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Cultural Knowledge and Values in English Language Teaching Materials

(Multimodal) Representations and Stakeholders

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Chapter 1
Researching Cultural Knowledge and Values in English Language Teaching Textbooks: Representation, Multimodality, and Stakeholders

Tao Xiong, Dezheng Feng, and Guangwei Hu

Abstract This introductory chapter maps out the field of research on cultural knowledge and values by focusing on three main themes, i.e., representation, multimodality, and stakeholders. It first overviews the relevant research literature on the representation of cultural content in English language teaching (ELT) materials with regard to theoretical rationales, main issues, and methodological orientations. It is argued that this field is an interdisciplinary project that draws on a number of theoretical and thematic perspectives such as critical curriculum studies, critical applied linguistics, cultural politics of English, political economy of textbooks, multilingualism, among others. Two general methodological orientations are identified, i.e., positivist and constructivist approaches. The chapter then sketches out the main ideas of chapters in this volume as well as how they relate to each other. It ends by calling for more innovative and integrative approaches, both conceptual and methodological, to researching cultural knowledge and values in language teaching materials.

Keywords Cultural knowledge · ELT textbooks · Multimodality · Representation · Stakeholders · Values

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1   An Overview of Research on Cultural Knowledge and Values in ELT Textbooks

Language teaching materials in this edited volume refer broadly to anything which can be used to facilitate the teaching and learning of a language. They come in various modes such as linguistic, visual, auditory, or kinesthetic and can be presented in print, electronic, and online forms (Tomlinson, 2013). While the two terms "materials" and "textbooks" are often used interchangeably, the latter term has been typically used to refer to the more conventional printed, ready-made, commercial or officially sanctioned textbooks that constitute a major source of target language and culture input.

Language textbooks are windows onto the world (Risager, 2021). The cultural content included in a language textbook is of great importance to learners' mastery of the target language, acquisition of cross-cultural communication skills, and development of understanding of related cultural knowledge and values. For most bilingual learners, the language content is the primary vehicle through which they are exposed to diverse target language and cultural input. Because of the inseparable relationship between language and culture, the language input inevitably contains various local and international cultural knowledge about the target language communities and the learners' own culture as well. These language and cultural contents, on the one hand, convey specific knowledge about culture and intercultural communication and, on the other, also communicate globally and locally relevant cultural values.

Researchers of culture and language textbooks often base their research explicitly or implicitly on three basic theoretical rationales: First, as carriers of the school curriculum, school textbooks, particularly official textbooks, constitute ideological apparatus that serves to reproduce the ruling class's dominant culture and knowledge (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Luke, 2015). Second, language textbooks are sensitive barometers of the prevailing social, cultural, economic, and political developments of the region in which the textbooks are produced. As curriculum artifacts, they "register changes in pressure exerted by the prevailing socio-political climate" (Adamson, 2004, p. 4). Third, informed by the Sapir–Whorfian hypothesis of linguistic relativism on the subtle relationship between language and culture, culture learning is seen as an integral part of language learning (Gray, 2010a; Kramsch, 1998; Risager & Chapelle, 2013). The selection of the cultural content in teaching materials, their modes of presentation, as well as the quality of the design of cultural teaching have a potential impact on learners' development of thinking patterns and value orientations.

Researchers in this field are interested in the cultural, ideological, and moral aspects of language teaching materials as cultural artifacts, meanings, and processes that reflect and mediate preferred social and cultural values, norms, and ideologies (e.g., Beyer & Apple, 1988; Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger, 2015; Dendrinos, 1992; Gray, 2010a, 2010b; Lee & Li, 2020; Widodo et al., 2018; Xiong & Yuan, 2018). Seen from this perspective, English language education is value-laden because it has ramifications for moral and value education (Johnson, 2003) and shapes learners' cultural

identity (Norton, 2010). These researchers are convinced that social and cultural knowledge and values in ELT textbooks deserve careful investigation because they are of great significance for promoting critical cultural awareness, global citizenship, and ultimately learner emancipation.

Although studies on cultural knowledge and values in ELT textbooks may vary according to different national and educational contexts and conceptual perspectives, the majority are concerned with tensions between cultural dominance and cultural diversity. English language learning, on the one hand, affords learners with cultural capital and investment, and thus gives them power and agency; on the other hand, the dominant status of the English language has profound cultural, political, and economic consequences (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1994, 2001) because English is the de facto lingua franca for international exchange and has become a "Trojan horse" of globalization (Birch & Liyanage, 2004) that poses threats for learners to subsume their ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identities.

From methodological and epistemological perspectives, it is possible to distinguish between a positivist and a constructivist approach to culture in language textbooks, which echoes Risager and Chapelle's (2013) distinction between modern and postmodern perspectives on culture in language textbooks. The positivist approach perceives culture in terms of predetermined cultural facts, categories, and structures to be discovered and described. Adopting empirical research methods such as quantitative content/thematic analysis, this approach is widely used in studies of cultural representation in language textbooks. This strand of research usually starts with pre-given theoretical frameworks and categories about culture and relies heavily on descriptive and quantitative statistics for identifying trends and patterns in textbooks. This paradigm generally emphasizes methodological transparency and reliability. A recent case in point has been Lee and Li's (2020) comparative study of cultural representations in ELT textbooks of Hong Kong and mainland China. They coded the textbook data using conceptual frameworks based on Kachru's (1992) three-circle model of Englishes and Moran's (2001) conception of culture, arguing that the advantage of content analysis would be that "the textual and visual data from the textbooks selected are permanent, verifiable and replicable" (Lee & Li, 2020, p. 11).

The constructivist approach emphasizes the multiplicity and complexity of culture as symbolic and discursive processes. It draws heavily on critical social and cultural theories and/or discourse analytical methods, often takes an interpretative and critical stance, and addresses issues of cultural reproduction and cultural change. Culture is seen as a "'floating signifier' whose enigma lies less in itself than in the discursive uses of it to mark social processes where differentiation and condensation seems to happen almost synchronically" (Bhabha, 1996, p. 55). For example, Gray (2010b), by taking the critical theoretical view that ELT textbooks are "cultural artifacts" in which English is made to mean in highly selective ways, investigated how contemporary "neo-capitalist" or neoliberal values have been embodied in UK-produced ELT textbooks. He found a prominent presence of neoliberal ethos such as self-programmable labor and zero drag that presumably interpolated the readers into the subject position of white-collar workers and constructed English as a marketable commodity.

Besides the distinction between positivist and constructivist approaches, another distinction worthy of attention concerns conceptualizing the language textbook as a product or a process, or in Weninger's (2021) terms, textbook as representation versus textbook as interaction. While most research on the representation of culture views the textbook as a social and cultural product, an equally important perspective focuses on the interactive and procedural aspect of textbooks (Canale, 2021; Harwood, 2010; Weninger, 2021). In this regard, social semiotics can offer valuable theoretical insights into the interactive aspect of cultural meaning-making in language textbooks (e.g., Weninger & Kiss, 2013), especially when enriched by more ethnographically oriented methods (Canale, this volume; Harwood, 2014; Smith, 2021b) that can offer evidence of how teachers and students as key stakeholders negotiate textbook cultural content and values. We will return to this topic in more detail in Sect. 4. Section 5 sketches out the main content of chapters in this volume as well as how they relate to each other.

2 Representation of Culture and Values in Language Teaching Materials

Representation is an essential dimension of studies on culture and language textbooks (Canale, 2021; Weninger, 2021). Concerns in this dimension include questions such as: What different types of cultural knowledge and values are portrayed in the textbook? To what degree are certain groups of people, places, communities, and perspectives represented or underrepresented? What ideological consequences do these representations produce? Researchers who are engaged in this line of study tend to adopt a broad understanding of culture as generally consisting of a society's knowledge and heritage that can take either material or intellectual forms. For example, a source often cited by these studies is Moran's (2001) conceptualization of culture as consisting of five dimensions: products (e.g., tools, food, clothes), practices (e.g., verbal and nonverbal language, actions and interactions, taboos), perspectives (values, beliefs), communities (race, gender, religion, etc.), and persons (individuals). This classification generally builds on the following definition (p. 24):

> Culture is the evolving way of life of a group of persons, consisting of a shared set of practices associated with a shared set of products, based upon a shared set of perspectives on the world, and set within specific social contexts.

Representation in language textbooks can be approached from a number of different perspectives including national studies, citizenship education studies, cultural studies, postcolonial studies, and transnational studies (Risager, 2021). Arguably, key to all these theoretical and intellectual strands are issues of cultural identities and power relations that concern questions such as whether ELT textbooks give balanced representations to different cultural groups and whether the social and cultural realities of English, as well as other aspects of the world, have been adequately represented. Researching these issues gives clues about whether textbook

representations are appropriate for learners' social, cultural identity construction and empowerment.

It is possible to distinguish three general thematic and theoretical strands which are rooted in sociolinguistics, political economy, and citizenship education, respectively. The first strand pivots on sociolinguistic notions about the status of English, such as world Englishes (WE) and their three associated "circles" (the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanded Circle) (Kachru, 1992), English as an international language (EIL) (Hu & McKay, 2014), and English as a lingua franca (ELF) (Jenkins, 2006). Through quantitative and qualitative analyses of the cultural content, researchers have been able to identify patterns of cultural representation in ELT textbooks on the basis of these conceptual frameworks. Quantitatively, a conclusion which is generally agreed upon is that a large number of ELT textbooks emphasize the target language and culture, that is, the Inner Circle represented by Anglo-American culture, with a limited representation of the use of English and its associated users in other parts of the world. From a qualitative perspective, various discourse patterns and strategies in ELT textbooks have been found to consolidate and reproduce cultural stereotypes or prejudices. In alignment with the perspectives of EIL and ELF, researchers have often pointed out that cultural presentation in ELT textbooks should be more consistent with the realities of English language use globally that can be described as being increasingly multifaceted, translingual, and transcultural. For example, in their study of the multiculturalism in a Chinese ELT textbook, Hu and McKay (2014) found a stark imbalance in its representation of cultures. On the one hand, Western contexts, characters, events, and places predominate; on the other hand, little opportunity is provided to encourage students to reflect on their own cultural experiences. They called for a more reflective and dialogic cross-cultural awareness in ELT textbooks. Such awareness can be strengthened via Kramsch's (1993) notion of a sphere of interculturality in which students examine a foreign culture as a way of critically reflecting on their own culture.

Apart from sociolinguistic perspectives stressing the changing realities of English and its associated cultural power relations, a second theoretical strand, which is recently gaining much attention, has been informed by thoughts of political economy and critique of neoliberalism (Block et al., 2012) that are especially interested in the form and function of neoliberal discourses and values in ELT textbooks. Neoliberalism is a theory of political and economic practices positing that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurship in conditions of strong private property rights and free markets (Harvey, 2005). This strand is mainly represented by Gray's (2010a) critical cultural research on neoliberalism in contemporary international English textbooks that focuses on traits of new capitalism and its bearings on marketized discourse, promotional culture, brand culture, and so forth. For example, based on English as a foreign language (EFL) contexts, Bori (2021) found neoliberal discourse on market competition and individualism in Serbian English textbooks inappropriate; Xiong and Yuan (2018) also found evidence of neoliberal discourse in Chinese middle school English textbooks characterized by commodification and individualization of ELT as well as the construction of English speakers as a homogeneous discourse community; Daghigh and Rahim's (2021) comparative study of local and global ELT textbooks identified similar neoliberal values

such as the advocacy of marketization, free competition, personal enterprising spirit, consumerism and other lifestyles, though the local textbooks also exhibited some traits of local culture.

The third strand of research on culture and language in ELT textbooks addresses issues of global concern and falls broadly into what Risager (2021) referred to as citizenship education studies. Two themes have attracted sustained scholarly interest: gender issues and environmental issues. For example, Lee's (2014) analysis of Japanese EFL textbooks at the senior high school level revealed common use of gender-neutral vocabulary and terms of address as well as female invisibility, male firstness, and stereotypical images. In a recent follow-up study, Lee (2018) examined the ratio of female-to-male occurrences and gender-sensitive linguistic markers in Japan's high school EFL textbooks and found that, in spite of some evidence of gender equity, the male-first phenomenon is still prevalent. Xiong et al.'s (2017) study found a similar tendency toward male prevalence in both visual and linguistic representations. From a conceptual perspective, Sunderland (2010) proposed that linguistic variations in gender representation be viewed as "tendencies" rather than "differences" to avoid absolutist stances, which has important implications for future studies of gender in language textbooks. Researchers generally agree that, in spite of progress being made, gender representation in language textbooks still deserves long-term and concerted research efforts for better awareness and improvement of textbooks.

On the representation of environmental issues in ELT textbooks, Jacobs and Goatly's (2000) study of seventeen ELT textbooks in Southeast Asia found a very low presence of environmental topics. In addition, they noted that student participation was not found in the majority of environmental content and called for measures to include more environmentally significant topics as well as to encourage active participation in environmental protection. Stibbe's (2004) analysis of Japanese EFL textbooks identified shallow environmentalism, which was evidenced by a reluctance to criticize environmentally destructive acts and a preference for offering superficial solutions. Similarly, Xiong's (2014) study of environmental discourse in Chinese EFL textbooks found problems such as obscuring human agency and a reluctance to encourage readers to take proactive steps for the environment.

While the bulk of research into cultural representation in textbooks focuses on verbal texts, there has been a growing interest in how the ensemble of different signs or semiotic modes contributes to more effective communication of cultural knowledge and meaning. In the next section we will focus on multimodality.

3   Multimodal Analysis of ELT Textbooks

Multimodality is concerned with "the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 20). The fundamental assumption of multimodal analysis is that "meanings are made, distributed, received, interpreted and remade in interpretation through many representational and

communicative modes—not just through language—whether as speech or as writing" (Jewitt, 2009, p. 14). As textbooks and other teaching materials in contemporary education are characterized by the prevalence of multimodal resources, such as cartoons, photographs, and tables, they have been a key research object in multimodality during the past two decades (e.g., Bezemer & Kress, 2010; Kress, 2003; Unsworth, 2001). Weninger (2021) distinguished between two types of multimodal textbook analysis, namely, analyzing how textbooks' textual visual content encodes and communicates ideas about the world (i.e., meaning as representation) and analyzing how multimodal elements in textbooks foster interpersonal relations between text producers and readers (i.e., meaning as interaction). Different from Weninger (2021), we categorize the relevant studies into two broad categories: (1) studies on the multimodal construction of pedagogical knowledge (i.e., textbooks as a carrier of pedagogical knowledge) and (2) studies on the multimodal representation of gender, culture, moral values, etc. (i.e., textbooks as value-laden cultural artifacts). In the following part of this section, we will introduce the main studies in these two branches.

The first batch of studies was concerned with understanding the role of nonlinguistic resources, especially visual images in constructing pedagogical knowledge and supporting effective learning. An early study by Clarks and Lyons (2004) showed that visual images can engage students' attention, reduce cognitive load, and motivate students' learning. Elmiana (2019) considered visual images as "universal stimuli that offer a starting point for language-sharing in EFL classroom activities" (p. 614). Multimodal discourse analysts do not just consider images as "illustrating" or supporting the text, but as part of the overall meaning ensemble and needing to be analyzed in themselves. Royce (2007), in analyzing English as a second language (ESL) textbooks in Japan, suggested that "activities could be organized which involve the students asking questions of the visuals, and then using their answers to assist in their reading development" (p. 379). To guide students' analysis of images in their textbooks, Heberle (2010) proposed a set of questions based on Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) visual grammar, including: (1) Who are the participants involved, what are the activities, and what are the settings (representational meaning)? (2) What is the relationship between the viewer and images as constructed by angle and distance of representation (interactive meaning)? (3) How are different visual elements arranged in the visual space (compositional meaning)? (See also Salbego et al., 2015.) Guo and Feng (2015) conducted a systematic analysis of visual meaning-making in ELT textbooks in Hong Kong. Also drawing on Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) visual grammar, they investigated the ontogenetic change of the representational meaning of visual images in textbooks from earlier to later grades, finding that textbook images change from narrative to conceptual representations in terms of process, from specific to generic in terms of participant, and from local to global in terms of settings. They argued that such an ontogenetic change contributes to the change of knowledge domain from the concrete and commonsensical in the early years of schooling, to the abstract and counterintuitive in later years of schooling. Chen (2010a) was concerned with interactive meaning and investigated how multimodal resources in EFL textbooks were deployed to enable dialogic engagement

with readers. She identified a range of resources in the textbooks, including illustrations, dialogue balloons, incomplete jointly constructed texts, and highlighting, which enable textbook writers to negotiate meaning with character voice and reader voice.

The second batch of studies, which are more relevant to this volume, consider textbooks as cultural artifacts and examine the multimodal construction of various values such as gender and racial stereotypes, culture, and moral values. This batch of studies can be further classified into three groups. The first group investigated how textbooks represent gender stereotypes using linguistic and visual resources (e.g., Benattabou, 2021; Lee & Collins, 2010). Lee and Collins (2010) compared recently published ELT books with those published in the late 1980s and early 1990s in Hong Kong and found that women were still under-represented in the visual illustrations. Their analysis also showed that women continued to be represented as weaker than men and as operating primarily within domestic rather than social domains. Some studies are explicitly concerned with the visual representation of gender identities. For example, Mustapha (2015) investigated gender positioning through visual images in ELT textbooks in Nigeria. His findings suggested that males are represented as superior in professional contexts, social activities, and handling conflicts, whereas females are positioned as superior in domestic activities but inferior in the other areas. Benattabou (2021) analyzed the visual depiction of women and men in EFL textbooks in Morocco, and found that female characters are associated with submissiveness, absent-mindedness, socio-psychological vulnerability, and menial jobs. Along this line of research, Song and Xiong (Chap. 5 in this volume) investigated the visual representation of gender roles in Chinese EFL textbooks.

The second group of studies were concerned with the multimodal representation of culture in textbooks. Weninger and Kiss (2013) proposed a semiotic approach which emphasized the "understanding of how culture figures in teaching materials and of the processes through which learners engage with those materials" through an explicit analysis of texts and images (p. 694). The multimodal studies of culture in ELT textbooks can be grouped into those that analyzed the representation of local and indigenous cultures, and those that focused on the representation of foreign cultures. For local/indigenous cultures, Brown and Habegger-Conti (2017) examined the visual representation of indigenous cultures in ELT textbooks in Norwegian lower secondary schools. Their findings suggested that the textbooks "show a strong trend to focus on traditional aspects of indigenous people, a tendency to represent indigenous people in a lower position of power than the viewer, and to distance the viewer" (p. 16). In terms of the representation of foreign cultures, many studies have found the dominance of Anglo-American cultures in EFL textbooks. For example, Yuen (2011) conducted a content analysis of all the texts and images in ELT textbooks in Hong Kong and found that "the representation favored the cultures of English-speaking countries, while the cultures of Africa were underrepresented" (p. 458). Smith's (2021b) critical multimodal analysis of popular, globally published EFL textbooks also revealed Inner-Circle favoritism including the dominance of Inner-Circle perspectives and the silencing and othering of non-Anglo-American cultures.

The third group of studies focused on the multimodal construction of values and attitudes in textbooks. Chen (2010b) investigated the multimodal enactment of emotion and attitude education in EFL textbooks in China. She observed a logogenetic change from the dominance of positive emotions such as happiness, interest, and confidence toward English learning, society, and culture in primary school years, to an institutionalized evaluation of behaviors, social events, and cultural phenomena by the end of secondary school. Teo and Zhu (2018) analyzed the verbal and visual resources in EFL textbooks in China and found that they were used to foster positive emotions and attitudes toward English language learning, China, and foreign cultures. Feng (2019) developed a social semiotic framework to model what values are selected and how the values are constructed with multimodal resources in ELT textbooks in Hong Kong. His analysis showed that the social values changed from the personal domain (e.g., good hygiene and healthy lifestyle), through the interpersonal domain (e.g., politeness and respect), to the altruistic concern for all mankind from primary to secondary school years. Along this line of research, Xu and Feng (Chap. 2 in this volume) investigate the values infused in business English textbooks in China.

While research on multimodality has successfully attracted much scholarly attention in applied linguistics and education mainly due to its theoretical nourishment from social semiotics and systemic functional linguistics, admittedly, there are bottlenecks and challenges to overcome. Common critiques are that the majority of multimodality papers are limited to only two modes, that is, text and images, and that texts and images are often treated as separate entities. Our position is that multimodality needs to be understood in a broad sense as a kind of phenomenon rather than a specific theory or method. For language teaching materials, the reality is that verbal language is still the predominant means to construct cultural knowledge and values, which means content analysis of texts is a prerequisite before embarking on a more extended analysis of visual semiotics and inter-semiotic relations.

4 Stakeholders

By stakeholders we mean those who have a role to play in the production and consumption of textbooks. They can be visible or invisible entities or persons such as publishing houses and their editors, material writers, teachers, and students. In regard to language textbook publishers and writers, Harwood (2010, p. 18) underscored "the need for TESOL practitioners and researchers to understand the conditions in which materials and textbooks are produced." Teachers and students are also key stakeholders, and it is recognized that one should not only investigate textbooks as they are, but also examine textbooks in action or in use (Canale, 2021; Harwood, 2014; Smith, 2021a; Tomlinson, 2013). Researchers inquiring into stakeholders' views and actions in regard to cultural values in language textbooks mainly draw on qualitative methods such as ethnography (Canale, 2021; Harwood, 2010) and pay close attention to the process of negotiating cultural values, meanings, and ideologies, which are important aspects of textbook production and consumption.

In his study of the cooperative textbook compiling project between a major Chinese education publisher and a team of foreign material writers in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Adamson (2004) revealed extensive negotiations between the publishers and writers over the pedagogical design of the textbooks. While the material writers strongly advocated adopting the communicative approach, they eventually compromised and agreed to an integrated approach that emphasized linguistic structures and gave attention to only limited communicative-functional features, in view of the predominant educational culture of rote learning and test preparation. Liu (2020), a lead editor with the above-mentioned Chinese publisher in this international textbook project, characterized the negotiations as reflecting the principle of using Western methods to serve the practical needs of China. Elsewhere, in his investigation of the production process of global ELT textbooks in the UK, Gray (2010a) commented that textbook writing was almost entirely directed by the mandates and checklists of the publishers. The latter would not hesitate to modify the textbook content to meet their expectations of political correctness. The role of the publishing editors can be so strong that it is not exaggerating to say they are the real authors behind the scenes. The role of the publishers can be even more significant in some high-context cultures such as China, where the names of textbook authors are sometimes absent from the title page of state-sanctioned ELT textbooks. Authors of these textbooks, if named, are usually listed on the second or third page of the front matter as a team led by a few renowned, authoritative figures in the field.

Besides publishers and writers of language textbooks, teachers and students have also attracted scholarly attention regarding how they engage with the cultural content and cultural aspects of pedagogy in ELT textbooks. An influential study of students' and teachers' responses to textbooks is Canagarajah (1999), who examined how students reacted to imported ELT textbooks in Bangladesh. He analyzed the glosses made by Tamil students on the margins of their textbooks and found that, while the textbook discourses made the students feel alien and incompetent, their own discourses provided them with confidence and power in their own social and cultural contexts. This led him to argue that language learning concerns issues of ideological domination and social conflict and that "teachers should therefore attempt to critically interrogate the hidden curricula of their courses" (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 14). Elsewhere in his eloquently written monograph, Canagarajah (1999, p. 189) presented observations of how a Tamil university teacher had devised ways of appropriating or subverting imported ELT textbooks to better suit the learning culture of the local students. He commented that, while the textbook presented communicative situations and rules of Anglo-American communities as the model for foreign students, these values and practices may be irrelevant in their own culture, which spurred some teachers to use the situations in the textbook as a springboard for encouraging critical cultural reflections among the students.

Besides general English programs, researchers have also conducted research in English for academic purposes (EAP) courses in immigration contexts to explore similar issues of cultural identity and empowerment of ESL learners. Drawing on an ethnographic classroom case study, Chun (2016) illustrated how a critical pedagogy approach to racialized discourse in EAP materials can provide teachers and

students with opportunities to engage in more active and critical reading "against" the text instead of reading "with" it. Chun's call for critical pedagogy approaches to the unquestioned values in language textbooks has been echoed by Bori's (2021) ethnography on how students and teachers reacted to neoliberal discourse in global ELT textbooks for adults in Serbia. Arguing that global textbooks have become a tool that neoliberalism uses to reproduce itself, Bori proposed to use critical pedagogy to enable and enact more contextualized and empowering ELT. In another recent study, Smith (2021b) demonstrated how two EFL teachers in different Korean universities negotiated the discourse of global EFL textbook content with their students during class, arguing that such textbook reflexivity in situ amounts to a kind of rhetorical accomplishment for more cultural empowerment and less marginalization. It can well be seen from these studies that a more process-oriented and ethnographic approach to cultural content in ELT textbooks can offer more in-depth descriptions of the production and consumption of textbook content.

5 A Summary of Chapters in This Volume

This chapter sketches a general picture of extant research on culture knowledge and values in ELT materials with special foci on representation, multimodality, and stakeholders. Chapters 2 through 9 exhibit several features. First, they share a focus on multimodality. In this book, multimodality is understood not so much as a specific theory or method but more of a general phenomenon approachable from different methodological orientations. Some of the chapters have focused on visual images either exclusively (Song and Xiong) or on the combination of both images and texts (Canale and Fernandez; Shi and Lim; Xu and Feng; Xiong and Hu). Such a growing interest in multimodality can offer a rich perspective on the affordances provided by textual-visual ensembles, which are characteristic of contemporary ELT textbooks in regard to the teaching of cultural knowledge and values. Methodologically, these studies have been carried out either by means of (multimodal) content/thematic analysis based on the quantitative/positive paradigm (Song and Xiong; Shi and Lim) or discursive/semiotic analysis based on the critical/interpretive paradigm (Xu and Feng; Xiong and Hu). Second, in a related way, contributors to this volume are paying more attention to the use of textbook materials by treating them not merely as end products but as springboards for analyzing the more interactive meaning-making processes of signification and negotiation. Among the various stakeholders in textbook production and consumption, several groups of stakeholders receive special attention in this collection: textbook writers (Canale and Fernandez; Xu and Liu), teachers (Peng and Xiong), and students (Canale and Fernandez). These studies have illustrated the complexities of textbook production and consumption and are very revealing and informative for teachers, researchers, and textbook developers. Third, although most of the chapters examine English textbooks for general purposes, some focus on more specialized ELT textbooks, such as business English textbooks (Peng and Xiong; Xu and Feng). Finally, content/text analysis remains an indispensable

method in textbook research on culture knowledge and values, as exemplified by Dong and Adamson's chapter.

Xu and Feng's multimodal analysis of business English textbooks used in Chinese universities finds that these textbooks infuse three different types of values—business values, cultural values, and social values—among which entrepreneurship is the most often advocated value. Drawing on appraisal theory and social semiotics, they offer a systematic framework for investigating how values are realized by language and images. They conclude that the textbooks aim to prepare the students for becoming future business practitioners with cross-cultural competence and social responsibility.

Xiong and Hu's chapter, combining theoretical perspectives on evaluation (Hunston, 2011; Thompson & Hunston, 2001) and multimodal critical discourse analysis (Ledin & Machin, 2018), proposes a social semiotic approach to values in ELT textbooks. It highlights the importance of the Problem–Solution pattern as an essential mediator of values in the EFL textbook. This study also finds that the language of evaluative lexis and semantic prosodies, as well as facial expressions, contribute to the evaluative significance of verbally communicated values. The authors argue for the transformation of the conventional model of "pictures for exercises" to "pictures for values."

Shi and Lim's analysis of English teaching materials focuses on the presentation of the English language and its speakers as well as the associated cultural values and ideologies. Using multimodal content analysis to investigate English massive open online courses (MOOCs) and supporting materials for Chinese college students, the authors reveal disproportionate distributions of English varieties in the materials, indicative of privileged and native-speaker norms in regard to the English language and its speakers. The authors call for more attention to learner identity and competence.

Song and Xiong explore the visual representation of gender and the underlying values in a local EFL textbook series and a global series. They find in both textbook series a moderately smaller proportion of women than men and women's lower visibility in the workplace. In general, men in both sets of textbooks account for a higher proportion, and in many occupations they outnumber women as well. Gender representation in textbooks is obviously not a new topic, but this study shows that we still have a long way to go in the pursuit of gender equality for greater social justice.

Adamson and Dong's chapter investigates cultural representation in two sets of university English textbooks in China by means of content/textual analysis. They show that the way cultural values are presented in the textbooks prioritizes national policy priorities such as advancement of science and technology and economic and social development. The analysis lends support to Adamson's (2004) claim that Chinese foreign language education has been walking a tightrope between pursuing modernization and maintaining traditional values.

Peng and Xiong report on a multi-case qualitative study conducted to answer the questions of how teachers engage with cultural knowledge and values in the business English textbooks examined and what considerations are behind the treatment. They identify three orientations in engagement with textbooks, that is, language orientation, issue orientation, and ideology orientation. Their study reveals that teachers'

beliefs and visions of the business English curriculum, the coverage and design of topics and related activities influence their agency in the enactment and design of cultural teaching in the classroom. They argue for proactive engagement with teaching materials.

Xu and Liu's chapter presents the process and rationale of constructing ELT materials that are pedagogically, morally, culturally, and ideologically meaningful for the intended learners from the perspective of the writers of a tertiary EFL textbook series published in China. This study reveals the writing team's external and internal constraints and struggles as well as their authorial intentions and attempts. The analysis of the writing process presents an exemplary case for how tertiary English textbooks are domestically written in an Asian country and sheds light on the complexity of incorporating of values in ELT materials.

Canale and Fernández's chapter integrates multimodal and ethnographic methods to present two cases in the ELT context of Uruguay regarding the production process of English textbooks and their use in the classroom. In view of how textbook writers, teachers, and learners negotiate heterogeneous visual representations of gender in textbooks, the authors call for methodological innovations combining social semiotic and ethnographic methods.

6 Conclusions and Recommendations

In this chapter, we have presented a review of relevant studies of cultural knowledge and values in ELT language textbooks with specific foci on representation, multimodality, and stakeholders. Textual representation has been the main research focus in the field and has recently been greatly enriched by the multimodal approach; moreover, growing attention has been paid to stakeholders in the production and consumption of ELT textbooks.

We first pointed out several basic theoretical rationales shared by researchers in this field; second, we argued that relevant studies in the field have revolved around the tension between the centripetal global dominance of English and the centrifugal need for ELT learners to maintain their indigenous cultural identities. It was also pointed out that this broad project of research on culture and ELT textbooks is intended to enhance social justice and make textbooks play a greater role in facilitating language learners' construction of cultural identities and empowerment. Third, we distinguished between two methodological and epistemological paradigms grounded in positivism and constructivism respectively, and then classified cultural representations into three categories based on sociolinguistics, political economy, and citizenship education.

Above all, a crucial goal of ELT is to engage language learners in the critical examination of unquestioned values and ideologies about English and its sociolinguistic status as well as the neutrality of language (Risager & Chapelle, 2013). The purpose of language learning is not only to acquire language knowledge and skills, but also to gain the ability to express and construct social and cultural identities by cultivating

critical cultural consciousness and global citizenship. Besides textbooks and learning materials as vehicles of cultural knowledge and values, this field can benefit from extended and sustained efforts to explore products and processes revolving around syllabuses, teacher guidebooks, in-service materials and guidelines, classroom interactions, and assessments and evaluations that are directly or indirectly related to the selection, production, consumption, and interpretation of cultural and ideological content, and, as a result, matter a great deal in this era of globalization (Luke, 2015).

Future studies on this theme can continue to focus on the interaction of technology in ELT and multimodality. Online courses such as MOOCs and SPOOCs (self-paced open online courses) and similar digital resources deserve further investigation, especially against the backdrop of Covid-19, which has made online teaching increasingly routine with new and creative affordances enabled by the ensembles of different semiotic modes. It is of theoretical and practical significance to inquire into what new strategies, patterns, and characteristics of teaching have emerged and what implications can be drawn regarding cultural teaching and value education in addition to language education. Another possible extension of this line of research could lie in investigating students' role as consumers of materials, an area that has been under-researched. Methodologically, content analysis can be strengthened by corpora and other technologies and tools that can produce more sizable data and more statistically robust findings at levels of lexis, grammar, semantic prosody, and collocation.

Furthermore, the notion of culture needs to be broadened and reconceptualized as a scalar construct (Hu, 2019) that comprises both "generalizable ideologies and practices shared by groups and the meaning-making processes through which individuals interpret their environmental contexts by drawing upon the shared ideologies available to them as members of groups" (Mistry et al., 2016, p. 1016). As Hu (2019) argues, such a reconceptualization addresses the various criticisms leveled at the received view of cultures as "geographically (and quite often nationally) distinct entities, as relatively unchanging and homogeneous, and as all-encompassing systems of rules or norms that substantially determine personal behavior" (Atkinson, 1999, p. 626).

We would also encourage colleagues and students in the field to pursue the multimodality project by underscoring the importance of textbooks as semiotic ensembles. Multimodal resources in language textbooks are yet to be more adequately exploited by scrutinizing the interplay between different modes as well as its pedagogical implications. It is also advisable to extend research to textbooks of other major languages, such as Chinese as a second/foreign language (e.g., Hua et al., in press; Xiong & Peng, 2021). Future research may be extended to social and cultural topics in textbooks in non-language disciplines such as social sciences (Yu et al., 2020). There is a growing body of research on the school textbook as both discourse and process in the field of general education (e.g., Wang, 2019; Zhang, 2019), and the current project could undoubtedly benefit from dialoguing with this emerging trend.

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Part I
(Multimodal) Representations

Chapter 2
Values in Business English Textbooks: A Multimodal Analysis Approach

Yan Xu and Dezheng Feng

Abstract This study examines the representation of values in a set of popular Business English (BE) textbooks used in Chinese universities. Three types of values are identified, namely, business-oriented values, society-oriented values, and culture-oriented values. These values are verbally realized explicitly by attitudinal lexis, and implicitly by the recount of events and facts which elicit evaluation. Only limited number of images are employed in the construction of values. Analysis shows that the textbooks aim to cultivate students' global vision, preparing them to become future business practitioners with intercultural competence and social responsibility. The study provides new understandings of values in BE textbooks, and the systemic framework developed in the study can serve as a metalanguage for teachers and students to identify and analyze the values. The framework can also inform textbook writers in selecting and designing values using multimodal resources.

Keywords Business English · China · Multimodal analysis · Textbooks · Values

1 Introduction

Extant studies of language textbooks can be classified into two main categories, namely, evaluative studies based on language learning theories, and discoursal studies that treat textbooks as cultural artefacts or meaning repositories about the world (Weninger, 2020). The present study belongs to the second line of research, which is grounded in theories such as Critical Curriculum Studies (e.g. Apple, 2004; Pennycook, 1994) and New Literacy Theories (e.g. Street, 2003). From a critical perspective, curriculum texts are regarded as discursive sites of cultural and political struggles, in which contending cultural values and ideologies are represented (Nozaki et al., 2005; Xiong, 2012). Textbooks are believed to be a key carrier of values in

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teaching contexts (Gebregeorgis, 2017), the analysis of which can provide insights into what textbook authors assume students should learn (Curdt-Christiansen, 2008).

Among the textbooks that have been analyzed, EFL textbooks have attracted the most attention, and numerous studies have been conducted to investigate the cultural and social values represented in EFL textbooks around the world. In this regard, cultural bias is a commonly identified issue in EFL textbooks used in non-English speaking countries. For example, EFL textbooks in Indonesia are found to be imbalanced in the representation of multicultural values (Isnaini et al., 2019); EFL textbooks in Japan are too culturally simplistic to help students realize the value of global citizenship (Davidson & Liu, 2020). With regard to EFL textbooks in China, Xiong (2012) finds that conflicting cultural values co-exist, which renders the potentiality of critical reading; Li (2016) finds the represented values in textbooks function to deliver moral education, including patriotism, respect, diligence, collectivism and gender equality; Feng (2019a) uncovers the configuration of moral values in Hong Kong EFL textbooks and identifies the lack of space for reasoning and critical thinking in the representation patterns of values.

Compared with EFL textbooks, English for Specific Purposes (ESP) textbooks have attracted less scholarly attention. It is only in recent years that a few studies have been conducted to investigate the cultural representation in Business English (BE) textbooks from the perspective of English as a business lingua franca (BELF). This indicates that the notion of textbooks as cultural artefacts has expanded from EFL textbook studies to ESP textbook studies. For example, Pashmforoosh and Babaii (2015) analyze BE textbooks in Iran and find that the represented culture is more oriented to inner-circle culture of native speakers. In a more recent study, Si (2020) finds BE coursebooks used in China provide a limited and fragmented representation of Chinese culture and Chinese BE users, and thus may deprive learners of the opportunity of learning how Chinese businessmen use English in the global business community. Along this line of research, the present study aims to provide a systematic analysis of the values represented in BE textbooks in China. It answers the following two research questions: (1) What values are represented in BE textbooks? (2) How are these values represented by multimodal semiotic resources? In what follows, we will first introduce BE teaching and BE textbook studies in China, which will be followed by our data and analytical method. The findings will be reported with a discussion in relation to the educational and social contexts in contemporary China.

