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CULTURAL BIAS IN EFL TEXTBOOKS

Master's thesis

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Zagreb, 2018

Sveučilište u Zagrebu

Filozofski fakultet

Odsjek za Anglistiku / Katedra za metodiku

Odsjek za Pedagogiju

KULTURNA PRISTRANOST U UDŽBENICIMA ENGLESKOG JEZIKA

Diplomski rad

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Zagreb, 2018.

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Abstract

Culture has become a vital part of EFL teaching and learning and is one of the main concerns of language pedagogy. Since textbooks are still used as primary teaching tools, the present study investigates the presence and portrayal of different cultures, that is, the *others*, in two sets of EFL textbooks used in Croatian schools. Sadker and Sadker's (2001) list of seven forms of bias in instructional materials was used to examine the presence of cultural bias in the portrayal of the *other*, and related cultural content was analysed to see whether it promotes linguistic or cultural competence. The *other* was categorized according to the variables that constitute one's cultural identity: race/ethnicity, nationality, family structure and ability/disability. The analysis of images and main texts was conducted both quantitatively and qualitatively, using the method of content analysis. The results confirm the presence of the other in EFL textbooks in both images and texts, however, there is a dominance of white English characters, while some racial, ethnic and social groups remain excluded or underrepresented. All seven forms of bias were identified in textbooks, while cultural content was found to foster mainly linguistic competence. It is hoped that this study will encourage teachers and learners to critically evaluate cultural content of the EFL textbooks they work with and use that kind of content to challenge the existing cultural mainstream in Croatian schools.

Key words: EFL textbooks, intercultural education, cultural bias, the *other*

1 Introduction

Throughout its development, EFL education has been faced with many challenges. During the past decades, it has been increasingly influenced by the paradigm of intercultural education and the development of English as a *lingua franca*, which means that the teaching of culture has become one of the central issues of EFL education. Textbooks are still used as primary materials for teaching English, especially in Croatia. Cultural content in EFL textbooks is expected to be free of bias and ideologies, while integrating a wide range of cultures and addressing cultural issues such as social justice and human equality despite and because of their differences. Such curriculum would pave the way for the development of learners' intercultural competence and would truly be based on the education for cultural pluralism, with the aim of preparing young people for life in equality and justice in culturally diverse societies. Since this is often not the case, there is a need for a critical analysis of EFL textbooks from an intercultural perspective to examine whether the cultural content is culturally biased and/or influenced by any kind of ideology or privileged perspective.

The theoretical framework of this thesis and the results obtained from the study can be of significance to all participants of the EFL teaching process, especially teachers, textbook authors and the creators of educational policies. When textbooks present biased and unrealistic cultural content, learners can internalize these views and make them a part of their cultural identity. However, if teachers are aware of the potentially biased nature of the cultural content they teach, they can in turn enable their learners to develop the kind of intercultural awareness and intercultural communicative competence that is in accordance with the aims of intercultural education. Learners can therefore not only better understand other cultures and their own, but also undertake social actions aimed towards human equality and social justice.

The first part of the thesis introduces the concepts of culture and language, and their interdependence in the context of EFL teaching and learning, with the emphasis on the integration of cultural content. EFL teaching is then situated within the paradigm of intercultural education with reference to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* and *Croatian National Curriculum Framework*. Drawing references from the works of leading authors in the field of critical pedagogy and interculturalism, the mechanisms of power and ideology within the educational system and the present day challenges of intercultural education are considered. The notion of cultural identity is discussed, with the focus on the Other, that is, culturally different, in relation to Self and the way in which this dichotomy impacts the learners'

identity, teaching process, teaching materials and the educational system as a whole. The following section deals with EFL textbooks and the positive and negative influences these materials can have. In relation to the cultural content of EFL textbooks, the process of reinforcing and producing various forms of cultural bias is addressed.

The second part of the thesis presents the research design and the results of the EFL textbook content analysis. The aim of the study was to investigate the presence and the presentation of the *other,* with reference to Sadker and Sadker's (2001) seven forms of instructional bias in teaching materials, adapted for the analysis of cultural bias. Another aim was to examine whether the cultural content promotes linguistic or intercultural competence. The findings of the study are discussed and evaluated and some suggestions for dealing with cultural bias in textbooks are provided.

Finally, the third part of the thesis draws a conclusion based on the theoretical part and the results of the study.

2 Language and Culture in EFL Teaching

2.1 Defining language and culture

There are numerous definitions of language, some of which are very simplistic and other extremely complex, depending on the perspective from which it is defined. For example, *Oxford Dictionary* (2018) provides a rather general definition, stating that language is "the method of human communication, either spoken or written, consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way". A semiotic perspective is supported by Patrikis (1988) who defines language as a system of signs that conveys meanings. On the other hand, from a linguistic, but also anthropological point of view, Sapir (1921) claims that "language in its fundamental forms is the symbolic expression of human intentions" (p. 60) and that "languages, like cultures, are rarely sufficient unto themselves" (p. 93). Therefore, just like cultures, languages necessarily come into contact with one another, one linguistic example being the cultural borrowing of words. Whatever the definition, it is evident that language is an important part of people's lives. It is not linked only to communication and expression, but also to the cultural knowledge which, in today's globalized society, is needed more than ever in order to ensure successful and meaningful communication among people who come from various cultural backgrounds.

Much like language, culture is yet another term with multiple definitions and as Corbett (2003) notes, there are many tributary disciplines, such as anthropology, ethnography and cultural studies, which take culture as the object of their study. Hofstede (1980) defines culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group from another" (pp. 21-23). A more complex definition is given by Matsumoto (2000):

> Culture is a dynamic system of rules, explicit and implicit, established by groups in order to ensure their survival, involving attitudes, values, beliefs, norms, and behaviours, shared by a group but harbored differently by each specific unit within the group, communicated across generations, relatively stable but with the potential to change across time (p. 24).

Even though a culture can be shared by a group of people, there are many different cultural nuances that exist within the layers that are used to form the concept of culture. Furthermore, the notion of culture can relate to national communities (for example to British, English or Croatian culture) or it can be used to refer to ethnic communities, such as Hispanic culture or to numerous subcultures that may exist within a culture. Culture has both visible and invisible aspects, and is mostly held together by the invisible, intangible aspects, such as beliefs, values

and behaviours of its members and the way they interpret certain cultural artefacts. Consequently, culture is a term too complex to be reduced to holidays, food, or festivals, despite the fact that these are some elements of cultures (Nieto, 2002).

2.2 The link between language and culture in EFL teaching

English as a Foreign Language (EFL) refers to teaching and learning a foreign language, in this case English, in a non-English speaking country. EFL teaching has developed immensely throughout the years and today it does not deal just with grammar and lexis and the reproduction of these language forms, but also with cultural elements. One of the reasons for this is the fact that English has become a global language and functions as a *lingua franca.* It is widely used across the world both by native and non-native speakers for various purposes. This phenomenon gave rise to the notion of intercultural communicative competence, the ability to understand cultures, including one's own, and to use that knowledge for successful communication with people from different cultural backgrounds. Learning a language today is thus not restricted to educational or professional domain, but it has to do with functioning in a different language community. Kuhlman and Knežević (2013) define EFL teaching as a "multifaceted activity, (…) a cultural milieu in which at least two languages and cultures meet" (p. 2). According to these authors, EFL teaching is a multidimensional phenomenon which has both educational and social obligations.

The link between language and culture, especially in education, has been further explored by many authors (Banks, 2001; Brooks, 1997; Brown 2000; Byram, 1991; Nieto 2002; Kramsch 1993; Kramsch 1998). What they all agree upon is that language and culture are inextricably connected since language is one of the main components of culture. Brown (2000) discusses how language and culture are so "intricately interwoven so that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture" (p. 177). When people use language, they knowingly or unknowingly also use culture. Kramsch (1998) comments upon the inseparability of language and culture by arguing that language is used to express cultural reality. Moreover, it is used not only to express but also to shape people's experiences. Finally, language symbolizes cultural reality because people consider it a part of their social identity. Ovando (2001) further discusses the sociocultural nature of language and language acquisition and claims there are domains or components of language that are in their core very much connected to culture. No matter what kind of language acquisition is in question (first, second

or foreign), students have to master these domains in order to achieve communicative competence, which is one of the main objectives of language learning. These domains are:

1. Discourse – organization of language beyond the sentence level which is crucial for intercultural understanding.
2. Appropriateness – how social situations influence language (for example, formal vs. informal aspects of language).
3. Paralinguistics – non-verbal communication that varies across cultures, such as intonation, pitch, body language and facial expressions.
4. Pragmatics – involves implicit and explicit cultural norms, for example, it dictates politeness strategies, turn taking, pace of speech and adjustment of language according to roles, settings and social status of speakers.
5. Cognitive-academic language proficiency – proficient use of language skills in order to grasp abstract concepts.

Even though language acquisition is a culture-specific process, culture as a concept has often been treated as an additional component in EFL teaching, or as Kramsch (1993) puts it "one often reads in teacher's guide-lines that language teaching consists of teaching the four skills 'plus culture'" (p. 8). Nieto (2002) further emphasizes that 30 years ago, language, literacy and culture were not considered neither interdependent nor related in any way and that culture was consequently integrated in teaching in a most superficial way. What is usually not taken into account is that culture always exists in the background of all language, and that both grammar and lexis convey meaning. This meaning can be culturally marked, as Brown (2000) states that "cultural patterns of cognition and customs are sometimes explicitly coded in language" (p. 198). What is more, learning about other cultures and cultural nuances has beneficial effects on EFL students' motivation (Liton, 2012, cited in Liton and Madanat, 2013). Learning English as a foreign language is therefore a culturally infused affair, as well as so much more than a straightforward process of teaching and learning grammar and lexis. Consequently, in EFL education, there is a need to properly deal with culture, focusing on more than just selected cultural bits and pieces.

2.2.1 Intercultural education

EFL teaching process enfolds within a paradigm of intercultural education that is claiming its place in a context of expanding multicultural European and, more recently, Croatian society. Bartulović and Kušević (2017) refer to the works of the leading authors in the field of

interculturalism (Banks, 2002; Gorski, 2008; Gundara, 2000; Sleeter, 1996) while defining the main goal of intercultural education[1] – enabling a quality education for all students, not in view of or despite their differences, but by taking those differences as the basis for the authenticity and purpose of the educational process as a whole. It is not intended only for those that are in some way "different" but rather for each and every participant of the educational system. In the process of learning a language, a learner witnesses not only an exchange of linguistic information but also cultural and social identities of various individuals. This is where communicative competence in the intercultural dimension of language teaching emerges. Knowing how to appropriately use language in various situations learners might find themselves in and being able to deal with multiple identities in order to avoid stereotypes is crucial in the development of intercultural communicative competence. For example, even though national identity is a part of a person's cultural identity, reducing people to representatives of countries can lead to biased and hegemonic attitudes. Byram et al. (2002) claim that the components of intercultural competence are "knowledge, skills and attitudes, complemented by the values one holds because of one's belonging to a number of social groups" (p. 11). Furthermore, due to the spread of English as a *lingua franca*, the aim of intercultural language education is to familiarize students with people from different cultural backgrounds. Consequently, EFL textbooks and other teaching materials should include a wide variety of cultural content, and not focus only on English speaking countries and cultures.

The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001) serves as a basic framework for designing language syllabuses, curricula, textbooks, etc. in Europe. In this document it is stated that learners have to be given an opportunity to "achieve a wider and deeper understanding of the way of life and forms of thought of other peoples and of their cultural heritage" (p. 12), which is to be done with the aid of, among other factors, appropriate and suitable language learning materials. As far as cultural context is considered, CEFR includes the dimension of general competences within which some intercultural elements are presented. Learners' foreign language competence refers to the declarative knowledge, including knowledge of the world, sociocultural knowledge and intercultural awareness, all of

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[1] Terms "multiculturalism" and "interculturalism" are often used as synonyms, the former being characteristic for English speaking areas, especially the US, while the latter is mostly used in European countries. However, many authors do make a distinction between those terms. Interculturalism points to the comparison of two or more cultures, their beliefs and differences as well as their interaction (emphasized by the usage of the prefix *inter-*), mutual understanding and respect. Multiculturalism, on the other hand, implies the coexistence of two or more cultures and is mostly focused on describing their differences and is thus narrower in its scope (Gorski, 2008; Piršl, 2005).

which are stated as the general competences of an individual, followed by the necessary skills needed to achieve the given outcomes (Council of Europe, 2001).

In Croatian *National Curriculum Framework for Pree-school Education and General Compulsory and Secondary Education* (2010) interculturalism was introduced as a curricular principle and as one of the six structural dimensions of the Curriculum. It is stated that the Republic of Croatia has accepted eight core competences for lifelong learning, among which is the communication in foreign languages. Furthermore, one of the general educational goals stated in this document is:

> raising and educating students in conformity with general cultural and civil values, including those of human rights and rights and obligations of the child, rendering children competent to live in a multicultural world, to respect differences, and to participate actively and responsibly in the democratic development of society (p. 15).

Educational goals of foreign language instruction are, among others: listening, speaking, writing and reading in order to become familiar with one's own culture and other cultures and develop respect for those cultures. More specifically, in the *Language and Communication Area* section of the document, it is stated that by acquiring a foreign language, children will get to know other cultures, as well as enrich their knowledge of cultural and civilizational values. What is more, the goal is to acquire multilingual and intercultural abilities so that students can become aware of the differences that exist between cultures, become familiar with them and develop a sense of respect towards them (*National Curriculum Framework for Pree-school Education and General Compulsory and Secondary Education*, 2010). Taking all this into account, it is important to emphasize that EFL education language learning objectives today surpass the direct teaching of the four language skills – listening, speaking, reading and writing.

Since curriculum functions as a framework for achieving the aforementioned educational goals, and ensures the legitimacy of the teaching materials, the concept and content of a curriculum based on intercultural principles should respect the uniqueness and values of each culture and educate young people for the critical approach towards the culture of global consumerism, which suppresses the diversity of cultures. The integration of intercultural content into the teaching practice can also be done by introducing innovative programs, adapting the content and improving the quality of textbooks and other teaching materials (Hrvatić and Sablić, 2008). Furthermore, as Bartulović and Kušević (2017) argue, the expansion of the existing curricula by including content on different cultural, ethnic and racial groups, while neglecting other

dimensions (such as prejudice reduction and raising critical awareness) is not enough to achieve real intercultural education. This kind of additive approach only leads to the development of quasi-intercultural teaching materials that deal with cultural elements in a very superficial way and reinforce the reductionist understanding of intercultural education. In foreign language education, such issues are even more likely to present themselves, since learning a language automatically means learning about the culture connected to that language. Banks (2001) and Sleeter and Grant (2009) point to the fact that the hidden or latent curriculum, as a vital part of the school culture, should not be overlooked. They also agree that the curriculum should be reworked so that it illustrates and presents events, situations and worldviews from diverse perspectives, including the ones provided by various cultural, ethnic and racial communities or groups. This goes for multicultural teaching materials used in schools as well. However, as noted by the authors, there is always a danger of including such content in a superficial way and/or from a mainstream perspective, which results in the twisting of various historical and cultural concepts and, consequently, their faulty interpretation on the behalf of teachers and students. This mainstream perspective and the issue of global consumerism entail another problem that is not just educational, but also political and economic – using the presented knowledge as a means of maintaining power relations and reinforcing ideologies.

2.3 EFL teaching: power and ideology

When talking about power relations and the reproduction of that power in the society, educational system must be taken into account. Brown (2000) claims that "the relationship between language and society cannot be discussed for long without touching on the political ramifications of language and language policy " (p. 191). Similarly, Apple (2004) emphasises that the educational system is necessarily a system in which there is a clash of types of knowledges that are being reproduced and presented to not just students, but to all who participate in the educational system. There is also a question of whose knowledge is considered official and who has the right to decide about what is being taught at schools and which materials are to be used in teaching. The logic behind this issue is relatively simple. Textbook publishers want their materials to be accessible to the broad audience and thus explicitly and implicitly advertise values that sustain socioeconomic power relations backed up by the dominant classes in the society (Anyon, 1979; Apple, 1986; Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991, cited in Ross, 2012).

