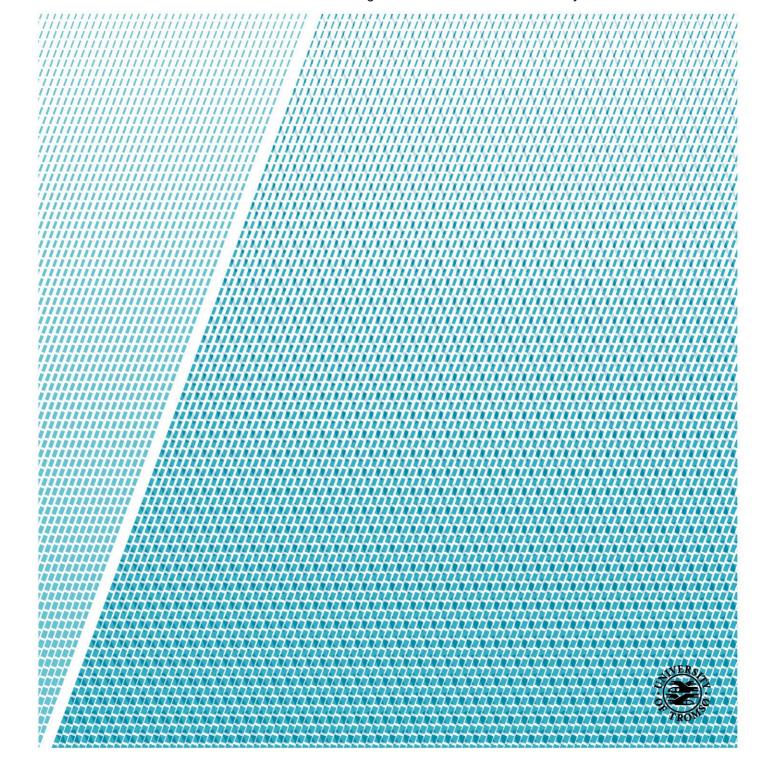# What is a Native American, an Aborigine and a Maori?

A comparative analysis of three English subject textbooks for Norwegian upper-secondary schools

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Sara Christine Eira

ENG-3981 Master's Thesis in English Literature and Education   May 2018

Acknowledgements

My Sami background has inspired me to write this paper, as I have experienced that the Sami people often are represented in an erroneous and dated manner in textbooks and in general. Therefore, my interest was to investigate whether this representational manner applies to indigenous people in English-speaking countries as well.

This master's thesis is a result of a long-term process, which has been exciting, educational and challenging. Exciting because it gave me the opportunity to immerse myself in a topic that I find important. Educational because I have gained insight and knowledge about a topic that I am passionate about. Challenging because it required a great deal of time and effort, especially in the writing process.

In this regard, I would like to thank all of you who have supported, encouraged and advised me. My greatest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Ruben Moi, for his commitment to helping me from start to finish in this process. From the very beginning, Ruben has inspired me to elucidate the topic in new and creative ways and guided me through this process always in a positive and enthusiastic manner. Your support has been greatly appreciated.

Sara Christine Eira   Tromsø, May 2018

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the visual and textual representation of indigenous cultures in three English subject textbooks for Norwegian upper-secondary schools. The current study focuses on theories of dynamic cultural understanding, descriptive cultural understanding and structural binarism. The aim is to examine how English subject textbooks affect the development of upper-secondary pupils' understanding of indigenous populations represented in the textbooks through images and texts by and about indigenous cultures.

The main method in the study is textbook analysis, which requires a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches, where the qualitative approach is applied to give an extra dimension to the qualitative approach. The main methodological approach in the study is the hermeneutical analysis, also known as the descriptive analytical method, which is a qualitative approach allowing for an in-depth study of the content of texts and images in the textbooks. The quantitative content analysis was applied to examine the range of texts and images resigned to indigenous cultures in the different textbooks. The qualitative content analysis was applied to formulate analytical points directed at the texts and images of the different textbooks.

The results from the study revealed that all three textbooks have a tendency to compare indigenous cultures to the majority of the population or other ethnic groups in the different countries. Additionally, the textbooks tend to focus on the negative side of the history and the traditional and conventional characteristics of the indigenous cultures. The results also revealed that the textbooks tend to focus to a large extent on oppositions and distinctiveness of indigenous cultures. Thus, the visual and textual representation of indigenous people in the three English subject textbooks for Norwegian upper-secondary schools do not promote to a sufficient degree the desired cultural understanding and intercultural competence and therefore contradict with the cultural aims in the English subject curriculum, national curriculum and other official documents.

Keywords: indigenous, visual, textual, representation, dynamic, descriptive, oppositions

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1 Introduction

The aim of the following study is to examine how English textbooks affect the development of upper-secondary pupils' understanding of indigenous populations represented in Norwegian upper-secondary textbooks through images and texts by and about indigenous cultures. Waagene and Gjerustand (2015) demonstrate that the textbook is the most widely used learning tool in the Norwegian school system, which is why I have chosen to focus on this particular learning tool in the current thesis. By investigating relevant theories, English subject textbooks for upper-secondary schools, English subject curriculum, the Norwegian Knowledge Promotional Reform (LK06) and other official school documents, this thesis attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. To what extent does the visual and textual representation of indigenous populations in English subject textbooks for Norwegian upper-secondary schools contribute to or contradict with the cultural competence aims of English education in the Norwegian Knowledge Promotional Reform?
   a. Does the representation of indigenous cultures promote a dynamic or a descriptive cultural understanding?
   b. How are indigenous people represented and what consequences do these representations have for the cultural understanding and the intercultural competence?

The topic of indigenous cultures is of current interest because of the concern that indigenous populations are properly represented in English subject textbooks in Norwegian upper-secondary schools. Research conducted on indigenous cultures in English textbooks by Brown and Habegger-Conti (2016) revealed that the textbooks contradict with the general cultural aims of English teaching in the Norwegian LK06 curriculum. The current study will focus on textbooks for upper-secondary schools, as Brown and Habegger-Conti's (2016) study was conducted on textbooks written for lower-secondary schools in Norway. Thus, this study expands the research on the representation of indigenous cultures in Norwegian schools.

This thesis discusses relevant theories, the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), the Education Act, the *core curriculum* and the *Quality Framework* in the Norwegian

Knowledge Promotional Reform (LK06) to investigate how the concepts of culture and indigeneity are understood and treated in the documents. A discussion about the English subject curriculum for programmes for general education (Vg1) and vocational education and training (Vg1/Vg2) is highly necessary as well, which has been the same for both programmes since the year 2006. The focus here will be on the competence aims in the main part "Culture, society and literature" with a focus on the following competence aim:

1. Discuss and elaborate on texts by and about indigenous peoples in English-speaking countries

(Ministry of Education and Research, 2013, p. 11)

In fact, this is the only competence aim focusing particularly on indigenous populations in the English subject curriculum for general and vocational education programmes.

Due to limited time and resources, it is necessary is to narrow down the focus in the current study to a reduced number of indigenous cultures and learning tools under investigation. Textbooks are often published as a part of a learning package, consisting of the textbook itself, activity book, teacher's guide, CD-room, music CD and web page. In this thesis, the focus will be on one component in such a learning package, namely the textbook, because pupils are exposed to this particular learning tool the most (Waagene and Gjerustad, 2015). In relation to indigenous cultures in focus, this thesis concentrates mainly on Native Americans, Aboriginals and Maoris, although other indigenous cultures found in the textbooks will be considered to a lesser degree. These three cultures are chosen because experience indicates that more is written about them compared to other indigenous cultures in English subject textbooks. Furthermore, three main reasons exist for why indigenous cultures were chosen as the focus point. Firstly, it will be interesting to see the link between the competence aims in the LK06 and the textbooks under investigation. Secondly, as observed throughout my own involvement in the school system, not much is elaborated about indigenous cultures in English subject textbooks. Finally, yet importantly, experience suggests that a dichotomy is often generated in textbooks between the traditional and modern, between "us" and "them", where "them" characterises and categorises indigenous populations.

The following thesis presents, in critical correspondence with the directives above, a comparative analysis of three English textbooks intended for the English general education programme (Vg1) in Norwegian upper-secondary schools, namely *Mind the Gap (2006),*

Targets (2015) and *Tracks SF* (2016). These textbooks are chosen because of 1) they are widely used in Norwegian upper-secondary school, 2) they cover the English subject curriculum, 3) they are published by different publishing companies, and 4) they are published in different years. Thus, they can be considered representative in the focus area of indigenous people for English subject textbooks in Norway, which is why they provide the possibility to investigate whether or not there is a difference of representation of indigenous populations. The textbooks are evaluated in accordance with the national curriculum and other official documents to see if the competence aims can be achieved properly by working with these three textbooks.

The main method in the current study is textbook analysis, which requires a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches, where the qualitative approach is applied to give an extra dimension to the quantitative approach. The main methodological approach in the study is the hermeneutical analysis, also known as the descriptive analytical method, which is a qualitative approach allowing for an in-depth study of the content of texts and images in the textbooks (Marienfeld, 1976 in Angvik, 1982 and Skrunes, 2010). The reason the qualitative approach was chosen as the main approach was to allow for comparisons to be made between the different textbooks and groups of texts and images. In addition to the descriptive analytical method, the quantitative content analysis was applied to examine the scope of texts and images resigned to indigenous cultures in the different textbooks (Marienfeld, 1976 in Angvik, 1982 and Skrunes, 2010). Finally, the qualitative content analysis was applied to formulate detailed categorical systems/analytical points directed at the texts and images of the different textbooks (Marienfeld, 1976 in Angvik, 1982 and Skrunes, 2010).

In total, this thesis consists of six main chapters. Following the introduction, an outline of the theoretical framework is provided in chapter 2. Here, the concepts of 'indigeneity' and 'culture' are discussed in general and in relation to English teaching and official school documents. A presentation and discussion of the materials and methods applied in the study will be given in chapter 3. The selection of material will be explained and justified in this chapter, in addition to a thorough description of how the methods were used in this study. In chapter 4, a presentation of the findings from the current study will be given. The findings will be discussed in relation to the research questions and the theory in chapter 5, before presenting the conclusion, suggestions, limitations and recommendations for further research in chapter 6.

1.1 The indigenous cultures in focus

The Sami people in Norway presents an obvious field for the research into the presentation of indigenous cultures. However, it makes sense in English to focus on indigenous cultures in English speaking countries, as the Sami culture suits better in subjects such as history, social science and Norwegian literature. Therefore, the focus will be on the Native Americans in the United States of America (USA), the Aborigines in Australia, and the Maori in New Zealand. They are assimilated into English cultures, while the Sami people are assimilated into the Norwegian culture. Another reason for not focusing on the Sami population is that they would obviously not be the best representative of global questions of indigeneity, as Norway has acknowledged the Sami people as indigenous people. In fact, the Sami Act (The Sami Act, 1987), section 108 of the Norwegian Constitution (Constitution of Norway, 1814), and the Sami Parliament protect the Sami as an indigenous people in Norway. They are also protected by the ILO Convention no. 169 ratified by Norway in 1990 (International Labour Organization, 1989) and the Finnmark Act (The Finnmark Act, 2005). They even have a "truth commission" for the norwegianization policy and injustice committed against the Sami and Kven people in Norway adopted by the Parliament in June 2017 (Stortinget, 2016-2017).

Like the Sami people, the Native Americans, the Maori, and the Aborigines have experienced a lot of hardship throughout history due to colonization and cultural assimilation in their native countries, as any encyclopaedia informs readers, but much work remains in order to achieve a status similar to the Sami. The legacy of the harsh colonization and assimilation periods still appear in the society through stigmatization, racism, discrimination, and prejudices. An illustration, imagine a pyramid with the highest level of a society, such as the National Assembly, the Parliament and the Supreme Court, on top, which governs "ordinary" people further down in the pyramid. The views and the attitudes of the highest levels of society on indigenous people often permeate the rest of the society. Often the source of stigmatization, racism, discrimination, and prejudices is ignorance. As teachers, we can help to avoid such attitudes by providing more understanding of our and other nations' multicultural society, which in turn may lead to increased tolerance and acceptance.

The Sami people in Norway are in a privileged position compared to many other indigenous people, although they also have their controversies with the Norwegian and the Sami government. The Native Americans in the United States, the Maoris in New Zealand, and

the Aborigines in Australia have been and still are under governmental pressure. To take a recent event as an example: The Standing Rock Sioux tribe situated in North Dakota demonstrated over a longer period of time (2014-2017) against the construction of an oil pipeline through the Sioux tribe's reservation, drinking water source, and holy areas. Unfortunately, the Standing Rock tribe lost their case against the American government, as the project "Dakota Access Pipeline" was initiated in 2017 (The Associated Press, 2017). This and other incidents prove that indigeneity is an important issue because of controversies that may arise between indigenous and mainstream cultures. Indigenous people deserve to be respected because of events throughout history that have challenged their existence, identity and history, as well as their culture, land and resources. Therefore, it is highly important that they are represented in a proper manner – especially in English textbooks at schools which are meant to educate the future and because of its importance in Norwegian schools (Bachmann et al., 2004).

The ratification of the ILO's Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention no. 169 (International Labour Organization, 1989) provides an imperative reason why the Sami people in Norway are not struggling as much as for example Native Americans in the United States. By signing this document in 1990, Norway recognized the Sami people as the indigenous people of the land. ILO's list of ratifications by country reveals that neither USA, Australia and New Zealand have signed the ILO convention no. 169, which acknowledges indigenous cultures and gives indigenous people, among other, land and water rights. The dismissing of the convention helps explaining why, for example, the government defeated the Standing Rock Sioux tribe; they simply did not have the rights on their side. In fact, the commerce clause in article 1 section 8 of the U.S. Constitution gives the Congress the authority to "regulate commerce with foreign Nations and among several States, and with the Indian Tribes" (The U.S. Constitution, 1787).

However, indigenous people are protected by other laws and rights other than the ILO convention no. 169. The United Nations (UN) have stipulated several declarations and conventions that protect the rights of indigenous people to practice their culture and livelihood. Some of them are the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (United Nations, 1966a), the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2007), the UN International Covenant on Economic, and Social and Cultural Rights (United Nations, 1966b). However, the above-mentioned incidents make us question whether the supreme authorities in their native countries concerning legal commitments treat the

world's indigenous people righteously. This judicial imbalance and democratic challenge demonstrate a stimulating and highly relevant topic of discussion in upper-secondary classrooms.