2 Business English Teaching and Business English Textbook Studies in China

Considered as a branch or variety of ESP (e.g. Dudley-Evans & St John, 1998), BE has been a major component of the foreign language education curriculum in China since six decades ago (Zhang, 2007). In the early 1950s, students were required to learn a foreign language oriented to foreign trade. After China opened its door to

the world in 1978, students were required to learn foreign languages as well as the western ways of doing business (Zhang, 2007). Then with China's entry into the World Trade Organization in 2001, communicating effectively in English, particularly in business contexts, has become a pressing need for Chinese business professionals to engage in international cooperation and to benefit from globalization. In order to cultivate talents who are competent in using English in foreign trade, the Chinese government has implemented a range of top-down reforms, including revamping the national English curriculum, compiling new textbooks and revising the syllabi (Adamson, 2001; Hu, 2004). A milestone event is the official approval for the four-year undergraduate BE program by the Ministry of Education (MoE) in 2007. Initially run as a pilot scheme by the University of International Business and Economics, the BE program has enjoyed rapid development ever since then. Now there are over 400 institutions offering undergraduate BE programs all over the country. In 2020, the MoE promulgated the *Teaching Guide for Undergraduate Business English Major* (the *Teaching Guide* henceforth) (MoE, 2020)*,* which provides an action plan for the development of undergraduate BE majors (Yan, 2020). According to the *Teaching Guide* (MoE, 2020)*,* BE major graduates should not only be cultivated in terms of business knowledge, intercultural communication competence and critical thinking, but also be inculcated with positive values including global vision, innovation, entrepreneurship, dedication, cooperation and social responsibility.

The fast development of BE programs has led to an upsurge of studies in the field of BE, the majority of which are concerned with textbook evaluation. One source of literature adopts established evaluation models or checklists (e.g. Cunningsworth, 1995; Hutchinson & Waters, 1987) to evaluate BE textbooks in various types, including reading textbooks (e.g. Jia, 2017), speaking textbooks (e.g. Su, 2017), interpretation textbooks (e.g. Weng, 2015), and so on. For example, Su (2017) draws upon Hutchinson and Waters's (1987) ESP learning material design model to evaluate BE speaking textbooks from six aspects, that is, starter, input, content, language, task and project. Based on the evaluation, it is argued that language skills and business knowledge should be integrated with business topics (Su, 2017). The other source of literature uses a discourse analytical approach to investigate whether the language input in textbooks is sufficiently or appropriately designed. For example, Sun and Wang (2013) adopt a corpus method to examine metaphors in BE textbooks and find that sufficient linguistic input is provided to develop students' metaphorical thinking and cross-cultural communicative competence. Yu (2015) analyzes two typical BE writing textbooks and finds that intertextuality should be improved to help students write in simulated and authentic professional contexts. These two lines of studies can shed light on textbook design in terms of language input to meet Chinese students' learning needs. However, there is a paucity of studies which examine BE textbooks as cultural artefacts and investigate the values represented. In BE teaching, it is important to understand what values are transmitted through textbooks, because those values are believed to contribute to students' emerging professional identity (Zhang, 2017). For example, students should be cultivated with positive values such as integrity, which is an essential quality to win trust and respect in business (Chan,

2019). Addressing this need, the present study scrutinizes the values embedded in BE textbooks in relation to the educational and social contexts in China.

3 Data and Analytical Method

Our research data is a set of BE textbooks named *Business English: An Integrated Course* (Books 1–4) (2nd edition) (Wang, 2017, 2018a, b, 2019), which belongs to "National Planning Materials" of the MoE and has been widely used in Chinese universities. Regarded as representative of BE teaching materials, it has been selected as research data in several BE textbook evaluation studies, including the evaluation of metaphor use (Sun & Wang, 2013), readability (Li et al., 2019), and so on. There are eight units in each book, which cover a variety of business-related topics like business language, business ethics, world economy, intercultural communication, modern technology and trade war. In each unit, Text I is recommended for intensive reading, and it is the main carrier of values since teachers mainly use Text I for classroom instruction. Therefore, Text I in each unit is sampled as research data in the present study. Exercises followed the texts are excluded from our dataset as they are generally designed to check the students' comprehension of the texts and add nothing new in terms of value representation. The average length of each text is around 1100 words, forming a corpus of 36,460 words. A total of 37 images are used in these 32 texts, averaging one image in each text.

Values are regarded as "evaluative beliefs that synthesize affective and cognitive elements to orient people to the world in which they live" (Marini, 2000, p. 2828). In the present study, values are conceptualized as represented attitudes towards behaviors, objects, entities, and phenomena. The analysis is concerned with identifying what values are represented, and elucidating how values are realized through language and images. First, we analyze our data drawing upon the system of Attitude in Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2005). The Attitude system has been frequently adopted to analyze English language textbooks and has been proved to be effective in modelling attitudes and social values (e.g. Chen, 2010; Feng, 2019a). It incorporates three sub-categories, that is, values of emotional response (Affect), values by which human behaviors are socially assessed (Judgement), and values about the qualities of objects, entities and phenomena (Appreciation). Since personal emotions are rarely expressed in our data, the subsystem of Affect is not included in the present study. That is to say, values are represented by attitudes towards behaviors (Judgement) and attitudes towards objects, entities and phenomena (Appreciation). However, rather than simply borrowing the subcategories of Judgment and Appreciation, we propose categories of values based on the result of our data analysis.

Second, we develop a systematic framework to investigate how values are realized by language and images drawing upon Martin and White (2005), Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) and Feng (2019a) (see Fig. 1). Adopting the subsystem of Judgement, Feng (2019a) puts forward a social semiotic framework to analyze how moral values are represented as attitudes towards different behaviors. The framework is
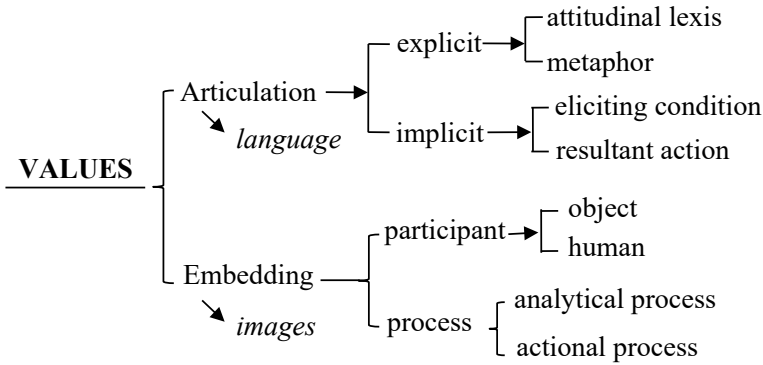
Fig. 1 The multimodal realization of values

based on the three-stage model of attitude, that is, Eliciting Condition, the Judgement and Resultant Action. Eliciting Condition refers to recounting or depicting events that elicit the Judgement, and Resultant Action means saying/doing things that are motivated by the Judgement. This model can be extended to the Appreciation subsystem in the present study. In other words, appreciation on objects, entities and phenomena can be indirectly realized by recounting events eliciting the Appreciation or saying/doing things motivated by the Appreciation.

As shown in Fig. 1, values can be articulated by verbal resources in texts or embedded in visual images. When articulated, values can be explicitly realized by the use of attitudinal lexis or metaphors, which make evaluation in a straightforward manner. Values can also be implicitly realized by recounting facts or events to elicit evaluation or realized by verbal actions (speech acts) motivated by evaluation. For example, Text 1(1) not only evaluates English explicitly by using attitudinal lexis, "merit" and "global", but also elicits the positive evaluation implicitly by the statement "enables people of different countries to converse and do business with each other". Text 1(2) illustrates a case of positive evaluation realized by metaphor, which compares Jack Welch to a master painter, making a positive judgement on his capacity of corporate management.

Text 1

(1) The merit of English as a global language is that it enables people of different countries to converse and do business with each other. (*A World Empire by Other Means*, Book 2 Unit 1)

(2) If leadership is an art, then surely Welch has proved himself a master painter. (*How Jack Welch Runs GE*, Book 2 Unit 4)

With regard to the visual part, images accompanying texts are analyzed in terms of participants and processes drawing upon Visual Grammar (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). First, we identify whether there is any human participant presented in each image. Second, human participants are examined in terms of analytical process and actional process. In the former, we look at participants' appearance, like skin color,

hair, clothes and facial expressions, so as to understand their gender, race, age, profession and relationship; in the latter, we analyze what activities they are performing and how they perform the activities. Evaluation can be made based on whether the activities are socially acceptable and whether human participants are in harmony with each other in the same activities. For example, an image presents a group of formally dressed people, among whom there are male and female, white skin and black skin, blonde hair and black hair. People in the image are sitting together, listening to someone either attentively or with a smile. Positive evaluation can be made on their cooperative behaviors in an international business context, which constructs positive values of cultural diversity and gender equality. Third, images without any human participant are also analyzed in terms of analytical process and actional process. The analysis of analytical process enables us to identify what objects or scenes are captured and what features are highlighted; the analysis of actional process enables us to learn what movements or events are going on. Evaluation can be made based on observed features and movements to see whether they are socially acceptable. For example, a mushroom cloud above a blue sea can lead to a negative appreciation of nuclear weapons and wars. Both verbal and visual analysis is done by the two authors and disagreement is resolved by discussion.

4   Findings

4.1   General Pattern of Identified Values

As shown in Table 1, nine pairs of positive values versus negative values are identified in the dataset, which can be grouped into three categories, namely, business-oriented values, culture-oriented values, and society-oriented values. Values concerned with consuming behavior, career development and international trade are categorized as

Table 1 Distribution of values of three orientations

Categories of values	Positive values	Negative values	Total
Business-oriented	Entrepreneurship	Dishonesty	441 (43%)
	Rational consumption	Materialism	
	Trade liberalization	Trade protectionism	
Culture-oriented	Multiculturality	Cultural imperialism	367 (35.8%)
	Cultural prosperity	Cultural destruction	
	Cultural respect	Cultural bias	
Society-oriented	Sustainability	Environmental pollution	218 (21.2%)
	Peace	War	
	Gender equality	Gender discrimination	
Total	346 (33.7%)	680 (66.3%)	1026 (100%)

business-oriented values; those related to cultural exchange and intercultural communication are categorized as culture-oriented values; and those with regard to environmental issues, international relations and gender equality are categorized as society-oriented values. Business-oriented values account for the largest proportion (43%), followed by culture-oriented values (35.8%). Society-oriented values take up the smallest proportion (21.2%). The uneven distribution suggests that BE textbooks are designed to prioritize values practiced in business contexts, which is in accordance with the specific pedagogical purpose of English for Business. In terms of valence, instances of negative values are twice as many as that of positive values, indicating criticism is more frequently made so as to warn young students what behaviors should be avoided or what phenomena are not socially acceptable. Regarding verbal realization (see Table 2), attitudinal lexis is the dominant discursive strategy, accounting for nearly two thirds of verbal realizations. Eliciting conditions are the second frequently employed strategy, accounting for over one third of verbal realizations. It can be seen that textbook designers are explicit in giving evaluations by the frequent use of attitudinal lexis, which is complemented by recounting facts and events. Metaphors are identified only in a few cases, which means BE textbook designers seldom employ figurative language to construct values. Notably, this finding is inconsistent with previous studies that manifest the prevalence of metaphors in BE texts (e.g. Sun & Wang, 2013). Besides, no resultant action is found in our data. This may suggest the difference of value realization between tertiary-level ESP textbooks and elementary-level EFL textbooks, with the latter using more action-oriented discursive strategies that enable students to "relate certain value judgement to the appropriate behavior" (Feng, 2019a, p. 464). By giving preference to eliciting conditions rather than resultant actions, BE textbook designers intend to guide students to make their own judgement/appreciation based on behaviors or phenomena, instead of giving directives to tell students what to do or what not to do.

In terms of visual images, only 12 out of 37 images are found to contribute to value construction, while the remaining images are simply used as illustrations of people or things mentioned in the verbal texts. Among these 12 images, most of them function to construct positive values like multiculturality, trade liberalization, with the exception of two images (see Table 3). Specifically, 6 images represent multiculturality by presenting people with different skin colors performing the same activities, including attending a meeting, talking, reading, or standing together with a

Table 2 Verbal realization of values

Verbal realization	Attitudinal lexis	Metaphor	Eliciting condition	Resultant action	Total
Positive values	217 (21.2%)	9 (0.9%)	120 (11.7%)	/	346 (33.7%)
Negative values	423 (41.2%)	17 (1.6%)	240 (23.4%)	/	680 (66.3%)
Total	640 (62.4%)	26 (2.5%)	360 (35.1%)	/	1026 (100%)

Table 3 Visual realization of values

Participant	Positive values	Negative values	Number of images
With human participants	Multiculturality	/	6
	Entrepreneurship	/	1
Without human participants	Trade liberalization	/	2
	Rational consumption	/	1
	/	War	2
Total			12

smile. The other images function to represent entrepreneurship, trade liberalization, rational consumption and war, which will be analyzed in detail in the following sections.

4.2 Business-Oriented Values

Three subcategories of values are identified as oriented to business, that is, entrepreneurship versus dishonesty, rational consumption versus materialism, and trade liberalization versus trade protectionism. In the first sub-category, entrepreneurship is frequently linked to successful entrepreneurs, and dishonesty is criticized in a few cases of wrongdoings. To reify entrepreneurship, the former GE CEO Jack Welch and the Facebook CEO Zuckerberg are presented as typical role models. Their capacity and influence are highly commended by using a wide array of attitudinal lexis, particularly evaluative adjectives, such as "successful", "celebrated", "legendary", "extraordinary", "profound", "unique", "ambitious" and "influential". Besides, three types of eliciting conditions are given, inviting readers to make judgement implicitly. First, job titles of top management, such as CEO and chairman, are introduced, representing authority and leadership in corporations. Second, education background and academic performance are given to represent qualifications, like graduating from a prestigious university, holding a doctoral degree, and so on. Third, business activities and achievements are recounted, like founding a company, expanding business scope, and gaining trust from employees. In the recounting, a number of action verbs are used to invoke evaluations of their courage and innovation, such as "lead", "transform", "reshape", and "guide". Specific figures are also given to quantify the amount of assets, the volume of sales, the number of employees, and so on. As shown in Text 2, four figures are listed in a row to show that GE is a financially robust and highly internationalized company, which implicitly elicits a positive judgment on its CEO, Jack Welch. This example also illustrates the use of metaphor in constructing values. By comparing GE to a business empire, Jack Welch was constructed as an extraordinary business leader as powerful as an emperor. The verbal part is complemented by a large image put together with the title, which shows

Fig. 2 Image used in *How Jack Welch Runs GE*, Book 2 Unit 4

silhouettes of a conductor raising the baton and businessmen in suit and tie sitting at two sides (see Fig. 2). This is a case of multimodal metaphor, which is constituted by both visual and verbal resources (Feng, 2019b). It compares Jack Welch, who is introduced in the verbal part, to a conductor leading the orchestra as shown in Fig. 2, which further highlights his leadership.

Text 2

How does Welch, who sits atop a business empire with $304 billion in assets, $89.3 billion in sales, and 276000 employees scattered in more than 100 countries around the globe, do it? (*How Jack Welch Runs GE*, Book 2 Unit 4)

In a few cases, criticism is made on dishonesty, including misconducts in business and cheating scandals of MBA students at business school. Negative attitudinal lexis is used to criticize dishonest people and discipline misbehaviors. In criticizing dishonest people, words such as "greedy", "disgraced", "notorious", "oppressive", "rogues" and "ruthless" are used. In disciplining misbehaviors, words such as "charge", "dismiss", and "expulsion" are used. To complement the attitudinal lexis, specific behaviors, such as cheating, deceiving, offering rebates to business partners and withholding information from rivals, are recounted to invoke negative evaluation. The criticism on dishonesty helps students understand the importance of integrity, an essential quality for business practitioners (Chan, 2019).

In the second sub-category, strong criticism is made on materialism, and rational consumption is advocated. To criticize materialism, both attitudinal lexis and eliciting condition are used as strategies of realization. In terms of attitudinal lexis, words and expressions such as "waste", "mounting debt", "bad credit" and "low credit score" are used to describe the problems caused by excessive consumption while words and expressions such as "wily bons vivants", "plutocrats" and "profiteers" are used to describe the people who pursue materialism. In terms of eliciting condition, three types of overspending behaviors are represented to elicit judgment. First, some wealthy people are keen to display their wealth at the cost of a colossal waste of resources. Second, with compulsive spending behaviors stimulated by the overuse of

credit cards, some middle-class people fail to control their ever-expanding shopping desire and are thus stuck in financial trouble. Third, some people in underdeveloped countries are in blind pursuit of Western goods, without awareness of what they really need. In the recounting, specific figures are given to elaborate how much money is spent, how much debt is accumulated, how low is the credit score caused by overspending, how large is the yacht of those wealthy people, and so on. As shown in Text 3, materialism is criticized for enticing people to spend on useless goods, in which negative attitudinal lexis is used, including "wasteful", "problem", "ruin", and "frivolous". In a few cases, rational consumption is advocated by praising some wealthy people who keep a low profile in spite of their immense wealth, like the family of Zuckerberg.

Text 3

As for capitalism's <u>wasteful</u> materialism, even Adam Smith had a <u>problem</u> with it. "How many people <u>ruin</u> themselves by laying out money on trinkets of <u>frivolous</u> utility?" he complained. (*The Joy of Capitalism*, Book 3 Unit 4)

In the third sub-category, emphasis is placed on criticizing problems caused by trade protectionism, and benefits of trade liberalization are presented in a few cases. To criticize trade protectionism, a series of negative words, such as "disastrous", "danger", "jeopardy", "threat", "deterioration" and "coup de grâce", are used to emphasize its harm. Harmful consequences, such as trade tension, trade conflict, trade war, global recession, currency devaluation and unemployment, are also listed. Besides, trade protectionism practices, such as higher tariffs, quotas and trade-blocking regulations, are criticized. Specific figures are given to illustrate the amount of dropping demand, the scope of anti-dumping investigation, and so on. By contrast, the positive evaluation of trade liberalization is elicited by showcasing its benefits either literally or figuratively. As shown in Text 4, trade is compared to "the path out of poverty" to emphasize its crucial role in alleviating poverty, which leads students to make positive evaluation on trade liberalization.

Text 4

They would be the first to say that trade, not aid, is <u>the path out of poverty</u>. (*The Struggle for Development,* Book 4 Unit 8)

Being exposed to business-oriented values as discussed above, students are educated in terms of career development, consuming behavior and international trade respectively. First, students can be motivated by the entrepreneurship of visionary and successful business leaders, who set good examples for them to follow in the pursuit of future career. Second, students are encouraged to cultivate the habit of rational consumption and keep good personal credit, rather than being lost in the blind pursuit of materialism. Third, besides their personal and career development, students are guided to take on a broader vision to understand the importance of trade liberalization for the general good.

4.3   Culture-Oriented Values

In terms of culture-oriented values, three sub-categories are identified in our dataset, namely, multiculturality versus cultural imperialism, cultural prosperity versus cultural destruction, and cultural respect versus cultural bias. In the first sub-category, cultural imperialism is frequently criticized for its unfavorable outcome of homogenization, while multiculturality is positively appraised for its inclusiveness. To criticize cultural imperialism, sociocultural phenomena like English as a world language, commercialization of culture and McDonaldization are discussed. In the discussion, negative attitudinal lexis, such as "disturbing", "challenge", "oppressive", "damage", "destroy", "defeat", "extinction", "denial" and "rejection", is frequently used to emphasize the harm caused to local cultures. Besides, specific examples and data of cultural imperialism are given to elicit negative evaluation. For example, the global spread of English is criticized for its harm of westernization. Its negative impacts on local cultures are illustrated by figures like how many local languages are going extinct, and by the opposition from other countries, like Indian people seeing English as an oppressive legacy of colonialism. As shown in Text 5, the first sentence employs three negative verbs to emphasize the destructive impact of the spread of English on local culture, and then the second sentence reveals the imperialism of American culture.

With regard to multiculturality, it is advocated by using positive attitudinal lexis like "diverse", "innovative", "creative", "open-mindedness" and recounting cases of cultural integration in movie industry. One typical case is Jackie Chan, who kept his unique style of combining martial arts comedy and acrobatics stunts, and thus achieved a big success in Hollywood. Another case of successful integration of Chinese and Western movie industries is visually represented by an image, in which the foreign actor Mark Wahlberg is presenting the Chinese actress Li Bingbing to the audience in front of a large billboard promoting the movie *Transformers* (see Fig. 3). By placing equal emphasis on native and non-native cultures, BE textbooks provide global and multicultural perspectives for students to develop their cultural awareness (Pashmforoosh & Babaii, 2015).

> Text 5
>
> And in many countries the all-engulfing advance of English <u>threatens</u> to <u>damage</u> or <u>destroy</u> much local culture. This is sometimes <u>lamented</u> even in England itself, for though the language that now sweeps the world is called English, <u>the culture carried with it is American</u>. (*A World Empire by Other Means*, Book 2 Unit 1)

In the second sub-category, cultural prosperity is promoted in contrast to cultural destruction. To advocate cultural prosperity, both historical achievements like the Silk Road, old palaces, monuments, and new progress like development in modern astronomy are cherished and praised. Positive attitudinal lexis is used to emphasize the significant values, such as "oldest", "important", "legacy", "remarkable", "famous", "originality", "revolutionary", and "brilliance". Achievements of human civilization are recounted, for example, the voyage of Columbus in the fifteenth century, and the scientific achievements of Copernicus and Galileo in the sixteenth

Fig. 3 Image used in *The Asia Factor in Global Hollywood*, Book 1 Unit 7

century. As shown in Text 6, both attitudinal lexis like "remarkable", "famous", and eliciting conditions like "more than 300 historical monuments" are given to emphasize the value of cultural heritage. In a few cases, cultural destruction is criticized by using negative attitudinal lexis such as "threat", "belittle", "undermine", "lost" and "disappear" to emphasize the harm caused to both tangible and intangible culture.

Text 6

During this period, <u>many tombs, palaces and mosques were built</u>-including the <u>remarkable</u> 12th-century Great Palace and the <u>famous</u> Tigris Bridge-contributing to the more than <u>300 historical monuments</u> that <u>grace</u> Hasankeyf today. (*Where the Cave Dwellers Once Lived*, Book 1 Unit 4)

In the third sub-category, cultural bias is criticized while cultural respect is promoted in the discussion of intercultural business communication. Attitudinal lexis such as "prematurely", "poorly prepared", "ethnocentricity", "problem", "failure" and "conflict" is used to criticize the lack of intercultural communication competence caused by cultural bias. Examples are given to show the ethnocentricity of top management and their neglect of intercultural communication. By contrast, positive attitudinal lexis, such as "competent", "polite", "respect", "tactfulness" and "modesty", is used when it comes to cultural respect. Text 7 shows how intercultural communicative competence is represented. The underlined part after "only if" highlights the role of equal dialogue and mutual respect in intercultural communication.

Text 7

People are perceived as communicatively <u>competent</u> only if they <u>know how to avoid conflict with other,</u> can <u>control their emotional displays,</u> can <u>use polite forms of address when talking to others,</u> and can <u>demonstrate respect, tactfulness, and modesty in their behaviors.</u> (*The Business Context in Intercultural Communication*, Book 2 Unit 2)

Culture-oriented values educate students to respect different cultures, cherish cultural heritage and boost cultural diversity and prosperity. First, students are informed about the danger of losing local cultures as well as the significance of promoting cultural diversity in this globalizing world. Second, they are encouraged to protect tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Third, they are encouraged to familiarize themselves with the preferences and taboos in different cultures so as to become competent in intercultural communication.

4.4 Society-Oriented Values

Three subcategories of values are identified as society-oriented, that is, sustainability versus environmental pollution, peace versus war, and gender equality versus gender discrimination. In the first subcategory, environmental pollution is criticized by using attitudinal lexis like "problem", "loss", "crisis", "danger", or by describing specific problems such as water pollution, degradation of land, accumulation of wastes, ozone depletion and destruction of biodiversity. Besides, the causes of environmental problems are explained, which include overpopulation, climate change and energy consumption. For example, in Text 8, the attitudinal lexis "extinction" is complemented by the figure "between 1000 and 10,000 times greater than they would naturally be", which can elicit negative evaluation on the fast rate of extinction. These sentences inform students of what environmental problems human beings are confronted with and what negative impacts these problems have, and thus evoke their awareness of environmental protection. In a few cases, sustainability is advocated by using positive attitudinal lexis, such as "sustainable", "remedy", "favorable" and "preserved". These values and facts invite students to evaluate their own practices and think about what impact they make on the environment, looking for sustainability and mutual benefit of all beings (Gebregeorgis, 2017).

> Text 8
>
> Current extinction rates are between 1000 and 10000 times greater than they would naturally be. (*The Day After Tomorrow*, Book 3 Unit 1)

In the second subcategory, negative attitudinal lexis, such as "slaughter", "in ruins", "danger", "contest", "painful", "hazard", "risk", "conflict", "bloodshed", "catastrophic", and "unsettled", is used to describe the cruelty of wars. Besides, the metaphor of "Thucydides trap" is often adopted to predict international relations between powerful countries, indicating the complexities of international affairs and the high risk of wars. A typical strategy adopted is quoting historical facts to emphasize the negative impact of wars. As shown in Text 9, "ended four years later" informs readers of the long duration of the world war, and the aftermath explicated in the latter part of the sentence further warns the readers of the unbearable wounds caused by the war. In the background of the text (Fig. 4), a partial image of a tank

Fig. 4 Image used in *The Thucydides Trap: Are the U.S. and China Headed for War*, Book 4 Unit 7
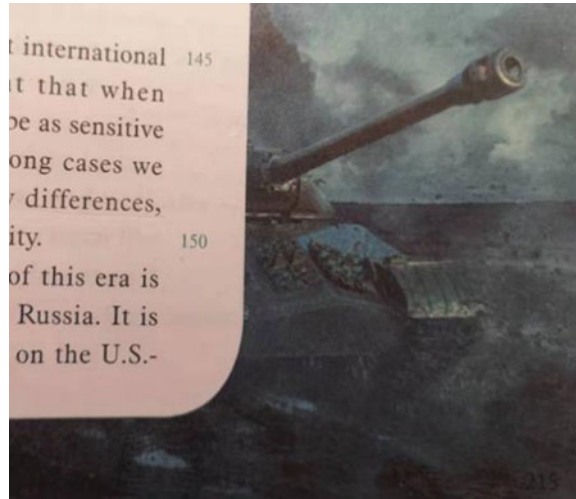
in a battlefield filled with smoke is presented, which visualizes the historical facts of wars recounted in the text. In a few cases, peace is advocated by using positive attitudinal lexis, like "peaceful", "prosperous", and "mutual understanding".

Text 9

When <u>war ended four years later</u>, Europe <u>lay in ruins</u>: <u>the kaiser gone, the Austro-Hungarian Empire dissolved, the Russian tsar overthrown by the Bolsheviks, France bled for a generation, and England shorn of its youth and treasure.</u> (*The Thucydides Trap: Are the U.S. and China Headed for War*, Book 4 Unit 7)

In the third subcategory, gender discrimination is negatively judged in the story of Hilary Clinton, who suffered scathing remarks on her dressing style when she was running for the president of the United States. Negative attitudinal lexis, such as "sexism", "a cheap joke", "prejudice", "disparity", "male-dominated", "frivolity" and "misogyny", is used to show the unfair treatment and unfavorable attitude towards women. As shown in Text 10, negative words "lampooned", "shamed", "ignored" are used in a row to relate to a woman who is not formally dressed while the word "silly" is used to relate to a woman who is keen to dress herself. The co-occurrence of these words vividly depicts the dilemma women are confronted with. In the same story, gender equality is implicitly advocated by presenting Hilary Clinton's qualifications as a politician, who is not inferior to her male counterparts. However, no explicit evaluation is given to emphasize the importance of gender equality.

Text 10

If a female politician doesn't know how to dress like a lady, she's <u>lampooned, shamed,</u> and her ideas are <u>ignored</u>. However, if she wears "distracting clothing" or spends too much money, she's seen as <u>silly.</u> (*Hillary Clinton Is Running for President-So Here's Why We Should Stop Talking about Her Wardrobe Now*, Book 1 Unit 1)

In this category, students are led to reflect upon the key relations in our society, including the relation between human and environment, between countries, and

between genders. First, by evoking their environmental awareness, students are expected to critically evaluate human activities against nature and think about the ways to maintain sustainable development. Second, they are reminded of the disastrous consequences brought about by wars in history and the importance of peace despite the complexities of international relations. Third, the textbook explains the severity of gender discrimination and the obstacles impeding women's career development. Students are encouraged to think about the underlying reasons for gender discrimination, and thus form a deeper understanding of gender equality.

5 Discussion and Pedagogical Implications

Our analysis shows that BE textbooks under investigation are infused with business-oriented, culture-oriented and society-oriented values. It can be argued that these three categories of values are deliberately designed to cultivate business talents required by China's social and economic development. First, dominant business-oriented values are infused to educate future business practitioners. In particular, entrepreneurship is most frequently advocated through presenting world-famous business leaders as role models to inspire young students to pursue their future careers in the business world. Since the introduction of the reform and opening-up policy in 1978, China's economy has transitioned from a planned economy to a market economy, which has lowered or removed barriers to market entry and provided a relatively free business environment for entrepreneurship (He et al., 2008, 2016). During the past few decades, entrepreneurship has become a key factor in stimulating technology innovation, creating employment opportunities and promoting regional productivity, and private enterprises are regarded as the main impetus of China's economic miracle (Chen & Feng, 2000; Li et al., 2015). The development of an entrepreneurial economy calls for the cultivation of entrepreneurial talents (Mei & Symaco, 2020), and in this context, presenting role models in textbooks can inspire young students to pursue entrepreneurship in their future careers. Second, culture-oriented values are embedded to cultivate international talents with intercultural communicative competence. With the advancement of economic globalization, competition and cooperation between China and the rest of the world have become increasingly frequent. Against this backdrop, the demand for high-level international talents with intercultural communicative competence in contemporary China is greater than any other period in history (Sun, 2016). More and more Chinese enterprises strive to open up the international market, which creates a huge demand for qualified international talents who are adept at international negotiation, foreign investment, overseas mergers and acquisitions, and multinational corporation management. It is therefore important to cultivate students with international vision, professional knowledge and a deep understanding of Chinese and foreign cultures, so that they can think with a global vision and use English to effectively engage in intercultural communication (Sun, 2016). Third, society-oriented values are infused

to raise students' awareness of sustainability, peace and gender equality. In particular, the harm of environmental pollution is frequently reiterated and a vision of sustainable development is emphasized. Environmental issues like water pollution, disappearing wetlands, biodiversity losses are represented as the causes of economic losses, social conflicts and health expenses (Liu & Diamond, 2005). Efforts have been made to keep the balance between economic development and environmental protection. In the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China held in 2012, the construction of ecological civilization was put forward as one of the strategic tasks of China's development. To develop ecological civilization, it is important to explore the discourse of ecological civilization education and improve students' consciousness of ecological environment protection (Wu, 2019).

Our findings provide further evidence that "literacy practice is a set of sociocultural practices that reflect the dominant values and beliefs of a society" (Feng, 2019a, p. 458). Like EFL textbooks, ESP textbooks, and in this case BE textbooks in China, are ideological message systems which serve to 'support the performance of social activities and social identities' (Gee, 2005, p. 1). From a pedagogical point of view, we can argue that the textbooks are sound materials for BE education in terms of the values that are incorporated, reflecting the needs of the society and the requirement of the *Teaching Guide* (MoE, 2020). However, two important values specified in the *Teaching Guide* (MoE, 2020) are not found in our data, namely, dedication and cooperation. Dedication requires students to be committed to their duties and work, while cooperation requires them to be good team players. While we are not arguing about which value should be included, we do think the explicit understanding of value representation gained in this study can provide textbook designers with a conceptual framework that helps them to make informed decisions about value selection and value realization when designing textbooks.

Our analysis also shows that values in BE textbooks are mainly realized by attitudinal lexis, that is, using attitudinal words to evaluate behaviors, objects, entities and phenomena. It can be argued that the frequent use of attitudinal lexis may reduce the opportunity of independent thinking, as students are expected to simply accept the stance of textbook designers in a passive manner. As agreed by many scholars, the cultivation of values requires "critical distance on tradition, exposure to alternatives, informed and reflective deliberation about how to think and live" (Nord & Haynes, 2000, p. 17). For BE textbooks, on the one hand, more authentic business cases can be included; on the other hand, more pedagogical tasks can be designed to encourage students to think critically and form their own value judgements with scaffolded instruction. As students are more likely to accept values derived from their own reasoning, rather than those imposed on them (Feng, 2019a), the goal of value education may be more effectively achieved using this approach.

Besides, the use of images in value realization is seldom found in the textbooks we analyzed. In the existing literature of textbook studies, images have been found to play an important role in realizing curriculum goals in terms of affects and attitude (Chen, 2010), and raising intercultural awareness through direct visual depiction of multiculturality (Isnaini et al., 2019). Thus, the role of images in contextualizing and constructing values should be acknowledged, especially within the visual turn in the

educational landscape. However, it does not mean that the more images, the better; rather, we suggest that in the future textbook designers need to be more critically aware of the semantic and pedagogical functions of images so as to maximise the effect of images in the construction of values (cf. Feng, 2021).

The present study also has implications for BE teaching practice. First, the textbooks present positive values in contrast with negative ones, which creates a good opportunity for a comparative analysis. Since different values distribute in different topics in four textbooks, teachers need to take a systematic view to help students review what values have been discussed in previous units so as to form a better understanding. Second, values are disguised in BE textbooks as "covert grammar" (Brown, 1997), and should be analyzed functionally and critically under the guidance of teachers (Feng, 2019a). Our analytical framework provides teachers with a meta-language to guide students to analyze the discursive features of texts systematically and interpret the infused values critically. In the analysis of eliciting conditions, teachers need to provide support in two aspects to help students understand the implicit evaluation. First, overt instructions on particular concepts or events in terms of culture, history and science need to be provided by teachers. For example, teachers may introduce the background knowledge of the Silk Road, the World War, and the voyages of Columbus before leading students to unpack the implicit values in the texts with the relevant content knowledge. Second, teachers can cultivate students' critical understanding of the underlying values of economic and social facts, like credit scores, sales revenues, extinction rate and so on. In the analysis of the visual part, teachers can guide students to observe who/what are represented, what activities are performed, what features are highlighted, and then think about whether they are socially acceptable or not. Since BE textbooks in this study are found to be inadequate in visual resources, teachers can cite, borrow and edit a wide range of images and videos from the internet and use them as additional resources to help students understand concepts and values as well as engaging their attention and interest.

6 Conclusion

The present study examines values in BE textbooks in the educational and social contexts of contemporary China. It puts forward a systematic framework to model values infused in BE textbooks and explore how they are realized through language and images. Three types of values are identified, namely, business-oriented values, society-oriented values, and culture-oriented values. It is found that textbooks aim at cultivating globally minded talents with a good sense of social responsibility and business practitioners equipped with intercultural communicative competence, so as to meet the need of social and economic development in contemporary China. Verbally, these values are realized explicitly by attitudinal lexis, and implicitly by the recount of events and facts which elicit evaluation. Visually, images are inadequately used in terms of contextualizing and constructing values. The analytical method

proposed in this study can be used to explore value representations in other ESP textbooks and multimedia teaching materials.

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Chapter 3
Designing Values in English as a Foreign Language Textbooks: A Social Semiotic Approach

Tao Xiong and Guangwei Hu

Abstract The inculcation of social, cultural, and moral values in English language teaching (ELT) has received growing scholarly attention (Hall, 2010; Johnston, 2003; Lee, 2014; Rascón-Moreno, 2014; Widodo et al., 2018) since ELT is becoming increasingly global. Combining theoretical insights into value and morality in ELT (Johnston, 2003), evaluation in language (Thompson & Hunston, 2001), and multimodal critical discourse analysis (Ledin & Machin, 2018; Van Leeuwen, 2008), this study uses the social value of benevolence in an English as a foreign language textbook series published in China as an example to illustrate how an integrated approach can throw light on the construction of values in ELT textbooks. Our analysis reveals that (1) the Problem-Solution discourse pattern, realized in different forms along the story-event continuum, is an important mediator of values; (2) values in the textbook tend to be conveyed implicitly rather than explicitly and are invoked by lexical signals such as "help" with semantic prosodies such as comparison and goal achievement; and (3) visual resources, especially positive facial expressions, play an important role in the multimodal construction of values. Further examination of the related pedagogical activities suggests that most of the visual elements are used for the purpose of enhancing the texts and activities and that only a few are designed to engage the learners in reflective thinking and action on concerned values. This chapter ends with theoretical and practical implications on material development and pedagogy.

Keywords Critical discourse analysis · Culture knowledge · ELT textbooks · Multimodality · Social semiotics · Values

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1 Introduction

The inseparable relationship between language and culture makes cultural teaching, especially the inculcation of cultural values, an integral part of the language curriculum (Feng & Byram, 2002; Hall, 2010; Johnston, 2003; Kramsch, 1998; Risager & Chapelle, 2013; Risager, 2018). This is particularly the case for English language teaching (ELT), which has seen sustained academic debate on its cultural, political, and ideological implications among applied linguistics researchers and practitioners. Studies have addressed the consequences of, and resistance to, ELT and its global cultural hegemony from critical perspectives of post-colonialism and cultural politics (e.g., Canagarajah, 1999; Phillipson, 1992). These studies have endeavored to promote an awareness of multiculturalism and cultural identity among teachers and learners of English. Although issues on cultural reproduction and ideological legitimation in school textbooks have been a key concern in educational research (Apple, 1979), because of the growing global scale and cultural consequence of ELT, there is an increasing recognition of the cultural representations and values explicitly or implicitly present in ELT textbooks. With the deepening of (counter-) globalization and growing linguistic and cultural diversity, issues of cultural knowledge and values in language textbooks have been in the spotlight (Canale, 2021; Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger, 2015; Jalalian Daghigh & Abdul Rahim, 2021; Risager, 2021; Sun & Kwon, 2020; Weninger & Kiss, 2013), and recent years have seen a growing number of articles, edited volumes, and special issues on this subject (e.g., Bori, 2018; Canale, 2021; Chapelle, 2016; Chun, 2013; Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger, 2015; Gray, 2010a, 2010b; Widodo et al., 2018). In the meantime, EFL textbooks also shoulder the responsibility of cultivating the young generation for a country's social and economic development. This is evidenced in the national curriculum standard for English (Ministry of Education, 2017), which states that the English curriculum has both utilitarian and humanistic goals and is committed to facilitating the lifelong development of students by fostering desirable character and correct life-views and values.