Jafarzadeh and Simin (2014) discuss the role of culture in EFL teaching and the inclusion of cultural content in language materials and state that "it is highly recognized that language is

governed by numerous extra-linguistic factors (social, cultural, political, educational) interacting in a complex fashion [which raises a question whether a language can ever be] a culturally neutral medium of communication" (p. 4). The knowledge that is contained in various types of teaching materials is a kind of cultural capital that has been selected from a myriad of concepts found in the human knowledge base. People are prone to perceive these values and knowledge as neutral and as a basis on which to compare different social and cultural groups, despite the fact that this knowledge is constantly being filtered through ideologies imposed and maintained by those in power. Furthermore, the absence of certain types of knowledges, for example the knowledge of a certain ethnic group, is undoubtedly related to the absence of power in the society. Power and culture are thus interdependent factors that exist within a larger political and economic domain (Apple, 2004). Language, and consequently, language teaching is never neutral and free of power relations. As Lee (2011) states, language "conveys ideas, cultures, and ideologies embedded in and related to the language" (p. 47). Therefore, language education needs to be analysed on a deeper level, which includes social and political power relations and knowledge that is presented as official and given in textbooks and other EFL materials.

Erickson (2001) insists that "multicultural education has an opportunity and a challenge to be counter-hegemonic" (p. 47). He gives an example of a USA curriculum based on the standard language and standard history, materials featuring only white males and their experiences. The author comments on the impact it has on students who are unable to identify themselves with the knowledge they are expected to perceive as something that is theirs. The challenge therefore consists in voicing the important issues such as discrimination, racism, sexism and class division in the process of teaching. First of all, there is a need to acknowledge the fact that those issues exist and justly incorporate them into the school curriculum. Secondly, educators must use the teaching materials in such a way to provide students with means for questioning and fighting the cultural mainstream and for nurturing various identities they do consider as parts of themselves.

2.4 Constructing a cultural identity: the case of Othering

Identity subsumes, among other constructs, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, and can be defined as "both visible and invisible domains of the self that influence self-construction" (Robinson, 1999, cited in Berry and Candis, 2013, p. 3). Taylor (1999, cited in Berry and Candis, 2013) further defines cultural identity as one's comprehension of the interdependence of social status, language, race, ethnicity, values, and behaviours that affect all

domains of human life. The way people experience the world is largely conditioned by those multi-dimensional factors, and in turn, people's identity gets influenced by social experiences, which can be either positive or negative.

Erickson (2001) claims that cultural identification, whether it is ethnic, racial, religious or of some other kind, is always done in relation to other and in comparison to other. Similarly, Hall (1991, cited in McCarthy and Crichlow, 1993) defines identity as "a structured representation which only achieves its positive through the narrow eye of the negative" which means that it has to "go through the eye of the needle of the other before it can construct itself" (p. 96). Staszak (2008) defines Otherness or Othering[2] as a "result of a discursive process by which a dominant in-group (…) constructs one or many dominated out-groups (…) by stigmatizing a difference – real or imagined – presented as a negation of identity and thus a motive for potential discrimination" (p. 44). Othering is not necessarily always negative in its core, however, cultural stereotypes and prejudices are a common result of its process which Said (1978) calls the *projective Othering*. In such process, one group marks another as different, as the Other, and is prone to cast its defects and animosity onto the Other which then does the same in return. Ang (1998) debates on different kinds of strategies that are developed by people who have been positioned as a *foreigner*, *stranger* or *other*, one of which is assimilation into the dominant culture, resulting in a partial or total loss of one's identity. Nevertheless, cultural differences are an established phenomenon in our society. They are present in all domains of human life, including education. Whether they will generate conflict rests on whether they are seen as a *boundary* or as a *border* (Barth, 1969; Giroux, 1991; McDermott and Gospodinoff, 1979/1981, cited in Erickson, 2001). Cultural boundaries denote the objective existence of cultural differences and are found in all societies of the world. When these boundaries are treated as borders "differences in rights and obligations are powerfully attached to the presence or absence of certain kinds of cultural knowledge" (Erickson, 2001, p. 40). In this case, the author refers to a socio-political construct and gives an example of how the value of the Spanish language changes depending on which side of the political/cultural border between the United States and Mexico a person is situated. In Mexico, being a fluent speaker of Spanish is an advantage, while in some parts of the United States it is still stigmatized.

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[2] While writing about the issue of Otherness or the Other, most authors capitalize the word when situating it in relation to Self, otherwise, they use the lowercase. The same terminology will be used throughout this paper, with the exception of the Study section where it will be written in italics (*other)* for the purposes of emphasis.

Brown (2000) emphasises that culture exists in numerous contexts and that our perception of reality largely depends on the context of the culture that has shaped our lives, so that each person constructs his or her own reality. Since people are prone to see the world from an anthropocentric and ethnocentric point of view, other cultures are often portrayed in "an oversimplified manner, lumping cultural differences into exaggerated categories" (p. 178) which mostly results in stereotypes, bias and prejudices. Erickson (2001) provides his own point of view in a form of a metaphor:

> When we essentialize culture, assuming that all persons in a given social category are culturally similar and focusing on the unitary cultures of various Others without reflecting on our own cultures and their diversity, we open a Pandora's box of opportunity for negative attribution (p. 44).

Brown (2000) claims that this kind of negative attribution takes the form of stereotypes which have a way of potentially devaluing people from other cultures and points to the fact that there are cultural differences which have to be recognized and appreciated by both learners and teachers and not stuffed into some stereotypical categories. Similarly, Apple (1993) notes that meaning should be analysed in the specific context in which it is being used so that political and educational concepts, within a larger social context, can be examined. This context is not stable or constant, but is rather "constantly shifting and is subject to severe ideological conflicts" and education is "one of the major sites in which different groups with distinct political, economic, and cultural visions attempt to define what the socially legitimate means and ends of a society are to be" (Apple, 1993, p. 26).

Situating these claims in a paradigm of interculturalism, one notes that the co-existence of cultures is not enough to achieve the true aim of intercultural education. The differences that exist among people should not be the rationale for discrimination but taken as an advantage and a resource for building a democratic society. Intercultural sensitivity is not something innate, but rather, it is acquired and learned (Ninčević, 2009). Naturally, the schooling process plays a major part in its development along with the values students and teachers bring with them into classrooms. Today's societal and educational challenge is undoubtedly to support and nourish the interaction among the Self and the Other, that is, to give way to mutual understanding and respect among cultural, religious, ethnic, minority and other groups. What is more, this challenge is even greater in the context of today's political situation, especially in Europe. Language learning materials have the power to install positive values and pave the way for a critical approach towards life as we know it, but they can also deepen the chasm between the

Self and the Other that already exists in our society. Because of that, there is a need for a careful and evaluative selection and usage of all the materials used in EFL teaching, most of all textbooks, which are still the most popular teaching tools used in schools.

3 EFL Textbooks

3.1 Definition

Textbooks are first and foremost materials used for teaching and learning and are primarily intended for students and teachers. Kramsch (1998) refers to them as "the bedrock of syllabus design and lesson planning" (p. 63), while Seguin (1989) claims that "textbooks are an instructional aid in the teaching-learning process and must correspond to curricula as far as objectives, content and methodology of instruction of each subject are concerned" (p. 26).

In the EFL context, textbooks are defined as materials that offer a certain type of knowledge, including the necessary language skills and introduce learners to the English speaking countries and other cultures since one of the aims of EFL education is to enable learners to interact with people from different cultural backgrounds (Radić-Bojanić and Topalov, 2016).

Despite the technological progress and the fact that many schools nowadays have increasing opportunities for employing diverse forms of teaching and learning, there is still a heavy reliance on textbooks which serve as a general framework for classroom instruction. What is more, studies show that 80-95% of the time in classrooms is spent using the textbooks and that textbook is the basis for most of the instructional decisions teachers make (Woodward and Elliot, 1990, cited in Banks, 2001).

3.2 The role of textbooks

Many authors have discussed the advantages and disadvantages of EFL textbooks and textbooks in general. Some are of the opinion that textbooks are fundamental tools which provide assistance to both students and teachers in the process of language learning and teaching (Sheldon, 1988; Hutchinson and Torres, 1994; Cortazzi and Jin, 1999). Textbooks provide a variety of content students need in order to acquire a foreign language, as well as the knowledge of different cultures and societies. Furthermore, they help less experienced teachers to better structure their lessons and to feel more confident in their lesson planning. On the other hand, some authors argue that textbooks should not be viewed as a primary source of teaching since they lack authenticity, are in general not suitable for the learners' needs, and reinforce stereotypical and biased standpoints (Allwright, 1981; Renner, 1997). There is always a danger of considering textbooks a given authority which cannot be questioned. One of the aims of teacher education and teacher training should therefore be promoting critical thinking and raising cultural awareness. There is no perfect textbook that would answer to everyone's needs.

Teachers have to make the best of it and be able to choose which topics to further elaborate upon. They have to be aware of not just the knowledge they transmit onto their students, but also of the values, morals and principles that may be either explicitly stated, or present themselves as hidden in the textbook content.

Cortazzi and Jin (1999, cited in Tran, 2010) elaborated on the role of textbooks in culture learning and concluded that EFL textbooks "can be a teacher, a map, a resource, a trainer, an authority, a de-skiller, and an ideology" (p. 20). In other words, textbooks provide knowledge of the English-speaking and other cultures, they offer learners insight into cultural elements, are a resource for cultural learning, offer assistance with teacher training, their content is written by experts and teachers can follow the given activities while they structure their lessons. However, textbooks can also be ideologically infused since they generate "a worldview or cultural system, a social construction that may be imposed on both teachers and students" (Tran, 2010, p. 20).

The content provided by EFL textbooks, especially the cultural one, is therefore vital for developing cultural awareness and, consequently, intercultural (communicative) competence. The nature of the textbook content, according to Seguin (1989), has to be:

1 *Accurate*

   Content should not be faulty, but rather based on exact, scientifically proven facts or reliable information. If simplification is needed, it should be justified and the basic information should not be lost.

2 *Precise*

   Content should be presented as coherently as possible and its complexity should be adapted to the specific learning level.

3 *Topical*

   Content should be relevant and interesting for the students.

4 *Objective*

   Content should avoid ideological and dogmatic viewpoints by introducing several interpretations or explanations of a certain issue. The knowledge it offers should not be partial, incomplete or fragmented.

EFL textbooks must therefore be constructed in such a way that, in addition to being bias free, they offer all the fundamental components of language teaching, including cultural elements that are adapted to learners' needs and cultural background. This is often not the case since

many textbooks present cultural elements, or even cultures as a whole, in a stereotypical way. Nieto (2002) criticizes textbooks by claiming that they superficially deal with the relationship between language and culture since they lack to address issues of difference and diversity and fail to provide a critical approach towards education which is never neutral. Another point of view is offered by Gray (2000, cited in Radić-Bojanić and Topalov, 2016), who considers textbooks as "ambassadorial cultural artifacts" (p. 4) which can spur various discussions on cultural issues, enabling learners to practice their language skills at the same time. Nevertheless, teaching materials should not be viewed as something set in stone. Teachers and educators should always question the cultural (and linguistic) content of the textbooks and provide their students with the means to do the same. In order to do that, they have to be aware of the existence of cultural issues in textbooks and the power that textbooks have in the process of reinforcing and producing various forms of cultural bias.

3.3 Cultural bias in EFL textbooks

Cultural bias refers to using one's own culture as the basis for interpreting some kind of phenomena, usually found in another culture or group. In other words, each culture or group has some kind of rules and can be considered a system held together by social norms and beliefs. When people take these norms or beliefs as a given, or as something better than the ones existing in other cultures, cultural bias is born. Cultural bias includes a vast array of misconceptions, various kinds of discrimination, prejudice, stereotypes, forms of exclusion, degradation and many more.

For Ndura (2004), textbooks and instructional materials in general are "cultural mediators that transmit overt and covert societal values, assumptions and images" (p. 1) and because of that they can have either a positive influence on learners' perception and knowledge of culture, or a negative one. Cultural bias goes hand in hand with this kind of negative influence. It can often be present in language learning materials and students can very much develop culturally biased perceptions of other groups simply through exposure to a foreign culture in the form of a textbook text or image. Jafarzadeh and Simin (2004) argue that culture is often not properly integrated in language curricula and teaching materials because its complexity makes it extremely difficult to teach and thus it cannot be organized into textbook units as lexis and grammar can. Furthermore, Stern (1992) claims that even though there are many works on the importance of culture in language learning and teaching, "the cultural component has remained difficult to accommodate in practice" (p. 206) which is evident in the fact that materials used for teaching often lack cultural content.

Seguin (1989) claims that textbooks have three main roles: informing, structuring and organizing learning, and guiding learning. In other words, the first and most important role of a textbook is to offer information and various kinds of knowledge. However, this is often done within some kind of an ideology, and the way a textbook is constructed determines "what information is contained in a textbook and make it seem unsuitable in certain historical situations or for certain socio-economic or cultural objectives defined by development policy" (Seguin 1989, p. 22). Trifonas (2003) notes how curriculum is also shaped by the knowledge which is not included in the teaching of a subject matter, that is, he talks about the power of absence in the production of differences. The knowledge that remains is considered as natural and is used in the process of learners' identity formation, while the absent knowledge stays silent but nonetheless impacts the learners' identity, even if it is only from the point of ignorance. Moreover, McCarthy (1993, cited in McCarthy and Crichlow, 1993) deals with the power relations between the dominant and subordinate groups. The author raises the issue of how certain groups are presented in teaching materials and education in general, emphasising not only the absence of images and content referring to, for example, minorities, but also how "the orchestration of cultural form in textbooks and in the popular culture generates the capacity to speak for whole groups, draining social life of its history and naturalizing dominant/subordinate relations in the process" (p. 295). In most cases, this kind of presentation situates the subordinate groups (non-whites, women, minorities, non-native speakers, third world countries etc.) in relation to the dominant ones (white, male, the British or American culture, native speakers, the West). In other words, there is always some kind of a power relationship in which the Other depends on, and exists in relation to the Self. Furthermore, ethnic or national groups are often homogenously presented, having no further identity besides the place they come from or the colour of their skin. In this way, schools and teaching materials used in those schools become means of social and cultural reproduction and generators of cultural bias.

4 Previous Research

Many textbook content analysis studies that deal with forms of bias have focused on the case of gender and gender bias. One of them is Kim (2011) who concluded that there is a presence of gender bias and stereotypical gender roles in Korean EFL textbooks. However, the author also investigated racial representation in textbooks and found that Caucasian people appear ten times more than Asian people do. In the same context of Korea, Song (2013) examined intercultural aspects in four EFL textbooks and got similar results regarding racial representation, supported by results which show a clear dominance of white male American characters in textbooks. The ideologization of the American culture in Korean EFL textbooks was also identified by Lee (2009) who investigated how textbooks teach culture on the sample of eleven EFL conversation textbooks used in Korean high schools.

In Croatia, Baranović, Doolan and Jugović (2010) problematized the gender sensitivity of Croatian literary textbooks used in elementary schools. The authors found that women were significantly underrepresented both as authors and as characters. Although the authors did find some examples of non-stereotypical character portrayals in terms of gender, the traditional approach to gender issues was still dominant, with women depicted primarily as mothers and housewifes.

Juan (2010) did a content analysis of the cultural content in EFL textbooks used in China by using Byram's (1993) nine criteria for textbook evaluation. The disadvantages of analysed textbooks were the dominance of American culture (the authors were Americans), limited presentation of international culture and source culture as well as focus on linguistic knowledge at the expanse of the cultural knowledge. Rajabi and Ketabi (2012) investigated which aspects of cultural elements are present in EFL textbooks by using Adaskou, Britten and Fahsi's (1990) four dimensions or senses of culture: aesthetic, sociological, semantic and pragmatic. The results showed that the most prominent dimension is the sociological one, that is, culture as a way of life. While these authors dealt primarily with the identification of cultural elements, some went further in their investigation of the hidden content that textbooks have to offer.