As a matter of fact, teachers are responsible for educating the future generations, and thus have one of the most important jobs in society. Their duty is, therefore, to provide a nuanced picture of indigenous people's situation today while at the same time conveying their history. Furthermore, teachers are "challenged to critique dominant portrayals of Indigenous peoples and to aid students in challenging these dominant perceptions (…) It is a responsibility of society to educate students to understand that any portrayal of history comes from a particular vantage point" (Iseke-Barnes, 2005, p. 163). Therefore, it will be interesting to investigate whether the textbooks manage to represent indigenous cultures in a correct manner and in accordance with the national curriculum. That is, in a manner that contributes to developing a nuanced and dynamic understanding of indigenous cultures.

1.2 Cultural representations of indigenous populations

According to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), indigenous cultures deserve to be respected, accepted and recognized, but often the representation of them in media, books, movies, visual arts, songs, parodies, comedy strips, tourist industries, textbooks, etc. is stereotypical as they are represented strange and different in a negative manner. The popular way of (mis)representing indigenous cultures and the idea of the 'Other' in western popular culture has its roots in three historical encounters between the West, i.e. European colonists, and Africa (Hall, 1997) elaborated further in section 2.3.1. Such misrepresentations create a sharp distinction and distance between the majority and minority of people in various societies, and as we know, indigenous people are a minority. Concrete examples of stereotypical representations are the famous Disney movies "Pocahontas" (1995), "Peter Pan" (1953) and "Dumbo" (1941), the Hollywood movies "The Revenant" (2015) and "The Lost City of Z" (2016), the song "Ten Little Injuns" (1868) by Septimus Winner, the representations of "Craig" in John Damalis' book "Riding the Black Cockatoo" (2009), etc. The classical western representations are stereotypes that have been repeated for ages and are repeated still today, and which have made this stereotypical way of perception of certain

cultures common sense; "That is how they are, always have been and always will be". This is a very static point of view, and as we know cultures and people are always in a change, i.e. cultures and people should be considered as dynamic entities (Dahl, 2016, p. 22). The textbooks may not be able to convey this dynamic nature, which is why teachers' responsibility is to make sure pupils understand that people and cultures develop and change by, for example, going beyond textbooks and supplement with other images and texts.

In fact, textbooks are powerful as they often are perceived as the objective truth. What we read and what we see, we believe in, which can be characterized as an obsessive relationship to textbooks. After all, the textbook has been and still holds a central position in Norwegian school (Bachmann et al., 2004), although teachers have been freed from the textbook in many ways after the Norwegian Knowledge Promotional Reform of 2006 came into force, which had as one of its intentions to provide a greater decision-making authority to the school owners and the teachers. However, our responsibility as teachers is to stimulate pupils to develop their ability to think critically (Iseke-Barnes, 2005) and to develop a dynamic cultural understanding in addition to intercultural competence. Therefore, my interest to analyse English subject textbooks for upper-secondary schools is to see if the way certain indigenous cultures are represented both visually and textually is justified as the objective truth in textbooks and which consequences this can have for the pupils' perception of indigenous cultures. The way indigenous cultures are represented affects pupils' cultural understanding, whether represented in a stereotypical way or not, which is why this topic is of importance.

In order to be able to discuss stereotypical representations, this theoretical and frequently employed term needs clarification. A stereotypical representation does not contribute to the development of either a nuanced or a dynamic understanding of indigenous cultures. The Disney movie "Peter Pan" offers a specimen of concrete and stereotypical representation of indigenous cultures. This Disney product excels in what Meek (2006) terms "Hollywood Injun English" in the article "And the Injun goes "How!": Representations of American Indian English in white public space". Here, Meek (2006, p. 93) describes how linguistic features are used to depict fictional American Indian speech in order to project or evoke certain characteristics historically associated with "the White Man's Indian". Furthermore, the article exemplifies some ways in which these linguistic features are deployed in relation to particular characteristics stereotypically associated with Native Americans, and how these speech forms reproduce Native American otherness in contemporary popular

American culture (Meek, 2006, p. 93). Other examples of stereotyping and disneyfication, in addition to Injun English, are Halloween costumes inspired by indigenous cultures, sports mascots such as the Washington Redskins, fashion designs of exclusive brands, such as Givenchy, but also more accessible brands, such as Urban Outfitters. By these misrepresentations, it follows that an appropriate representation of indigenous cultures contributes to the development of a nuanced and dynamic understanding of indigenous people, and which has the ability to depict the diversity in a culture.

2 Theoretical framework

This chapter presents the theoretical framework for the current study. The chapter has been divided into several sections, which each addresses a relevant topic for the thesis. Since this study analyses textbooks, the chapter starts by defining and explaining about the textbook in addition to presenting an overview of earlier and contemporary research around it. Following this, the aim of this study is to examine the representations of indigenous cultures in English textbooks. Therefore, this chapter will present how the concept of indigeneity has been treated in this thesis before focusing on the concept of culture, which has been seen mainly from two different views, as it will appear in section 2.3. Furthermore, the chapter addresses cultural representations and the consequences of these representations. Finally, this study analyses images and texts in textbooks, which is why a didactic perspective is required to understand the setting in which the images and texts emerge. This involves looking at how the concepts of indigeneity and culture are treated in English teaching and in official school documents, such as the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), the Education Act, the English subject curriculum, and the LK06. The understanding of the textbook and the concepts of indigeneity and culture will form the basis for the analysis of textbooks.

2.1 The textbook and earlier research

Since this thesis revolves around textbooks, a necessity is to look at its history and importance in Norwegian schools as well as research around it. The textbook has been and still is the most used and perhaps the most important learning tool for pupils in Norwegian schools. The Norwegian National Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion, which has retrieved the definition from Regulations for Education Act, defines learning tools as follows:

> *All printed and non-printed elements, individual or combined, that are developed*
> *for use in teaching, and that alone or together cover the competence aims in*
> *LK06. Learning tools may be printed or digital.*

> (Regulations for Education Law, 2010, my translation).

Consequently, learnings tools should be developed for teaching and they should cover the competence aims in the national curriculum. The textbooks itself is a pedagogical text that is oriented towards information, understanding and interpretation (Grepstad, 1998, p. 62) and structured in relation to the different subjects and the national curriculum. Furthermore, the textbook is a type of educational text, which takes into account both the basic discipline of the subject, the pupils' educational and social assumptions, and language requirements (Skrunes, 2010).

The purpose of the textbook is to simplify the acquisition of the knowledge appreciated by the culture and the subject it represents. According to Lev Vygotsky, a psychologist belonging to the sociocultural perspective of learning, humans can share knowledge with others through communication through their access to languages. Additionally, humans have the ability to apply technology and materials (Säljö, 2013, p. 72-75), such as books, computers and mobile phones. Due to this knowledge, the textbook has been developed as a learning tool. In order to understand learning and development, Vygotsky assumed that we must understand how humans appropriate and learn to use cultural tools, both language and material artefacts, which in this case is the textbook. Vygotsky's point of departure is that humans are socio-cultural creatures who learn by appropriating cultural artefacts. Humans reflect with support in such tools and cultural artefacts mediate the world for us. This idea of how we appropriate mediating artefacts is closely related to Vygotsky's famous analysis of the zone of proximal development, which illustrates how we rely on support from a more capable partner, i.e. the textbook, in the learning process called scaffolding. The point is to use the content of the textbook as a resource to communicate with others and to interpret the world around us.

Until 30th June 2000, all textbooks in Norway had to be approved publicly through a control, management and quality assurance system developed by central authorities. The purpose was to regulate the school's content, as well as ensuring that the textbooks followed the current curriculum and that all children in Norway received the same teaching. Now the publishers have the responsibility of their own to safeguard the central regulations of the school (Skrunes, 2010). The elimination of the approval policy was intended to make the range of textbooks more diverse and stimulate active criticism of already existing textbooks. One of the intentions behind the LK06 was to give greater decision-making authority to the school owners and the teachers, making it their responsibility to organize the teaching in

accordance with the learning goals in the curriculum. The teacher's choice of a textbook is therefore determined by his/her field of competence.

Research conducted *before* the LK06 came into force reveals that the textbook dominated teaching if measured in the total amount of time it is used in the classrooms (Johnsen and Sivesind, 1993). Furthermore, research shows that teachers used the textbook to a large extent in teaching (Strand, 1995) with English teachers in second place in the statistics (Bachmann, 2004). Actually, research suggests that the textbook was *the most* used learning tool in Norwegian schools (Skog et al., 2000). Research *after* the LK06 reveals that much of the same can be said about today's use of the textbook. Waagene and Gjerustad (2015) conducted a large-scale survey for the Ministry of Education of teachers' choice and use of learning materials, which was completed at the turn of 2014/15. The survey was aimed at teachers in elementary school (5th-7th grade), lower-secondary school and upper-secondary school, and it included answers from 710 teachers in social science, mathematics, science and English. Based on the questions that the Ministry of Education had requested, the following can be reported on the choice of learning tools in the school:

- Teachers decide the choice of textbooks
- Teachers mainly use paper-based textbooks, but they supplement with digital learning tools
- In English and Social Studies, teachers in upper-secondary schools specify that they use as much paper-based as digital learning tools
- Teachers think that paper-based learning materials are almost as good as digital learning tools for adapted teaching, etc.

(Waagene and Gjerustad, 2015, p. 7-8)

In addition, the study revealed that the textbooks in focus in this thesis *Tracks SF* (23 %) and *Targets* (17 %) are the most used at the upper-secondary level. *Mind the Gap* is not explicitly listed in the study, and can thus be categorized in the "none of them" category with a percentage of 17.

Contemporary textbooks consist of multimodal texts, which are defined as texts that combine different elements that create meaning in their own way, while multimodality is the creation of meaning by combining different semiotics resources (Løvland, 2007, p. 21). According to two reputable professors, multimodality is the use of several semiotic modes in

the design of a semiotic product (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 1). Multimodal texts are in line with the era we live in today because they relate to how society has evolved with a growing use of technology and a change in how we communicate with each other. Today's society is also more visual than before when the text had a more central role in the society, which gives images a greater impact on people. In addition, textbooks consist of both fictional and non-fictional texts, where the former is defined as "literature in the form of prose, especially novels, that describes imaginary events and people" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2018b), and the latter as "prose writing that is informative or factual rather than fictional" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2018d). This thesis considers both fictional and non-fictional texts in addition to images.

2.2 The concept of indigeneity

The focus of this thesis is on representations of indigenous cultures in school textbooks. Therefore, it makes sense to look at different definitions of the term 'indigeneity' to get an understanding of the concept. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines the noun *indigeneity* as "the fact of originating or occurring naturally in a particular place" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2018c). That is, indigenous populations have originated or occurred naturally in different places around the world, for example by boat or through migration. The United Nations characterizes rather than defines indigeneity, and by considering the ILO's Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention no. 169, the "Martínez Cobo Study", and the Working Paper on the Concept of "Indigenous People" (United Nations, 2008, p. 8), the UN has made a list to better understand who indigenous people are.

In total, there are seven points developed by the UN. In these points, it appears that self-identification is a fundamental characteristic of indigenous populations, which is probably why it is the first point on the list. In point two and three, it appears that nature is central to indigenous people. This is probably because they have been dependent on it to survive. Indigenous populations have also developed their own set of rules, which have enabled them to live and function together in groups. Today as before, they are dedicated to taking care of their legacy to remain a people with their own identity and distinctiveness.

These seven points indicate that indigenous people have much in common with each other, and often more in common with other indigenous cultures than with the mainstream culture in their representative country, making indigenous people often stand out from the rest of the society. In other words, indigeneity is a collective term for common characteristics indigenous cultures share with each other, such as Native Americans, Aborigines, and Maoris. Because of their distinctiveness, which clearly differentiates them from the majority, there is a risk that a dichotomy or an opposition between "us" (i.e. the majority) versus "them" (i.e. indigenous people), discussed further in section 2.3.1, occurs in textbooks.

2.3 The concept of culture

Indigeneity appears indissoluble from ideas of cultures. Therefore, it follows that this thesis considers the concept of 'culture' as well. Brown and Habegger-Conti (2016) include theories by Hall (1997), Dahl (2013, 2016), Holliday et al. (2010), Sturken and Cartwright (2009) and Janks et al. (2014) in relation to the concepts of culture and the representation of cultures. These are highly relevant sources, which also this thesis will examine closer. Firstly, this section considers different definitions of culture before considering to two different ways of understanding the concept.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the term in several different ways, where one of them defines culture as "the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society" (*Oxford English Dictionary, 2018a*). This can be considered as the typical way of understanding the concept, as customs and social behaviour are indications of what the majority of people may think of when hearing the term "culture". Holliday et al. (2010, p. 69) define culture as "a complex set of shared beliefs, values, and concepts which enables a group to make sense of its life and which provides it with directions for how to live", which can be called a basic belief system. This second definition has a religious tone because the focus lies heavily on functionality and guidance of a group through shared principles and standards. A third way of defining the concept of culture is to refer to the distinctiveness of the way of life of a certain people, community, nation or social group in a more "social science" context, which is known as the "anthropological" definition (Hall, 1997, p. 2). All three definitions allow us to consider different groups of people with distinctive characteristics, such as Native Americans, Aborigines, and Maoris.

The dynamic nature of cultures was mentioned in the introduction, and as a matter of fact, culture can be understood in two ways. Dahl (2014, p. 1) distinguishes between the descriptive and the dynamic understanding of the term, where the latter is a constructivist view of culture, while the former is an essentialist view. The dynamic understanding explains culture as something people "construct in specific human encounters where mutual relations and power are part of the context" (Dahl, 2014, p. 1). Culture changes from being static and innate to something people take part of actively, therefore 'constructivist'. Human contact and communication form the core of the constructivist view, and change is inevitable because of the dynamic nature of cultures. Therefore, negotiating meaning within a cultural group is fundamental to this view of culture, as people continuously construct meaning with a common understanding as the aim (Hall, 1997, p. 2). A non-essentialist view of culture describes it as a social force associated with a value, and which can be characterized by a discourse and a language. This view gives cultures the possibility to change independent of national boundaries, and people the opportunity to belong to or move through different cultures. Understanding the complexity of people is important when communicating with a foreigner (Holliday et al., 2010, p. 3-4), and this is where intercultural competence comes into play elaborated on further in section 2.4.

According to the descriptive cultural understanding, culture is innate and something *within* people. Established values, codes and norms are continued throughout times and people. This means that what the present generation does and believes in was also done and believed by the generations before. Cultural standards can easily be learned since they have been around perpetually, and once these standards are learned, peoples' behaviour becomes predictable. Holliday et al. (2010, p. 3-4) describe a culture in essentialist terms as a homogeneous physical entity associated with a country and a language, where national cultures differentiate and divide people. This descriptive cultural understanding may create a distance between people. The essentialist view believes that people must be understood based on the culture in which they live, and cultural stereotypes must be understood in order to communicate with a foreigner.