In this chapter we approach the meaning-making of textbooks from a social semiotic perspective which implies that we treat texts, images, and other modes of communication as potential semiotic resources (Bezemer & Kress, 2010; Van Leeuwen, 2005). According to this perspective, the signifying process of different semiotic modes is a form of recontextualization which is socially and institutionally motivated (Bezemer & Kress, 2010). While the inclusion of cultural values in EFL textbooks has increasingly become an orchestrated process between different semiotic resources, which are principally linguistic and visual (Chen, 2010; Feng, 2019; Weninger & Kiss, 2013; Xiong & Peng, 2021; Yu et al., 2020), there is a recognition that we need a metalanguage or framework to account for this semiotic process of infusing values in EFL textbooks (Feng, 2019; Weninger & Kiss, 2013). So far, attempts to research values in school textbooks have been made from theoretical and methodological perspectives informed by systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 2000) such as appraisal theory (Martin & White, 2005) and visual grammar (Kress &

van Leeuwen, 2006). Along this line of inquiry, and combining perspectives on evaluation (Hunston, 2011; Thompson & Hunston, 2001) and multimodal critical discourse analysis (Ledin & Machin, 2018), this chapter proposes a social semiotic framework for unpacking the designing of cultural and moral values in ELT textbooks and demonstrates how the proposed framework works. This study will take values concerned with helping others, or benevolence, in Chinese secondary school English textbooks as an example and investigate how values and practices can be legitimized by means of verbal and visual semiotic resources.

2 Research on Values in Language Textbooks

Research on values in language textbooks falls into the broad strand of scholarship on culture in language textbooks. This strand focuses on cultural relations, gender relations, racial discrimination, environment and ecology, as well as other socio-cultural issues. In the context of immigrant countries and regions such as North America, researchers are particularly interested in issues of cultural relations and racism. In her study of Chinese heritage textbooks in Canada, Curdt-Christiansen (2008) called for cultivating students' multicultural consciousness. This is echoed by Sun and Kwon's (2020) study which compared Chinese and Korean heritage language textbooks in the USA and found problems of mono-culturalism. Drawing on the theoretical insights of critical pedagogy, Chun's (2016) critical ethnography of an English for academic purposes (EAP) classroom in the USA demonstrated how critical pedagogy–informed ways of teaching proved effective in countering racism in EAP textbooks.

In EFL contexts such as Asia, researchers mostly are interested in the relationship between local culture and other cultures, especially British and American culture. For example, Setyono and Widodo's (2019) study of Indonesian English textbooks found such characteristics as respect for different cultures, indigenous peoples, peace with various ways of life and nature, and appreciation of creative cultural products; in the meantime, it revealed an absence of cultural elements of countries in Africa and other parts of Asia. Lee and Li (2020) compared primary English textbooks adopted in Hong Kong and the Chinese mainland and arrived at the conclusion that textbooks in both places featured local culture and foreign culture to varying degrees: The mainland textbooks tended to present Anglo-American culture, whereas cultural presentation in Hong Kong textbooks was relatively more extensive.

Besides cultural relations, textbooks' treatment of global issues such as shallow environmentalism, gender bias and stereotypes, and neoliberalism has also attracted many researchers' attention. For example, Stibbe's (2004) study on environmental education in Japanese EFL textbooks showed that textbooks failed to criticize problematic values leading to environmental crises and were only interested in offering technical solutions to environmental problems. Likewise, Xiong's (2014) analysis of environmentalism discourse in Chinese EFL textbooks identified problems, such

as obscuring human agency, and revealed that the main purpose of the environmental content in the textbooks was to raise readers' awareness of environmental problems rather than to encourage real, proactive participation and change practices. Gray's (2010a) study of global ELT textbooks uncovered the strategic portrayal of neoliberal ideals by magnifying their positive aspects and ignoring problematic aspects. Xiong and Yuan (2018) similarly spotlighted neoliberal discourses on English language learning in current EFL textbooks in China. On the issue of gender equity, Lee's (2018) study of EFL textbooks in Japan revealed positive linguistic signs of gender equality such as the use of gender-neutral vocabulary, though the "male first" phenomenon is still common in the examined textbooks.

More recently, the (multimodal) infusion of moral and cultural values in textbooks for language and other subjects has become a topic of considerable interest (Feng, 2019; Guo & Feng, 2015; Xiong, 2012; Xiong & Peng, 2021). Feng (2019), adopting a social semiotic research framework of values, studied EFL textbooks for primary and secondary schools in Hong Kong and showed that the textbooks focused more on indoctrinating children in good citizenship than cultivating their critical thinking. In a similar vein, Yu et al.'s (2020) investigation of the ecological values communicated in Hong Kong's science education animation videos on YouTube found a predominance of biospheric values. Their study also showed that the science education characters' emotions and expressions were widely used to communicate their dissatisfaction with pollution, their love of nature, and their passion for environmental protection.

Methodologically, two analytical approaches are discernible: content analysis, which is mainly descriptive in nature, and discourse/semiotic analysis, which is more interpretive and critical in nature. The descriptive approach is informed by the positivist epistemology and committed to answering questions such as "What types of cultural knowledge and values are found in the textbook?" and "How are they distributed?" This approach, however, falls short of a fine-grained analysis of how discursive and semiotic resources such as language and visual elements contribute to the effective inculcation of values. The interpretive approach takes a constructivist philosophical and epistemological stance to address research questions such as "How are cultural knowledge and values discursively constructed in the textbook?" and "How do these representations potentially act on the readers?" Often aligned with critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995), this approach generally draws on the intellectual tradition of systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 2000) and critical perspectives on ideology, discourse, and culture, and it highlights ideological effects and the interactive relationship between textbook discourse and readers. Currently, there is a trend for researchers to integrate the two approaches so that they complement each other (Weninger, 2021). The challenge is that language and semiotic analysis generally relies on explicit lexical and grammatical features, but values are not always readily identifiable language units (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

To sum up, representation has been a main theme in studies of cultural values in textbooks. Taking multidisciplinary perspectives and approaches, these studies have viewed the representation of values as semiotic practice (Canale, 2021) and characterized language textbooks as a mirror of reality that is often exaggerated or even distorted for the purpose of ideological and cultural reproduction (Risager,

2018). The relevant research literature has also shown that, although current language textbooks have seen continuous improvements in regard to the presentation of cultural values, they still fall short of effective design for cultivating critical cultural awareness and global citizenship. This leads to potential and real problems such as imbalanced presentation of cultural groups, lack of cultural and ethnic diversity, overuse of visual resources for decorative purposes, as well as failure to make images more relevant to learners, among others. Therefore, ELT educators, practitioners, course developers, and textbook designers are in need of a systematic and adaptive framework or tool for analyzing, and ultimately designing, values.

3   Research Framework

To answer the questions of how values are realized in textbooks through different patterns of linguistic and semiotic resources, and what ideological and pedagogical effects are brought about, this section proposes an integrated social semiotic approach. We conceptualize values as social, cultural, and moral evaluations, judgment, and attitudes which guide individuals to think, feel, and behave in social and cultural contexts (Johnston, 2003; Widodo et al., 2018). Apart from the conventional means of teaching values separately as school subjects, values can be embodied and communicated implicitly as "hidden curriculum" (Apple, 1979) across academic disciplines. In other words, values can be integrated in pedagogies and curriculum materials with lasting influences on learners' beliefs and actions. Key to values in the Chinese social and cultural context is the maintenance and cultivation of harmonious relations (Gebregeorgis, 2017; You et al., 2018) which fall into three types: (1) relations between the individual and the self, (2) relations between the individual and the society/community, and (3) relations between the individual and nature. This paper will focus on the second type, which involves values such as altruism, dedication, etiquette, justice, equality, among others. It is arguably the most essential type of relation because it is centrally concerned with how the individual and the society function.

From a critical sociological perspective, we consider textbooks as social and cultural artifacts (Beyer & Apple, 1988; Gray, 2010a, 2010b) whose production and consumption are shaped by multiple social actors, forces, and intentions. The linguistic, semiotic, and pedagogical choices are not arbitrary but ideologically motivated, which enables discourse analysts to scrutinize traces of value-laden meanings in tandem with social, cultural, and institutional contexts (Gray, 2010b; Van Leeuwen, 2005).

We examine values in text in light of Thompson and Hunston's (2001) approach to evaluation in language. According to them, evaluation is an important feature of language which indexes individual or social value systems underpinned by ideologies. Specifically, we understand evaluation as "the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about" (Thompson & Hunston, 2001, p. 5).

Operating on all levels of lexis, grammar, and discourse, evaluation is a complex and slippery phenomenon which can be both conceptual and linguistic and realized by different semiotic modes. According to Thompson and Hunston (2001), evaluation in language is prosodic, cumulative, contextual, subjective, and value-laden in nature, and it can be recognized by lexical and semantic signals or parameters such as good-bad, comparison, achievement of goals, certainty, expectedness, importance, among others.

In the following, in line with the critical discourse analytical principles for EFL textbooks presented in Xiong (2012), we offer a methodological framework which is composed of three dimensions, namely discourse patterns, lexical and semantic analysis, and multimodal analysis.

The analysis of discourse patterns mainly draws on Hoey's (1983, 2001) theoretical insights on the Problem–Solution pattern (henceforth "the PS pattern"). The PS pattern is a widely used discourse pattern across a variety of text genres. The story genre, which is a typical realization of the PS pattern, is an important genre in educational settings (Martin & Rose, 2008). It comprises four components, namely Situation, Problem (or aspect of Situation which requires a Response), Response, and Result (or positive evaluation). Evaluation, which is regarded as the "point" of the story by Labov and Waletzky (1967), is an indispensable part of the story. For a PS pattern to be natural and complete, a positive evaluation is almost always involved. Given that EFL textbooks, particularly those for beginning and intermediate users, tend to simplify the reading texts for pedagogical reasons, in this study, these (simplified) stories as well as longer stories are all put on the "story-event" continuum. Simplified stories in such textbooks sometimes are as short as a single phrase denoting an event or act, without necessarily involving a course of events. These story-events are examined in light of the PS pattern to find out how evaluations work on the discourse level.

For the lexical and semantic analysis, the focus is mainly on the linguistic resources which give rise to evaluative meanings. Although the language of evaluation can be very complex and sophisticated, for the purpose of this study, we mainly focus on conceptual and linguistic signals and parameters concerned with meanings of comparison, good-bad, desirability, achievement of goals, certainty, expectedness, and importance. In addition, a basic distinction is made between inscribed meaning and invoked (or evoked) meaning (Martin & White, 2005). Inscribed evaluation is relatively explicit and can be identified by lexical markers such as affective and attitudinal adjectives, or adverbs associated with relational processes or mental processes; invoked evaluation is implicit and assumed (Fairclough, 2003) and could be activated by certain lexical items and semantic prosodies. Semantic prosody refers to the general phenomenon that "many uses of words and phrases show a tendency to occur in a certain semantic environment" (Sinclair, 1991, p. 112, as cited in Hoey, 2005, p. 22). Semantic prosodies can be broadly divided into positive and negative meanings. The implicit nature of evaluation is also confirmed by Van Leeuwen (2008), who suggests that moral evaluation tends to be linked to discourses of moralization which are not made explicit.

The multimodal analysis is informed by an affordance-driven approach which investigates the orchestrated role of textual and visual elements. Guided by the overarching question of "What semiotic resources are drawn upon in communication, or discourse, in order to carry out ideological work?" (Ledin & Machin, 2018, p. 60), the analysis concerns but is not limited to evaluative meanings and functions afforded by semiotic parameters such as social actors (e.g., their facial expressions and role design), processes, situations, interactions, gaze, modality, and intersemiotic relations (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Ledin & Machin, 2018). Drawing on Van Leeuwen's (2005) and Chapelle's (2016) classifications, we classify three types of image-text relations: task-essential, enhancing, and orienting.

Evaluative meanings do not take place in a vacuum but occur in specific social and cultural contexts. As they are constructed or implied as a result of multimodal orchestration, their analysis cannot be expected to be straightforward. Moreover, it should be noted that the construction of meaning in an educational context is often recontextualized (Bernstein, 1996).

4 Analysis

The data to be analyzed are from *Oxford English* (Shanghai edition) (2014), one of the three most widely used authoritative EFL textbook series across China. Compiled under the framework of the national English curriculum standard (Ministry of Education, 2011), it is jointly published by Shanghai Education Press and Oxford University Press and features learner-centered and task-based principles (Zhu, 2009). This series covers a variety of topics such as communication, environmental protection, scientific exploration, literature, history, family life, career, cultural exchanges, leisure activities, travel, and health. Our analysis focuses on Unit 1 of Book 2 for grade eight. The title of this unit is "Helping those in need," indicating that the unit is designed around the overarching theme of benevolence and philanthropy. It is common for contemporary language textbooks to employ a topical syllabus and design the units around a particular thematic topic (Curdt-Christiansen, 2021; Richards, 2001). The topic of benevolence is significant here because it concerns the relations between the individual and the community, which, as noted above, constitute a crucial type of human relation. The prominence of the value of helping others in ELT materials for young learners has been confirmed by Sulistiyo et al.'s (2020) study of EFL textbooks in Indonesian elementary schools, which found that the three values most emphasized are helping others, behavioral courtesy, and care. The basic structure of the 16-page-long unit and the distribution of values have been summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 Distribution of topics concerning values of benevolence

Unit section	Titles	Language input/activity	Textual affordance	Visual affordance
Getting ready	Setting learning objectives	A humorous cartoon in which the two protagonists ask for and offer help	Dialogue bubbles	Cartoon
Reading	Vocabulary work	Matching	Phrases	Pictures
		Blank-filling	Sentences	N/A
		Reading texts	Students' recounts of voluntary work	Pictures
		Vocabulary work (cloze)	Sentences	N/A
		Strategy: using prefixes to guess the meanings of words	Sentences	N/A
		Blank-filling based on the reading texts	Sentences	Pictures
Listening	Money-raising activities	Blank-filling based on audio texts	Phrases and sentences	Pictures
Grammar	Infinitives	Example sentences illustrating grammar	Sentences	N/A
		Blank-filling	Recount	N/A
		Blank-filling	Conversation	Picture
		Blank-filling based on the reading texts	Question and answer	Typography (notebook and pencil)
Speaking	Talking about plans	Example dialogues	Dialogues	Picture
		Making dialogues	Dialogues	Picture
Writing	Writing to the head teacher for help with money-raising	Mind-map for money-raising	Phrases and sentences	Mind-map
		Writing task	Short answers	N/A
		Guided writing	Letter layout (typography)	
More practice	Story of the Spring-Buds plan	Reading text and comprehension questions	Reading text	Picture
Study skills	Charts and graphs	Reading text and blank-filling	Reading text	Picture
Culture corner	UNICEF	Reading text	Reading text	UNICEF logo

4.1 Discourse Patterns

It has been suggested earlier in the chapter that stories vary in complexity and can be as short as a single expression depicting a meaningful event or action. Extract 1 illustrates such a simplified story-event. This example appears in a matching activity which is intended to build students' vocabulary before they start to read the main text. Four kinds of volunteer work have been listed, and students are required to match them with the four cartoon pictures provided. From the story-event continuum perspective, it is an event which corresponds with Response, the core element in the PS pattern, whereas all the other components of the story have been omitted for pedagogical purposes. For example, "helping disabled people" is a Response to an unstated but assumed Problem: "There are disabled people who need our help." Although Result (positive evaluation) is not explicitly included, we are still able to sense a positive evaluation invoked by the word "helping" in the component of Response. This will be discussed in more detail in Sect. 4.2.

Extract 2 is located closer to the end of "story" along the story-event continuum. Its two paragraphs embody a relatively more complex and complete PS pattern. Specifically, the PS pattern includes Situation, Problem, Response and Result/Evaluation. The Problem and the Situation are realized by statements such as, "There are many children without parents," "My friends don't understand my pain," "She is unhappy and very lonely," and "She needs friendship." The Response is realized by expressions such as, "We taught them to tell stories," "We spent time with…" and "My mother and I will continue to visit Vivien." The Result, which implies a positive evaluation, is communicated by statements such as, "This helps them express their feelings."

Extract 3 represents the prototypical PS pattern and is located further toward to the "story" end of the story-event continuum, because it has a more developed story structure with more detailed information. This story, recounted in the first person, tells how the Spring Buds Project has helped change the life of the protagonist and how she decided to work as a teacher for the same project. The Situation/Problem component is, "In 1989, 4.8 million children in the country, aged from seven to fourteen, were unable to attend school. Eighty-three per cent of them were girls," and "I stayed at home and helped my mother with the housework." It is a problem with some negative evaluation in the context of poverty in rural China decades ago. The Response component is signaled by statements such as, "The Spring Bud Project paid for me to attend that class," and "It also rented a room close to the school for me." The Result/Evaluation is signaled by "Going to school changed my life," "I learnt to read and write and do many other things," "Now I work as a teacher at a Spring Bud school here in Guangxi," and "I wish to help other girls the way the Spring Bud Project helped me."

The PS patterns in Extracts 1–3 can be briefly summarized in Table 2. It can be observed that Response is an essential component of the PS pattern no matter how simple or complex the story-event is. This suggests that evaluation does not only happen in the Evaluation component of the PS pattern; other components such as Response can also be value-laden and invoke evaluation.

Table 2 PS patterns in Extracts 1–4

		Extract 1	Extract 2	Extract 3	Extract 4
Components of PS pattern	Situation			✔	✔
	Problem			✔	✔
	Response	✔	✔	✔	✔
	Positive result or evaluation			✔	✔

4.2 Lexical and Semantic Features

In Extract 1, although four expressions (e.g., "helping disabled people") reflect material processes with representational functions, it can well be argued that they invoke positive attitudes that are signaled by the verb "help," which has a positive evaluative meaning typically associated with achievement of goals. According to Thompson and Hunston (2001), verbs such as "help" and "assist" evaluate involvement positively from the point of view of those involved in the activity. In addition, expressions such as "visiting an old people's home" and "visiting sick children in a hospital" can also be considered value-laden because they easily invoke moral evaluation (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Thus, Extract 1 shows how verbs such as "help" and "visit" potentially bring about positive moral evaluations. In Extract 2, the same signal verb "help" in "This helps them express their feelings" brings about a similarly positive evaluation of the narrator's act. Likewise, the verb "continue" in "My mother and I will continue to visit Vivien" has a positive sense of expectedness and thus implies a positive evaluation of the narrator's determination and commitment to the benevolent act. In the meantime, it should be noted that these value-laden expressions in Extract 1 are subordinate to the primary purpose of vocabulary-building in the textbook; that is, they are not designed chiefly to make students think about the implied values or take potential or real actions to help those in need. In addition, Extract 2 contains some adjectives and adverbs of overtly evaluative and attitudinal meanings such as "unhappy" and "lonely," and these items amount to a generally negative semantic prosody related to Situation/Problem.

In Extract 3, the most significant lexical signal of moral evaluation is once again the verb "help," which occurs four times. The narrator starts her account by stating the purpose of the text, which is to tell the reader how a particular association named CCTF has changed her life. Another pregnant signal of positive evaluation is the lexis of comparison and achievement (Thompson & Hunston, 2001). For example, in the fourth paragraph, the narrator makes a comparison between the situations before and after she was helped to go to school. The signifying lexical items include "before" in "Before the project started," "changed" in "Going to school changed my life," and "now" in "Now I work as a teacher at…" Viewed from the perspective of discursive legitimation, it can be argued that the narrator has become a role model who serves an ideological function of authorizing and legitimizing the value of benevolence (Van Leeuwen, 2008). An interesting note to make is that the verb

"help" in "I stayed at home and helped my mother with the housework" should not be read as invoking positive evaluation in the specific context concerned. According to Thompson and Hunston (2001), compared with adjectives and adverbs, the evaluative meaning of verbs and nouns is more debatable and context dependent. Contrary to the conventionally positive sense of "help," the evaluative meaning in this case is negative in light of the broader social and cultural discourse about poverty and under-education in rural China some thirty years ago. A school-age rural child is not supposed to stay at home helping her mother with the housework.

Pedagogically, in Extract 3, there are four reading comprehension questions following the passage to develop language skills. The third question—"What job does Feng Guixiang do now? What does she wish to do?"—is noteworthy because it is the only one in this extract that encourages students to engage in reflection on the values conveyed.

4.3 Visual Semiotic Features

The multimodal construction of meaning by linguistic and visual resources has been a salient feature of communication in current language textbooks (Bezemer & Kress, 2010; Chen, 2010; Weninger & Kiss, 2013). The EFL textbook examined in the present study is no exception. Because of the influence of communicative language teaching, it has become very common for current EFL textbooks to include everyday topics, situations, and roles that are essential to learners' school and family life. In the case of our textbook, the cartoon characters, who are mostly students, teachers, and community members, form an indispensable part of the textbook's visual elements. A glimpse of the textbook shows that almost all the characters are wearing a smile in a more or less uniform way, suggesting generally positive attitudes and values (Chen, 2010).

More specifically, facial expression seems to be the predominant means to inscribe evaluative meanings and plays a complementary role in the co-construction of values to the linguistic resources utilized. In the unit of the textbook we focus on, there are 48 characters with clearly recognizable faces. The vast majority of them are smiling and appear contented or joyful. In only one instance, the protagonist does not seem to exhibit a cheerful expression. In this picture, the protagonist is a sick child in a hospital who is painting in a devoted and tenacious way. The slightly different attitude communicated by this facial expression both connotes a positive evaluation and adds a dash of diversity to the overwhelmingly positive facial expressions.

The significant role of facial expressions in inscribing positive attitudinal meanings and values has been addressed in Chen's (2010) study of Chinese primary and secondary school EFL textbooks. She found that facial expressions of characters in Chinese EFL textbooks at the secondary level convey affects such as capacity and tenacity and are more diverse than those in primary school textbooks. This is because children's ability to make and identify evaluative meanings develops from inborn expressions to more complicated facial expressions, which is supported by

moral-stage theory (Feng, 2019). This theory argues that children's moral development goes through the pre-conventional stage, the conventional stage, and the post-conventional stage.

As far as the design of the textbook characters' social roles is concerned, it can be argued that they are neither Manichean nor graduated (Yu et al., 2020); they reflect a homogeneous structure in which all the characters in the textbook world are equally good. With regard to modality, which is concerned with modes of reality or proximity to truth, the fact that all the illustrations in our sample are cartoon characters projects a detachment from the real-life world. Moreover, a close examination of the characters' gazes reveals very few instances of direct engagement of gaze with the viewer, suggesting missed opportunities to engage the reader more interactively.

In terms of the three types of image-text meaning relations discussed earlier in this chapter, there are 10 instances of joint meaning construction by pictures and text, and the themes of these image-text combinations all reflect benevolent values embodied by helping others. Among these instances, most ($n = 7$) fall into the category of enhancement, where the visual enhances the meaning referenced in the text without introducing new information. Extracts 2 and 3 are two examples of such an enhancement relationship. In such cases, the images merely decorate or elaborate the verbal propositions and give no additional information or meaning.

In task-essential relations, the visual element is an indispensable part of the language activity in question. The activity (e.g., an exercise in matching words with pictures) cannot be undertaken without the pictures. Extract 1 is an example of a task-essential relationship. Another example (Extract 5) is a comic strip with dialogue bubbles. Obviously, the message of the text cannot stand alone because the punch line of the humorous conversation depends on viewing the text.

An instance of an orienting relationship is found in Extract 4, which requires students to engage in mind-mapping by filling out the blank in the bubbles of the mind map and figuring out possible ways of raising charity money. In this activity, a few sample solutions have already been given. The image-text relationship here is an orienting one because the mind map visually orients the reader to the logical structure of the activity. The task is directed and facilitated by the structuring of the mind map. Regardless of the image-text relationships found, they invariably serve the purpose of supporting language teaching activities.

5   Discussion and Conclusion

The ultimate goal of value education in foreign language education should be to cultivate socially responsible citizens. For this to happen, we need to maximize the potential of textbooks to engage students actively with social and cultural values through language learning. To this end, the present study has developed an integrated framework and demonstrated how this framework might be operationalized. Taking a

Chinese EFL textbook unit as an example, we have shown how the value of "helping others" is designed in the textbook and demonstrated that the construction of values in the textbook is a complex phenomenon that needs to be considered in a holistic and coherent way.

Our research shows that the PS pattern, which necessarily involves a "point" or evaluation, is an important mediator of values in the EFL textbook. Specifically, depending on the pedagogical purposes, the PS pattern is realized in different forms along the story-event continuum. This resonates with the view that evaluative meaning is scattered throughout a clause or a text and can be difficult to pin down (Hunston, 2011). Although evaluation may scatter across different parts of the story-event continuum, it might be more concentrated in particular parts such as Response. Our analysis has revealed that Response plays an indispensable part in moral evaluation. On the one hand, in very simple story-events, phrases such as "visiting orphans" can invoke positive evaluations of a benevolent act as a Response to the implied Situation/Problem that "there are many orphans who live in loneliness and need care." On the other hand, in more complicated story-events, the evaluation can be present in all the components of the PS pattern. In the case of Situation/Problem, not surprisingly, evaluations can be on the negative side. For example, in Extract 4, the Situation/Problem of the girl staying at home instead of going to school leads to the Response (invoking positive evaluation) that she was later helped by the Spring Bud project.

This study also lends support to the important view that the language of evaluation is cumulative and contextual and runs through various levels and modes of the textbook discourse (Hoey, 2001; Hunston, 2011; Martin & White, 2005; Thompson & Hunston, 2001). Our analysis has highlighted the important role of lexical signals such as "help" and other words with semantic prosodies of comparison and goal achievement. Evaluation in the textbook is inclined to exist more implicitly than explicitly, and it is rare to find verbally inscribed evaluation realized by adjectives associated with affects and attitudes. This tendency to construct values implicitly has to do with the target learners' developmental age. Students in this age group are typically at the post-conventional moral development stage, where they become more aware of the larger society and begin to reason more abstractly about right and wrong (Feng, 2019). In addition, as is shown in Extracts 2 and 3, in more complicated story-events, the text genre tends to be an account narrated in the first person, which has a stronger legitimation effect of authorization by role models (Van Leeuwen, 2008), compared with stories narrated in the third person.

This study shows that in researching values in EFL textbooks, multimodality deserves serious attention because it can throw important light on how semiotic modes of all kinds contribute to the construction of values. Specifically, visual elements, especially positive facial expressions, can enhance the evaluative significance of verbally communicated values. In this regard, our study has also identified an issue with contemporary ELT materials, that is, the excessive and sometimes arbitrary use

of visual materials without fully tapping into their teaching potential (Hill, 2013). For example, the subordinate position of the value-laden texts to the linguistic activities seems to suggest that readers are placed in the passive position of onlookers who are rarely portrayed as agents of benevolent acts. This conclusion resonates with Xiong's (2014) finding about the ecological discourse in one EFL textbook: the textbook participates in environmental protection indirectly through its reading and constructs its readers as bystanders and observers. Additionally, among the three types of text-image relationship (i.e., task-essential, enhancing, and orienting), our analysis shows that enhancing dominates. This predominantly referential or denotational relationship amounts to a kind of guided semiosis (Weninger & Kiss, 2013) that diverts attention from deeper thinking about values and cultural knowledge.

In terms of textbook design and pedagogy, we believe that it is important to transform the conventional model of "pictures for exercises" to "pictures for values." First, since the Response component is emphasized over the other components of the PS pattern in the textbooks, more visual elements about the latter should be added to create a more engaging and coherent storyline, which in turn can better motivate students' learning of socially, culturally, and morally related values. Second, it is potentially beneficial to strengthen the interaction between readers and textbook characters by rendering the latter more authentic and relevant to the former's lifeworld. Third, it also helps to increase the diversity of social roles, facial expressions, and modality found in a textbook. Last but not least, textbook design should move from designing values on the representational level to higher levels of interaction and action (Weninger, 2021).

Inextricably related to society, ideology, and culture, the EFL textbook genre is a social semiotic (Bateman, 2008) choreographing subtle linguistic and non-linguistic choices which can generate a wide spectrum of affordances and functions. The construction of values in textbooks is ultimately an undertaking of recontextualization (Van Leeuwen, 2008) which gives clues about how social, cultural, political, and ideological discourses outside the textbooks contribute to their discourse patterns, lexical and semantic features, and multimodal characteristics. To conclude, it needs to be noted that this study is mainly intended to offer a framework and demonstrate how it works. Therefore, the findings are not to be extrapolated beyond the scale supported by the data. Given that generic features of EFL textbooks vary according to social and technical factors such as target audience and region, learner age, and syllabus type, much work is needed to determine the applicability of the framework proposed in this study.

Appendix

Extract 1 (Book 2 of *English* for Grade 8, p. 2)

Reading

A   What do you know about ...?

There are many kinds of voluntary work. Can you match the activities with the pictures below? Write the correct letters in the boxes.

a   helping disabled people
b   helping raise money
c   visiting an old people's home
d   visiting sick children in a hospital

1   2   3   4

Extract 2 (Book 2 of *English* for Grade 8, p. 3)

Three teenagers offered to do some voluntary work during the school holidays. They wrote the following reports.

...

There are many children without parents. I met some of these children with my mother. We taught them to tell stories. This helps them express their feelings. One child said, "my friends don't understand my pain."

We spent time with a girl called Vivien. Her parents died in a car accident, and she is unhappy and very lonely. She needs friendship. My mother and I will continue to visit Vivien.

Mark

...

Extract 3 (Book 2 of *English* for Grade 8, p. 13)

A Read a girl's story about the Spring Bud Project and answer the questions below.

Success for Spring Buds

My name is Feng Guixiang. I want to tell you about the China Children and Teenagers' Fund (CCTF) and how it helped me.

One of the CCTF's special activities is the Spring Bud Project. In 1989, 4.8 million children in the country, aged from seven to fourteen, were unable to attend school. Eighty-three percent of them were girls. Because of this, the CCTF launched the Spring Bud Project to help them. Since then, the project has helped millions of girls return to school. It has also built a lot of schools.

The very first Spring Bud class was here in Guangxi in 1989. The Spring Bud Project paid for me to attend that class. It also rented a room close to the school for me.

Before the project stared, I stayed at home and helped my mother with the housework. Going to school changed my life. I learnt to read and write and do many other things.

Now I work as a teacher at a Spring Bud school here in Guangxi. I wish to help other girls the way the Spring Bud Project helped me.

1 What is the purpose of the Spring Bud Project?

2 What kind of help did Feng Guixiang get from the Spring Bud Project?

3 How did the Spring Bud Project change Feng Guixiang's life?

4 What job does Feng Guixiang do now? What does she wish to do?

B What can you do for the Spring Bud Project? Discuss this with your classmates.

Extract 4 (Book 2 of *English* for Grade 8, p. 11)

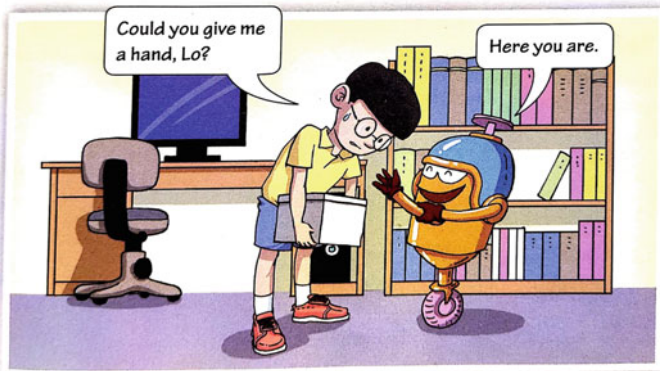Writing

A letter to the head teacher

You and your classmates are planning a money-raising activity to help children in need. You need to write a letter to your head teacher to ask permission.

A   In groups, brainstorm some money-raising ideas. Follow the example.
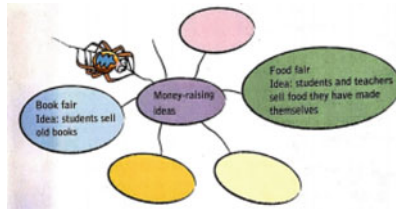
B   Discuss how you will write your letter. Write down some notes below.

Extract 5 (Book 2 of *English* for Grade 8, p. 1)

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Chapter 4
English and Englishness: A Multimodal Analysis of English Language Teaching Materials in Contemporary China

Huawei Shi and Fei Victor Lim

Abstract This chapter adopts multimodal content analysis (Bell, 2001; Joo et al., 2019) to examine an introductory video to an online English course, the textbook accompanying the course, as well as the online course itself, for students in China. The analysis aims to surface the discursive construction and representation of values and the expression of ideologies on English in the English language teaching (ELT) materials (Hu & Mckay, 2014). In particular, the analysis highlights the privileging of Anglocentric representations and dominance of the native speaker model (Kirkpatrick, 2007). Such representations are observed to persist in the Chinese society despite the present status of English as a world language with an increasing number of English language speakers from many parts of the world in the outer circle (Kachru, 1992). Through the analysis, we discuss the expressions of cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1971), in this case, the western cultural bias implicit in ELT materials propagated to students in China. We advance the argument that such ideological positioning (van Dijk, 2011) of ELT materials is unproductive as such an essentialist definition of EL proficiency is unattainable for non-native speakers (Kirkpatrick, 2007). Even worse, such an association between the English language and nationality can be deleterious as it propagates the unhelpful notion of English where standards and norms are determined by nationality rather than by use.

Keywords China · Content analysis · Englishness · Multimodality · Online course

1 Introduction

Digital technology has brought to the fore new ways of teaching and learning through providing unprecedented access to online courses for students across the world. Online courses, many of which achieve a wide reach as MOOCs (massive open

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online courses) are becoming increasingly pervasive and popular in many countries (Brahimi & Sarirete, 2015). In particular, China has experienced a boom in MOOCs, with a growing number of courses developed on platforms built in recent years. According to a recent document released by the Ministry of Education (MOE) of the People's Republic of China, over 240,000 courses are freely accessible across 22 online course platforms.[1] The reach of MOOCs is also staggering, with an estimate of over 490 million learners who have signed up for at least one online course.[2] Language courses are no exception, as searching "English" as a keyword in a Chinese University MOOC (https://www.icourse163.org/), one of the largest MOOC websites in China, yielded more than 800 courses on English language learning (last retrieved, May 6, 2021).

The trend towards online learning has also led to the need to broaden our definition of English language teaching (ELT) materials to include digital content and resources, such as online courses, video lectures, and e-assessments that are part of the English course (Sokolik, 2014). Our study adopts the more expansive definition of ELT materials that include both digital and print resources. We examine the multimodal representation of English and Englishness in the video lectures and the accompanying textbook of an online English course.

The interest in the ideological representation of English and Englishness in ELT materials is not new. Previous studies have explored the expression of such values, biases, and beliefs across many different English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts in print ELT materials. For example, Matsuda (2002) examined the representation of characters in Japanese EFL textbooks and reported that they included mostly people from countries of the inner circle (Kachru, 1985, 1992) rather than Japanese or English speakers from other contexts. Xiong and Qian (2012) and Hu and Mckay (2014) also reported similar findings in their studies of print ELT materials, such as English textbooks used in China. Joo et al. (2019) examined Korean EFL textbooks and found similar results. Building on this trajectory of work and given the global reach of online courses, the ease in the scalability of digital content and resources as well as the appeal of the English courses developed in China for the Chinese students, it is of interest in this study to examine how the current ideological representations in both digital and print ELT materials are depicted. We apply a multimodal content analysis approach to answer the research question on how English and Englishness are represented and expressed in the ELT materials of a popular online course.

2   English and Englishness in ELT Materials

The notion of Englishness centers on the issues of native-speakerism and a western-centric view of the English language. Native-speakerism refers to the belief that native-speaker teachers are regarded as representative of a Western culture, as opposed to non-native speakers. Native-speakerism has been described as "a pervasive ideology within ELT" (Holliday, 2006, p. 385). By placing native speakers of English at the center, native-speakerism effectively segments speakers at the core and

those who are at the margin, with the 'othering' of English speakers to refer to those outside of the English-speaking west as 'non-native speakers' (Holliday, 2006).

This differentiation resonates with Kachru's popular classification of world Englishes (1985, 1992). Kachru categorized English into three different yet overlapping circles: the inner circle, the outer circle, and the expanding circle. The inner circle consists of traditional English native-speaking countries, namely the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The outer circle usually refers to countries that used to be colonies of countries belonging to the inner circle such as India, the Philippines and Singapore. The expanding circle includes countries where English is mainly used as a foreign language like China and Egypt and where the norm of English, or standard English, is dependent on the inner circle. Kachru's model implicitly acknowledges the powerful role of the inner circle because of its influence over the norms and expectations of the English language. The implied higher status and privileged recognition accorded to speakers in the inner circle over the outer and expanding circle is also suggested in the model.

An alternative to the native-speakerism model is the development of the concept of World Englishes (WE) that focuses on the use of English in intercultural communication among English speakers from any part of the world (Jenkins & Leung, 2017). World Englishes include speakers from countries of all circles, that is, they can include English of the postcolonial regions of the outer circle, English of the Anglophone countries (the inner circle), and English of the many countries in the expanding circle where English is learnt and used by its speakers but has few or no internal functions (Jenkins, 2006; Jenkins & Leung, 2017; Kachru, 1992). Arguably then, the concept of WE is more inclusive in its nature and focuses on the utility of English through the ways the language is used across contexts and culture, rather than the provenance of English based on geographical location and race. Given the acceptance of WE as a paradigm, it is of interest to examine the extent to which such understandings of the context of influence and use are reflected in the ELT materials as an expression of Englishness.