Portera (2004) examined primary school textbooks used in Italian schools to investigate the presence of prejudices, stereotypes and ethnocentric attitudes. The focus of the research was on the presentation of different cultures, self-image and the image of the others. The results were inconclusive, since many of the textbooks included various cultures, even "distant ones", emphasized positive values and contained both multicultural and transcultural aspects. On the

other hand, the author came across negative depictions of diversity that promoted stereotypes and prejudices, as well as the superficial presentations of cultures and lack of multicultural activities. Similarly, Roohani and Molana (2013) analysed EFL textbooks used in Iran to find whether cultural bias and/or inequality was present. Their focus was on gender and race, as well as nationality, for which they used Kachru's (1985) inner, outer and expanding circle division. Their results showed that there is an inequality in race and gender since the analysis indicated that male and white characters, as well as the US culture, were dominantly present in textbooks.

Abdollahzadeh and Baniasad (2010) conducted a content analysis of EFL textbooks and found the presence of ideological values, most visible of which were the hegemony of English, sexism and cultural stereotypes. Ndura (2004) used Sadker and Sadker's (2001) list of seven types of bias, originally developed for analysing gender bias, and adapted it to other variables of cultural identity. She discovered three of seven forms of bias (stereotyping, invisibility and unreality) in her qualitative analysis of six ESL textbooks used in elementary and secondary classes in the USA.

What virtually all of the mentioned authors agree upon is that teachers should take a more critical stance while choosing and working with EFL textbooks and that awareness of the sometimes hidden agendas in textbooks is of utmost importance, since one can only challenge something he or she is aware of.

5 Study

5.1 Aims

The aim of this study was to examine eight EFL textbooks used in Croatian elementary schools, and investigate whether there is a presence of the *other* in textbooks, in which way is the *other* presented, that is, whether these textbooks contain cultural bias towards the *other,* and whether instances related to the *other* foster linguistic competence or intercultural competence.

The focus is thus on how the textbooks approach cultures – the source and target culture, but more importantly, the cultures of the *others* – those perceived as foreign and/or different - and how is the image of those *others* constructed.

The textbooks were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively, using the method of content analysis. In the quantitative analysis, the focus was on the identification and frequency of appearance of the *other* in both the texts and the images, while the representation of the *other* was described in the qualitative content analysis. The aim of the qualitative analysis was to find out whether there is any presence of cultural bias in textbooks, including stereotypes, ethnocentrism and prejudices, by using the criteria developed by Sadker and Sadker (2001). Finally, the relevant cultural content was examined in order to see whether it promotes intercultural or linguistic competence.

5.2 Research questions

1   Is there a presence of the *other* in elementary school EFL textbooks in Croatia?
2   How is the *other* represented, that is, is any of the seven forms of bias identified?
3   Do texts and images related to the *other* foster critical and reflexive understanding of culture or do they foster mainly linguistic competence?

5.3 Sample

For the purposes of this study, eight EFL textbooks used in Croatian elementary schools were examined. Elementary school textbooks were chosen because of the fact that elementary education in Croatia is compulsory and therefore all students come in contact with this kind of material. Croatian primary education is divided into two stages: classes one to four and five to eight. For this study, two sets of textbooks used from grade five to grade eight were analysed. Another reason for choosing those particular grade levels is that they include more cultural elements than textbooks used from grades one to four. In other words, textbooks from grades

one to four primarily focus on the development of the learners' linguistic competences since they are still beginner learners of English, while the extent of cultural content increases proportionally to the learners' language acquisition level.

All textbooks chosen for this study were approved by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport and are frequently used in Croatian schools. Other materials, such as workbooks, audio files and teacher's books were not examined because teachers in Croatian classrooms still mostly rely on textbooks as their primary source for teaching. Furthermore, the analysis of other teaching materials would exceed the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, for some future, more extensive research, such materials should be taken into consideration and analysed as well, since they do have an integral role in English language learning and teaching.

The following EFL textbooks were used for this study:

New Building Bridges set (5th – 8th grade):

Lekaj L. B., Pavuna J. and Singer, D. (2013). *New Building Bridges 5*. Zagreb: PROFIL.

Lekaj L. B., Pavuna J. and Singer, D. (2013). *New Building Bridges 6.* Zagreb: PROFIL.

Župan J. M., Lukić V. and Pavuna V. (2013). *New Building Bridges 7*. Zagreb: PROFIL.

Anđel Č. K. and Knezović A. (2013). *New Buiding Bridges 8*. Zagreb: PROFIL.

Dip In set (5th – 8th grade):

Ban, S. (2016). *Dip In 5*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Mardešić, M. (2016). *Dip In 6.* Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Anić, V. and Pavlinek, B. (2013). *Dip In 7*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Breka, O. (2014). *Dip In 8*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Four textbooks belonging to the New Building Bridges set were analysed. The overall structure of the four textbooks is very similar. Each textbook is divided into seven units and each unit comprises of four lessons plus two additional sections. One additional section is *Cindy's reader* (5th and 6th grade) and the other *From Brian's bookshelf* (7th and 8th grade), which serve for the revision of unit structures or expansion of vocabulary and structures, respectively. The second additional section in each unit is *For my portfolio*, which provides students with material to self-evaluate their knowledge and some instructions on doing group projects. In addition,

each textbook has an appendix that features four topics: *Halloween*, *Christmas*, *St Valentine's Day* and *Easter*. Each lesson or section in NBB textbooks comprises of one to two main texts taken as the unit of analysis.

Four textbooks belonging to the Dip In set comprise of four to eight units. The number of lessons varies, but each unit has an additional section dealing with either literature (*Reading is Fun*) or cultures (*Across the curriculum / Across cultures / Across the world / Culture spot*). Each textbook has an appendix that features two or more of the following holiday topics: *Halloween*, *Christmas*, *St Valentine's Day* and *Easter*. Textbooks with fewer units have more lessons and thus more than two main texts (per unit) functioning as units of analysis.

List of abbreviations:

NBB – New Building Bridges set

NBB5 - New Building Bridges 5

NBB6 - New Building Bridges 6

NBB7 - New Building Bridges 7

NBB8 - New Building Bridges 8

DI – Dip In set

DI5 – Dip In 5

DI6 – Dip In 6

DI7 – Dip In 7

DI8 – Dip in 8

5.4 Analytical framework

The analytical framework used for this study is Sadker and Sadker's (2001, cited in Banks, 2001) list of seven forms of bias for assessing instructional materials:

1   *Invisibility*: *What you don't see makes a lasting impression*
    The most fundamental and oldest form of bias is the complete or relative exclusion of a group, implying insignificance. For example, omission of Latinos, homosexuals, those with disabilities etc.

2   *Stereotyping: Shortcuts to bigotry*

Assigning a rigid set of characteristics to all members of a group, at the cost of individual attributes and differences. For example, Jews as rich, Asians as smart, Mexicans as poor.

3   *Imbalance and Selectivity: A tale half told*

Presenting only one interpretation of an issue, situation, or group of people, avoiding subtleties and complexities. For example, literature is drawn primarily from western, male authors; a text that reports that women were 'given' the vote but does not discuss the work and sacrifices that led to that moment.

4   *Unreality: Rose Colored Glasses*

Controversial topics like discrimination and prejudice are glossed over in favour of a more fanciful, favorable, and traditional view of national history or current issues. For example, because of affirmative action programs, people of color and women now enjoy economic and political equality with white males.

5   *Fragmentation and Isolation: The parts are less than a whole*

Physical or visual isolation of a group in the text. For example, a chapter describing "Ten Black Achievers in Science" or depicting racial and ethnic group members as interacting only with persons like themselves, isolated from other cultural communities.

6   *Linguistic bias: Words count*

Subtle discrimination through language. Linguistic bias can impact race, gender, accents, age, disability, etc. For example, Native Americans described as *roaming* or *wandering* across the land; words like *forefathers* and *mankind* deny the contribution of women; non-native speakers viewed as deficient.

7   *Cosmetic bias: "Shiny" covers*

Creating an illusion that materials have been infused with equity and diversity when in fact minimal efforts to address diversity throughout the entire text have been made. For example, adding a few pictures or 'special focus sections' that discuss, yet segregate information about underrepresented groups with exceptional or stereotypical stories.

Sadker and Sadker's (2001) list of biases was originally used for research on gender bias in instructional materials, and was later developed by Ndura (2004) for the purposes of analysing cultural bias.

In addition to the one proposed by Sadker and Sadker (2001), another framework was developed for the purposes of this study. Since the focus of the analysis was on the *other*, there was a need for establishing precise categories of various *others* in question. First, general categories that were likely to appear in textbooks were listed. Second, during the quantitative and qualitative analysis any other relevant categories found in the textbooks were added to the list. Even though the focus is on the characters, items and places were also taken into account and were defined as *cultural elements*. Therefore, *other* does not refer specifically to a character but also to different cultures in general. The final framework for the *other* is as follows:

1 *Non-white*: any clearly visible character depicted on images or presented in the text[3] that does not belong to the racial classification specifier of white.

2 *Non-English*: any clearly visible character depicted on images or presented in the text that is not from England.

   Since the standard variety taught in Croatian schools is the British type of English, the characters that speak North American type of English and come from North America were included into the category of *non-English*, even though they technically fall into the category of native speakers of English. The same criteria apply to Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, Welsh, Scottish and Irish characters. Another reason for viewing these categories as separate is the fact that each of these countries is a community with its own cultural identity, which is very distinct from the English culture[4]. Consequently, textbooks deal with these cultures in separate sections. However, characters from the non-native settings were further filtered out and the relevant data was statistically presented.

3 *Non-able:* any character with physical, intellectual, sensory or mental health type of disability.

4 *Non-normative family*: any type of family that does not consist of mother, father and one to three children. This includes, but is not limited to: single parent families, families with grandparents as primary children custodians, extramarital communities, LGBT parenting, etc.

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[3] In the majority of texts, it is not explicitly stated that a character belongs to a certain race or ethnicity so conclusions were drawn on the basis of cultural elements mentioned and images related to the text. For example, in NBB5 it is stated that a character Sophia is from Tanzania, therefore, she was included in both categories of *non-white* and *non-English*.

[4] English culture in this sense includes only English people, i.e. those who live in England. Even though, for example, Scotland is a part of the UK, people who live there identify themselves as Scottish (or perhaps British), not as English.

The final framework for the *other* is based on the variables that constitute one's cultural identity, existing within a person's primary cultural context. Race/ethnicity, nationality, ability/disability and family structure were found to be the most conspicuous in the textbook context. Other variables, such as age and sexual orientation were not examined due to the lack of data. Similarly, religion is another variable that was not dealt with, primarily because of the under-representation of diverse religious elements in textbooks, that is, those elements that exist are focused on Christmas, Easter and St Valentine's Day. Furthermore, gender analysis was excluded from this study since there are many detailed studies dealing with representation of gender in textbooks[5], as well as because of the fact that such analysis would require an extensive study of its own and thus exceed the scope of this thesis. However, if found relevant, those variables were commented upon in the qualitative part of the analysis.

5.5 Procedure

Firstly, the materials used for the analysis were chosen. The analysis was then carried out from page to page in search of the cultural content related to the *other*. In analysing the presence and representation of the *other* both the images and the texts were taken into account.

The total number of images[6] was counted, and a distinction was made between photographs and illustrations. *Images depicting characters*[7] were taken as the unit of analysis for the quantitative image analysis, while each *clearly visible character* was taken as the coding unit. The number of characters in general was marked as well as the instances in which the *other* appeared. If a character appeared more than once, it was counted as one coding unit, but its frequency of appearance was also noted. The percentages were then compared and instances with the *other* further examined to see which categories they belong to. Further analysis was carried out for the category of *non-English* in order to exclude characters belonging to the native settings, that is, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, USA, and Canada. These characters are included in the general analysis since they have their own cultural identity, different from the one established in England. However, it is debatable whether these characters are really the *other* in the strict sense of the word. English is their native language and this fact

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[5] For research on gender representation in textbooks see: Bahman, M., & Rahimi, A. (2010) Gender representation in EFL materials: an analysis of English textbooks of Iranian high schools. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *9*, 273-277.; Sano, F., Iida, M., and Hardy, T. (2001) Gender representation in Japanese EFL textbooks. *Pace3 at Jalt 2001 conference proceedings*, 899-906.

[6] For the purposes of this study, the term "images" refers to both photographs and illustrations.
[7] For the purposes of this study, the term "characters" refers to both real people depicted in the photographs as well as characters presented as illustrations.

implies the dichotomy between native and non-native speakers and, consequently, between the "native" and "non-native" cultures. Furthermore, historical developments and colonial legacy have an important role in today's perceived *otherness*. There is a historicaly conditioned disproportion of power between the native and the *other*, for example, between the English and Indians, while this is not so prominent between native English speakers such as the English and Australians. Therefore, there was a need to further emphasize the presence of characters belonging to the non-native settings[8] since they represent the core of what is the *other*.

Since textbooks are naturally organized into formal units - various texts and tasks, *main texts* were taken as another unit of analysis, with *characters* once again functioning as the coding unit. For the purposes of this study, *main text* was defined as a relatively long text appearing in the reading or listening section, around which other shorter texts and tasks are organized and thematically related to. The nature of the textbooks is such that not every lesson has a text in the strict sense of the word, but rather a text that also functions as a task, such as "Fill in the gaps" or "Put the sentences in the correct order". When central to the lesson, these texts were also considered as *main texts* and taken as units of analysis. Furthermore, the material surrounding the main text, such as tasks and explanations, was taken as the *context unit* in order to better interpret the meaning of a given unit of coding. This material was divided into *tasks* on one hand, and *additional units* on the other. The additional units comprise of the introduction at the beginning of each unit, grammar sections and Everyday Language sections. Context units were analysed in the qualitative part of the study since they were found to be irrelevant for the quantitative analysis due to the fact they included little or none of the relevant cultural elements or the ones already identified in the main texts.

For quantitative analysis, the frequency of appearance of the *other* in both images and texts was shown statistically, using tables to summarize the data. This was done in order to see to what extent the first form of bias, invisibility, is present in these textbooks. In qualitative analysis, all final instances were filtered through the remaining six criteria developed by Sadker and Sadker (2001) to inspect whether any form of cultural bias was present. Finally, the results were discussed to investigate whether the cultural content fosters linguistic or cultural competence. Together with the results, examples from textbooks were presented and commented upon.

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[8] It is important to note that *non-English* characters form non-native settings also include indigenous characters, no matter their nationality, since they are always considered as the *other* due to historical developments and their unique cultures.

5.6 Results and analysis

Data was collected for each textbook separately and then summarized for both *New Building Bridges* set and *Dip In* set. Detailed data are provided in the Appendix, while the most relevant results are provided in the order of topics, first for NBB then for DI:

1 Results connected to the first research question, i.e., to the presence and representation of the *other,* automatically including the first form of bias – invisibility.

2 Results connected to the second research question, i.e., to the forms of bias identified in the textbooks.

3 Results connected to the third research question, i.e., to the type of competence fostered by cultural content.

5.6.1 New Building Bridges set

5.6.1.1 Presence of the other in NBB

As shown in *Table 1*, *New Building Bridges* set has 809 (58%) *images* that depict characters. The total number of characters depicted is 1124, out of which 406 appear in illustrations and 718 in photographs. Out of the total 1124 characters, only 255 (23%) were identified as the *other.* 57 (14%) *other* characters are depicted in illustrations and 198 (28%) on photographs. Even though some of these characters appear multiple times throughout the textbooks, there is still a lack of diversity since the presentation of one character that belongs to a certain group as having all the features of the group in question is very lacking.

Table 1: Presence of the *other* in NBB image analysis

IMAGES (NBB)	Illustrations (539)	Photographs (842)	Total (1382)
Depicting characters	356	453	809
Depicting the *other*	107 (30%)	159 (35%)	266 (33%)
N (characters)	406	718	1124
N (*other*)	**57 (14%)**	**198 (28%)**	**255 (23%)**
f (characters)	872	748	1620
f (*other*)	130 (15%)	210 (28%)	340 (21%)

The categories relating to the *other* found in NBB image analysis are *non-white*, *non-English*, and *non-able* (*Table 2).* Detailed results are presented in the Appendix[9].

