Sensitising Teachers to Prejudices in Representations of Indigenous Peoples in EFL Textbooks

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Abstract   This chapter considers how teachers can be sensitised to prejudices in representations of minority groups in EFL textbooks, focusing in particular on the teaching of topics relating to Indigenous peoples. The importance of heightening teachers' critical awareness of these portrayals is linked to the development of intercultural and pluricultural competences, and how teaching materials may promote or hinder the development of these competences. Extracts from a chapter in an EFL textbook used in Norway for students aged 13–16 are discussed and both strengths and weaknesses in the representations of Indigenous peoples in texts and the content of the tasks are highlighted. Finally, this chapter considers how textbook analysis can be included in modules in teacher education programmes to encourage teachers to gain critical awareness, to make them sensitive to the challenges and to give them tools for teaching topics relating to minority groups in the classroom.

Keywords   Textbook · Intercultural competence · Pluricultural competence · Indigenous peoples · Teacher education

1   Introduction

Teaching in the language classroom should not only focus on the development of learners' linguistic abilities but should also include learning about cultural diversity and understandings that enable learners to communicate successfully with people from backgrounds other than their own. Topics relating to culture should therefore be a central feature of language teaching, and it is important that we, as teacher

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educators, encourage teachers in the acquisition of knowledge and abilities necessary to teach cultural aspects in their classrooms.

Cultural elements in language teaching are found in wide ranging documents that influence language teaching internationally; among these is the Council of Europe's Framework of Reference (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001). The aim of the CEFR is "to train citizens, who can not only live together harmoniously in their multilingual and multicultural society but also act effectively in their school and workplace" (Acar, 2021, p.1). In the Common European Framework of Reference Companion Volume, learners are represented as *social agents*, and "as a social agent, each individual forms relationships with a widening cluster of overlapping social groups, which together define identity" (Council of Europe, 2001, p.1). Therefore, education should aim to nurture in students the skills needed to enable them to live and participate in multilingual and multicultural societies, and to successfully build relationships within diverse social groups.

An important element in the CEFR's approaches to language learning is seeing knowledge as both plurilingual and pluricultural. One general *knowledge bank* is created, which the individual can access and draw on in different contexts. Language learning is linked to cultural learning as it allows the learners "to use all their linguistic resources when necessary, encouraging them to see similarities and regularities as well as differences between languages and cultures" (Council of Europe, 2020, p.30). This encourages a holistic approach to learning about cultures where culture is seen as behaviours, ways of living and thinking, rather than being object-based (Murray, 2021). This approach may also be present in national curricula, such as in the author's own home country, Norway, where students are required to learn in all subjects about Indigenous peoples, and in particular the Indigenous people of Norway, the Sámi. In the Norwegian curriculum, classroom content should be cross-curricular, and activities should draw on topics covered in other classes, build connections, and consider knowledge as a whole, rather than regarding each subject knowledge as a separate entity.

Textbooks are still a major resource in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teaching, and it is important that teacher education programmes train pre-service teachers in how to be critical users of educational materials, especially when working with texts and tasks involving minorities and/or groups that have been historically oppressed. Regarding the inclusion of Indigenous materials, teachers should be aware that representations in textbooks can make many books dangerous to Indigenous readers: "(1) they do not reinforce our values, actions, customs, culture and identity; (2) when they tell us about others they are saying that we do not exist; (3) they may be writing about us but are writing things which are untrue; and (4) they are writing about us but saying negative and insensitive things which tell us that we are no good" (Smith, 2012, p.36).

Such representations are not only biased against students from Indigenous or other minority backgrounds, but they are also problematic regardless of the learners' ethnicity, as they reinforce and create negative stereotypes, and perpetuate historical inequalities. It is vital that we have a two-sided approach to working with these challenges in teacher education programmes. Firstly, we should educate

teachers by increasing their knowledge about minority cultures, and by sensitising them to the need to challenge stereotypes about cultural others. Secondly, we should empower teachers by training them to tackle social justice topics to promote intercultural sensitivity and empathy in their own multicultural classes.

This chapter will focus on an example from one particular EFL textbook in Norwegian secondary schools that is used by the author when educating teachers about the representations of Indigenous peoples in Norwegian EFL textbooks. The aim of textual analysis of this example is to sensitise teachers to prejudices that may occur towards Indigenous peoples and the social injustices that textbook portrayals may engender, and to promote a critical awareness of teaching materials. From the author's own experiences in teacher education programmes, activities like these can be eye-opening for teachers and can help them develop important analytical skills that they can use in their classrooms.