We posit, following the work of scholars such as Curdt-Christiansen and Weninger (2015) and others, that ELT materials are not neutral transmitters of information. Rather, they are a result of an orchestration of semiotic choices by the designers that express specific meanings both in the content and through the content. The analysis of the latter is revealing of the values implicit within the discourse (van Dijk, 2011). The dominance of certain value systems is closely related to the concept of hegemony (Apple, 2019; Gramsci, 1971), which refers to "an organized assemblage of meanings and practices, the central, effective, and dominant system of meanings, values, and actions which are lived" (Apple, 2019, p. 5) that are expressed in the resources. In particular, we are interested in the articulation of hegemony in ELT materials, especially in the expression of ideologies of Englishness through these resources.

In this, our work builds on the earlier studies from scholars who examined print ELT materials such as textbooks. For example, Xiong and Qian (2012) classified the ideologies of English into three categories: dominant, popular, and counterhegemonic ideology. The first two categories acknowledge the hegemonic views of Englishness, while counter-hegemony dismisses the uniformist view of English

implied by the dominant ideology. In the case of English teaching and learning in China, counter-hegemonic ideology acknowledges Chinese English as a legitimate localized variety of Standard English. Notwithstanding, Xiong and Qian (2012) reported that the first category of dominant ideology—that of Anglo-centric values is evident in the EFL textbook used at senior high school in China. Likewise, Hu and Mckay (2014) who examined widely used EFL textbooks in junior secondary school in China also reported similar findings where the dominant language ideology throughout the textbook is native-speakerism, and the values privileged the Anglo-American cultures. The other varieties of English among multilingual speakers were de-emphasized and scant attention was paid to the notion of WE.

This dominant Anglo-centric language ideology is not only prevalent in China but also in other countries of the expanding circle such as Korea (e.g., Joo et al., 2019) and Japan (e.g., Matsuda, 2002; Yamada, 2010). As such, scholars have argued for the importance of acknowledging the varieties of English and presenting English as a global language rather than tying the sense of Englishness with an essentialist definition of geographical location and race. Our study extends the work by examining the ideological expressions in both digital and print ELT materials of an openly accessed online English course to answer the research question on how English speakers are represented and the ideology expressed in the materials.

To examine the representation of English speakers in the online videos and the textbook, we employed multimodal content analysis (Bell, 2001; Joo et al., 2019; Weninger & Kiss, 2015). Content analysis is a research method for "making replicable and valid inference from texts to the context of their use" (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 24). The common way of doing content analysis is to adopt an a priori coding framework or develop new categories based on the characteristics of the data, code the data into corresponding categories and calculate relevant frequencies arising from their distribution (Bell, 2001; Weninger & Kiss, 2015). Multimodal content analysis regards multimodal resources such as images and animation in addition to the linguistic texts as sources of data.

In this study, we apply multimodal content analysis to identify the semiotic choices made in the ELT materials. Specifically, our study examines the representation of the English Language and of English speakers by developing a coding framework based on Kachru's three circles model of World Englishes (1992) and aims to surface the discursive construction and representation of values and the expression of ideologies on English in the digital and print ELT materials.

3 Data and Methodology

We chose the online course, *College English Speaking* (as shown in Fig. 1), as an example of the online ELT courses in China that are publicly accessible on a leading online education platform—Chinese University MOOC (https://www.icourse163.org/). The platform is jointly developed by NetEase, a leading Chinese Internet Technology company, and the Higher Education Press in China. Chinese University

Fig. 1 The layout of *College English Speaking* on the webpage

MOOC offers online courses from universities in China and has the highest number of nationally recognized courses at more than 9000, most of which are publicly accessed for free.[3] That means students can register and study any courses of interest for free, and only when the students pass the course and want to get a certificate would they need to pay for accreditation. There is virtually no restriction in terms of the qualification of the registrants for any course or the number of courses one can register for. On the webpage of each course, there will usually be an introductory video as well as a written description of the curriculum, the content, the teaching team, and the objectives of the course to attract potential students.

College English Speaking was offered when Chinese University MOOC was launched in 2014 and it has been offered 13 times over the years. A total of over two million English learners have registered for this course, which, according to our knowledge, was one of the largest and most influential online courses. In 2017, this course was also certified as a national excellent open course by the educational ministry in China.[4]

As our research question is focused on the representation of the English Language and of English speakers, we select aspects of the ELT materials from the course for close study. Specifically, we examined the introductory video to the course, all 20 online units, and the supporting course textbook in this study. A typical online unit consists of four sections: video lecture(s) on a specific speaking topic, video lecture(s) on pronunciation or English-speaking tips, one video of a group discussion, and one video clip titled "Learn English with the 'Original Taste'" (Learn Native English). Quizzes and online written discussion tasks may appear within or after each section.

The accompanying course textbook titled *College English Speaking* was published by the Higher Education Press in 2016. The textbook consists of ten units which provide exercises for practice based on the topics in the corresponding online video

Table 1 General information of types of ELT materials

ELT materials	Sub-types of materials	No.	Time duration
Videos in online course (n = 91)	Introductory video	1	0:01:20
	Lectures on common speaking topics and mechanics of speaking	52	7:23:22
	Group discussion on common speaking topics	17	1:55:46
	Learn English with "original taste"—a focus on standard pronunciation	21	1:20:18
Listening in textbook (n = 10)	Textbook listening activities	10	0:44:42
Total		101	11:25:28

lectures as well as two more new dialogues on the same topic for offline learning. Connections between the printed textbooks and the online video lectures are made through QR codes on the printed pages, which the students can scan, using mobile devices, to access the digital content. There are also a skill focus and a cultural focus section to provide more exercises or illustrations on the topic in each unit. As our interest is in the representation of English via English speakers in the materials, we narrowed our scope to focus on materials that are accompanied by aural resources. General information of all materials in this online course that is aligned with our interest is listed in Table 1.

4 Coding Scheme

A coding scheme was designed based on studies by Bell (2001), and Joo et al. (2019). The unit of coding was set as "a complete segment of aural interaction"; that is, either a dialogue or a monologue. The segment must be a complete discourse on its own and does not rely on the preceding or following segment for comprehension as one unit of analysis. In total, we identified 117 independent segments for coding and analysis as shown in Table 2.

The development and selection of variables in the coding scheme went through several rounds. The final coding scheme consisted of four groups of variables, which are composed of 11 variables as shown in Table 3. The first group of variables are the general information of the analytical unit, and the second group of variables are related to the sources of these units of analysis.

Next, the third group of variables examine the speaker(s), including five variables: the number, the name, the visual representation, and the accent and nationality of each speaker in these units of analysis. To identify the varieties of English the speaker(s) used as well as their nationality, we first relied on explicit information from the scripts or the visual images or visual features of speakers, if any, such as the physical

Table 2 Summary of units of analysis

ELT materials	Sub-types of materials	Complete units	Time duration
Videos in online course (n = 107)	Introductory video	4	0:00:10
	Lectures	65	1:34:50
	Group discussion	17	1:55:46
	Learn English with "original taste"	21	1:20:18
Listening section in textbook (n = 10)	Textbook listening activities	10	0:44:42
Total		117	5:35:46

characteristics like skin color, hair, and facial features (Joo et al., 2019). For those without visuals, we adopted impression analysis (Kang & Moran, 2018; Kirkpatrick, 2020) based on some distinct phonological features of the speaker in accordance with different varieties of English. Those units whose categories are hard to identify was coded as unspecified. For the last group of variables, we examined ways of interaction or engagement with the learners from two perspectives, a conventional dichotomy of dialogue and monologue, following Joo et al. (2019).

5 Results

The analysis of the representation of speakers in both types of materials from the online course is examined in relation to the varieties of English and the patterns.

Tables 4 and 5 present the results of the representation of English speakers in terms of sources, visual representations, and varieties of English. Together, we identified nine varieties of English covering all three circles: inner circle (American, Australian, British, Canadian, Irish), outer circle (Indian, South Africa), and expanding circle (Chinese, South Korea). Our analysis also surfaced the disproportionate distribution of these varieties of English depending on the sources, and patterns of visual representation. American English was dominant in Introductory Video (3), the lectures of Learn English with "Original Taste" (12), and "Textbook Listening" (10), where representing the speakers in person in the video was also the most widely used form of representing English speakers. British English shared a similar pattern with American English, with the second-highest representation of real persons in videos. Other inner circle Englishes such as Australian, Canadian, and Irish English each appeared only once. Chinese English, presumably spoken by Chinese English speakers, occurred the highest number of times (62), but most frequently represented visually, in the form of cartoons.

In terms of the sources of varieties of Englishes, we coded "borrowed" when we were certain the analytic unit was not produced by the teaching team of this course, and "unspecified" when we could not identify the source. It was clear that from Table 5 there was also a discernible pattern between varieties of Englishes and sources of the materials. For the introductory video and lectures of Learn English with "original

Table 3 Variables and categories in the coding scheme

Variables	Description of categories
General information	
Time starts	The time when the analytic unit starts
Time ends	The time when the analytic unit stops
Sources of analytic unit	
What types of materials is the analytical unit located?	1. Introductory Video
	2. Group Discussion
	3. Learn English with "original taste"
	4. "Textbook Listening"
Is the material made by the teaching team, or borrowed from other sources?	1. Borrowed 2. Self-made 3. Unspecified (when we could not identify the source)
Speakers	
No. of speakers	The number of speakers that spoke in one analytical unit
Names of speakers	The name(s) of speakers that spoke in one analytical unit or the names of the original film/TV drama where the analytic unit was directly borrowed
Visual representation of speaker(s)	1. Real person in videos E.g.,
	2. Picture(s) E.g.,
	3. Cartoon E.g.,
	4. No visuals of speaker(s) E.g.,
Varieties of English of speakers	The varieties of English that the speaker(s) spoke

(continued)

taste", all content was directly borrowed, while most videos for lectures of Group discussion (17), and online lectures (46), were created by the teaching team.

Table 6 shows the interaction among the speakers from the perspective of interaction types. The largest number of interactions was carried out between Chinese speakers themselves in lectures and group discussion (45), followed by interactions

Table 3 (continued)

Variables	Description of categories
Nationality of speakers	The background where the speaker(s) most likely come from
Interaction type	
Is this analytic unit a dialogue or a monologue?	1. Dialogue 2. Monologue
What type of interaction does the analytic unit belong to, according to Kachru's three circles of Englishes?	1. Expanding-expanding 2. Inner-Inner 3. Expanding-Inner 4. Outer-outer 5. Expanding-outer 6. Outer-inner

among native speakers (29), which centered around two types of teaching materials: Learn English with "original taste", and "Textbook Listening" (8). The inter-circle interaction appeared very few times, with one case of outer-inner circle, and three for expanding to inner circle.

In Table 7, we present the result of the names of speakers across different identified nationalities. While it is natural that typical English names were used by speakers from inner circle countries, it was found that Chinese English speakers in the online course also used English names, instead of using Chinese names, and this is especially true with online lectures. An exception to the dominant representation of the English speakers was the feature of three Chinese English speakers, with Chinese names—Jiang Tao, Liu, and Mr. Li, in the textbook. All three were positioned as English language learners, with Jiang Tao and Liu as university students and Mr. Li as a Chinese immigrant to Australia. We observed that the Chinese English speakers featured in the course were mostly positioned as language learners rather than proficient English speakers.

6   Discussion

Our analysis of the ELT materials focuses on the representation of the English language and English speakers as well as the representations of the values and ideologies. Here, we will discuss the findings in relation to the ideas of English and Englishness such as the contestations between models of native speakerism and World Englishes (WE). In this, we highlight the privileging of Anglo-American representations and the dominance of the native speaker model in the multimodal selections within the ELT materials of the online course.

Table 4 The distribution of English speakers in all types of representation

Visual representation	American	Australian	British	Canadian	Irish	Indian	South African	Chinese	South Korean
Introductory video (n = 4)									
Real person in videos	2						1		
Picture(s)	1								
Lecture (n = 68)									
Real person in videos	2		2			2			
Cartoon	3							39	
No visuals of speaker(s)	2	1	9	1	1			5	1
Group discussion (n = 17)									
Real person in videos								17	
Learn English with "original taste" (n = 21)									
Real person in videos	12		8					1	
"Textbook listening" (n = 10)									
Picture(s)	10								

Note Of all analytic units, three units were identified with two different varieties of English, and therefore, the total number of identified varieties of English is 120

Table 5 The distribution of English speakers based on sources of materials

Visual representation	American	Australian	British	Canadian	Irish	Indian	South African	Chinese	South Korean
Introductory video (n = 4)									
Borrowed	3						1		
Lecture (n = 68)									
Borrowed	3		3			2		1	
Self-made	3							43	
Unspecified	1	1	8	1	1				1
Group discussion (n = 17)									
Self-made								17	
Learn English with "original taste" (n = 21)									
Borrowed	12		8					1	
"Textbook listening" (n = 10)									
Unspecified	10								

Table 6 Types of interaction among English speakers

Visual representation	Expanding-Expanding	Expanding-Inner	Inner-Inner	Outer-Inner	N/A
Introductory (n = 4)					4
Lecture (n = 65)	28	1	2	1	33
Group discussion (n = 17)	17				
Learn English with "original taste" (n = 21)			19		2
textbook listening (n = 10)		2	8		
Total (n = 117)	45	3	29	1	39

Note N/A means not applicable as the interaction is a monologue

7 Representations of English

In relation to the question of the representation of the English speakers, our analysis shows that the native English speaker is over-represented in the ELT materials in the *College English Speaking* course. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, p. 119) mused that the kinds of represented participants in the text which are depicted as "demanding an imaginary social response of some kind from the viewer" can offer insights into the values and ideas privileged in the representation. In the introductory video, the English speakers represented are often the native speakers of English or speakers from countries belonging to the inner circle (Kachru, 1992). In every unit of the online course, there is an independent section—Learn English with "Original Taste", where almost all videos were directly borrowed from popular British or American film and TV programs. A similar observation is also made from the analysis of the listening section in the textbook. As highlighted in the previous section, most of the English speakers represented are native speakers, with an arguably occasional tokenistic representation of Chinese English speakers. It is also observed that when the non-native or Chinese English speakers are represented in the ELT materials, they are often depicted in the role of the learners of English, such as the nameless three female students who were regularly featured in a group discussion in the units of the course, and the characters of Jiang Tao, Liu and Mr. Li. As such, while representations of Chinese English speakers were made, they are conferred different status—as learners aspiring towards the idealized form of English spoken by the native English speakers.

The near absence of Chinese English speakers, both visually and aurally, in the introductory video is of particular interest. Given the function of the introductory video to promote the course and attract new students, the positioning of English

Table 7 Names of speakers across nationality and types of representation

Types of representation	Nationality of speakers	Names
Introductory video (n = 4)	American	Martin Luther King, *Star Trek*[a] Steve Jobs
	South African	Nelson Mandela
Lecture (n = 65)	American	*Hurricane*, Louis Armstrong, *Slumdog Millionaire, Toy Story 3*
	British	*A Horizon Guide to Dogs*, *Lord of Rings*
	Chinese	Amanda, John, Linda, Lucy, Peter, Janet, Richard (21), Grace (12)
Group discussion (n = 17)	Chinese	unspecified
Learn English with "original taste" (n = 21)	American	*Good Luck Charlie* (11), Daniel Wu[b]
	British	*Bridget Jones's Diary* (5), *Love Actually* (3)
	Chinese	Karen Mok[b]
"Textbook listening" (n = 10)	American	Sophie, Steve, Leah, Rowley, Justin, Stanley, Jessie, Chris, Joe, Steve, Ashley, Grace, Sylvia, Stephan, Daniel Lee, Kevin, Emily, Mrs. McKinley, Judith
	Australian	Glenn
	Chinese	Jiang Tao, Liu, Mr. Li[c]

Notes

[a] For the analytic unit that directly borrowed from other sources, we coded and italicized the name of the unit with the name of the original video

[b] Both Daniel Wu and Karen Mok are celebrities, Daniel is a Chinese American, and Karen was born in Hong Kong

[c] Jiang Tao is a student at the University of Sydney, Mr. Li has migrated to Australia for over 50 years, and Liu is a student and a friend of an American exchange student

speakers as native speakers could reflect what the marketeers think will appeal to the potential student customers. English is a foreign language for Chinese learners, and China has the largest English-learning population (Bolton, 2006). Since 2001, all primary schools in China have also introduced English as a compulsory subject (see Note 4). All students in the elementary, secondary, and tertiary institutions in China need to learn English and some would turn to these online courses to augment their learning.

The dominant representation of native English speakers in the online videos of the course reveals an explicit positioning of the course towards native speakerism (Holliday, 2006) where the premise is that the ideal form of English is one spoken by the native speaker. In this, the representations in the videos also reflect the hegemony of certain varieties of English, such as British and American English, spoken by the westerners (Xiong & Qian, 2012). The under-representation of Chinese English

speakers in the online videos, which ironically constitute the target audience, may also be counter-productive in ending up alienating the increasingly globalized, exposed, and educated Chinese.

A more deleterious implication is the insinuation that the Chinese English speakers are not competent or qualified enough to be represented as ideal English speakers. Only those with high competence and near-native speaker language proficiency are qualified enough. This can also be shown in the observation that the three unnamed students in the group discussion were proficient in spoken English as indicated by their fluency and sophisticated control in their use of the language. Another observation is the frequent representation of Chinese English speakers in the form of cartoons, suggesting that a certain trivializing of these speakers is less 'real' when compared to the other English speakers represented in photos and videos (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). It is also interesting to note that the interactions across groups of Chinese English speakers and Native English speakers were very rare. This seems to imply an imaginary division between these groups of speakers. Such beliefs and attitudes towards the English language and English speakers run counter to the present developments in WE (Jenkins & Leung, 2017) where English is positioned as a global language of communication that is shared across speakers from different cultural backgrounds. This orientation could arguably be more productive in engaging with the Chinese students as Chinese English speakers, rather than to market a model of native-speakerism in which the essentialist definition of EL proficiency is never attainable for non-native speakers (Kirkpatrick, 2007).

8 Sense of Englishness

The multimodal content analysis of the videos in the online units, and the accompanying textbook is also revealing of the cultural values expressed through the visual choices in setting, references, appearances, and activities depicted. The sense of Englishness that accompanies the learning of the English language is exclusively premised on Anglo-centricity in the ELT materials of the *College English Speaking* course.

The choices in the setting of many scenes in the introductory video are arguably peculiar for a publicity video directed at the Chinese students given its lack of relatability. The scenes in the introductory video offer a strange potpourri mix into the western culture, with icons and symbols used to suggest a sense of Englishness. For example, the settings of buildings and classrooms in American or British universities are depicted. The British royal family, Prince William and his family are featured in another scene. Interestingly, a scene depicting a same-gender wedding, suggesting liberal values, is featured. Other scenes show images from the Star Trek movie, an American football match, and snippets of Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream' speech. One might reasonably ask, what does the British royal family, LGBT rights, movies, sports, and racial movements, have to do with the learning of the English language and how can they be remotely relatable to the students in China? Perhaps

they are not intended to appeal through relatability. Rather, it can be argued that the video is commodifying the sense of Englishness as a western-centric set of ideals and values that are aspirational to the Chinese students, and which could be pursued through their signing up of the online English course.

The privileging of western culture and values as the core of Englishness runs counter to the narrative of WE in which a more expansive sense of English as a global language of communication is acknowledged (Jenkins, 2006). From the analysis, it is suggested that the sense of Englishness identified in the ELT materials is neither global nor inclusive. Rather it is premised on the provenance of English based on its geographical location, race, and nationality. Such an exclusionary definition of Englishness willfully ignores the growth and development of English as an international language. Notwithstanding, it must be acknowledged that such an essentialist definition of Englishness differs from the official stance taken by the authorities in China. In the *Guidelines on College English Teaching* by the education ministry in China, the value of learning English is described in terms of first having the college students learn about the technological progress, management skills, and ideas, as well as cultures and civilizations from all over the world. This is followed by a nationalistic motivation that through English, the students could help build national language power, and spread Chinese culture (Wang, 2016). Such a position recognizes the inextricable connection between language and culture and highlights the value of learning English to appreciate the cultures and civilizations of different parts of the world, which reflects the role of English as a global language beyond its Anglo-centricity. In addition, English is deemed to be a communicative tool for spreading Chinese culture to the rest of the world. Such a view resonates with the tenets of WE, where English as a world language offers international access and global opportunities beyond the confines of the inner circle of English.

Unlike countries in the outer circle where their own varieties of English had become well established, a stable variety of English is still emerging in countries of the expanding circle. To establish a new variety of English, five criteria in terms of phonology, lexis, history, literature, and reference works must be met (Butler, 1997, p. 10). Chinese English is still in the process of establishing itself as a variety (Kirkpatrick, 2007) and the same can be said of the English of the countries in the expanding circle, such as Korean and Japanese English.

9 Conclusion

By selecting an online course on English learning and conducting a multimodal content analysis of the ELT materials from the course, we hope to highlight the values related to the teaching and learning of the English language and problematize the ideas on what constitutes a sense of Englishness. While limited in the scope and representativeness of the data, we hope that the findings from the study offer fodder for reflection on how English and the sense of Englishness is expressed through ELT materials targeted at Chinese students.

We undertake the study at a time when MOOCs are growing in popularity, with access and reach to learners not just in China but potentially to students from all over the world. As such, the analysis of both the digital and print ELT materials are of importance, given the potential scalability of these resources and the implicit propagation of these ideologies to the masses. Despite the currency of our study, our findings concur with earlier studies (Hu & McKay, 2014; Xiong & Qian, 2012) that the ELT materials express the ideology of native speakerism and the values of Anglo-American cultures. While affirming the earlier findings, our study points to the stasis and lack of progress in this area.

Our study also surfaces the persistent traditional model of native speakerism where the idealized English speaker is the native speaker rather than an evolution towards the WE model of recognizing the rich varieties of English spoken by people from different parts of the world. We acknowledge that a stable variety of Chinese English remains nascent at this point in time (He, 2020). However, we posit through our study that a simple shift, such as broadening the range of proficient English speakers represented in ELT materials, could go a long way towards affirming the identity and competency of Chinese English speakers and in setting up a realistic and meaningful goal for the students in China in learning English with local exemplary models.

Notes

1. http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A08/s7056/202002/t20200205_418138.html.
2. http://www.moe.gov.cn/fbh/live/2020/52717/mtbd/202012/t20201204_503 496.html.
3. https://www.icourse163.org/about/aboutus.htm#/about.
4. http://www.moe.gov.cn/s78/A26/jces_left/moe_714/tnull_665.html.

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Chapter 5
A Comparative Study of the Visual Representation of Gender in Two Series of Secondary English as a Foreign Language Textbooks in China

Ziyu Song and Tao Xiong

Abstract This chapter explores how gender values are visually represented in two sets of secondary school English as a foreign language (EFL) textbook by conducting a comparative analysis between *Go for it!* (*GFI*) and *Side by Side* (*SBS*), which are widely used in the Chinese mainland as state-sanctioned textbooks and international textbooks, respectively. The analysis includes (1) the male-to-female appearance ratio, (2) the ratio between men and women with occupations, as well as (3) power relations between men and women in the illustrations. It has found some gender inequalities reported in previous studies, including females' smaller percentage of appearances and lower visibility in the workplace and their less diverse and more subsidiary occupations. However, there is also divergence in the visual representation of gender. *SBS* presents more equal power relations between the two genders, while in *GFI*, power is more inclined toward men. This indicates that both *GFI* and *SBS* have room for improvement in integrating more equitable gender values. With the sustained promotion of gender equality globally, it is urgent to develop more appropriately designed EFL textbooks with more balanced male and female roles and more equal gender role relationships.

Keywords China · Gender equality · Secondary school EFL textbooks · Visual representation

1 Introduction

Gender parity has long been a topic of concern globally because of its critical role in promoting fairness and inclusiveness in the world. China is a society in which gender and kinship relations have been governed by unequal power relations for

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thousands of years (Luk-Fong & Brennan, 2010). To address this issue, China has made sustained efforts and achievements in raising women's status on various fronts such as economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, and political empowerment (World Economic Forum [WEF], 2020). In spite of China's progress in this regard, stereotypes and gender bias still persist and are deepening the relatively disadvantaged position of women (Liu et al., 2015). This problem to some extent can be mitigated through education. Researchers have agreed on the importance of infusing values in education, and arguably the most effective way is to integrate values into the school curriculum (Feng, 2017). As carriers of curriculum content, textbooks are often imbued with various values, such as environmental values (Xiong, 2014), peace values (Gebregeorgis, 2016), and multicultural values (Setyono & Widodo, 2019), which guide students to improve their relationships with nature, other people, and society.

Concerning the significance of gender impartiality as well as the pivotal role of textbooks in mediating social and cultural values, education researchers have conducted abundant studies on gender values in teaching materials regarding a variety of topics, including men and women's visibility, titles of address, firstness, activities, and social and family roles (e.g., Lee, 2014b, 2018; Porecca, 1984). Ample research has demonstrated that in current textbooks, gender stereotypes and imbalance still exist in varying degrees. However, these gender representations have usually been studied in a single textbook or set of textbooks (e.g., Xiong et al., 2017). Even if a few scholars have conducted comparative studies among textbooks, the comparisons were between the different versions of one set of textbooks (e.g., Lee, 2014a) or two functionally similar textbook series that are most used in one region (e.g., Yang, 2016). Studies conducted from an international comparative perspective have been few and far between. This study compares the visual representation of gender in a local textbook series and a global series in terms of their similarities and differences. Hopefully, it will contribute to scholarly efforts to promote fairer gender representation in ELT textbooks and education in general.

2   Literature Review

2.1   Gender Equality in the Global Perspective

As a basic human right and the cornerstone of sustainable and inclusive development of human society, gender equality has been a key global issue (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2017). According to the latest global gender report (WEF, 2020), in 2020, the global gender gap average score (population weighted) is 68.6%. Compared with previous figures, this score indicates that the global gender gap is narrowing, and some countries, although often at a slow pace, are achieving gender impartiality. However, to date, no country has realized complete gender equity. The best-performing country, Iceland, has so far

only narrowed the gap by 82%. At present, women and men have roughly the same opportunities for education, and in OECD countries, young women generally are even more educated than young men. However, in areas related to high-paid occupations like science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, women are still lagging behind in access, which leads to the low proportion of women working in jobs linked to these fields (such as artificial intelligence, engineering, and cloud computing) (OECD, 2017; WEF, 2020). Meanwhile, although the labor force participation rate of women is close to that of men, women are more likely to engage in part-time work, and are less likely to become managers and entrepreneurs than men. Pertaining to the subindex of political empowerment, 108 of the 149 countries in this session have increased their total scores. The main reason is that the number of women in parliaments has increased significantly compared to the previous evaluation, especially in Latvia, Spain, and Thailand. Nevertheless, so far, only 25% of the 35,127 seats in the world are filled by females, and only 21% of the 3,343 ministers are women. Even worse, in some countries, there are no women representatives at all.

Gender equality is of great significance to the healthy and prosperous growth of society. For the betterment of human well-being, the international community has been keeping up with the trend of accelerating gender parity. Many OECD countries have tried to change gender stereotypes through public awareness campaigns. For example, the "Equilibrium Man Challenge," cosponsored by Australian public and private companies, was a novel online micro-documentary series aiming to improve people's awareness of balancing work and life by tracking a group of men who often adopt flexible work arrangements to take care of their families. Moreover, many countries support fathers in participating in unpaid care work and housework via parental leave plans and encourage men and women to distribute unpaid work more equally. Such plans compel fathers to leave work to take care of young children, and provides strong financial incentives for them to take at least two months of parental leave. Nevertheless, according to WEF (2020)'s prediction, the overall global gender gap will be reduced in approximately 99.5 years, which reflects that gender inequality will remain one of the forms of imbalances in countries around the world for a long time (United Nations Development Program [UNDP], 2020b).

2.2   Gender Equality in China

China, as a culturally patriarchal society, has experienced drastic changes in pursuit of gender impartiality. Chinese people's conceptions of male and female roles are influenced by Confucianism which is the traditional Chinese educational thought deeply ingrained in Chinese culture (Zhu, 1992). According to Confucianism, social order was sustained by a series of rules, and "夫为妻纲/Fu Wei Qi Gang" was one of them. It means that the husband should set an example for the wife, and the wife should fully and unconditionally "inherit" all the social relations of her husband. With this relationship network, each woman after marriage is defined in the relationship with her husband, her son(s), and her husband's family, and each woman should

behave well and consciously fulfill her own obligations. This idea resulted in the prevailing dominant-subordinate relationship between men and women in China for a long time.

China's socialist revolution and construction have accelerated the liberation of Chinese women. After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, equality between men and women became China's mainstream ideology and legal principle, and women's status changed dramatically. Afterwards, China's reform and opening-up policy boosted its sound and rapid economic and social development, and also brought about unprecedented development opportunities for Chinese females. Gender equality subsequently became a basic national policy in China and was included in the report of the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (2012) and the Law on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests (2005) (Liu et al., 2015). Moreover, the government fulfilled its commitment to the international community by formulating and implementing the Program for the Development of Chinese Women (2011–2020) (State Council, 2011) and National Human Rights Action Plan of China (2016–2020) (State Council, 2016). Nevertheless, it has been pointed out that women's status in China is and will remain on a plateau for a long time (UNDP, 2020b). According to the *Human Development Report* (UNDP, 2020a), from 1990 to 2019, China's Human Development Indicator increased constantly, but the Gender Development Indicator did not increase as steadily. This means that, although the gap between the development of Chinese women and that of men has been short-ened overall, the trend is not stable. Even between 1992 and 2009, China's Gender Empowerment Measure experienced a decline (Liu et al., 2015; UNDP, 2020a).

2.3 Gender Representation in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) Textbooks

Gender parity has a profound and thorough impact on the advancement of society and people's respect for diversity. On the one hand, it is measured in the area of educa-tion, and on the other, spread and realized through education. Textbooks are at the heart of education policies concerning gender parity (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2009). Therefore, by researching gender representations in textbooks, we can pry into the status quo of gender roles and provide more constructive guidance for implementing gender equality policies and eliminating discrimination (UNESCO, 2017). In recent years, education prac-titioners in different fields have conducted numerous studies on issues concerning gender representation in textbooks. For one thing, they affirmed the significance of integrating positive gender values in textbooks. Bazler and Simonis (1991) observed that a textbook that can achieve gender equality in illustrations was the best seller, and Good et al. (2010) found that including non-stereotyped gender images in the use of textbooks helps female students understand the content of courses and improve their classroom performance. Other researchers found some common flaws of these

textbooks in presenting gender values. For instance, patriarchal situations such as "male dominance" or "male-foregroundedness" were rife and prominent (Agha et al., 2018; Koster, 2020; Li, 2016).

With the global spread and dominance of English as a lingua franca (Seidlhofer, 2007), the importance of English textbooks in mediating cultural values is clearly recognized, and the issue of gender representation has attracted more and more attention from scholars worldwide. Previous studies on gender representation in EFL textbooks generally fall into three categories. The first category is mainly cross-sectional and counts the number of male and female characters, men and women's firstness of appearance, their occupations, and more. Findings of these studies were also similar: that is, male characters or roles generally received more salience than females. For instance, the omission of women remains pervasive in texts and images (e.g., Porreca, 1984; Sovič & Hus, 2015); when two nouns or illustrations were paired to indicate gender, the male was almost always first mentioned (e.g., Lee, 2014b; Yang, 2011); women were portrayed as second-class citizens in society and ranked lower than men; women were restricted to settings such as the home and school, and were associated with stereotyped work (Lee & Mahmoudi-Gahrouei, 2020). All these indicated that the patriarchal ideology was in varying degrees copied in teaching materials. In the meantime, there are also studies which found that, with the widespread dissemination of gender equality awareness, the proportion of men and women in textbooks was better balanced, and that the scope of activities of women and men was almost the same (Yang, 2011).

The second category of research is more linguistically oriented in its approach to gender representations. The main categories under scrutiny in these studies include nouns containing gender meanings (such as "man" and "woman"), adjectives describing male and female appearances, intelligence, emotions, titles of address for men and women, and gender-marked and gender-neutral vocabulary for occupations and professions. Researchers calculated word frequencies and collocations to study whether there were gender bias and stereotypes in EFL textbooks. Porreca (1984) analyzed 15 ESL textbooks and discovered that the number of masculine nouns was twice as large as the number of feminine nouns. In addition, he found that the adjectives associated with females were mostly related to sexual attractiveness or marriage, while those describing males were more concerned with reputation or intelligence. This conclusion was confirmed and expanded in Barton and Sakwa's (2012) research on gender representation in Uganda's EFL textbooks. They found that adjectives depicting women were emotional and derived from family and marital status, but adjectives modifying men were rarely emotional, and the emotions were usually caused by rational reasons outside the family. As for the gender-marked and gender-neutral vocabulary, it is worth mentioning that the frequency and collocation of these words are not static, but change over time. Scholars have observed some cheering results that, compared with earlier editions of some textbooks, the number of personal pronouns representing women in the latest editions has increased significantly (Lee, 2014a). With the assistance of corpora, Lee (2018) also found that the term "Ms.," which does not convey the female's marital status, was widely used in Japanese EFL textbooks.

The last category focused on role relationships represented in textbooks. In this type of research, scholars tended to examine men's and women's family roles and social roles. For example, Sovič and Hus (2015) found that, in children's English textbooks under investigation, men took on more active roles, while women took on quieter and socially recognized roles. There were also scholars who used discourse analysis or social semiotics as theoretical and methodological principles to study the relationship between female and male in texts and pictures, as well as the relationship between the reader and the participant (Barton & Sakwa, 2012; Jones et al., 1997; Marefat & Marzban, 2014).

In addition, on account of the increasingly multimodal features of language teaching materials (Chen, 2010), many scholars have adopted multimodal discourse analysis to study the features and functions of EFL textbooks (e.g., Marefat & Marzban, 2014). In summary, conceptual and methodological approaches to gender representation in EFL textbooks range from headcounts of textbook characters to linguistic and semiotic analysis of interactions and role relationships; there have also been changes from synchronic analysis to diachronic comparison. More and more researchers adopt integrated theoretical and methodological perspectives (e.g., Ansary & Babaii, 2003; Lee, 2014a, 2014b).

In response to UNESCO's initiative to make textbooks more inclusive in gender diversity, this study aims to reveal similarities and differences in gender representations between local EFL textbooks and global ELT textbooks and gain insights into the status of gender equity in ELT textbooks at home and abroad. The research questions are:

1. What is the male-to-female appearance ratio in *GFI* and *SBS*?
2. What is the ratio between male and female characters with occupations in *GFI* and *SBS*?
3. What is the power relationship between males and females in *GFI* and *SBS*?

3 Methodology

3.1 Data Source

Two series of textbooks were chosen for analysis because they both have wide circulation and popularity and similar goals of enhancing learners' linguistic competence, communicative capacity, and cultural awareness. One is the second edition of *Go For iI!* (*GFI*), and the other is the third edition of *Side by Side* (*SBS*). *GFI* is a localized, state-sanctioned series of five volumes for junior secondary students. First published in China in 2006, it was adapted from the original edition with the same title published by Thomson Learning. This series has been designed according to Chinese junior-high students' interests, psychological characteristics, and cognitive level (Liu et al., 2020). *GFI* is one of the few widely used sets in the three grades of junior high schools across China. The second edition of *GFI* was revised and

Table 1 Textbooks chosen for examination

Title	Edition	Number of volumes	Year	Main compilers	Publisher
GFI	2nd	5	2020	Daoyi Liu, Wangquan Zheng, and David Nunan	People's Education Press
SBS	3rd	4	2020	Steven J. Molinsky and Bill Bliss	Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press; Pearson Longman

published by People's Education Press in 2012 (grade 7), 2013 (grade 8), 2014 (grade 9) (Liu et al., 2020; MOE, 2013). *SBS* is a four-volume set of textbooks. In June 2003, *SBS* was introduced to the Chinese market and published by Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press. Except for Chinese translations and annotations added onto the cover page and table of contents, the other content in this version is the same as the original version. Because of the reputation and authority of its domestic and international publishers, this series has been used by many Chinese schools as international English textbooks for supplementary purposes, which means the two series are comparable. Table 1 gives an overview of the two series of textbooks under examination.

In the two sets of textbooks, a distinctive feature is the high degree of visualization: Almost every page has one or more pictures serving linguistic, pedagogical, or decorative functions. This trend for school textbooks to become more multimodal has been noted by many scholars (e.g., Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Pedagogical materials combining texts and images are more concrete and easier for students to understand.

3.2 Method

To answer the three research questions, we performed content analysis (Krippendorff, 2013) by calculating the number of appearances of men and women, occupations they are engaged in, and the number of pictures conveying different kinds of power relations. By the number of appearances, we mean men and women's frequency of occurrence. For example, in book two of *SBS* (Unit 12, p. 123), a man in green appears both in the picture of preparing for Thanksgiving with his wife, and in the scene of the conversation with his uncle Frank. In this case, the same character appears in two pictures, and thus we recorded the number of male appearances as two instead of one. Similarly, in answering the second research question, we explored the ratio between the social roles of men and women by counting the number of males and females with professions or occupations that can be identified through the uniforms they wear, the scene in which they are located, and the corresponding texts. The International Standard Classification of Occupations 2008 (ISCO-08) (International Labor Organization [ILO], 2012) was used as a reference when classifying different professions and occupations.