A descriptive understanding of culture can be perceived as static, and a potential pitfall is to understand a specific culture based on how it was decades ago. An outdated view of the current situation of indigenous cultures is a potential for the development of stereotypes and prejudices discussed further in section 2.4.1. A more suitable way of viewing cultures today is the dynamic understanding, as the world has become more global with cultures being

mixed and shared between and within nations, but still different cultures exist side by side, each with its own distinctiveness. The point with the dynamic understanding is to understand the complexity of individuals of a culture, and that meaning in different cultures are created differently in addition to the recognition that cultures change. Thus, this thesis attempts to look at whether the textbooks represent indigenous cultures in a descriptive or dynamic manner.

2.3.1 Cultural representations of indigenous groups

The aim of this thesis is to investigate how indigenous people in English-speaking countries, specifically in the US, Australia and New Zealand, are represented visually and textually in English textbooks for upper-secondary education in Norwegian schools. Therefore, an investigation of cultural representations of indigenous cultures is highly relevant. According to Hall (1997, p. 3), people ascribe meaning to objects by what we use, define and how we experience them, i.e. the way we represent things gives them meaning. Meaning is represented through language since it works as the medium "in which meaning is produced and exchanged" (Hall, 1997, p. 1). We need to understand each other in order to be able to share meanings, and this is possible "through our common access to language", which functions "as a representational system" (Hall, 1997, p. 1). However, objects can also give meaning to people, suggesting that there is a dynamic interaction between objects and people (Sturken and Cartwright, 2009, p. 3). This means that cultures create meaning, but also that cultures are ascribed meaning through objects or representations.

Saussure, a revolutionary linguist, was highly concerned with binary oppositions, such as us/them, civilized/primitive, black/white and culture/nature. According to Saussure, a language consists of signs (material objects), which he further divides into signifiers (the form of the word, image, etc.) and the signified (the idea or concept). Signs have an arbitrary nature, but they do not carry meaning, which means that a system of differences between the signs is necessary in order to produce meaning (Hall, 1997, p. 31). Saussure's binary oppositions have been criticised for being too simple and thus only one way of establishing differences. This may be even more problematic in today's multicultural society in which diversity is the normal, as this simplistic way of establishing differences has the potential to be reductionist and over-simplified (Hall, 1997, p. 235) because the world is not just

black/white. It also consists of different shades of grey and colours, which is why we should be careful with perceiving the world in either/or extremes. This either/or understanding of the world does not contribute to a dynamic approach to cultures, but rather to a descriptive understanding where things are fixed with no room for the idea of having something in between.

However, people are obsessed with structuring, categorizing and systematizing the world around them. Three other theoretical arguments for why difference matters come from theories of language, anthropology and psychoanalysis. The first theory states that "we need 'difference' because we can only construct meaning through dialogue with the 'Other'" (Hall, 1997, p. 235). Hence, meaning depends on interaction and interplay between minimum two persons. The anthropological theory is concerned with the classification; "culture depends on giving things meaning by assigning them to different positions within a classificatory system. The marking of 'difference' is thus the basis of that symbolic order which we call culture" (Hall, 1997, p. 236). In this context, it makes sense to discuss the Native American, Aboriginal, or Maori culture. The psychoanalytic theory explains differences on the basis of our psychic life; "the 'Other' is fundamental to the constitution of the self, to us as subjects, and to sexual identity" (Hall, 1997, p. 237). The formation of self-identity depends on the relations we have with others different from us. Notice that 'difference' and 'otherness' is present in all the arguments and that 'difference' is ambivalent in that it is both necessary and threatening.

In this context, it becomes natural to talk about 'white' and 'non-white' races. Before we can go any further, a necessity is to establish that race is not a biological trait, but a socially constructed concept (Brown and Habegger-Conti, 2016, p. 16-17). Thus, the idea of race is a result of human imagination and the urge of people to organize and categorize the world around us. This is a point in Dyer's (Dyer, 1997, p. 1) essay "The matter of whiteness", in where he states that "since race (…) refers to some intrinsically insignificant geographical/physical differences between people, it is the imagery of race that is in play". This need for categorization can be linked to people's tendency to avoid negative feelings and practices, which is why Mary Douglas (1966 in Hall 1997, p. 236) argues that we need cultural order where each thing has its own category to avoid disturbance. The ideal is to keep the cultural categories stable and pure with their own meaning and identity. This is achieved through symbolic boundaries in the avoidance of "matter out of place", which is the unsettling of cultures by breaking unwritten rules and codes.

The obsession with racial differences gave rise to popular representations and the idea of the racialized 'Other' in western popular culture. This obsession can be traced back to three historical encounters between the West and Africa characterized by asymmetric power relations. The first encounter was the arrival of European traders to West African kingdoms in the sixteenth-century, which was the beginning of slavery. Encounter number two was the European colonization of Africa, and the last historical encounter was the great migration after the second world war from the 'Third World' into Europa and North America (Hall, 1997, p. 239). These historical encounters mark the rise of the opposition between 'white' and 'non-white' races. The philosopher Jacques Derrida argues that binary oppositions are rarely neutral, as one side of the pole is usually dominant and the other submissive, and that the poles therefore always have an uneven power relation (1972, in Hall 1997, p. 235). A common practice is to oppose the category of the norm and the category of the abnormal. Throughout history, the dominant or primary category has been associated with the category of white, hence the norm, whereas black is associated with the opposite or different to the primary, hence the 'Other' (Sturken and Cartwright, 2009, p. 111). The idea of what is normal is established by society alone (Janks et al., 2014, p. 44), and as long as a society has an idea of what is normal or what belongs to the majority, there is always someone who is marked as different or as 'the others'. Since the indigenous cultures in focus in this paper are non-white, they are at risk of being "othered".

When something differs from what is considered the 'normal', it may feel threatening and dangerous (Janks et al., 2014, p. 7). People may experience this difference as a threat to their identities, which may result in a divide between 'us', our people, and 'them', the strange and dangerous 'others'. People tend to avoid negativity. Therefore, we may risk creating a distance between the 'normal' and the 'other'. This distance can result in the perception that the 'others' are inferior and in the reduction and simplifying of essential and fixed characteristics, also known as stereotyping (Hall, 1997, p. 257). It becomes challenging when stereotypes develop into prejudices, which are often negatively loaded. The OED defines the mass noun *prejudice* as "preconceived opinion that is not based on reason or actual experience" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2018e). To conclude, this ethnocentric understanding of culture is of descriptive character discussed in section 2.3. A dynamic perspective, which is the preferred understanding of cultures, is achieved through a cultural relativistic approach, which textbooks should strive for.

2.4 Culture in English teaching

The focus in this section will be on culture since 'indigeneity' and indigenous people are barely mentioned in the *Core Curriculum*, the *Quality Framework* or the English subject curriculum in the Norwegian Knowledge Promotional Reform (LK06). However, indigeneity can be understood to some extent in terms of culture, as the two terms are closely related. The concept of culture has until now in this thesis been discussed on a general basis. A discussion of the term from a didactic perceptive is also highly necessary because the focus of this thesis is on English textbooks in upper-secondary schools in Norway. In relation to culture in English teaching, Brown and Habegger-Conti (2016) include theories by Brown (2007) and Dypedahl and Eschenbach (2009, 2011), which also this thesis will explore, as these are well-known theorists in the field of culture and language. This section will first look at the history of teaching in Norway before it will consider intercultural competence and the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR).

As discussed in section 2.3, culture can be viewed from either a descriptive or a dynamic perceptive. Norwegian schools have always relied quite heavily on textbooks, and until 1970 there was a great focus on factual knowledge about cultures and other domains (Dypedahl and Eschenbach, 2011, p. 215), making the descriptive understanding of the concept of culture the ruling perspective. According to the descriptive cultural understanding, pupils need to learn certain facts, i.e. stereotypes, because this may help them in communicative situations with foreigners. The dynamic cultural understanding, on the other hand, is concerned with pupils realising that cultures do not remain the same throughout times. In the 1970s, a shift from grammar teaching to a more communicative focus took place in the Norwegian schools. The aim was no longer to teach plain language and to make pupils study for grammar tests but to prepare them to be understood by English foreign language speakers. By exposing pupils with the cultural knowledge needed to communicate in the target language, they will be much more prepared for real-life situations. In fact, English studies are strongly associated with learning the language, but since culture and language are strongly related to each other, it implies learning the culture as well (Brown, 2007, p. 189). One simply cannot learn the one without the other.

Bi- and multilinguality allows individuals to communicate with a wider range of people. This polylingual capacity can further lead to a more developed intercultural

competence since language can be considered the essence of a culture. Intercultural competence is defined as the expedient and appropriate ability to communicate with people that have a different cultural background than you (Bøhn and Dypedahl, 2009, p. 12), which requires a combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes (p. 153-154). Intercultural *knowledge* consists of general knowledge about the processes and mechanisms that are involved when communicating with people with a different cultural knowledge, and the other type of intercultural knowledge is a more culture-specific insight into our own and others' background. Intercultural *skills* mean, among other things, that we are able to observe intercultural events, relate them to our own culture and analyse them, and that we handle intercultural communication in practice. Finally, yet importantly, intercultural *attitudes* comprise curiosity, openness and tolerance for ambiguous or unknown situations. In other words, intercultural competence is about being able to communicate interculturally, but which skills are needed depends on the perspective of culture, i.e. descriptive or dynamic understanding. As Holliday et al (2010, p. 3-4) write, factual and stereotypical knowledge is in the centre in the descriptive perspective, while the understanding of the complexity of the individuality is in the focus in the dynamic perspective.

Several official school documents consider intercultural competence. The Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) states that "knowledge of the shared values and beliefs held by social groups in other countries and regions, such as religious beliefs, taboos, assumed common history, etc., are essential to intercultural communication" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 11). CEFR is concerned with high-quality communication among Europeans of different language and cultural background for the reason that it leads to freer mobility and contact that is more direct with a better understanding and closer co-operation as the result. Furthermore, CEFR is concerned with learners to become more independent in thought and action and more responsible and cooperative in relation to other people, which is why the Council supports methods of learning and teaching which may help learners to develop the necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes (Council of Europe, 2001). The Norwegian national curriculum is developed from CEFR, which emerges by emphasizing that "education should counteract prejudice and discrimination, and foster mutual respect and tolerance between groups with differing modes of life" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2011, p. 10), without going into details what exactly is meant by intercultural competence. In the following sections, a closer examination of indigeneity and culture in official documents, the Norwegian National Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion and in English textbooks will be done.

2.4.1 Indigeneity and culture in the Norwegian National Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion and other official documents

This section concentrates on a closer examination of the concept of culture and indigeneity in official documents in Norway and the Norwegian National Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion, but as aforementioned, the focus will be on culture since indigeneity is barely mentioned in the Norwegian school documents. Firstly, the two concepts will be investigated in a broad sense in different documents, before examining the terms in the English subject curriculum. This comparative analysis is conducted in order to give the overall impression on how the terms are emphasized in the documents.

The Education Act, the most significant official document in the Norwegian school system, states that "education and training in schools and training establishments shall, in collaboration and agreement with the home, open doors to the world and give the pupils and apprentices historical and cultural insight and anchorage" (The Education Act, 1998, section 1-1). Furthermore, the Education Act states "education and training shall provide insight into the cultural diversity and show respect for the individual's convictions. They are to promote democracy, equality and scientific thinking" (The Education Act, 1998, section 1-1). The focus clearly lies on the aspect of intercultural competence and dynamic cultural understanding as it promotes diversity, respect for others, openness, and cultural competence. The Education Act further indicates a dynamic perspective of culture by acknowledging that people and cultures are different and encouraging tolerance for others' worldview.

The LK06 is another highly important document in the Norwegian school system, and probably the document teachers are most familiar with and use the most in their work. The LK06 is a comprehensive document with several parts, such as the *core curriculum*, the *Quality Framework*, and syllabi for each subject, including English. The *core curriculum* elaborates the Education Act, sets out the overall goals of teaching and consists of the knowledge foundation for primary and secondary education. Christian and humanistic values are central in the *core curriculum*, and "both demand and foster tolerance, providing rooms for other cultures and customs" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2015, p. 7). The *core curriculum* is concerned with "meeting between diverse cultures and traditions" as contact "can generate new impulses as well as stimulate critical reflection" (Ministry of Education

and Research, 2015, p. 9). The following citation is highly interesting since it focuses especially on minorities: "Education must convey knowledge about other cultures and take advantage of the potential for enrichment that minority groups and Norwegians with another cultural heritage represent" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2015, p. 10). The aforementioned citations are all concerned with the cultural aspect and found in the part "the spiritual human being", but this is far from the only part where culture is mentioned. Therefore, it can be concluded that the *core curriculum* is highly concerned with cultural development in pupils

The *Quality Framework* is part of the LK06 and a document that is also concerned with the cultural aspect of education. In the Learning Poster, it is written that the school shall "stimulate pupils and apprentices/trainees (…) in the development of identity and ethical, social and cultural competence (Section 1-2 of the Education Act; the *Core Curriculum* in Ministry of Education and Research, 2006, p. 2). The *Quality Framework* has a section that particularly emphasises the cultural aspect of education entitled "Social and cultural competence". This section states that "clear value base and a broad cultural understanding are fundamental elements of an inclusive social community and of a learning community where diversity is acknowledged and respected" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2006, p. 3). Furthermore, the section states as follows:

> *To develop the pupils' cultural competence for participation in a multicultural society the education shall enable them to **acquire knowledge on different cultures** and experience of a wide range of forms of expression. The education shall **promote cultural understanding and develop self-insight and identity, respect and tolerance** [my emphasis]*

> (Ministry of Education and Research, 2006, p. 6)

In other words, the development of cultural competence requires insight into our own and others' background.

Thus, the LK06 is clearly concerned with the cultural understanding and intercultural aspect of education, since it encourages tolerance, respect, and acknowledgement of diversity. Furthermore, the LK06 promotes human contact and communication across countries and nationalities, and thereby further encouraging the development of intercultural competence. However, the concern on the development of both cultural *knowledge* and *understanding* in

the LK06 is contradictory because knowledge may promote a static view of cultures, i.e., a descriptive perspective of culture, while understanding may promote a dynamic view. A static view can be both positive and negative, as it can help organize the many cultures around the world, but it can also help maintain and develop stereotypes, which is not desired in the Norwegian school system. On the contrary, a dynamic perspective is the preferred perspective considering the concern on the development of intercultural competence in the LK06. Perhaps both perspectives are necessary for the development of intercultural competence.