The texts and tasks from the textbook analysed in this chapter aim to teach students about Indigenous cultures and identities in Australia and New Zealand. While the textbook is published for the Norwegian curriculum, the topics of the chapter are those commonly found in textbooks for intermediate learners of English worldwide. Although the discussion in this chapter focuses on teaching about Indigenous peoples specifically, the points made here are relevant for teaching about all cultures outside of the learners' own and can be directly transferred to the creation and selection of teaching materials about diverse cultural topics, also those found on websites both in written and oral form.

2   Theoretical Background

The following section will discuss several theoretical aspects of learning about cultures that have particular relevance for teaching about minority cultures. Interculturality and intercultural competence are fundamental elements in the Norwegian curriculum, and students are to work with developing competence throughout their education. However, for all language learners, not only those in Norway, developing cultural awareness is an important part of improving language skills, as these skills will not be used in isolation, but in interaction with people from other cultures and with diverse social identities.

2.1   Intercultural Competence, Pluriculturalism and Inclusion of Diversities

A focus on intercultural competence should be included in the language classroom to encourage learners to become *social agents* who can live with and form relations with people from different backgrounds and cultures. According to Byram et al.

(2002), for learners to develop intercultural competence, activities involving development of attitudes, skills, and knowledge must be included in teaching modules. Learners should be encouraged to meet other cultures with curiosity and openness, improve their communication skills and their knowledge of how social groups and identities function and interact with each other. They must foster an understanding of how people from different social groups might interpret the same situation differently, and how their own beliefs and values affect how they view the world and relate to other people. Relating new cultural knowledge to existing knowledge, and to their experience of their own cultures, learners should be encouraged to see both similarities and differences between known and unknown cultures. In addition, they must also learn strategies for acquisition of new knowledge and the flexibility to be able to add to or amend existing knowledge (Byram et al., pp.11–13).

The multifaceted skills and knowledge that the learners gain through acquiring intercultural competence may also be linked to the development of learner's plurilingual and pluricultural competence. By attaining pluricultural competence, learners gain insight into how "the various cultures (national, regional, social) to which [a] person has gained access do not simply co-exist side by side; they are compared, contrasted and actively interact" (Council of Europe, 2001, p.6). Plurilingualism and pluriculturalism are closely tied together and are seen as two parallel sides of learners' developing competence. In teaching about culture, "language is not only a major aspect of culture, but also a means of access to cultural manifestations" (Council of Europe, 2001, p.6). This means that "words and contexts are two mirrors facing each other, infinitely and simultaneously reflecting each other" (Gee, 2014, p.190).

In developing both intercultural and pluricultural competences, we want, as educators, to avoid the replication and reinforcement of pre-existing prejudices in societies, and *essentialist* understandings of culture. *Essentialism* encompasses "the idea that cultural identity is tied to country or a language, and that a person from a given culture is essentially different from someone with another cultural background" (Hoff, 2018, p. 76). An essentialist outlook focuses on group behaviours rather than on the individual's opinions and choices, and may reduce cultures to one single representation, which can in turn lead to reinforcements of stereotypes. When discussing cultural topics, we should rather aim for non-essentialist representations which portray the dynamic and diverse nature of cultures (Murray, 2022).

It is important to emphasise that people's cultural backgrounds are not the same as their national identity. In the modern world, with international activities online and widespread migration, individuals may have membership of several different cultures, which are utilised or discarded depending on the setting (Zhu, 2015, pp. 72–73). For example, people may be united across nations in interests such as supporting football teams, or in online gaming sites, or in political or social interest groups. For some people, these cultures may be stronger than any tie to the nation in which they live. Social identities are also not static, and throughout their lives learners will change and develop their own identity and similarly meet others of different and changing identities. Dervin (2016) discusses how, rather than talking of a single *diversity*, we should talk of *diversities*. This is important for teachers to

be aware of when working with topics involving ethnic minority groups, as currently "while the word diversity should refer to multiplicity, it often means difference and 'oneness'" (p.28). This *oneness* is common in the representations of Indigenous peoples in teaching materials, which are often stereotypical and lacking in meaningful engagement (Murray, 2021). For teacher educators, encouraging the inclusion of *diversities* in teaching materials means making teachers firstly aware that the range of authentic perspectives in textbooks may be lacking, and secondly, training them to find and include a wider range of perspectives in the classroom.

