However, today most igloos are built for the purpose of tourism, and are only rarely used for hunting purposes by the Inuit. As such, representing the Inuit culture by an image of an igloo is representing the Inuit cultural heritage more than the Inuit contemporary culture. In the context of this thesis, therefore, the terms traditional and modern refer specifically to the indigenous cultures way of life in a historical and contemporary context respectively. As

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such, it does not point to any value judgement between traditional and modern.

Two different aspects of the images' content were addressed, namely the setting and the clothing of the people. These aspects were chosen because they are obvious visual signs of culture, which are possible to categorize and classify in images. However, it is clear that these aspects do not address the whole spectre of culture as 'a way of life'. Other aspects, such as activities, could be analysed. However, because of the limited scope of the current study, the setting and clothing were chosen, as these are very prominent in the images, and subsequently likely to influence the viewer. Furthermore, it was decided to separate the clothing form the setting, rather than taking a more holistic approach to the images. This was mainly done because a separation between the two categories makes it possible to investigate the relationship between traditional and modern settings and clothing. It is clear that while a traditionally clothed participant in a traditional setting would enforce the stereotype of indigenous peoples as being traditional, whereas depicting participants in modern clothing in traditional settings or vice versa would contribute to nuancing these stereotypes.

Regarding the setting, the images were divided into three different categories, namely traditional, modern or neutral. Examples of the different categories can be found in Appendix A: Analysis guide (Figure A - 1 for traditional setting, Figure A - 2 for modern setting and Figure A - 3 for neutral setting). In the context of this study, the setting refers to all the objects represented in the images, such as buildings or other items, as well as items held by participants. In other words, the setting refers to everything in the image apart from the participants themselves and their clothes. The setting was categorized as traditional if it represents a traditional part of any indigenous culture simultaneously as it does not depict any items of modernity, dating from the 20th century or after. As an example, an image depicting an igloo on snowy planes would be categorized as traditional. In contrast, an image depicting a similar igloo on snowy planes with a snow scooter next to it would be categorized as modern. In the first case, the image potentially endorses a stereotype that the Inuit people are undeveloped because they live in traditional buildings. The second case, however, shows that although igloos are a part of the Inuit cultural heritage, they as a people are not necessarily technologically backwards. The image as such breaks down stereotypes, by showing that a person can be *both* Inuit *and* operate modern technological equipment. Consequently, this distinction is important. An image was categorized as having a neutral setting if neither traditional or modern items were depicted in the image. This is for example the case for many portraits, in which the background is either single-coloured or very blurred.

With respect to the participants of the images, only two categories were employed, as

there was no requirement for a neutral category. The only clothing that could be said to be neither modern nor traditional would necessarily be no clothing, and no such incidences occurred in any of the textbooks. If the participants are depicted wearing clothing that is traditional for the culture in which they belong, they were categorized as traditional. Similarly, they were categorized as modern if wearing modern clothing. Similarly to the classification of setting, participants were categorized as wearing modern clothing if any aspect of modernity were present. Subsequently, a participant wearing a mixture of traditional and modern clothing would be classified as modern. For images containing more than one participant, information was gathered from each represented participant. In cases where only parts of a person were depicted, such as an arm or a leg, the persons were not made a part of the count. To illustrate this, Figure A - 4 shows an example where people were not included due to not having a large enough part of the body to conduct a meaningful analysis. Only the four participants that are outlined in the image were analysed. Similarly, people were not counted as participants if made blurry by a low depth of field in the image. This can be seen in Figure A - 5, where the three people outlined in front have been analysed, whereas the people in the back were considered too blurred for analysis.

3.2.3. Part two: structure

The second part of the study looked at *how* the represented participants in the images were depicted. This was done using visual content analysis, where the categories were based on structural concepts taken from semiotic image analysis. The aim of the analysis was to see whether there are any systematic differences in how the viewer is positioned in relation to people from indigenous cultures compared to white people, in order to answer research question 1(b): "Comparatively, how do the images position the viewer in relation to indigenous and white participants respectively on the subjects of power and identity?" This part of the study therefore included analysis of both the IP and the WP corpora.

As pointed out in section 2.2.2, Freire (1998) argues that it is important to question the power relationships provided through teaching, in order to avoid a reproduction of inequalities. It was also argued in section 2.1.2 that white people historically have been in a position of power in relation to other races. Consequently, it is of interest to see whether such inequalities between white and indigenous participants are present in the EFL textbooks used in the study. To answer this, an analysis of the gaze, as well as the vertical angle was conducted. As argued in section 2.3.4, both these aspects can reveal power relationships.

The other aspect that was addressed in this part of the study is identity. This focus was chosen because of the importance of identification in relation to otherizing. If the images to a larger degree position the viewers to identify with people who are racialized as white than indigenous people, this might contribute to a gap between 'us' and 'them'. In this context, an analysis of the horizontal angle, choice of frame and the gaze can all contribute to information about the extent of which the viewer is asked to identify with the participants in the image. All the participants from both the IP and the WP corpora were therefore analysed according to the four categories vertical angle, gaze, frame and horizontal angle, in order to uncover whether any differences between the two corpora exists in relation to power and identity. The semiotic resources applied in the study have all been discussed in more detail in section 2.3.4. In the following, therefore, a brief overview will be given of the categories, with focus on how they have been applied in the analysis for the current study.

The first category, the vertical angle, was determined through analysing where the camera would have been positioned in relation to the subject. This also creates the viewpoint from which the viewer sees the subject in the image. As argued, this category suggests the power relationship between the viewer and the participant. When a participant is shot from a high angle, an example of which can be seen in Figure A - 6 (appendix), the viewer is literally looking down on the participant. A consequence of this is that the image positions the viewer in a higher position of power than the participants. Participants shot from this angle were therefore put in the category of 'viewer power', a term borrowed from Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 149). In the opposite case, if the participant is shot from a high angle, the participant is the one who is put in the position of power. The viewer is in this case positioned to look up to the participant, as illustrated by Figure A - 8 (appendix). When shot from a low angle, the participants were therefore classified as belonging in the category 'participant power'. Finally, the participants can also be depicted from an eye-level angle. In this case, the viewer is positioned directly in front of the participant, and the power relationship between these is therefore neutral. Participants belonging in this category have been labelled 'equality' (see Figure A - 7, appendix, for an example of a participant classified in this category).

In the second category, the gaze, the participants were categorized in the two groups suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), namely 'demand' and 'offer'. This was done in order to reveal the extent of which a contact is established between the participants and the viewer, where the demand institutes a relational contact and the offer does not. These categories are also related to power, in the way that the participants that are represented as demand are in a higher position of power than those categorized as offer. If the participants

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look directly at the viewer, they were categorized as demand. All other participants were categorized as offer. Examples of images that have been categorised as demand and offer can be found in Appendix A: Analysis guide (Figure A - 9 and Figure A - 10, appendix). If the participants are depicted wearing sunglasses or similar, but are still appearing to look directly at the viewer, they were categorized as demand.

Thirdly, the participants were analysed based on the choice of frame. The frame in which the participants are shot largely determines the social distance between the participant and the viewer (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 149). Although the film industry traditionally operates with a wide range of categories of shots, it was deemed sufficient to divide the frames in to three different shots for this study, namely 'intimate, 'social' and 'impersonal'. These categories relate to the formal terms close, medium and long shot. They build on the categories presented by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 124), but categories such as medium long shot, long shot and very long shot are all merged in to the category of long shot, here referred to as 'impersonal'. Consequently, the category 'impersonal' covers the frames where the participant's full body cover around half the size of the frame or less (Figure A - 13, appendix). These are shots in which the viewer is to the least degree positioned by the image to identify with the participant. The 'intimate' shot covers frames where the participant is depicted down to the waist, or anything closer than that, an example of which can be seen in Figure A - 11 (appendix). This type of shot intimates a close relationship between the viewer and the participant. Anything between those two frames would be categorized as a 'social' shot. Here, the suggested relationship is somewhere in between intimate and impersonal. An example of a participant shot in the social category of frame can be found in Figure A - 12 (appendix).

The final category, the horizontal angle, relates to the degree of which the image positions the viewer to get involved with the participant. Maximum involvement between the viewer and the participant is achieved by a frontal angle, which means that the viewer is positioned directly in front of the participant, or close to. Participants belonging to this category have been labelled 'involvement'. An example of a participant in this category can be seen in Figure A - 14 (appendix). When the participants are sufficiently diverging from a frontal angle, it can be said that they are shot from an oblique angle. This means that the viewer is looking at the participant from the side, rather than from the front, and as such does not encourage involvement. Participants who are shot from an oblique angle were subsequently categorized as 'detachment' (see Figure A - 15 for an example of this, appendix). As can be seen in Figure A - 16 (appendix), the participants are also occasionally

depicted from a back angle. For the purpose of the current study, these participants have also been categorized as 'detachment'. Consequently, this category incorporates participants depicted from either an oblique or a back angle.

3.2.4. Part three: Qualitative image analysis

In addition to the quantitative analysis outlined above, a qualitative analysis using critical visual literacy as well as elements from semiotic image analysis, was applied to a selection of the images. As pointed out previously, visual content analysis should only be used as one tool in a methodological armoury. In this study, the role of the qualitative analysis is mainly to provide a more holistic approach to the effect that individual pictures can have on the viewer. Additionally, it will be used to provide qualitative examples with the aim of shedding light on the quantitative results. As such, the selection of the images for this part of the analysis was neither random nor widespread. Instead, the images were selected based on either being particularly useful in relation to providing nuances to the discussion, or particularly interesting in its effect on the viewer.

As has been argued throughout this thesis, there is no one meaning inherent in images just waiting to be discovered by the viewer (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 55). Instead, the meaning of an image only comes into existence when viewed, and every viewing creates a new meaning. This is because the viewer, as well as the context in which the image is viewed, bring his/her own background into the interpretation. For this reason, "meaning can never be finally fixed" (Hall 1997: 270). However, the image will provide the viewer with certain guidelines, which makes certain interpretations more likely to occur than others. As such, it is possible to talk about a 'field of possible meanings', which is not limitless (Jewitt & Oyama 2001: 135). Viewers therefore have the power to give an image meaning, but within certain limits. Choices that the image producers make, whether consciously so or not, will inevitably limit this field of possible meanings, and the image will therefore attempt to position the viewers response to it (Janks et al. 2014: 85). Through critical analysis of the image, the viewer can uncover the ways through which this positioning occurs.

Contrasting with the quantitative analysis, therefore, this part of the analysis aimed to view the images in a more holistic approach including more of the elements that provide the viewer with guidelines for interpretation. Janks et al. (2014: 85) propose a sequence of three steps as a method of reading images critically, covering the three areas what/who, how and where. In the first step, the reader is suggested to look at the visual content of the image.

Here, questions such as who or what the image depicts, and does not depict are central. In the second step, the focus shifts to how the depicted people or items are represented. The angle, lighting and colours are all important factors towards how the image is interpreted. In the final step, Janks suggest looking at the image in its context, analysing the textual, social and political context of which the image appears. The contextual elements of the images were addressed in this analysis both through looking at the individual elements of the multimodal text, as well as the layout of the text as a whole. Because this study was mainly concerned with visual representations, no in-depth analysis was conducted on the verbal text. However, the verbal texts were read with the aim of analysing how it potentially influenced the visual message. The tasks connected to the context of which the images are found were also analysed, in order to see if any of the tasks involved the use of the images, and if so what effect that might have on the readers interpretation. These three steps were all to some degree covered in the qualitative analysis, the extent of which decided by the nature of the image in question. Because of its qualitative nature, the results from this part of the study will be presented in narrative form, while the images in question are included in the appendices.

3.3. Validity and reliability

During the course of this chapter, the materials and the methods of the current study have been discussed. For all studies, the validity and reliability in relation to choice of material and methods are important issues. A short discussion will therefore be included in the following on the validity and reliability of the current study. Validity is related to the extent to which the study addresses the questions it sets out to answer (Postholm & Jacobsen 2011). In relation to the current study, the question is therefore to what extent the choice of visual content analysis, semiotic image analysis and critical visual literacy can be said to answer questions about the extent to which the images contribute to or contradict the general cultural aims of English language learning. As has been pointed out previously, semiotic image analysis can only say something about the potential meanings, not what is actually understood by the viewers. Similarly, it has been argued that content analysis alone is not sufficient to draw conclusions on a hypothesis or research question. In the current study, therefore, a combination of visual content analysis, semiotic analysis as well as use of theory and qualitative examples has been chosen in order to increase the validity of the results. Furthermore, it is clear that the results from the current study only relate to the four textbook collections that are included in the

study, and the results can therefore not be generalized.

On the point of validity, the possibility that the method of selecting images for the indigenous corpus might influence the results should be considered. One of the criteria for selecting images for the indigenous corpus, as outlined in section 3.1.1 was that the image contains cultural artefacts or clothes that without doubt belongs to an indigenous culture. It follows that these cultural artefacts or clothes by necessity would belong in the category of traditional. In contrast, images of indigenous people who appear in modern clothing and environments that are not directly connected to their cultural background, and which are not referred to in the text, might have been overlooked. Given this, it could be that the method of selecting images supports more traditional results. However, two arguments can be held in disagreement to this statement. Firstly, very few images were included in the indigenous corpora through the depiction of cultural artefacts or clothing alone. Instead, most of the images had references to indigenous cultures in the immediate context, and thus were selected on any of the three first criteria. Secondly, as discussed also in section 3.1.1, the main aim of the thesis is to investigate how the images position the viewers towards indigenous cultures. If images depicting indigenous people have not been recognized as belonging to the indigenous corpora based on the criteria for selection, it is doubtful that the pupils will recognize them as such. Therefore, regardless of the positioning of such images, they are not likely to influence the viewer in regards to their view on indigenous cultures.

Reliability is defined by Bell (2001: 21) as the "…degree of consistency shown by one or more coders in classifying content according to defined values on specific variables". The largest concern in relation to this in the current study is that of the reliability in coding according to the pre-defined measures. This was addressed in two ways. Firstly, the objectivity of the coding was increased by clearly defining the categories of the content analysis prior to the conduction of the analysis. However, since there are no clear distinction between for example a frontal and an oblique horizontal angle, an element of subjectivity will always be present. In order to assess reliability, an inter-coder or intra-coder reliability test can be conducted (Bell, 2001: 21). An inter-coder reliability test assesses the correlation between different coders, whereas an intra-coder reliability test assesses the correlation of the same coder on different occasions. Since the current study only included one coder, an intra-coder reliability test was deemed most relevant. It is of outmost importance for the reliability of the study that the coder is consistent, in order to compare the results of the analysis between the two corpora in a meaningful way. It is, however, less important that other coders would code in the exact same way. For the second part of the analysis, concerning semiotic

structures, an intra-coder reliability test was therefore conducted. As recommended by Bell (2001: 22), the intra-coder reliability test was conducted on a sample of 50 participants from material that is comparable to, but not the same as, the research corpus. The material was collected from a textbook collection for teaching English for Norwegian lower-secondary school pupils. A random textbook was selected from the University of Stavanger library, and the first 50 participants in images were numbered. They were then categorised according to the pre-defined measures on two occasions by the same coder on a one-week interval.

The results from the intra-coder reliability test can be seen in Table 3 (for the full breakdown of the results, see Appendix B: Results from intra-coder reliability test). As can be seen from the numbers presented in the table, there was a full agreement between the first and the second coding on the categories vertical angle, frame and horizontal angle. In relation to the first category, the gaze, the agreement is lower. It is, however, still higher than the recommended ninety per cent (Bell, 2001: 22). Subsequently, the results from the intra-coder reliability test is a strong indicator that the coding conducted on the corpora in the study is reliable.

Table 3

Results from intra-coder reliability test

Category	Per cent agreement
The gaze	94
Vertical angle	100
Frame	100
Horizontal angle	100

An intra-coder reliability test was however not conducted on the categories of the first part of the analysis. This was mainly due to the fact that the categories in this part of the study are of such a nature, that reliability could easily be obtained. Secondly, it would be difficult to find material that is comparable to, but not a part of, the research corpus. However, because the extent of the corpus for this part of the study is relatively small, it was possible for the coder to go through the whole corpus twice on separate occasions. There was full agreement between the coding on the two occasions. Although this is not a formal inter-coder reliability test, it is still a strong indicator of the reliability of the coding for the first part of the analysis.