Since power may be manifested in plenty of ways (Sunderland, 2011; Tannen, 1987), to answer the third research question we have chosen Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) grammar of visual design to decode images in textbooks in terms of metafunctions of representation, interaction, and composition. However, it should be noted that in actual analysis, the three metafunctions do not always contribute equally in different pictures. Features of power relations in textbook pictures are analyzed for aspects of representation, information value, and salience. Representation concerns the narrative and conceptual meanings in images. Information value is one of the elements in the meaning system of composition, which refers to the specific information contained in the position and placement of elements. Salience, another component of composition, denotes whether the elements in pictures are prominent or eye-catching, hence showing the layering of the pictures.

On this basis, we marked pictures as "male-" or "female-dominated" when there is a power inclination towards a certain gender in representation, information value, or salience. We viewed pictures as "equal" if there was no power inclination toward either gender in the three aspects. There is also a category of pictures that neither presents power asymmetries between men and women, nor conveys the value of gender impartiality, and we defined them as "unidentifiable." This process was conducted jointly. This first author classified all pictures by the above principles, and the second author double-checked whether the pictures were properly categorized. Then the numbers of pictures in different categories were calculated. Differences were resolved by discussion between the authors. We refer to Fig. 1 to elucidate our principles of coding.

Fig. 1 Example of male-dominated relation between men and women (Excerpted from *Go for it! Book I*, 2020, p. 25)

Regarding representation in Fig. 1, two boys sit on the sofa, watching TV and chatting. On TV, a man is playing table tennis, and the two boys are talking about table tennis. Besides the two boys, there is also a girl in the picture. She sits in front of a small table next to the sofa and is operating a computer. The two boys are placed in the center while the girl is positioned at the margin (the bottom-right of the picture), and readers can only see the side of her face. This center-edge positional relationship indicates that the boys' information value is greater than the girls. In addition, from the perspective of salience, the two boys and the male athlete on TV together accounted for more than twice the space occupied by the girl. All in all, Fig. 1 shows a male-dominated power relation.

4 Findings

4.1 Male-to-Female Appearance Ratios

Table 2 displays the male and female appearance times and percentages in each volume of *GFI*, and Table 3 shows the ratios in *SBS*.

In the five *GFI* textbooks, a total of 1,435 appearances of characters can be identified by gender. Among these, men appear 772 times, accounting for 53.80% of

Table 2 Male and female appearance percentages in *GFI*

Vol./ Percentages (Times)	GFI 1	GFI 2	GFI 3	GFI 4	GFI 5	Total
Male	51.22% (168)	57.34% (207)	55.85% (167)	56.71% (93)	48.41% (137)	53.80% (772)
Female	48.78% (160)	42.66% (154)	44.15% (132)	43.29% (71)	51.59% (146)	46.20% (663)
Total	100% (328)	100% (361)	100% (299)	100% (164)	100% (283)	100% (1435)

Table 3 Male and female appearance percentages in *SBS*

Vol./ Percentages (Times)	SBS 1	SBS 2	SBS 3	SBS 4	Total
Male	53.72% (1054)	54.13% (813)	57.34% (1129)	54.83% (1176)	55.05% (4172)
Female	46.28% (908)	45.87% (689)	42.66% (840)	45.17% (969)	44.95% (3406)
Total	100% (1962)	100% (1502)	100% (1969)	100% (2145)	100% (7578)

the total, and women appear 663 times, accounting for 46.20% of the total. The male-to-female appearance ratio in *GFI* is 1.16:1. In *SBS*, characters with recognizable gender occurred 7,578 times, including 4,172 times for men, accounting for 55.05% of the total, and 3406 times for women, accounting for 44.95%. The male-to-female appearance ratio is 1.22:1.

On the whole, in both sets of textbooks, the occurrence ratios of males to females are roughly the same, with male characters appearing slightly more frequently. Specifically, the male-to-female appearance ratio of *GFI* is slightly lower than that of *SBS,* which means that *GFI* presents a more balanced proportion of men and women. We also see that the total number of characters appearing in *SBS* is significantly larger (7,578 vs. 1,435), which indicates a higher degree of multimodality in *SBS*.

4.2   The Ratio Between Male and Female Characters with Occupations

Tables 4 and 5 present statistics of males and females with occupations and professions in *GFI* and *SBS*. Tables 6 and 7 detail the occupational distribution of men and women in *GFI* and *SBS* respectively.

Table 4 Statistics of males and females with occupations in *GFI*

Vol./ Percentages (Times)	GFI 1	GFI 2	GFI 3	GFI 4	GFI 5	Total
Males with occupations	44% (11)	59.26% (16)	69.70% (23)	76.92% (10)	47.83% (11)	58.68% (71)
Females with occupations	56% (14)	40.74% (11)	30.30% (10)	23.08% (3)	52.17% (12)	41.32% (50)
Total	100% (25)	100% (27)	100% (33)	100% (13)	100% (23)	100% (121)

Table 5 Statistics of males and females with occupations in *SBS*

Vol./ Percentages (Times)	SBS 1	SBS 2	SBS 3	SBS 4	Total
Males with occupations	58.13% (186)	57.43% (143)	64.80% (313)	60.13% (362)	60.70% (1004)
Females with occupations	41.87% (134)	42.57% (106)	35.20% (170)	39.87% (240)	39.30% (650)
Total	100% (320)	100% (249)	100% (483)	100% (602)	100% (1654)

Table 6 Occupational distribution of men and women in *GFI*

Major groups	Subgroups	Men	Women
Managers	Chief executives, senior officials, and legislators	2	0
	Administrative and commercial managers	0	0
	Production and specialized services managers	0	0
	Hospitality, retail, and other services managers	0	0
Professionals	Science and engineering professionals	3	0
	Health professionals	3	4
	Teaching professionals	10	21
	Business and administration professionals	0	0
	Information and communications technology professionals	0	0
	Legal, social, and cultural professionals	14	10
Technicians and associate professionals	Science and engineering associate professionals	0	1
	Health associate professionals	0	0
	Business and administration associate professionals	0	0
	Legal, social, cultural, and related associate professionals	13	2
	Information and communications technicians	0	1
Clerical support workers	General and keyboard clerks	4	1
	Customer services clerks	0	0
	Numerical and material recording clerks	0	0
	Other clerical support workers	0	0
Service and sales workers	Personal service workers	3	4
	Sales workers	5	2
	Personal care workers	0	0
	Protective services workers	6	2
Skilled agricultural, forestry, and fishery workers	Market-oriented skilled agricultural workers	0	0
	Market-oriented skilled forestry, fishing, and hunting workers	0	0

Table 6 (continued)

Major groups	Subgroups	Men	Women
	Subsistence farmers, fishers, hunters and gatherers	0	0
Craft and related trades workers	Building and related trades workers, excluding electricians	0	0
	Metal, machinery, and related trades workers	1	0
	Handicraft and printing workers	0	0
	Electrical and electronic trades workers	0	0
	Food processing, wood working, garment, and other craft and related trades workers	2	0
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	Stationary plant and machine operators	0	0
	Assemblers	0	0
	Drivers and mobile plant operators	2	0
Elementary occupations	Cleaners and helpers	0	0
	Agricultural, forestry, and fishery laborers	2	1
	Laborers in mining, construction, manufacturing, and transport	0	0
	Food preparation assistants	0	0
	Street and related sales and service workers	0	0
	Refuse workers and other elementary workers	0	0
Armed forces occupations	Commissioned armed forces officers	1	1
	Non-commissioned armed forces officers	0	0
	Armed forces occupations, other ranks	0	0
Total		71	50

Tables 4 and 5 show that *GFI* portrays much fewer working men and women than *SBS* (71 men and 50 women vs. 1,019 men and 651 women, respectively. In a related way, the total number of occupations and professions included in *GFI* is much smaller than that of *SBS*. This might be because of the academic orientation of *GFI* to suit the purposes of compulsory education at the junior secondary school level. According to the 2017 Chinese General Social Survey (NSRC, 2017), the proportion of students entering regular high schools is much larger than the proportion of students entering non-regular high schools such as vocational schools. For these reasons, many texts

Table 7 Occupational distribution of men and women in *SBS*

Major groups	Sub-major groups	Men	Women
Managers	Chief executives, senior officials, and legislators	43	26
	Administrative and commercial managers	16	24
	Production and specialized services managers	2	1
	Hospitality, retail, and other services managers	11	8
Professionals	Science and engineering professionals	10	2
	Health professionals	33	29
	Teaching professionals	32	46
	Business and administration professionals	0	0
	Information and communications technology professionals	0	0
	Legal, social, and cultural professionals	111	92
Technicians and associate professionals	Science and engineering associate professionals	9	20
	Health associate professionals	1	4
	Business and administration associate professionals	24	15
	Legal, social, cultural, and related associate professionals	62	18
	Information and communications technicians	1	1
Clerical support workers	General and keyboard clerks	316	203
	Customer services clerks	15	12
	Numerical and material recording clerks	5	3
	Other clerical support workers	4	0
Service and sales workers	Personal service workers	58	27
	Sales workers	63	28
	Personal care workers	0	0
	Protective services workers	25	23
Skilled agricultural, forestry, and fishery workers	Market-oriented skilled agricultural workers	1	1
	Market-oriented skilled forestry, fishing, and hunting workers	0	0

Table 7 (continued)

Major groups	Sub-major groups	Men	Women
	Subsistence farmers, fishers, hunters and gatherers	0	0
Craft and related trades workers	Building and related trades workers, excluding electricians	12	6
	Metal, machinery, and related trades workers	24	11
	Handicraft and printing workers	1	1
	Electrical and electronic trades workers	3	0
	Food processing, wood working, garment, and other craft and related trades workers	5	2
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	Stationary plant and machine operators	0	0
	Assemblers	3	3
	Drivers and mobile plant operators	22	7
Elementary occupations	Cleaners and helpers	2	2
	Agricultural, forestry, and fishery laborers	4	2
	Laborers in mining, construction, manufacturing, and transport	31	26
	Food preparation assistants	0	0
	Street and related sales and service workers	0	0
	Refuse workers and other elementary workers	11	4
Armed forces occupations	Commissioned armed forces officers	1	0
	Non-commissioned armed forces officers	0	0
	Armed forces occupations, other ranks	43	3
Total		1004	650

and activities in *GFI* are set in the school or family contexts, so it contains much fewer workplace situations and roles.

Meanwhile, in *GFI*, men account for 58.68% of the occupational population and women for 41.32%, and a similar disparity can be observed in the case of *SBS* (61.02% and 38.98% for males and females, respectively). In other words, there are generally more working men than women in both series of textbooks, which seems to echo previous research finding that in ELT textbooks, women's visibility and status in the workplace is lower than that of men (Tajeddin & Enayat, 2010). More specifically,

the gender disparity in occupational roles in *GFI* (17.36%) is slightly smaller than that of *SBS* (22.04%), which appears to suggest that the former has done a better job in achieving parity in representing the social roles taken by men and women.

Interestingly, notwithstanding the general trend for career men to outnumber career women observed in the two sets, in *GFI 1* and *GFI 5*, women with an occupation outnumber men with an occupation. This seems a little counter-intuitive and might have to do with the uneven distribution of thematic topics among the different books.

Moreover, using ISCO-08 as a reference, we classified the specific vocations of working men and women in the two series into 10 major groups and 43 subgroups, and calculated the quantity and proportion of men and women in these groups; the data appear in Tables 6 (*GFI*) and 7 (*SBS*) below. In these tables, the numerical values in the "Men" and "Women" columns represent the number of males and females portrayed in the occupations. The numbers in these tables signify different relationships between working men and women. For instance, when the value is greater than 1:1, men engaged in this type of occupation in the textbooks outnumbered women in the same occupation; when the value is zero, only women are shown doing this job; if "N/A" is in the ratio column, it may be because (1) no one is depicted engaging in this type of work in the textbooks we reviewed, or (2) only men do this work.

Tables 6 and 7 show that in both *GFI* and *SBS* there are male-only or female-only occupations, which means distributions of gender roles in different occupations are far from even. For example, in *GFI*, there are five groups of male-only vocations: (1) chief executives, senior officials and legislators, (2) science and engineering professionals, (3) metal, machinery, and related trades workers, (4) food processing, wood working, garment, and other craft and related trades workers, and (5) drivers and mobile plant operators. As for *SBS*, the number of male-only occupations is three. More specifically, only men in *SBS* are (1) other clerical support workers, (2) electrical and electronic trades workers, and (3) commissioned armed forces officers. Compared with *GFI*, occupations and professions are a bit more evenly distributed between men and women in *SBS*. *GFI* seems to hint at a more stereotypical message: Women have little or no place in those professions that are more authoritative, more scientifically and professionally oriented, and more related to outdoor activities.

Though the gender-stereotypical feature in male-only professions in *SBS* is not as evident as in *GFI*, *SBS* also shows overt gender inequality in the workplace. This is because *SBS* only presents male-only occupations, while *GFI* includes male-only jobs as well as female-only ones, even though there are just two female-only occupations, and the male–female ratios are both 0:1.

However, for jobs held by both men and women in the textbooks, there are still traces of gender stereotypes and unevenness. In *GFI*, men outnumber women in six occupational groups, yet women outnumber men in merely three groups. In *SBS*, there are 22 occupations where the number of men is greater than the number of women and four groups in which women outnumber men. In general, this indicates that men are more likely to appear in occupations in both textbook series. Moreover,

this gap is even more drastic in the case of *SBS*, in which 12 positions have male–female ratios exceeding 2:1, and in the post of "armed forces occupations, other ranks," the male-to-female ratio is even as high as 14.33:1. In *GFI*, it is only in the post of commissioned armed forces officers that women and men have the same proportions (one man and one woman), whereas in *SBS* it is more common to find a balance between the numbers of men and women in the workplace—there are five occupations with equal numbers of men and women.

It has been noted that in *GFI* women are more likely to work in health professions and personal service jobs, while in *SBS* more women than men work in relatively subsidiary or supportive positions such as managers and associate professions. In addition, a noticeable gender stereotype is found in both *GFI* and *SBS*: More females fall into the teaching profession (21 females and 10 males in *GFI*, 46 females and 32 males in *SBS*), and men are more likely to fall into the category of "chief executives, senior officials, and legislators" such as principals and head teachers. This invokes a stereotypical gender image that in the educational field, women do more detailed teaching work (Lee, 2018), while men do more planning and coordinating.

4.3 Male and Female Power Relations

According to the three principles of representation, information value, and salience for decoding images, we divided the pictures into four categories: male-dominated, female-dominated, equal, and unidentifiable. The data in Tables 8 (*GFI*) and 9 (*SBS*) can provide clues about the power relations between men and women in these series.

In general, the gender power relations presented in *SBS* are more balanced than in *GFI* by comparing different classifications. Among the four types of classifications in *GFI*, images with male-dominated relations have the highest percentage. On the whole, in *GFI*'s illustrations, men have more power, although there are also pictures

Table 8 Power relations between men and women in *GFI*

Vol./ Percentages (Times)	GFI 1	GF1 2	GFI 3	GFI 4	GFI 5	Total
Male-dominated	20% (13)	43.75% (21)	30.91% (17)	50% (12)	37.5% (15)	33.62% (78)
Female-dominated	27.69% (18)	25% (12)	18.18% (10)	20.83% (5)	30% (12)	24.57% (57)
Equal	32.31% (21)	16.67% (8)	29.09% (16)	8.33% (2)	15% (6)	22.84% (53)
Unidentifiable	20% (13)	14.58% (7)	21.82% (12)	20.83% (5)	17.5% (7)	18.97% (44)
Total	100% (65)	100% (48)	100% (55)	100% (24)	100% (40)	100% (232)

Table 9 Power relations between men and women in *SBS*

Vol./ Percentages (Times)	*SBS 1*	*SBS 2*	*SBS 3*	*SBS 4*	Total
Male-dominated	26.07% (91)	21.22% (66)	27.67% (106)	27.10% (132)	25.82% (395)
Female-dominated	15.76% (55)	27.01% (84)	27.15% (104)	25.26% (123)	23.92% (366)
Equal	30.66% (107)	28.94% (90)	24.28% (93)	25.26% (123)	26.99% (413)
Unidentifiable	27.51% (96)	22.83% (71)	20.89% (80)	22.38% (109)	23.27% (356)
Total	100% (349)	100% (311)	100% (383)	100% (487)	100% (1530)

in which women have equal or even more power. It can be seen that in *SBS* the percentages are a little more evenly distributed than *GFI* among the four types, and images with equal power relations between genders have the highest percentage.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

Our research examined the visual representation of gender in two sets of EFL textbooks used in China, *GFI* and *SBS*, and the research findings show that gender disparity exists in these two series of textbooks. *GFI* and *SBS* are dissimilar in some respects and share commonalities at the same time.

In response to the first research question, "What is the male-to-female appearance ratio in *GFI* and *SBS*?", although there are more male than female characters in both textbook series, the disparity between the number of men and women in *GFI* is marginally smaller than that in *SBS*. This coincides with the findings of previous studies on ELT textbooks' gender representation since 1984: There are always more male roles than female roles (Grauerholz & Pescosolido, 1989; Porreca, 1984; Sulaimani & Elyas, 2018). Even as the visibility of women in textbooks increases in tandem with the popularization of gender equality, men in textbooks still account for a larger proportion than women (Lee, 2014b).

As for the second research question, "What is the ratio between male and female characters with occupations in *GFI* and *SBS*?", *GFI* shows a narrower gap in the proportion of working men to working women. Moreover, in both *SBS* and *GFI*, the proportion of men is greater than that of women, and gender stereotypes are evident. Just as both sets of textbooks picture more men in general, in many occupations, men outnumber women as well. In addition, in *GFI*, no women are engaged in more primary, intelligence-based, and active occupations, and in *SBS*, women's occupations are more supportive and fulfill auxiliary work. In some lines of work, there are

no women at all. These resonate with studies conducted by Goyal and Rose (2020), Mustapha (2012), and Tajeddin and Enayat (2010) which share the conclusion that women in textbooks tend to be engaged in restrictive and auxiliary work, while men have more diverse, active, and decision-making work. This seems to reinforce the inappropriate and uneven portrayal of males, females, and their occupations (Porreca, 1984): Men take the quantitative advantage in most professions.

As for the third research question, "What is the power relationship between males and females in *GFI* and *SBS*?", we examined images in *GFI* and *SBS* and classified the power relationships between men and women into four types, namely, male-dominated, female-dominated, equal, and unidentifiable. We found that *SBS* conveys more balanced gender values in images, while in *GFI* men are presented in a more advantageous position. This reminds us that the notion of gender needs to be extended to a social construction which refers explicitly to how gender power relations are displayed or constructed in texts and conversations (Sunderland, 2010). Further, to fully unravel how men and women are presented in textbooks, it is not enough to limit the analysis to comparing the number of appearances of men and women (Porreca, 1984).

It is important to point out that language textbooks on the one hand reflect the prevailing gender values in society, and on the other hand they have a critical role in shaping gender values as well. If we leave the problematic representations unchecked, then they may consolidate and deepen gender biases in society, making gender injustice fall into a vicious cycle (Zeng, 1995). This requires textbooks to transcend rather than reflect reality (Goyal & Rose, 2020). Moreover, on the level of textbook consumption, teachers and students are supposed to treat and discuss sexist language and images in textbooks with a more critical attitude and gender awareness (Goyal & Rose, 2020; Wang, 2014).

To conclude, this chapter has offered a comparative analysis of visual representations of gender in two sets of textbooks, *GFI* and *SBS*. We have found subtle commonalities and differences in portrayals of gender which consistently revealed that gender inequalities and stereotypes prevail in the male-to-female appearance ratios, the number of working men and women, and the types of occupations they are engaged in. Nevertheless, in terms of the power relationship between men and women, *GFI* revealed traces of male dominance, while *SBS* presented a more balanced and equal power relationship. The international comparative perspective adopted in this study has enriched the research on gender representation in EFL textbooks and highlighted the urgency of developing localized EFL textbooks in the process of globalization (Sulaimani & Elyas, 2018). In some respects, the international EFL textbook *SBS* displays some gender values that are more in line with the United Nations' standards (UNESCO, 2017). However, as textbooks need to be based on the actual contexts and needs of the students, the glocalization of the teaching materials demands more attention in the future. Future research along this line can extend to studying the relationship between textbook content, teaching, and learning by incorporating teachers' and students' experiences and attitudes to the textbook content for more multifaceted insights for pedagogy and material development (Barton & Sakwa, 2012; Lee & Mahmoudi-Gahrouei, 2020; Sunderland et al., 2001).

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Chapter 6
Culture in Textbooks: A Content Analysis of College English Teaching Materials

Lina Dong and Bob Adamson

Abstract English language education in China plays an important role as a vehicle to learn from highly developed economies, and to interact with the rest of the world. This study focuses on College English (CE), the general English courses designed for non-English major undergraduates. College English prepares undergraduates for the workplace and academic arena; more than 3.6 million new students have enrolled in CE courses yearly since 2014. Intercultural communication is viewed as a necessary ability in the workplace and academic arena worldwide, and is a major component in the College English curriculum in the policy documents that are released by the Ministry of Education. Given the significant role of CE in preparing graduates to assist with national development, the content of the curriculum receives attention from policymakers to ensure their social relevance. This chapter focuses on the cultural content in two popular series of published teaching materials for CE, including the textbooks and associated media. The theoretical basis for the study is that materials are the product of a range of social factors, and therefore reflect underlying cultural conceptualizations and values (Dubin & Olshtain in Course design: Developing programmes and materials for language learning. Cambridge University Press, 1986). The topic is significant, given the historical controversy surrounding the ambivalent attitudes towards English in Chinese education, whereby the utilitarian value associated with the language has to be balanced with the perceived dangers of importing cultural hegemony that might clash with and threaten Chinese culture (Adamson in China's English: A history of English in Chinese education. Hong Kong University Press, 2004). The study uses content analysis based on Moran's (Teaching culture: Perspectives in practice. Heinle, 2001) categorisations (cultural products, cultural practices, cultural perspectives, cultural communities, and cultural persons) to identify the cultural content embodied in these textbooks. The findings reveal trends that reflect the on-going tensions brought about by China's modernization and international development, and the conservation of traditional values.

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1 Introduction

College English (CE) acts as an important gatekeeper for access to life chances in contemporary China. Situated high up the pyramid of formal English language education in China, and building upon the foundations that start in primary school or earlier, it is a mandatory subject in universities and successful performance in the College English Test (CET) is a requirement for graduation in the majority of undergraduate programs. In recent decades, acquiring competence in English has become a high-stakes undertaking for young people wishing to enter and graduate from tertiary education, find a good job and even attract a spouse (Gil & Adamson, 2011; Osnos, 2008). One reason for the language (and, by extension, CE and CET) achieving elevated status in China is the association between formal education and the state's economic plans: the higher education sector has been tasked by the national government with developing a world-class system that provides the research support and human capital to drive economic development in increasingly international contexts (Yang, 2014). The need for cultural competence in the Chinese workforce has been accelerated by the nation's engagement in foreign affairs, including its accession to the World Trading Organization in 2001, the hosting of the Beijing Summer Olympics in 2008 and the Winter Olympics in 2022, the establishment of Confucius Institutes and Confucius Classrooms across the world, and, in particular, the introduction of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013. The BRI represents a move to expand China's economic and political influence via two major trading routes (one overland and one maritime) linking East Asia with numerous (currently 67) Asian, African, Middle Eastern and European countries (China-Britain Business Council, 2015; Kolosov et al., 2017; Office of the Leading Group for the Belt and Road Initiative, 2017). To bridge the requirements of college graduates at home with global needs and standards, policymakers advocated the development of "International Talents", specialists characterized by their intercultural and linguistic competence, as well as their global awareness and professional knowledge (Li et al., 2013).

CE offers one means for non-English major students to acquire relevant competences. Since 2014, over 3.6 million students have enrolled in CE courses each year (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019). The size of these numbers and the significance ascribed to CE and CET mean that policymakers are attentive to the objectives and contents of the taught and assessed curriculum. In terms of learning about culture, this requires a degree of circumspection, given the historical controversy surrounding the ambivalent attitudes towards English in Chinese education, whereby the utilitarian value associated with the language has to be balanced with the perceived dangers of importing cultural hegemony that might clash with and threaten Chinese culture (Adamson, 2004). This chapter (in line with the theme of the volume) is interested in the cultural messages that are conveyed in widely-used CE textbooks in order to determine the particular

aspects of culture that the authors and publishers deemed valuable for the students to acquire by identifying the dimensions of culture that the main texts reveal.

2 ELT and College English in China

From 1949 to 1960, due to the close relations with the Soviet Union and hostile attitude toward the West, English as a foreign language was paid little attention (Adamson, 2004; Tang, 1983). When it did appear in the secondary school curriculum, the national textbooks, which consisted of direct borrowing from Soviet textbooks or passages written by small teams of Chinese authors, included negative portrayals of life (such as race relations and industrial disputes) in the USA and United Kingdom, juxtaposed with positive portrayals of life in China and the Soviet Union (Adamson, 2004). In response to the growing tension with the Soviet Union, English was restored, and English education subsequently flourished from 1961 to 1966. In the following 10 years from 1966 to 1976, "the Great Cultural Revolution" was launched and English nearly vanished in China due to the strong association with capitalism. However, since 1977, English has witnessed a second renaissance in China following government changes to related decisions. Policies to achieve modernization, such as the "Reform and Opening-up Policy" and school textbooks contained contributions from Western authors and provided information about everyday life (for instance, food, social relationships, leisure and work) in Anglophone countries (Adamson, 2004).

After 1949, English education in universities was named "Public English". "College English" was first used in the *College English Teaching Syllabus for Science and Engineering in Higher Education* released in 1985, which marks the embryonic stage of the contemporary CE (Dai & Hu, 2009). Since then, the government has gradually devolved the planning and implementation of the curriculum from the central government to provincial governments and institutes. Nevertheless, the formal guidelines for the CE curriculum have been composed by a group of professors and specialists in English education and were published by the Ministry of Education. To date, five syllabi have been published since the end of the Cultural Revolution. The CE curriculum sets out six bands of expected outcomes for five language skills: reading, listening, speaking, writing and translation (Adamson & Xia, 2011). Originally the focus was on reading and writing, but it expanded to include the other skills as China's economic development required greater all-round communicative competence. The syllabi of 2004 and 2007 (Department of Higher Education of Ministry of Education of the PRC (2004), (2007) (hereafter Syllabus 2004 and Syllabus 2007 respectively)) also called for the students to acquire more cultural knowledge about other countries. Although the CE curriculum varies from institute to institute, its provision can be roughly divided into two types—one for most first-year students and the other for advanced first-year students and students who have completed the first curriculum. Correspondingly, a system of tests for college students named College English Test (CET thereafter) has been developed to evaluate college students' English

proficiency and influence College English courses through washback. The program for non-English majors comprises foundational competence in English, and lasts for up to two years. After this mandatory program, institutes can provide further English courses in specific specialties according to the institute's resources and capacity. A range of variations to this *general + specialty* model exists across institutions.

Another initiative was a national examination, the College English Test (CET) for students completing band four. CET-4 was introduced in 1987, and two years later in 1989, the CET-6 was designed to assess students who have completed all six levels. In 1999, the oral test of English at the tertiary level, College English Test—Spoken English Test (CET-SET), was released (Cheng, 2008). The CET (including the oral component) can now be taken and graded on-line in the form of the College English Test—Computer-based Test (CET-CBT). Both CET-4 and CET-6 are scheduled twice every year, in June and December.

Textbooks and supplementary materials are the primary resources for CE, and are usually compiled by professors in top universities in China for major publishers such as the People's Education Press, Higher Education Press, Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, and Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press. Popular CE textbooks, including the two series selected for this study, have received national prizes as a form of endorsement by the government. They are considered as the main manifestation of the CE curriculum plan, with detailed guidance on content, pedagogy and the organization of learning. Some CE teachers, especially novices, are reported to draw heavily upon these materials in creating their lesson plans and conducting their classes (Li & Harfitt, 2017).

3   Criticisms of CE

Given the important role that English plays in the development of Chinese society, in personal career prospects and in research work, the study of the language is a feature of higher education. CE is the most prominent form. It became part of the university curriculum after the Cultural Revolution, and, since 2013, the number of college students studying CE in the first two years of higher education has been approximately seven million every year. Such a large population of students and the importance of English in personal growth and in society placed CE in the spotlight, and various reforms were undertaken in recent years in response to critical reviews.

Since the 1990s, CE education has been blamed for low efficiency that leads to students' inability to communicate in English well during a conversation or speech, a phenomenon also known as "dumb English" and "deaf English". To improve students' intercultural communicative ability and meet the needs of societal development, reforms to CE were deemed necessary (Cen, 1999), such as producing new editions of the curriculum and textbooks, updating pedagogy, and adopting multimedia. For example, Wang and Wang (2008) noted the attention to autonomous learning and integrating technology to help students practice using the language more, which was new in the CE syllabi in 2004 and 2007.

However, some commentators felt these reforms did not go far enough. Hu et al. (2011) survey shows the employers' discontent at their staff's English language skills, which was attributed to flaws in CE. It was suggested that the lack of integration of different language skills might be one reason for the poor satisfaction of employers in the survey; the most valued elements by employers were fluency, communicative skills, and the logics of expression, while CE teachers reportedly emphasized accuracy, pronunciation, intonation and grammar. Chu (2017) surveyed 15 foreign-related enterprises and institutions, 12 higher education and research institutions and 10 non-foreign-related enterprises and institutions; the average satisfaction of the employers on employees' English proficiency was only 2.9 on a five-point Likert scale. Wang and Wang (2011) surveyed 520 universities in China and the results showed that 78.9% of universities thought the CE courses should be improved and enhanced. An investigation of 1,246 sophomores and freshmen shows more than two thirds of the students are not totally satisfied with CE; some universities chose to decline the credits assigned to CE courses due to the low efficiency of CE (Cai, 2011).

The goal to foster graduates that can "meet the needs of China's social development and international exchanges" (Syllabus, 2007, p. 25) does not seem to have been achieved, according to these and other surveys. Discussions about how to reform CE continue, and one fierce debate centers on the proposal to move the conceptualization of CE from EGP (English for General Purposes) to ESP (English for Specific Purposes) or EAP (English for Academic Purposes). Cai (2019, 2020) believes that the current CE curricula place too much emphasis on establishing a linguistic foundation before moving on to communicative competence, and supports a move to EAP or ESP, adopting a utilitarian perspective of language teaching and learning to achieve the goal. The closer link between what students learn and how students use the language might enhance the acquisition of language in use.

There is also a consensus that CE reform should add more cultural knowledge. From the late 1970s to the 1990s, the grammar-translation approach to English teaching prevailed in foreign language education in China, and a great deal of attention was paid to the forms and rules of language. However, as noted above, critics claimed that students could not communicate with English native speakers fluently and appropriately without knowledge of the target culture. Furthermore, a new type of "dumb English" was noticed, called "Chinese Cultural Aphasia". Xiao et al. (2010) found college students' knowledge of their own Chinese culture was limited, and they struggled to express Chinese culture in English. A new objective of CE in 2004 addressed some of these criticisms by seeking "to develop students' ability to use English in an all-round way" (Syllabus, 2004, p. 24), and a goal of Syllabus 2007 was to foster students' ability to communicate effectively "in their future studies and careers as well as social interactions" (p. 25). This study examines the cultural content integrated in CE textbooks to foster intercultural communication, echoing the requirements in Syllabus 2007.

4 The Study

The theoretical basis for the study holds that materials are the product of a range of social factors, and therefore reflect underlying cultural conceptualizations and values (Dubin & Olshtain, 1986). Textbooks, as a resource for teaching and learning, are fundamental manifestations of the curriculum in language classrooms. The study examines the cultural content from the textbooks used for the two-year mandatory CE curriculum for non-English major students.

In terms of content, textbooks typically contain language content (e.g., various forms of discourse, language skills, grammatical knowledge, vocabulary), pedagogical content (e.g. activities, considerations of roles of teacher and students, interaction between teacher and students) and expected learning outcomes (e.g. benefits, usefulness and needs of target language, achievements) (Dubin & Olshtain, 1986, pp. 45–50). From the perspective of structuring a language curriculum, all the manifestations are guided by three viewpoints: the nature of language, the nature of language learning and social-cultural educational viewpoint. In turn, the analysis of textbooks would help to understand the cultural content of the curriculum.

The content of a textbook sets out the expected teaching and learning content in a class. The CE textbooks selected in this study are *New Horizon College English (Second Edition)* published by Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press and *New College English (Second Edition)* by Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press (see Appendix A). They are the most widely used CE textbooks and have been awarded several prizes, including national awards for supporting the Chinese Government's Five-Year Plans for 2001–2005, 2006–2010 and 2011–2015, according to statements on the cover of the textbooks. The chief editors of both textbooks are renowned professors from high-ranking universities. On this basis, we considered the two series to be successful, representative CE textbooks over the two decades since their first publication.

Culture is a complex concept. From an anthropological perspective, culture is defined as "the total body of tradition borne by a society and transmitted from generation to generation" (Mishan, 2005, p. 45). In a broader sense, culture refers to the "intellectual refinement" and artistic achievement of a society, including architecture, literature, philosophy, art, music and language itself (Halverson, 1985; Moran, 2001; Putnam, 1978). Moran (2001) places the cultural manifestations of a community into five dimensions: cultural products (objects or phenomena such as tools, clothing, or music built, created or adapted for use by a cultural community), cultural practices (acts and interactions that require cultural knowledge to perform), cultural perspectives (underlying values or beliefs that influence behaviours), cultural communities (as constituted by identifiers such as ethnicity or religion), and cultural persons (individual people who embody or are representative of a culture in some way). Although the categorization is not comprehensive or flawless, it is used in this study as the framework for content analysis of CE textbooks.

Moran's five dimensions of culture are applied to code the cultural messages that are embedded in the social issues and attitudes towards them that are expressed in

main reading texts. Texts in the textbook are "any actual instance of language in use" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3). The connections among the five dimensions of culture are not always obvious (Moran, 2001, p. 38); the texts in the textbooks may address more than one dimension, so this study uses the concept of major themes and supporting themes to code the texts. The major themes are the dominant cultural messages in the selected texts; supporting themes are the ones that are less important, but nonetheless are present in the text. The analysis shows our collective judgements of which of the five categories are addressed by cultural information presented by the passage, either as a major theme or a supporting theme.

There are some obvious limitations to this approach. Texts as a whole can be considered as cultural artefacts and many cultural assumptions and influences might shape them consciously or unconsciously, but the concern of this study is related to the nature of cultural contents that have been selected by the textbook editors for presentation to students. We did not have access to the textbook editors to interview them about the selections, so we have to rely on our own judgements. Despite these limitations, we believe that we can provide a snapshot of cultural content in these CE textbooks, which can be contextualized within the historical trends identified earlier in the chapter.

5 Cultural Content

The CE curriculum decision-making process in China is mainly top-down, from the Ministry of Education to classroom-level curriculum. The Ministry of Education oversees the compilation of the CE syllabus, the significant curriculum document; the publishers and provincial- and university-level agencies create specific curriculum products like textbooks and detailed policy documents; department-level and the instructor interpret the CE curriculum and enact it. In this sense, the goals relevant to culture in the syllabus are meant to be realized in curriculum products like textbooks and tests. Textbooks selected in this study were published in 2011 and 2014, so these two series of textbooks are influenced by the CE syllabi produced in 2004 and 2007. The goals set in the CE syllabus include broadening students' viewpoints and increasing their cultural awareness. The teaching requirements of CE syllabi include customs, rules and knowledge of societies that are different from China, with the intention of building "students' cultural capacity" and "knowledge about different cultures in the world" (Department of Higher Education of Ministry of Education of the PRC, 2004, p. 31; 2007, p. 32). Intercultural communication is indirectly presented in the teaching requirements in the form of the ability to understand authentic materials (listening and reading), follow conversations (listening) and form appropriate replies (speaking and writing) in exchanges between different cultures. As the textbook compilers wrote in the preface of the textbooks, the two sets of textbooks selected in the study address intercultural communication and place a focus on it.

Although textbooks form the focus of this study, cultural awareness and inter-cultural communication are also present in the tests. The authentic texts selected in CETs contain cultural content: for example, CET-4 in December in 2012 included *The Magician*, a biographical passage about Steven Jobs. This passage inevitably touched upon society, education and technology in the USA through words such as *hippy* and *Hollywood movie*. Local cultures are also important in CETs, and the majority of translation tasks use texts about China or Chinese culture, such as the Spring Festival (CET-4 in December 2012); the ancient Chinese tale, the Goddess Chang's flying to the moon (CET-4 in June 2013); kindergarten education in China (CET-6 in December 2011); and environmental issues in China (CET-6 in June 2013). However, CET does not assess students' cultural knowledge, but rather their comprehension of the content.

5.1 New Horizon College English (Second Edition)

In the *New Horizon College English* series (NH hereafter), cultural content is deliv-ered via materials such as passages and audio recordings and via the explanatory notes attached to the materials. Cultural content is not explicitly listed in the intended outcomes for NH because the explanation of cultural content (e.g., through notes and references) is designed to support comprehension of the texts, rather than to transfer specific content on cultures. However, cultural content is present, particularly within the authentic passages written by English native speakers about issues in foreign contexts (most notably the USA) which form part of the main resources for teaching and learning. The written texts cover narrative, informative and argumentative genres. There are also short conversations, speeches, poems and tongue twisters presented in the materials.

An overview of the analysis of cultural content in NH is provided in Table 1. It shows that the passages were paired thematically within the same unit. For instance, in Book 1, 'College success made easy', a series of study tips is followed by another text which is an anecdote of how a student identified a major that he was interested in. Of the five categories of cultural aspects, cultural perspectives and cultural practices are most commonly presented (in 35 and 17 out of 80 texts respectively as a major theme, and in 38 and 59 as a supporting theme). Least attention (in 2 texts as a major theme and 4 in texts as supporting themes) is given to the presentation of cultural products.