Development of intercultural and cultural competence is, like in the other official documents, of concern in the English subject curriculum. Culture and language are strongly related, which means 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, p. 2). This includes "providing insight into the way people live and different cultures where English is the primary or the official language" to "promote greater interaction, understanding and respect between persons with different cultural backgrounds" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013, p. 2). The concern for cultural norms and conventions is unfortunate if the purpose is a development of intercultural competence and communication, as norms and conventions can be static and established, but as we know cultures change from time to time and so do cultural standards. This conventional concern suggests a descriptive perspective of cultures, which means that people should be understood based on their culture and "and cultural stereotypes must be understood in order to communicate with a foreigner" (Holliday et al., 2010, p. 3-4). A consequence of this can actually be the opposite of better interaction, understanding and respect, because foreigners may not wish to be understood in terms of potential outdated norms and conventions. However, the two latter citations in this paragraph point towards a more dynamic approach, emphasizing intercultural competence. Additionally, "culture, society and literature" is one of the four main subject areas in the English subject curriculum, acknowledging that culture and language are strongly related in line with Brown (2007).

2.5 Summary

This chapter has addressed the theoretical framework for the current study. The chapter started by looking at the textbook, a pedagogical, educational and multimodal text, and earlier

research on the textbook, which revealed that the textbook has a central position in Norwegian schools. Following this, the chapter presented how the concept of indigeneity is understood in this thesis. The concept of culture was also presented in the theoretical framework, which can be understood either from a dynamic or descriptive perspective. Furthermore, this chapter discussed cultural representations and the consequences of these representations with focus on structural binarism. Since this study analyses images and texts in textbooks, a didactic perspective was given by looking at how the concepts of indigeneity and culture are treated in English teaching and in official school documents, such as the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), the Education Act, the English subject curriculum and the LK06. It will be interesting to investigate whether the textbooks in this study manage to develop pupils culturally as aimed in the documents. This issue will be discussed further in chapter 5. The next chapter will present the material and methodology of the current study.

3 Material and Methodology

In this chapter, the materials and methodological approaches used to answer the research questions will be presented. To begin with, an explanation of the choice of material will be given where the background for the selection of exactly these textbooks is clarified. Additionally, the corpora used in the study will be explained and the criteria for the selection of images and texts will be presented, in addition to two analytical points for evaluating the textbooks in this study. This is necessary because not all images and texts in the textbooks were a part of the analysis. Moreover, the methodological approaches in this study will be elaborated and justified before the validity and reliability of the current study will be discussed.

3.1 Material

This study analyses three English subject textbooks aimed at upper-secondary schools because the pupils are expected to be at a higher level of cognitive development, opening up for discussions about abstract concepts such as 'indigeneity' and 'culture'. The textbooks are from different publishers, which enables the study to cover a larger range of textbooks available to upper-secondary pupils. By studying a selection of textbooks from different publishers, comparisons can be drawn between the textbooks. Moreover, since the English subject curriculum consists of a competence aim exclusively about indigenous people, an expectation is that several different indigenous cultures are represented both textually and visually in the textbooks. *Targets* and *Tracks SF* are publishing products created through a collaboration of several authors, experienced teachers and other professionals with special expertise in some field within the English subject. Therefore, it lessens the chance that they are subjective, as they are designed in a larger collaboration. However, *Mind the Gap* is written by *one* author, which may mean challenges in terms of subjectivity.

Since Norway does no longer have an official system of textbook approval, the schools and the teachers have a autonomy to choose which textbooks to use in the teaching of the different subjects. This obviously results in a large range of textbooks in English, which is why it is necessary to narrow down the focus to three textbooks in this thesis. The textbooks

Targets, *Tracks SF* and *Mind the Gap* were chosen based on the survey conducted by Waagene and Gjerustad at the turn of 2014/15, as well as on unstructured observations where an e-mail was sent to various schools with the question about which textbook is used at the upper-secondary level in Tromsø municipality. The textbooks are all written in response to the LK06, and they can be considered representative of the textbooks used in Norway since they represent three large Norwegian publishing companies. Furthermore, and as mentioned in the introduction, the textbooks are often published as a part of a learning package, but due to limited time and resources, this thesis will concentrate on the textbook itself.

3.1.1 Corpora

The data collection for the current study includes all images related to indigenous people and all pages consisting of texts by and about indigenous people from the three textbooks. The corpora include both non-fictional and fictional texts that represent indigenous cultures in some way found in the textbooks. Since the focus of this thesis is on indigenous cultures, not all images and pages in the textbooks were a part of the analysis. Therefore, a corpus was gathered containing all images representing indigenous cultures. A second corpus was gathered consisting of all pages representing indigenous cultures. A total count of images and pages was conducted with the purpose to get an overview of the comparative quantity of images and pages related to indigenous peoples. An image or a page was considered relevant to the corpora if representing individuals from indigenous cultures, as well as artefacts utilized by or art belonging to any of these cultures. Indigenous populations are defined exclusively by their cultural belonging, and not by external looks or racial features, as elaborated in section 2.3. Therefore, the selection process was based on explicit cultural references, such as clothing and items, in the page or image. Pages and images were selected if they met any of the following criteria, which is inspired by Brown and Habegger-Conti's (2016) criteria:

- The image or page explicitly indicates that the text or image represents an indigenous culture

- The image or page is a part of a sub-chapter or chapter about indigenous people, and where it is not clearly mentioned that the image or the page is not about indigenous culture
- The image consists of items or clothing that explicitly connects the image or page to an indigenous culture
- The page is written by individuals of indigenous origin that clearly connect the text with an indigenous culture
- The page consists of tasks directly related to the previous texts/pages about indigenous cultures

If indigenous cultures are only mentioned in a page, for example 1-3 lines in a fact text about the history of the United States, the page is counted as one. In chapter 4 in this thesis, each individual page will be examined closer. An image is excluded from the total count if repeated more than once in the same textbook. The same are icons, symbols, tables, maps and illustrations of letters, writings and numbers. Film/CD/book covers, comic strips and obviously grouped images without clear framing were counted as one image.

Bjarne Bjørndal, a Norwegian pedagogue, operated with a set of criteria for evaluating textbooks (1967, p. 57-60). In total, Bjørndal developed a criterion consisting of 12 analytical points. Due to limited time and resources, this study considers only the most relevant analytical points in relation to the research questions in this thesis. The first analytical point asks whether the textbook provides a factual and objective representation of relationships and issues that people may have different opinions about. For example, is the textbook tendentious or programmatic in one or more contexts? Are there used any formulations that may violate different minded people with different beliefs or which may seem discriminatory against certain professions, communities, ethnic groups, nations, races? The next analytical point of Bjørndal (1967) is called 'language and representation manner' where Bjørndal asks if the way someone or something is represented is modified to the distinctive nature of the subject matter ("lærestoffet") to be communicated. The analytical point called 'abstraction level' asks 1) how are new words and concepts introduced and explained in the text? 2) Are the professional concepts used in an appropriate abstract way? 3) Do the generalizations build on "sustainable" premises? Finally, in the last analytical point, Bjørndal considers is the use of images, which considers the relationship between the images and the verbal representation of the subject matter.

Based on Bjørndal's (1967) analytical points of relevance and other considerations, the analytical points in the current study are as follows:

1. The textual representation of indigenous peoples. It will be interesting to investigate how the three different textbooks *textually* represent the different indigenous cultures in focus in this thesis. Are they represented in an up-to-date and appropriate manner? Or are they represented in a static and outdated fashion?

2. The visual representation of indigenous people. In the chapters associated with indigenous cultures, there is no reason to doubt that the textbooks have a conscious use of text and images that represent the topic in an educational manner. Do the textbooks use images in a meaningful manner in relation to the texts? Or is there no correspondence between the images and the texts? Are the images stereotyping the indigenous people or not? This point will be highlighted both in a quantitative and qualitative approach.

3.2 Methodology

The purpose of the research determines which strategy to use in the obtainment of sufficient information to gain understanding. Then the research questions determine which method is the most appropriate to use. This thesis depends on the following research questions:

1. To what extent does the visual and textual representation of indigenous populations in English subject textbooks for Norwegian upper-secondary schools contribute to or contradict with the cultural competence aims of English education in the Norwegian Knowledge Promotional Reform?
   a. Does the representation of indigenous cultures promote a dynamic or a descriptive cultural understanding?
   b. How are indigenous people represented and what consequences do these representations have for the cultural understanding and the intercultural competence?

Based on the research questions, the main method of the current study is textbook analysis, which requires a methodological approach of both qualitative and quantitative nature. The

descriptive analytical method is chosen as the main approach in the current study, supplemented with the qualitative content analysis and the quantitative content analysis. In this chapter, the theory of the approaches that have been used will be elaborated, and the choices made in relation to this study will be justified. Finally, the validity and reliability of the study will be discussed.

3.2.1 Qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches

A common practice is to distinguish between a qualitative and a quantitative methodological approach. The two approaches provide us with a different type of data and information, and a combination of the two methods can, therefore, give a better understanding and overview of the material. The reasons a combination of the two approaches is chosen are 1) an easier comparison between the different textbooks and different corpora is obtained with a qualitative approach, and 2) a quantitative method makes it less time consuming and difficult to work with large numbers of images and texts referring to the corpora. An important thing to remember is that this is a comparative analysis of three textbooks, which means that similarities and differences between observed phenomena within a defined field of analysis are examined with the purpose to uncover eventual parallels and/or discrepancies.

The qualitative approach is the main method in the current study. This approach, as Jacobsen (2005, p. 127) demonstrates, allows for an inductive approach to the material, and which further can be described as open with a high degree of relevance because of its few guidelines on the information to be collected. The qualitative approach is primarily used to gain an in-depth and detailed understanding of a topic and to get a holistic understanding of a phenomenon (Jacobsen, 2005, p. 127, 135) as this study aims. A lot of information can be gathered about few units with the qualitative approach.

This study also uses a quantitative method due to its relevance for one of the analytical points mentioned in the previous section. Instead of focusing on understanding and interpretation, a quantitative approach has its focus on numbers. This requires a relatively closed approach, and therefore categorization must occur before the collection of material, as already done in section 3.1.1. With a quantitative approach, information can be gathered

about many units, i.e. images and texts, with the opportunity to generalize from a sample to a population.

3.3 Methodological approach

In textbook research, three widely used approaches are 1) the hermeneutical analysis also called the descriptive analytical method, 2) the quantitative content analysis and 3) the qualitative content analysis. A central name in this context is Wolfgang Marienfeld, who in 1976 published an overview of these three research methods (Marienfeld, 1976 in Angvik, 1982 and Skrunes, 2010). According to Marienfeld, the descriptive analytical method is the most widespread methodological approach in textbook research. This methodological approach involves understanding and interpreting the content of the text, which allows for an in-depth study of topics in the textbooks by looking at details. This thesis also considers the content of the image as well, as images can convey a lot of information in itself. The criticism directed at this method is a high degree of subjectivity and thus difficult to verify the results. A question of verifiability arises if the researcher exclusively highlights material that supports the aim of the research and excludes data that contradicts it (Angvik, 1982). In the subsequent analysis of the selected school textbooks, the descriptive analytical method will be used to read thoroughly through the three textbooks with the purpose to identify any differences and similarities between the textbooks, specifically in terms of indigenous groups.

The quantitative content analysis is the second methodological approach referred to by Marienfeld's (1976 in Angvik, 1982 and Skrunes, 2010), which is an empirical approach in which the researcher examines the scope of a topic in textbooks for example by counting images and texts resigned to indigenous people, as will be done in this study. In contrast to the descriptive analytic method, the results of this approach are more accurate with a lower degree of subjectivity and thereof easier to verify. In the current textbooks analysis, the quantitative content analysis is too reductive on its own, as the quality of the representation of indigenous cultures cannot be reduced to a question of frequency and scope, which is why this analysis consists of several methodological approaches to prevent this problem from occurring.

The qualitative content analysis is the third methodological approach referred by Marienfeld (1976 in Angvik, 1982 and Skrunes, 2010), which is placed between the two previous approaches. In a qualitative content analysis, the researcher formulates detailed categorical systems/analytical points that are directed at the content of the textbooks, as already done in section 3.1.1. The point of these analytical points is to narrow down the focus, which in this study is the textual and visual representation of indigenous groups. As with the descriptive analytic method, the disadvantage of this approach is a high degree of subjectivity because the researcher himself/herself formulates the analytical points of relevance.

In this analysis, two of three methodological approaches have subjectivity as a challenge. According to Marienfeld (1976 in Angvik, 1982 and Skrunes, 2010), the question of subjectivity will occur in any qualitative textbook analysis due to interpretations, which may differ from person to person. The interpretation process thus becomes a subjective activity, which makes it difficult to talk about objective true answers in a textbook analysis. To increase the reliability of the research and to strengthen the verifiability of the results in this analysis, the textbooks must be cited and referred to and the researcher must be careful not to seek statements that support his/her understanding. Furthermore, researchers must be careful neither to exaggerate nor understate in their analysis, as textbooks are normative and consist of simplified representations because they have both an academic, educational and ideological content (Johnsen and Sivesind, 1993) aimed at a specific age group.

3.1 Validity and reliability

Until now, the material and methods of the study have been discussed. In this section, the focus will be on validity and reliability, as these are important issues in the selection of both materials and methods in all studies. This section will include a brief discussion of the validity and reliability of this study.

Reliability is about whether the research has been conducted in a reliable or credible manner, and it is also a measure of how accurate the researcher has managed the data in a study. The reliability of a qualitative analysis study is achieved by making the research process transparent by describing the analytical methods in a detailed manner (Thagaard, 2009, p. 201-203). Furthermore, the reliability of this study is strengthened by presenting

theories, procedures, criteria and analytical points that will be used in the current study. Reliability is further strengthened by using and discussing definitions of main concepts such as 'indigeneity' and 'culture' in the theoretical framework chapter. This transparency enables researchers to possibly conclude with the same as this study, and thereof strengthening the accuracy. In relation to subjectivity, the researcher must argue for reliability by being critical and reflective about his or her role as a researcher in an analysis (Dowling, 2000).

Validity is about the relevance of the data in relation to the research questions. In other words, validity is linked to questions whether the researcher has received answers to what he/she asked for and whether the result can be generalized (Jacobsen, 2005, p. 214). In relation to this study, two questions can be asked. The first question is to what extent can the choice of the descriptive analytical method, quantitative content analysis and qualitative content analysis answer questions about the extent to which the representation of indigenous people contribute to or contradict with the cultural competence aims of English education in the Norwegian Knowledge Promotional Reform for upper-secondary pupils? The three methodological approaches provide answers to different questions, and each of the methods has their strengths and weaknesses, which is why this study combines three approaches as well as theory in order to increase the validity of the results. Moreover, the results of this study cannot be generalized, as the results relate to a small sample of three textbooks. In order for generalization to be possible, a larger sample of textbooks is necessary. The next question is to what extent are the analytical points and interpretations representative and relevant to the research questions? In the assessment of the textbooks, the clue is to have an open mind without any anticipated impressions and opinions, while at the same time maintain a critical attitude towards the textbooks. The analytical points in this thesis are systematically chosen and transparently justified. Therefore, they are known to others, easier to verify and they can be argued against. In relation to representativeness, the textbooks are not representative in their entirety, but only in the focus area of indigenous cultures.