4. Presentation of findings

In the following, the results from the three parts of the analysis described in the previous chapter will be presented. The data is mainly presented in tables, but diagrams are used when the data is such that use of diagrams was deemed to improve clarity. Due to the large amount of data gathered in the analysis, some of the data has not been included in this chapter. This data is however included in its entirety in the appendices, and will be referred to when relevant. The structure of the chapter follows the different parts of the analysis, opening with a general image count and a clarification of the different corpora. Following this, the results of the different parts of the analysis will be presented sequentially, starting with the content of the images before moving on to the results of the structural part of the analysis and finally ending with the qualitative analysis.

The qualitative data is presented both from the individual textbook collections, as well as the total numbers. This has been done in order to allow comparisons between the different textbook collections. Furthermore, it is believed that the pupils for whom the textbooks are intended are more likely to experience one of the textbook series in isolation, rather than a combination of two or more. When referring to the textbook collection as a whole, the title of the textbook series is used, for example *Crossroads* or *New Flight*. When referring to the individual books, however, the title of the individual textbook is used. For *Crossroads*, *Key English* and *Searching*, the three textbooks in the collections are named by the respective year of which the textbook is aimed at. Subsequently, the *Crossroads* collection consists of *Crossroads 8*, *Crossroads 9* and *Crossroads 10*, which are aimed at year 8, 9 and 10 in the Norwegian compulsory education. This is similar to the other two textbook collections mentioned. *New Flight*, however, is named slightly differently, using the numbers 1-3 rather than 8-10. As a consequence, *New Flight 1* refers to year 8, *New Flight 2* to year 9 and so on.

4.1. Distribution of images between the different cultures

In the presentation of the material used for the study (section 3.1.1), the numbers referred to the different indigenous cultures as one group. There are several reasons for doing this, one of which is that the number of images from the individual cultures is for the most part very small. Secondly, the *LK06* curriculum encourages such a generalization by referring to the different cultures as "indigenous peoples in English-speaking countries" (Ministry of

Education and Research 2013: 10). However, the study conducted on textbooks written for the previous national curriculum in Norway by Lund (2006), as discussed in section 2.4, showed that cultural groups often were presented in only one or very few images and texts. Consequently, as the individual indigenous peoples represent distinct and in many ways widely different cultures, it is of interest to see how frequently the individual cultures have been represented in images. As discussed previously, the Indigenous corpus includes all the images that are in some way related to indigenous peoples, also including images without participants. The peoples who are represented in these images are the Aboriginals, the Maori, the Native American and the Inuit. Unique for the *Searching* collection is that images of the Sami people are included, whereas the Inuit culture is not represented visually. It is likely that the other books have not included images of the Sami people due to the fact that only indigenous peoples in English-speaking countries are mentioned in the LK06 curriculum.

The breakdown of the Indigenous corpus in to the individual cultures is presented in Table 4. From the data it is clear that the Native American culture is by far the most represented in terms of number of images, with close to half the images in the Indigenous corpus belonging in this category. As can be expected, the Sami people are the least represented, as they are not included in the learning aims for the target group. The rest of the images are spread out evenly between the Aboriginal, the Inuit and the Maori.

Table 4

Indigenous corpus count, individual cultures

	Aboriginal	**Inuit**	**Maori**	**Native American**	**Sami**
Crossroads	3 (13 %)	1 (4.3 %)	4 (17.4 %)	15 (65.2 %)	0 (0 %)
Key English	4 (17.4 %)	10 (43.5 %)	3 (13 %)	6 (26.1 %)	0 (0 %)
New Flight	6 (25 %)	5 (20.8 %)	6 (25 %)	7 (29.2 %)	0 (0 %)
Searching	3 (12.5 %)	0 (0 %)	2 (8.3 %)	16 (66.7 %)	3 (12.5 %)
Total	16 (17 %)	16 (17 %)	15 (16 %)	44 (46.8 %)	3 (3.2 %)

Most of the textbook collections depict one indigenous people more frequently than the others, leading to this indigenous people occupying a large percentage of the total images. *Crossroads* and *Searching* are the most extreme in this case, with roughly 2/3 of the images in the respective textbook collections representing the Native American cultures. Similarly, 4 out of 10 images in the *Key English* Indigenous corpus represent the Inuit. *New Flight* is the

only textbook collection in this study where the images are evenly spread out over the four major indigenous peoples living in English-speaking countries.

Viewing the IP corpus in light of the breakdown in to the individual cultures, as presented in Table 5, it is clear that the Native American is the most represented, with over half of the participants. The only textbook collections in which Native American participants do not comprise the majority, is in *New Flight* and *Key English*, where the Maori and the Inuit are represented with the most participants respectively. Furthermore, it can be pointed out that, in the individual textbook collections, some of the indigenous peoples do not have any represented participants. This is namely the Inuit in *Crossroads* and *Searching*, the last of which does not depict any Maori participants either. The reasons behind the lack of Sami representations have been discussed previously, and will not be repeated here.

Table 5

IP corpus participant count, individual cultures

	Aboriginal	**Inuit**	**Maori**	**Native American**	**Sami**
Crossroads	4 *(11.1 %)*	0 *(0 %)*	7 *(19.4 %)*	25 *(69.4 %)*	0 *(0 %)*
Key English	5 *(10 %)*	25 *(50 %)*	3 *(6 %)*	17 *(34 %)*	0 *(0 %)*
New Flight	5 *(17.2 %)*	5 *(17.2 %)*	11 *(37.9 %)*	8 *(27.6 %)*	0 *(0 %)*
Searching	2 *(4.7 %)*	0 *(0 %)*	0 *(0 %)*	38 *(88.4 %)*	3 *(7 %)*
Total	16 *(10.1 %)*	30 *(19 %)*	21 *(13.3 %)*	88 *(55.7 %)*	3 *(1.9 %)*

4.2. Analysis of content

The first part of the study looked at the content of the images in the Indigenous corpus, and categorized the setting of the images as well as the clothing of the indigenous participants. A detailed account of the different categories, as well as the justifications for why these were chosen, can be found in section 3.2.2, and will not be repeated here. In the following, the results from this part of the study will be presented, starting with the classification of setting. Then the classification of clothing will be presented, before the combinations of the two categories will be considered. In addition to viewing the total data from the different textbook collections, the data will also be viewed in light of the individual cultures, to see if there are any differences in how the different cultures are represented. Finally, reference will also be

made to how the individual cultures have been represented within the distinct textbook collections.

4.2.1. Setting

As pointed out, all the images in the Indigenous corpus were analysed and categorized according to the setting. A traditional setting indicates that the image (excluding participants and their clothing) include artwork, buildings or other items related to indigenous peoples cultural heritage. As discussed in section 3.2.2, the setting was categorized as modern if it to some degree include elements from the current age, and as such depict how the indigenous people live today. The neutral category was applied when no objects or buildings can be seen in the image, for example in images with a single-coloured or very blurred background.

Table 6 shows the division of the different settings in the individual textbook collections, as well as in total. Looking first at the total numbers, it can be pointed out that over half of the images in the Indigenous corpus have been categorized as depicting a traditional setting. The other half of the images has been distributed evenly across modern and neutral settings. When viewing the textbook collections individually, however, it is clear that the distribution varies. Both *Crossroads* and *Key English* have an even distribution between the two categories traditional and modern. However, this is not the case for *Searching* and *New Flight*, in which the majority of the images have been classified as depicting a traditional setting. *New Flight* is the most extreme of these, with 3 of 4 images in the traditional category.

Table 6

Categorization of setting in the Indigenous corpus

	Traditional	Modern	Neutral
Crossroads	10 *(43.5 %)*	9 *(39.1 %)*	4 *(17.4%)*
Key English	7 *(31.8 %)*	7 *(31.8 %)*	8 *(36.4 %)*
New Flight	18 *(75 %)*	3 *(12.5 %)*	3 *(12.5 %)*
Searching	13 *(54.2 %)*	3 *(12.5 %)*	8 *(33.3 %)*
Total	48 *(51.6 %)*	22 *(23.7 %)*	23 *(24.7 %)*

The trend of having a higher percentage of traditional settings is also clear when viewing the data from the individual cultures, as presented in Table 7. The Native Americans, the Sami as

well as the Aboriginals are represented with traditional settings in half, or more than half, of the images. The Sami are never depicted in a modern setting, whereas the Maori and the Inuit have a more even distribution between traditional and modern/neutral. In Appendix C: Additional data, diagrams have been included which shows the division of setting for the different indigenous peoples, divided in to the individual textbook collections. These diagrams show that although some of the indigenous peoples are represented frequently in modern and neutral settings, these are not necessarily evenly distributed between the textbooks. Taking the Inuit as an example, they are mostly represented in a traditional setting, with only one image in a neutral setting in *New Flight* (Figure C - 3, appendix). In contrast, although *Crossroads* only have one image representing the Inuit, this image is categorized as modern setting (Figure C - 1, appendix). Finally, the Inuit are most frequently represented in *Key English*, where a high percentage of the images are categorized as either modern or neutral setting (Figure C - 2, appendix). They are not represented at all in *Crossroads*.

Table 7

Categorization of setting in the Indigenous corpus, by culture

	Traditional	**Modern**	**Neutral**
Aboriginal	*8 (50 %)*	*5 (31.3 %)*	*3 (18.8 %)*
Inuit	*6 (37.5 %)*	*4 (25 %)*	*6 (37.5 %)*
Maori	*5 (33.3 %)*	*4 (26.7 %)*	*6 (40 %)*
Native American	*26 (59.1 %)*	*10 (22.7 %)*	*8 (18.2 %)*
Sami	*2 (66.7 %)*	*0 (0 %)*	*1 (33.3 %)*

4.2.2. Clothing

When analysing the clothing, the individual participants in the images were categorized rather than the images themselves. There were 158 indigenous participants in total, and they were categorized as being depicted in either traditional or modern clothing. Traditional in this context refers to the traditional costumes of the indigenous people in question, clothing which form a part of the culture's cultural heritage. Modern clothing would then be anything that does not fit in this category, with no judgement of how contemporary the fashion is.

As the numbers presented in Table 8 show, the majority of the participants have been classified in the traditional category. In relation to the individual textbook collections, *Key English* is the only textbook in which the majority of the participants are wearing modern

clothing. Over half of the participants in modern clothing are however depicted in the same image, which includes 17 participants. *New Flight* has the highest percentage of participants in traditional clothing, with 9 out of 10 participants in this category. This textbook series also have the highest percentage of traditional settings.

Table 8

Categorization of indigenous participants' clothing

	Traditional	**Modern**
Crossroads	24 *(66.7 %)*	12 *(33.3 %)*
Key English	22 *(44 %)*	28 *(56 %)*
New Flight	26 *(89.7 %)*	3 *(10.3 %)*
Searching	27 *(62.8 %)*	16 *(37.2 %)*
Total	99 *(62.7 %)*	59 *(37.3 %)*

Viewing the data in light of the individual cultures, as presented in Table 9, it is clear that the Inuit participants are by far the group which are most frequently depicted in modern clothing, with as many as 8 out of 10 participants in this category. These are however mostly found in *Key English*, as there are no Inuit participants in either *Crossroads* or *Searching*, and the Inuit participants are most frequently represented in traditional clothing in *New Flight*. Representing the opposite end of the scale, the Maori and the Sami are almost exclusively depicted wearing traditional clothing. Furthermore, the Aboriginal participants in *Crossroads* and *New Flight* are only depicted in traditional clothing (Figure C - 5 and Figure C - 7, appendix). This is also the case for the Native American participants in *New Flight*.

Table 9

Categorization of indigenous participants' clothing, by culture

	Traditional	**Modern**
Aboriginal	11 *(68.8 %)*	5 *(31.3 %)*
Inuit	6 *(20 %)*	24 *(80 %)*
Maori	20 *(95.2 %)*	1 *(4.8 %)*
Native American	61 *(69.3 %)*	27 *(30.7 %)*
Sami	3 *(100 %)*	0 *(0 %)*

4.2.3. Combination of clothing and setting

In the context of the two categories that have been presented above, it is also of interest to see how they cross-reference to each other. As discussed in section 3.2.2, a mixture of modern and traditional clothing and setting would necessarily contribute to a nuancing of the stereotype. The cross-referencing of the results from the two categories can be seen in Figure 6. The columns indicate the percentage of participants wearing traditional and modern clothing in the different categories of settings. From this it can be seen that the majority of the participants wearing traditional clothing are depicted in a traditional setting. Likewise, the participants wearing modern clothing are most frequently depicted in a modern setting. Only 1 in 10 participants are depicted wearing traditional clothing in a modern setting or vice versa. The most common of these cross-categories is the traditionally clothed participant in a modern setting. It can also be pointed out that the neutral setting more often includes participants with traditional clothing, than that of modern clothing. As the setting therefore does not balance out the traditional impression given by the clothing, these images could in practice be categorized as traditional. Following this reasoning, over half of the images in the Indigenous corpus are completely traditional.

Figure 6

Combinations of setting and clothing, by percentage
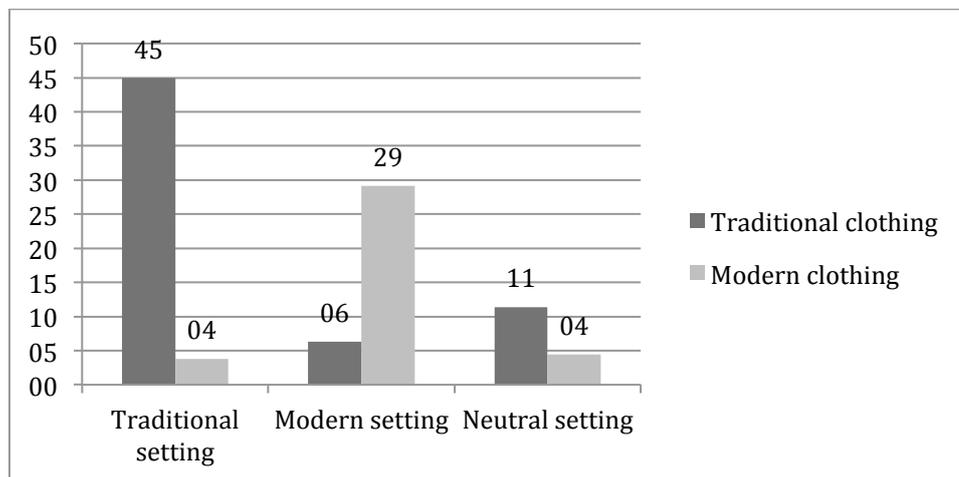
4.3. Structural concepts

So far, the results concerning the content of the images have been presented. In the following section, however, the focus shifts to the structure of the images, or more specifically how the

participants have been presented. Both the IP corpus and the WP corpus were analysed in this part of the study, and the results are presented from both the corpora simultaneously in order to compare the results more easily. As can be seen from Table 2, there is a significant difference in size between the two corpora. Whereas the number of images in the WP corpus amounts to about 36 % of the total images, less than 3 % of the total images belong in the IP corpus. A consequence of this is that single images have a larger influence on the total numbers in the IP corpus, than that of the WP corpus. This needs to be taken in consideration when analysing the data. Secondly, comparisons between these two corpora will by necessity have to be done through the use of percentage. However, in order not to loose important information in generalizations, the actual numbers will also be presented in the tables. The different structural concepts that have been analysed will be presented individually, starting with the vertical angle, before moving on to the gaze, the frame and finally the horizontal angle.

4.3.1. Vertical angle and power relationship

Firstly, the participants from both corpora were analysed based on the vertical angle from which they were depicted. This was done in order to see if there are any differences between the IP and the WP corpora in relation to the positioned power relationship between the viewer and the participants. Each participant from the two corpora was categorized according to whether they were depicted from a high, eye-level or low vertical angle. These angles correspond to the categories viewer power, equality and participant power respectively, so that a high angle indicates viewer power and so on.

An examination of the data from this analysis shows that indigenous participants are more frequently shot from a high angle (Table 10). This means that in percentages, the viewers are more frequently looking down on indigenous participants than they are white participants. Additionally, the white participants are more frequently awarded positions of power than indigenous participants are, although the difference between the two corpora is not so large in this category. Combined, therefore, the white participants are on average depicted in a higher position of power compared to the indigenous participants. However, it should be pointed out that images conferring equality are quite high for both groups. It is also clear that there are big differences between the individual textbook collection when it comes to the relationship between the IP and the WP corpora. *Key English* and *Searching* both have a high percentage of indigenous participants depicted in a lower position of power than the

viewer, thus in a position of viewer power, as well as a lower percentage of indigenous participants depicted in the position of participant power. In *New Flight*, however, the difference between the IP and the WP corpora is marginal in relation to frequency of viewer power, whereas a larger percentage of the indigenous participants are represented in the position of participant power. Finally, *Crossroads* have no indigenous participants and a large percentage of white participants in the viewer power category, reversing the power relationship in preference to the indigenous participants.