Cultural perspectives incorporated in the NH series cover beliefs and attitudes towards personal relationships, work, health, and ethical practices, amongst others. For instance, 'Deep concern' (NH Book 1 2A) explores the relationship between a teenager and her parents in what appears from the spelling and contextual information to be the USA. Sandy, the daughter, is criticized by her father for listening to rock music on the radio, and by her mother for her choice of clothes and make-up. After these fraught conversations, Sandy rushes off to school and her parents reflect on the conflict. Her mother concludes,

Table 1 Cultural contents in NH

Book 1

Unit/Text	Title	Prod	Prac	Persp	Com	Per
1A	Learning a foreign language		YY	Y		
1B	Keys to successful online learning		YY	Y		
2A	Deep concern		Y	YY		
2B	Is there a generation gap?		Y	YY		
3A	A good heart to lean on			Y		YY
3B	The right son at the right time		YY	Y		
4A	How to make a good impression		YY	Y		
4B	Body language	Y	YY	Y		
5A	The battle against AIDS		YY		Y	
5B	The last dive at the Olympics		Y	Y		Y
6A	The trashman		Y	Y		Y
6B	The company man		Y	Y		
7A	Face to face with guns		Y	Y	Y	
7B	Should I have a gun?		Y	Y	Y	
8A	Birth of bright ideas		Y	Y		
8B	Ways of increasing creativity		Y	Y		
9A	College success made easy		Y	Y		
9B	A major question of majors		Y	Y		
10A	Being honest and open		Y	YY		
10B	Website resources: The best aid for cheating?	Y	Y	Y		

Table 1 (continued)

Book 2

Unit/Text	Title	Prod	Prac	Persp	Com	Per
1A	Time-conscious Americans			Y	Y	
1B	Culture shock		Y	Y	Y	
2A	Learning the Olympic standard for love		Y	Y		
2B	The standards for Olympic excellence		Y	Y		
3A	Marriage across nations		Y	Y		
3B	Rich meeting his future mother-in-law		Y	Y	Y	
4A	A test of true love		Y	Y		
4B	Love under the Nazis		Y		Y	
5A	Weeping for my smoking daughter		Y	YY	Y	
5B	Stop spoiling your children		Y	YY		
6A	As his name is, so is he!		Y	YY		
6B	Judge by appearances		Y	YY		
7A	Lighten your load and save your life		YY	Y		
7B	Are you a workaholic?		YY	Y		
8A	There's a lot more to life than a job		Y	YY		
8B	What youngsters expect in life		Y	YY		
9A	Never be a quitter in face of life		Y	YY		
9B	From hardship comes success		Y	YY		Y
10A	Reports on Britain under the bombs		YY	Y		Y
10B	Forty-three seconds over Hiroshima		YY	Y		

Table 1 (continued)

Book 3

Unit/Text	Title	Prod	Prac	Persp	Com	Per
1A	Love without limitations		Y	YY		
1B	The framework for love		Y	YY		
2A	Iron and the effects of exercise		Y	YY		
2B	Does exercise have unexpected benefits?		Y	YY		
3A	Where principles come first		Y	YY		
3B	Cultural differences in Western and Japanese decision-making		Y	YY		
4A	Five famous symbols of America culture	YY				YY
4B	Engelbreit's the name, cute is my game		Y	Y		
5A	Graceful hands		YY	Y		
5B	Decisions of the heart		Y	YY		
6A	How to prepare for earthquakes		YY			
6B	Changes in the balance of nature		Y	YY		
7A	Bill Gates		Y	Y		YY
7B	Martin Luther King		Y	Y		YY
8A	Legal and moral implications of cloning		Y	YY		
8B	Who will take advantage of human cloning?		Y	YY		
9A	Premarital agreements		Y	YY		
9B	Is the traditional family structure at risk?		Y	Y	YY	
10A	The challenging friend I didn't know		YY	Y		
10B	The meeting of two old friends		YY			

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Book 4

Unit/Text	Title	Prod	Prac	Persp	Com	Per
1A	The tail of fame			YY		
1B	The power of a good name		Y	YY		
2A	Charlie Chaplin		Y			YY
2B	The political career of a female politician		Y			YY
3A	Longing for a new welfare system		Y	YY		
3B	A blind man helped me see the beautiful world		YY	Y		
4A	The telecommunications revolution	Y	Y	YY		
4B	The information superhighway	YY	Y	Y		
5A	Choose to be alone on purpose		Y	YY		
5B	Roommate conflicts		YY	Y	Y	
6A	Bribery and business ethics		Y	YY		
6B	The biggest threat to the role of police officers		Y	YY		
7A	Research into population genetics		Y	YY		
7B	Geniuses and better parenting		Y	YY		
8A	Slavery gave me nothing to lose		Y	YY		
8B	Why are women afraid of wrinkles?		YY	Y		
9A	Make Euro Disney more European	Y	Y	Y	YY	
9B	Not to expect profits soon from Euro Disney		Y	YY		
10A	How to cultivate EQ		Y	YY		
10B	EQ plays a role in personal success		Y	YY		

Key: Prod = cultural products; Prac = cultural practices; Persp = cultural perspectives; Com = cultural communities; Per = cultural persons. YY = dominant theme, Y = supporting theme

> She was so glad that she and Sandy could still talk things over. She knew she had to have patience and keep the lines of communication with her daughter open. She wanted to be there as an anchor for her, but at the same time she would give her freedom to find her own identity. (NH Book 1 2A, p. 30)

Other passages provide advice to parents on interacting with their children with respect, calmness and honesty (NH 1 2B), and against buying large quantities of toys and clothing for their children (NH 2 5B). Managing personal relationships include how to show love (NH 3 1B), a discussion about premarital agreements (NH 3 9A), and developing EQ (NH 4 10A and 10B). Perspectives on success recommend hard work (NH 2 9A), albeit tempered with a life-work balance (NH 2 7A and 7B), good time management (NH 2 1A) and a focus on what makes a person proud rather than just wealth accumulation (NH 4 1A). Ethics cover issues such as integrity (NH 1 10A and 10B), doctors' dilemmas (NH 3 5B), bribery (NH 4 6A), and cloning (NH 3 8A). Topics on health cover avoiding iron deficiency (NH 3 2A), regular exercise (NH 3 2B), spending time alone (NH 4 5A), and not smoking (NH 2 5A).

Cultural practices include how to make a good impression in a US context (NH 1 4A and 4B), how to show resilience in the face of adversity, with examples from the UK (NH 2 10A) and Japan (NH 2 10B), earthquake precautions (NH 3 6A), friendship (NH 3 10A and 10B), resolving interpersonal conflicts (NH 4 5B), and mitigating the physical signs of aging (NH 4 8B). One unit focuses on Chinese cultural practices in language learning (NH 1 1A and 1B). Cultural communities in the series include Euro Disney (NH 4 9A and 9B) and traditional family structures (NH 3 9B); cultural persons are presented in biographies of Agatha Muthoni Mbogo, a Kenyan politician (NH 4 2B), Mary Engelbreit, who founded a greeting card company in the USA (NH 3 4B), the US businessman, Bill Gates (NH 3 7A), the US civil rights leader, Martin Luther King (NH 3 7B), the movie star, Charlie Chaplin (NH 4 2A), and the Asian-American deaf entrepreneur, John T.C. Yeh (NH 2 9B). The cultural products include the information superhighway (NH 4 4B) and five symbols of the USA: the Statue of Liberty, Barbie dolls, American Gothic artwork, the Buffalo Nickel coins, and Uncle Sam, the depiction of a bearded gentleman as the personification of the USA (NH 3 4A).

5.2 New College English (Second Edition)

The NC series, like NH, comprises four books and two passages per unit, but NC has fewer units (8) per book. Cultural content in NC (Table 2) is mainly transmitted through the reading comprehension passages, poetry, well-known quotations and audio recordings of conversations and passages. The passages in NC do not tend to make aspects of foreign cultures a central theme; instead, they mainly present

Table 2 Cultural contents in NC

Book 1

Unit/Text	Text	Prod	Prac	Persp	Com	Per
1A	Writing for myself		YY	Y		
1B	The scholarship jacket	Y	Y	Y		YY
2A	All the cabbie had was a letter		YY	Y		Y
2B	Never let a friend down		YY	Y		Y
3A	Public attitudes towards science		Y	YY		
3B	How to make sense out of science		Y	YY		
4A	Tony Trivisonno's American dream		Y	Y		YY
4B	With his own two hands		Y	Y		YY
5A	The company man		YY	Y		Y
5B	You might be a workaholic if…		YY	Y		
6A	A Valentine story		YY	Y		Y
6B	The wallet		YY	Y		Y
7A	What animals really think		Y	YY		
7B	Do animals fall in love?		Y	YY		
8A	Fable of the lazy teenager		Y	YY		Y
8B	Ditch the calculator	Y	Y	YY		Y

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

Book 2

Unit/Text	Text	Prod	Prac	Persp	Com	Per
1A	Learning, Chinese-style		Y	YY	Y	Y
1B	Children and money		YY	Y		
2A	A life full of riches		Y	YY		
2B	The richest man in America, down home	Y	Y	Y		YY
3A	Father knows better		YY			Y
3B	Text generation gap: U R 2 old	Y	YY	Y		Y
4A	A virtual life	Y	YY	Y		Y
4B	Mother's mad about the internuts		YY	Y		Y
5A	True height		Y			YY
5B	Fourteen steps		YY	Y		Y
6A	A woman can learn anything a man can		Y	Y		YY
6B	Beginning anew		YY	Y		Y
7A	The glorious messiness of English	Y	Y	YY		
7B	The role of English in the twenty-first century		Y	YY		
8A	A fable for tomorrow		YY	Y		
8B	Excerpts from *Silent Spring*	Y	Y	YY		

Table 2 (continued)

Book 3

Unit/Text	Text	Prod	Prac	Persp	Com	Per
1A	Mr. Doherty builds his dream life		YY	Y		Y
1B	American family life: The changing picture		Y	YY	Y	
2A	The freedom givers		YY	Y		Y
2B	Rosa Parks: the mother of the American Civil Rights Movement		Y	Y		YY
3A	The land of the lock	Y	YY	Y		
3B	Why I bought a gun	Y	YY	Y		Y
4A	Was Einstein a space alien?		Y	Y		YY
4B	Anecdotes about Einstein		Y			YY
5A	Writing three thank-you letters		YY	Y		Y
5B	The power of gratitude		YY	Y		
6A	The last leaf		YY	Y		Y
6B	Night watch		YY	Y		Y
7A	Life of a salesman		YY			Y
7B	Bricklayer's boy		YY	Y		Y
8A	Human cloning: a scientist's story		YY	Y		
8B	Second thoughts on cloning		Y	YY	Y	

Table 2 (continued)

Book 4

Unit/Text	Text	Prod	Prac	Persp	Com	Per
1A	The icy defender		YY	Y	Y	
1B	The Normandy Landings		YY		Y	
2A	Smart cars	YY	Y	Y		
2B	Intelligent vehicles	YY	Y	Y		
3A	Get the job you want		YY	Y		
3B	A mortal flower		YY	Y		Y
4A	In search of Davos man		Y	YY	Y	Y
4B	Globalization, alive and well		Y	YY	Y	
5A	A friend in need		YY	Y		Y
5B	Nameless faces		YY	Y		Y
6A	Old Father Time becomes a terror	Y	Y	YY		
6B	Life in the fast lane		Y	YY		
7A	Snapshots of New York's mood after 9/11		YY	Y		Y
7B	Reflections on 9/11		Y	YY	Y	
8A	In the jungle		YY	Y		Y
8B	Travel with Sandy		YY	Y		

Key: Prod = cultural products; Prac = cultural practices; Persp = cultural perspectives; Com = cultural communities; Per = cultural persons. YY = dominant theme, Y = supporting theme

discussions on particular topics, many of which are not specific to one particular culture. Where passages are culture-specific, they are usually texts about the USA. The comprehensive questions after each passage primarily focus on comprehension of the texts and push students to reflect on the topics and discussion. In short, cultural content tends to be implicitly integrated in the passages as knowledge that supports comprehension and response. This suggests that teaching and learning cultural content are not the main teaching focus of NC.

Out of the total of 64 texts in the NC series, cultural practices (a dominant cultural theme in 35 and a supportive theme in 29) and cultural perspectives (22 and 37 respectively) are most commonly presented. Cultural communities receive the least attention, appearing as a support theme in 8 texts. The range of cultural representations in NC is similar to that of NH, with a focus on relationships, study, business, and science.

Cultural practices cover the same topics as NH, with passages about friendship (NC 1 2A and 2B; NC 4 5A and 5B); workaholics (NC 1 5A and 5B), getting or changing employment (NC 2 6B; NC 3 7B; NC 4 3A and 3B); bringing up children (NC 2 1B; 3 7B); family life and parenting (NC 2 3A and 3B; NC 3 1B); using the Internet and social media (NC 2 4A and 4B); overcoming handicaps (NC 2 5A and 5B; 3 7A); racial inequality (NC 3 2A and 2B); self-protection (NC 3 3A and 3B); and cloning (NC 3 8A and 8B). Other topics covered include descriptions of cultural practices experienced through travel along the Napo River in South America (NC 4 8A) and across New Zealand (NC 8B); how people coped with the aftermath of the attacks of 9/11 (NC 4 7B); experiences of soldiers in wartime (NC 4 1A and 1B); expressing gratitude appropriately (NC 3 5A and 5B); and the development of romances (NC 1 6A and 6B).

Cultural perspectives presented cover discussions on the value of science in our lives (NC 1 3A and 3B); environmental protection (NC2 8A and 8B); and economic globalization (NC 4 4A and 4B). Passages also provide information about subjects such as our understanding of animals (NC1 7A and 7B); the importance of study and good attitudes (NC1 8A and 8B; NC2 1A); the value of time (NC 4 6A and 6B); and the development and role of English as an international language (NC2 7A and 7B). The cultural personalities appearing in the NC series include the scientist, Albert Einstein (NC3 4A and 4B), Rosa Parks, who took a stance for civil rights in the USA (NC 4 2B), and Sam Walton, the found of the US company Wal-Mart (NC 2 2B), as well as inspirational stories of immigrants from Italy and Mexico (NC 4A and 4B), a blind Junior Olympic champion (NC 2 5A), and a successful woman engineer (NC 2 6A). In terms of cultural products, the passages in one unit (NC 4 2A and 2B) describe the potential benefits of vehicles equipped with Artificial Intelligence. Cultural communities are limited to presentations of snapshots of life in the USA in several passages and a comparison between American and Chinese education ideologies (NC 2 1A). Although the textbooks tend to focus on western countries, especially the USA, it is worthy noticing what is missing from the textbooks. Chinese culture and other cultures are rarely presented. This gap could still constrain the development of intercultural communicative ability in CE students.

6 Discussion

The cultural components of these two series of textbooks for CE students follow trends that are discernible across education in China. There are passages about foreign culture—in this case, principally but not exclusively presenting life in the USA—with authentic texts by foreign authors. The books are written in American English. This approach tallies with developments in secondary school textbooks for English, where aspects of daily life in Anglophone countries are presented to familiarize the students with cultural situations they might encounter through interaction with foreigners. Among the five dimensions of culture, perspectives and persons are addressed most, while the dimension of communities is addressed least. This could also show the inclination towards daily life interaction rather than discussions on issues at the national level. The scope of cultural representations reflects an attempt to find topics of interest to CE students: relationships, study, business, and science. This could start from the consideration of the feasibility of these topics to comprehend and relate to, which is necessary for learning a foreign language and culture in the classroom. Moran (2001) argues that culture is very complex, and manifestations are like the tip of an iceberg in that "cultural products, practices, persons, communities, and some perspectives are explicit — visible or tangible— whereas many perspectives are tacit— invisible or intangible" (p. 29), and the five dimensions of culture could be interwoven, and rarely are unidimensional.

Moreover, the language used to learn culture is as important as the language in the culture. Moran (2001) claims that the language to learn culture should be specialized in terms of four functions: participate in the culture (also *knowing how*), describe the culture (*knowing about*), interpret the culture (*knowing why*), and respond to the culture (*knowing oneself*) (p. 39). The selected two textbooks place the emphasis on *knowing how* and *knowing about* while leaving the possible tasks of the other two functions to teachers. Since the latter two functions intend to foster students' ability to interpret and respond, they are important to produce the language, which is the ultimate goal of policy makers and textbook compilers in China to foster intercultural communication capabilities.

However, the predominant focus on the USA reflects the national government's strategy for higher education before the Belt and Road Initiative gained momentum. The contemporary strategy seeks to develop specialists that can help China's international engagements in Central and South-East Asia, for instance. College English offers a conduit for presenting facets of the culture of these countries. Using Li et al. (2013) definition of "International Talents", the ability of intercultural communication allows the Chinese to extend to the rest of the world, and not be limited to English-speaking countries like the USA. The variety of culture that the textbooks cover needs to be broadened in order to achieve the goal set by policy makers and textbook compilers and meet the needs of the country.

The passages in the textbooks are mainly informative, although there are some that are intended to arouse discussion. While most of the discussions are of topics of global interest (globalization, climate change, cloning, and so on), the textbooks do not shy

away from controversial issues in specific cultures, such as guns, race relations and social inequality in the USA. This latter approach was more prevalent in secondary school textbooks for English in the 1950s and 1960s, which contained negative depictions of aspects of life in the USA and Britain (Adamson, 2004). The presentations of life in China are more positive, such as promoting Chinese approaches to learning. The balance that the textbooks appear to be seeking—between introducing foreign culture to the students while avoiding the promotion of cultural hegemony—is a long-standing theme dating back to the debates in the nineteenth century in China, when officials discussed how to counter the industrial and military power of foreign forces in a way that would preserve the essential integrity of Chinese culture. The presentation of cultural contents in the textbooks is tailored to enable Chinese students to support China's growing global power with circumspect engagement. On the other hand, the omission of Chinese culture and cultures other than English-speaking cultures should be addressed in order to increase the diversity of culture in textbooks. Tackling this deficit needs more research. Knowledge of Chinese culture and the ability to express Chinese culture in English are as important as understanding culture in English-speaking societies and the ability to communicate in English (Cui, 2009).

According to Lin's (1996) three levels of introduction of culture, the textbooks in this study are pitched at the first level, which means that they are designed to help students understand communication in context, by providing them with the cultural background. The future development of cultural content in textbooks might go to the second level, which would embrace a systematic knowledge of the culture of the target language, or the third level, which would dig deeply into a nation's history and philosophy.

It is vital for CE stakeholders to realize that communication between languages, cultures and communities is symbiotic (Kong & Luan, 2012) and that the dynamic and complex nature of culture requires research and careful handling in curriculum planning and implementation.

Appendix A: Technical Details of Syllabus, Textbooks and CET

Type	Title	Year	Author/Editor	Publisher
Syllabus	*College English Curriculum Requirements (For Trial Implementation)*	2004	Department of Higher Education of Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China	Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press (Shanghai, China)

(continued)

(continued)

Type	Title	Year	Author/Editor	Publisher
Syllabus	*College English Curriculum Requirements*	2007	Department of Higher Education of Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China	Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press (Shanghai, China)
The series of textbook	*New Horizon College English* (second edition)	2011	Chief editor: ZHENG Shutang	Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press
Textbook	*Reading and Writing 1*	2011	Main editors: ZHENG Shutang	
Textbook	*Reading and Writing 2*	2011	Main editors: ZHOU Guoqiang	
Textbook	*Reading and Writing 3*	2011	Main editors: HU Quansheng	
Textbook	*Reading and Writing 4*	2011	Main editors: CHEN Yongjie	
The series of textbook	*New College English* (second edition)	2014	Chief editor: LI Yinhua	Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press (Shanghai, China)
Textbook	*Integration Course 1 Student's Book*	2014	Main editors: LI Yinhua, WANG Demin	
Textbook	*Integration Course 2 Student's Book*	2014	Main editors: LI Yinhua, XIA Guozuo	
Textbook	*Integration Course 3 Student's Book*	2014	Main editors: LI Yinhua, WANG Demin	
Textbook	*Integration Course 4 Student's Book*	2014	Main editors: LI Yinhua, XIA Guozuo	
Test paper	大学英语四级历年真题全析全解集中赢 [*College English Test Band Four test papers with explanations*]	2015	Main editors: ZHAO Jiankun, QU Gen, WANG Fei	China Petrochemical Press Co. LTD
Test paper	大学英语六级历年真题全析全解集中赢 [*College English Test Band Six test papers with explanations*]	2015	Main editors: ZHAO Jiankun, QU Gen, WANG Fei	China Petrochemical Press Co. LTD

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Part II
Stakeholders

Chapter 7
Teachers' Engagement with Cultural Knowledge and Values in Business English Textbooks

Yue Peng and Tao Xiong

Abstract Fostering learners' cultural and intercultural awareness and intercultural communication skills in the international business context is an important task for teachers of business English. While previous studies have examined cultural representation in textbooks of English as a second language, scant attention has been paid to how teachers engage with textbooks for cultural instruction. This study adopted a multiple-case study methodology and examined three teachers teaching comprehensive business English courses in a Chinese higher education context. Data comprised semi-structured interviews and artifacts which included textbooks, teachers' lesson plans, and PowerPoint slides. The study identified three types of treatment to the cultural knowledge and values in business English textbooks, namely language-oriented, issue-oriented, and ideology-oriented. Recommendations for developing textbooks and pedagogical implications are discussed.

Keywords Business English · China · Cultural knowledge · Teacher agency · Teacher development · Values

1 Introduction

English is increasingly used as a lingua franca in today's business world (Kankaanranta & Leena, 2013), where both native and non-native speakers of English coming from different cultural backgrounds interact and negotiate with each other. To ensure successful communication takes place in such a context of cultural diversity, intercultural awareness (Baker, 2012) and intercultural communication skills are vital. Therefore, an important task for educators and researchers of business English (BE) is to teach cultural knowledge and values.

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Considering the importance of textbooks in creating and reproducing social and cultural knowledge (Apple, 1995), the representation and design of cultural content in textbooks plays an important role in mediating teachers' teaching practices and learners' learning experiences. As for studying the cultural content in textbooks, the values embedded in textbooks have drawn researchers' increasing attention since textbooks are now conceived as a social and cultural artifact (Johnson, 2003; Pennycook, 1994) wherein certain norms and values are presented and advocated, while other norms and values are underrepresented (e.g., Johnson, 2003; Pennycook, 1994). However, previous research analyzes the content of textbooks for its cultural representations and promoted values (Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger, 2015; Gray, 2010; Xiong & Yuan, 2018), while studies of how teachers and students, as active agents, actually engage with such materials remain few and far between (e.g., Forman, 2014; Gray, 2000; Harwood, 2014; Kiss & Weninger, 2017). In fact, teachers' effort to create and adapt teaching materials to different students' specific characteristics and learning needs is regarded as one of the defining features of teaching English for specific purposes (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987). Therefore, it is important to understand how teachers engage with the design and content of a textbook.

Theoretically informed by the enactment and design perspective on the teacher–textbook relationship (Choppin, 2011), this study examines how teachers treat the cultural knowledge and its embedded values in BE textbooks in the context of Chinese higher education. Cultural knowledge for this study refers to systems of standards for members of a discourse community to perceive, believe, evaluate, and act in a common social space, history, and imaginings (Kramsch, 1998). Data for this study were collected from three teacher participants through semi-structured interviews supplemented with artifacts. Based on an inductive thematic analysis, this study identified three types of practices regarding teachers' engagement with cultural knowledge and values in BE textbooks, which has implications for textbook development and teachers' pedagogical practices.

2   Literature Review

Generally speaking, the number of studies on BE textbooks is small compared to the bulk of research examining textbooks of English for general purposes. Most studies on BE textbooks have focused on the linguistic aspect of the instructional content, while only a handful have examined cultural components in BE textbooks. For example, due to the importance of discourse markers such as *well* and *of course* in building L2 learners' communicative competence, Furkó (2020) analyzed their use in BE textbooks. Chen (2019) conducted a readability assessment of the textual difficulty of a series of BE textbooks published in China and suggested to order their readability more systematically. For teaching figurative language, Parizoska and Rajh (2017) studied the variety of sport idioms included in BE textbooks which are used to talk about competition in business.

Another small group of studies are centered on the cultural content included in BE textbooks. Pashmforoosh and Babaii (2015) examined the representation of cultural content in two international BE textbooks. They found that the textbooks favored the representation of native speakers and their culture in the Inner Circle (Kachru, 1992) in the global business context. Adopting Schein's (1988) framework of culture, they also found that cultural representation in the textbooks tended to be knowledge-oriented, which included discrete components representing visible aspects of culture. Communication-based culture, on the other hand, consisting of beliefs and values, was largely missing from the BE textbooks. Similar to Pashmforoosh and Babaii (2015), Si (2020) also reported a dominant representation of native English speakers and their culture in a BE textbook series in China with a lack of Chinese BE users. Compared to studies on the cultural representation in general English textbooks, the cultures in BE textbooks tend to be business-context specific, but a dominant representation of cultures from Inner Circle or native-English speakers was similarly identified in BE textbooks (Shin et al., 2011).

Although textbook content has been more extensively studied in English language teaching, fewer studies have been conducted to understand how textbooks have been used by teachers and learners (Forman, 2014; Guerrettaz et al., 2021; Menkabu & Harwood, 2014). In fact, how teachers deploy textbooks is a dynamic and complex process involving a variety of contributing factors (Forman, 2014; Gray, 2000; Harwood, 2014; Sunderland et al., 2000). Hutchinson's (1996) study of two teachers of English for specific purposes revealed that one teacher who lacked adequate training and experiences depended heavily on the textbook, while the more experienced teacher made more adaptations to the textbook. Hutchinson concluded that textbook use is influenced by a host of factors including the textbook's content, difficulty level, and length; the teacher's profile, beliefs, experience, and training; the learners' profile, beliefs, and aptitude; and the classroom and institutional context, such as class layout, timetable constraints, and attitudes towards textbook use by authorities.

In the English as a foreign language (EFL) context, increasingly more attention has been paid to issues of power and identity of different social and cultural groups. Rahim (2004) studied teachers' treatment of gender stereotypes in relation to their representation in BE textbooks. He found that the discussion on gender issues was incidental, depending on the topic of units in the textbook. Most of the teachers were reluctant to discuss gender issues for two major reasons, even though they were aware of the stereotypes in the textbook: the issues not being included in the syllabus and not being part of the local culture. In another study on teachers' treatment of gender-related issues, Sunderland et al. (2000) identified three stances, including teachers subverting, endorsing, or ignoring the cultural presentation in the textbook.

Besides gender, issues concerning sociolinguistic and cultural power and identities have also been an important research theme. Forman (2014) studied Thai EFL teachers' treatment of international textbooks and found that Thai teachers' teaching was faithful to the textbook content, although they remained critical towards some design features of the textbook. In addition to time constraints on adapting and creating their own teaching materials, an important reason the teachers reported

pertained to the authoritative status of foreign-published textbooks written by native speakers. On top of Sunderland et al. (2000) three stances, Forman (2014) identified a fourth stance—distancing, denoting that text and audience as distant from one another. Forman suggested that such a stance was more often observed in an EFL context, where teachers and learners share a common culture, but was absent in the Anglo-American text and its discourses. For example, the international textbook that Forman examined encouraged making complaints during international travelling when consumer rights are violated, representing a cosmopolitan and affluent lifestyle. The Thai teacher acknowledged that very few Thai students had had international travel experiences by asking if anybody in the class had been abroad. In a more recent study on how EFL teachers and students in Korean universities reconstruct and negotiate textbook cultural content in the classroom, Smith (2021) showed how the instructors' practice of "textbook reflexivity in situ" transformed the multimodal content to suit the needs of their students. This practice is a kind of rhetorical accomplishment that lessens the potential for cultural marginalization and promotes intercultural communication.

In sum, while studies have acknowledged both the importance of cultural instruction in second language education and teachers' important roles in using textbooks, there is a scarcity of research that has investigated teachers' engagement with cultural content included in textbooks, especially in the BE context. Therefore, this study set out to address the following two research questions:

1. How do BE teachers treat cultural knowledge and values in the textbooks?
2. What are the reasons underlying the teachers' treatment of cultural knowledge and values in the textbooks?

This study is theoretically informed by the enactment and design perspective on the relationship between teachers and curriculum materials (Ben-Peretz, 1990; Choppin, 2011). This perspective advocates a dynamic understanding of the curriculum as the embodiment of educational potential which encompasses developers' intentions and additional educational opportunities afforded by the materials. More specifically, Ben-Peretz (1990) proposed a framework which includes dimensions of subject matter (subject content knowledge and approaches), learner (learning styles and cultures), milieu (connections between materials and society), and teacher (beliefs and needs of teachers). Of relevance to the current study is that curriculum developers easily ignore teachers' beliefs and visions. This perspective highlights teacher agency and is interested in how teachers enact their role as curriculum developers and partners rather than just implementers when they interpret and draw from materials in relation to content, learner, and milieu. It is therefore assumed in the present study that teachers actively interpret and transform curriculum materials as they design instruction. There are two corollaries: first, teachers' beliefs about the role of curriculum materials influence how they handle them; second, teachers' capacities to understand and use curriculum resources can change as they inquire into how students engage with the materials.

3 Method

The study adopted multiple-case study (Yin, 2014) as its research methodology, with each teacher being a bonded case serving for exploratory purposes. Three BE teachers at two different Chinese universities participated in the study (see Table 1 for their demographic information). They were sampled based on purposeful sampling (Dörnyei, 2007; Patton, 2014), which is a principle of selecting research participants and research sites that can "provide rich and varied insights into the phenomenon under investigation" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 126). While Lan and Huang at the same institution adopted the same textbook teaching third-year students, Zhu was using a different textbook with a group of first-year students. Such an arrangement allowed us to compare differences in the two teachers working with the same textbook and also commonalities among teachers using different textbooks. Furthermore, the three participants had a wide span of teaching experience, ranging from three months to 15 years.

Zhu was using the second volume of *Business English (A Comprehensive Course)* (Cai, 2009). Various topics related to business were included in the textbook, ranging from business ethics and leadership to gender differences and social security. The textbook design followed the structure of warm-up activities, two reading articles (intensive and extensive) with exercises and activities, and an additional section of reading and writing activities. Most reading articles incorporated cultural themes, such as the reasons and forms of warfare systems and critiques that the current social security system in the US faces. In addition, the sections that dealt with cultural issues also included the warm-up activities and the reading and writing activities. For example, the activity of comparing China's welfare system with that of other countries and making suggestions for improving the Chinese welfare system is intended to

Table 1 Participants

Pseudonym	Gender	Experience teaching business English (BE)	Course	Textbook	Students' level
Zhu	Male	15 years	Comprehensive English for Business English major	*Business English (A Comprehensive Course) II*	Year 1 of BE major
Lan	Male	2 months	Advanced Business English	*A Course of Advanced Business English II*	Year 3 of BE major
Huang	Female	3 years	Advanced Business English	*A Course of Advanced Business English II*	Year 3 of BE major

Table 2 Textbooks

Textbook	Writer	Publisher	Year of Publication	Total volumes
Business English (A Comprehensive Course) II	BAI Hua	Chongqing University Press	2016	3
A Course of Advanced Business English II	CAI Yun	Higher Education Press	2008	4

familiarize learners with welfare systems around the world and cultivate learners' ability to think critically in an intercultural context.

Lan and Huang were using the second volume of *Course of Advanced Business English* (Bai, 2016). The book included themes such as business ethics, business leadership, Chinese innovation and creativity, and the Belt and Road Initiative. Each unit consisted of three parts: preview activities, intensive reading, and supplementary reading. Cultural content was usually included either in preview activities—such as answering the question of, "What are the interpretations of business ethics in China and Western countries?"—or in the case study and discussion section following the intensive reading article, such as the activity of "tell[ing] your impression of businesspeople in China." Table 2 presents key information for the two textbook series.

Data were collected from teacher interviews and artifacts. The interviews were semi-structured in nature and focused on three major areas: (1) the teachers' perceptions on teaching the content of cultural knowledge and values in BE, (2) their evaluation of the content regarding cultural knowledge and values in the textbooks, and (3) their treatment of textbook content for teaching cultural knowledge and values as well as considerations behind their treatment. Each participant was interviewed individually, and the average duration was 40 minutes. The collected artifacts included textbooks, teaching plans, and PowerPoint slides. The purpose of collecting the artifacts was to facilitate our understanding of teachers' comments made during the interviews on the textbooks and their ways of making use of them.

Thematic data analysis was conducted based on the transcripts of interviews with reference to the artifacts collected. Within-case analysis was first conducted with each data set being analyzed thematically following a ground-up approach (Yin, 2014). Initial codes were first identified following open coding. Based on the commonalities of initial codes, categories were generated for each case. Cross-case analysis was then performed, focusing on identifying any patterns across the three cases. The three cases turned out to represent three orientations to engaging with materials, demonstrating different degrees to which the participants had fully enacted the cultural teaching potential of the materials at hand. These three orientations are presented separately in the findings section. The two researchers collaborated to ensure the trustworthiness of data analysis: The within-case analysis was conducted by the first author, checked by the second author; cross-case analysis was conducted jointly by the two researchers.

4   Findings

Zhu: "After all, this is a language course"
In general, Zhu's instruction focused predominantly on language skills instead of cultural knowledge and values due to a host of personal and pedagogical beliefs about his students, the curriculum, and cultural learning in relation to linguistic skills. Therefore, his treatment of cultural knowledge and values implicitly and explicitly included in the textbook was largely shaped by the linguistic orientation of his class.

In terms of learner needs, Zhu commented that, although navigating the business circle in an international setting would necessitate the development of intercultural communication skills, the students themselves did not communicate strong desires to learn cultural information and phenomena: "They are pretty passive in terms of what to be taught, leaving me to make the decisions based on my own judgement." In any case, attention to cultural content was not required in the syllabus approved by the department, and the assessment was thus restricted largely to learners' language skills. Therefore, Zhu decided to gear his course towards the required linguistic skills, especially reading comprehension skills. For classroom instruction, Zhu's main focus was on teaching and analyzing the textbook articles, moving from "lower-order skills towards higher-order skills," in his words. Higher-order skills, according to Zhu, pertained to the skills of identifying an article's thesis and supporting details and unpacking its structure and logical organization. Lower-order skills, on the other hand, involved understanding sentences and vocabulary.

Given the language-oriented nature of Zhu's teaching, the textbook component involving cultural content was simply skipped. For example, in the section of reading and writing activities, one activity required students to search for information about China's and America's welfare systems and compare the different characteristics of the two. Zhu commented that the activity would not be dealt with in his classroom instruction. He believed that such a content-heavy inquiry was beyond his students' background knowledge: "They have little contact with such a topic… I do not ask them to search and collect additional information. After all, this is a language course, not a content course." He also believed that conducting such an inquiry was beyond students' linguistic ability: "The students are still working towards comprehension. How can they go further to do the cultural and content inquiry without the foundations of language comprehension?".

Another factor that diverted Zhu from working on the cultural content was his perceptions of the datedness of the topics and the over-simplistic presentation of certain information in the articles. Zhu noted that the textbook was published more than a decade ago without further modifications. Therefore, much of the topics and information in the articles appeared to be distant from today's reality. The examples he gave were two articles included under the theme of marketing. One was about the "supermarketization" of China's food sector and the rising opportunities for imported foods. However, Zhu pointed out that "now the imported food market has reached saturation and a more recent trend is digital marketing." Similarly, the other article told the story of shipping company DHL's success and was followed

by an activity directing students to discuss how China Post can learn from DHL's successful experience. "It is too old," says Zhu. "Nowadays, the delivery industry in China has probably outperformed DHL." Another critical comment Zhu made on the textbook concerned the oversimplification of the information presented. In particular, he singled out an article about caricatures of management styles in different countries and pointed to a lack of deep understanding about cultural differences: "In fact, there are lots of differences among different individuals, ethnic groups, and companies within one country. The book only addresses the issues at a superficial and general level." Due to the critical insights that Zhu personally had towards many of the cultural contents in the textbook, he believed that the texts were not good sources of information for teaching cultural knowledge and values and thus kept his classroom instruction at the language and comprehension level.

Zhu explained that some additional articles that he assigned students to read did involve cultural topics. An example is an article about Walmart's failure in the German market, which involved the issue of cultural differences at play in different business contexts. However, cultural knowledge and values appeared incidental and were not his primary concern when using these reading materials. These materials were usually chosen from major international publications such as *The Economist* because these publications, in Zhu's opinion, are characterized by authentic English language and strong logic of argumentation. He acknowledged that, even though cultural issues were discussed in the articles, the learning and thinking was only left to students' own effort and interest.

Lan: "I won't state my own stance"
For Lan, cultural content was an integral part of his teaching due to his understandings of the students, the teaching process, and the nature of language and culture. He believed that intercultural communication skills would be essential for BE majors who were going to work for international companies: "When they chat, communicate, and negotiate with other people, they need to understand their cultural backgrounds and cultural differences." In addition, Lan believed that attention to cultural content would make the instruction more interesting than merely focusing on language skills. Lastly, Lan believed that if students were to comprehend the articles well, they would need to understand the cultural issues embedded in them, because he saw language as a carrier of content and culture. Therefore, unlike Zhu's lessons, Lan's classroom instruction not only dealt with language but also included cultural content.

Three practices were identified in how he delivered cultural instruction in relation to the textbook content: expansion of the textbook topics, reservation of his own stance to debated issues, and a preference to teach value-free facts.