3.2 Summary

The materials and methodological approaches used to answer the research questions were presented in this chapter. Firstly, the choice of material was explained where the background for the selection of the three textbooks was clarified. Secondly, the corpora, the criteria for the

selection of images and texts and the analytical points was explained. Furthermore, the descriptive analytical method, the quantitative content analysis and the qualitative content analysis were elaborated. Finally, the validity and reliability of the current study were discussed. The following chapter will present the findings in the three textbooks for upper-secondary schools in Norway with the aim figure out how the indigenous people in English-speaking countries are represented, and how these textbooks affect the development of the pupils' understanding of indigenous populations represented in the books through images and texts.

4 Presentations of findings

This chapter presents the results from the descriptive analytical method, the quantitative content analysis and the qualitative content analysis described in chapter 3. Chapter 4 starts with a short presentation of the three textbooks analysed in the study and continues with the quantitative content analysis. Following this, the results of the descriptive analytics method are presented. Here, both the textual and visual representation of indigenous people have been investigated in a qualitative manner. The quantitative data is presented in tables, while the qualitative data is presented through text. The analysis is based on the two analytical points inspired by Bjørndal (1967), which focus on the textual and visual representation of indigenous cultures.

4.1 Mind the Gap

Mind the Gap is written and adapted for the English general education programme (Vg1) in Norwegian upper-secondary schools by Desmond McGarrighan. McGarrighan is originally from England and has a degree in Scandinavian Studies from the University of London. Additionally, McGarrighan has studied English at the University of Bergen and has worked as a teacher in lower secondary school and Bergen Katedralskole (Fagbokforlaget). The second edition of *Mind the Gap* was published in 2006 by Fagbokforlaget, and it is written according to the LK06, meaning that it was published the same year as the new curriculum came into force. Fagbokforlaget writes in their website that the textbook "aims to take pupils through the general education programme in a way that both prepares them for the examination and inspires them to continue to learn and use English after the end of the year" (Fagbokforlaget). Fagbokforlaget also states on their website that the texts are chosen to provide good linguistic models, giving information and reading enjoyment for English language learners, *Mind the gap* is divided into ten different topics instead of chapters. This thesis research into topic 2, "The English-speaking World", and topic 5, "Native People's Literature", as these two topics include images and texts by and about indigenous cultures.

4.2 Targets

Targets was published by Aschehoug in 2015, and is a collaboration between a total of five authors, namely Lillian Balsvik, Øivind Bratberg, James Stephen Henry, Julia Kagge and Rikke Pihlstrøm. As with *Mind the Gap*, *Targets* is written and adapted to the English general education programme (Vg1) in upper-secondary schools in Norway, and it covers the English subject curriculum for the general education programme. Aschehoug writes on their website that, in line with the revised curriculum in 2013, the textbook has increased focus on skills and strategies in language learning and oral and written communication (Aschehoug). Additionally, English as a world language has been emphasized with a focus on living and cultures in the English-speaking world. *Targets* consist of six chapters in total where chapter 4, "The USA and Canada", and chapter 5, "Around the World", relate to the current thesis.

4.3 Tracks SF

Tracks SF is also written and adapted for English in the general education programme (Vg1) by Ellen Johanne Narum Fodnestøl, Silje Moen, Helen Murray, and Rasma Haidri Sjøvoll. The textbook was published by Cappelen Damm in 2016, i.e. ten years after *Mind the Gap*, and it is written according to the LK06. *Tracks SF* is divided into two parts where the first part relates to culture and social life in English-speaking countries, while the second part consists of courses and linguistic resources in line with the revised curriculum from 2013 (Cappelen Damm). *Tracks SF* consists of five chapters where chapter 2, "Life & Society: North America", and chapter 4, "Life & Society: The English-speaking World", are relevant for this thesis.

4.4 The quantitative content analysis

The purpose of this section is to present the quantitative part of the study, which is achieved through the quantitative content analysis. Table 1 illustrates the distribution of the total number of images, in addition to the number of images in the indigenous corpus. As the table illustrates, there are large differences in the number of images the textbooks contain, with *Tracks SF* and *Mind the Gap* containing the most and least images respectively. The results are similar also in terms of the number of images in the indigenous corpus with 15 images separating the lowest from the highest number of images. However, the distribution of images in the indigenous corpus in the individual textbooks differs. In *Mind the Gap,* all three images are found in topic 2, which considers native people's literature. Although the images in *Mind the Gap* are in the topic about native people's literature, "The English-speaking world" expand about the topic of indigenous cultures. In *Targets* and *Tracks SF*, most of the images in the indigenous corpus are distributed within two chapters. *Targets* has distributed the indigenous images in chapter 4, "The USA and Canada", and in chapter 5, "Around the World". In *Tracks SF,* the indigenous images can be found in chapter 2, "Life & Society: North America", and in chapter 4, "Life & Society: The English-Speaking World". Thus, the indigenous people have been incorporated in *Targets* and *Tracks SF* in chapters or parts in the chapters relating to their residential countries. Consequently, the Aborigines are incorporated in chapters or parts in the chapters about Australia and so on.

Table 1 - Total images and indigenous images corpus

	Total images	**Indigenous images**
Targets	128 (100 %)	10 (7.81 %)
Tracks	355 (100 %)	18 (5.07 %)
Mind the Gap	98 (100 %)	3 (3.06 %)
Total	581 (100 %)	30 (5.16 %)

Table 2 shows the distribution of the total page count in addition to the number of pages in the indigenous page corpus. As the table shows, there are large differences in the number of pages the individual textbooks contain. The difference between *Tracks SF* and *Targets* is 56 pages, while the difference between *Tracks SF* and *Mind the Gap* is 175 pages.

Similarly, the number of pages in the indigenous page corpus differs with 25 pages between the lowest number and highest number. Notice that although *Targets* does not have the largest number of total pages, it has the largest number of pages related to indigenous cultures. Furthermore, the same applies to the distribution of pages in the indigenous page corpus in each of the textbook, as to the distribution of images in the indigenous image corpus discussed above.

Table 2 - Total pages and Indigenous pages corpus

	Total page corpus	Indigenous page corpus
Targets	328 (100 %)	40 (12.20 %)
Tracks SF	384 (100 %)	36 (9.38 %)
Mind the Gap	209 (100 %)	15 (8.13 %)
Total	821 (100 %)	91 (11.08 %)

The numbers presented in table 2 refers to the different indigenous cultures as one group. Two reasons exist for choosing this approach. Firstly, the English subject curriculum refers to the different cultures as "indigenous peoples in English-speaking countries" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013, p. 10). Secondly, the number of images and pages from the individual cultures is generally small, but it is of interest to investigate how frequently the individual indigenous cultures have been represented. As discussed in section 3.3, both the indigenous image and page corpora include all images or pages that are related to indigenous cultures. The Native American, the Aboriginal, and the Maori culture are represented in all the three textbooks, however, *Targets* and *Tracks SF* include the Inuit culture as well.

As illustrated in Table 3, of the total of ten images of indigenous people in *Targets*, seven were dedicated to Native Americans, one to Inuit, one to Aborigines, and one to Maoris. In *Tracks SF,* there was a total of 18 images of indigenous cultures. Eight of the images were dedicated to Native Americans, four to Aborigines and six to Maoris. *Mind the Gap* had three images of indigenous culture in where one was dedicated to Aboriginal culture

and two to Native American culture. Thus, the Native American culture is the most represented indigenous culture in terms of the number of images, while the Inuit culture is by far the least represented indigenous culture. They are also not the focus of this study.

Table 3 - Individual culture count of the indigenous image corpus

	Native Americans	Aboriginal	Maori	Inuit
Targets	7 (70 %)	1 (10 %)	1 (10 %)	1 (10 %)
Tracks SF	8 (44.44 %)	4 (22.22 %)	6 (33.33 %)	0 (0 %)
Mind the Gap	2 (66.67 %)	1 (33.33 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)
Total	17 (56.67 %)	6 (20 %)	7 (23.33 %)	1 (3.33 %)

Table 4 illustrates that of the total of forty pages in *Targets* dedicated to indigenous people, twenty-three were dedicated to Native Americans, five to Inuit, seven to Aborigines and five to Maoris. In *Tracks SF* there were a total of thirty-six pages of indigenous cultures. Thirteen of the pages were dedicated to Native Americans, seven to Aborigines and twelve to Maoris. *Mind the Gap* had fifteen pages of indigenous cultures in where four was dedicated to Aboriginal culture, six to Native American culture, and five to Maori culture. Here, the emphasis on Native American and Maori is quite close in *Mind the Gap* and *Tracks SF* but not in *Target*. Again, the Inuit is the least represented indigenous culture.

Table 4 - Individual culture count of the indigenous page corpus

	Native American	Aboriginal	Maori	Inuit
Targets	23 (57.50 %)	7 (17.50 %)	5 (12.50 %)	5 (12.50 %)
Tracks SF	13 (36.11 %)	7 (19.44 %)	12 (33.33 %)	0 (0 %)
Mind the Gap	6 (40 %)	4 (26.67 %)	5 (33.33 %)	0 (0 %)
Total	42 (46.15 %)	18 (19.78 %)	22 (24.18 %)	5 (5.49 %)

4.5 The descriptive analytical method

The purpose of this section is to present the qualitative part of the study, which is achieved through the descriptive analytical method. The section is divided according to the two analytical points inspired by Bjørndal (1967), the textual and visual representation of indigenous cultures, and designed by applying the qualitative content analysis to the topics and chapters that represent indigenous cultures in the textbooks used in this study.

4.5.1 The textual representation of indigenous cultures

The descriptive analytical method is divided according to the two analytical points in section 3.1.1. Therefore, this part will first focus on the textual representations of indigenous cultures, before focusing on the visual representations of indigenous populations. In this part, the texts are chosen on the basis of the criteria in section 3.1.1.

4.5.1.1 Topic 2 in *Mind the Gap* – "The English-speaking world"

Topic 2 in *Mind the Gap* starts by referring to the aim of the teaching of the topic, which is "to discuss social conditions and values in different cultures in the English-speaking world" (McGarrighan, 2006, p. 24; Ministry of Education, 2013). Thus, the pupils will get acquainted with different cultures around the world, which shall contribute to the development of their cultural understanding.

The headline "Australia" (p. 31) indicate that this is a factual text about a country in Oceania. The second paragraph is dedicated to Aborigines, who are referred to as the original inhabitants of Australia. The text estimates how many Aborigines lived in Australia before the European settlement, and what was the lowest number after the discrimination and land expropriation. The next paragraph states that Aborigines are still waiting for a formal apology

for the injustice they were subjected to by the Australian government, which has led to unemployment, imprisonment and drug abuse. Note that *Mind the Gap* was written in 2006, i.e. before Kevin Rudd, Australia's former Prime Minister, held an apology speech for the Aborigines in 2008. Paragraph four states that the life expectancy for the average Aboriginal male versus the total male population in Australia. The expectancy is 21 years fewer for the average Aboriginal man. The text continues by conveying that the Aboriginal community has high rates of ill-health and violence, and that infant mortality among Aborigines is four times higher than in the rest of the country. The next paragraph continues with the same type of representation where the health of the Aborigines is represented as poorer than that of people in poor Third World countries. Furthermore, the text states that the Aborigines are more prone to die violent deaths than the rest of the population.

The factual text about New Zealand and the Maoris, the indigenous people of the land, starts by stating that the land is dominated by two cultural groups, i.e. New Zealanders of Caucasian descent and the Maori population (p. 34). It goes on to include Maori oral history about how they arrived on the islands. The factual text also informs about the Treaty of Waitangi between the British Crown and Maori chiefs. The next paragraph continues to inform about the treaty and the "New Zealand wars" between the Europeans settlers and the Maori. The next paragraph is about who owns the land in New Zealand where it appears that most of the land "is owned by the descendants of white settlers and that the Maoris are marginalized" (McGarrighan, 2006, p. 34). Paragraph five states that most of New Zealand's poor are Maori descendants, and that Maori unemployment is three times the national average. Furthermore, the paragraph conveys that poverty, violence and family break-ups among the Maori are rising.

The factual text about the United States of America dedicates *one* sentence to the USA's indigenous people (p. 43). The sentence conveys that the Native Americans alone ruled the lands of America for millennials before the European settlers arrived after Columbus's discovery of the continent in 1492. Thus, of a total of 15 pages about the United States, *one* sentence is dedicated to the natives in this topic.

4.5.1.2 Topic 5 in *Mind the Gap* – "Native People's Literature"

Topic 5 starts in the same way as topic 2 by stating the aim of the topic, which is "to discuss [and elaborate on] texts by and about indigenous peoples in English-speaking countries (McGarrighan, 2006, p. 130; Ministry of Education, 2013). As mentioned in the introduction, this is the only competence aim focusing exclusively on indigenous peoples in the English subject curriculum for general (Vg1) and vocational education and training (Vg1/Vg2) programmes.

The topic starts with a factual text about the Maori people stating that the Maori influence in the language of New Zealand, traditions and the landscape is still strong and that New Zealand is currently (2006) experiencing a revival of Maori culture (p. 130). Furthermore, the text reminds the reader about the importance of remembering that much of the Maori literature is of oral tradition, which is why the amount of the oral material is large compared to the written literature. Following this, the textbook offers an example of a Maori story that has been written down in English with the title "How Kiwi Lost His Wings" (p. 131-133).

"Australia and its Aborigines", a factual text about the Aborigines, is about the indigenous people of Australia and consists of a factual and a fictional text (p. 134). This part about the Aborigines in topic 5 starts with the factual text where the first part is about the Aboriginal history, while the second part is about their contemporary life in Australia. Both parts focus to a great extent on death, diseases, health and economic difficulties, imprisonment, unemployment, poor education, alcohol abuse and domestic violence. However, the Aboriginal story "The Coming of Death" (p. 135) offers an insight into the Aboriginal belief system, culture and language by telling about how an Aboriginal god created the first humans in Australia with a great focus on nature and its inhabitants.