Table 10

Categorization of power relationship, as defined by the vertical angle

	Viewer power (High angle)		Equality (Eye-level)		Participant power (Low angle)	
	IP	*WP*	*IP*	*WP*	*IP*	*WP*
Crossroads	0	58	35	272	1	22
	(0 %)	*(16.5 %)*	*(97.2 %)*	*(77.3 %)*	*(2.8 %)*	*(6.3 %)*
Key English	16	50	32	383	2	44
	(32.7 %)	*(10.5 %)*	*(65.3 %)*	*(80.3 %)*	*(4.1 %)*	*(9.2 %)*
New Flight	3	48	20	468	6	48
	(10.3 %)	*(8.5 %)*	*(69 %)*	*(83 %)*	*(20.7 %)*	*(8.5 %)*
Searching	14	32	28	338	1	45
	(32.6 %)	*(7.7 %)*	*(65.1 %)*	*(81.4 %)*	*(2.3 %)*	*(10.8 %)*
Totals	33	188	115	1461	10	159
	(20.9 %)	*(10.4 %)*	*(72.8 %)*	*(80.8 %)*	*(6.3 %)*	*(8.8 %)*

When breaking the data from the IP corpus in to the individual cultures, it is again clear that there is great variety in the representation of the different cultures (Table 11). A high number of both the Inuit and the Native American participants are represented in a position of viewer power, whereas none of the participants from the three other cultures are represented in this position. The total influence of this is greater in the case of the Inuit, because the quantity positioned in the category of viewer power amounts to more than half of the total Inuit participants. These participants are mainly found in *Key English*, in which a third of the Inuit participants are depicted from a high angle, and as such position the viewer in power (Figure C - 10, appendix). Similarly, the Native American participants in the viewer power position can mostly be found in *New Flight* and *Searching*. The Maori, however, is the group with the

highest number and percentage of participants being depicted from a low angle, and as such in the position of participant power. Again, these participants are mainly found in one textbook collection, namely *New Flight*, where close to half of the Maori participants are in this category (Figure C - 11, appendix).

Table 11

Categorization of power relationship, by culture

	Viewer power (High angle)	Equality (Eye-level)	Participant power (Low angle)
Aboriginals	0 *(0 %)*	15 *(93.8 %)*	1 *(6.3 %)*
Inuit	16 *(53.3 %)*	13 *(43.3 %)*	1 *(3.3 %)*
Maori	0 *(0 %)*	16 *(76.2 %)*	5 *(23.8 %)*
Native American	17 *(19.3 %)*	68 *(77.3 %)*	3 *(3.4 %)*
Sami	0 *(0 %)*	3 *(100 %)*	0 *(0 %)*

4.3.2. The gaze: power relationship and identity

It was argued previously that an analysis of the participants gaze in images can reveal the positioned power relationship, as well as the level of viewer identification. When participants are depicted in such a way as to appear to be looking directly at the viewer, they demand something from the viewer. Consequently, the image positions the viewer to establish contact with the participants. Participants in this category have been classified as demand. When the participants are not looking directly at the viewer, however, no such contact is established. These are therefore classified as offer. Additionally, the demand and offer categories are related to power in the way that participants in the demand category are positioned in a higher position of power than that of the offer participants.

Comparing the results from the classification of gaze in the IP and the WP corpora shows that there is indeed a significant difference in the frequency of which the indigenous and white participants are depicted as demand (Table 12). In all the textbook collections, the white participants were more frequently depicted as demand. Consequently, the white participants are in terms of the category of the gaze placed in a higher position of power than the indigenous participants, as well as more frequently demanding contact from the viewer. In some of the textbooks the difference between the two corpora is larger than in others, however. The difference is largest in *Key English*, where 1 in 10 indigenous participants are

depicted as demand, compared to close to 3 in 10 of the white participants. *Key English* also has the lowest percentage of indigenous participants in the demand category, compared to that of the other textbooks. In *New Flight*, however, the difference is marginal, with only 2 % separating the two corpora.

Table 12

Categorization of the gaze, as defined by eye-contact

	Demand (Eye-contact)		Offer (Lack of eye-contact)	
	IP	*WP*	*IP*	*WP*
Crossroads	5	100	31	252
	(13.9 %)	*(28.4 %)*	*(86.1 %)*	*(71.6 %)*
Key English	5	135	45	342
	(10 %)	*(28.3 %)*	*(90 %)*	*(71.7 %)*
New Flight	6	133	23	431
	(20.7 %)	*(23.6 %)*	*(79.3 %)*	*(76.4 %)*
Searching	7	115	36	300
	(16.3 %)	*(27.7 %)*	*(83.7 %)*	*(72.3 %)*
Totals	23	483	135	1325
	(14.6 %)	*(26.7 %)*	*(85.4 %)*	*(73.3 %)*

When distributing the data from the IP corpus in to the individual cultures, the data from which is presented in Table 13, certain trends become apparent. The Aboriginal, as well as the Inuit and the Native American participants average lowest in the demand category, with roughly 1 in 10 participants in this category. The Sami have the highest percentage of participants depicted as demand, with unparalleled two thirds of the participants in this position. Viewing the individual cultures within the textbook collections, it can be noted that the Aboriginal participants are exclusively depicted in the position of offer in both *Crossroads* and *Searching* (Figure C - 13; Figure C - 15, appendix). Furthermore, the Maori participants in *Key English* (Figure C - 14, appendix) as well as the Native American participants in *New Flight* (Figure C - 15, appendix) are all classified as offer.

Table 13

Categorization of the gaze, by culture

	Demand	Offer
Aboriginals	2 *(12.5 %)*	14 *(87.5 %)*
Inuit	3 *(10 %)*	27 *(90 %)*
Maori	5 *(23.8 %)*	16 *(76.2 %)*
Native American	11 *(12.5 %)*	77 *(87.5 %)*
Sami	2 *(66.7 %)*	1 *(33.3 %)*

4.3.3. Framing and social distance

The choice of framing is, as discussed previously, related to the positioned distance between the viewer and the participant. A close frame positions the participant in close proximity to the viewer, and thus indicates a level of intimacy. On the opposite side of the scale, the wide frame distances the viewer from the participant and as such indicates an impersonal relationship between the two. In between these two opposites is the medium frame, which indicates a social relationship that is neither intimate nor impersonal, but somewhere in between. Consequently, the analysis of the frame in which the participants are shot can reveal the level of intimacy between viewer and participants that is positioned by the images.

Table 14 shows how the indigenous and white participants were represented in terms of framing in total, as well as in the individual textbook collections. Looking first at the total numbers, it is clear that the social frame is the most frequent in both corpora, with over half the participants categorized in this group. The white participants are more frequently represented in an intimate or social frame, whereas the percentage of participants in an impersonal frame is lower than that of the indigenous participants. Overall, therefore, the white participants are positioned in a closer social distance than the indigenous participants. This is also the case when viewing the textbook collections in isolation, and it is particularly prominent in *Key English*, where half of the indigenous participants are shot in an impersonal frame.

Table 14

Categorization of social distance, as defined by the frame

	Intimate (Close)		Social (Medium)		Impersonal (Wide)	
	IP	*WP*	*IP*	*WP*	*IP*	*WP*
Crossroads	6 *(16.7 %)*	69 *(19.6 %)*	16 *(44.4 %)*	203 *(57.7 %)*	14 *(38.9 %)*	80 *(22.7 %)*
Key English	7 *(14.3 %)*	63 *(13.2 %)*	18 *(36.7 %)*	306 *(64.2 %)*	25 *(51 %)*	108 *(22.6 %)*
New Flight	4 *(13.8 %)*	74 *(13.1 %)*	18 *(62.1 %)*	428 *(75.9 %)*	7 *(24.1 %)*	62 *(11 %)*
Searching	3 *(7 %)*	80 *(19.3 %)*	28 *(65.1 %)*	258 *(62.2 %)*	12 *(27.9 %)*	77 *(18.6 %)*
Totals	20 *(12.7 %)*	286 *(15.8 %)*	80 *(50.6 %)*	1195 *(66.1 %)*	58 *(36.7 %)*	327 *(18.1 %)*

Moving on to viewing the data from the IP corpus, there are great variances in how the different cultures are represented in relation to framing (Table 15). Whereas the Aboriginal participants are all shot in an intimate or social frame, half of the Inuit participants are shot in an impersonal frame. All of the Inuit participants shot in an impersonal frame are in *Key English*, and in *New Flight* the Inuit participants are shot in either intimate or social frames (Figure C - 19, appendix). Another group that is frequently represented in an impersonal frame is the Native Americans. In *Crossroads*, *Key English* as well as *New Flight*, the Native American participants are more frequently shot in an impersonal frame than in a social frame (Figure C - 17, Figure C - 18 and Figure C - 19, appendix). Additionally, in *New Flight*, none of the Native American participants are represented in an intimate frame.

Table 15

Categorization of social distance, by culture

	Intimate (Close)	Social (Medium)	Impersonal (Wide)
Aboriginals	5 *(31.3 %)*	11 *(68.8 %)*	0 *(0 %)*
Inuit	5 *(16.7 %)*	10 *(33.3 %)*	15 *(50 %)*
Maori	4 *(19 %)*	15 *(71.4 %)*	2 *(9.5 %)*

Native American	6 *(6.8 %)*	42 *(47.7 %)*	40 *(45.5 %)*
Sami	0 *(0 %)*	2 *(66.7 %)*	1 *(33.3 %)*

4.3.4. Horizontal angle and viewer involvement

The last structural category in this study is that of the horizontal angle. This analysis was conducted in order to predict the degree to which the viewer gets involved with the participants. If the participants are shot from a frontal angle, this increases involvement. The level of involvement decreases as the angle of which the participants are depicted becomes less frontal, and more oblique. Images shot in an oblique or back angle therefore have been categorized as detachment.

The results from the analysis of the horizontal angle on the two corpora are shown in Table 16. Looking first at the total numbers, the difference between the two corpora is relatively small. Still, the viewers are to a larger degree asked to involve themselves with the white participants than with the indigenous participants. However, when viewing the data from the individual textbook collections, it is clear that the opposite is the case for three of the four collections. *Crossroads*, *Key English* and *New Flight* all have a higher percentage of indigenous participants than white participants shot from a frontal angle. In *Searching*, however, only 3 in 10 indigenous participants are shot from the angle of involvement. This is almost half as frequent as the white participants in the same category. Because of the relatively small size of the IP corpus, the images from *Searching* have a large influence on the total numbers.

Table 16

Categorization involvement, as defined by the horizontal angle

	Involvement (Frontal)		Detachment (Oblique)	
	IP	*WP*	*IP*	*WP*
Crossroads	20 *(55.6 %)*	196 *(44.4 %)*	16 *(55.7 %)*	156 *(44.3 %)*
Key English	29 *(59.2 %)*	281 *(58 %)*	21 *(42.9 %)*	196 *(42 %)*
New Flight	18 *(62.1 %)*	244 *(58.8 %)*	11 *(37.9 %)*	223 *(39.5 %)*

Searching	14	244	29	171
	(32.6 %)	*(58.8 %)*	*(67.4 %)*	*(41.2 %)*
Totals	81	1062	77	746
	(51.3 %)	*(58.7 %)*	*(48.7 %)*	*(41.3 %)*

In relation to the individual cultures in the IP corpus, the variation is greater still. However, only one group, the Native Americans, are more frequently represented in the position of detachment than that of involvement (Table 17). The Aboriginal, Maori and Sami participants all have a higher average represented from the angle of involvement than the white participants. In terms of the Native Americans, these are frequently represented in the position of detachment in all four textbook collections. In *Searching*, 7 of 10 Native American participants are in this position (Figure C - 24, appendix), and 6 of 10 in *New Flight* (Figure C - 23, appendix). Extremes can also be found in the opposite direction, for examples is 9 of 10 Maori participants in *New Flight* depicted in the position of involvement, and 7 in 10 of the Aboriginal participants in *Crossroads* (Figure C - 21, appendix).

Table 17

Categorization involvement, by culture

	Involvement	**Detachment**
	(Frontal)	(Oblique)
Aboriginals	10 *(62.5 %)*	6 *(37.5 %)*
Inuit	16 *(53.3 %)*	14 *(46.7 %)*
Maori	15 *(71.4 %)*	6 *(28.6 %)*
Native American	38 *(43.2 %)*	50 *(56.8 %)*
Sami	2 *(66.7 %)*	1 *(33.3 %)*

4.4. Qualitative analysis

Up to this point, the results from the analysis have been of a quantitative nature. In order to balance this, the following section presents qualitative image analyses of a selection of the images. The images have been analysed based on the content, structure and context. For the last two elements, structural concepts from semiotic image analysis were applied. A study of this scope inevitably involves selection, as a full semiotic analysis of all structural concepts

would not only be superfluous in terms of relevance to the research question, but also too time-consuming. Therefore, the analysis only includes the structural concepts that have been deemed most central in the image(s) in question. Apart from one image, which was originally depicted in black and white, the images analysed have been included in Appendix D: Images in order to provide colour reproductions.

4.4.1. Photomontage depicting 'Native people'

The first example that was analysed in a qualitative way is that of a two-page photomontage at the start of the chapter "Native people" in *New Flight 2* (Figure D - 1, appendix). Throughout the textbook series, *New Flight* follows the same initial chapter outline. This consists of a front page containing a title and a large image, followed by a two-page photomontage consisting of images that are related to the topic addressed. As such, the photomontage in question consists of images related to indigenous, or native, peoples, namely the Inuit, the Native American, the Aboriginals and the Maoris. Each indigenous culture is represented in two images, amounting to eight images in total. All the images are photographs.

Only one of these images is exclusively modern. This is the image of an Aboriginal boy wearing a non-traditional, and therefore modern, outfit consisting of a white shirt underneath a red jumper. The background is non-descript: a neutral beige colour in an unknown setting. The boy is smiling and looking at something or someone who appears to be just to the right of the viewer. As such, the boy is not looking directly at the viewer and therefore appears to the viewer as an offer. This is consistent with the other indigenous participants in the photomontage, of which only two are classified as demand, both represented as belonging to the Maori culture. He is portrayed in a close, or intimate, frame from a frontal vertical angle, which increases viewer involvement. In the photomontage, the image of the Aboriginal boy is the smallest in size. However, the contrast of the red jumper on the Aboriginal boy increases the salience of this image, despite its small size, because the surrounding images otherwise include less bright colouring.

Short texts accompany the images, providing generic information about the different indigenous peoples, mainly focusing on historical facts such as "The Native American people probably came from Asia some 35,000 years ago. They settled all over the American continent and formed different tribes" (*New Flight 2* 2007: 28). No specific information about the people depicted in the images is given. A task is also included on the two-page layout,

asking the question: "What do you know about these native peoples?" (*New Flight 2*: 28). There is no explicit reference to the images in the task.

Finally, it can be pointed out that out of ten participants in this two-page layout, only two of the participants in the images are actively doing something. The rest are passive, posing for the images in their traditional outfits. When comparing these images to those of the two-page photomontage in the preceding chapter, "When school's out" (Figure D - 2, appendix), the contrast is striking. The participants in this photomontage are active, reading, cycling or playing videogames etc. The latter photomontage also mainly depicts young teenagers, whereas the majority of the participants in the indigenous photomontage are of an adult age.

4.4.2. Photomontage depicting 'Australia'

Another photomontage in *New Flight* that depicts indigenous cultures can be found at the start of a chapter named "Down under" in *New Flight 1*, which is about Australia and New Zealand. The photomontage consists of six images, two of which will be discussed here (Figure D - 3, appendix). The two images are placed on the bottom left side of the two-page layout. Placed to the left is an image depicting a white, Australian, girl communicating with her teacher using a radio transmitter. To the right of this, the other image can be found, depicting an Aboriginal boy getting his face painted. A short description of the image states the following: "The natives of Australia are called Aborigines. They often paint their faces and bodies before performing a ritual dance" (*New Flight 1*: 155).

There are several differences between the two images. Firstly, the girl is presented in an active role, using a radio, while the boy is presented in a passive role, getting his face painted. Secondly, the image of the girl contains light colours, whereas the image of the boy is almost solely comprised of dark colours, with the facial painting as well as the tool used for painting constituting the most salient elements of the image. Furthermore, the framing of each image is different. The girl is depicted in a medium, or social, frame, which includes more of the surroundings. In contrast, the boy is depicted in a very close, or intimate, frame and the only context which is visible is a hand holding a tool used for painting.