Lan used the textbook to introduce different themes for discussion, and he believed the recently published textbook caught many of today's hot topics. However, he used a textbook theme only as a prompt, expanding the classroom discussion to whatever he or his students could relate to. For example, under the theme of tax haven and corporate tax invasion in the textbook, Lan went further to introduce the consumption tax in different provinces of Canada, where he had personally resided for a period, followed by a comparison of consumption tax in China. Another example concerned

the theme of business ethics. Lan introduced the culture of writing recommendation letters for job hunting in many Western countries, which was not a common practice in the Chinese business sector. In the section of case study and discussion in the textbook, several cases or questions required students to collect and analyze information and then make an oral presentation. In relation to these activities, Lan stated that "they do not need to choose from the given topics in the textbook, but could work on interesting topics of their own, as long as the topics are somewhat relevant."

Lan noticed that there were some debatable issues in the textbook. For example, under the theme of China's innovation and creativity, one article brought up the question of whether China can invent. On the one hand, the article mentioned China's tax protection of intellectual property rights and the imitation business model. On the other hand, it presented several examples of China's success in innovation. Therefore, Lan gave students the opportunity to express their own opinions about the topic: "I won't state my own stance. I definitely won't do so… The question cannot be simply answered by me… They can have their own judgement." Lan further linked his stand-free gesture to the educational purpose of cultivating students' independent thinking: "The articles bring up an issue and you need to make your judgement. I believe that the ability to think is also one of our educational objectives." He was happy to see some debate among students: "Sometimes the discussion on certain topics is really heated because they have different opinions, which is good."

Because of Lan's reservation of his personal stance, what he would teach in class tended to be cultural facts rather than opinions to circumvent any value-embedded interpretations. For example, under the theme of China's Belt and Road Initiative, Lan avoided detailed discussion on China's political intention behind the Initiative and the skepticism coming from some foreign countries, an issue brought up in the reading article. Instead, he led students to trace the geographic evolution of the ancient silk road historically and compare the different routes with the present form. Such a recounting of historical events and facts, according to Lan, exempts him from expressing his own stance. Our interpretation was that Lan was keeping a careful distance from the dominant political and educational ideology in China which expects teachers to infuse moral and political teachings in everyday teaching practices across the curriculum. Our concern was how a teacher can "jump out of the box" to remain entirely free from any cultural and ideological stances, especially in discussing social, cultural, and historical issues.

Huang: "You do not follow whatever the text says"
Huang believed that cultural teaching was an integral part of her instruction, articulating that many of the topics or issues discussed in the textbook were complex and required cultural background knowledge for better understanding and interpretation. She commented: "We were talking about the petrol issues, which obviously are not merely business issues but involve a lot of culture, historical and political backgrounds." She also found that her students were interested in the cultural topics she or the textbook introduced into classroom teaching and worked actively on group projects on cultural topics.

As regards thematic topics, Huang believed that the textbook content needed to reflect the Chinese business sectors and China's overall social and economic background. She was content with the selection of themes in the book: "Instead of being entirely Western-oriented, the textbook includes China-related topics such as the Belt and Road Initiative. These are the moments when we can teach our students about Chinese culture, including traditional Chinese culture." Therefore, Huang would lead her students to engage in a detailed examination of the ancient silk road, including its historical background, routes, and significance.

To build students' cultural knowledge, Huang made great efforts to search and explore relevant information on her own. This personal effort was due to two factors. One factor was that Huang came from a linguistic background without training and experience in the business sector: "When I first started teaching business English, it was really challenging, because the content involved economics, finance and business, which I was not familiar with. But lots of things could be solved through my self-study, because you do not need to go very deep into that field." The other factor, according to Huang, concerned the textbook design. She found that although the articles touched upon many topics in the business context, no background information was provided in the textbook, nor was a teacher's handbook available for her to use. She suggested: "I think the writer needs to provide some background knowledge in the textbook, including business and cultural knowledge, instead of leaving everything to teachers. It is better to present this background knowledge in a more detailed and systematic way."

A sense of pride in China's economic and social development was patent in Huang's interview: "I have a sense of pride, a sense of national pride." Therefore, in her daily teaching practice: "I would try to relate the textbook content to our country whenever possible, no matter whether it is politics, economics or culture." When the textbook touched upon the Chinese economy, for example, she would guide students to look at data capturing China's fast economic growth in the recent decades. When the textbook touched upon challenges and criticisms that China faces, such as lack of innovation in some industries, Huang looked at them positively and would encourage students to take a similar perspective: "I tell them we need to look at things from a developmental perspective. Many of the challenges or problems that China faces today have also been experienced by Western countries. It is a matter of time."

Cultivating students' in-depth thinking skills was highlighted by Huang multiple times during the interview: "This course shall not simply cover the textbook content, because it is attended by senior students. Based on but also going beyond the textbook, it is important for the course to cultivate learners' in-depth thinking, critical thinking, and analytical skills." Huang found that many of the questions, especially those based on the intensive reading articles, only elicited given facts, instead of inspiring students to think. This negligence of thinking skills was her major criticism of the textbook. For example, for an article under the theme of business leaders, the textbook questions included: "What two qualities are essential for entrepreneurs, according to the author?" and "Which company is a world leader in training managers?" For Huang, "More thought-provoking questions are needed. The questions shouldn't be simply answered by yes or no, or in a few words." Huang explicitly stated that

understanding the articles at a linguistic level was clearly below her expectation: "If we merely stop at understanding the language, it is meaningless."

Critical thinking was also emphasized by Huang. She would encourage students to approach the articles from a critical perspective, instead of following the authors' logic and ideas without questioning. "I tell my students to be bold enough to question textbook articles, because everything has flaws as long as it is written by human beings. You do not follow whatever the text says." As an example, an article about China's Belt and Road Initiative in the textbook stated: "Some countries along the envisioned route remain wary and skeptical of the real intention behind this offering, as well as the possible unfavorable conditions that may be attached to it." In response to this skepticism, Huang commented: "Western media do have some criticisms, but we do not have to follow or accept whatever they say. I remind my students to think about whether it is objective or biased, partial, or complete. They need to make their own judgment."

5 Discussion and Conclusion

Findings of this study suggest that the BE textbooks provided a wide range of potential topics and issues for cultural teaching. Theoretically guided by the enactment and design perspective on the teacher–textbook relationship, this study set out to answer the questions of how teachers engage with cultural knowledge and values in the BE textbooks and what considerations are behind the treatment. As for the first question, the teachers' practices fell into three distinct types. The first type was a language-oriented one which treated cultural teaching as an optional part of the BE lesson; the second type was an issue-oriented one which advocated explicit discussion on cultural topics and issues with the teacher refraining from taking a stance; the third type of treatment was an ideology-oriented one in which the teacher played an active role in both organizing discussion on cultural issues and guiding the students' cultural thinking.

A number of contributing factors and considerations gave rise to teachers' different orientations in the treatment of cultural content in the BE textbooks. First, the teachers' beliefs and visions of the BE curriculum played a crucial role and directly determined their agency in the enactment and design of cultural teaching in textbooks (Ben-Peretz, 1990; Choppin, 2011). Since only language knowledge and skills in the textbooks were specified in the syllabus of each course, teachers' practice of cultural teaching was largely shaped by their personal beliefs towards teaching and learning. Thus, the study has lent further evidence to a well-established position in teacher education that teachers' personal beliefs about teaching play a critical role in their pedagogical choices (Borg, 2003; Pajares, 1992). The first important aspect regards teachers' beliefs about the relationship between language and culture. Zhu avoided going deeper into any cultural content, not only because he had some negative evaluations of the stereotyping and simplistic representation of cultural issues in the textbook, but also due to his pedagogical belief that language skills should come first

as a prerequisite before learners can delve into cultural content. Lan viewed language as a carrier of culture, and thus cultural content constituted an integral part of his instruction. Second, the treatment of cultural knowledge and values was also shaped by the teachers' perceptions of learners' needs and interests. While Zhu did not see cultural teaching of particular interest and relevance to his students, Lan and Huang believed that including cultural content would make their students more interested and engaged. Ideology, as a specific type of teacher beliefs, was also found to have a role to play in the teachers' treatment of cultural knowledge and value in the textbook, similar to Abraham's (1989) study. Lan's rather liberal stance gave space to his students' varied opinions, leading him to avoid stating his own views or directing his students to any value orientations. Lan's seemingly invisible and ambivalent attitude put him in a somewhat weak position in terms of explicit teaching of cultural knowledge and values. Huang's strong sense of national pride led her to draw her students' attention to the progress that China has made and guide them to look at the comments against China with a critical eye. This position exhibited considerable agency because of her strong belief about the indispensability of culture in BE teaching and her commitment to teaching culture and cultivating the students' deep and critical thinking.

The second important factor was textbook design, especially the selection of topics and articles in each unit. Textbook design generally corresponds to the dimension of subject content in Ben-Peretz's (1990) four-dimensional framework for interpreting curriculum materials. All three teachers followed the thematic topics chosen in the textbook and let the articles largely define the cultural content to be discussed in class. It seemed that the selection of themes and articles was important in two ways. One way concerned the timeliness of the selected topics, which was an issue brought up by all three teachers. When the topics and articles reflect recent developments in the social and business sector, they better arouse teachers and learners' interest, as in the case of Lan and Huang. In contrast, when the topics and articles are outdated, as in the case of Zhu, teachers might feel that detailed study and intensive discussion would be unnecessary. The second way had to do with the need to cover both domestic and international contexts in the textbooks. Such coverage would give the students both local and global horizons. Huang positively evaluated her textbook because it had a balanced representation of China and other parts of the world. She also made efforts to link international issues with domestic issues, when she found it appropriate and relevant to do so.

The findings of this study have several implications for developing cultural content in textbook design. First, BE textbooks should include a thoughtful selection of themes and articles, and regular textbook revisions are necessary to ensure that the content reflects current trends in the business sector against its ongoing social, political, and historical backgrounds. Second, cultural representation in BE textbooks should comprise business cases and phenomena situated in both domestic and international settings to better prepare learners to navigate different contexts. Third, it is desirable to have a section in BE textbooks that focuses explicitly on the teaching and learning of cultural content. Such a section was missing in both textbooks examined in this study. Zhu and Huang recommended that cultural content should be treated

more explicitly and systematically in the textbooks. Lan and Huang included cultural knowledge such as the historical development of the silk road in their classroom instruction, based on self-sourced materials. In fact, cultural knowledge specific to the business context is often not familiar to teachers who come from a pure linguistic background (Gao et al., 2018). Therefore, a section in the textbook or the teachers' guidebook which introduces relevant cultural knowledge can give such teachers better support in their effort to teach cultural knowledge and values.

This study also has implications for classroom instruction. The study has problematized the tendency to teach cultural knowledge and values at the factual level, as exemplified in the participants' accounts of their treatment of topics such as the routes and history of the silk road, and the tax and social security systems in different countries. We would therefore argue for the importance of making students observe, interpret, and critically engage with cultural content. In the case of Zhu, although he recognized problems with the textbook articles such as presenting culture in a simplistic and stereotypical fashion, he did not attach importance to fostering learners' competence to develop insightful interpretations of cultural phenomenon. In fact, it has been recognized that textbooks tend to construct over-simplistic notions of culture and cultural difference (Canale, 2016). However, rather than avoiding such content altogether, such problems can be exploited as a useful resource to help learners develop their capacities for interpretation and critical reflection (McConachy, 2018).

It is worth noticing that this study, rather than offering generalizable patterns of using textbook materials, was mainly intended to show how teachers engage with materials from an enactment and design perspective, with a special focus on cultural knowledge and values in BE textbooks. It has served to illustrate the interplay between teachers' teaching practice, personal beliefs, and textbook design. One of the limitations of the study pertains to its limited sources of data, as it heavily relied on teacher interviews. More diverse data sources, including classroom observations and follow-up interviews, would be better able to elicit teachers' considerations behind their ways of engaging with the materials, and would throw more light on the highly contextualized decisions and yield more nuanced findings. Looking ahead, we see the need to explore how teachers and students reflexively negotiate and jointly construct the curriculum materials in situ (Smith, 2021) from various conceptual perspectives such as multiculturalism, translingualism, and global citizenship.

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Chapter 8
Constructing Values in English Language Teaching Materials: Voice from the Writers of a Tertiary English as a Foreign Language Textbook Series

Jinfen Xu and Wenbo Liu

Abstract This chapter presents the process and rationale of constructing English language teaching (ELT) materials that are pedagogically, morally, culturally, and ideologically meaningful for the intended learners from the perspective of the writers of a tertiary English as a foreign language (EFL) textbook series published in China. To reveal how educational beliefs, cultural values, moral views, and ideologies influence goal setting, material selection, and task designing, this chapter gives content analysis of qualitative data including meeting memos, textbook writers' notes, chief editors' comments produced during the three-year textbook writing process, and interviews with the writing team. This study reveals the writing team's external and internal constraints and struggles as well as their agentic intentions and attempts. It can be seen as an exemplary case for how tertiary English textbooks are domestically written in an Asian country, and shed light on the complexity surrounding the incorporation of values in ELT materials.

Keywords EFL textbook series · ELT materials · Tertiary · Value construction · Writing process

1 Introduction

Ideologies and values infused in education have attracted increasing social and scholarly attention in China since the Chinese government highlighted the need for moral education and even more so after the *Guidelines for Ideological-political Education in Colleges and Universities* (the *Guidelines* henceforth) was issued by the Chinese Ministry of Education (2020). Such a top-down approach has generated nationwide discussion on how different college courses can make joint yet differentiated efforts to cultivate students intellectually, culturally, and morally.

Viewed as a tool for cross-cultural communication in the increasingly globalized world, English has been taught as an important subject from elementary to tertiary

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levels nationwide in China. As Tsui and Tollefson (2007) put it, how English is taught is of political and ideological interest. Against the aforementioned backdrop, how values are constructed in English language teaching (ELT) is brought to the fore of academic discussion.

Textbooks as the primary material for instruction and knowledge transmission are worth critical examination. Harwood (2014) suggested three important levels of studying textbooks, namely content, consumption, and production. At the level of content, quite a few scholars emphasized the value-laden nature of English as a foreign language (EFL) textbooks and investigated the representation of values in language textbooks intended for different countries and regions (Cunningsworth, 2002; Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger, 2015; Feng, 2019; Gebregeorgis, 2017; Liu, 2005; Pashmforoosh & Babaii, 2015; Weninger & Kiss, 2013; Xiong & Qian, 2012; Yamada, 2010; Yamanaka, 2006; Yuen, 2011). As for textbook consumption, previous research observed the actual use of ELT materials on the part of language teachers (Abdel-Latif, 2017; Allen, 2015; Grammatosi & Harwood, 2014; Lim & Keuk, 2018; McGrath, 2006; Menkabu & Harwood, 2014; Sidhu et al., 2018; Tasseron, 2017; Xu & Fan, 2017; Zhang et al., 2021), mainly addressing the strategies teachers adopt in using ELT materials and the factors affecting their decision-making. At the level of production, research on writing materials for publication (Feak & Swales, 2014; Hadfield, 2014; McDonough et al., 2013; Mishan & Timmis, 2015; Stoller & Robinson, 2014; Tomlinson, 2021) explored the principles of materials development and revealed the interactions between multiple stakeholders in the process. There were also discussions on writing materials as a training program and its influence on teachers' development (Augusto-Navarro et al., 2014; Banegas et al., 2020). However, the authorial intention of positioning and representing values in ELT materials during the writing process, in particular, has not been sufficiently explored. To address the gap, this chapter examines the writing process of a tertiary EFL textbook series locally developed in China, focusing on how values are constructed in ELT Materials.

2 The Textbook Series

The textbook series in question is titled "New Target College English Video Course" ("New Target" henceforth). It is chosen for this study for two reasons: First, the development of "New Target", started in 2019 and finished in 2021, represents a recent effort and some new trends in constructing ELT materials in China; second, we both are the chief editors of the textbook and have been with the writing team throughout the whole process, which enables us to offer the insider's views through this study.

"New Target", intended for non-English major college students across China, is domestically developed and published by one of the leading publishers in the country. After the publisher commissioned the writing of the textbook, the team then set the goals, produced sample units, selected materials, and designed tasks. The process

involved lots of discussions and negotiations within the team and between the team and the publisher. Unit drafts have been through many rounds of revision before they are ready for final editing and publication. The following is a brief introduction to the textbook regarding its scope, organization and value representations.

The series comprises four books with eight units in each falling under four general themes, namely "Understanding the Self", "Understanding the Environment", "Understanding Interpersonal Relations", and "Understanding Science and Culture" (see Table 1). Within a specific thematic framework, each unit provides materials and tasks to engage students in listening comprehension, listening acquisition, speaking practice, critical thinking, and a collaborative project.

Generally speaking, the writing team regard values as the beliefs of what is important in one's life which can affect individuals' ways of thinking and behaving in different social contexts. They divided values represented in "New Target" into two broad categories: (a) Common values referring to those the team believe are upheld by people regardless of cultural differences. (b) China-specific values tied to Chinese cultural contexts and often originated from Confucianism. These two types of values are represented through carefully-selected unit topics, representative examples, linguistic and figurative devices, images critically used as visual reinforcement and entry points for discussion instead of mere space-fillers, and a special section "Critical Thinking" devoted to training in critical and reflective thinking skills.

Table 1 Units and themes of "New Target"

	Book 1	Book 2	Book 3	Book 4	Themes
Unit 1	Embracing College Life	The Future Me	Personality	The Pursuit of Happiness	Understanding the Self
Unit 2	Learning: In What Way?	Handling Stress: Positive Psychology	Beauty is Only Skin-deep	Understanding Creativity	
Unit 3	Games: Too Much of a Good Thing?	Enjoying Sports	Living a Greener Life	The Individual and Society	Understanding the Environment
Unit 4	Education: Crossing Borders	The Changing World	In the Community	Amazing Nature	
Unit 5	Reaching Out to People	Love's Magic Moments	Gender Equality	Values We Hold Dear	Understanding Interpersonal Relations
Unit 6	The Power of Listening	A Charitable Heart	In the Workplace	Our Aging Society	
Unit 7	Everybody Lives by Selling Something	Glocalization	News: Glorified Gossip?	Wonders of the Universe	Understanding Science and Culture
Unit 8	Smarter World! Better World?!	The Beauty of Cultural Diversity	To Be or Not To Be	The Evolution of Civilization	

The dominant themes of common values promoted in the textbook are equality, curiosity, and self-reflection. The pursuit of equality between people of different genders, ages, and cultural backgrounds has been a recurrent theme, as can be seen in the units "Gender Equality" and "Our Aging Society". A typical example is an image showing the contrast between a man dressing professionally and a househusband taking care of the baby, which aims to generate discussion on traditional and modern gender roles. Another common value embraced in the textbook is humans' curiosity and the spirit of adventure. The unit "Wonders of the Universe" starts with the quotation "The Earth is the cradle of humanity, but mankind cannot stay in the cradle forever." Metaphorically, it suggests that though the Earth nurtures human beings, we ought to look to the stars to grow and thrive. In addition to outward exploration, inwardly, self-reflection as an individual and reflection on human civilization as a collective are also promoted, which is showcased in units like "Personality" and "The Evolution of Civilization".

Various textual and visual devices are also used to demonstrate China-specific values, predominantly Hexie, Ren, and Yi, which can be translated into harmony, benevolence, and righteousness respectively. Harmony between mankind and nature, between different cultures and communities, and between mind and body is highlighted throughout the textbook as can be seen from the unit topics "Living a Greener Life", "Amazing Nature", "The Beauty of Cultural Diversity", "In the Community", "Reaching Out to People", and "Handling Stress: Positive Psychology". Well-chosen quotations at the beginning of these units reflect the pursuit of harmony through following the law of nature, embracing diversity, establishing positive human relations, and finding inner peace. Ren and Yi, the core values of Confucianism, are also well-represented. Apart from a unit devoted to the topic "A Charitable Heart" which explores the definition of philanthropy and various ways of doing charity, the textbook tries to embody the virtue of benevolence and righteousness through typical historical and contemporary examples such as Qu Yuan, a patriotic poet during the Warring States Period, and Chinese enterprises that have been shouldering social responsibilities and helping the disadvantaged.

Furthermore, the textbook intends to equip learners with the skills and abilities essential for a critical understanding of the cultural and value content through the "Critical Thinking" section. This section is composed of a thought-provoking video to facilitate discussions on cultural and value assumptions and representations, an instructional module offering explicit explanation of a specific critical thinking skill (see Table 2), and pedagogical tasks requiring learners to apply the skill to analyze the video.

Textbook development is "complex and iterative" (Stoller & Robinson, 2014, p. 293). To illustrate how the above-mentioned values are incorporated into "New Target" through the writing team's complex and iterative efforts, the following section investigates the writing process through a qualitative study. It is hoped that analysis of such an exemplary case can help present the rationale and principles of constructing ELT materials that are pedagogically, morally, culturally, and ideologically meaningful for the intended learners and reveal the dynamics between the sociocultural, political, and historical context and the agency of the textbook writers.

Table 2   Critical thinking skills covered in "New Target"

Book 1 and Book 2	Book 3 and Book 4
1. Assessing the validity and strength of an argument 2. Identifying the links between ideas 3. Identifying different arguments 4. Asking thoughtful questions 5. Solving a problem 6. Drawing implications 7. Reasoning for an argument 8. Recognizing weaknesses in an argument	1. Defining key terms 2. Putting the given information into your own words 3. Translating the given information into visual form 4. Generating innovative strategies 5. Identifying recurrent themes 6. Viewing an issue from multiple perspectives 7. Making a case against an argument 8. Interpreting the given information through examples

3   The Study: Probing into the Writing Process of the Textbook

Probing into the writing process of the textbook series "New Target", this study intends to explore the following question: How do writers' educational beliefs, cultural values, moral views, and ideologies influence the development of the EFL textbook series?

"New Target" is domestically developed by 11 non-native English teachers from seven universities located in the cities of Wuhan, Qingdao, Nanchang, and Guilin in China. With the kind permission from the textbook writers, we gathered qualitative data including textbook drafts, meeting memos, chief editors' comments, and writers' notes, and conducted interviews with the writing team.

This study has selected the writers as interviewees in order to get information-rich cases following the strategy of purposeful sampling (Patton, 2014). Altogether 9 writers were available and agreed to take a semi-structured interview (see Table 3). Each interview lasted for around one hour and interviewees were asked to reflect on

Table 3   Profile of interviewees in the study

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Years of teaching	Degree	Title
Joyce	Female	29	5	Master	Lecturer
Lisa	Female	31	5	Master	Teaching Assistant
Jessica	Female	32	8	Master	Lecturer
Amanda	Female	33	8	Master	Lecturer
Zoe	Female	32	9	Master	Lecturer
Zara	Female	39	18	Master	Associate Professor
Judy	Female	40	18	Doctor	Associate Professor
Tina	Female	42	18	Master	Lecturer
Peter	Male	51	29	Bachelor	Lecturer

how their identity affected the writing process and recall their personal rationale and principles, difficulties they have met, and ways to resolve the difficulties. The interviews were conducted after "New Target" had been finished and ready for publication.

Depending on our research interest, we conduct qualitative content analysis of the data, employing the three essential procedures of writing a textbook as the analytical categories, namely "goal setting", "material selection", and "task designing". Through iterative data analysis, recurrent themes are identified and discussed as follows to reveal under what circumstances and with what purposes the textbook is produced.

3.1 Setting the Broad and Specific Goals: A Way out of the Dilemma

It is advocated that language education should move beyond the teaching of language and foster critically reflective and politically conscious citizens (Kumaravadivelu, 2008). Meeting memos about the development of "New Target" indicate that this is what the textbook aims to do. Two broad objectives are specified in the preface of the textbook: (a) to foster learners' general and academic English listening and speaking abilities to ensure effective communication in English in their future studies, work, and social contact, and (b) to integrate morality cultivation into language teaching to help learners establish right worldviews, views of life, and values. The former expects the learners to be linguistically competent and culturally appropriate, while the latter adds explicitly to the agenda the need for promoting certain moral values and ideologies.

According to the chief editors, the second objective was set out of two considerations: First, it is stated in the *Guidelines* that all college courses should aim for integrated cultivation of morality, knowledge, and ability. English courses, an important part of Chinese higher education, definitely have a role to play in moral education, and EFL textbooks, the material basis for instruction, cannot afford to ignore values and ideology. Second, they hold as their central assumptions that textbooks are embedded with values but values are not to be taught separately (Widodo et al., 2018) and that inculcating moral and cultural values in learners can help them become informed, open-minded, reflexive, and responsible citizens. In other words, both sociopolitical influence and personal educational beliefs were at play when the two overriding goals were set.

When translating the broad objectives into specific unit goals, the writing team gained a deeper understanding of the value-laden nature of language teaching and were made more aware of themselves as moral agents. As Zara said in the interview,

> I used to believe that ELT is primarily concerned with the acquisition of the language. Now I become consciously aware that ELT approaches, EFL materials, and I myself, as an English teacher and textbook writer, can all affect how my students see the world.

Although the team generally embrace the idea that values can and should be integrated into ELT materials, their responses in the interview suggest certain puzzlement as to how to set value-specific goals and how to assess value-related performance. Peter who has been teaching English for around 30 years and considers himself an experienced language teacher emphasized,

> I acknowledge the importance of incorporating moral education into language teaching. But it's hard to set clear objectives concerning students' performance in morality. I'm also rather unsure about how the textbook will be interpreted and received in this regard.

Several other interviewees expressed similar concern: First, to contextualize morality cultivation under the thematic framework of each unit proves to be an unavoidable yet challenging task. When setting the goals, the writers have to specify the growth in morality they expect from learners in dealing with different sociocultural and economic issues. That means they themselves should critically understand the issues under discussion and what it means to be an informed and responsible citizen in various situations. Second, unlike describing skill or knowledge objectives, to verbalize value-specific goals seems to require a different set of metalanguage because the latter cannot be quantitatively measured or at least cannot be easily evaluated through summative tests. Third, compared with instructional content on language knowledge and skills, content on values and cultures is more open to interpretations. When users reconstruct the world presented in the textbook, they bring into the process their own experiences, beliefs, and situational considerations.

The writing team then were faced with the dilemma of whether or not to set value-specific goals. As can be noted in the meeting memos and chief editors' comments, they finally decided that it was a necessary move for they worried that if goals and assessment criteria were blurry, it could be difficult to identify and bridge any gap there might be between the value and culture meaning potential created in the textbook and the meaning triggered and interpreted by actual textbook users.

To deal with the dilemma, on the micro level, the writers followed the format of the sample unit in describing the unit goals, which is required by the publisher for the sake of consistency in style. The textbook leaves it to the learners' self-checking through a checklist regarding the evaluation of value-specific learning performance (see Table 4). According to the writers, although such unit goals seem to be a little simplified, they at least identify the key value message a unit is trying to convey. On the macro level, since learners' growth in social, cultural, and moral values cannot be easily achieved and recognized within a short span of time, the writers feel hopeful that the four books working together can help foster and define such growth more reasonably and scientifically. They consider the distributed yet systematic representations of values in the whole series, especially the aforementioned four general overriding themes, highly helpful in achieving both the broad and specific goals.

Though both broad and specific goals have been set, generally speaking, the writing team are open-minded about how their tentative incorporation of values in the textbook series will be received. Amanda put it well:

Table 4 Example of unit goals and goal checking list

Book 1, Unit 8 "Smarter World! Better World?!"	
Teacher's book	Student's book
Unit Goals In this unit students will • learn useful words and expressions related to technology; • learn to identify discourse markers showing cause and effect in listening; • raise awareness of the pronunciation of "-ed/d" endings in listening and speaking; • learn how to clarify their point of view; • learn to recognize weaknesses there might be in an argument; • develop their own thinking about technology and its impact	**Goal Checking** • I have learned useful words and expressions related to technology; • I am able to identify discourse markers indicating cause and effect; • I am more aware of the pronunciation of "-ed/d" endings in listening and speaking; • I am able to clarify my point of view; • I am able to recognize weaknesses there might be in an argument; • I have developed my own thinking about technology and its impact

> Surely we can never expect the readers to interpret the textbook exactly the way we expect it to be. But as long as the central message is getting across, we allow for or even welcome different interpretations. That's what makes textbook writing and language teaching intriguing!

3.2 Selecting and Adapting the Material: A Complex Treasure Hunt

The process of searching for, deciding on, and adapting materials is, as the interviewee Lisa said, "time-consuming and nerve-wracking". The task is made more complex and demanding by the fact that multiple stakeholders including policymakers, the publisher, editors, and textbook writers together influence how materials are selected. The *Guidelines* states that the essence of moral education is to cultivate political identity, national pride, cultural awareness, legal consciousness, and moral integrity. In response, apart from technical standards on the level and length of materials, the chief editors and the publisher required that more China-specific materials be included to better represent Chinese cultures and values. In addition to the preset unified standard, the writers managed to add into the lengthy "treasure hunt" their personal rationale, which is largely decided by how they define the functions and roles of EFL textbooks, how they approach value representations, and how they perceive their own identity.

The meeting memos show that the writing team consider language textbooks to be the primary source of language input, a facilitator of language acquisition, and a vehicle for humanistic and moral education. Moreover, several interviewees have repeatedly emphasized that textbooks constitute an "authoritative" source of knowledge among the overwhelming amount of information available to learners nowadays. Accordingly, they highlighted "authenticity" when selecting materials. Here authenticity refers to real-life texts and materials that are not specifically prepared

for pedagogical purposes (Richards, 2001; Wallace, 1992). For instance, to initiate a discussion on the aging society and cultivate a positive outlook on aging, Peter selected a documentary clip on how the elderly in Switzerland spend their later years. The video, though originally not produced for pedagogical use, was chosen for Peter considered it useful to expose students to what an English documentary is like and what the Swiss aging society is like. The writers who have endeavored to find authentic texts, audios, and videos believe that such materials represent natural, idiomatic, and standard use of language. Exposure to such language use, they hold, is what motivates learners and facilitates language acquisition. Meanwhile, the writers believe that authentic materials can offer a clearer picture of the real world, which they assume to be the prerequisite for a critical stance towards self, other and different cultures.

Another factor that affects the team's material choice is their understanding of how values can be effectively presented. Analysis of writers' notes reveals the following three types of rationale: (a) explaining abstract terms and providing concrete examples. For instance, for the unit "The Individual and Society", after choosing videos and audios that elaborate on terms like "public value" and "conformity", Jessica managed to find several other materials to exemplify and contextualize these abstract terms, which she believed would make the central value message more understandable; (b) representing both objective and subjective culture. According to Triandis (2002), the former refers to elements visible at the surface level such as material objects or social institutions, while the latter involves those at the invisible level such as norms and meanings. For example, Zara incorporated into the unit "The Beauty of Cultural Diversity" materials about both institutions and artefacts, tangible objective culture, and values and beliefs, the more abstract and conceptual subjective culture; and (c) presenting multiple perspectives on the same issue. A case in point is the unit "Our Aging Society". Peter found materials to present different cultures' attitudes towards the elderly and how an aging society affects both developed and developing countries. Put simply, the writers have all tried to create dynamic engagement between discourses within the textbook. And the interactions and associative relationship between different materials help build a sense of coherence and consistency in representing values.

The writers' identity also has a role to play in material selection. First of all, as nonnative speakers of English, they feel more intensely the need for multicultural representation. The team feel concerned that American and British cultures and values tend to be predominant in previous textbooks, and they aim for better representations of the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle countries where, according to Kachru and Nelson (1996), English is taught in the colonial context and taught as a foreign language respectively. Out of such considerations, they strived for "comprehensive" representations, assuming that cultures of different regions, developed and underdeveloped, and different categories, physical and spiritual, should be reflected in the textbook. Secondly, the writing team were aware of their own strengths as Chinese English teachers. What distinguishes locally developed textbooks is that the writers share the same cultural background with the intended learners. Such shared cultural background, as Weninger and Kiss (2013, p. 703) pointed out, "creates opportunities

for cultural reflection that are harder to achieve in textbooks for a global market". Impelled by their own identity, the team stressed that Chinese cultures and values should be incorporated into the textbook to instill national pride and cultivate national identity on the part of Chinese college students, and they were quite self-assured that the China-specific materials they had chosen, for example those related to Ren and Yi, could strike a responsive chord in the hearts of Chinese English learners. Discourse has ideological partiality because it is filtered by the subject's own point of view (Ruiz, 2009). The team's inclination towards China-specific materials reflects their ideological interpretations.

However, during material selection there emerged a conflict between multicultural representation and the native-speaker norm. In fact, the publisher and some writers expressed preference for native varieties of English, which they consider as the perfect language model. That tends to hold the team back from truly demonstrating social and cultural complexity through the textbook. For example, videos dubbed in Indian English or Singapore English were often dropped. Furthermore, when adapting texts as scripts for subsequent recording by professionals from the publishing house, often native speakers of British or American English, the team would refer to corpora, dictionaries, or native speakers to ensure that the adapted texts conform to the standards of native varieties of English.

Nevertheless, a few exceptions are worth mentioning. As writers' notes reveal, the team have negotiated with the publisher concerning videos with Chinese English voice-over. The team wish to convey to the target learners an encouraging message that the Chinese variety of English can be used as effectively and powerfully as native varieties. Several videos in Chinese English were finally kept in "New Target" (see Table 5). Obviously, the team's sense of identity affected their seemingly inconsistent choices of materials. But their attempt at changing the native-speaker culture norm in EFL textbooks, though compromised to some extent due to the still prevalent native-speaker language norm, gives us new insights into how materials can be selected for multicultural and diverse value representations.

Table 5 Videos with Chinese English Voice-over in "New Target"

Unit title	Videos with Chinese English voice-over
Everybody Lives by Selling Something	Alibaba's mission, vision and values
Smarter World! Better World?!	China moving towards the cashless society
Enjoy Sports	Sports the Chinese people play in their daily lives
In the Workplace	"996" work schedule
Our Aging Society	How the elderly in China might spend their later years

3.3 *Designing the Pedagogical Tasks: A Bridge to the Other Side*

If goal setting and material selection are arduous enough, designing tasks is even more intellectually demanding. Based on their personal experiences as language teachers and material developers, the writers are well aware that to achieve the intended social, cultural, and pedagogical goals, merely integrating value and culture materials into the textbook is not sufficient. Just as Weninger and Kiss (2013) argued, overt cultural content should be paired with tasks that prompt students to reflect so as to fully utilize the cultural connotations and develop a critical and reflexive understanding of culture, self, and other. The team consider pedagogical tasks as the bridge between cultural content and value cultivation.

When asked about the rationale behind the designing of tasks in "New Target", the writers' answers reveal that they brought into the process their own educational beliefs and moral views:

> It is the teacher's role and responsibility not to follow a textbook blindly but to adapt the tasks to suit the teaching context. That's what I often do when I use textbooks. That means the tasks we design should be flexible enough to allow for adaptation.

It seems that Jessica expected target users to creatively explore and even adapt the tasks to tap the culture and value potential of the textbook to the fullest. So, she herself highlighted "flexibility" in tasks and exercises. A case in point is a task she designed for the unit "Living a Greener Life". In addition to a blank-filling exercise about a talk on "Zero Waste" life, she added a task requiring the learners to choose three items from a picture to create a Zero Waste kitchen. She believed that such a task could create a sense of "openness" that allows the teacher to adapt what is offered and organize interesting activities instead of just checking answers.

Another principle that can be felt strongly in pedagogical tasks in "New Target" is presenting "the positive", just as Amanda noted, "I believe the textbook should evoke positive feelings and values among learners. That is to say, we should guide students through the journey of discovery into something morally uplifting."

That is probably why almost every situated project at the end of each unit sends a message of staying positive and playing a constructive role in society. For instance, in the unit "Our Aging Society" written by Peter, learners are asked to conduct a survey on the lifestyles of the elderly from different walks of life in China. Peter wrote the following introduction to set a positive tone on the topic of "aging" and draw learners' attention to the positive moral and cultural message this activity is trying to convey: "Getting 60 no longer fills people with dread, instead, many believe that 'life begins at 60'. The pensioners are finally having their own time and taking age as an opportunity to try new things".

Then step-by-step instruction is given to scaffold the teacher and students on how to design questionnaires, gather data, and analyze survey results. Projects like this intend to engage students in active reflection and action on important social and cultural issues.

The most important rationale behind task designing is to enhance learners' critical reasoning through situated practice. The chief editors feel concerned that the infusion of culture and value elements may not readily translate into the growth they expect to see in learners because two factors might hinder textbook users from fully tapping the cultural and value meaning potential. First, teachers can ignore or misinterpret what the textbook is trying to represent, leaving the meaning potential underexplored. Second, according to their observations, learners often lack the awareness and skills of critically evaluating or even questioning what is presented and represented in textbooks. The team therefore focused on designing tasks that engage textbook users in critical and reflective thinking.

Accordingly, a special section "Critical Thinking" is presented in each unit. It intends to overtly bring to learners' attention the moral and cultural messages conveyed in the material and to guide them to critically analyze the material and actively engage in cultural reflection. A case in point is the unit "Beauty is Only Skin-Deep". As the corresponding writer Lisa recalled, to cultivate a healthy outlook on what constitutes beauty, this section presents to learners a talk about the worrying phenomenon and consequences of beauty sickness. In order to encourage learners to exploit the value content of the material, Lisa wrote the following brief introduction to bring the issue to learners' notice:

> Beauty has become such a chronic focus for many people nowadays that it directs them away from other more important goals in life. In this video, Dr. Engeln, a psychology professor and body image researcher, explores the concept of beauty sickness.