In total there are three texts about the Native Americans in topic 5 in *Mind the Gap* (p. 136-140). The first text is about their history, the second is about their contemporary life, and the third is a Native American folktale. The first paragraph in the first text, "The Native Americans", contrasts the situation of the natives before and after the European settlement where the settlers justified the takeover of the land by regarding the natives as "uncivilized, lazy, untrustworthy and stupid" (McGarrighan, 2006, p. 136). The second paragraph writes that the natives "were sometimes hunted like animals" (McGarrighan, 2006, p. 136), and that the Europeans brought deadly diseases over the sea, which killed a large part of the native population. The factual text, "What is the situation today?", starts by elaborating the harsh

conditions in native reservations, but switches to a more positive tone by writing that the natives experience a cultural and ethnic revival because of the civil rights movement of the 1960s (p. 138). The text also emphasizes the historical and moral importance of the natives before finishing with the fiction text "How Bear Lost His Tail", which is a Native American folktale about how the bear lost his tail because he was tricked by the fox to ice fish with his tail.

4.5.1.3 Chapter 4 in *Targets* – "The USA and Canada"

Chapter 4 starts with the competence aims covered in the chapter. The aims are divided into two, "language and communication" and "culture, society and literature", where all the five competence aims belonging to "culture, society and literature" may relate to indigenous cultures. The chapter aims to discuss and elaborate on culture and social conditions in the USA and Canada, explore and discuss poetry, songs, short stories and novel excerpts. Finally, yet importantly, the chapter aims to explore literature by and about indigenous peoples.

The first text that considers indigenous cultures, "The USA - A Patchwork Nation", with "patchwork" referring to the great diversity in the country, barely mentions the Native Americans (p. 142). The natives have been mentioned in the context of the many conflicts that have existed between different groups (p. 143), and in the margin next conveying that more is elaborated about the natives on page 185. In fact, the natives are mentioned already in the text "Independent Spirits: The "Far West", stating that the largest Native American areas are in the west, and that that the nomadic lifestyles of the natives were best suited for the rough conditions here (p. 149). Additionally, "The White Man Drew a Small Circle" (p. 184) about "the white man" and "the red man", i.e. "the Indian", is a poem that contrasts the knowledge of the two men from different ethnic groups.

"Native Americans: We Are Still Here", a factual text solely about the native people of the USA, starts by conveying how the natives lived before the European settlement, and which terms are the most common to use when referring to the Native Americans (p. 185). The last paragraph writes about the European colonization of the Native Americans, before the text addresses one of many aspects of the colonization period, namely the native reservations, stating that the reservations were a result of wars between the natives and the

U.S. government and that there were poor living conditions in the enclosed areas (p. 186). The text also reveals that the natives were forbidden from practising their traditional religions and that the native children were placed in reservation schools or boarding schools with the purpose to assimilate them to English and "white" American norms (p. 186). Furthermore, the text addresses the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890, which was a shooting between the natives and the U.S. soldiers because of the bad conditions in the reservations, and about the plains wars between the natives and the U.S. government (p. 186). The rest of the factual text discloses that the reservations became homelands and political centres and that the natives began to fight for their rights. Additionally, it appears that today's natives live like many other Americans with the same status and rights, and that:

> *"Visitors to the U.S. who expect Native Americas to wear feathered headdresses and beaded buckskin are surprised to learn that most native people live in cities and use modern conveniences like electricity and indoor plumbing. Because of the disadvantages that they faced historically, Native Americans are disproportionately represented among the poor and alcoholic in the U.S. Native Americans work hard to address such social problems today"*

> (Balsvik et al., 2015, p.186-187)

The last part of the text conveys that the Native Americans are unique in the U.S. today because of their political status and their focus on tribal sovereignty instead on full U.S. citizenship. Moreover, three issues are addressed that dominate contemporary tribal negotiations with the U.S. government. At the end of the text, it appears that the natives are frustrated over the use of Native American figures as sports mascots and advertising symbols because such promotions reduce natives to appearances and historical stereotypes.

The factual text about the Native Americans in *Targets* reveals that storytelling and storytellers are important in the Native American culture (p. 191). The short story "This Is What It Means to Say Phoenix, Arizona" by the Native American author Sherman Alexie is about traditions, the U.S. government, life within and outside the reservation, but most importantly, the story is about the loss and the rediscovery of a native identity.

In the part about Canada (p. 205-219), there are a few factual sentences about the "First Nations", i.e. the Aboriginal people, and the Inuit people of the country. More is written about the Inuit than the Aborigines in this part about Canada. The story "The Custom"

(p. 217) by the Inuit writer Charlie Patsauq is about the price earlier Inuit generations had to pay to survive. Before the story, there is a short factual text about the history of the Inuit, how they live today, and challenges they face in the towns and small settlements.

4.5.1.4 Chapter 5 in *Targets* – "Around the World"

Chapter 5 in *Targets* starts in the same manner as chapter 4, "The USA and Canada", by stating the competence aims of the chapter, which also are divided into the parts "language and communication" and "culture, society and literature". All the three competence aims in the part "culture, society and literature" may relate to indigenous cultures. Chapter 5 aims to discuss and elaborate on cultures and social conditions in various English-speaking countries, read and explore different types of literary texts from around the world, and read and discuss literature by and about indigenous people.

Targets provides the reader with facts about the Aborigines, the indigenous people of Australia, by elaborating how the Aborigines lived before the European settlement, and that their descendants still have strong ties to the land and the areas of their origin (p. 257-258). Furthermore, *Targets* conveys that the Aborigines were ignored or exploited until the year 1967 when the Australian Constitution gave better rights to the Aboriginal population and recognized them as Australian citizens. *Targets* also states that many of the original Aboriginal languages have disappeared, but that they are being revived today.

Chapter 5 elaborates about the film *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (2002), a film about Aborigines, based on the book *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence* (1996) written by Doris Pilkington Garimari, the daughter of one of the film characters, and the stolen generations (p. 268-271). In the part about Australia in chapter 5, a lot is written about the unrighteous treatment of and the negative attitudes towards the Aboriginal people by the Australian population and government, in addition to the government's attempt to assimilate the Aborigines to European values. The second last paragraph states that "there was an ideal of a "White Australia" at the time the film's actions took place (Balsvik et al., 2015, p. 270). The last paragraph addresses the guilt and the shock the "white Australians" felt after they became aware of the pain the government had applied to the Aborigines through the *Bringing Them Home* report in 1997.

"New Zealand and the Māori", a factual text, is retrieved from Wikipedia (p. 272). As understood by the headline, the focus is on the indigenous people of the land. The text starts by elaborating the beginning of the Maori settlement in New Zealand, and how the Maori developed their culture over several centuries. It goes on writing about the European settlement and how the relationships between the Europeans and the Maori evolved from being amicable to becoming hostile. More is written about the decline of the Maori population due to social upheaval, decades of conflicts and epidemics of European introduced diseases, but that there has been a revival of the Maori population and culture since the beginning of the 20th century. The second last paragraph elaborates further about the population development of the Maori in addition to mentioning how many speak the Maori language. The text also emphasises that the Maori people are well represented in society. Finally, the last paragraph addresses the challenges and problems of the Maori population in New Zealand and compares them to "other New Zealand ethnic groups" or "other New Zealanders" (Balsvik et al., 2015, p. 273)

"Butterflies" by the Maori writer Patricia Grace is the last indigenous text in *Targets* (275). The short story is about cultural differences, different perspectives of nature, and intercultural (mis)communication that may occur in a multicultural society.

4.5.1.5 Chapter 2 in *Tracks SF* – "Life & Society: North America"

Chapter 5 starts with a selection of learning targets in focus where the second part of the first aim is "to discuss and elaborate on texts by and about indigenous people in North America" (Sjøvoll et al., 2016, p. 58; Ministry of Education, 2013). The beginning page also consists of twenty-chapter keywords where "Native American" is one of them.

"Native Americans in the USA", a factual text, is divided into three (p. 91). The first part presents the history of the native people of the United States, the second part is about the life on the reservations, and the third part is about the Native Americans in contemporary times. The second paragraph in the history part starts as follows: "The coming of the white man affected all Native Americans" (Sjøvoll et al., 2016, p. 91). In fact, the word 'white' is used three times in this text about the natives in the USA. The rest of the paragraph conveys how the natives' lives changed to the worse after the arrival of the European settlers who

drove them off the land, placed them in reservations, and brought deadly diseases. The part about the life on the reservations tells about bad conditions with poverty, unemployment, alcoholism and violence, which made the natives dependent on governmental aid. Furthermore, the text states that "the white government made it unlawful for the Native Americans to practice their religion, and sent many children away to boarding schools to become "civilized" (Sjøvoll et al., 2016, p. 91). The third part about Native Americans in modern times writes about better conditions and a prouder native population despite poverty, discrimination and injustice, and problems and challenges with gambling, low income, highest rates of unemployment, alcoholism and suicide, in addition to lower average life expectancy than the rest of the American population. Following this, two song lyrics are presented. Woody Guthrie's song called "This Land Is Your Country" is presented first. Guthrie's song is contrasting, as it is about the beauty of the USA, but also about the need for social equality and human dignity. The second song called "My Land" is released by the Native American rapper Litefoot, which is evidently inspired by the of Guthrie.

"Indian Education", a short story by the Native American writer Sherman Alexie from the Spokane Indian Reservation, focuses on a native boy called Victor, who the reader follows from first grade to high school (p. 96). The text depicts a schooling consisting of bullying, teachers with different cultural backgrounds, expectations and failures, friendship and love, teenage misbehaviours and problems, a conflict between the "white" and the natives, and milestones in the youths' lives. The reader also gets an insight into the natives' culture, tradition, history, and society consisting of poverty, health issues, alcohol abuse, stereotypes and prejudices, among other things.

4.5.1.6 Chapter 4 in *Tracks SF* – "Life & Society: The English-Speaking World"

The beginning of chapter 4 consists of a selection of learning targets in focus where the first relates to indigenous people. The learning target concerns culture and society with the aim that the pupils should "learn about English-speaking countries and their indigenous people" (Sjøvoll et al., 2016, p. 200; Ministry of Education, 2013). Most of the information about and depictions of Aborigines and Maori can be found in the text "Empire to Independence: Australia and New Zealand" and in the separate sections about Australia and New Zealand.

"Empire to Independence: Australia and New Zealand" is a factual text about the history and modern-day Australia and New Zealand. In the part "First peoples", the Aborigines are presented as the native people of Australia who identified themselves with their language or their land they lived in, and who had a strong spiritual attachment to the land (p. 207). Moreover, the text also conveys that the Aborigines tolerated the "white newcomers", who they traded with, helped, and worked as trackers for because of their superior survival skills. "Reducing the native population" elaborates on conflicts between the natives and the British settlers, in addition to the two ways the settlers attempted to eradicate the natives. The first way, the so-called Big Bushwhacking illegal practice, involved the settlers tracking the natives through the bush before shooting them like a game. The second way involved placing Aboriginal children, especially those of mixed race, in government institutions. In the text, it appears that they were put to work for "wealthy white Australians", while those with "light skin" attended school. Furthermore, the text conveys that the Australian Constitution excluded the natives until 1983 when they were granted full voting rights and the right to own the land and that the Aborigines received a formal apology in 2008 from the Australian government for the treatment of them as a people.

More is written about Australia in chapter 4, starting with small fact texts about the country, and at the bottom right of the page a little is written about the Aborigines, among other things, that they were driven away and killed by the "white people" (p. 217). Furthermore, this part about Australia addresses the ethnic diversity in the country (p. 220-221). People from different cultures tell what it means to be an Australian, and what it is like to be an Aboriginal Australian today. Chapter 4 also offers two poems written by two Aboriginal poets, both of which are about racism and national identity (p. 230-231).

"Life & Society: The English-Speaking World" elaborates about New Zealand as well, starting with the successful first meeting between British settlers and the Maori (p. 210-212). The text continues telling about the good cooperation between the two groups of people, but that this good relationship between the Maori and some British settlers changed to the worse when the missionaries entered the country. The relationship changed drastically when the British deceived the Maori to sign a treaty that made them lose land rights. The text also depicts a more modern Maori people, who moved to the cities to find jobs, but who still have strong roots to their culture and traditions. "Multicultural pride and progressive view", a text about New Zealand, conveys that the Maori received an apology by Queen Elisabeth II

because they were deceived by British settlers to sign a treaty that led to Land Wars and killings.

More is elaborated about New Zealand in this chapter, starting with several small factual texts about the Maori (p. 233-248). A little is written about the Maori warrior dance, the haka, that the rugby team named "All Blacks" performs before every match (p. 235). The reader also gets to read about the history and today's use of the traditional Maori tattooing called "moko" (p. 239, 240). The last text about the Maori is "Transition" written by the Maori and European writer Patricia Grace (p. 244-246). This short story is about a Maori family who is considering leaving their ancestral home in favour of the city in hope of a better future. The story is about strong land roots and family bonds, poverty, illness, bad schooling, and traditions. The reader also gets insight into the Maori language, as Maori words appear in the story.

4.5.2 The visual representation of indigenous people

Until now, the textual representations of indigenous populations are presented. Now, the visual representations of indigenous cultures will be offered. Like the texts in section 4.5.1, the images are chosen on the basis of the criteria in section 3.1.1.

4.5.2.1 *Mind the Gap*

No images of indigenous people are found in topic 2, "The English-speaking World", in *Mind the Gap*. However, the reader is met by the headline "Australia and its Aborigines" followed by an image of an Aboriginal rock art in topic 5, "Native People's Literature" (p. 134). The image tells about an important part of their history, and this is the first image representing an indigenous culture in *Mind the Gap*. "What is the situation today?", a factual text about the natives' situation today in topic 5, is followed by an image of three lower bodies wearing traditional Native American shoes, pants and dresses, which are all colourful with traditional patterns (p. 138).

4.5.2.2 Targets

Two identical images in different sizes are found in chapter 4, "The USA and Canada", connected to the factual text "Native Americans: We Are Still Here" (p. 185, 187). The relatively blurry image is of three smiling native youths wearing traditional clothing in a school hallway. In the image text, the reader is informed that the students are wearing traditional tribal outfits at the Wellpinit Elementary/High School on the Spokane Indian Reservation in Washington State (Balsvik et al., 2015, p. 187). Another image in found after the factual text (p. 188). The image is from the film "Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee", and depicts several men facing a Native American man. One of the men facing the native is sitting, while the rest is standing, including the native. The man sitting and the native man are looking each other in the eyes while holding a pen. The native man has traditional braiding and he is wearing a patterned shirt and something that looks like an actual blanket, while the other men are wearing clothing that looks like military uniforms.