4.4.3. Inuit whale hunting

Figure D - 4 (appendix) depicts a group of Inuit participants, whereby some are in the process of butchering a whale while others are watching. The image is placed in the chapter "Native People" in *Key English 10*, at the end of a subchapter named "Inuit". As such, although no information is given in the textbook about the image, the viewer may infer that the participants are mainly, if not all, Inuit. Of the many participants in the image, 17 were analysed in the qualitative analysis. The participants are all wearing modern clothing, and the snow scooters depicted in the far background indicate that the image is of a modern date.

In terms of the structural concepts, the participants are all shot from a high angle and are also all shot from a wide, or impersonal angle. None of the participants are looking directly at the viewer. Furthermore, the participants who are positioned closest to the viewer are all shot from a back angle. Filling the image along the horizontal axis, the whale takes up a relatively large proportion of the image. The colour contrast created by the redness in the centre of the whale, where it has had its outer layer of flesh removed, increases the salience of this part of the image. Vectors formed by the tools the participants are using also contribute to this salience, by drawing the attention of the viewer towards this point in the image.

4.4.4. Native American storytelling

Figure D - 5 (appendix) depicts a group of Native American encircling an adult. The image is found in *Searching 9* (2008: 95), in a chapter titled "The Wild West". Due to the positioning of the children in a circle, with the adult seated on a stool above them, the image resembles a typical classroom-situation in Norway. No caption is included in the textbook on the image, but a text underneath the image on the topic of schooling increases the chances that the pupils will read the image as a classroom-situation. The text is otherwise not obviously relatable to the image, as it discusses the consequences of ordering Native American children to attend boarding schools. By tracking the image to the original source, the original caption reads: "A group of young Native American children gather around a storyteller on the Barona Indian Reservation" (Rowan 1996). However, this information is not readily available to the reader of the textbook.

The image consists of thirteen participants seated in a circle. All the participants are depicted wearing modern clothing, and the setting is also classified as modern due to the flooring and contemporary wall painting. However, the wall behind the participants is

decidedly influenced by traditional Native American culture. In terms of structural elements, the participants are all shot from a high angle. They are all classified as offer, by the fact that none of the participants meet the viewer's gaze. Furthermore, the participants are shot from a wide angle, or in an impersonal frame using the terminology introduced previously. Apart from the adult and one of the children, the pupils are all shot from an oblique angle, encouraging detachment. The adult is given salience both by his positioning in the middle, and elevated, as well as through the vectors created by the young participants gaze towards him.

4.4.5. White woman and Aboriginal man at the entrance of a cave

The fifth image to be analysed qualitatively, and the first illustration, depicts a white woman figuring together with an Aboriginal man in the entrance of a cave (Figure D - 6, appendix). Found in the chapter "Native people", the image works as an illustration to a text named "There is more inside us than you people understand" (*New Flight 2*: 38). The text tells a story about the top fashion model Tracey and her photographer Charlie, which have an accident in the Australian desert where they are rescued by an Aboriginal tribe. The text is told from the point of view of Tracey. From the text, the reader is led to understand that the illustration figures the fashion model Tracey and Paul, a member of the Aboriginal tribe, sitting on a rock outside a big cave, where they have a conversation about some of the differences between their cultures.

Consisting of participants belonging to both the IP and the WP corpora, the image depicts a meeting between the two cultures, a rare occurrence throughout the textbooks used in this study. In the image, both participants are depicted from an oblique angle, although the obliqueness of the angle is more perturbing in relation to the indigenous participant. Furthermore, the white participant is looking directly at the viewer, whereas the indigenous participant is depicted as an offer, looking away from the viewer. In relation to salience, the white participant is more salient than the indigenous participant due to the colour contrast between her light skin, hair colour and clothing next to the cave wall. The indigenous participant, on the other side, is less salient with the darkness of his skin and hair colour closely matching that of the cave wall behind him.

4.4.6. Chief Joseph

The final image in the qualitative analysis depicts a Native American man called Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces (Figure 7). Found in a section called "Native American Views", in the chapter "The Wild West", the image accompanies three "…speeches given by famous chiefs of Native American tribes, expressing what they feel about losing their land, their living and their traditions." (*Searching 9* 2008: 89).

Figure 7

Chief Joseph (*Searching 9* 2008: 90)

In the image, Chief Joseph is depicted wearing a traditional war bonnet (headdress), although no specific reference is made to this in the context. He is looking directly at the viewer, with a facial expression that could be described as stern. He is also shot from a frontal angle, and is depicted in an intimate frame. A task accompanying Chief Joseph's speech asks the reader to "describe the feelings expressed in Chief Joseph's speech. Why do you think he feels like this?" (*Searching 9* 2008: 90).

5. Discussion

As presented in the introduction, the main aim of the current thesis is to investigate the visual representations of indigenous people in EFL textbooks for lower secondary schools, with the intention of discerning whether or not they contribute to or work against the general cultural aims of English language learning in the Norwegian LK06 curriculum. These aims have been presented as being, among others, to promote "…greater interaction, understanding and respect between different cultural backgrounds" (Ministry of Education and Research 2013: 2). To some extent, this can be summarized through the term intercultural competence, which covers the knowledge, skills and values which are necessary in order to communicate in a suitable way with people from cultural backgrounds that are different from one's own (Bøhn & Dypedahl 2009). As discussed more elaborately in section 2.4, a study conducted by Lund (2006) showed that EFL textbooks in Norway at the time of the study did in fact not encourage the development of intercultural competence. By looking at textbooks of a newer date, written for the present-day Norwegian national curriculum, the current study seeks to investigate whether this is still the case through the use of visual content analysis.

In the following chapter, the findings from the analysis will be discussed in relation to the two sub-questions presented under the main research question. As discussed previously, these correlate with the two quantitative parts of the study. Firstly, therefore, the first part of the study will be discussed in relation to stereotyping, as addressed in research question 1(a). The second part of the study conducted for the current thesis was of a comparative nature, and looked at how indigenous participants are represented in comparison to 'white' people in relation to power relationships and identity (research question 1(b)). The aim of this part of the study was to see how the structure of the images positions the viewer in terms of power relationships and identity in relation to the white and indigenous participants. Following the discussion on stereotyping, therefore, the aspects of power and identity, which were analysed in the second part of the study, will be looked at separately, starting with power relationships before moving on to the subject of identity.

Due to the quantifiable nature of the analysis, the general trends from the findings will form the core of the discussion. However, as argued in section 3.2.1, conclusions can seldom be made based on visual content analysis alone (Bell 2001: 13). For this reason, the discussion is supplemented through the use of qualitative examples. Using examples also has the advantage of adding an element of the qualitative to an otherwise quantitative discussion. The results will also be viewed in light of the relevant theories.

5.1. Stereotyping

It was argued in section 2.1.1, that although some scholars point out that cultural stereotyping can be useful in certain situations, stereotypes might lead to prejudice and otherizing (Holliday et al. 2013). In relation to the development of intercultural competence, with the aim of encouraging greater interaction, understanding and respect, stereotyping is therefore problematic. The question of stereotyping is consequently of great relevance within the main research aim of this thesis. Accordingly, research question 1(a) addresses this issue by asking: "To what extent do the images that are presented as depicting elements of indigenous cultures reinforce cultural stereotyping?" The hypothesis stated previous to the study was that representations of indigenous people tend to focus on the traditional, cultural heritage of indigenous people, rather than the culture of indigenous people today. To test this hypothesis, a visual content analysis was conducted, which looked at the extent of which indigenous cultures are represented as traditional.

In section 2.3.2 it was argued that images can be carriers of myths, and that these are related to the connotative level of meaning in an image (Barthes 1957/2012). The denotative level of an image depicting traditional clothing or settings is therefore not problematic in itself, as it is at the connotative level of meaning that the ideologies are created and maintained. Subsequently, the argument here is not that representing Indigenous peoples' cultural heritage is undesirable, in the same way that it would not be undesirable to represent a Norwegian wearing a 'bunad' (Norwegian national costume) or performing 'hallingdans' (traditional Norwegian folk dance). It is at the connotative level of meaning, where the sign of the traditionally clothed indigenous person becomes the signifier in the myth of the primitive Other, that problems may occur. Furthermore, if, for example, a textbook intended for English pupils represented Norwegian culture mainly through images depicting 'bunad' and 'hallingdans', people would doubtless react. A focus on the cultural heritage of indigenous people encourages a view of culture as 'arts and learning', rather than Williams (1989/2002) view of culture, in which culture is 'a whole way of life'. As such, the problem is not the focus on indigenous peoples' traditional buildings, clothing and tools in itself, but the lack of diversity. As argued by Kramsch (2002), discussed in section 2.2.2, a lack of differentiation and nuancing might lead to an essentializing of the culture in question. By continuously representing indigenous people through their cultural heritage, a stereotype is continued which can maintain this myth, and consequently appear as a natural truth to the viewer (Janks et al. 2014).

5.1.1. The traditional, primitive stereotype

Both the setting and the clothing of all the images in the indigenous corpus were categorized as being either modern or traditional. In relation to the setting, a neutral category was also used in order to place images in which no background was depicted. The overall results showed that over half of the images representing indigenous cultures depict a traditional setting (Table 6). In comparison, less than a quarter of the images were categorized as depicting a modern setting. On the subject of clothing, more than six out of ten participants in the Indigenous corpus are depicted wearing traditional clothing (Table 8). Furthermore, when cross-referencing the two categories, the results showed that there is a high coincidence between clothing and setting (Figure 6). Consequently, there are few participants wearing modern clothing depicted in traditional settings and vice versa. It is clear that while a traditionally clothed participant in a traditional setting would enforce the stereotype of indigenous peoples as being stuck in the past, depicting participants in modern clothing in traditional settings or vice versa would contribute to nuancing these stereotypes.

The results also showed that a high percentage of the neutral settings depict participants in traditional clothing. Thus, over half of the images in the Indigenous corpus are completely traditional, depicting no elements of modernity. This difference between the number of traditional and modern settings and clothing confirms the hypothesis that indigenous peoples to a large extent are represented as traditional, and detached from the modern world.

The extent to which the images represent indigenous people in their traditional outfits or settings differs between the different textbook series. Of the textbook collections included in the study, *New Flight* has the highest percentage of traditional settings, with three of four images fitting this category. This textbook collection also has the highest percentage of indigenous participants wearing traditional clothing, with almost nine out of ten participants depicted with clothing belonging in this category. The possible effects of such a division between modern and traditional can be illustrated by the example of the two-page photomontage in *New Flight 2* (Figure D - 1, appendix). Of the eight images in the photomontage, seven show indigenous participants in traditional outfits and/or setting. The only modern image, depicting an Aboriginal boy in modern clothing, is the smallest in size of the eight. This decreases its salience, communicating to the reader that the content of the image is of less importance than the other images (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). Furthermore, the texts that accompany the images focus mainly on historical facts, and do not give any specific information about the participants in the images. Consequently, as a whole, the two-

page layout can be said to position the viewer to see indigenous cultures as historical and traditional. Finally, the pupils are asked to think about what they know about "these native peoples" (*New Flight 2:* 28). In section 2.3.1 it was argued how the potential meaning of an image is affected by its context, and how this relationship is mutual so that the image can also affect the potential meanings of the surrounding images and/or texts. An argument can therefore be made, that although the task does not explicitly ask the pupils to use the images as a prompt to retrieve their knowledge, this might be inferred from the context as the task is surrounded by images. While the images potentially change the meaning of the text, the text also has the potential to change the meaning of the images, by pointing the pupils towards what 'knowledge' is in this context. Furthermore, the task, as well as the placement of the photomontage at the beginning of the chapter, encourages the use of the layout as a general introduction to the topic. Consequently, the pupils are from the very start positioned to view indigenous people as belonging in the past.

Two aspects should be discussed in relation to this. Firstly, unlike verbal texts, images, and photographs in particular, tend to be viewed as credible representations of reality (Sherwin 2008). As such, the two-page layout of eight photographs might appear to the pupils as a credible representation of indigenous cultures, and consequently they are not likely to question the reality of these. This is also enhanced by the power of repetition (Berger 1972). Through repeated representations of indigenous people in their traditional clothing and settings, the stereotype of indigenous people as traditional is naturalized for the viewers, and thus may establish itself as a myth. The way in which the modern image of the Aboriginal boy in this photomontage relates to the other images is in itself interesting. Its salience, created through a contrast of strongly saturated colours next to soft colours, makes it stand out from the other images. However, because of its comparatively small size, as well as the sheer amount of images of participants in traditional clothing surrounding, it is difficult for the viewer to see the image of the Aboriginal boy as the most important piece of information, or the one image to view the others from, as suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). Instead, the colour contrast possibly creates a gap between the image of the modern Aboriginal and the traditional, making it hard for the reader to imagine that the one could be the other in another situation.

Secondly, the textbooks' role in the school environment is important. Through the example of the ladies toilet sign (Figure 4) it was argued in section 2.3.1 that the viewers' understanding of visual representations is highly dependent on the context in which they appear. In the case of the before-mentioned photomontage, as well as the other images in this

study, the context in which the viewers read the images is the school. As has been argued previously, the school, as an apparatus of the state, is the arena in which the values and beliefs of the dominant culture are most powerfully instilled (Althusser 1970/2001). Because of the school's authority, the effect of the images in relation to the creation of myths is increased. Hopmann et al. (2004) showed that teachers to a large degree use the textbooks as a point of reference when planning the day-to-day activities in the classroom, and particularly frequently in the subject of English. The aim of the textbook is to give knowledge, and when they provide images of traditional outfits and settings, this acts as a strong indicator to both the teachers and the pupils what the knowledge about indigenous cultures consists of. Consequently, although the curricular aim states that the pupils should "…describe and reflect on the situation of indigenous peoples in English-speaking countries" (Ministry of Education and Research 2013: 10), which insinuates a current-day approach to the topic, the actual implementation of the curriculum might therefore be widely different depending on the textbook in use. The example discussed above, from *New Flight*, for example, strongly indicates a focus on the history of indigenous people, rather than the current-day situation.

Although not all the textbooks have as high percentage of traditional settings and clothing as *New Flight*, most of them depict certain indigenous groups as mostly or exclusively traditional. The Maori, for example, are exclusively depicted wearing traditional clothing on a neutral background in *Key English* (Figure C - 6, appendix). Subsequently, they are not only depicted in a one-sided way, but without context and setting. Viewing the total numbers, *Key English* is actually the only textbook collection that has a higher percentage of indigenous participants in modern clothing than in traditional (Table 8). However, upon further investigation, over half of the participants in modern clothing are all depicted in one image (the image in question is Figure D - 5, which will be discussed further in the following). Because of the power of repetition (Berger 1972), several images with one or two participants in traditional clothing will potentially have a larger impact on the viewer's total impression of indigenous people than one image with many participants in modern clothing. As such, the total effect of the participants in modern clothing is not as large as may be believed from the statistics.

The results also show that some indigenous cultures are represented in their traditional setting or clothing more frequently than others (Table 9). The most extreme difference is between the Maori and the Inuit participants in the category of clothing. Whereas only one in twenty Maori participants are depicted wearing modern clothing, as many as eight in ten of the Inuit participants are. Whether this reflects reality in relation to how frequently the two

indigenous cultures use traditional outfits is unknown. It can also be noted, as discussed in section 4.2.2, that a high percentage of the Inuit participants in modern clothing are depicted in *Key English,* whereas the majority of the Inuit participants in *New Flight* are depicted in traditional clothing, and they are not represented with any participants in *Crossroads* and *Searching.* Furthermore, as noted previously, many of the Inuit participants in modern clothing are all depicted in the same image. As such, the large percentage of Inuit participants in modern clothing might not be related to any differences in cultures, but could be a result of chance. Given the power of repetition, it is also important to note that the most represented group, the Native American, still has a very high percentage of traditional settings and outfits with six in ten images and seven in ten participants belonging in the traditional category. This shows that even with a wide coverage of one group, the main focus within the textbooks is still on the traditional part of their culture.