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[9] *Appendix A: Image analysis (NBB)*

Results show that 22 out of 255 *other* characters fit into the category of *non-white,* which makes up only 5% of the total number of characters depicted in illustrations (406). There are also 51 characters that fit into the category of *non-English*, which makes up 13% of all characters in illustrations. Only 18% of all characters in photographs, 130 of them, belong to the category of *non-white*, while 13% of all characters are *non-English*. The *non-able* category includes only two characters, which is 0.2% of all characters in the NBB photographs. In total, 14% of *other* characters were identified as *non-white*, 13% as *non-English* and 0.2% as *non-able* (*Table 2*).

Table 2: Image analysis of NBB: categories of the *other*

NBB	N (characters)	*other* (N=255, f=340)		
		non-white	*non-English*	*non-able*
Illustrations	406	22 (5%)	51 (13%)	-
Photographs	718	130 (18%)	96 (13%)	2 (0.3%)
Total	1124	**152 (14%)**	**147 (13%)**	**2 (0.2%)**

Quantitative *text* analysis was carried out on the sample of 226 main texts identified in NBB. The categories relating to the *other* found in NBB text analysis are *non-white*, *non-English*, *non-able* and *non-normative family* (*Table 3*). The results show the presence of 141 *other* characters, which is 34% of all characters appearing in the main texts. The majority (32%) belongs to the category of *non-English,* while the *non-able* category is the least represented (2%). Detailed results are presented in the Appendix[10].

Table 3: Text analysis (NBB): categories of the *other*

NBB (226)	N (characters)	*other* (N=141, f= 200)			
		non-white	*non-English*	*non-able*	*non-normative family*
N	415	**23 (6%)**	**132 (32%)**	**5 (1%)**	**8 (2%)**
f	667	49 (7%)	191 (29%)	5 (1%)	8 (1%)

Further analysis was carried out in order to exclude *non-English* characters belonging to the countries where English functions as the native language (*Figure 1*). The results show that 66 characters in *images* belong to the strictly non-native settings, that is, they make up only 6% of all characters presented in NBB. In the main *texts*, 71 characters belong to the non-native settings, which makes up 17% of all characters. It is important to emphasize that most of the characters from non-native settings come from Croatia and also have the highest frequency of

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[10] *Appendix B: Text analysis (NBB)*

appearance. This is not surprising since the textbooks were written for the Croatian market and by Croatian authors.
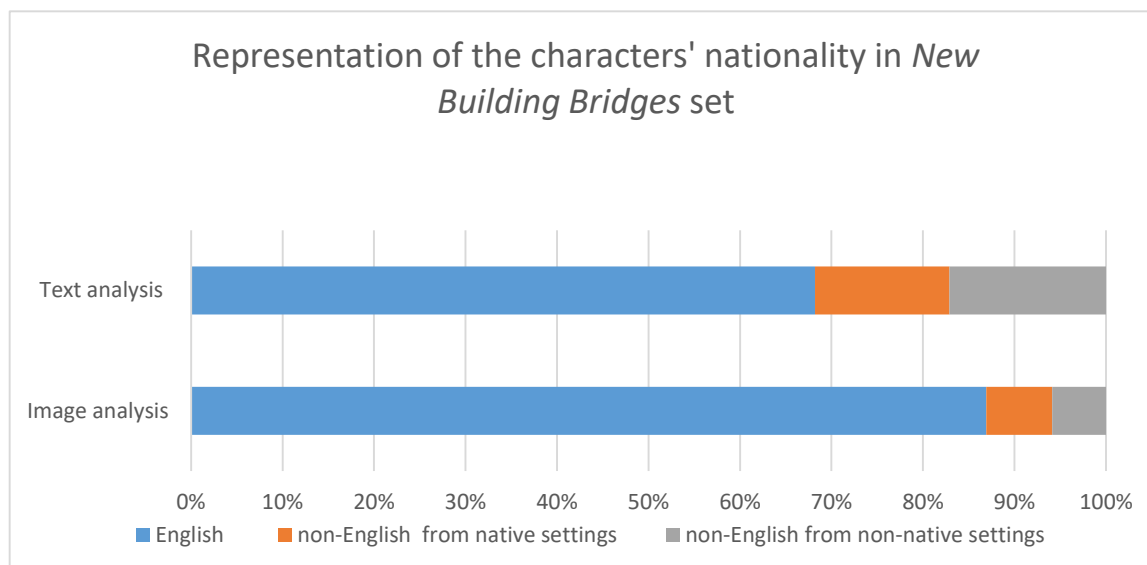
Figure 1: Representation of the characters' nationality in *New Building Bridges* set

The results confirm there is a presence of the *other* in both images and texts in NBB. 23% of the characters in *images* and 34% of characters in *texts* were identified as the *other*. However, there is not enough diversity among ethnic and racial groups since those identified as *non-white* were mostly African-American, and those *non-English* were mostly from the USA or the British Isles. With the exclusion of characters from native settings in the category of *non-English*, only 6% of characters in *images*, and 17% of those in *text* can truly be considered the *other*. The majority of those are Croats, while there are very few instances of African and Asian people, as well as those featuring Latinos. It is also questionable whether the inclusion of Croats contributes to the cultural plurality of textbooks since they are intended for Croatian students who view Croats as representatives of dominant culture. This furthermore supports the conclusion that the authors mainly present the English target culture, with references to the Croatian source culture, while neglecting other cultures.

5.6.1.2 Forms of bias in NBB

Invisibility

As far as the first form of bias in instructional materials goes, it is evident that all textbooks mostly depict white English characters while other categories remain underrepresented in images and texts. As the analysis of the presence of the *other* confirmed, Asians, Latinos, African people, non-normative families and people with disabilities are severely neglected in

both texts and images. Consequently, there is certainly a strong sense of invisibility and exclusion of groups in NBB.

Stereotyping

Many *other* characters in NBB are depicted stereotypically in *images*, the most notable example being Zack, a boy from the USA who can play basketball and the guitar (NBB5, p. 16). He has all the stereotypical African-American features, including wide nose, full lips, dreadlocks and a bandana. He is also shown wearing a T-shirt with the inscription "I <3 NY" that further emphasizes his American roots. Since he is the only African-American character in illustrations, Croatian learners can generalize these stereotypical features as belonging to all African-Americans, especially because of their limited contact with this group.

Other examples of stereotyping are photographs inserted in the unit about sport showing various people playing sports (NBB5, p. 58). While tennis is played by a white person, the photograph showing basketball players features mostly African Americans. Other stereotypical photographs show an Inuit in traditional clothes outside his igloo (NBB5, p. 53), two Bedouin-like people riding a camel in the desert (NBB5, p. 91), Australian Aborigines with a boomerang (NBB6, p. 15), crowded trains in India (NBB7, p. 108), Asian person as a computer geek (NBB8, p. 8) and a Scottish person in a kilt playing bagpipes (NBB8, p. 140).

As far as the *texts* are concerned, stereotyping is very much noticeable in NBB. Some stereotypical characters are Zack, whose description is reduced to "He's from the USA. He's a maths whiz kid. He can also play basketball and the guitar." (NBB5, p. 16), and Carlos, who is described as follows: "Carlos is from Spain. He can speak Spanish, English, French, Italian and German. He says he can understand animal languages, too. (…) He also plays football like a pro." (NBB5, p. 16). Basically, since Zack is an African American from the USA he can play basketball, and even though Carlos speaks a lot of languages which is a positive trait, he is from Spain which must mean he is good at football.

Indigenous people are very stereotypically presented in the text. For example, Australian Aborigines always have a boomerang (NBB6, p. 15; 34), while Native Americans live exclusively in Indian reservations and carry a tomahawk (NBB6, p. 34). Native Americans are also described as very poor and not having an easy family life since they often live with their grandparents or just one of their parents (NBB6, p. 36).

The Culture Corner section titled *School children around the world* (NBB5, p. 35) introduces schoolchildren from Tanzania, China and Great Britain. Sophia from Tanzania comes from a village and is the first girl in her family to go to school because many girls stay at home to clean and look after their younger siblings. The text describes her routine as following:

> Every day she wakes up at 4 a.m. She milks the cows, sweeps the floor and makes tea. Then she walks to school. She has lunch at school, which is good because sometimes there is little food at home. In the evening she is very tired and falls asleep at 9 p.m. (NBB5, p. 35).

Another person described is Tian Mi from China. She lives in a village with her grandparents, twin brothers and four cousins because her parents work in Beijing. After school, she works with her grandparents on a farm and takes care of her little brothers because she is like a mum to them. She also washes her own clothes in the river. Both girls are *non-white*, *non-English*, come from *non-normative families* and on top of that live in third world countries. Stereotypes are very much implied, if not explicitly stated: they are poor, have little opportunities for education (especially because they are women), live in economically deprived and remote villages, have no means of transport, no access to technology and are subjected to some form of child labour in order to contribute to their household. In comparison, the third and final section of the page describes Anna and Greg who live with their parents in London. Their mum drives them to school every day and packs their lunch (apples, sandwiches, orange juice and biscuits). They also attend the after-school club where they play games and learn new things. Their mum drives them home where they have family dinner and play computer games or watch TV before bed. This is also an example of Imbalance and Selectivity, as well as Fragmentation, discussed in the following sections.

Imbalance and Selectivity

Famous characters depicted in *images* are mostly from the West, primarily Britain and the USA. Most of the actors and musicians are related to Hollywood (USA). Literature sections feature mainly English authors, and the field of science mostly focuses on Europeans. The exceptions are photographs of Wangari Maathai (NBB7, p. 116), Yoko Ono (NBB8, p. 73), Joseph Stalin (NBB6, p. 104) and Nelson Mandela (NBB8, p. 107). Greek, Roman and Egyptian cultures are mentioned only in the context of the past, accompanied by images of ancient gods, gladiators, sarcophagi and the like.

In *texts*, there are even more examples of Imbalance and Selectivity. The Culture Corner section titled *School children around the world* (NBB5, p. 35) introduces schoolchildren from

Tanzania, China and Great Britain[11] and perpetuates bias by using the Western perspective when describing African and Asian cultures. The conclusion that students can draw from this section is that middle-class families that have four members and live together in a city are economically stable, loving and something to be pursued as an ideal. Both the children and the parents are happy since they play, learn and spend quality time together. On the other hand, Sophia is very tired because she has to work all day, and Tian Mi misses her parents very much. They both live in villages and come from families that have more than four members which is described as exhausting since they have to work or take care of their siblings. Their parents are not stable figures and are either absent or unable to provide for their children. It is evident that the text was written from the privileged perspective, it presents only one interpretation of a group of people and portrays the English culture as superior to others. What furthermore supports this notion is the true or false task following the text with examples like "In Tanzania all girls go to school" and "Sometimes there is not enough food in Tanzania" (NBB5, p. 35).

One more example includes the textbooks' sections on literature. Most literary works that are presented in the textbooks are written by white English authors. Exceptions are Mark Twain and Eric Kastner. Female authors are present, but in very few instances. Ivana Brlić Mažuranić is mentioned, but only as a possible answer to a question on who is the author of the books about the detective Poirot. Literature is, therefore, drawn exclusively from western, primarily male authors and students are not given a chance to encounter other cultural perspectives.

Similarly, religion and holidays are presented from the western perspective since the textbooks only mention Christmas, Easter, St Valentine's Day, Halloween, All Saints Day, New Year and Independence Day. Sections on discoveries and science do feature a lot of people categorized as *other*, but all of them are from the West. The only women mentioned are Marie Curie, Bertha Benz and Amelia Earhart. On the other hand, the contexts on charity work and pacifism mostly feature women. Not to undermine their accomplishments and importance, but these kinds of examples portray a picture of kind, angelic-like women, while the "hardcore" science is seemingly left to the men. What is more, texts tend to emphasize whether famous women have had or have husbands and children, while that is mostly not the case with famous men. For example, in NBB7, Leontina Albina is mentioned as being famous for having 55 children (p. 92).

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[11] The description and example of the characters was given in the previous section on stereotypes.

Unreality

Most *images* featuring Native Americans present them as either communicating with European settlers in a seemingly friendly manner or as happily living in reservations. There is no depiction of any kind of exploitation or conflict between Native Americans and European settlers. Another example is the objectification of the *other* in instances where images of the third world children serve as "stickers" for a range of issues from hunger and poverty to AIDS victims (NBB8, p. 113). There are no images that show any other context besides poverty and disease.

A *text* on 9/11 (NBB5, p. 139) states only that a tragedy happened where many people died because the Twin Towers were destroyed. Unreality is present in this text since none of the historical facts are provided and the event is described so superficially that without the knowledge of history, one might even conclude that the buildings were destroyed by some sort of a natural disaster. Students are not even given the basic information on the basis of which they might grasp and discuss the cultural and societal problems.

On the other hand, there is an inspiring text about Wangari Maathai, a Nobel Prize winner from Kenya. The text describes her life in Africa and the real, authentic conditions all people, but especially women, face every day. Wangari was arrested because of her protests against deforestation. In the text it is stated that people said the following: "She should be a good African woman and keep quiet, they said. She did not keep quiet and she won." (NBB7, p. 117). The text does not ignore prejudice and sexism and therefore offers a different, fresh perspective on life in developing and third world countries. Billy Elliot, a film character, is introduced in NBB8 (p.42). The plot of the film is presented, along with the main characters. Tasks accompanying the text discuss which jobs are often considered typically male or female and whether any of the classifications are prejudiced. However, the homosexual subtext of the film is not discussed.

Fragmentation and Isolation

Fragmentation and isolation in *images* is evident in the contexts featuring Ana, a student from Croatia and the main character in NBB5/NBB6. In most school-related contexts she is the only one not wearing the school uniform, which implies her non-nativeness and non-belonging to the new environment. Being the main character she has to stand out from the others, so this kind of depiction can be justified. Nevertheless, she is visually isolated in the textbooks, which can imply isolation from the English cultural community. A girl functioning as a main character is a positive image, however, Ana is a member of a Croatian majority, that is, she is white,

healthy and comes from a normative family. Moreover, she comes from Dubrovnik, a city that has an ancient, even aristocratic image and prestige. Therefore, not all Croatian learners can easily identify with Ana. All images featuring indigenous people, such as Native Americans, Maori and Australian Aborigines, show them as visually isolated and interacting only with persons like themselves, with the exception of few images depicting Native Americans and European settlers.

As far as *texts* go, the Culture Corner section titled *School children around the world* (NBB5, p. 35) introduces schoolchildren from Tanzania, China and Great Britain. It is a clear case of fragmentation where racial and ethnic groups are visually isolated and inserted in the textbook as a special section since this is the only instance of explicitly dealing with and describing *other* ethnic and racial groups. Children from Great Britain seem to be introduced to provide a sense of difference and superiority and not real intercultural awareness, as discussed in the previous section. Another example is the section *Similar or different?* (NBB6, p. 34) that (stereotypically) describes how Native Americans and Australian Aborigines live. Once again, these groups are depicted as interacting only with persons like themselves: "Pat lives with his parents on an Indian reservation in Canada.", "Arana lives with her parents and other Aboriginal families." (NBB, p. 34). Furthermore, the Aborigine girl Arana is described as not having a computer, so she learns about the world from her grandmother's stories. She is compared with Agata from Poland, who often shops online and spends all her pocket money on pink bags and tops. (NBB, p. 34). Beside the implied stereotype of indigenous people being in contact with nature and thus dismissing technology, Arana is described as isolated from the world, about which she learns only from her people.

Linguistic Bias

No linguistic bias was identified in the *image* analysis of NBB since no images feature any kind of text relevant for this category.

In NBB5, a *text* about Manhattan states that "the first Europeans who came to America got it [the island of Manhattan] from Indians for some cloth and some beads (worth about 24 dollars)" (NBB5, p. 138). Linguistic bias is evident in the use of the word *Indians*, meaning Native Americans. The term *Indian* was brought about with the colonization of America, which highlights the fact that Native Americans were labelled *Indians* by the European settlers. Furthermore, the stereotype that Native Americans are primitive or even dumb is reinforced with the claim they sold Manhattan for practically nothing, but their side of the story or even

some history facts are not mentioned. Consequently, they appear to be irrelevant in comparison to the intelligent Europeans who came to the New World and bought Manhattan, which is today one of the most famous islands in the world. A section describing Native Americans and Aborigines states that these are people who "lived" in today's USA and Australia before European settlers came (NBB6, p. 36). The usage of past tense implies that they do not live there anymore and/or they are of little importance in comparison to today's population in these countries.