A total of eight images are connected to the Native American short story, "This Is What It Means to Say Phoenix, Arizona", by Sherman Alexie in chapter 4 in *Targets*. Four of the images fit the criteria in chapter 3 of this thesis. The first image is of the two main characters, Victor and Thomas-Builds-the-Fire, from the movie *Smoke Signals*. Both have long, black hair and both are wearing modern western clothing. The second image depicts an image of a dreamcatcher followed by an image text stating that dream catchers are part of the Native American culture (p. 195). The third image shows a Native American totem pole (p. 198) followed by another image of Victor, the protagonist in *Smoke Signals* and in the short story "Indian Education" by Sherman Alexie (p. 199). He is wearing a red singlet with his long black hair loose while looking straight in the camera. In chapter 4 of *Targets*, an Inuit man wearing a coat of something that appears like reindeer fur is depicted (p. 217). He is portrayed in a snowy landscape while holding a gun in his left hand.

An image from the film *The Rabbit-Proof Fence* is found in chapter 5 in *Targets* (p. 269). A white man is seen kidnapping an Aboriginal child in the image, while two other children are being tried kept away. The man is wearing a uniform of some kind, while the three girls are wearing dresses made out of straw material. In chapter

5, there is also an image of two Maori men embracing each other (p. 273). Their foreheads and noses are touching while holding each other's hands. Both are wearing Maori traditional clothing and artefacts, and the man to the left has traditional moko tattooed on his face. The image text states that "the hongi is a traditional Māori welcoming ceremony" (Balsvik et al., 2015, p. 273).

4.5.2.3 Tracks SF

Two contrasting images of Native Americans are found in chapter 2, "Life & Society: North America", in *Tracks SF* (p. 92-93). The first image is from the 19th century by a native on a horse hunting a buffalo with an arrow and a bow, while the second image is of Gilbert Blue Bird from the Sioux tribe on a horse in the Pine Ridge Reservation. The image text belonging to the image of Gilbert Blue Bird conveys that this reservation is among the poorest areas in the USA today. Chapter 2 also depict two contrasting images of Native Americans (p. 94-95). The first image is a profile of Sitting Bull, which was one of the Sioux tribe leaders. He is wearing traditional native clothing, while the second image is of three Native American school graduates wearing graduating clothing with modern western clothing underneath. A total of three images are found on page 96 to page 103 of Native Americans. The first image is of a feather and a strand of hairs on a fence (p. 97). The second image is of six native children wearing modern western clothing sitting on a car or standing beside (p. 98). The third image is of a young native man connected to the text "Indian Education" (p. 101). He has long black hair, tattoos on this left arm, and he is wearing a plain black t-shirt.

An image connected to the factual text, "Reducing the native people", is found in chapter 4, "Life & Society: The English-Speaking World" (p. 209). The image depicts "Aboriginal Australians demonstrating in front of the Parliament House in Canberra", as stated in the image text below (Sjøvoll et al., 2016, p. 209). They are wearing modern western clothing while holding up flags and signs. Chapter 4 also depicts an illustration of an Aboriginal man placed on the Australian map (p. 217). He is wearing a red hairband and red panties ("truser") while playing the traditional Aboriginal instrument didgeridoo. Furthermore, an image of an Aboriginal child from the film *Australia* (2000) is depicted in this chapter. The child is standing behind a fence while holding it with both hands. A side

profile of a Maori man with traditional Maori tattooing, moko is illustrated beside the New Zealand map (p. 233). An image of several Maori men is also found in chapter 4 with the image text "Moko being applied on a Maori man" (Sjøvoll et al., 2016, p. 239). In the image, one man is lying on the floor, a second man is tattooing the lying man's face, and a third is holding the lying man's hand. We can also see a hand holding a flashlight in the image, and a man leaning over the lying man's feet. All four men are shirtless. The rest of the image is quite blurry. There is also a depiction of two Maori men with the image text "Maori dawn ceremony at Waikanae Beach, New Zealand" (Sjøvoll et al., 2016, p. 240). Both are shirtless with moko tattoos on their faces, and both are holding a wooden stock each.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has presented the results from the descriptive analytical method, the quantitative content analysis and the qualitative content analysis. A short presentation of the three textbooks analysed in the study was given at the beginning of the chapter. Following this, the result from the quantitative content analysis was presented, which revealed that there are large differences in the number of images the textbooks contain with *Tracks SF* and *Mind the Gap* containing the most and least images respectively. The quantitative content analysis also revealed that the distribution of images in the indigenous corpus in the individual textbooks differs. The descriptive analytics method investigated both the textual and visual representation of indigenous cultures and disclosed several tendencies in the representation of indigenous cultures in the textbooks that may affect the cultural understanding of the pupils. In the next chapter, the findings will be discussed.

5 Discussion

The main aim of the current thesis is to examine the visual and textual representation of indigenous cultures in English textbooks for upper-secondary schools. The purpose is to figure out whether they contribute or contradict with the cultural competence aims in the English subject curriculum in the LK06. This thesis also investigates the handling of the concepts of culture and indigeneity in the *core curriculum* and the *Quality Framework* in the LK06, in addition to other official documents to give a more holistic understanding of the issue. The documents focus on the promotion of respect, tolerance and understanding of the cultural diversity in today's multicultural society. Intercultural competence is a suitable collective term for this, as it considers the necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to properly communicate with persons with different cultural background (Bøhn and Dypedahl, 2009, p. 153-154). Thus, the aim of the English language education should be a dynamic cultural understanding emphasizing diversity, change and individuality, and not on a descriptive cultural understanding of cultures considering cultures as static and innate. As it appeared in section 2.4, Norwegian schools focused on factual knowledge of, among others, cultures for a long period of time. Luckily, the focus changed to become more communicative in the 1970s. Therefore, it can be said that the schools promoted a descriptive cultural understanding until this shift occurred, which changed the promotion to a more dynamic perspective. Brown and Habegger-Conti (2016) revealed that textbooks for lower-secondary schools contradict with the general cultural aims of English teaching in the Norwegian LK06 curriculum. By looking at English textbooks for upper-secondary schools in Norway written for the LK06, the current study seeks to examine whether the textbooks encourage a dynamic or a descriptive cultural understanding.

In this chapter, the findings from the analysis of the three English textbooks will be discussed in relation to the sub-questions. This chapter will start by discussing the findings from the quantitative content analysis before addressing research question 1a, which discusses whether the textbook promotes a dynamic or descriptive understanding of indigenous cultures. The third part of the study discusses the representation of indigenous cultures and what consequences these representations can have for the cultural understanding and the intercultural competence of pupils, as addressed in research question 1b. The general tendencies from the analysis form the core of the discussion because of the qualitative nature

of the study. Additionally, the finding will be considered in relation to the theories discussed in chapter two.

5.1 The division between the different indigenous groups

The quantitative content analysis revealed some interesting findings. In total, section 4.4 consists of four tables. Table 1 revealed that *Tracks SF* presents more images than *Mind the Gap*, which has the least images of the three textbooks. This difference can be related to how society has evolved to become increasingly visual. This may be compatible especially since *Tracks SF* (2016) is the newest and *Mind the Gap* (2006) the eldest of the three books in the study.

In relation to the distribution of images in these textbooks, *Mind the Gap* has a separate chapter for indigenous people, while *Targets* and *Tracks SF* have incorporated indigenous groups in chapters or parts in the chapters related to their residential countries. In regard of page distribution, *Targets* has the largest number of pages dedicated to indigenous cultures, while *Mind the Gap* has the lowest number of pages, while the difference in the distribution of pages between *Tracks SF* and *Targets* is not significant. These differences in the distribution of images and pages can indicate that *Targets* and *Tracks SF* are more inclusive in relation to indigenous cultures than *Mind the Gap*.

Table 3 and 4 in section 4.4 illustrate the distribution of images and pages dedicated to the different indigenous groups. Table 3 reveals that the Native American culture is the most represented indigenous cultures, while the opposite is true for the Inuit culture. Table 4 reveals that the emphasis on the Native American and Maori culture is quite close and that the Inuit culture is again the least represented indigenous groups. These findings indicate that the Inuit is the least prioritised group in all three textbooks, while the Native American culture is the most prioritised group. Thus, it can be concluded that there is an uneven distribution of the indigenous groups, which can affect pupils in upper-secondary schools in Norway negatively as they do not get to know the diversity of indigenous cultures in the English-speaking countries.

5.2 Dynamic versus descriptive understanding

This section addresses four tendencies related to research question 1a, which concerns around cultural understanding. This discussion is important because research conducted before and after the implementation of the LK06 shows that textbooks were and still are widely used in teaching (Johnsen and Sivesind, 1993; Strand, 1995; Skog et al., 2000; Waagene & Gjerustad, 2015). The extensive use of the textbook may be explained by Vygotsky's theory that the textbook can be perceived as a mediating artefact that functions as the more capable partner in a learning process called scaffolding in the zone of proximal development (Säljö, 2013, p. 73-75). The textbook thus serves as an important support in the learning of the pupils in addition to the teacher and fellow pupils. Because of the extensive use and its importance in the learning process, a proper representation of indigenous cultures is important to promote an accurate and updated cultural understanding in the pupils. The development of the cultural understanding depends on which manner the different cultures are represented in the textbooks, which is what this section aims to discern. As discussed in the introduction, a stereotypical representation contributes to a static and descriptive cultural understanding. On the other hand, a proper representation promotes a nuanced and a dynamic understanding in addition to depicting the diversity of cultures.

The first tendency in all the three textbooks, especially in *Mind the Gap*, is to compare the different indigenous people with the majority of the population in the different countries. The indigenous people are often put at a disadvantage in this comparison due to higher rates of death, diseases, health and economic difficulties, imprisonments, unemployment, poor education, alcohol abuse, domestic violence, etc. The great focus on the many problems and challenges in the various indigenous societies may be stereotypical and negative, as this focus contributes to a unilateral representation, i.e. a descriptive understanding, of people with an otherwise rich cultural diversity, This unilateral representation inhibits the pupils' cultural development because they do not gain an insight into the rich cultural and traditional life of the different indigenous cultures. An essentialist view, i.e. a descriptive understanding, of cultures is static and may contribute to both stereotypes and prejudices (Hall, 1997; Holliday et al., 2010). Stereotypes are problematic as they do not comply well with the LK06, which aims to develop intercultural competence, as discussed in chapter 2. A shift in focus to distinct indigenous cultural aspects, such as arts, language, sports, everyday life, will break

conventions, empower the indigenous cultures and create a different and less prejudicial dynamic in the school system, although the problems and challenges also should be enlightened.

What is not written or depicted can also be a finding in itself. In fact, little is explained in the textbooks why the situation of the indigenous population has become as it is today, which is due to, among other things, the colonization and assimilation policy the natives were exposed to by the governments in the different countries. An example that could have been used in the textbooks could be based on some of the consequences of the cruel colonization and assimilation period, which are stigmatization, racism, discrimination, and prejudices. Such attitudes may be a reason why certain employers do not want to hire people from certain cultures, and thus poverty continues to rule, which has a tendency to generate to other problems. It may be that the textbooks expect pupils to draw conclusions from the history of the indigenous people that is presented in the textbooks, but teachers and textbook producers should not take it for granted that pupils are able to see this context. In that case, a risk is that a significant cause of reasoning disappears.

The second tendency in the textbooks, particularly in *Targets*, is to focus largely on the negative side of the history of the indigenous people after the arrival of the European settlers to the land of theirs. As it appears in the findings, the situation of the natives in all countries changed to the worst after the arrival of the Europeans over the sea. Giving attention to the unpleasant side of the past is equally important as giving attention to the pleasant side of the past. However, if the textbooks focus exclusively on the negative side of the history, it will eventually lead to a one-sided cultural understanding, i.e. a descriptive understanding (Dahl, 2014), of an otherwise comprehensive history of the various indigenous populations consisting of both a negative and a positive side. Two textual representations about the Aborigines and the Maori that show a positive side of indigenous people especially well is found in chapter 4 in *Tracks SF*, as presented in section 4.5.1.6. In both representations, it appears that Aborigines and the Maori initially accepted the European newcomers. They welcomed them, tolerated them, traded with them, helped them, and even worked for them. A suggestion for all three textbooks, or textbooks in general, would be to focus less on structural binarism and elaborate more on positive events and interactions in the history, as this is positive for the cultural understanding and the perception of indigenous populations.

On the contrary, the third tendency in the textbooks may contribute to a dynamic understanding of the indigenous cultures. Although the three textbooks to a certain extent focus on the negative side of the period after the European settlement, they focus to some extent on positive changes that have happened in indigenous societies the last decades, such as cultural and ethnic revival, better rights and recognition of indigenous people as full citizens by their residential countries. As discussed in the theory chapter 2, change is a fundamental aspect of the dynamic cultural understanding (Holliday et al., 2010, p. 3-4). To understand that cultures adapt and thus change according to how the society develops contributes to this intercultural competence. *Tracks SF* and *Targets* stand out in relation to the focus on change by conveying the situation of the indigenous peoples in the 20th and 21st century. An enlightening example of the changes that have occurred in the long quotation about the contemporary situation of Native Americans from *Targets* in section 4.5.1.3. This quotation draws the attention away from the typical traditional and stereotypical representation, thus contributing positively to the cultural understanding by focusing on the current situation in indigenous societies. Additionally, *Tracks SF* and *Targets* depict several images of indigenous people wearing modern clothing indicating adaption and change, which also may contribute positively to the dynamic cultural understanding. However, an unfortunate example in relation to this issue are the two images of two riding Native Americans on pages 92 and 93 in *Tracks SF*. These are two images from two different eras, but not much has changed, as though time has stood still. Thus, this representation may contribute negatively to the dynamic cultural understanding. However, the notion that time has stood still can also be a part of something dynamic, as something stays the same and other things change. For example, some Sami still herd reindeer even though it is a stereotype, but that does not mean that things have remained the same because also traditions are constantly changing and adapting according to society.

Another important aspect of dynamic cultural understanding is to understand the complexity of individuals of a culture, which can help to improve communication with people from a different cultural background (Holliday et al., 2010, p. 3-4), i.e. better intercultural communication. This aspect is particularly prominent in images, as they have a great dissemination ability, perhaps even more than text, as images have the potential to reach out and appeal to a larger audience. Many of the textbook images focus on the traditional and conventional characteristics of the various indigenous cultures, as seen in the findings. An interesting example is the image of three lower bodies dressed in traditional Native clothing

in *Mind the Gap*. One may question why the image only depicts lower bodies, and if the people in the image are Native Americans at all. In the worst case, this may be a form of dehumanizing by not giving the people in the image a face, although that does not have to be the case or intention. However, some of the images in the textbooks, particularly in *Tracks SF*, manage to convey the individual complexity of a culture, as seen in the close examination of the textbook images in section 4.5.2.3. In many of the images, there is a mix between the modern and the traditional, between the western and the indigenous. One important thing to emphasize is that the point is not to turn the focus away from the traditional and unique of indigenous cultures because the traditional and unique are what construct different cultures. It may only be problematic in relation to the cultural understanding and the intercultural competence of the pupils if textbooks *solely* focus on this part of the different cultures because of the complexity that exists in each individual culture.