By mainly representing the traditional part of the indigenous peoples culture, the textbooks run a risk of continuing the stereotype of indigenous people as traditional and primitive. This coincides with the findings of Lund (2006), where she states that the textbooks in many cases tend towards presenting foreign cultures in terms of their most exotic characteristics. In the case of the Maori in *Key English*, for example, the most exotic can be said to be their traditional outfits and body painting. It was argued in section 2.2.2 that when encouraging the development of intercultural competence, it is important that the pupils are provided with numerous and various examples of the cultures they are learning about (Lund 2006). This is clearly not the case for many of the cultures that have been analysed in this study, and particularly not when viewing the textbook collections individually.

One possible consequence of this stereotyping is that the images position the viewer to see indigenous people as static and innate, something that does not change, and as such encourages an essentialist view of culture. The myth of indigenous cultures being static is potentially further increased when the indigenous participants themselves are passive. To illustrate this, it is possible to use the two-page layout from *New Flight 2* (Figure D - 1, appendix), which was discussed previously, as an example. As maintained, it is notable that most of the indigenous participants depicted in the various images are obviously passive. Compared for example with the two-page photomontage on the start of the preceding chapter, "When school's out" (Figure D - 2, appendix), the participants are more frequently active and the images appear less staged. Consequently, the culture the pupils can relate to, that of young teenagers in Western society, are depicted as active doers, whereas the indigenous cultures are depicted as being static and passive objects for observation, posing for the viewer in their

traditional outfits.

5.1.2. Textbook layout and stereotyping

This brings the discussion on to another issue related to stereotyping is the distribution of images within the textbook series. As presented in chapter 3, the textbook collections represent two different approaches to covering the learning aim about indigenous peoples. In the first approach, applied in *Key English* and *New Flight*, the images and information about indigenous peoples are mainly dealt with in one chapter. The other approach, in comparison, includes information about the indigenous people in chapters related to other topics, such as the country in which they reside. Because the context in which an image is viewed contributes to the production of meaning (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 49), the choice of distribution is likely to have an effect on the way in which the viewer reads the images. One possible effect of grouping the images of indigenous peoples together in one chapter is that the similarities between the different indigenous peoples are enhanced. At the same time, the indigenous peoples' relation to the rest of the world is undermined, consequently marking them as Other. Indigenous peoples appear as a subject to be studied in isolation, something that is not in close proximity to the pupils or their world.

However, this does not immediately correlate with the stereotype of indigenous people being traditional and primitive, with *Key English* and *New Flight* representing the opposite scale in this respect. While *Key English* is the textbook collection with the lowest percentage of traditional setting and clothing, *New Flight* in fact has the highest percentage. As such, the total effect in relation to stereotyping indigenous peoples as traditional and Other, is by far increased in *New Flight*. A commonality between the two textbook collections, however, is a more even distribution of images between the different indigenous peoples in English-speaking countries (Table 3). In contrast, *Searching* and *Crossroads*, which have chosen a more integrative approach, show an uneven distribution with over 6 in 10 images of the Indigenous corpus being related to the Native American people. This might reflect a general focus on American culture within the teaching of English in Norway, making it more natural to include information about the Native Americans than, for example, the Inuit, which are not included at all in *Searching* and with only one image in *Crossroads*. One of the problems with an uneven distribution is that with only a few images representing each culture, they are more vulnerable to oversimplification and possibly stereotyping, as has been shown previously.

Furthermore, it is questionable whether representations of indigenous cultures

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alongside other, 'white', cultures in itself reduces the tendency to stereotype. Another example from *New Flight* can illustrate this. Found in the chapter "Down under" in *New Flight 1*, the photomontage shows illustrations depicting people and elements of Australian and New Zealand cultures. The part of the photomontage of interest for the current discussion consists of two images, depicting a white girl and an Aboriginal boy respectively (Figure D - 2, appendix). As discussed in section 4.4.2, the difference between the two images is striking. Whereas the 'white' Australian is depicted in a modern school environment, which the pupils would relate to, the Aboriginal Australian is presented as belonging to a people who "…often paint their faces and bodies before performing a ritual dance" (*New Flight 1*: 155). The extreme difference in colour between the two images further increases the difference between the two images. Instead of decreasing the stereotype of indigenous people as traditional and primitive, the juxta-positioning of the two images therefore creates a dichotomy between the 'white' and the 'indigenous' Australian, where the white is active, complex, and technologically advanced, and the Aboriginal is passive, primitive and simple. A final point is colour: as a relic from the past, dark tones are still symbolically associated with evil (Sturken & Cartwright 2009). Subsequently, the darkness of the image depicting the Aboriginal boy, and in particular when juxtaposed with the light image of the blonde girl, can potentially enforce a feeling of apprehension towards the foreign Other.

5.2. Power relationships

So far in the discussion, it has been contended that indigenous people to a large degree are represented in a stereotypical way. Furthermore, as argued in section 2.1.1, and as illustrated in the Circle of essentialism (Figure 2, Dahl 2013), stereotyping can lead prejudice. In addition, stereotypes often imply an attitude towards the culture in question (Brown 2007). Whereas stereotyping can be defined as reducing an otherwise complex culture to a small number of essential characteristics (Hall 1997), prejudice often also carries negative connotations. If the attitude implied in the stereotype is of a negative nature, therefore, it might lead to prejudice towards, and the devaluation of, a culture. In this context, the element of power becomes relevant, as the power relationship constructed by the images to a large degree indicates the value that is given to a culture.

5.2.1. The gaze and vertical angle

In the current study, the question of power relationships was addressed through a visual content analysis, analysing both the vertical angle as well as the gaze. The results from this analysis show that there is a difference between how the white and indigenous participants are represented in relation to power relationships between the participants and the viewer, mainly to the disadvantage of the indigenous. This is the case both for the category of the vertical angle, as well as the gaze. In relation to the vertical angle, the indigenous participants in the study are twice as frequently represented from a high angle than the white participants (Table 10). Consequently, the viewer is more frequently positioned to view the indigenous participants as 'small and insignificant', using Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) terms, than they are with white participants. In addition to being more frequently depicted in the position of which the viewer is in power, the indigenous participants are also less frequently positioned in the position of participant power than that of the white participants. Accordingly, the indigenous participants are less frequently positioned to be viewed as 'imposing and awesome' (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). However, the difference between the two corpora is marginal on this point. The majority of the participants from both corpora were depicted in the position of equality in relation to power relationship, although the white participants were more frequently so. Overall, therefore, the indigenous participants are depicted more frequently in a lower position of power in relation to the viewer and less frequently in an equal position, than the white participants.

In relation to the gaze, the indigenous participants were less frequently depicted looking at the viewer than the white participants, with over ten per cent differentiation between the two corpora in the category of demand (Table 12). As discussed in section 2.3.4, more power is conventionally awarded to the viewer than to the one being viewed. Thus, the indigenous participants are also depicted in a lower position of power than the white participants in the category of the gaze.

Not all the textbook collections in the study show this uneven relationship between the indigenous and white participants, however, as shown in Table 10. Of the four textbook collections in the study, *Key English* and *Searching* have the highest percentage of indigenous participants in the category of viewer power, with three in ten indigenous participants shot from this angle. *Key English* also has the lowest percentage of the four textbook collections of indigenous participants in the position of demand. In contrast, *Crossroads* has no indigenous participants shot from a high angle, and in *New Flight* the distribution of participants shot

from a high angle is close to equal between the two groups. Furthermore, *New Flight* has a high percentage of indigenous participants in the position of participant power, and the highest percentage of all textbooks of indigenous participants in the position of demand. Subsequently, there is a great variance in how the indigenous participants are depicted in relation to the vertical angle between the different textbooks.

This variance in relation to the vertical angle can also be noted between how individual indigenous cultures are represented within one textbook series, resulting in some groups being frequently depicted in a low or high position of power. The Aboriginal, as well as the Inuit and the Native American participants average lowest in the demand category, with roughly one in ten participants in this category (Table 13). The Inuit and the Native American participants also came out in the lowest position of power in the category of horizontal angle (Table 11). When combining the two categories, therefore, these two groups score low on overall power relationships. In contrast, the Sami and Maori participants are positioned in a high position of power in both categories. Examples of this, as discussed in section 4.3.1, are the Native American participants in *New Flight* and *Searching* as well as the Inuit in *Key English*, which have a high percentage of participants in the position of viewer power. In contrast, close to half of the Maori participants in *New Flight* are depicted from a low angle, putting them in the position of power.

5.3.2. Prejudice

Positioning indigenous participants in a lower position of power can lead to the reinforcement of negative stereotypes and prejudice. Not only are they shown to be different from 'us', by definition as well as the stereotypical traditional representation, but 'they' are also in a lower position of power. To exemplify this, the image of the Inuit butchering a whale can be used, taken from *Key English 10* (Figure D - 4, appendix). Firstly, it can be pointed out that the structure, both regarding vertical angle and the gaze, of the image implies an uneven power relationship between the viewer and the participants, in which the viewer holds the position of power. Furthermore, the salience of the image, directing the attention towards the uncovered flesh of the whale, positions the viewer to give attention to this element of the image. Constituting a rather grotesque scene from whale hunting, a subject towards which many people worldwide are opposed, the content of the image is already sensitive. The textbook provides no information in the verbal text on the subject, and as such the image alone contributes to the viewers' perception of the process. Through the structure of the image, the

viewer is positioned to look down at this process from a distance, and is not asked to identify with or relate to any of the participants. As such, the images are not, as Brown (2007) suggests, aiding the pupils to see other cultures as different, but worthy of respect and value. Instead, the viewer is literally looking down at their way of life, which is not only different from 'ours', but also implied to be inferior through the uneven power relationship.

Representing indigenous people in a lower position of power than the white participants is particularly problematic when considering the historical power relationship between these two groups. It was argued in section 2.1.1 that the Western ideas about race, and consequently the dichotomy between white and black, civilized and savage, were established under colonialism and slavery (Hall 1997). Consequently, by positioning indigenous people in a lower position of power, the textbooks may be contributing to the historical ideology in which whites comprise the dominant pole of the binary opposition between 'white' and the 'Other'.

5.3. Identity

In relation to intercultural competence, questions of identity are important. In section 2.2.2 it was argued that one of the important aspects of intercultural competence is the ability to see the Others' perspective (Ministry of Education and Research 2015). Furthermore, seeing another's perspective implies viewing the world from their point of view. It is questionable whether this is possible without a degree of identification. By looking at the results from the qualitative analysis of the gaze, the frame and the horizontal angle, it is possible to see how the images in the current study position the social relationship between the viewer and the participants (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006).

5.3.1. The image act

The results from the analysis of the gaze, which were also briefly discussed in section 5.2.1 in relation to power relationships, show that the indigenous participants are less frequently positioned as demand than the white participants (Table 12). When the participants are depicted as demand, a contact is established between the viewer and the participant (Sturken & Cartwright 2009). In contrast, no such contact is established in the case of participants depicted as offer. The viewers of the images in these textbooks are therefore more frequently

positioned to enter an imaginary relation with participants who are racialized as white, than to those who are represented as indigenous. To some degree, this correlates with the findings of Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), where the Aboriginal participants in an Australian textbook very rarely were depicted in the position of demand. This becomes particularly obvious when viewing the individual indigenous cultures within one textbook collection. As discussed in section 4.3.2, examples can be found in all the textbook collections of indigenous cultures that have exclusively been depicted as offer. Subsequently, the Aboriginal in *Crossroads* and *Searching*, the Maori in *Key English* and the Native American in *New Flight* are all depicted as objects for the pupils' examination, rather than subjects to which a social relationship can be established (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006).

Both in relation to percentages as well as total numbers, by more frequently positioning the viewer to enter a social relationship with participants racialized as white, than to the indigenous participants, the textbooks are in effect increasing the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them'. White people are depicted as people to identify with, to interact with, whereas indigenous people are represented as offers for the viewers to study. As discussed in section 2.1.2, white people have been viewed as the norm to which other groups have been compared (Dyer 1997). Subsequently, the textbooks may contribute to an ideology that sees the Other as raced, cultured, whereas white participants are neutral.

The image of a white woman and an Aboriginal man in the entrance to a cave can be used as an example where this relationship becomes particularly obvious (Figure D - 6, appendix). In this image, an analysis of the gaze shows that the viewer is asked to engage in a relationship with the white participant, whereas the indigenous participant is represented in the position of offer. This is also reflected in the horizontal angle of the two participants. Whereas the white participants have been depicted from a more frontal angle and subsequently as part of the viewer's world, the Aboriginal participant is depicted from an oblique angle, communicating to the viewer that he is not a part of 'us', but 'them' (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). The structure of the image therefore clearly communicates to the viewer that while the white woman is someone to which they should engage and empathize with, this is not the case for the Aboriginal man, whom the viewer should gaze at in detachment. Furthermore, as discussed in section 4.4.4, the woman is very salient in the image, due to the colour contrasting. As such, this image positions the viewer to be more involved with the white participant, and to see the white woman as someone with which to engage in a relation with. While the woman stands out from the natural environment they are in, there is a distinct contrast between the Aboriginal and the dark cave-wall behind him, making him appear as a

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part of the surroundings. Subsequently, the image potentially contributes to an ideology in which 'we', understood as the participant the viewer is asked to identify with, are people, and 'they' are backdrops. The dichotomy between 'us' as the white, and 'them' as the Aboriginal is further compounded by the fact that the story is told from Tracey's point of view.

5.3.2. Social distance and involvement

So far, the discussion of identity has mainly been based on the category of the gaze. However, other aspects of image structure are also of interest in this context. The degree of intimacy between the viewer and the participants has, in this study, been measured by the choice of frame. Furthermore, the level of viewer engagement or detachment has been measured by the horizontal angle. In relation to the category of the frame, the results of the study show that the white participants are more frequently depicted in an intimate frame, and less frequently in an impersonal frame (Table 14). Consequently, the viewer is more frequently asked to observe the indigenous participants from a distance, and is therefore not asked to enter a personal relationship with the participant. This is particularly frequent in *Key English*, where as many as half of the indigenous participants are shot from an impersonal frame. As suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), a wide frame implies an impersonal relationship between the participant and the viewer. Half the indigenous participants in *Key English* are therefore positioned as strangers, as people who the viewer would not become acquainted with.

The results from the analysis of the horizontal angle are a bit more optimistic in relation to the level of identification between the viewers and people from indigenous cultures. Although the overall numbers show that the indigenous participants to a slightly lower degree are represented from a frontal angle (Table 16) than the white participants, the opposite is the case in three of the four textbook collections. This may have a connection to the level of active versus passive participants, which was discussed in relation to Figure D - 1 (appendix). It might be that the indigenous participants frequently are depicted from a frontal angle due to the nature of the posed photograph. However, no conclusions can be drawn on this point based on the current study, and further research in to this area would be required.

Furthermore, as discussed in section 4.3.4, unlike the other three textbook collections, a very low percentage of the indigenous participants in *Crossroads* are depicted from a frontal angle. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) contend that when participants are shot from a frontal angle, the structure positions the viewer to become more involved with the participant. Subsequently, involvement is decreased when the angle is oblique. In *Crossroads*, therefore,

the viewers are positioned for involvement with indigenous participants in just over thirty per cent of the cases, whereas involvement is encouraged with almost sixty per cent of the white participants.

In addition to not directly interacting with the viewer, the indigenous participant is frequently positioned by the frame a long distance away from the viewer and in some cases also from an oblique angle of detachment. This is evident for the Native American participants, which represent the group with the lowest percentage of participants in a close frame (Table 15), as well as being one of the groups with the lowest percentage of participants in the position of demand (Table 13). The Native American is also the only indigenous group to be represented from the frontal angle of involvement in less than half the cases (Table 17). Furthermore, as pointed out in section 4.3.3, the Native American participants are more frequently shot in an impersonal frame than in a social frame in *Crossraods*, *Key English* and *New Flight*, and never in an intimate frame in the latter. Correlating this with the results from the gaze, the Native American participants in *New Flight* are exclusively presented as objects to be examined by the viewer from a social or impersonal distance. The combined consequence of this is that the textbooks, and *New Flight* in particular, position the viewer to observe Native Americans from a distance, as a culture which they can look at, but not interact with. In this way, the Native American culture is marked as Other and is therefore subject to otherizing.

5.3.3. Content and identity

It is also important to discuss the question of identity in relation to the content of the images. As discussed in section 2.4, Lund (2006) suggests that textbooks should provide more examples of 'real' people, in ways that increase the emotional involvement of the pupils. The qualitative analysis of Figure D - 1 (appendix), showed that the majority of the participants in this photomontage were adults. In the image depicting teenagers, these are posing in traditional outfits. Consequently, the images that position the viewer to identify or create a social relationship with indigenous participants do not necessarily correlate with situations that are identifiable to the intended reader.