Another section, titled *Seven ladies and a dog*, portrays seven women and their accomplishments in science, literature and charity work, together with a lengthy text about Laika, the first animal that went to space (NBB6, p. 92). There are no sections comparing accomplished male scientists and authors to animals. In NBB7, Bertha Benz's name is misspelled as Berta, while the names of the other six male characters are correctly written (p. 59). These examples implicitly perpetuate the notion of male superiority.

Cosmetic Bias

Cosmetic bias found in *images* is most notable in the introduction pages of some units. The introductory page of NBB5's Unit 1 (*New country, new school, new friends*) depicts a large image of an Asian schoolgirl (NBB5, p. 7), but there is not a single mention of Asian culture nor Asian people throughout the entire unit. Another instance of cosmetic bias is the introductory page of Unit 5 *One world, different worlds* (NBB5, p. 87) depicting dark-skinned member of some African tribe but the only places mentioned in the unit are London, Dubrovnik, Egypt and the Arctic, all of them superficially depicted.

No cosmetic bias was identified in the *text* analysis of NBB.

5.6.1.3 Cultural content in NBB

The analysis of the *New Buliding Bridges* set confirms that cultural content mainly fosters learners' linguistic competence, at the expense of cultural or intercultural competence. Tasks in which cultural elements are mentioned mostly serve for practicing grammatical forms, such as articles or tenses. Texts about countries and cultures mostly provide information on location, size, population and famous places to visit, resembling tourist brochures or sections likely found in a geography textbook. Even though this is important information for learners of English, there are few tasks that would prompt them to discuss other cultures and their way of life. Most tasks found in those sections are True/False or questions such as "Would you like to go there?

Why?". Despite the fair amount of texts that deals with cultures and various groups of *other*, there is still a missed opportunity to include tasks that would encourage students to think beyond cultural pluralism and discuss issues related to interculturalism. Case in point are numerous examples of tasks asking students about the differences found in other cultures, but not touching upon acceptance of those cultures and the value of their differences. Exceptions are texts and related tasks about past cultures, such as the Middle Ages, Ancient Egypt or Greece, in which learners are asked to talk about the lives of pharaohs or kings and position themselves in their shoes. Nevertheless, that kind of content does not fully promote intercultural competence since the focus is on the past, not existing cultures.

However, there is a section on languages (NBB6, p. 22) that nicely portrays how people from different countries speak different languages. Examples of some words borrowed from other languages are given, such as *pyjamas*, which comes from Indian. The importance of learning languages is discussed and students are encouraged to thing about other cultures and their languages.

5.6.2 Dip In set

5.6.2.1 Presence of the other in DI

As shown in *Table 4, Dip In* set has 1269 *images* in total, while 664 (52%) images depict characters. The total number of characters depicted is 893, out of which 450 appear in illustrations and 443 in photographs. Out of the total 893 characters, 137 (15%) fit into one or more categories of the *other.* 43 (10%) *other* characters are depicted in illustrations and 94 (21%) in photographs.

Table 4: Presence of the *other* in DI image analysis

IMAGES (DI)	Illustrations (529)	Photographs (740)	Total (1269)
Depicting characters	348	316	664
Depicting the *other*	83 (24%)	78 (25%)	161 (24%)
N (characters)	450	443	893
N (*other*)	**43 (10%)**	**94 (21%)**	**137 (15%)**
f (characters)	626	466	1092
f (*other*)	104 (17%)	98 (21%)	202 (18%)

The categories relating to *the other* found in DI image analysis are *non-white*, *non-English*, and *non-able* (*Table 5*). Detailed results are presented in the Appendix[12].

Results show that 20 (4%) *other* characters in illustrations fit into the category of *non-white*. There are also 31 characters that fit into the category of *non-English*, which makes up 7% of all characters in illustrations. Furthermore, there only are 2 (0.4%) characters that belong to the *non-able* category. In photographs, 45 (10%) of *other* characters belong to the category of *non-white*, while 67 (15%) of all characters depicted in photographs are *non-English*. Only 5 (1%) characters were identified as *non-able*. In total, 15% of all characters fit into one or more categories of the *other* (*Table 5).*

Table 5: Image analysis of DI: categories of the *other*

DI	N	*other* (N=137)		
	(characters)	*non-white*	*non-English*	*non-able*
Illustrations	450	20 (4%)	31 (7%)	2 (0.4%)
Photographs	443	45 (10%)	67 (15%)	5 (1%)
Total	893	**65 (7%)**	**98 (11%)**	**7 (1%)**

DI *text* analysis was carried out on the sample of 254 main texts. The categories identified as relating to the *other* are *non-white*, *non-English*, *non-able* and *non-normative family* (*Table 6*). The results show that there are 216 *other* characters, which makes up for 45% of all characters appearing in the main texts. Most of these characters (43%) belong to the category of *non-English,* 7% of characters are *non-white*, while the categories of *non-able* and *non-normative family* are the least represented (8%). Detailed results are presented in the Appendix[13].

Table 6: Text analysis of DI: categories of the *other*

DI (254)	N (characters)	*other* (N=216, f= 282)			
		non-white	*non-English*	*non-able*	*non-normative family*
N	478	**32 (7%)**	**204 (43%)**	**8 (2%)**	**8 (2%)**
f	594	59 (10%)	248 (42%)	8 (1%)	8 (1%)

Further analysis excludes *non-English* characters belonging to the countries where English functions as the native language (*Figure 2*). The results of *image* analysis show that only 45

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[12] *Appendix C: Image analysis (DI)*
[13] *Appendix D: Text analysis (DI)*

non-English characters belong to the non-native settings, that is, they make up only 5% of all characters presented in DI. In text analysis, 93 or 19% of all characters belong to the non-native settings, which is a slightly higher percentage than the one identified in NBB. Once again, the majority of *other* characters belonging to the strictly non-native settings are from Croatia.
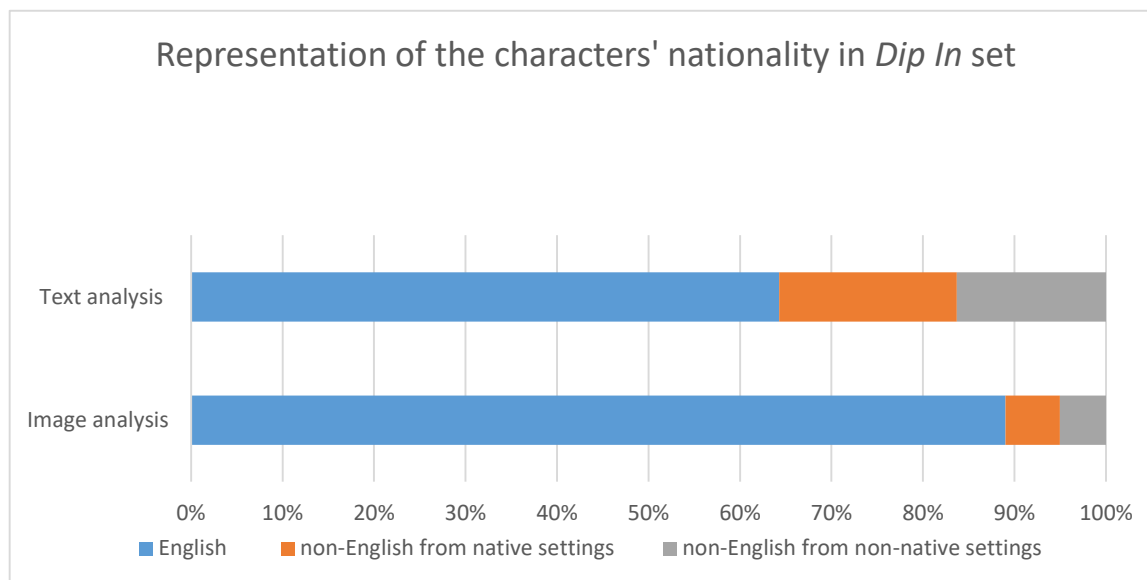
Figure 2: Representation of the characters' nationality in *Dip In* set

The results show that there is a presence of the *other* in DI. In both images and texts, the frequency of appearance is slightly higher than the one identified in NBB, with 24% of *other* characters found in images, and 45% in texts. Naturally, once again the dominant group consists of white, English, able characters coming from normative families. In the category of *non-English*, with the exclusion of characters from native settings, only 5% of characters in images and 19% of characters in text can be considered as the *other*.

5.6.2.2 Forms of bias in DI

Invisibility

The quantitative analysis of DI confirmed that textbooks belonging to this series mostly depict white English characters while other categories remain underrepresented in images and texts. Much like in NBB, the least represented groups are Asians, Africans and Latinos, confirming invisibility, that is, complete or relative exclusion of groups.

Stereotyping

The analysis of *images* shows that all Scottish characters in illustrations have red hair (DI6, p. 11; 97; 108), while the majority of those appearing in photographs wear a kilt and/or play

bagpipes (DI6, p. 8, DI7, p. 52; 53). Irish characters mostly wear green hats with some kind of a shamrock design (DI6, p. 8). Australian Aborigines are always depicted with a boomerang (DI 5, p. 86) or as playing a didgeridoo (DI8, p.38), while Australians in general often appear in the context of surfing (DI6, p. 8; DI8, p. 36). The only Asian character in illustrations is a very smart violin prodigy (DI6, p. 14). Asian girls in photographs wear school uniforms (DI8, p. 53). One non-able character appearing in illustrations is Monica, who is in a wheelchair (DI5, p.44). However, she is depicted as playing basketball, which is a positive image of a non-able person and certainly not a stereotype. Similarly, there is a photograph of a person in a wheelchair competing in the Paralympic games (DI5, p.84), as well as a photo of Terry Fox, a famous Canadian athlete with a prosthetic leg (DI8, p. 96) and Michael Phelps who has ADHD (DI7, p. 25). The only female non-able person in photographs is Helen Keller (DI8, p. 96).

There is only one non-able imaginary character in the DI *texts*. Monica in a wheelchair is not stereotypically presented since she plays basketball, sings and writes stories (DI5, p. 43). However, the tasks do little to encourage discussion on disabilities since the focus is only on linguistic competence, such as the one for practicing *can* and *can't* grammatical forms in which students have to decide what Monica can or can't do (DI5, p. 44).

Similar to NBB, indigenous people are shown as having stereotypical traits. One example is when a character Mike visits Australia where an Aborigine boy (who is not even named) teaches him how to play with a boomerang (DI5, p. 87). Tony from Australia loves surfing (DI6, p. 113) and Lee is an Asian student who warns his classmates to behave in class, likes to read and plays the violin (DI6, p. 22; 29). He is a stereotypical example of a smart, music inclined Asian student. He is also one of *other* characters coming from *non-normative family*, while all main white English characters come from a normative, middle class families, and are described as spending much quality time with their grandparents and other relatives (DI5, p.30; 114; DI6, p. 10).

In DI7, there are four characters from Croatia, two girls and two boys. Their description fits the traditional gender roles since one girl daydreams about Prince Charming and loves romance novels, while another wants to be a fashion model. On the other hand, one boy is described as a computer freak and the other as a musician (p. 16). Similarly, one sentence states that "Blue clothes have been used for boys and pink ones for girls since the first half of the 20th century." (DI7, p. 61). Keiran is one of the main characters in DI8. She is English, but her parents come from Pakistan. She has no stereotypical features and even though she comes from a normative family of four members, she complains that her parents are overprotective and treat her younger

brother differently. "He's allowed to stay out longer than me. They also let him sleep over at his friends'. They say it's because I'm a girl." (DI8, p. 48). This example reflects the traditional role of daughters in Pakistani families, even the ones that immigrated to the West, but those issues are not discussed in the text.

Imbalance and Selectivity

There are many sections on film and show-business in DI. All of the films, as well as the actors depicted in images are either English or American, with the exception of *March of the Penguins,* a French documentary (DI6, p. 49). Textbook sections about family and family relations are filled with images of smiling white four-membered middle-class families, often in company of healthy and vital grandparents. Families of other race/ethnicity/social class are not presented in the family context, but rather in various environmental sections emphasizing the poverty of third world countries. There are two exceptions, showing four-membered, happy African-American families (DI 5, p. 115; DI8, p. 51).

Texts on literature and films in DI also present western authors. While sections on films are dominated by American characters, literature features mostly male English authors, with even whole lessons dedicated to Shakespeare's plays. Exceptions are H.C. Andersen's *Emperor's New Clothes* (DI5, p. 47) and a story based on Aesop's fable (DI6, p. 63). The only female authors are Agatha Christie, Charlotte Bronte (both English) and Ivana Brlić Mažuranić. Science and discovery sections reference western discoveries, most notably European ones. Music related texts also feature European and American artists, with the exception of Bob Marley (DI8, p. 45).

Texts on Croatia and Croatian culture are presented in separate sections. The description is based on popular holiday locations and attractions without much reference to the Croatian culture and people in general, which makes those section look like tourist brochures. Countries with rich history, such as Egypt, are only referred to in the context of the past, with texts featuring pharaohs, Cleopatra, mummies and such. Texts on Greece refer exclusively to myths and legends and the origins of the Olympic Games. Not a single text deals with Egypt or Greece as we know them today.

Unreality

Unreality was not identified in the *image* analysis of DI.

Text on California and the discovery of gold, which takes up an entire page, thoroughly discusses the struggles of the gold miners and their fight for a better future, while the Gold Rush impact on Native Tribes and their way of life is neglected. The text notes only that "Mostly Native Americans lived there before the gold rush." (DI8, p. 25). Similar example is found in a story about Thanksgiving, featuring pilgrims who came to the New World and were helped by the Native Americans. Then they all ate together and celebrated their friendship (DI8, p. 70). Exploitation and oppression, as well as inter-group conflicts are not discussed in texts.

Fragmentation and Isolation

The analysis of *images* shows that each and every indigenous person in photographs appears as either alone, or in company of persons like themselves. Furthermore, very few photographs show people of different races together.

There are not many *texts* that deal strictly with the *other*, but rather they are mentioned when relevant to some topics. For example, the Inuits are briefly discussed in the text about Canada. The only text explicitly describing the *other* is about the Masai, native people from Africa. Even though they are positively described as beautiful and proud people, it is still an example of Fragmentation and Isolation.

Linguistic Bias

No linguistic bias was identified in the *image* analysis of DI.

In *texts*, a character Terry who has ADHD is described by his parents and teacher as *rude*, *irresponsible*, *childish*, *having problems*, *impatient*, and *superficial* (DI7, p. 20). This kind of description implies that children who have ADHD have socialization problems, and cannot be successful in school. ADHD is viewed as something entirely terrible, and as a variable that negatively forms the child's identity. There are no tasks that would prompt learners to discuss the negative stereotypes about children with this disorder.

In the section on films, it is stated that *Matrix* was directed by Andy and Larry Wachowski (DI7, p. 61). Beginning in the early 2000s, Larry Wachowski underwent a gender transition, and by 2010 she was officially referred to as Lana Wachowski. Even though DI7 was published in 2013, she is still referred to as Larry, and there is no mention of her being a transgender female.

However, a text on Canada discusses how Inuits are sometimes called Eskimos, which is offensive to them because it means "eaters of raw meat" (DI8, p. 91).

Cosmetic Bias

No cosmetic bias was identified in the *image* and *text* analysis of DI.

5.6.2.3 Cultural content in DI

Textbooks belonging to the *Dip In* set have a reasonable amount of cultural content, even though it is still related mostly to the West. The analysis shows that linguistic competence is once again mainly fostered in tasks and texts related to cultures, however, cultural competence is not entirely neglected since there are many questions that can spur discussion about various cultures, and even variables of cultural identity, such as the structure of a family or social status. Even though there are quite a few instances about disabilities, there are many missed opportunities for including tasks that would encourage students to think deeply about this social group. Case in point is the previously discussed text about Monica in a wheelchair, accompanied by tasks such as practicing *can/can't* grammatical forms. Like in NBB, sections on other countries are focused primarily on geography, with some mention of people and cultures. Tasks that follow those texts are usually True/False, matching the scientist with the invention or fact-based questions such as "Are the Niagara Falls in Canada or the USA?" (DI8, p. 90) and "What's the biggest Scottish city?" (DI7, p. 52).