2.2 Textbook Representations of Indigenous Peoples

Textbooks are a widely used educational resource in schools across the world. Educating teachers on how to assess textbook suitability should be an important element in teacher education programmes. This includes creating an awareness of textbooks' potential shortcomings, and encouraging teachers' acquisition of tools to use in the analysis of teaching materials. EFL textbooks may contain representations of cultures that present artificial environments, as choices are made by authors and editors about what to include and exclude as examples of the target cultures, and the ways in which people from diverse backgrounds are presented. These prevalent tendencies in textbooks constitute "very particular constructions of reality in which English is given a range of specific associations" (Gray, 2010, p.12) and may potentially encourage the creation and perpetuation of essentialist or stereotypical representations of Indigenous and marginalised cultures.

Research into textbook portrayals of Indigenous peoples has often revealed them to be stereotypical (Brown & Habegger-Conti, 2017; Lund, 2016; Olsen, 2017). These one-sided depictions may reduce cultures to specific, often exotic, characteristics rather than looking at present day ways of living and ways of thinking (Brown & Habegger-Conti, 2017). Indigenous cultures are presented in a selection of static objects rather than as living cultures, including belief systems and ways of life. Indigenous peoples are often shown only in traditional clothing and settings, which can "run the risk of reinforcing the stereotype of Indigenous people as traditional, primitive, and unable to assimilate with the modern world" (Brown & Habegger-Conti, 2017, p.23). Relations to coloniser nations are often skimmed over briefly, or direct reference to invasion and oppression is bypassed by presenting information in the passive voice. In this way, direct reference is avoided as to who did what to whom.

Stereotyping within portrayals of Indigenous peoples may lead to the *othering* of people from Indigenous cultures. *Othering* occurs when a group of people is set apart from the majority society, and is often imbued with negative characteristics. Words such as *we*, *us* and *our* are widely used about the majority society, while the Indigenous group is referred to as *them* (Smith, 2012, p.37). With *othering* a power imbalance may be recreated and reinforced. It is essential to be aware of this when working with teaching materials about Indigenous peoples, as the inequality in the

balance of power is a characteristic of relations between Indigenous and mainstream white settler societies. Teachers should be aware that teaching materials often skim over larger, controversial issues such as racism and colonial oppression (Smith, 2012, p.37). For example, when learners are invited to discuss positive and negative sides of colonisation, the story is often told from Western perspectives; for instance, saying that Columbus *discovered* the Americas. Including an Indigenous point of view would require presenting this historical event differently or offering an alternative interpretation, such as describing the arrival of Europeans as an "invasion" and Columbus as a villainous figure.

Teaching materials should focus on both similarities and differences that exist between cultural groups; they may disregard the differences that can perpetuate historical power imbalances. Teachers need to learn how to create teaching modules and promote practices that focus on developing intercultural understanding and addressing inequalities in the relations between social and cultural groups. Bringing inequalities to light can be an important aspect of working with these topics in the classroom.

2.3   Approaches to Teaching about Indigenous Peoples

One approach to counteract essentialist and stereotypical portrayals of Indigenous peoples in textbooks, and to include diverse voices and perspectives in the classroom, can be through the *indigenisation* of teaching materials. This means using a range of authentic content in which Indigenous voices are included, by referencing Indigenous perspectives on topics, and by the inclusion of texts written by Indigenous authors (Olsen, 2017, p.72). When working with topics that explicitly mention Indigenous peoples, it is natural to include these authentic voices. However, these voices need not be restricted to topics in the curriculum where explicit focus is required, but also where Indigenous perspectives on the issues may be anticipated (e.g. when working on environmental issues, land ownership, etc). Exactly how much of the teaching material for a module should include authentic Indigenous perspectives can depend on the topic being studied and how relevant it is to the lives of Indigenous communities. While all students should learn about Indigenous perspectives, for those of Indigenous background or living in areas with an Indigenous population, it is natural to include a greater amount of Indigenous content. Teachers may also want to focus more on Indigenous perspectives at certain times of year, such as around Australia Day or Columbus Day, and depending on current affairs, both in their locality and worldwide. While *indigenisation* is focused particularly on Indigenous peoples, the concept is equally valid for all minority groups, and the inclusion of minority voices should be a natural part of discussion in the classroom. Including these perspectives can give the learners a greater insight into the complexities and challenges of societies worldwide and improve their cultural knowledge repertoires.