As argued in section 2.3.4, the nature of the contact that is established between the viewer and the participant by the demand gaze depends on other factors in the image, such as facial expressions (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). An example of this can be illustrated through the image of Chief Joseph in *Searching 9* (Figure 7). The participant in this image is, in addition

to being depicted in a close frame, also looking directly at the viewer from a frontal angle. As such, based on the theory provided by Kress and van Leeuwen, the structure of the image positions the viewer in close proximity to the participant, while at the same time encouraging engagement as well as the establishment of a contact to the participant. However, while wearing a war bonnet and looking at the viewer with a stern facial expression, the participant is not likely to invite a strong personal connection or a high level of identification from the viewer. Although the task accompanying Chief Joseph's speech encourages the viewer to see the situation through his point of view, which has been pointed out as important in relation to intercultural competence, the image does not invite the viewer to do so. Furthermore, the placement of the image within the chapter "The Wild West" may contribute to a reinforcement of the myth of the 'wild west', where from the white settlers' view the Native Americans were an uncivilized, warlike people. The image, depicting Chief Joseph, subsequently contributes to this myth.

In other cases, images of people who the intended viewers might be likely to identify with do not make use of this opportunity. To illustrate this, an example from *Searching* can be used (Figure D - 5, appendix). There is not necessarily anything stereotypical about the denotative meaning of this image, which can be said to be a Native American storytelling situation. In relation to stereotypes, the image can in fact be said to challenge the stereotype of Native Americans, through representing them in a situation that the intended viewers can relate to, at the same time as it depicts elements of the Native American culture. It was discussed in section 4.4.4 the situation, resembling a school-like situation, is likely to appear identifiable to the intended viewers. As such, it has the potential to constitute a common ground between the culture of the pupils, and that of the Native American children. However, at the denotative level, which goes beyond mere decoding and enters a wider discourse (Hall 1997), the potential meanings of the image are more complex. Firstly, the adult, rather than the pupils, is represented as the most salient person in the image. As such, the children, to whom the intended viewers are most likely to identify with based on the commonality of age, are not in focus. Secondly, the viewer is positioned at an impersonal distance, located outside of the circle. Subsequently, the viewer is not a part of 'them', but is positioned as an observer, literally looking down at the participants, who are all classified as offer. The structure of the image does not encourage identification and social relation, but detached observation.

6. Conclusions

In the following, the conclusions from the study will be presented. Firstly, the main findings will be summarized, and an attempt will be made to answer the three research questions. Following this, some suggestions will be made in relation to the implications these results have for teachers, as well as textbook producers. Then a summary of the limitations of the current study will be provided, before the thesis will be concluded with various suggestions for further research.

6.1. Main findings

As presented in the introduction, the main aim of the study was to investigate how the images in EFL textbooks for lower secondary schools in Norway position the viewer in relation to indigenous people. The research questions were divided into a main research question and two sub-questions, the last of which were incorporated in order to work towards an answer to the first. In the following, therefore, the two sub-questions will be addressed first, before concluding with the main research question.

Research question 1(a) addresses the topic of stereotyping, and asks: "To what extent do the images that are presented as depicting indigenous cultures reinforce cultural stereotyping?" The visual content analysis, which was conducted in order to provide answers to this question, showed that there is a strong trend in all the textbooks to focus on the traditional costumes and settings in the visual representations of indigenous people. This was particularly prominent in *New Flight*. However, most of the textbook collections in the study depicted at least one indigenous group that was exclusively, or almost exclusively, depicted wearing traditional clothing. Consequently, there is a trend in the EFL textbooks used in the current study to depict indigenous cultures as one-sided, and thus stereotypical, as they are reducing otherwise complicated cultures to a few, simple characteristics (Hall 1997). Based on the results from the study, therefore, the answer to research question 1(a) is that the images that are presented as representing indigenous cultures in the EFL textbooks to a large extent enforce cultural stereotyping. However, there are individual differences between the different textbook collections, as well as between the different cultural groups.

In the second sub-question, the focus shifts from stereotyping to the question of otherness and asks 1(b): "Comparatively, how do the images position the viewer in relation to

indigenous and white participants respectively on the subjects of power and identity?" In order to answer this, a content analysis was conducted on two corpora, containing white and indigenous participants respectively. In this part of the study, techniques from semiotic image analysis were applied in order to address how the images position the viewer in relation to the participants from the two corpora respectively. How the images position the viewer on the subject of power relationships was addressed through an analysis of the vertical angle as well as the gaze. The results from the analysis showed that the indigenous participants were overall positioned in a lower position of power than the white participants. However, there are great variances between the different textbook collections, with the images in *Key English* most frequently positioning the indigenous participants in a lower position of power.

The positioning of the viewer in relation to identity was in this study addressed through an analysis of the gaze, the frame and the horizontal angle. These categories were applied to cover the areas of contact, social distance and level of involvement respectively. The results from the analysis of the gaze show that the white participants are more frequently positioned so that they look directly at the viewer than the indigenous participants. Based on the theoretical framework by Kress and van Leeuwen, therefore, it can be concluded that the viewers are more frequently positioned to enter a relationship, and empathize, with the white participants than they are with the indigenous participants. Furthermore, the analysis of the frame shows that the indigenous participants are more frequently positioned in a wide, impersonal, frame, and less frequently in a close, intimate frame than the white participants. Subsequently, the images in the textbooks position the viewer in a closer social distance with the white participants, than they do with the indigenous participants. Finally, the results from the analysis of the horizontal angle showed small differences between the two corpora. Based on these four categories it can therefore be concluded that, overall, the images in the four textbook collections position the viewer to enter a closer social relationship with the white participants, than with the indigenous participants. Furthermore, the indigenous participants are overall depicted in a lower position of power than the white participants.

Based on the conclusions on the two sub-questions presented above, it is possible to make an attempt towards answering the main research question: "To what extent do the images of indigenous people in EFL textbooks for lower secondary schools contribute to or contradict the general cultural aims of English language learning in the Norwegian LK06 curriculum?" Throughout this thesis it has been argued that in order to increase greater interaction, understanding and respect between people with differing cultural backgrounds, as stated in the general aims of EFL education in Norway in the *LK06* curriculum, it is important

to encourage the attainment of intercultural competence. Furthermore, it has been argued that the values and attitudes held towards other cultures are an essential part of this. As pointed out in section 2.1.2, indigenous peoples are by definition significantly different from the majority culture of the country they inhabit. Consequently, the representations of these cultures carry the additional risk of enforcing stereotypes and a sense of otherness. However, as maintained in the discussion, the images in the textbooks analysed are not working effectively to show diversity or to bring down boundaries between 'us' and 'them', but are instead reinforcing these. Subsequently, there is not only a lost potential of increasing intercultural competence, but the images representing indigenous cultures in the textbooks are actively working against this. The answer to the main research question is therefore that the images in the four EFL textbooks analysed in the current study to a large degree are potential carriers of myths and ideologies which directly contradict the general cultural aims of English language learning in Norway.

6.2. Implications

There are several implications that arise from these findings, both in relation to teaching practices in schools, as well as for textbook producers. It has been argued that images can be carriers of myths and ideologies, and that the school is an arena in which ideologies can most powerfully be instilled. The results from the current study show that the images in the four EFL textbooks to various degrees carry ideologies that contradict the general cultural aims of EFL education in Norway. It is therefore important that teachers are aware of the danger of visual stereotyping in relation to indigenous people, and consequently provide the pupils with many other images in addition to those that are found in the textbooks when these are fragmentary and lacking in diversity. As argued previously, images are not read in isolation, and the schools and teachers therefore have the opportunity to influence the way these images are interpreted. In addition, therefore, discussions could be had with the pupils about the images, focusing on the way in which the images position them to view indigenous cultures. Through critically reading the visual representations, the ideologies and myths can be brought in to the open where they are less persuasive. Through this process, the pupils are enabled to take an active stance on whether they accept the positioning which is offered or not (Janks et al. 2014).

It has been argued that images are not neutral reproductions of reality, but that the

choices made by producers of images, whether conscious or subconscious, carry ideologies. In relation to textbook producers, certain implications can therefore be extracted from the results of this study. Textbook producers have a choice when presenting images of people from different cultures. As argued by Janks et al. (2014), representational systems can both contribute to or challenge the ideologies and myths of a society. Subsequently, textbooks have the potential to show images of indigenous people which emphasize cultural diversity, rather than stereotypes, images which bring down dichotomies between 'us' and 'them', rather than enforcing them. Thus, the results from the study imply that the images that were analysed not only contradict the general cultural aims, but that they represent a lost potential in relation to challenging naturalised myths and stereotypes.

6.3. Limitations and recommendations for further research

The current study has applied a theoretical approach to the potential meanings of images. However, as argued in chapter 3, such an approach can only say something about the potential meanings of an image. The actual meanings taken from the images by the viewers depend on a variety of factors, including among other things their personal background and the context. It can therefore be recommended that further research could focus more on the actual meanings taken from the pupils. More research is also needed on how textbook images are currently used in the classroom, and on how teachers should be trained in order to address these issues in the classroom.

In addition, applying semiotic structures in content analysis runs the danger of being simplistic, as the full meaning of the structures has to be seen in relation to the other aspects of an image, such as the content and the context. This was addressed to some degree in the current study through the use of quantitative examples. In addition, the large differences between the white and indigenous participants in relation to the categories used in the analysis means that the results still provide a good indicator of how these are represented. Finally, it is clear that the results from the study cannot be generalized, and only addresses the four textbooks that were included in the study.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Analysis guide

Setting and clothing

Figure A - 1

Traditional setting and clothing.

New Flight 2, 2007: 15

**Figure A - 2**

Modern setting and clothing.

Crossroads 9, 2007: 219
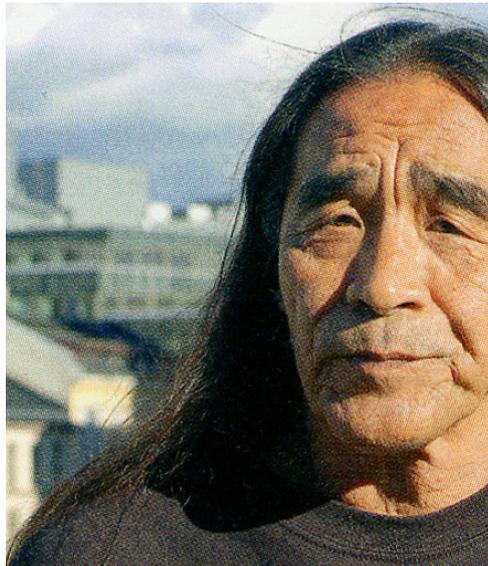
Figure A - 3

Neutral setting.

Key English 8, 2006:72
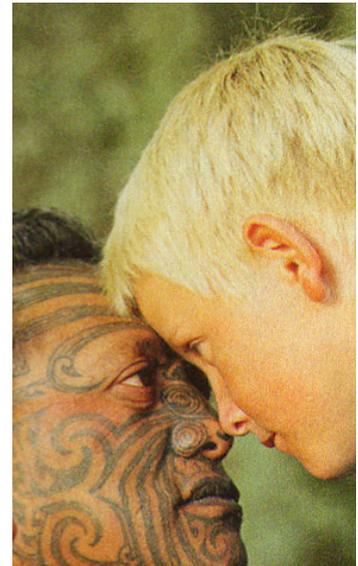
Participants

Figure A - 4

Participant count, example.

Key English 10, 2008: 144

Figure A - 5

Participant count, example.

Key English 10, 2008: 144

Vertical angle

Figure A - 6

High angle, viewer power

New Flight 2, 2007: 81
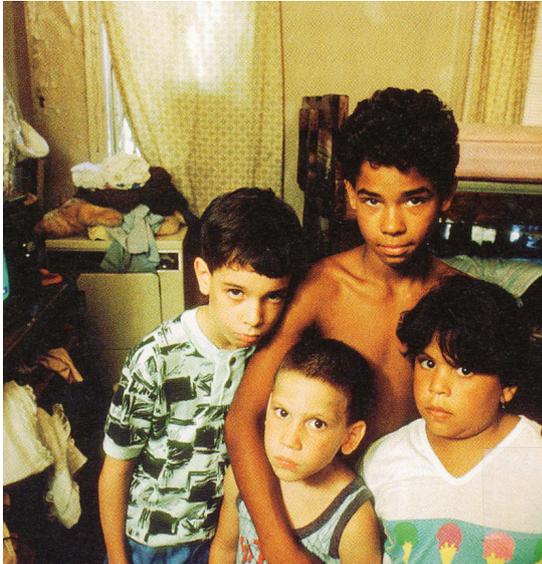
Figure A - 7

Eye-level angle, equality

New Flight 2, 2007: 8

Figure A - 8

Low angle, participant power

New Flight 2, 2007: 81

The gaze

Figure A - 9

Eye-contact, demand

Crossroads 9, 2007: 51
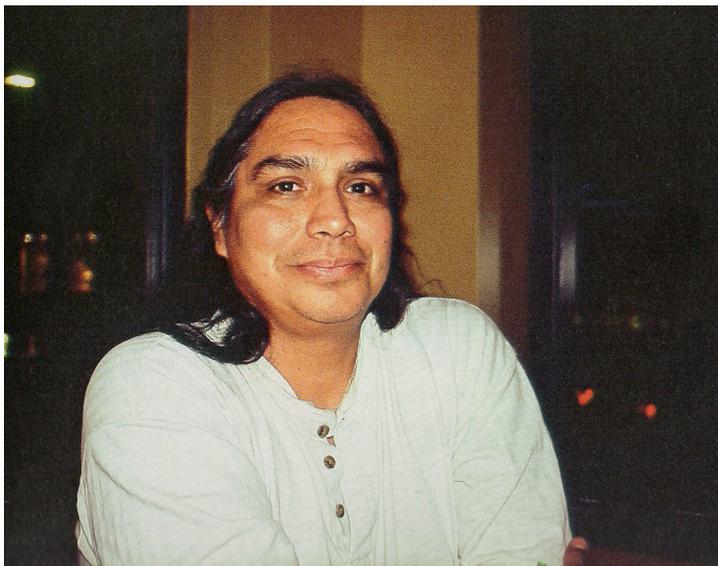
Figure A - 10

No eye-contact, offer

Key English 10, 2008: 144

Frame

Figure A - 11

Close frame, intimate

Searching 9, 2008: 90

Figure A - 12

Medium frame, social

Searching 9, 2008: 90

Figure A - 13

Wide frame, impersonal

Key English 10, 2008: 150
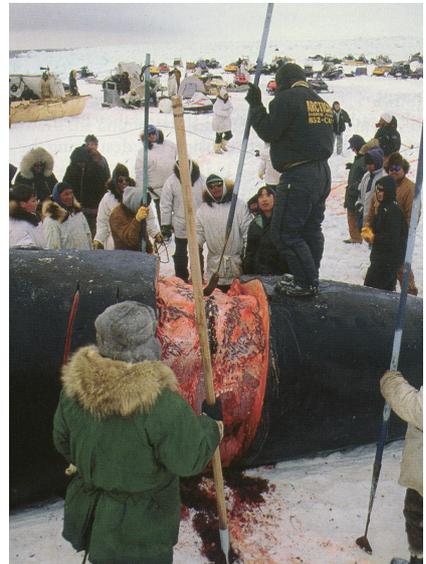
Horizontal angle

Figure A - 14

Frontal angle, involvement

Key English 10, 2008: 143
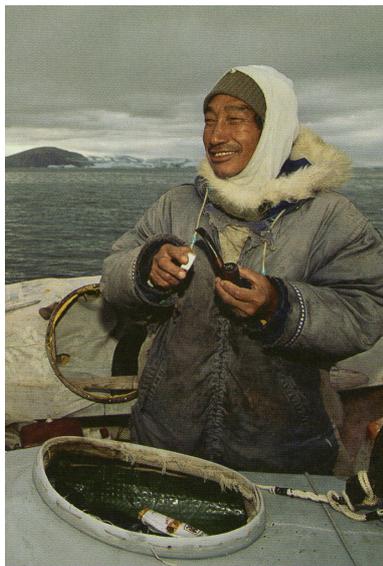
Figure A - 15

Oblique angle, detachment

Crossroads 10, 2008: 65

Figure A - 16

Back angle, detachment

Searching 10, 2008: 211

Appendix B: Results from intra-coder reliability test

P.	The gaze Demand		Offer		Vertical angle High		Eye-level		Low	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
1			1	1			1	1		
2	1	1					1	1		
3	1	1					1	1		
4			1	1			1	1		
5			1	1			1	1		
6	1	1					1	1		
7	1	1					1	1		
8		1	1				1	1		
9			1	1			1	1		
10	1	1					1	1		
11	1	1					1	1		
12	1	1					1	1		
13	1	1					1	1		
14	1	1					1	1		
15			1	1			1	1		
16			1	1			1	1		
17			1	1			1	1		
18			1	1			1	1		
19			1	1			1	1		
20			1	1			1	1		
21			1	1			1	1		
22			1	1			1	1		
23			1	1			1	1		
24	1	1					1	1		
25			1	1			1	1		
26	1	1					1	1		
27			1	1			1	1		
28			1	1			1	1		
29		1	1						1	1
30			1	1					1	1
31			1	1			1	1		
32			1	1					1	1
33			1	1			1	1		
34			1	1			1	1		
35			1	1			1	1		
36	1	1					1	1		
37	1	1					1	1		
38			1	1			1	1		
39			1	1			1	1		