However, there are some exceptions. A section on English language discusses how today people and languages mix and influence each other more than ever. The text is followed by questions that encourage the development of learners' intercultural awareness and competence:

> What are the advantages and disadvantages of mixing languages and people? Do you know what xenophobia and racism are? How should we deal with them? What is tolerance? How can people learn to be tolerant? Discuss the following words/expressions: bilingual, multilingual, multicultural, intercultural. Is Croatia a multicultural country? (DI8, p. 20).

Most Holliday sections deal strictly with Western traditions, but there is one task that mentions Moslems, Jews and Buddhists and encourages students to think about other cultures and their religious celebrations (DI8, p. 117).

6 Discussion

The aim of this study was not to criticize the amount of content related to the English culture presented in the EFL textbooks, but rather to investigate the portrayal of *other* cultures and the extent to which cultural bias is present in those instances dealing with the *other*. It is only logical that English textbooks mainly promote English culture and English way of life. However, it is always a challenge to avoid biased standpoints when dealing with cultural content. This is especially true when *others* are in question since they only get so much pages in a textbook.

When encountering cultural content, learners are faced with a kind of a looking glass. They can either see themselves and their culture or the *other*. They can also recognize themselves as the *other* if the content fosters a hegemonic view of cultures. EFL textbooks, especially those written by Croatian authors, include Croatian culture and introduce Croatian characters. A problem appears when learners outside the mainstream cannot identify with the character because it belongs exclusively to the dominant culture. As far as the second case is concerned, first there has to be some *other* to look at, and then the culture in question has to be accurately portrayed and bias-free. This is extremely important since Croatian students often encounter some ethnic or racial groups for the first time during their EFL lessons. Naturally, authors want to include the most relevant information concerning those *others* so they often lose sight of the bigger picture and inadvertently construct stereotypical and biased portrayals of various racial, ethnic and social groups. Case in point are the two sets of textbooks analysed in this study. Not only was complete or relative exclusion of *others* identified in both images and texts, but they were also filled with examples confirming the presence of all seven forms of bias.

Factual information often offered in cultural content, while valuable, lacks the elaboration on its relationship with culture. Learners would be more likely to develop intercultural awareness and intercultural competence were this relationship explicitly focused on. There is also an abundance of hegemonic cultural content in the analysed EFL textbooks, presenting the Western and/or English perspective as superior to others. One of the bigger problems found in the analysis is also the culturally insensitive representation of indigenous people, especially Native Americans. The main problem in the analysed textbooks is thus not so much the lack of *others* and their cultures, but rather the fact that when *others* are included, they are often presented from a culturally biased point of view. To elaborate on the example of Native Americans, all texts and images featuring these *others* show them in the contexts of

Thanksgiving or colonization of America. While learners should know about these events, it would be better if some texts focused on their present life and current status in the society.

Results of this study can also be discussed in the relation to Banks's (1993) four ways of integrating cultural content into (multicultural) curriculum. The contributions approach focuses on addition of occasional celebrations of heroes and heroines, holidays, foods and discrete cultural elements. The additive approach includes addition of contents, concepts, lessons and units, without the change in the curriculum structure. The transformation approach results in the change of the curriculum structure in a way that students are enabled to view concepts from the perspectives of different cultural groups. And finally, the action approach enables students to make important decisions regarding personal, social and civic problems, and take actions to solve them. Even though it is impossible to generalize the results of the study to discuss all EFL textbooks used in Croatian schools, the results of this study show an additive approach to cultural content, with a few elements that would indicate a step towards the transformation approach. As already discussed in the section on intercultural education, an additive approach results in quasi-intercultural materials and superficial understanding of one's own and other cultures.

Realistically speaking, each and every textbook will have some type of bias, whether hidden or explicit. Furthermore, considering the slow-moving educational policy actions in Croatia, the first and perhaps the most realistic step toward the real intercultural EFL education is becoming aware of cultural bias and challenge it in classrooms. That is why texbooks should be more dialogue oriented and present cultural content as a series of interpretations coming from different perspectives, people and/or cultures. Cultural content is not a series of rules that are set in stone. Rather, it should be constantly addressed during the lessons and various meanings it offers should be negotiated, interpreted and reinterpreted by and among all subjects of educational process.

6.1 Guidelines for dealing with cultural bias in textbooks

The following suggestions for dealing with cultural bias do not neglect the importance of the linguistic competence learners need to develop. Even though these guidelines are more on the general side, they can be of assistance to many teachers, especially novice teachers, who are generally focused on the grammatical and linguistic sections covered in textbooks, thus (inadvertently) overlooking the importance of teaching culture.

1   *Choose carefully*

Just because a textbook is popular it does not mean it will suit everyone's teaching style, nor that it is necessarily of high quality. If given a choice in the selection of teaching material, teachers should go through the textbooks and examine not just linguistic but also cultural content. Checklists for evaluating textbook content can be of help in this process.

2 *Know yourself to know the other*

Besides having knowledge of other countries and cultures, teachers should constantly work on developing their awareness of values presented in a textbook, concerning concepts related to one's own and other cultures. Teachers should consider whether they possess bias towards other cultures and the influence this has on their teaching.

3 *Teach skills, not information*

Teachers should also help raise students' awareness of different cultural concepts and foster the development of those competences needed for successful, bias free interaction with people from different cultural backgrounds. Instead of bombarding the students with excessive and unnecessary cultural information, they should teach them to critically interpret the given material.

4 *Authenticity and experience matter*

Teachers should encourage experiential learning in their classrooms. For example, if a text on a certain culture is in any way lacking, teachers can ask students if they have any experience regarding said culture or share their own. If that is not the case, learners can be instructed to investigate cultural concepts and therefore develop more complex understanding of other cultures. Students (or teachers) can find various authentic texts, drawn from different perspectives, and then compare their findings.

5 *Use the bias*

If teachers encounter some form of bias in the EFL textbooks, they should not neglect the fact that it is present, but rather point it out and use it in their lessons. Examining some forms of bias, such as stereotypes or gender bias, from different perspectives can spur discussions that will raise learners' cultural awareness. For example, if there are tasks in which women do stereotypical female activities, teacher can ask what implicit meanings does the specific task promote.

In addition to considering these guidelines, teachers can also use the European Language Portfolio developed by the Council of Europe. This document is adaptable to EFL learners of all ages and fosters the development of intercultural awareness. By using this portfolio, learners

can reflect on their language learning, as well as the cultural experiences and cultural skills they have acquired.

6.2 Limitations of the study and future developments

One of the limitations of this study is the analysis of a small sample of eight EFL textbooks written by Croatian authors. The findings are therefore not suitable for generalization to all EFL textbooks used in Croatian schools. For some future studies, EFL textbooks by British and American authors that are commonly used in Croatia should be analysed and compared to the ones written by Croatian authors in order to gain full insigt into the cultural content they present. Furthermore, the study does not include other teaching materials, such as workbooks, audio files and teacher's books, which should also be analysed with reference to other cultures since they are used in the teaching process. Additional variables of cultural identity that were not a part of this study, such as age, religion and economic status, should also be examined in relation to the textbooks' cultural content. What is more, the issue of cultural bias towards the *other* can be further explored in some broader areas, such as the teaching process itself.

Even though linguistic contents are of primary concern for most educators, potential cultural bias in the textbooks can greatly affect the long-term development of learners' intercultural awareness and competence. It is therefore hoped that by providing some criteria of analysis for the investigation of cultural bias in textbooks, this study might be able to assist EFL teachers in the selection of teaching materials and promote the importance of teaching culture.

7 Conclusion

It has already been established that teaching and learning English as a foreign language cannot be reduced to the explicit teaching of language skills. English is one of the subjects in Croatian schools which offers major insight into other cultures. In order to develop intercultural communicative competence, is not enough for learners to become familiarized with only the English culture. EFL textbooks should include broad cultural content that encourages learners to examine other cultures as well as their own. Special attention should be paid to the difference between generalizations and stereotypes in EFL textbooks. While the former is often necessary due to the limited space in the EFL textbook, the latter should be avoided but often appears because of oversimplified cultural content. It is important that teachers are aware of the cultural aspects of language and use a wide range of strategies in the process of teaching culture.

The notion that culture is acquired through the process of foreign language learning has further pedagogical implications. In EFL teaching, cultural content can enable better understanding of different groups, norms and values, promote the acceptance of this diversity and ensure the aim of intercultural education. However, if the cultural content is absent, presented superficially or filled with faulty concepts, there is a danger of accepting and reinforcing this kind of negative worldview on the behalf of both students and teachers. The analysis of the cultural bias and the presentation of the *other* in EFL textbooks can shed some light onto what knowledge and, more importantly, whose knowledge is being taught in schools. Furthermore, it is beneficial for raising cultural awareness and promoting intercultural learning among the participants of the educational system and will thus possibly enable those participants to critically examine the materials they work with on a daily basis. Ultimately, it is the way in which the content of EFL textbooks is used that mostly influences how learners perceive cultures. This means that the amount of intercultural information that learners receive, as well as the development of their intercultural communicative competence will depend on the teacher since the analysed textbooks are still not fully meeting the criteria for intercultural language education.

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9 Appendices

Appendix A: Image analysis (NBB)

NBB5	Illustrations		Photographs	
Race/Ethnicity	N	f	N	f
African American	1	7	16	16
Latino/ Hispanic	1	4	-	-
Asian	-	-	15	15
African	-	-	4	4
Inuit	-	-	1	1
unidentified	-	-	5	5
Nationality	N	f	N	f
Croatia	**1**	29	**1**	1
USA	1	7	3	3
Tanzania	-	-	**1**	1
China	-	-	**1**	1
Greece	-	-	**1**	1
Egypt	-	-	**1**	1
North Africa	-	-	**3**	3
Arctic region	-	-	**1**	1
Spain	**1**	4	-	-
NBB6	**Illustrations**		**Photographs**	
Race/Ethnicity	N	f	N	f
African American	1	7	10	10
Latino/ Hispanic	3	7	1	1
Australian Aborigine	**3**	4	**9**	9
Native American	**4**	6	**3**	3
Asian	-	-	6	6
Nationality	N	f	N	f
Croatia	**1**	5	**2**	3
USA	24	32	6	7
Australia	4	10	9	9
Poland	**2**	3	**2**	4
Italy	**1**	1	**3**	4
Germany	**1**	2	**1**	1
Austria	**1**	2	**1**	1
Macedonia	-	-	**1**	2
Spain	**3**	8	-	-
NBB7	**Illustrations**		**Photographs**	
Race/Ethnicity	N	f	N	f
African American	2	2	18	18
Latino/ Hispanic	-	-	-	-
unidentified indigenous	1	1	-	-
Native American	**2**	2	-	-
Asian	-	-	7	7
African	-	-	2	5
Nationality	N	f	N	f
Croatia	-	-	**2**	2
USA	5	6	7	9
Italy	**1**	1	-	-

Germany	**1**	1	-	-
Greece	**2**	2	-	-
Ireland	1	1	12	14
Kenya	-	-	**1**	4
unidentified	**1**	1	-	-
Disability	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
ALS	-	-	1	1

NBB8	Illustrations		Photographs	
Race/Ethnicity	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
African American	2	2	22	23
Latino/ Hispanic	-	-	1	1
unidentified	-	-	2	2
Maori	-	-	1	1
Asian			5	6
African	-	-	2	2
Nationality	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
Croatia	-	-	**3**	3
USA	-	-	26	32
Ireland	-	-	1	1
Africa	-	-	**2**	2
Russia	-	-	**1**	1
Sweden	-	-	**1**	1
Scotland	-	-	4	4
Australia	-	-	2	2
New Zealand	-	-	1	1
Disability	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
deafness + blindness	-	-	1	1

NBB5	MAIN TEXT	CONTEXT UNIT	
		TASK	ADDITIONAL UNIT
UNIT 1	**8** Non-white (2/2) 1 African American (1), 1 Latino (1) Non-English (3/6) 1 Croatia (4), 1 USA (1), 1 Spain (1)	43 Non-white (2/5) 1 Latino (3), 1 African American (2) Non-English (6/24) 4 Croatia (19), 1 Spain (3), 1 USA (2)	11 Non-white (1/1) 1 African American (1) Non-English (0) /
UNIT 2	**6** Non-white (2/2) 1 African (1), 1 Asian (1) Non-English (2/2) 1 Tanzania (1), 1 China (1) Non-normative family (2/2) 1 Sophia (1), 1 Tian Mi (1)	44 Non-white (1/1) 1 Asian (1) Non-English (1/1) 1 Tanzania (1) Non-normative family (0) /	9 Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) / Non-normative family (0) /
UNIT 3	**5** Non-white (1/1) 1 Latino (1) Non-English (2/2) 2 Croatia (2)	46 Non-white (0) / Non-English (3/4) 3 Croatia (4)	7 Non-white (0) / Non-English (1) 1 Croatia (1)
UNIT 4	**7** Non-white (0) / Non-English (2/3) 1 Croatia (2), 1 USA (1)	34 Non-white (2/4) 1 African American (2), 1 Latino (2) Non-English (3/13) 1 Croatia (9), 1 Spain (2), 1 USA (2)	8 Non-white (0) / Non-English (1/1) 1 Croatia (1)
UNIT 5	**7** Non-white (1/1) 1 Latino (1) Non-English (3/3) 1 Croatia (1), 1 Spain (1), 1 Greece (1)	39 Non-white (0) / Non-English (3/3) 1 Croatia (1), 1 Greece (1), 1 Spain (1)	8 Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) /
UNIT 6	**8** Non-white (3/3) 1 Latino (1), 1 African American (1), 1 Asian (1) Non-English (5/6) 2 Croatia (3) , 1 USA (1), 1 Spain (1), 1 Egypt (1)	35 Non-white (3/9) 1 African American (6), 1 Latino (2), 1 Asian (1) Non-English (6/15) 2 USA (6), 2 Croatia (5) , 1 Spain (2), 1 Egypt (2)	5 Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) /

	MAIN TEXT	CONTEXT UNIT	
		TASK	**ADDITIONAL UNIT**

	MAIN TEXT	TASK	ADDITIONAL UNIT
UNIT 7	**12**	**21**	**3**
	Non-white (3/4)	Non-white (9)	Non-white (0)
	1 African American (2), 1 Native American (1), 1 Latino (1)	African American (6), Latino (3)	/
	Non-English (8/10)	Non-English (16)	Non-English (0)
	3 USA (5), 1 Croatia (1), 1 Spain (1), 1 France (1), 1 Europe (1), 1 immigrants (1)	USA (7), Croatia (6) , Spain (3)	/
APPENDIX	**5**	**5**	**1**
	Non-white (0)	Non-white (0)	Non-white (0)
	/	/	/
	Non-English (1/1)	Non-English (1/1)	Non-English (1/1)
	1 Croatia (1)	1 Croatia (1)	1 Croatia (1)