In addition to giving access to a range of authentic teaching materials, meaningful dialogue is an essential element in the development of linguistic and cultural competence. This *meaningfulness* in the dialogue requires learners to engage in activities that demand real communication in authentic situations. Activities can be action-oriented, focused on being realistic, engaging and encouraging students to work with real life situations where intercultural communication takes place. Actions can, for example, take the form of mini projects where they work with a particular issue. These mini projects should aim to equip them with skills "such as personal autonomy, collective responsibility, group work, information management, negotiation, design and implementation of complex actions since these skills are important for language learners to live and work successfully in their democratic society" (Acar, 2019, p.122).

Dialogue is an essential element in intercultural competence as skills are developed through communication with others and it "lays the ground for the formation of values and democratic thinking" (Hoff, 2018, p.80). Activities involving dialogue can also enable students to build their pluricultural repertoires which enables them "to communicate effectively in a multilingual context and/or in a classic mediation situation in which the other people do not share a common language" (Council of Europe, 2020, p.127). It is through meetings with individuals from other cultural backgrounds, with concomitant misunderstandings, communication successes and breakdowns, that learning about other cultures can occur (Dervin, 2016, pp.83–84). Consequently, challenging topics should not be avoided in the classroom, but should rather be seen a starting point for dialogue that can promote personal growth and intercultural awareness.

3   Methodology

In the following section, a chapter from an EFL textbook used in Norway is analysed for strengths and weaknesses in how Indigenous peoples are portrayed and in how students are to engage with the topics covered. Textbook chapters like this one are used by the author in pre-service and in-service teacher education programmes to illustrate how minorities can be portrayed in foreign language textbooks. The textbook chapter discussed here is from *Enter 9* (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020), an EFL book aimed at grade nine students (15 years old) in Norwegian schools. This textbook has been chosen as it is produced by one of the four major Norwegian publishing houses and is currently used in Norwegian schools. The analysed chapter is about the topic "Australia and New Zealand", which is common in EFL textbooks in global teaching contexts. Therefore, while the comments here are specific to the Norwegian textbook, the texts and tasks should be relatable for teachers working in EFL classrooms worldwide.

As this textbook is aimed at upper-intermediate learners, the chapter contains longer written texts, and is less illustration-based than textbooks for lower grades and levels of language competency. I have chosen to focus on these written texts in

the following analysis. For a project of larger scope or when working with textbooks for lower grades or for learners with lower levels of competency, it may also be useful to analyse multimodality in the textbooks, for example, the use of pictures and illustrations, as these may play a larger role in the learning materials.

In this chapter, I have primarily considered the content included and the discourses on Indigenous peoples. Discourses can reflect power relations in society, and critical discourse analysis can reveal how patterns of domination and inequalities in power are maintained through normalising ways of speaking about relevant topics in mainstream society. While a detailed analysis is not attempted here, some general tendencies are highlighted. An awareness of these tendencies can be transferred to other situations and used by teachers when creating teaching materials or working with course textbooks.

4   Analysis and Discussion

The chapter "Australia and New Zealand" in the EFL textbook *Enter 9* aims to cover the requirements of the Norwegian EFL curriculum which is mandatory in all schools in Norway. The chapter focuses on the curriculum goal "explore and reflect on the situation of Indigenous peoples in the English-speaking world and in Norway" (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2019). Certain elements of the chapter may also relate to another goal, to "explore and describe ways of living, thinking, communication patterns and diversity in the English-speaking world" (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2019). Similar goals may be found in other curricula, such as those suggested in the CEFR for developing pluricultural competence, including building relations between learners' own and foreign cultures, building knowledge to enable successful communication and being culturally sensitive in communication.

The chapter is 43 pages long and is split between Australia and New Zealand. The primary focus of the chapter is on the Indigenous peoples of both Australia and New Zealand, as is reflected in the introductory page of the chapter, where the chapter's "Topic Words" are "way of life, identity, respect, Indigenous people, Aboriginal, Māori, sacred and discrimination". Students are also encouraged to activate their previous knowledge by the introductory question "What do you know about Australia and New Zealand? What would you like to know?" (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.155). For students, this activation of previous knowledge and interests may encourage a closer relationship between known and unknown materials and help them to gain awareness of the gaps in their knowledge that they need to fill.