Finally, the last tendency in the textbooks that can affect the cultural understanding is the inclusion of authentic texts, either written by indigenous writers themselves or obtained from indigenous oral traditions. All three textbooks include several authentic texts of and about indigenous people. *Mind the Gap* contains three folktales from the Aboriginal, the Maori and the Native American culture. *Targets* consist of a short story written by a Maori writer in addition to a text and an excerpt from the film based on a book written by an Aborigine writer. Finally, *Tracks SF* consists of a short story written by a Native American writer, two poems of Aboriginal writers and a short story by a Maori writer. Thus, all textbooks have authentic texts of and about indigenous cultures. In fact, *Mind the Gap* and *Tracks SF* have authentic texts representing each indigenous culture in focus in this thesis. By including both traditional and authentic texts, the reader gets a unique insight into the indigenous cultures, symbols, values and norms. Through the texts, the reader becomes familiar with different individuals from the various indigenous cultures, thus providing the reader with an insight into the individual complexities of other cultures. As discussed in section 2.4, this understanding is important when communicating with foreigners (Holliday et al., 2010, p. 3-4). Many of the authentic texts written by indigenous writers also compare how the situation of indigenous cultures was before and how things are now. By comparing past and present, pupils get a sophisticated and up-to-date representation of the indigenous cultures contributing to a dynamic cultural understanding. Additionally, the texts include words from the indigenous languages, thus offering the reader an insight into their language as well, and as pointed out in section 2.4, language and culture are strongly intertwined (Brown, 2007, p.

189). This inclusiveness and representation of the complexity of the individuality are positive for the development of the pupils' cultural understanding, as it promotes a dynamic understanding of the indigenous cultures.

5.3 Representation of indigenous cultures in the textbooks

This section addresses some tendencies related to research question 1b, which investigates more closely how indigenous populations are represented in the textbooks and how these representations may affect the cultural understanding. A common consequence is the creating of distance between cultures if the textbooks focus to a large extent on oppositions and distinctiveness of different cultures, instead of focusing on similarities to make cultures less foreign and to develop the pupils' intercultural competence. As pointed out in section 5.1, the intention is not that the schools should elide the distinctiveness of the various cultures, as the unique is what makes each culture exclusive. However, the distance that may occur between cultures often develops into a distinction between the known and the unknown, between the near and the distant, between the norm and the abnormal. In fact, people have an inherent urge to categorize the world around us to systematize it, but also to make sense of it. However, a dynamic cultural understanding can contribute to the overcoming of these binary structures of division and separation of cultures.

The visual and textual representations of indigenous cultures in *Mind the Gap, Targets and Tracks SF* tend to compare indigenous populations to the majority or the rest of the population in their residential countries. For example, *Targets* compares the Maori population to "other New Zealand ethnic groups" or "other New Zealanders (Balsvik et al., 2015, p. 273). People have a tendency to create meaning through binary oppositions (Hall, 1997, p. 31), which is why racial divisions have occurred, including distinctions between white and non-white races, as seen in the example from *Targets*. Remember that race is not a biological trait but a socially constructed concept (Brown and Habegger-Conti, 2016, p. 16-17) and that binary oppositions have the potential to dictate what may be perceived as normal versus abnormal in a society. This either/or division becomes evident when trying to determine where to draw the line between, for example, black/white races, but becomes unclear with mixed races. This unclearness may the reason why the focus is on "pure" 'white' and 'non-

white' races because this difference is prominent, making it easy to categorize them. These "lines" are becoming increasingly unclear, due to a globalised world that is becoming more and more multicultural and should, therefore, be abolished.

It also appears in the findings that the textbooks have a strong tendency to use the word 'white' when referring to the European settlers. For example, the word 'white' is used three times in one single factual text about the Native Americans in chapter 2 in *Tracks SF*, as seen in the section 4.5.1.5. The use of the word 'white' is interesting as it contributes to the idea of the racialized 'Other' in western popular culture, as it follows that 'white' must have an opposition. Throughout history, it has been common to associate white races as the norm, while non-white races have been considered as 'abnormal' or as the 'other' (Sturken and Cartwright, 2009, p. 111). A commonality is that when something is considered abnormal, it may feel threatening and dangerous (Janks et al., 2014, p. 7). This may happen when people do not have enough knowledge of what they are sceptical about, and it is because of this lack of knowledge stereotypes and prejudices occur, which is exactly what the LK06 tries to prevent and avoid. Another highly interesting finding in chapter 4 is the use of the term "Indian". Chapter 4 in *Targets* elaborates which terms are the most common to use when referring to the Native Americans, and "Indian" is not one of them. However, few pages later *Targets* refers to the natives as "Indians". Although *Tracks SF* does not mention which terms are appropriate to use, the term "Indian" is utilized in chapter 2 of the textbook. Thus, the textbooks do not respect the Native Americans who do not wish to be referred as "Indians".

As mentioned in section 5.1, an essentialist view or a descriptive understanding of cultures is very static and can contribute to both stereotypes and prejudices (Hall, 1997; Holliday et al., 2010). The risk of the occurrence of these is even larger if a dichotomy occurs between 'us' and 'them', and as discussed in chapter two, such binary oppositions are rarely neutral, as they often consist of uneven power relations (Derrida, 1972 in Hall 1997, p. 235). As stated by Dahl (2014) and Holliday et al. (2010, p. 3-4), such a cultural understanding often contributes in the creating of a distinction between different cultures as it associates certain cultural standards that allegedly have existed from generation to generation to a specific culture. This cultural innateness clearly creates a distance between people since even small differences become evident. *Mind the Gap*, for example, sets up a dichotomy between the Native Americans and the Europeans settlers who came and took over their land. The colonists justified their cruel actions by regarding the natives "as uncivilized, lazy, untrustworthy and stupid" (McGarrighan, 2006, p. 136). Binary oppositions often consist of

values and concepts of power, superiority and worth (Derrida, 1972, in Hall 1997, p. 235), as it clearly appears in the example from *Mind the Gap*.

The brutal exploitation and bloody history of the indigenous cultures represent uneven power relations, but they are of high significance to the younger generations, and people in general, which is why the school system need to incorporate reminders of colonialism and massacres. In fact, *Mind the Gap* also writes that the Native Americans "were sometimes hunted like animals" by the European settlers (McGarrighan, 2006, p. 136), in addition to elaborate about wars, European removal of Native tribes from their lands, killings, and the Europeans' and the American presidents' perception that their duty was to civilise the natives. Additionally, the image of a man on a horse surrounded by dead bodies (p. 137) is also an example of the uneven power relations between the indigenous people are the Europeans. These are examples from important historical events, which should never be forgotten or elided by the newer generations and the schools. However, such reminders need to be balanced with contemporary presentations of indigenous populations in order to develop a nuanced understanding, as Dahl (2014) indicates in his key term 'dynamic understanding'.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the teachers need to develop the pupils' cultural understanding *and* cultural knowledge. Remember that there is a difference between cultural knowledge and cultural understanding. The former may contribute to a static understanding of cultural standards, while the latter may contribute to a dynamic understanding of different cultures (Dahl, 2014). It will not be problematic in terms of cultural development to focus on both aspects if the teachers make sure to convey the present situation of the various indigenous cultures, as well as other cultures. If the textbooks aim to be more in line with the LK06, they should focus more on parallels between cultures to make them less foreign in addition to lessening the distance, thus strengthening intercultural competencies and cultural understanding.

6 Conclusion

The conclusions from the study will be presented in this chapter. To begin with, a summary of the main findings will be given in addition to an attempt to answer the thesis's three research questions. In section 6.2, some suggestions will be given relating to the implications the results of the study have for those who work with and those who produce textbooks. Finally, the limitation of the study will be summarized in section 6.3 in addition to some suggestions for further research

6.1 Main findings

The main aim of the current study was to examine how English textbooks affect the development of upper-secondary pupils' understanding of indigenous populations represented in the textbooks through images and texts by and about indigenous people. The three research-question were divided into a main research question and two sub-questions, where the sub-questions were designed to help find an answer to the main question. Therefore, it makes sense to focus on the sub-questions before addressing the main research question.

Research question 1a concerns around cultural understanding, and asks: "Does the representation of indigenous cultures promote a dynamic or a descriptive cultural understanding?". The descriptive analytical method and the qualitative content analysis revealed that all three textbooks have tendencies 1) to compare indigenous cultures to the majority of the population or other ethnic groups in the different countries, 2) to focus on the negative side of the history of the indigenous people, and 3) to focus on the traditional and conventional characteristics of the various indigenous cultures. Accordingly, these three tendencies in the upper-secondary textbooks used in this study contribute to the development of Dahl's (2014) sense of a descriptive cultural understanding of the indigenous people represented in the textbooks. Thus, the answer to research question 1a based on the findings from the study is that the texts and images representing indigenous culture in the textbooks contribute to the development of a descriptive cultural understanding. However, the fourth and the fifth tendency in relation to this question can contribute to the development of a

dynamic cultural understanding, but these two are weakened by the above-mentioned tendencies.

Research question 1b investigates more closely how indigenous populations are represented in the textbooks and how these representations affect the cultural understanding and asks: "How are indigenous people represented and what consequences do these representations have for the cultural understanding and the intercultural competence?". The descriptive analytical method revealed that the textbooks tend to focus to a large extent on oppositions and distinctiveness of indigenous cultures, which contribute to creating distance between cultures. Thus, the answer to research question 1b is that the representations of indigenous cultures weaken the cultural understanding and intercultural competence by creating distance between the cultures represented in the textbooks and between the readers, i.e. the pupils, and indigenous cultures.

Consequently, the conclusions on the two sub-question may help to provide an answer to the main research question: "To what extent does the visual and textual representation of indigenous people in English subject textbooks for Norwegian upper-secondary schools contribute to or contradict with the cultural competence aims of English education in the Norwegian Knowledge Promotional Reform?". Based on the Norwegian national curriculum for Knowledge Promotion (LK06), English subject curriculum, The Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) and Education Act, it has been argued that to achieve and increase intercultural communication, respect, tolerance, and openness for individuals from different cultures than ourselves, it is necessary to develop a dynamic cultural understanding as well as intercultural competence along Derrida's (1972 in Hall 1997) deconstruction of binary structures. This understanding and competence is achieved through the acknowledgement of the cultural diversity and the realisation that cultures change, as Hall and Holliday et al. argue in *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices* (1997) *and Intercultural communication: an advanced resource book for students* (2010, p. 3-4), in addition to the necessary intercultural knowledge, skills and attitudes (Bøhn and Dypedahl, 2009, p. 153-154). The school documents are also concerned with reducing the distance between cultures, as exemplified in the *core curriculum*, which is concerned with "meeting between diverse cultures and traditions" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2015, p. 9).

So, do the texts and images in the textbooks show cultural diversity and change in indigenous cultures? Additionally, do the images and texts bridge the distance between cultures? As chapter 4 and 5 demonstrate, the texts and images by and about indigenous cultures in the textbooks in the current study maintain these cultural aims to a lesser extent. This coincides with the findings of Brown and Habegger-Conti (2016), where they revealed that textbooks for lower-secondary schools contradict with the general cultural aims of English teaching in the Norwegian LK06 curriculum. New textbooks in English for upper-secondary schools have a great improvement potential in the showing of diversity and change, in addition to reducing the distance between cultures in the development of a dynamic cultural understanding as well as intercultural competence. Thus, the answer to the main research question is that that the visual and textual representation of indigenous people in the three English subject textbooks for Norwegian upper-secondary schools do not promote to a sufficient degree the desired cultural understanding and intercultural competence, and therefore contradict with the cultural aims in the English subject curriculum, national curriculum and other official documents.

6.2 Suggestions

Based on the findings, several suggestions can be provided to users and producers of textbooks. Bachmann et al.'s (2004) research demonstrated that textbooks have a strong position in Norwegian schools. The intention of the LK06 was to free and detach teachers and pupils to a greater extent from the textbooks, but contemporary research shows that the textbook is still the most widely used teaching tool in Norwegian schools, as established by Waagene and Gjerustad in their survey (2015). Because of the strong position and prevalence of the textbook, there is a risk that what is written and illustrated in them can be perceived as the objective truth. Since it appears in the current study that these textbooks tend to focus on the traditional and stereotypical, thereof promoting a descriptive cultural understanding, teachers should encourage critical thinking in the pupils in the development of intercultural competence and dynamic cultural understanding. In fact, and as it appeared in the introduction, the teachers' responsibility is to stimulate the pupils' development of their ability to think critically. One way to show the diversity and changes in the indigenous societies is to

go beyond the textbooks and supplement their teaching with films, social media, study trips, visits by indigenous people in class, contemporary indigenous arts and texts, etc.

In relation to producers of textbooks, Brown and Habegger-Conti (2016) suggest to include texts and images showing the individual complexity of indigenous cultures, which also this thesis suggests. Another suggestion is to present how the situation of indigenous cultures has changed throughout the ages, which makes it unnecessary for teachers to go beyond textbook as much as today. Since the findings of the study indicate that the images of texts contradict with the cultural aims, it is necessary to go outside the textbooks if the textbook producers do not start to include texts and images showing more diversity and changes that have occurred in indigenous cultures.

6.3 Limitations and recommendations for further research

To carry out a study without any limitations is not academically commendable. For such a research to be possible, infinite space and time are required, which the current study did not have, indicating that there are several limitations to be found. Firstly, the findings from the study only apply to the three textbooks used in this thesis, and can therefore not be generalized to other textbooks. Secondly, the current study concentrated only on *one* component of a learning package that normally consists of a textbook, activity book, teacher's guide, CD-room, music CD and web page. However, the current study has revealed significant tendencies of stereotyping and structural binarism contributing to a descriptive cultural understanding of the pupils in Norwegian upper-secondary schools.

In addition, this thesis has examined the visual and textual representations of indigenous cultures from a theoretical perspective. Such an approach does not necessarily reflect the reality. Therefore, more research on the practical implications is required. Brown and Habegger-Conti (2016) recommend investigating how the dynamic cultural understanding and intercultural competence development in the pupils, as there are several other factors affecting this cultural development. They also recommend investigating how the textbooks are used in practical terms in English teaching at Norwegian schools to come up with any suggestions on how teachers should be trained in the use of textbooks. A third recommendation for further research is to investigate whether the same tendencies discussed

in chapter 5 appear in all grades in the Norwegian school system to better predict the cultural development of the pupils.

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