NBB6

	MAIN TEXT	CONTEXT UNIT	
		TASK	**ADDITIONAL UNIT**
UNIT 1	**9**	**42**	**7**
	Non-white (5/6)	Non-white (3/13)	Non-white (1/1)
	2 African American (3), 1 Latino (1), 1 Aztec (1), 1 Asian (1)	1 African American (4), 1 Latino (5), 1 Aborigine (4)	1 African American (1)
	Non-English (5/6)	Non-English (7/23)	Non-English (2/3)
	1 Croatia (2), 1 USA (2), 1 Spain (1), 1 Australia (1), 1 Mexican Aztec Indians (1)	1 Croatia (5), 1 USA (4), 1 Spain (5), 2 Australia (4), 1 Aborigine (4), 1 Austria (1)	1 Croatia (2), 1 Australia (1)
UNIT 2	**8**	**48**	**7**
	Non-white (4/4)	Non-white (6/15)	Non-white (3/4)
	2 Aborigine (2), 2 Native American (2)	2 African American (2), 2 Aborigine (7), 2 Native American (6)	1 Aborigine (2), 2 Native American (3)
	Non-English (8/8)	Non-English (9/13)	Non-English (4/6)
	2 Australia (2), 1 USA (1), 1 Canada (1), 1 Poland (1), 2 Germany (2), 1 Austria (1)	3 Australia (7), 1 USA (1), 1 Canada (1), 1 Poland (1), 1 Germany (1), 1 Austria (1), 1 Siberia (1)	1 Australia (2), 1 Canada (1), 1 USA (2), 1 Poland (1)
	Non-normative family (3/3)	Non-normative family (0)	Non-normative family (0)
	1 Native American family (1), 1 Australian Aborigine family (1), 1 Lisa and Lottie's family (1)	/	/
UNIT 3	**8**	**48**	**7**
	Non-white (6/6)	Non-white (4/7)	Non-white (1/1)
	2 African American (2), 1 Latino (1), 1 Native Americans (1), 2 Asian (2)	2 African American (3) 2 Asian (4)	1 African American (1)
	Non-English (9/10)	Non-English (4/5)	Non-English (2/3)
	2 Croatia (2), 4 USA (4), 1 Australia (2), 1 New Zealand (1), 1 Spain (1)	1 Croatia (1), 1 Poland (1), 1 Africa (1), 1 Australia (2)	1 Croatia (1), 1 Australia (2)

	MAIN TEXT	TASK	ADDITIONAL UNIT
UNIT 4	**7** Non-white (2/3) 1 African American (1), 1 Latino (2) Non-English (11/14) 7 Croatia (9), 1 USA (1), 2 Spain (3), 1 Belgium (1)	**48** Non-white (3/4) 1 African American (1), 2 Latino (3) Non-English (7/25) 2 Croatia (8), 2 Spain (3), 1 USA (1), 1 Belgium (3), 1 Netherlands (10)	**7** Non-white (1/1) 1 Latino (1) Non-English (3/6) 2 Croatia (4), 1 Netherlands (2)
UNIT 5	**6** Non-white (0) / Non-English (11/11) 2 Croatia (2), 2 USA (2), 2 Italy (2), 1 France (1), 1 Poland (1), 1 Macedonia (1), 1 Austria (1), 1 Denmark (1) Non-normative family (1/1) 1 I.B. Mažuranić – 6 children (1)	**54** Non-white (2/3) 1 African American (2), 1 Native American (1) Non-English (17/29) 1 Australia (3), 4 Croatia (5), 4 USA (7), 2 Italy (4), 1 France (1), 1 Poland (4), 1 Macedonia (3), 1 Austria (1), 1 Germany (1), 1 Portugal (1) Non-normative family (0) /	**8** Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) / Non-normative family (0) /
UNIT 6	**9** Non-white (46) 1 African American (1), 3 Native American (5) Non-English (17/20) 1 Australia (2), 1 Portugal (1), 1 Spain (1), 13 USA (15), 1 Italy (1)	**41** Non-white (7/16) 1 Latino (3), 1 African American (1), 5 Native Americans (12) Non-English (19/40) 12 USA (21), 3 Portugal (3), 2 Italy (7), 1 Croatia (1), 1 Australia (8)	**7** Non-white (2/2) 2 Native American (2) Non-English (3/3) 2 USA (2), 1 Italy (1)
UNIT 7	**8** Non-white (2/2) 1 African American (1), 1 Latino (1) Non-English (4/5) 1 USA (1), 1 Croatia (2), 1 Spain (1), 1 Australia (1)	**49** Non-white (2/3) 1 African American (1), 1 Latino (2) Non-English (4/9) 1 USA (1), 1 Croatia (5) , 1 Spain (2), 1 Australia (1)	**8** Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) /
APP.	**4** Non-English (0) /	**17** Non-English (1) Croatia (1)	**1** Non-English (1) Croatia (1)

	MAIN TEXT	CONTEXT UNIT	
NBB7		**TASK**	**ADDITIONAL UNIT**
UNIT 1	**6** Non-English (1/1) 1 Germany (1)	**52** Non-English (0) /	**9** Non-English (0) /

	MAIN TEXT	TASK	ADDITIONAL UNIT
UNIT 2	**8**	43	9
	Non-white (1/1) 1 Afro-American (1)	Non-white (0) /	Non-white (0) /
	Non-English (1/1) 1 USA (1)	Non-English (1/1) 1 USA (1)	Non-English (0) /
UNIT 3	**5**	44	10
	Non-English (6/6) 2 France (2), 2 USA (2), 1 Italy (1), 1 Greece (1)	Non-English (5/5) 1 Scotland (1), 1 Germany (1), 2 USA (1), 1 France (1)	Non-English (0) /
	Non-normative family (1) 1 Victorian family with 6-7 children	Non-normative family (0) /	Non-normative family (0) /
UNIT 4	**7**	40	7
	Non-white (0) /	Non-white (1/1) 1 indigenous (1)	Non-white (0) /
	Non-English (6/6) 5 Greece (5), 1 Ulster (1)	Non-English (5/6) 4 Greece (5), 1 indigenous (1)	Non-English (3/3) 3 Greece (3)
UNIT 5	**7**	39	7
	Non-white (1/1) 1 Latino (1)	Non-white (0) /	Non-white (0) /
	Non-English (6/6) 2 Croatia (2), 2 USA (2), 1 Germany (1), 1 Chile (1)	Non-English (2/2) 1 Croatia (1), 1 USA (1)	Non-English (1/1) 1 Croatia (1)
	Non-able (1/1) 1 Hawking – ALS (1)	Non-able (0) /	Non-able (1/1) 1 Hawking – ALS (1)
UNIT 6	**9**	49	9
	Non-white (2/2) 1 Native American (1), 1 African (1)	Non-white (1/3) 1 African (3)	Non-white (0) /
	Non-English (3/3) 2 USA (2), 1 Kenya (1), 1 Italy (1)	Non-English (1/3) 1 Kenya (3)	Non-English (0) /
UNIT 7	**6**	46	7
	Non-white (0) /	Non-white (2/3) 1 African American (1), 1 Latino (2)	Non-white (0) /
	Non-English (6/6) 6 Ireland (6)	Non-English (4/9) 1 USA (1), 1 Croatia (5), 1 Spain (2), 1 Australia (1)	Non-English (0) /
APP	**4** /	11 /	1 /

	MAIN TEXT	CONTEXT UNIT	
NBB8		TASK	ADDITIONAL UNIT
UNIT 1	**7**	48	9
	Non-white (1/1) 1 African American (1)	Non-white (1/1) 1 African American (1)	Non-white (0) /
	Non-English (5/5)	Non-English (4/6)	Non-English (0)

	1 Australia (1), 4 USA (4)	1 Australia (2), 3 USA (4)	/
UNIT 2	**7** Non-normative family (1) 1 Billy Elliot (father+brother) (1)	33 Non-normative family (0) /	7 Non-normative family (0) /
UNIT 3	**9** Non-English (4/4) 4 USA (4)	48 Non-English (5/5) 1 Italy (1)	7 Non-English (0) /
UNIT 4	**6** Non-white (1/1) 1 Asian (1) Non-English (15/15) 9 Italy (9), 5 USA (5), 1 Japan (1)	36 Non-white (1/1) 1 Asian (1) Non-English (9/12) 7 Italy (10), 1 USA (1), 1 Japanese (1)	6 Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) /
UNIT 5	**10** Non-white (3/3) 3 African American (3) Non-English (6/6) 1 Croatia (1), 4 USA (4), 2 Germany (2) Non-able (4/4) 1 Parkinson's (1), 1 deafness and blindness (1), 1 people with disabilities (1), 1 ADHD (1)	41 Non-white (3/6) 3 African American (6) Non-English (14/19) 1 Croatia (1), 8 USA (13), 1 Germany (1), 2 Greece (2), 1 Persia (1), 1 France (1) Non-able (2/2) 1 Parkinson's (1), 1 deafness and blindness (1)	5 Non-white (1/2) 1 African American (2) Non-English (1/2) 1 USA (2) Non-able (1/2) 1 Parkinson's (2)
UNIT 6	**8** Non-white (1/1) 1 African American (1) Non-English (6/6) 3 USA (3), 1 Croatia (1), 1 Sweden (1), 1 Russia (1)	38 Non-white (2/4) 1 African American (3), 1 African (1) Non-English (13/15) 1 Africa (1), 1 Scotland (1), 1 Germany (1), 1 Sweden (1), 2 Ireland (2), 1 Japan (1), 4 USA (6), 2 Croatia (2)	10 Non-white (0) / Non-English (4/4) 3 USA (3), 1 Russia (1)
UNIT 7	**7** Non-white (2/2) 1 Australian Aborigine (1), 1 Maori (1) Non-English (15/15) 11 Scotland (11), 1 Australia (1), 3 New Zealand (3)	34 Non-white (3/3) 1 African American (1), 1 Afro-Trinbagonian (1), 1 African (1) Non-English (9/9) 3 USA (3), 1 Scotland (1), 1 Greece (1), 1 Trinidad & Tobago (1), 1 South Africa (1), 2 New Zealand (2)	9 Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) /

	3	11	1
APP.	Non-English (2/2)	Non-English (0)	Non-English (0)
	1 USA (1), 1 Israel (1)	/	/

226 MAIN TEXTS

TOTAL

Non-white (N= 23, f=49): Zack (10), Carlos (10), Tian Mi, Sophia, Lucy, Native Americans (6), Mexican Aztec Indians, Amy, Chen, Arana, the Aborigines (2), Pat, Maria, William, Rajesh, Afro-Americans (3), L. Albina, W. Mathaai, Yoko Ono, J. Owens, M. Ali, M. L. King, the Maoris

Non-English (N=132, f=191): Zack (10), Carlos (10), Ana (19), Tian Mi, Sophia, I. Brlić Mažuranić (2), Americans (3), Aesop, D. Gorjanović Kramberger, Native Americans (6), the Europeans, the French, the immigrants (2), Mexican Aztec Indians, Russell (5), Arana, the Aborigines (2), Pat, Agata, E. Kastner, Lisa, Lottie, Iva (2), the cowboys, a sheriff, P. Jackson, Van Eyk, Picasso, Strossmayer, Cesarić, Becić, Ružička, Prelog, Tesla (2), A. Earhart, W. Disney (2), Da Vinci (2), F. Nightingale, P. Curie, M. Curie, Mother Theresa, Mozart, H.C. Anderson, B. Clinton, T. Edison, Ford, M. Twain, pilgrims, D. Crockett, Queen Isabella, King of Portugal, Columbus (3), Einstein (2), Afro-Americans (3), Ancient Greeks, J.M. Montoglfier, J.E. Montgolfier, O. Wright, W. Wright, Midas, Minos, Daedalus, Icarus, King of Ulster, Dionysus, M. Hogg, L. Albina, W. Buffet, S. Božić, W. Mathaai, O.Wilde, G.B. Shaw, J. Joyce, S. Beckett, W. B. Yeats, St Patrick, Danny, Sandy, Frenchy, M. Converse, C. Taylor, James Dean, M. Monroe, J. DiMaggio, Bonnie, Clyde, O Henry, Jesus, S. Connery, A. Bell, A. Fleming, A. C. Doyle, B. Stoker, Yoko Ono, M. Chapman, Anna, Juliet, Romeo, Friar Laurence, Paris, Mercutio, Tybalt, Benvolio, Rosaline, J. Owens, M. Ali, H. Keller, J. Kostelić, A. Hitler, German athletes, M. Phelps, Watson, Penkala, Nobel, Roosevelt, M. L. King, R. Crowe, Kiwis, the Maoris, W. Wallace, James VI, R. Burns, J. Watt, J. Logie Baird, J. M. Barie, Tian Mi's family, Sophia's family, Lisa and Lottie's family, Native American family, Aborigine family, I.B. Mažuranić's family

Non-able (N=5, f=5): S. Hawking, M. Ali, H. Keller, M. Phelps, people with disabilities

Non-normative family (N=8, f=8): Sophia's family, Tian Mi's family, Lisa & Lottie's family, Native American family, Aborigine family, Victorian family, I.B. Mažuranić's family, B. Elliot's family

OTHER: N=141, f=200

Appendix C: Image analysis (DI)

DI5	Illustrations		Photographs	
Race/Ethnicity	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
African American		-	5	5
Australian Aborigine	1	1	-	-
Nationality	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
Austria	-	-	1	1
Australia	1	1	-	-
Disability	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
Wheelchair	1	1	1	1
DI6	**Illustrations**		**Photographs**	
Race/Ethnicity	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
African American	5	15	7	7
Asian	4	7	-	-
Arab	2	2	-	-
Australian Aborigine	1	1	-	-
Nationality	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
Croatia	-	-	2	2
Scotland	3	12	-	-
Ireland	1	1	-	-
USA	1	1	12	12
Australia	1	1	-	-
Italy	1	3	-	-
Egypt	-	-	2	2
Japan	3	3	-	-
Middle East	2	2	-	-
Disability	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
Wheelchair	1	1	-	-
DI7	**Illustrations**		**Photographs**	
Race/Ethnicity	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
African American	1	1	6	6
Asian	-	-	2	2
Aztec	1	1	-	-
Latino	-	-	1	1
Nationality	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
Croatia	7	19	2	2
Scotland	1	1	3	3
Ireland	-	-	1	1
USA	-	-	4	5
Canada	-	-	1	1
Australia	-	-	1	1
Italy	2	3	-	-
Mexico	1	1	-	-
France	1	1	1	1
Greece	1	1	-	-
Norway	1	1	-	-
Portugal	1	1	-	-
Wales	-	-	2	2
Disability	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
ADHD	-	-	1	1

DI8	Illustrations		Photographs	
Race/Ethnicity	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
unidentified	4	25	1	1
Asian	-	-	4	4
African American	1	1	11	11
Maori	-	-	1	1
Aborigines	-	-	3	3
Africa	-	-	1	1
Masai	-	-	2	2
Inuit	-	-	1	1
Nationality	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
Croatia	-	-	1	1
Scotland	-	-	2	2
Ireland	-	-	1	1
USA	1	1	10	11
Canada	-	-	1	1
Australia	-	-	6	7
Italy	-	-	1	1
Greece	1	4	-	-
Ukraine	-	-	1	1
New Zealand	-	-	1	1
Sweden	-	-	1	1
Germany	1	1	1	2
France	-	-	1	1
Arctic region	-	-	1	1
Jamaica	-	-	1	1
Africa	-	-	3	3
unidentified	-	-	3	3
Disability	**N**	**f**	**N**	**f**
limb differences	-	-	1	1
deafness + blindness	-	-	1	1
Parkinson's			1	1

DI5	MAIN TEXT	CONTEXT UNIT	
		TASK	ADDITIONAL UNIT
UNIT 1	**7** Non-English (4/4) 2 Australia (2), 2 USA (2)	49 Non-English (0) /	4 Non-English (0) /
UNIT 2	**5** Non-English (0) / Non-able (1/1) 1 Monica (wheelchair) (1)	44 Non-English (3/3) 1 USA (1), 1 Denmark (1), 1 France (1) Non-able (1/2) 1 Monica (wheelchair) (2)	5 Non-English (0) / Non-able (0) /
UNIT 3	**8** Non-English (1/1) 1 Australia (1)	39 Non-English (1/1) 1 Australia (1)	7 Non-English (0) /
UNIT 4	**7** Non-able (1/1) 1 athletes with disability (1)	44 Non-able (0) /	9 Non-able (0) /
UNIT 5	**6** Non-white (1/1) 1 Australian Aborigine (1) Non-English (1/1) 1 Australia (1)	38 Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) /	4 Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) /
UNIT 6	**6** Non-English (0) /	49 Non-English (13/18) 1 Egypt (2), 1 Croatia (1), 2 Germany (4), 1 Austria (2), 3 Italy (3), 1 France (1), 2 Greece (3), 1 USA (1), 1 Poland (1)	10 Non-English (0) /
H	**4** /	5 /	0 /