There are ten different texts in the chapter, and they offer the students a range of genres to read, including a longer quotation from a speech by the Prime Minister, an extract from a novel, a traditional story, two poems and other factual articles and interviews with young people. The wide range of genres exposes the learners to diverse voices and perspectives, both those of young people and older people, Indigenous and non-Indigenous. Three of the texts are written by Indigenous

authors, one is a traditional Māori myth with author unknown, and Indigenous young people's voices are heard in a fifth text in which several Māori teens are interviewed, along with teens of other ethnic backgrounds. This means that half of all the texts clearly reflect Indigenous voices, an excellent step towards an *indigenisation* of teaching materials and diversity in representations.

Considering the images and other illustrations used in the chapter, over half of all photos or drawn illustrations show people. These people range in age from teenagers to adults, both male and female. There are slightly more young than older people, as may be expected in a textbook aimed at teenagers. There are more depictions of Indigenous peoples than non-Indigenous, which fits with the themes of the chapter, and most of these photos involve people making direct contact with the reader and/or looking happy. The Indigenous peoples are shown in different situations, such as a photo of a young girl surfing on the first page of the chapter, or a group of teenagers in modern clothing lying on grass together. There are also a few photos of Indigenous peoples in traditional dress. Hence, the photos and illustrations in the chapter reflect Indigenous cultures as modern and living, and people as part of contemporary life.

4.1 Analysis and Discussion of Texts

The chapter starts off with a text called "Q&A" in which ten questions about Australia and New Zealand are answered (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, pp.156–160). The questions cover the history of Australia and New Zealand and briefly discuss several terms commonly used in relation to Indigenous peoples. In the answer to the question "How did things change in Australia after the Europeans arrived?", a number of different active and passive constructions are used:

> The Europeans drove the Aboriginal people off their land, and many died during conflict or of European diseases. The Aboriginal Australians were generally treated badly and discriminated against by the Europeans. In fact, many Aboriginal children were removed from their families (…) It is estimated that over 25,000 children were taken from their families (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.159).

This extract contains a strong opening sentence with an active voice, which clearly states who has done what to whom. The following sentence contains a passive construction, but it is made clear in the prepositional phrase at the end of this sentence who has done this action to the Aboriginal Australians ("by Europeans"). However, further in this same text, the author has chosen to use passive constructions without including a prepositional phrase. Use of the passive form, like is exemplified here, can be a way of avoiding the inclusion of an explicit agent with an active voice. Passive constructions are common in texts discussing Indigenous people's history and relations to the coloniser nations, as they remove focus from the person who is involved in the action (Olsen, 2017, p.77). By using passive constructions, textbook authors can avoid directly addressing inequalities in power relations and problematic historical relations. Using examples, such as the one from this text, can

encourage teachers to become aware of this tendency in the teaching materials that they use in their classrooms. However, it is also important to point out that all use of passive constructions is not necessarily a deliberate avoidance of an active agent. Passives can also be used to create variety in language use within a text and they can improve textual fluency. So, while teachers should be made aware of tendencies, over-generalisations should be avoided.

Other questions in this text refer to Indigenous cultures. For example, the question "Were Europeans the first people in Australia and New Zealand?" discusses Indigenous peoples and their cultures:

> They were organized in tribes, each with their own identity traditions and culture. The Māori came from Polynesia in canoes or waka. They called New Zealand Aotearoa, or Land of the Long White Cloud. The Māori settled on the coast and ate food as they hunted, gathered and farmed. They lived in groups, usually peacefully, and developed a strong identity and a tradition of story-telling and art, mainly wood carvings (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.158).

In this extract, the Māori are active agents, and the story is told from their perspectives. Reference is made to diverse ways of living, identity, and cultural expressions. Culture is shown through ways of life rather than through only object-based representations. It is also notable that a word from Te Reo, the Māori language, is referenced. Words in Te Reo are integrated throughout the chapter in the different texts and show the language in use in a natural setting, including a short wordlist with some key Māori words and terms in connection with the poem *I am Māori* by Marilyn Gardiner (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.195).

While the example above shows a good response, the answer to the question "What do Aboriginal people mean when they talk about the Dreaming?" is less informative:

> According to Aboriginal belief, all life as it is today can be traced back to the Great Spirit Ancestors of the Dreaming. This is the beginning of knowledge from which all the great stories and Aboriginal laws have their origin. For survival, these laws and stories must be respected even today (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.159).