P.												
40			1	1					1	1		
41			1	1					1	1		
42	1	1							1	1		
43			1	1					1	1		
44			1	1					1	1		
45	1	1							1	1		
46	1	1							1	1		
47			1	1					1	1		
48			1	1					1	1		
49			1	1					1	1		
50			1	1					1	1		

	Frame						Horizontal angle					
P.	Close		Medium		Long		Frontal		Oblique		Back	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
1					1	1			1	1		
2	1	1					1	1				
3	1	1					1	1				
4	1	1					1	1				
5	1	1					1	1				
6	1	1					1	1				
7	1	1					1	1				
8	1	1							1	1		
9	1	1					1	1				
10	1	1					1	1				
11			1	1			1	1				
12	1	1					1	1				
13	1	1					1	1				
14	1	1					1	1				
15			1	1					1	1		
16			1	1					1	1		
17	1	1							1	1		
18			1	1			1	1				
19			1	1			1	1				
20			1	1			1	1				
21			1	1			1	1				
22			1	1			1	1				
23	1	1					1	1				
24	1	1					1	1				
25			1	1					1	1		
26	1	1					1	1				
27	1	1					1	1				
28					1	1					1	1
29			1	1					1	1		

30			1	1			1	1				
31			1	1			1	1				
32			1	1					1	1		
33			1	1							1	1
34			1	1							1	1
35			1	1			1	1				
36			1	1			1	1				
37			1	1			1	1				
38			1	1			1	1				
39			1	1			1	1				
40			1	1					1	1		
41			1	1					1	1		
42	1	1							1	1		
43			1	1			1	1				
44			1	1			1	1				
45			1	1			1	1				
46			1	1			1	1				
47			1	1			1	1				
48			1	1			1	1				
49			1	1			1	1				
50			1	1			1	1				

Appendix C: Additional data

Categorization of setting in the individual textbook collections

Figure C - 1

Categorization of setting in numbers, *Crossroads*
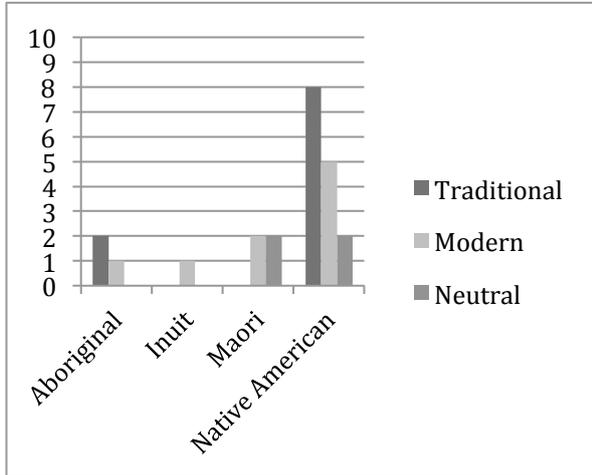
Figure C - 2

Categorization of setting in numbers, *Key English*
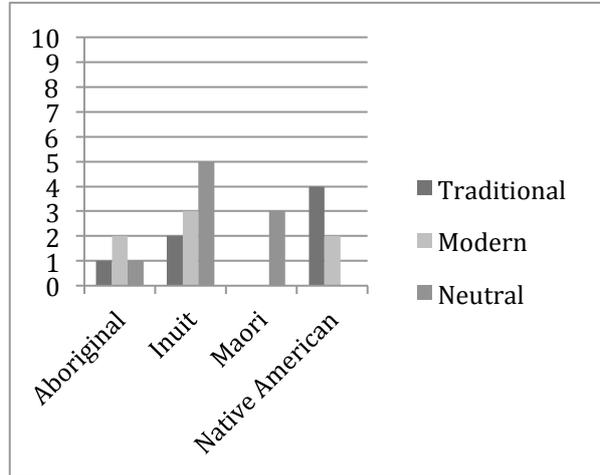
Figure C - 3

Categorization of setting in numbers, *New Flight*
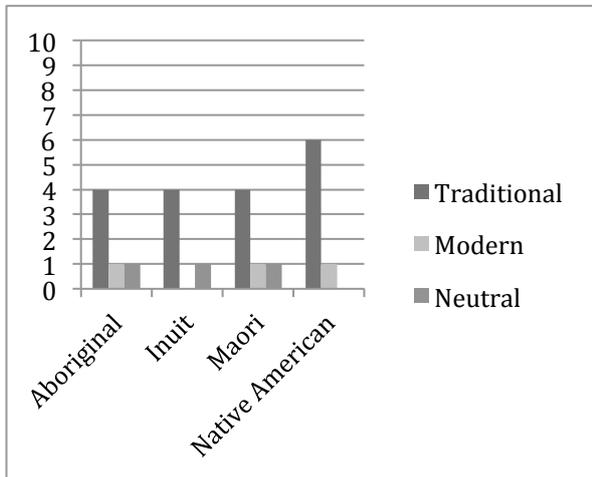
Figure C - 4

Categorization of setting in numbers, *Searching*
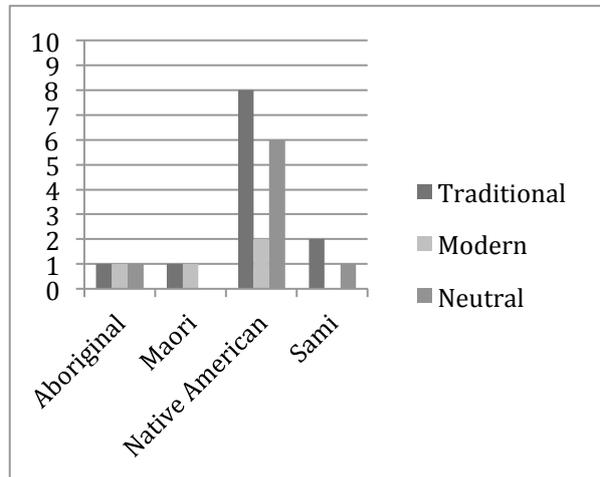
Categorization of clothing in the individual textbook collections

Figure C - 5

Categorization of clothing in numbers, *Crossroads*

Figure C - 6

Categorization of clothing in numbers, *Key English*
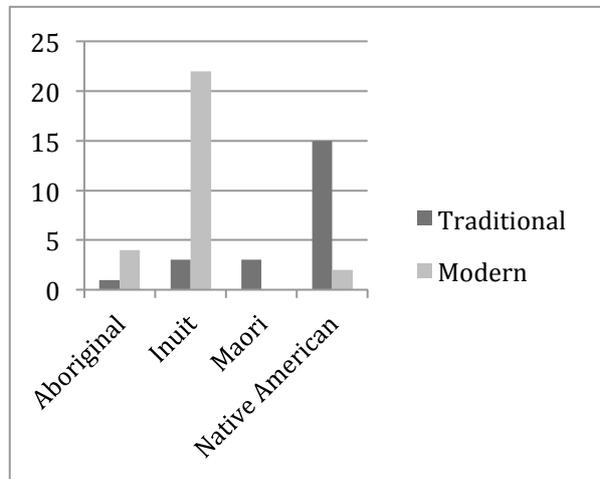
Figure C - 7

Categorization of clothing in numbers, *New Flight*
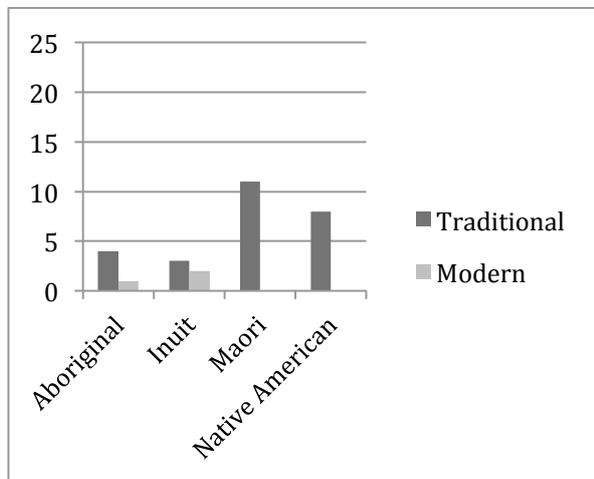
Figure C - 8

Categorization of clothing in numbers, *Searching*

Categorization of power relationships, as defined by the vertical angle, in the individual textbook collections

Figure C - 9

Categorization of power relationships in percentages, *Crossroads*
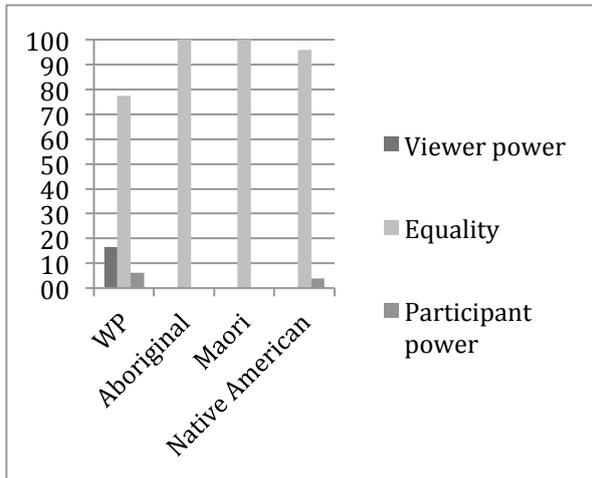
Figure C - 10

Categorization of power relationships in percentages, *Key English*
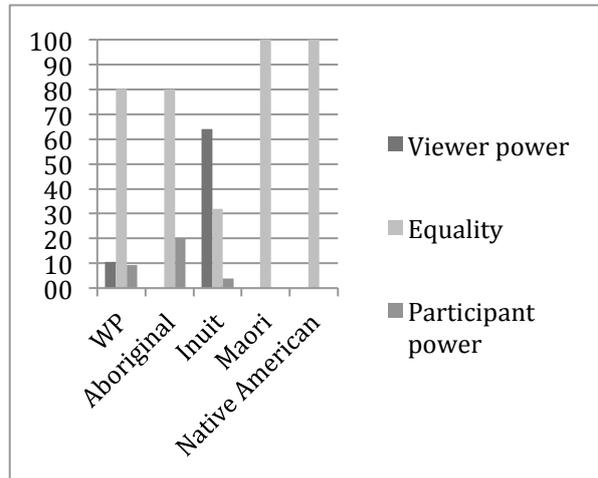
Figure C - 11

Categorization of power relationships in percentages, *New Flight*
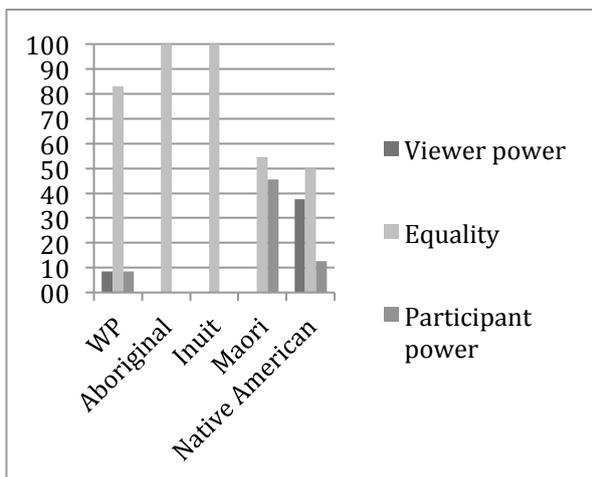
Figure C - 12

Categorization of power relationships in percentages, *Searching*
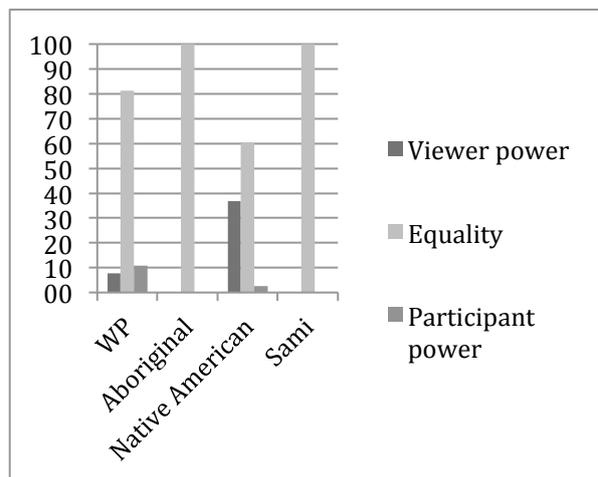
Categorization of the gaze, as defined by eye-contact, in the individual textbook collections

Figure C - 13

Categorization of the gaze in percentages, *Crossroads*
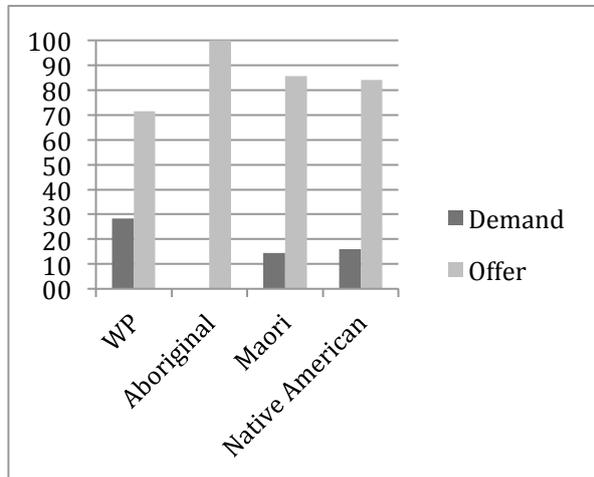
Figure C - 14

Categorization of the gaze in percentages, *Key English*
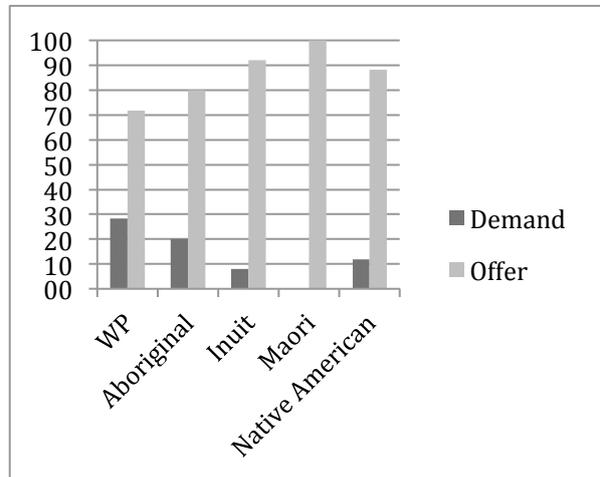
Figure C - 15

Categorization of the gaze in percentages, *New Flight*
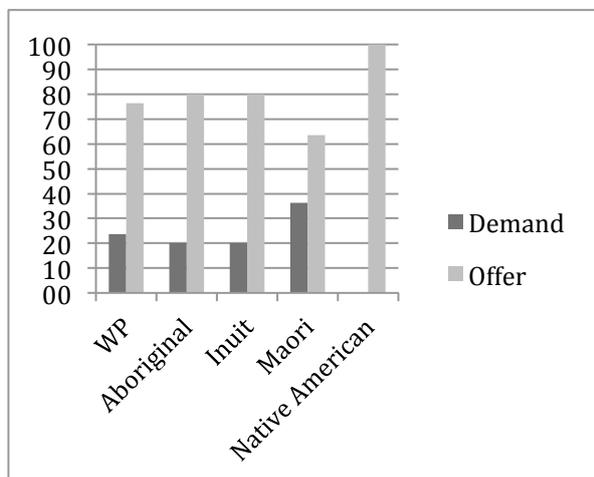
Figure C - 16