DI6	MAIN TEXT	CONTEXT UNIT	
		TASK	ADDITIONAL UNIT
UNIT 1	**14** Non-white (2/3) 2 African American (2), 1 Asian (2) Non-English (3/4) 2 Australia (2), 1 Italy (2) Non-normative family (1/1)	49 Non-white (2/2) 1 African American (1), 1 Asian (1) Non-English (0) / Non-normative family (0)	5 Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) / Non-normative family (0)

	MAIN TEXT	TASK	ADDITIONAL UNIT
	1 Lee+mum (1)	/	/

	MAIN TEXT	TASK	ADDITIONAL UNIT
UNIT 2	**12** <u>Non-white (2/4)</u> 1 African American (3), 1 Asian (1) <u>Non-English (3/3)</u> 2 USA (2) 1 Croatia (1) <u>Non-normative family (1/1)</u> 1 Peter Parker's family (1)	41 <u>Non-white (1/4)</u> 1 African American (4) <u>Non-English (0)</u> / <u>Non-normative family (0)</u> /	7 <u>Non-white (0)</u> / <u>Non-English (1/1)</u> 1 USA (1) <u>Non-normative family (0)</u> /
UNIT 3	**14** <u>Non-white (6/6)</u> 1 African American (3), 2 Asian (2) <u>Non-English (9/11)</u> 3 Egypt (3), 1 Normans (1),1 USA (1), 1 Greece (1), 1 Japan (1), 2 Italy (4)	72 <u>Non-white (1/4)</u> 1 African American (4) <u>Non-English (4/7)</u> 1 USA (1), 1 Italy (4), 2 Egypt (2)	11 <u>Non-white (1/1)</u> 1 African American (1) <u>Non-English (0)</u> /
UNIT 4	**8** <u>Non-white (1/1)</u> 1 African American (1) <u>Non-English (6/6)</u> 2 USA (2), 1 Australia (1), 1 immigrants (1), 1 Ireland (1), 1 France (1)	23 <u>Non-white (0)</u> / <u>Non-English (0)</u> /	6 <u>Non-white (0)</u> / <u>Non-English (0)</u> /
UNIT 5	**13** <u>Non-white (1/1)</u> 1 Asian (1) <u>Non-English (9/20)</u> 4 Scotland (15), 1 Italy (1), 1 Wales (1), 1 Germany, 1 New Zealand (1), 1 Australia (1)	35 <u>Non-white (1/1)</u> 1 Asian (1) <u>Non-English (7/11)</u> 4 Scotland (7), 1 Italy (2), 1 Croatia (1), 1 India (1)	2 <u>Non-white (0)</u> / <u>Non-English (0)</u> /
SP	**2** /	4 /	0 /

	MAIN TEXT	CONTEXT UNIT	
DI7		**TASK**	**ADDITIONAL UNIT**
UNIT 1	**11** <u>Non-white (2/2)</u> 1 Latino (1), 1 African American (1) <u>Non-English (10/15)</u> 4 Croatia (8), 2 USA (2), 1 Austria (2), 1 Spain (1), 1 France (1), 1 the Angles (1)	57 <u>Non-white (0)</u> / <u>Non-English (16/18)</u> 4 Croatia (5), 4 USA (5), 1 France (1), 1 Germany (1), 2 Scotland (2), 2 Italy (2), 1 Ireland (1), 1 Wales (1)	24 <u>Non-white (0)</u> / <u>Non-English (4/13)</u> 4 Croatia (13)

	Non-normative family (2/2) 1 Ana + mum + grandma 1 Phelps (divorced parents)	Non-normative family (0) /	Non-normative family (0) /
	Non-able (2/2) 1 children with ADHD (1), 1 Phelps (1)	Non-able (0) /	Non-able (0) /
UNIT 2	**10**	64	14
	Non-white (2/2) 1 Afro-Brazilian (1), 1 Asian (1)	Non-white (3/3) 1 African (1), 1 Afro-Jamaican (1), 1 Afro-Brazilian (1)	Non-white (0) /
	Non-English (28/28) 9 Scotland (9), 4 France (4), 1 Norway (1), 4 Greece (4), 3 Italy (3), 1 Germany (1), 1 Brazil (1), 1 USA (1), 2 Portugal (2), 1 Spain (1), 1 Mongol Empire (1)	Non-English (38/44) 7 Croatia (7), 7 Scotland (8), 1 Normans (1), 5 Italy (7), 3 Greece (4), 1 Norway (2), 1 Australia (1), 1 Ireland (1), 1 Kenya (1), 1 Jamaica (1), 1 Brazil (1), 4 USA (4), 1 Portugal (2), 1 Germany (1), 1 Austria (1), 1 France (1), 1 Spain (1)	Non-English (7/8) 1 Scotland (2), 1 Spain (1), 1 Norway (1), 1 France (1), 2 Portugal (2), 1 Italy (1)
UNIT 3	**14**	77	12
	Non-white (1/1) 1 African American (1)	Non-white (0) /	Non-white (0) /
	Non-English (24/26) 2 Croatia (4), 7 USA (7), 2 Canada (2), 10 Ireland (10), 2 Italy (2), 1 Germany (1)	Non-English (25/36) 4 Croatia (8), 5 USA (11), 1 Wales (1), 3 Italy (4), 11 Ireland (11), 1 Scotland (1)	Non-English (2/2) 1 Croatia (1), 1 Ireland (1)
	Non-normative family (1/1) 1 Bella + dad (1)	Non-normative family (0) /	Non-normative family (0) /
UNIT 4	**18**	85	25
	Non-white (2/2) 2 Aztecs (2)	Non-white (1/1) 1 Aztecs (1)	Non-white (0) /
	Non-English (25/30) 7 Croatia (12), 1 Italy (1), 3 Spain (3), 11 Wales (11), 1 Europe (1), 2 Mexico (2)	Non-English (18/22) 5 Croatia (9), 1 Netherlands (1), 1 Austria (1), 1 Italy (1), 1 Europe (1), 1 Spain (1), 1 Mexico (1), 2 Scotland (2), 5 Wales (5)	Non-English (6/8) 4 Croatia (6), 1 Italy (1), 1 Spain (1)
PLUS FILE	**11**	31	1
	Non-white (1/1) 1 African American (1)	Non-white (1/1) 1 African American (1)	Non-white (0) /
	Non-English (12/12) 1 Austria (1), 3 Italy (3), 2 USA (2), 1 Australia (1), 2 Ireland (2), 3 Croatia (3)	Non-English (4/4) 1 Australia (1), 1 Italy (1), 2 USA (2)	Non-English (0) /
DI	**MAIN TEXT**	**CONTEXT UNIT**	

		TASK	ADDITIONAL UNIT
UNIT 1	**11** Non-white (2/3) 2 Asian (3) Non-English (10/10) 1 Denmark (1), 1 Italy (1), 1 Scandinavia (1), 3 Central Europe (3), 1 France (1), 3 unidentified (3)	34 Non-white (1/1) 1 Asian (1) Non-English (7/7) 1 USA (1), 1 Denmark (1), 1 Italy (1), 2 Central Europe (2), 1 Scandinavia (1), 1 France (1)	3 Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) /
UNIT 2	**9** Non-white (2/3) 1 Asian (2), 1 Native American (1) Non-English (10/10) 5 USA (5), 4 Greece (4), 1 Australia (1)	26 Non-white (0) / Non-English (4/10) 3 Greece (5), 1 Australia (5)	2 Non-white (0) / Non-English (3/3) 2 Greece (2), 1 Australia (1)
UNIT 3	**13** Non-white (6/7) 1 Asian (2), 2 African American (2), 2 Australian Aborigine (2), 1 Latino (1) Non-English (10/10) 4 Australia (4), 3 New Zealand (3), 5 USA (5) Non-normative family (2/2) 1 Jackman (1), 1 divorced (1)	34 Non-white (3/3) 1 Australian Aborigine (1), 1 Maori (1), 1 Afro-Jamaican (1) Non-English (11/11) 3 New Zealand (3), 4 Australia (4), 1 Jamaica (1), 3 USA (3) Non-normative family (1/1) 1 divorced (1)	1 Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) / Non-normative family (0) /
UNIT 4	**5** Non-white (1/3) 1 Asian (3) Non-English (3/3) 1 USA (1), 1 Russia (1), 1 Sweden (1) Non-normative family (1/1) 1 Alicia (1)	26 Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) / Non-normative family (0) /	3 Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) / Non-normative family (0) /
UNIT 5	**16** Non-white (2/3) 2 Native American (3) Non-English (21/22) 1 Italy (2), 10 USA (11), 3 Scotland (3), 1 France (1), 1 Netherlands (1), 1 Poland (1), 1 Sweden (1), 1 Russia (1), 1 Greece (1)	26 Non-white (1/1) 1 Native American (1) Non-English (16/22) 1 Croatia (1), 7 USA (8), 1 Germany (1), 1 Italy (2), 1 Russia (1), 1 Poland (2), 1 Sweden (2), 3 Scotland (5)	4 Non-white (0) / Non-English (0) /
UNIT 6	**5** Non-white (4/5) 4 Asian (5)	23 Non-white (0) /	4 Non-white (0) /

66

	Non-English (3/3)	Non-English (0)	Non-English (0)
	3 Pakistan (3)	/	/

	12	31	3
UNIT 7	Non-white (6/7) 1 Inuit (1), 1 Native American (2), 4 African American (4)	Non-white (1/1) 1 Asian (1)	Non-white (0) /
	Non-English (14/15) 4 Canada (5), 1 Germany (1), 9 USA (9)	Non-English (4/4) 1 Germany (1), 2 France (2), 1 Canada (1)	Non-English (0) /
	Non-able (4/4) 1 deafness and blindness (1), 1 Parkinson's (1), 1 limb difference (1), 1 AIDS (1)	Non-able (0) /	Non-able (0) /

	7	41	2
UNIT 8	Non-white (3/4) 1 Asian (2), 2 Masai (2)	Non-white (1/2) 1 Masai (2)	Non-white (0) /
	Non-English (3/3) 2 Africa (2), 1 USA (1)	Non-English (1/2) 1 Africa (2)	Non-English (0) /

	6	16	0
PLUS	Non-English (9/9) 1 Russia (1), 7 Denmark (7), 1 Jerusalem (1)	Non-English (6/9) 6 Denmark (9)	Non-English (0) /

254 MAIN TEXTS

TOTAL

Non-white (N=32, f=59): An Aborigine boy, Tara (7), Lee (5), Mr Jones, Yoko Ono, M. L. King (2), W. Smith, Chief Seattle, Kieran's mom, Kieran's dad, Ravi, the Inuits, M. Ali, J. Owens, Rosa Parks, the Masai, a Masai warrior, Pele, K. Khan, L. Fishburne, Montezuma, the Aztecs, J. Lewis, Rashid, Kieran (13), Native Americans (5), the Aborigines, an Aborigine player, J. Hendrix, African-Americans, Hispanics, Lee's family

Non-English (N=204, f=248): an Aborigine boy, Yoko Ono, M. L. King (2), W. Smith, Chief Seattle, Kieran's mom, Kieran's dad, Ravi, the Inuits, M. Ali, J. Owens, Rosa Parks, the Masai, a Masai warrior, Pele, K. Khan, L. Fishburne, Montezuma, the Aztecs, J. Lewis, Rashid, Native Americans (5), the Aborigines, an Aborigine player, J. Hendrix, African-Americans, Hispanics, Australian pupil, Australian pupil, USA cousin, USA cousin, an Australian, Stella (4), Sarah, Sarah's brother, Parker, Mary Jane, Peter's aunt, Croats (2), Cleopatra, Tutankhamun, Egyptians, Nero, Aesop, the Normans (2), M. Chapman, Tony, the French (2), the Americans (4), immigrants (3), the Irish, Susan (4), Martin (4), Erica (4), Peter (3), USA boy, the Australians, Kiwis (2), Einstein (2), Mozart (2), Ana (3), Lovro (3), Dino (4), Eva (4), Tolstoy, Dali, M. Phelps, the Angles (2), Queen Mary, James V, Mary of Guise, Henry II, Francis, James I, Heracles, Zeus, Coroebus, Theodosius, Gertrude, Polonius, Jesus, Russian girls, Swedish girls, da Vinci, Washington, Roosevelt, Ellis, McCullough, M. Curie, A. Nobel, A. Fleming, A. Bell, Edison, Heron, J. Watt, I. Sikorsky, pilgrims, A. Lincoln, Canadians, Kennedy, M. Monroe, H. Keller, Elvis, Hemingway, T. Fox, I. Asimov, Hamlet, Ophelia, Leartes, Claudius, King of Denmark, Coubertin, the Greeks, C. Shuhman, Columbus (2), King of Portugal, Queen Isabella, Magellan, Polo, Amundsen, R. Peary, R. Burns, the Scots, S. Connery, E. McGregor, G. Butler, B. Connolly, Bella, A. Wachowsky, L.Wachowsky, K. Reeves, C.A. Moss, J. Pantoliano, Edward, Romeo, Juliet, Gutenberg, J. D. Salinger, H. Caufield, St Patrick, J. Joyce (2), G. B. Shaw, B. Stoker, J. Swift, O. Wilde, L. Neeson, C. Farell, G. Byrne, P. Brosnan, Dario, Mirna, Cortes, Europeans, St David, S. Bassey, T. Jones, R. Dahl, Ella, D. Thomas, R. Burton, A. Hopkins, R. Ifans, C. Zeta-Jones, G. Everest, Tacitus, Claudius, the Romans (2), E. Bana, M. Gibson, N. Barnacle, I. Banadinović, M. Vrbanić, B. Petrović, Natasha, Hans, the

Celts, the Saxons, the Jutes, the Vikings, Midas, Merigold, Dionysus, J. W. Marshall, gold miners, Jason Argonaut, Jesse Martin, W. Disney, girl from NZ, R. Crowe, H. Jackman, Hannah, Van Halen, A. Cooper, Ali, person with AIDS, children with ADHD, athletes with disabilities, H. Jackman's family, Bella's family, Phelps's family, Parker's family, Lee's family

Non-able (N=8, f=8): H. Keller, M. Ali, T. Fox, person with AIDS, children with ADHD, M. Phelps, athletes with disabilities, Monica

Non-normative family (N=8, f=8): Alicia's family, H. Jackman's family, Bella's family, Phelps's family, Ana's family, Parker's family, Lee's family, divorced family

OTHER: N=216, f=282

Sažetak

Kultura je postala vitalan dio procesa učenja i poučavanja engleskog jezika kao stranog jezika, pa tako i jedno od glavnih pitanja metodike jezika. Budući da udžbenici još uvijek služe kao primarni materijali za poučavanje, ovim istraživanjem pokušava se sagledati u kojoj mjeri su različite kulture, odnosno *drugi*, prisutni i na koji način su prikazani u dva seta udžbenika za engleski jezik koji se koriste u hrvatskim školama. Lista sedam tipova pristranosti u nastavnim materijalima, preuzeta od autora Sadker i Sadker (2001), korištena je za identifikaciju kulturne pristranosti kod prikazivanja *drugoga*, a srodni kulturni sadržaj analiziran je kako bi se otkrilo promiče li jezičnu ili kulturnu kompetenciju. *Drugi* je kategoriziran na temelju varijabli koje oblikuju kulturni identitet: rase/etniciteta, nacionalnosti, obiteljske strukture i zdravstvenog stanja. Analiza slika i glavnih tekstova provedena je kvantitativno i kvalitativno metodom analize sadržaja. Rezultati potvrđuju prisutnost *drugoga* u slikama i tekstovima udžbenika engleskog jezika, međutim, dominiraju bijeli likovi koji potiču iz Engleske, dok su neke rasne, etničke i socijalne grupe isključene ili podzastupljene. Svih sedam oblika kulturne pristranosti identificirano je u udžbenicima, a analiza kulturnog sadržaja pokazala je da u većoj mjeri promiče jezičnu kompetenciju. Ovim istraživanjem učitelje i učenike želi se potaknuti na kritičko vrednovanje kulturnih sadržaja udžbenika za engleski jezik koje koriste u nastavi kako bi se bolje suprotstavili postojećem kulturnom mainstreamu u hrvatskim školama.

Ključne riječi: Udžbenici engleskog jezika, interkulturno obrazovanje, kulturna pristranost, *drugi*