While this extract is clearly focused on Aboriginal cultures, it is lacking in informative content, making it hard to engage with. What sort of knowledge? What stories and what laws? What is meant by "for survival"? Who is going to survive and how? The extract needs to be developed and explored further for it to have real meaning for learners. Textual extracts like this one, can be used to improve teachers' awareness of the potential limitations of textbook content and invite discussion of how adjustments or extra teaching material can foster greater student engagement.

Discussion of modern-day cultures is found later in the same chapter, in a text about results from a study published in the *New Zealand Journal of Psychology* where young people discuss their relationship to their own ethnicity. This text explicitly discusses the imbalance of power between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Regarding the attitudes of the non-Indigenous teens, the text includes the

statement that "Pākehā[1] teens felt proud to be Kiwi and acknowledge the privileges of being part of the dominant culture" (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.177). The following paragraph in this text starts by stating Māori teens are "proud of their Indigenous culture, language and kapa haka, showing a sense of pride. "It's just cool being Māori"" (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.177). People from both cultural backgrounds are portrayed as equals, proud of their heritage. The text continues to discuss racism, discrimination, and stereotyping, with multiple direct references to comments made by teens from different ethnic backgrounds. Such reference to situations where racism occurs makes it easier for students to grasp a sense of how and which issues might arise, "When we go to the shops after school, I'm the only one who gets asked to leave my bags at the door" (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, pp.177–178). This rule is commonly imposed in shops where shoplifting is a problem and will be recognisable to many of the students reading this text. However, here it reflects racism within society as it is only the Indigenous young people who are considered as potential shoplifters. This text concludes with the Pākehā (European) perspective, where the teen interviewed comments "It's just so much easier to fit in, just socially it is easier". Apart from that she is unwilling to comment on other positive aspects of being part of dominant European settler community, commenting "I don't have a culture".

The final section is a list of pros and cons for "Being Pākehā", "Being Māori", "Being Samoan" and "Being Chinese" (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.178). The pros for each group refer to cultural aspects. These are presented in terms that are recognised as positive cultural features, such as "feeling proud about tangata whenua" (Māori), "strong emphasis on family and values" (Samoan) and "delicious food, a rich heritage" (Chinese). It is interesting to note that the pros for being Pākehā are not so openly positive, but rather the interview mentions the focus on being "part of majority group, feel[ing] normal and blend[ing] in". The cons for the being Māori, Samoan and Chinese refer mainly directly to negative stereotypes, such as "violent and criminal" (Māori), "act[ing] like "gangsters" or be[ing] dumb and "fresh off the boat" (Samoan) and "one-dimensional" (Chinese) (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.178). Again, the cons for Pākehā are slightly different in that the focus is on what non-Pākehā perceive Pākehā as thinking about people of another background, rather than focusing on features of their own culture; "being racist, teased for being white, guilty about past" (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.178).

This text is interesting in that it directly addresses issues around identity, stereotyping and racism and shows a diversity of perspectives from multiple ethnic minorities within New Zealand. It can engage learners in the topic and can relate to their own experiences of living in multicultural societies. The positioning and the comments from the Pākehā teen can also be addressed and the reasons why she might claim "I don't have a culture". What ideas lie behind this statement? Do they relate to an awareness of privilege and history and a wish to distance oneself from history, or do they reflect that the European New Zealander culture is the norm for this teen and therefore doesn't feel like a particular culture?

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[1] New Zealander with European heritage.

Considering the examples from two texts from this textbook chapter, Indigenous peoples are shown as diverse, linked to different cultures and ways of living, and both historical and current day aspects of Indigenous lives are discussed. Indigenous peoples are shown as clear participants in modern day life. Some parts of the text are lacking in further explanation and need development, while some parts could be rewritten to include an active agent. These texts presents both common shortcomings and strengths in textbooks in general and are aspects that teachers can find in the teaching materials used in their own classes.

4.2   Analysis and Discussion of Tasks

As well as exposure to relevant textual content to facilitate the development of intercultural and pluricultural competences, it is necessary to create tasks that encourage learners to increase skills in reflection, expression and interaction with other people. Therefore, as well as looking at strengths and weaknesses of texts presented in teaching materials, it is equally important to consider the content and aims of the tasks.