Categorization of the gaze in percentages, *Searching*
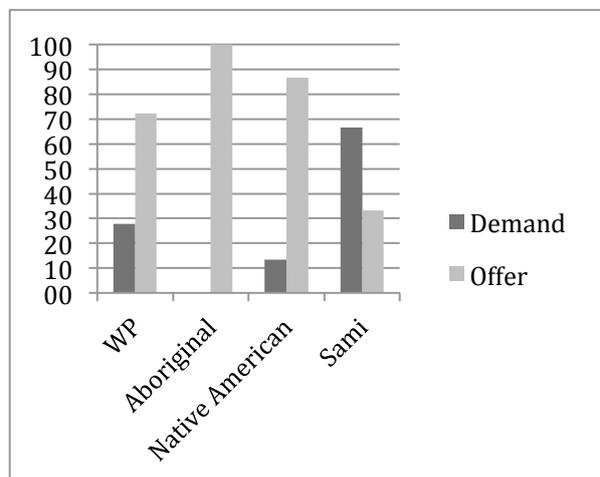
Categorization of social distance, as defined by the frame, in the individual textbook collections

Figure C - 17

Categorization of social distance in percentages, *Crossroads*
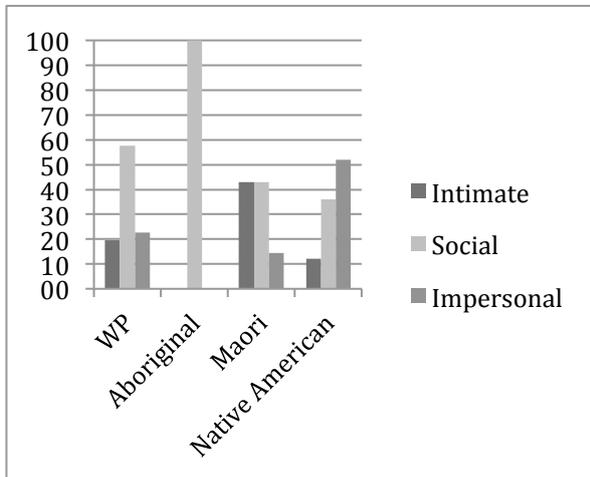
Figure C - 18

Categorization of social distance in percentages, *Key English*
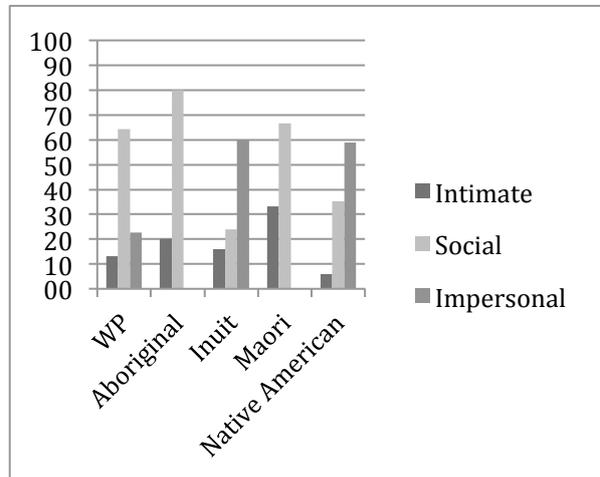
Figure C - 19

Categorization of social distance in percentages, *New Flight*
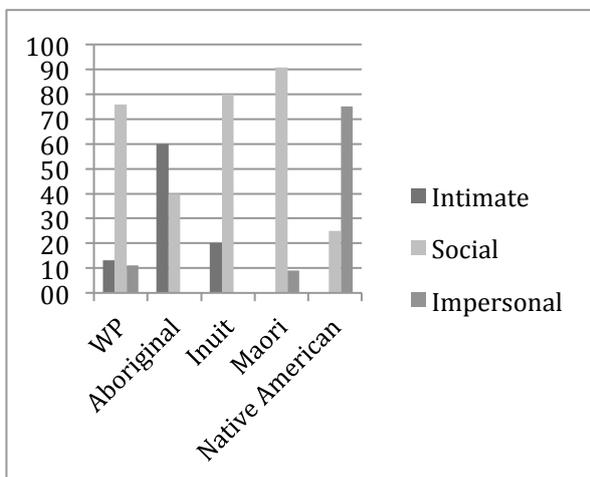
Figure C - 20

Categorization of social distance in percentages, *Searching*
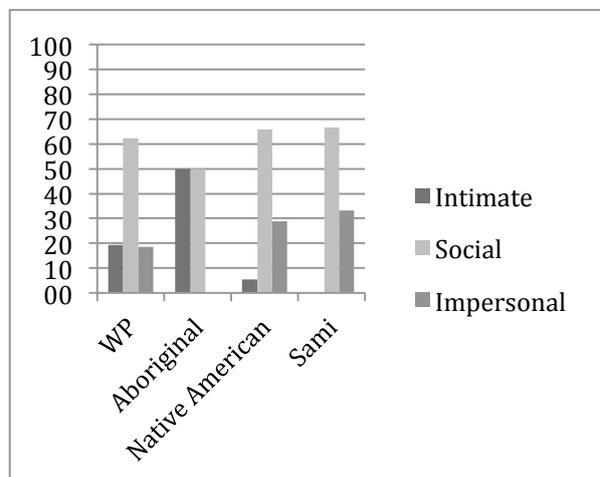
Categorization of involvement, as defined by the horizontal angle, in the individual textbook collections

Figure C - 21

Categorization of involvement in percentages, *Crossroads*
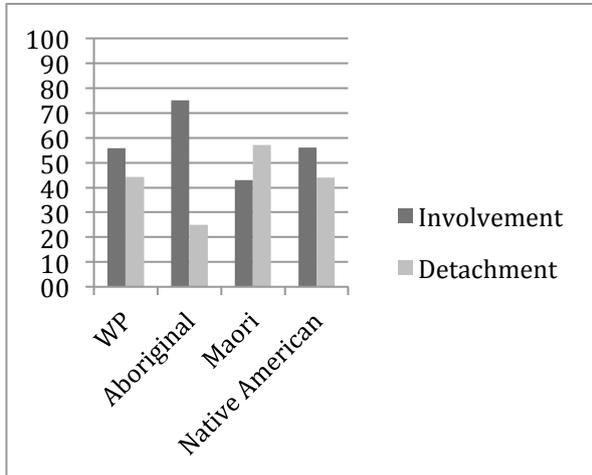
Figure C - 22

Categorization of involvement in percentages, *Key English*
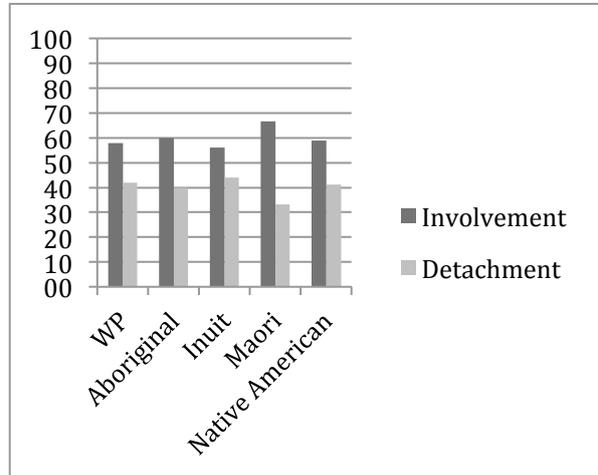
Figure C - 23

Categorization of involvement in percentages, *New Flight*
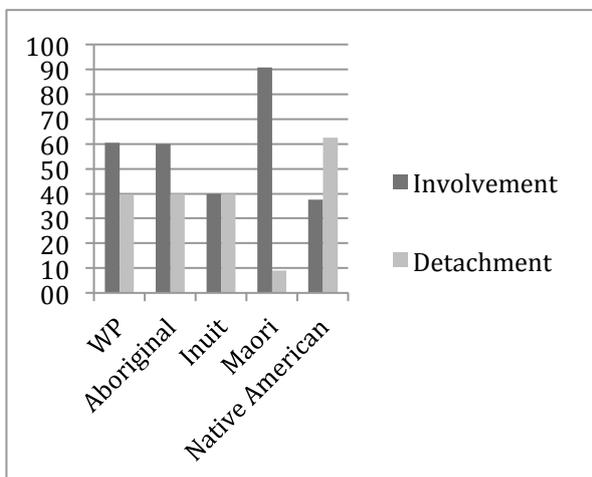
Figure C - 24

Categorization of involvement in percentages, *Searching*
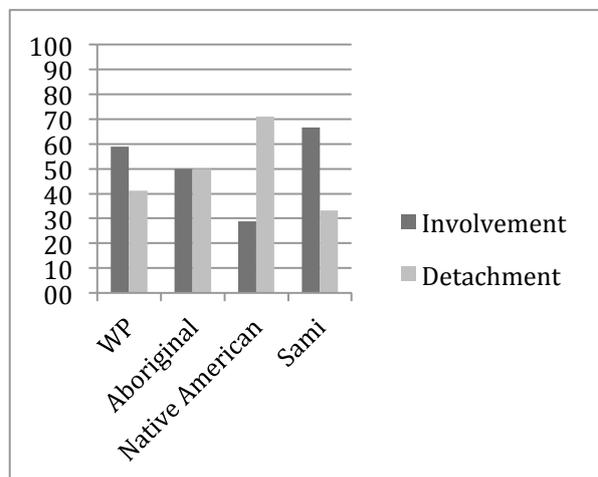
Appendix D: Images

Figure D - 1

New Flight 2, 2007: 28-29

The Inuit are a people who live near the Arctic, from the North of Russia to Alaska, northern Canada and parts of Greenland.

The natives of Australia came from south-east Asia more than 60,000 years ago. They are called Aboriginals, which means "from the beginning".
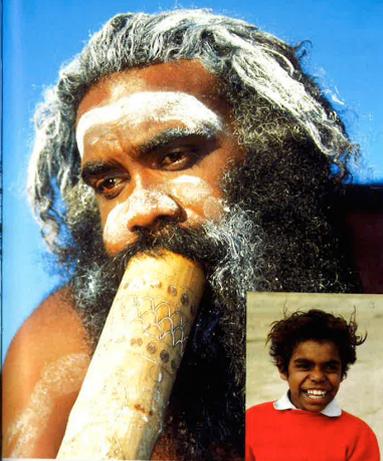
The New Zealand Maoris are Polynesian people that settled on the islands around 1000 A.D.

The Native American people probably came from Asia some 35,000 years ago. They settled all over the American continent and formed different tribes.

LET'S TALK!

What do you know about these native peoples?

28   Chapter 2

Figure D - 2

New Flight 2, 2007: 8-9

Welcome back to a new term at school! Now that you are here, think of it this way: if it hadn't been for school, you wouldn't have had those lovely afternoons, weekends and holidays to look forward to! Take a look at these pictures. What is your idea of a perfect afternoon and evening, or a successful weekend?
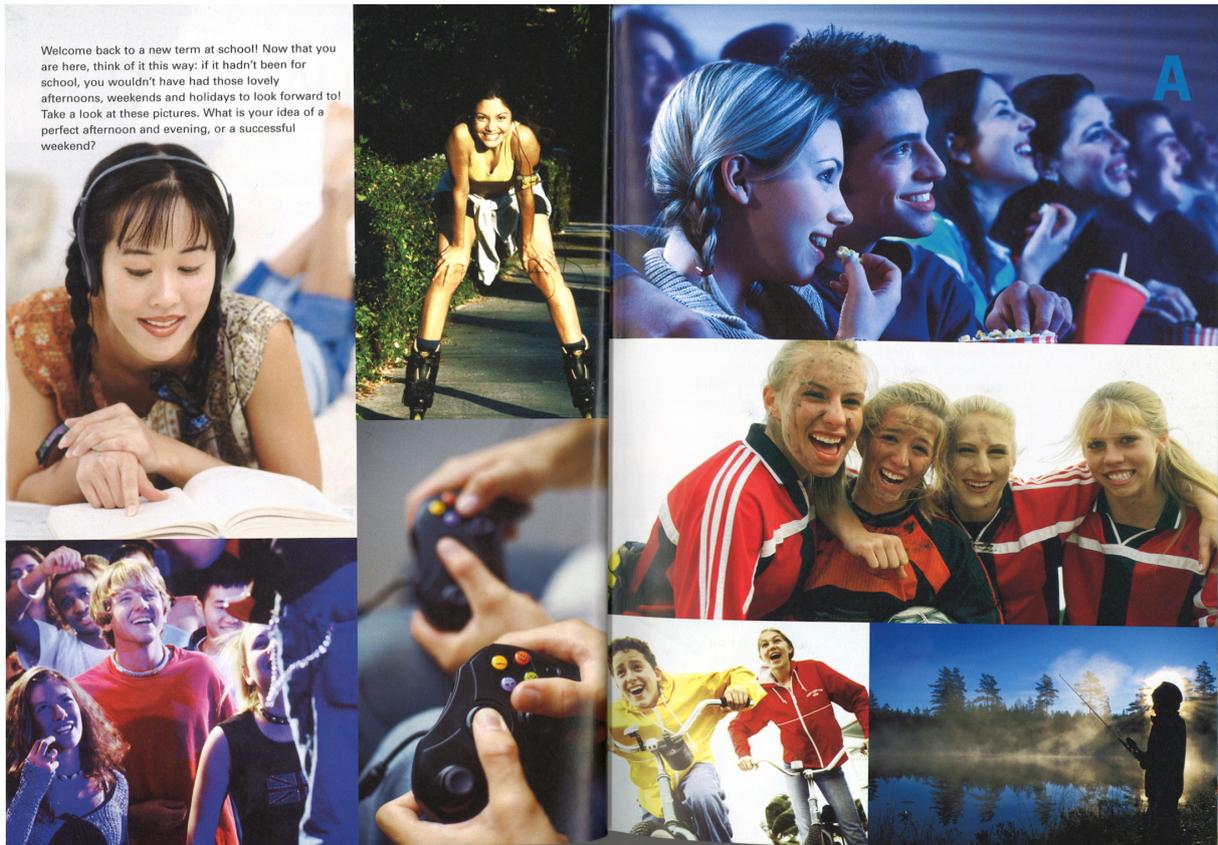
Figure D - 3

*New Flight 1*, 2006: 154
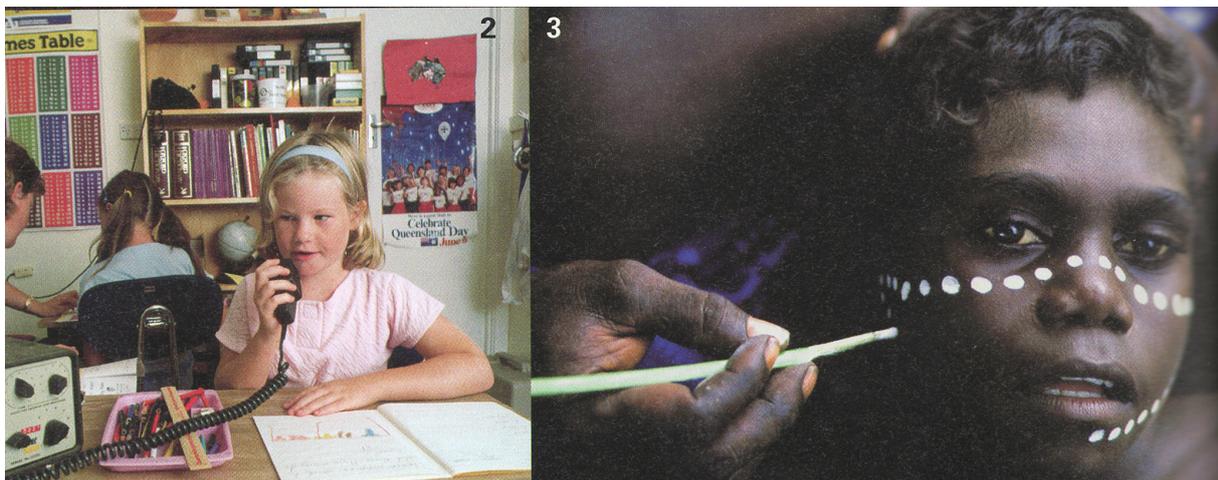
Figure D - 4

Key English 10, 2008: 150

Figure D - 5

Searching 9, 2008: 95

Figure D - 6

New Flight 2, 2007: 39