In the chapter on Indigenous peoples in the textbook, there is one task that comes up seven times throughout. In this task students are asked to "Find words and phrases that describe the Māori and Aboriginal people. Are these words positively or negatively loaded?" (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.161). This task is notable as it encourages the development of learners' critical awareness of texts, and of how cultures are represented and how these representations may be biased. This can lead to discussions of the ways in which power imbalances can be recreated in texts and how they can be addressed. The repetition of this task in connection with several texts throughout the chapter enables students to practise and develop their critical thinking skills in class discussion. In the final set of tasks in the chapter, they are encouraged to test their abilities outside of the textbook, in a task where they are to find a website about Aboriginal Australians or Māori and "find examples of words that are positively or negatively loaded" (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.198). By completing this task, the students have made a connection from the artificial environment of the textbook to the real world. This is then a skill that they can take into reading in other subjects and in other situations, both within and outside of the school setting.

Other tasks in the chapter, this time related to an extract from Kevin Rudd's apology to the Indigenous peoples of Australia in 2008, ask the following three questions as well as the question about positively and negatively loaded words:

1. This speech is one of the most important speeches in the history of Australia. Why do you think this is?
2. Who are "we" in this speech?
3. This is an example of a successful speech. Why do you think this is so? (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.169)

These three questions encourage students to engage with the content of the speech in depth. The speech is described in the first and third questions using positive words such as *important* and *successful*. These reveal the author's attitude to the topic and it is clear that they think an apology to Indigenous peoples was necessary and that this speech was a positive event. Using this text as an example, teachers can then be encouraged to consider use of adjectives in other texts and what they reveal about the writer's perspectives, which can enable them to make informed choices over which teaching materials they want to use in their classrooms.

The first and third questions also involve the students thinking about why the speech was made, which encourages reflection over Aboriginal history in Australia and relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, and inequalities in the balance of power between these communities. The second question, where learners consider who *we* are, encourages them to think about how pronouns are used in texts to construct in-group and out-group identities. Here in this text, the *we* are the members of parliament of Australia, the chosen representatives of the people and the governing body of the country. While this *we* (ingroup) does exclude Indigenous peoples (outgroup), the speech is directly spoken to them, as is natural in an apology. This question could be used as a springboard into the topic of *othering* in texts. While *othering* is not discussed in this chapter in *Enter 9*, this is a point at which a teacher could add extra teaching materials to show how *we* may be used to exclude certain groups in society.

In several tasks throughout the chapter, the students are encouraged to bring the knowledge they have gained back to their understanding of their own cultures. For example, one task asks them to:

(a) Discuss how you feel when you are negatively stereotyped.
(b) Come up with good ideas for how to avoid stereotypes (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.179).

The first question asks the students to relate what they have read about ethnic minorities being stereotyped to their own experiences; this both encourages in-depth and emotional engagement with the topic and the development of awareness of the learner's own cultures, which is an aspect of intercultural competence. The second question promotes meaningful interaction with the reflections from the first question, by asking them to come up with their own ideas for avoiding stereotypes. This encourages social action and the development of skills that can be used in real life when meeting and communicating with people from other countries.

There are two tasks in the chapter that ask the students to relate what they have just learnt to what they know about the Sámi in Norway. While it is positive that the Sámi are mentioned, these questions could be developed further. Cross-curricular links could be made to what is learnt in other subjects where the Sámi are mentioned in specific curriculum aims. The first task, following from Rudd's speech, prompts learners:

The Australian prime minister apologized to the Indigenous peoples of Australia. Find out whether the Norwegian authorities have done the same to the Indigenous peoples of Norway (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.169).

The second task, coming after the poem *Spiritual Song of the Aborigine* by Hyllus
Maris, asks:

> Choose some words that could have been used in a similar poem about the Indigenous
> peoples of Norway, the Sámi (Diskin & Winsvold, 2020, p.197).

Both these are examples of tasks that can potentially be interesting and engaging
for learners, but which need further development. The first is a yes/no question and
is lacking the *why* follow-up that encourages them to engage more deeply. The
teachers may choose to add this aspect to the task themselves. The second question
would require that students have a good previous knowledge of Sámi cultures to
avoid the reproduction of stereotypes. This task, while interesting, needs guidance
from the teacher in content and potential input on Sámi cultures. Again, there is a
why aspect lacking. For example, in the second task, students could also reflect on
why they have chosen these particular words. If they find them linked to stereotypi-
cal ideas about Sámi people, an opportunity could arise in class to discuss and
address these concerns.

While teachers outside of Norway are unlikely to focus on the Sámi in their
classes, similar questions about Indigenous peoples in other parts of the world could
be included in modules about Indigenous peoples. These questions would tie learn-
ers' new knowledge of Australia and New Zealand to what they have learnt about
other countries, helping them to see their knowledge about Indigenous peoples
holistically, rather than as a series of separate entities, encouraging a pluricultural
approach to learning about cultures.

5   Implications for Teacher Education Programmes

Working with an analysis of the texts and tasks in a school textbook, as is exempli-
fied in the previous section, may be used in training programmes to sensitise teach-
ers to the portrayals of Indigenous peoples in educational materials. By analysing
materials from a textbook that is currently in use in schools, both pre-service and
in-service teachers can critically engage with materials in their daily teaching activi-
ties. Together with teacher educators, strengths and weaknesses of the textbooks can
be explored, and general points for critically assessing teaching materials
extrapolated.

Regarding choice of texts, teachers should be made aware of the importance of
using textbooks or creating teaching materials that offer a diverse range of voices
and perspectives. When working with learning modules about ethnic minority
groups, texts should as far as possible be written by authors from the ethnic minor-
ity. Authentic materials in a range of genres can encourage real engagement in
learning about cultural topics in the classroom. It is important that sufficient infor-
mation is given about the topics for them to be meaningful for learners and to pro-
mote the development of intercultural and pluricultural competences.

Teachers should also be encouraged to consider the language used in texts and tasks. For example, is the passive voice used and if so, why? They can look at who the active agents are, which may in turn encourage an awareness of the perspectives from which the texts and tasks are written. Illustrations can also be considered. Teachers can look at these and discuss who is shown in pictures and photos and what are they doing? Is there diversity in the representations and how do they compare with portrayals of other minoritised and marginalised groups in the textbook? A critical awareness of the perspectives shown in a text can be developed. For example, teachers can look at whether *othering* of minorities occurs, and what words and phrases are used in describing ethnic minority groups. If texts include negative attitudes and prejudices towards them, or if power imbalances are shown, students should be encouraged to become critically aware of such tendencies. Tasks such as the one in the textbook chapter which considered positively and negatively loaded words can aid the development of this awareness.

In working with this topic in teacher education programmes, teachers should look at the tasks found in textbooks. They can also consider if tasks may potentially reproduce essentialist or stereotypical attitudes or if they encourage students to reflect over their own attitudes and consider why people behave in certain ways. The promotion of learners as social actors will require an action-oriented approach and training programmes should include content in how to create tasks that encourage this critical approach. In classroom activities, teachers should aim to involve their students in real actions rather than in simulations. When working with topics involving minority groups such as Indigenous peoples, there is no reason why they should not engage in histories and issues in contemporary societies, as this engages them in real, on-going debates.

Taking the new knowledge learners develop and relating it to their own cultural background is important in the development of intercultural competence. Tasks should also encourage them to relate the knowledge they have gained to what they have learnt about other cultures in previous lessons and in other subjects. This encourages them to develop pluricultural competence, where their cultural knowledge is a resource that they can draw on in different situations rather than relating to specific and separate cultures. In the modern world, cultures transcend boundaries, and it is more natural to see cultural knowledge as a whole rather than as separate units.

6   Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to show how discourse analysis of textbooks in teacher education programmes can increase critical awareness of inequalities in representations of minority groups. By discussing how to address these imbalances in the classroom, teacher educators can contribute to the development of the teacher's role as an agent of reform and encourage the acquisition of critical pedagogical approaches. While the textbook extract discussed above is specific to EFL teaching at Norwegian

secondary schools, the points for consideration regarding texts and tasks are relevant for educational institutions worldwide where the curriculum requires students to gain cultural insight and to develop communicative skills.

When working with cultural topics in teacher education programmes, while we can expect some level of intercultural competence in our teachers, it is also important to remember that the development of this competence is a life-long process. Teacher educators should both encourage the advancement of teachers' own knowledge and skills, as well as helping them acquire didactic tools to use in their classrooms. The textbook chapter discussed here is used in the author's own classes in teacher education programmes in a lesson where representations of Indigenous peoples in textbooks are in focus. In the author's class, the results of this lesson are then used by teachers in an assignment where they assess a chapter in a textbook of their choice, based on the rules that they have created together from the example chapter. This assignment enables teachers to choose a subject and a year group that they are aiming to teach themselves, which makes this task meaningful for all teachers, independent of their subject affiliation and the age-group that they plan to teach.

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