The next step is to enable the learners to recognize the value potential, which Lisa believed entails understanding the key concept and translating the key information into one's own words. For this reason, Lisa offered step-by-step explicit instruction on "putting the given information into your own words" to show how to grasp the main points, organize one's notes, and retell the key information. After learning these steps, learners then are required to put the key points on beauty sickness into their own words. Finally, learners are asked several questions that activate advanced critical thinking skills such as analyzing and evaluating the given arguments, drawing implications, and generating solutions. The first question aims to engage students in active interpretation on an important metaphor "mirror" in the material, the second question connects the issues under discussion with learners' own sociocultural background and intends to enhance their problem-solving skills, and finally the third question encourages learners to explore the hidden agenda behind the speech:

1. "When you are beauty-sick, you cannot engage with the world because between you and the world is a mirror. And it's a mirror that travels with you everywhere." How do you understand the "mirror"?
2. Based on the video and your own understanding, what factors may have contributed to the epidemic of beauty sickness? What do you think can be done to heal our beauty-sick world?
3. What do you think is the speaker's purpose in giving the talk?

Such a "notice-comprehend-apply" process can be found in each "Critical Think-ing" section throughout the four books. It intends to enhance students' linguistic, sociolinguistic, and strategic competences in critically understanding, analyzing and evaluating ELT materials, which could help students grow from "material users" to "material evaluators" or even "material critics" (Xu, 2021).

In general, the writers put much emphasis on cultivating reflexivity on the learners' part when designing pedagogical tasks, hoping that the bridge can lead learners towards intellectual, emotional, and cultural transformation.

4 Conclusion

The locally developed EFL textbook series examined in this chapter shows the writing team's attempt to link language learning to Chinese cultural and sociopolitical envi-ronment. Externally, there are institutional expectations on enhancing moral educa-tion. Internally, major textbook stakeholders of "New Target" recognize the value-laden nature of ELT materials. Probably for these two reasons, this textbook series has explicitly set value cultivation as the goal and tried to pursue the goal through various means. Analysis of its writing process presents an exemplary case for how tertiary English textbooks are domestically written in an Asian country. Findings of the study help enrich our understanding of the interactions between chief editors, writers, the publisher, and materials in this dynamic process and shed light on the complexity surrounding the incorporation of values in ELT materials.

The choices the writers have made throughout the writing process lend support to a dynamic and emergent view of agency. On the one hand, what and how values are incorporated are mediated by the writers' own values, beliefs, and knowledge, their past experiences, and external resources and constraints. To a large extent, the textbook discourse is filtered by the writers' own point of view and reveals their knowledge of the social reality. On the other hand, the writing experience seems to foster a stronger sense of agency among the writers. Their conscientious efforts got the textbook series ready for publication. Their agency is achieved "through the interplay of personal capacities and the resources, affordances, and constraints of the environment by means of which individuals act" (Priestly et al., 2015, p. 23).

From the writing team's agentic efforts, we can draw implications for the design of value-based ELT materials. To begin with, the identity and sociocultural back-ground of local language teachers can be made full use of to produce more targeted ELT materials for a local market. If there emerge many more such locally-developed EFL textbooks, they can form a picture of diverse culture and value representa-tions when pieced together. Secondly, intertextuality between discourses within one unit or across units can contribute to the construction of values and cultures. Ruiz (2009) explained that the meaning of discourse emerges as it engages in dialogue implicitly or explicitly with other discourses. The interactions and inner consistency

between materials, tasks, prompts etc. could help present values in a systematic rather than discursive manner. Furthermore, situated practice designed according to the following principles might work better for values education:

1. The situation or context for any task in the textbook should convey a positive cultural and value message in itself.
2. The tasks should be flexible and open enough for creative adaptation to meet the needs of the teacher and learners.
3. Most importantly, just as Thongrin (2018) pointed out, in addition to cultural knowledge, students should be provided with materials that enhance their critical reasoning. Critical reasoning is essential for cultural and value reflexivity for it affects how students interpret ELT materials and how they perceive both self and other. It is therefore important to equip students with critical thinking abilities through materials, tasks, and scaffolding.

Admittedly, the writing team have also experienced confusion and struggles throughout the complex process of textbook development, which reveals issues that are worth further academic exploration. First of all, though Xiong and Qian (2012) advocated a multicultural perspective on material development and inclusion of texts reflecting values of users from various cultural backgrounds, the influence of native-speakerism can still be felt among the writers of "New Target" and their sense of insecurity regarding non-dominant varieties of English makes such a step forward more difficult than expected. And the publishers' preference for native-speaker norms also needs to be revisited if multicultural representation is to be promoted. Moreover, despite the team's intention and efforts in infusing social, cultural, and moral values into this textbook series, it awaits, however, the learners and teachers' interpretation and evaluation at the consumption level. Only when the textbook is in actual use can we tell whether and how much cultural and value potential has been tapped. An even thornier issue is how to evaluate the incorporation of value content in textbooks and, one step further, how to assess learners' value-related performance. Metalanguage to describe value-specific goals is needed. Proper criteria and methods should also be developed to evaluate learners' gradual and not-so-visible growth in value and cultural understanding.

Moral education through language teaching would be a long journey. To accomplish the goal requires recognition of the value-laden nature of the cause from all major stakeholders and their joint agentic attempts to reframe how textbooks are written, evaluated, and taught.

Appendix

Interview Guide

Goal setting:

1. How did you set the goals of each unit? Why did you do it that way?
2. Have you met any difficulties in setting unit goals? If yes, how did you overcome those difficulties?

Material selection:

1. What do you think of the criteria set by the chief editors for material selection?
2. What is your rationale for your choices of materials?
3. Have you met any difficulties in material selection? If yes, how did you overcome those difficulties?

Task designing:

1. What do you think are the functions of pedagogical tasks?
2. What is your rationale for the design of pedagogical tasks in this textbook series?
3. Have you met any difficulties in designing pedagogical tasks? If yes, how did you overcome those difficulties?

Identity:

1. How do you understand your identity in writing this textbook series?
2. How did your identity affect your writing process?

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Chapter 9
Multimodality, Ethnography and the English Language Teaching Textbook: Negotiating Heteronormativity in Visual Representations

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Germán Canale and Martina Fernández Fasciolo

Abstract Even though there is a long-standing tradition of textbook analysis that explores textual representations, analyzing the textbook as part of wider social practices (e.g., in the contexts of textbook production and textbook use) is key to exploring the many ways in which representations are negotiated in social interaction. In this paper, we draw on multimodality and ethnographic approaches to discourse to present illustrative examples of two research sites in Uruguay: English language teaching (ELT) textbook production and ELT textbook use in the classroom. We focus on how textbook content developers, teachers and learners negotiate heteronormative visual representations in textbooks. These negotiations respond to broader ideological assumptions (about gender and about the textbook as educational media) which become articulated in interaction. Our conceptual aim in discussing these illustrative examples is to claim for situated textbook discourse analysis as a key area for analyzing the complex dynamics of representation as a semiotic process and not solely as a semiotic product.

Keywords ELT Heteronormative ideology · Negotiation · Textbook production · Textbook use · Visual representation

1 Researching School Textbooks

Textbooks play several overlapping roles in formal education: they legitimate what States—or external agencies—validate as official knowledge (Apple, 2003), they authorize particular social representations and views of social reality (Apple &

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Christian-Smith, 1991), they shape what is to become "shared knowledge" among learners (van Dijk & Atienza, 2011), they shape school subjects by promoting specific values and contents (Gray, 2010), they help teachers mediate the curriculum and enact the lesson (Moss & Chamorro Miranda, 2008), they guide learners' semiotic work in the classroom (Weninger, 2021; Weninger & Kiss, 2013) and they position learners and teachers in particular ways (Canale, 2019).

From a discourse-oriented approach, textbook discourse can be thought of as *text* and as part of wider *social practices* (Canale, 2021), as any other discourse in society (Fairclough, 2003). As *text*, textbook representations do a lot of ideological work in assuming what social reality is, presenting and classifying it to learners in particular ways. *Textbook as text* underscores the structural agency of textbook design (by "designer" here we shall refer to the many social actors and institutions engaged in textbook production). However, *textbook as part of social practice* requires us to examine how the textbook is produced, distributed and used, and to identify the mechanisms through which discourse producers (at the level of design) and users (in the classroom) negotiate textbook discourse in interaction. To do this, an ethnographic approach is needed.

In this chapter we present illustrative examples of two research sites (textbook production and textbook use in the classroom) to explore how heteronormativity is negotiated in visual representations in English language teaching (ELT) textbooks. Examples are discussed in light of our main conceptual aim: to argue for the need to articulate multimodality and ethnography in textbook discourse analysis in order to capture the multisemiotic and socially-bound complexities behind the social practices in which textbooks are produced and used. Our focus on the ELT textbook is motivated by two main reasons: (1) Traditionally, ELT instruction and materials used in Uruguayan classrooms have avoided any discussion around issues of gender, sexuality and heteronormativity; and (2) Despite this, secondary education has recently engaged in the production of a series of local ELT textbooks and classroom materials in which one of the aims is to show a diverse range of identities (in terms of race, culture, gender, socioeconomic background, among others). These two points make local ELT a fruitful school subject for analysis.

2   Situating Textbook Discourse: Representation and Negotiation

While textbook studies have traditionally analyzed textual representations, contents and discourses, more recently the field has started to call for more situated research (Fuchs & Bock, 2018) to explore how these are negotiated.

This requires us to explore the social processes and practices entailed in designing, distributing and consuming/using textbooks (Canale, 2019; Macgilchrist, 2017; Macgilchrist & van Hout, 2011). In this regard, Macgilchrist (2017) analyzes the production of textbooks for secondary school in Germany. She studies how some

phenomena involved in the production stage—usually referred to in the literature as *contextual constraints*—become entangled in the discursive practices of producing textbooks. By foregrounding such *materialdiscursive* phenomena and their agency in this process, she calls for an anthropologically-oriented model which embraces such entanglements. For his part, Bori (2021) draws on critical ethnography to explore how adult EFL learners and instructors articulate textbooks' (neoliberal) contents in class. He focuses on jobless adult learners in Serbia—a former communist country—and the complex negotiation between the neoliberal values promoted by texts, tasks and visuals in the global ELT textbook and the sociopolitical reality of learners. This is especially interesting because these learners struggle with present/past and local/global contradictions pertaining to the role of EFL in their country.

In this chapter, we focus on ELT textbook representations and their negotiation in two research sites: the textbook production process (content developers' meetings) and textbook use in the classroom. For this purpose, we define *representation* as a semiotic and discursive practice through which meanings about social life are made (Fairclough, 2003) and re-made. Representations entail both inclusion and exclusion of aspects of the world and their implicit or explicit social evaluation (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021). Representations respond—in complex ways—to the ideological interest, values and positionings of meaning-makers (Hodge & Kress, 1988). Throughout the chapter, we look at how these representations are negotiated in interaction. By "negotiation" we refer to the continuous semiotic process through which participants make meanings *of* and *in* particular social practices (Carranza, 2020). This view of negotiation foregrounds the individual and collective agency participants exert when interacting with textbook discourse in social scenarios, such as the classroom (Canale, 2021).

3 Multimodality, Social Semiotics and L2/FL Textbook Analysis

Multimodality is a framework (O'Halloran, 2012) for analyzing meaning-making at the intersection of modes (e.g., writing, speech, image, design, etc.) and media (e.g., paper, screen, palette, etc.) (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). A multimodal approach seeks to account for how semiotic resources become orchestrated *in* and *for* communication. The point of departure is the observation that the social and cultural meanings we make are shaped—and at the same time shape—the varied semiotic resources available to us in particular communicative situations (van Leeuwen, 2005).

Among the many theories multimodal studies can draw on, Social Semiotics studies the social construction, circulation and interpretation of signs (Hodge & Kress, 1988) by foregrounding that meaning-making is context-bound and ideologically motivated (Kress, 1993). Our framework, then, is Multimodal Social Semiotics, a field which, among other things, has detailed the most fundamental changes in modes and media that have taken place in textbook discourse (Bezemer & Kress,

2010, 2015; Machin, 2007). As for L2/FL research, Weninger (2021) points out that sociosemiotic and multimodal analyses of textbooks fall into two main categories: while most authors analyze visuals and verbal texts separately (i.e., considering each in isolation), others take intermodality (i.e., the interaction of modes) as a point of departure to study mode orchestration. Exploring intermodal aspects of the L2/FL textbook has helped to shift attention from representation to communication and (imagined) interaction (Canale, 2021; Weninger, 2021). For instance, Xiong and Peng (2021) analyze three types of image-text relations in Chinese SL textbooks: referential/illustrative, referential/linguistic and denotational relations. Each relation entails different ways of representing cultural values to students and of pedagogically positioning them. Their findings can be interpreted in light of Weninger's (2021) reflection on the need for language textbook analysis to address both meaning as representation and as interaction (producer-reader interaction assumed or imagined by textbook discourse). However, as Canale and Furtado (2021) claim, multimodal L2/FL textbook studies have paid little attention to ethnographic research, and more situated understandings of textbook discourse and textbook audience are still needed. In other words, we still need more research about real language textbook audiences (i.e. students and teachers in the classroom) and about the very process of textbook design.

4 Heteronormativity in (ELT) Textbooks

Heteronormativity is a hegemonic regime of discourses and practices that normalizes forms of heterosexuality (Nelson, 2010). Drawing on regulatory discourses of identity as binary (male/female) and of complementary gender roles, among others (Cameron, 2005), these discourses and practices naturalize *some* forms of heterosexuality (Evripidou, 2020). Gender and sexuality representations (or the lack thereof) in textbook discourse can contribute to either reinforcing or questioning this heteronormative regime, or what Butler (1999) refers to as *heterosexual hegemony*. This is one of the reasons why exploring heteronormativity as sex/gender/sexuality ideology is key to critical language education and critical textbook discourse analysis.

Discursive strategies that perpetuate heteronormativity in textbooks include: bias, avoidance and underrepresentation. Blumberg's (2015) report of textbooks of several school subjects in different parts of the world claims there is a "similar pattern of gender bias in textbooks virtually worldwide" (p. 1). This has been documented for sexuality as well. Höne and Heerdegen (2018) discuss that when homosexual characters appear in textbooks, their representation leads to the "modern gay" (Höne and Heerdegen drawing on Keinz, 2010), that is the "white, able-bodied, cisgendered male marked as homosexual" (p. 240). In doing this, only some forms of gayness may become legitimated in textbook discourse. Therefore, an apparent progressive inclusion of LGBTQI* characters does not necessarily lead to an erasure of discriminatory—or at best problematic—representations, as shown in Gray (2013) and Moore (2020), to name a few.

As for avoidance strategies, in a study of English, German, French and Spanish language textbooks, Risager (2021) finds that gender and sexuality are usually not discussed overtly or addressed as social dimensions of society or schools, thus neglecting the many ways in which gender and sexuality are performed inside/outside the classroom. Avoidance is usually reinforced in textbook discourse by depicting heteronormative scenarios, topics and narratives in which heterosexuality is assumed (Canale & Furtado, 2021). While nowadays avoidance has become less frequent when representing 'conforming' binary gender/sexual identities, it is still highly operative for representing identities outside the strictly heteronormative and for most LGBTQI* identities, as shown in Gray's (2013) analysis of ELT textbooks.

Underrepresentation is still a widely used strategy in ELT textbooks, as shown in the work of Islam and Asadullah (2018). Their work is in consonance with the classic study by Porreca (1984), who found that women are generally underrepresented in terms of the limitations in the social roles they perform—stereotypically associated with traditional female activities—together with a tendency to represent them in domestic roles and portraying men and women as having distinct personality traits.

To this literature on representation strategies, we should add a slowly growing body of ethnographic research addressing gender and sexuality in ELT textbooks. The notion of *gender (critical) point* (Sunderland et al., 2000, 2002) and its reformulations (Canale & Furtado, 2021; Pakula et al., 2015; Sauntson, 2020) paved the way for ethnographically-oriented research to explore gendered topics, degrees of heteronormativity in textbook, and their negotiation in the classroom. For our purpose, critical points can be thought of as events in which issues of gender and sexuality are attended to and interactively brought into discourse (potentially for discussion). Gender critical points can be triggered and initiated by participants, artifacts (such as textbooks themselves) or any other element in the classroom environment. Identifying these critical points is very fruitful for the study of heteronormative ideology and analyzing them is key for critically exploring textbook discourse and its negotiation.

5   Methodological Aspects

Our overarching approach draws on the intersection of ethnography and multimodality for textbook discourse analysis. Ethnographic approaches to discourse are our intellectual program: we view discourse as a situated phenomenon and so we are interested in analyzing how it unfolds in time and space. To put it bluntly, we analyze discourse and we do so ethnographically. For its part, we draw on multimodality as a tool—informed by Social Semiotics—which allows us to expand our notion of discourse and meaning-making by assuming meanings are made across semiotic modes and media. The underlying principles of Multimodal Discourse Analysis and its intersection with Social Semiotics can be found in Kress (2011).

In this chapter we present two illustrative examples of how heteronormativity in visual representations is negotiated in two social sites in Uruguay: ELT textbook production and the ELT classroom. In both examples, visual representations become the object of negotiation. In particular, we focus on what visual meanings social actors attend to in these representations and how such meanings become negotiated interactively. Due to space constraints, we do not provide a full multimodal description of the textbooks or the interactions at hand. Based on our ethnographic data, we restrict our analysis to the textbook representations to which participants themselves attend in social interaction.

5.1   Example 1: Negotiating Representations in Textbook Production

While local ELT has usually preferred global textbooks or local adaptations of global textbooks, the series #*livingUruguay (1, 2, 3)* (ANEP, 2021) was fully designed and produced in Uruguay, targeting learners (aged 11–15) in public secondary school. These textbooks have been digitized and made accessible free of charge to all students. A group of nine EFL instructors was appointed by national educational authorities for discussing these textbooks. Team meetings were held (online) and synchronous and asynchronous work was conducted (in three smaller groups). Full team meetings were devoted to developing textbook contents, negotiating practical issues—such as page layout and the organization of tasks. Other than what is prescribed in national ELT guidelines, there were no further specifications or mandatory contents to be addressed by the textbook.

The example we will present next belongs to an ethnographic study of the local ELT textbook production process. Data collection included around two months of (audio recorded) non-participant online observations of authors meetings (via *Zoom*), focus groups (to explore authors' insights on some gender and sexuality-related decisions), semi-structured interviews and the analysis of other educational texts and documents.

During a team meeting in which the galley proof of Textbook 1 was being revised, a critical point emerged as a content developer warned about a particular page (Fig. 1) claiming: "*Saquen a Nico que tiene tits*" [*Take Nico out because he has tits*].

As the other main characters in the textbook, Nico is a custom-made avatar designed with *Bitmoji*, an application that allows non-expert users to design their own avatars. In the digital page of the galley, the image in which Nico appears was predominant in size (occupying most of the page) and in layout (placed at the center of the page). As Fig. 1 shows, this is a conceptual image (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021) in that it does not narrate actions but instead represents the identities of Nico and Emma "as they are" in the scenario at hand (outside Emma's house). However, writing anchors the image by providing narrative meanings which are not visually

Fig. 1 Illustration of Nico's image in final draft (*left*). Enlarged image of Nico's illustration (*right*)

represented: above the image the textbook page reads: "Nico and Emma *are playing* in Emma's house" (our italics).

Images in the textbook usually present a collage of real scenarios (photographs of actual places, like Emma's house) to which these (digitally made) avatars are superimposed. As a result, while scenarios show a naturalistic orientation to the code (photography), textbook characters (avatars) show a lower degree of naturalistic orientation since they are a sort of "drawn cartoons". This is realized in Fig. 1 by visual validity markers (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021) which reduce the degree of details in the image of Nico and Emma, compared to the background (Emma's house). These lower validity markers in the visual representation of the characters include: homogeneity in colors, low degree of details (only basic facial expressions and body movements are depicted to express reactions, emotions and actions), a lack of detail in lighting saturation and depth, among others. These markers allow for the visual regulation of the avatars, in this case avoiding representing particular aspects and details of a human body and turning them into "less realistic" characters.

The request/command "Take Nico out because he has tits" is a sign of engagement (Bezemer & Kress, 2016) through which the content developer orients the other participants to a particular aspect of the image: the supposed visual salience of Nico's breasts. Along these lines, it is important to note that in prior meetings the team had already discussed some drawings showing Nico with what was assumed to be "female breasts", which was equated to other issues, such as a character changing eye color or a slimmer character who in other images seemed to have gained weight. According to the textbook developers, Nico's breasts were accidental and thus needed

to be fixed. However, as will be shown below, this "accident" made explicit some underlying heteronormative ideologies about gender, sexuality and the body, as well as ideologies about the visual role of the textbook as educational media.

Usually, these types of requests such as changing Nico's image were not dealt with on the spot and so no further interactive/communicative turns took place. For this reason, we decided to conduct focus group interviews to further explore this. The focus groups were conducted in Spanish. Due to space constraints, we will present our own English translation of an illustrative extract:

Extract 1 Nico's breasts as a gender critical point (Focus Group 2)

Can you tell me what happened and how you dealt with it?

> Paula[1]: At the beginning we didn't even realize [laughs] but then /
> one day we were checking (the draft) and / (we said): "but he has hips,
> and he has breasts and that body is not the body of a man it is not
> the body of a boy it is not a" / among our group the most prominent
> feeling was the fear that this would generate a distortion, a depar-
> ture from the original topic because they (students) would start
> to pick out things, make jokes or / it is the first thing a typical
> teenager will look at because they are focused on this topic, and
> especially regarding the physical appearance / it is the first thing
> they will notice and they will laugh and they will cause / that we lost
> the class's focus and the characters would be ridiculed.
> Clara: I agree with Paula despite the fact that it happened within her
> subgroup. I remember a couple of team meetings where this matter was
> discussed. I remember Fabio created the avatars again. The feeling
> I got, and I think I expressed it back then is that, while it is true
> that we want to show openness and that we believe we are creating
> an inclusive material, where the majority can feel identified, or
> may feel that this is the real thing that happens among adolescents,
> right? This is the real thing that happens among my friends and this
> is the reality I see. And that this would be open for interpretation
> / what I mentioned earlier that there should be open endings, to give
> it a name, but with clarity. Because one thing is to provide an open
> ending and something different is to confuse. I think these are very
> different. So, if we overlooked this avatar, for example, what we
> were providing (students with) was not clarity regarding the concept
> that we are all different, right? We would be confusing (them). One
> thing is clarity, or rather, openness and something different is
> confusion and lack of clarity. [...] Because if Nico, for example,
> was characterized as a heterosexual boy, well then, he should have
> the body of a heterosexual boy, he shouldn't have certain traits that
> we associate more directly with femininity or homosexuality. So, it
> is OK to be open and inclusive and that we all can feel part of / but as
> long as it is clear. Because I think that, with teenagers, if there
> is one thing we cannot do, is to confuse them

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[1] Pseudonyms are used for all participants throughout the paper.

Two interrelated assumptions (Fairclough, 2003) operate in the shared interpretation and negotiation of Nico's breasts as "problematic": (1) That visual representations need to achieve gender/sexuality/body "conformity" or "intelligibility" and (2) That the former point is a requirement for the textbook to communicate transparently to learners.

As for gender/sexuality/body conformity, while developers had agreed they wanted to create an ELT textbook that would show a wide variety of identities, Nico's visual representation triggered a number of arguments for regulating diversity. As shown in the published textbook, diversity was allowed in when pertaining to ethnicity, cultural background or family structure as a means for the learner to feel their social experiences were close to those represented in the textbook. However, other types of diversity (such as Nico's breasts) were discursively regulated and the motivations for potential exclusion became explicit in focus group interactions. While no text or task throughout the textbook mentions Nico's breasts or body, some visuals (prominent in size and centered in the page) were considered to draw the readers' attention to his breasts. Thus, Nico's body seemed to fall outside dominant textbook—and social—constructions of the "conforming" body and called for regulation.

This points to how heteronormative ideology operates in regulating issues of gender/sexuality/body so that alleged "non-conformity" becomes a marked representation (Hall, 2003) that requires exclusion. Discursive construals of conforming/nonconforming bodies, desirable/undesirable representations become interactively articulated in (linguistic) connotation strategies (Wodak, 2001)—deployed in Extract 1—through which the visual representation of Nico's body—but also his character as a whole—is appraised.

Table 1 shows that for textbook developers wrong visual cues (Nico's breasts) of the character's identity are given away in this image. In particular, it is interesting to note that the undesired visual representation of Nico is assumed to construe him as either homosexual or as a feminine boy. In this way, Nico's breasts—as visual signifiers—become overfunctionalized to index gender (*femininity*) and sexual orientation (*homosexuality*).

As can be noted, diversity is allowed in as far as heteronormativity is not at stake, that is when body-gender-sexuality "conformity" is not defied in any manner (as Clara argues: "*if Nico, for example, was characterized as a heterosexual boy, well then, he should have the body of a heterosexual boy*"). While Nico's heterosexuality

Table 1 Connotation strategies deployed to appraise Nico's body

Desired visual representation of Nico	Undesired visual representation of Nico
a heterosexual boy *with a body of a heterosexual boy* *the body of a heterosexual boy*	*he has hips* *he has breasts* *that body is not the body of a man it is not the body of a boy* *traits we would associate with femininity or homosexuality*

is not explicitly addressed in the textbook series, it seems to be heteronormatively assumed in visual and written narratives around the character. For instance, Nico is interested in *"science more than literature"* (*#LivingUruguay 1*, p. 41) and his outfit, his physical appearance and his bedroom seem to represent a traditional—or even stereotypical—heterosexual cisgender male. However, there are other male characters whose representations show a lower degree of heteronormativity in "safe" mundane practices (i.e., cooking, hula hooping or doing housework).

This heteronormative interpretation of Nico's body (and its underlying assumptions about gender and sexuality) leads us to the second main assumption, which pertains to the ideology of the textbook. This consists in assuming that the pedagogic role of textbook discourse is to transparently—which in this case means gender/sexuality "conformity"—communicate to learners and guide their understanding of the social world. Any unexpected or potentially polemic representation becomes undesirable because it brings about fears of dispreferred interpretations by learners, as argued by Paula: " *(…) this would generate a distortion, a departure from the original topic because they (students) would start to pick out things, make jokes or / it is the first thing a typical teenager will look at because they are focused on this topic, and especially regarding the physical appearance / it is the first thing they will notice and they will laugh and they will make / that we lost the class's focus and that the characters would be ridiculed*".

As Table 2 shows, through (linguistic) connotation strategies, Nico's allegedly non-conforming body is thought to misconstrue the pedagogical and communicative aims of the textbook:

The pedagogical and communicative role of the textbook is assumed to require two (conflicting) moves. On the one hand, the textbook needs to be "open" and "inclusive", representing a wide variety of identities while, at the same time, it needs to be regulated so as to guide learners' semiosis in particular ways. Nico's breasts are assumed to contribute to an undesired role of images in the textbook, "confusing" learners and failing to offer "clarity", as the connotation strategies in Table 2 suggest. These negative connotation strategies point to what type of diversity is considered (un)safe content in textbook discourse (Gray, 2010): unlike other diverse representations in the textbook, Nico's breasts are signposted as "unsafe" and as problematic content calling for regulation.

Table 2 Connotation strategies deployed to appraise textbook communication

Desired role of visuals in the textbook	Undesired role of visuals in the textbook
we are creating an inclusive material	*this would generate a distortion*
the real thing that happens with adolescents	*they would start to highlight things, make jokes*
openness	*a departure from the original topic*
open for interpretation	*the characters would be ridiculed*
we want to show openness	*what we were providing was not clarity*
clarity	*we would confuse (learners)*
open endings, but with clarity	*lack of clarity*

Fig. 2 Illustration of Nico's character in published textbook
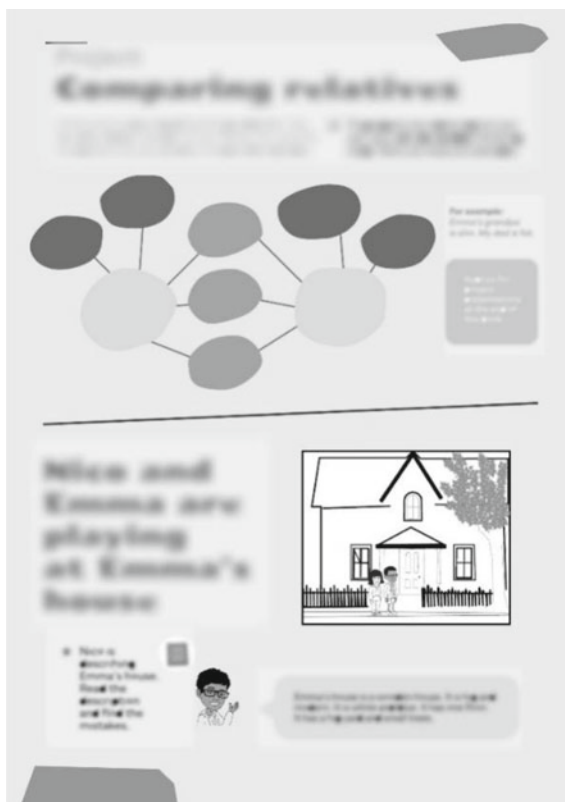
The published version of the textbook shows that in the end Nico's polemic drawing was not excluded. Our ethnographic data seem to indicate that this was due to a very practical reason: the image is a montage of the characters (avatars) and an actual image of a house so creating a new one could be more time-consuming at the pre-publishing stage. Instead of eliminating it, the original image was made less prominent by decentering (placing it at the bottom-right side of the page) and shrinking it, making Nico's alleged breasts less noticeable to learners (Fig. 2).[2] While our broader analysis of the textbook series shows that it does challenge heteronormativity in other gender stereotypes, Nico's "unconforming" body drew the line between included and excluded diversity.

This brief analysis of a gender critical point shows the "entanglement of the publishing process" (Macgilchrist, 2017, p. 5) in which the relation between the different elements that are introduced during the negotiation of (gendered) representations and the final product are not straightforwardly linked. The example also

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[2] The published image—and the full textbook—can be found at https://www.anep.edu.uy/sites/default/files/%23LivingUruguay%201_0.pdf (page 55).

illustrates the role shared ideological assumptions (of gender and of textbook communication) play in shaping final representations, in which both practical and ideological issues also become entangled. Finally, the example illustrates how some signs of engagement (such as Nico's breasts) become disputed and charged with particular negative connotations in social interaction.

5.2 Example 2: Negotiating Representations in Textbook Use

The textbook *Uruguay in Focus 1* (Pearson Longman, 2003) is an adaptation of an internationally produced series. As most beginner ELT textbooks, it contains a chapter about the family in which related vocabulary and content are introduced. The example we will discuss belongs to an ethnographic study carried out in a 1st year secondary school (beginner) EFL class in an urban working/middle-class school in Montevideo, the capital city of Uruguay. Data collection included around eight months of classroom observations (which were video recorded), interviews with the teacher, students and other stakeholders, focus groups with students and artifact collection. More contextual information about the broader study is provided in Canale (2019) and more contextual information about the example is provided in Canale and Furtado (2021).

In the classroom unit *My Family,* the teacher (Vera) required learners to work with family vocabulary (family members), physical descriptions and comparisons. In the example we present below, the teacher requires learners to do a listening task presented in the textbook, in which they need to answer whether statements are true or false. For instance, in the written task a statement such as "Rebecca is Daniel's girlfriend" is false based on the fact that when Luke and Daniel are talking, Daniel asks: "Have you got a girlfriend, Luke?" and Luke replies: "Yes, I have. Her name is Rebecca". The learners are expected to figure out the statement is false and to correct the mistake.

As Fig. 3 shows, the visual representation that accompanied the listening task (an image depicting some of the textbook characters mentioned throughout the task) did not seem to fulfill any pedagogic role (other than visually showing the identities of some characters) and thus it was not attended to during the lesson. This image occupies the full printed page, together with the written task and a transcript of the audio. Four characters appear in the picture (three boys and a girl) in a deserted field, but they are not prominent in the image: they are depicted far away in the second and third layers of the printed page (only a wooden fence and part of a landscape appear

Fig. 3 Illustration of book page in *Uruguay in Focus 1*
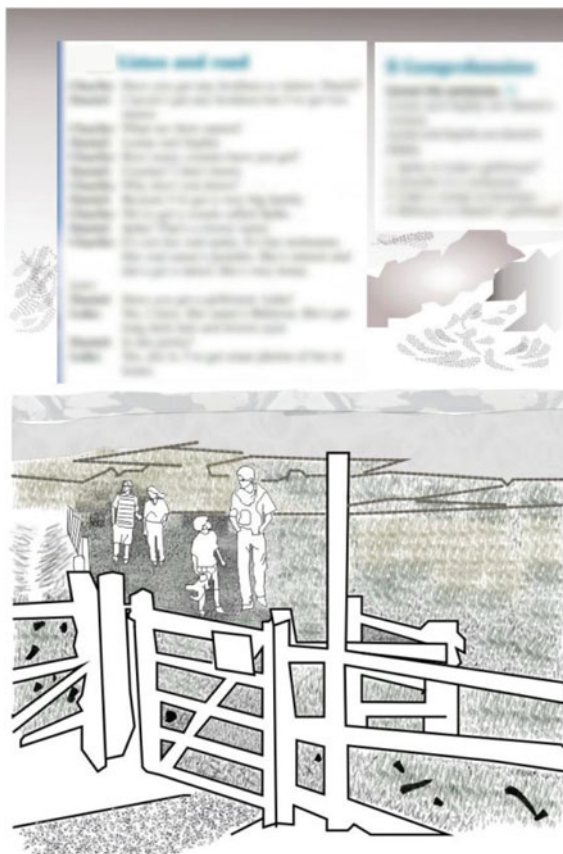
in the first layer). Two boys appear in the second layer, and a boy and a girl appear in the third layer.

While orally checking learners' responses to the listening comprehension questions, a critical point emerged. The statement "Spike is Luke's girlfriend" expects students to realize that, given that Spike is Charlie's cousin (and Luke's girlfriend is called Rebecca), it needs to be corrected. However, a student seemed to get confused by the statement and provided the wrong reasons for the sentence being wrong, as Extract 2 shows:

Extract 2 Spike's identity as a gender critical point (Class interaction)

Vera:	And now, let's correct the wrong sentences, ok? ¿Se entiende? (*Do you understand?*) Correct the sentences that are wrong.
Gabriela:	Sí. Yes, teacher.
Vera:	Ok, good. So… 'Spike is Luke's girlfriend'.
Gabriela:	(laughs) No, no.
Vera:	Good, no. Why?

Gabriela:	Porque (*because*)… because Spike…a man.
Vera:	What?
Gabriela:	Spike es un hombre, ¿no? (*Spike is a man, right?*) Como Spike Lee, teacher (*like Spike Lee, teacher*).
Vera:	A ver (*Let's see*) (goes over the page) No, she is a girl, right?
Gabriela:	Dice (*it reads*) 'cousin' y se llama (*and his name is*) Spike.
Vera:	But it is also a girl's nickname. Un sobrenombre (*a nickname*).
Gabriela:	Ah bue (Ok), entonces, es… (*so…*) media… (*she's kind of…*).
María:	¿Media qué? (*Kind of what?*).
Gabriela:	(laughs) Media rara (*she's kind of weird*) media macho (*kind of manly*) (laughs).
Antonio:	¡Es una mujer! (*She's a girl!*).
Gabriela:	Sí, ¿y cuál es en la foto (*And where is she in the picture?*).
	(María goes over the page).
Antonio:	¡No está en la foto! (*She's not in the picture*).
María:	Sí, no está! (*Yes, she's not in the picture*).
Gabriela:	Mmm, capaz es la de pantalón y camisa blanca (*Maybe she's the one in trousers and a white shirt*) (laughs).
Vera:	No, Gabriela. No están todos en la foto (*Not everybody is in the picture*). Capaz está de pantalón, capaz no, ¿qué importa? (*Maybe she's wearing trousers, maybe not, who cares?*) ¿No puede usar pantalón o tener pelo corto? (*Can't she wear trousers or have short hair*) Bueno, vamos, (*ok, let's go*) is the sentence right or wrong, read it again ¿Es correcta la oración? (*Is the sentence right?*).

This critical point was initiated by the name "Spike" and by the word "cousin" (both terms that can refer to either male or female in English). While the textbook expects learners to attend to the fact that Spike is Charlie's (female) cousin, a student assumed Spike refers to a man and thus he cannot be somebody's "girlfriend". Hence, the student, Gabriela, claimed the sentence was wrong, offering an inaccurate explanation in her response.

This episode initiated an interactive debate over Spike's gender identity engaging learners in discussing the textbook image which had been until then unattended ("*And where is she in the picture?*"). The image became a sign of engagement in the classroom because Gabriela assumed "Spike" refers exclusively to male identities ("*Spike is a man, right?*") even though in the listening task Spike is explained to be a nickname for the name Jennifer. Thus, issues of naming and gender/sexuality became explicit and debated even though the textbook does not address any of these issues.

Through (linguistic) connotation strategies deployed in the interaction, Gabriela assumes the name "Spike" exclusively refers to males. For her, this makes a she-Spike a marked representation with negative connotations: *"she is kind of weird", "kind of manly"*. Thus, a she-Spike would be a manly female: *"Maybe she's the one in trousers and a white shirt"*. In deploying these negative connotation strategies Gabriela points to clothes as visual signifiers of gender/sexuality, as becomes evident

in her laugh when claiming that if Spike is a female, then she must be wearing trousers and a shirt. The negative connotations construed by Gabriela around a she-Spike are somewhat lowered by mitigation (*"kind of"*). However, they still construe a heteronormative notion of gender/sexuality conformity which later in the interaction becomes contested not only by the teacher but also by two learners (Antonio and María), who defy her interpretation (*"She is a woman!", "Can't she wear trousers or have short hair?"*).

Interestingly, while the arguments by Antonio, María and the teacher draw on social reality as being diverse, Gabriela's argument about conformity is—by absence—backed up by the textbook, which does not address any issues of gender and sexuality and, in general terms, tends to show a high degree of heteronormativity in the social activities, narratives and situations characters are portrayed (sports, daily activities, friend talk and first dates, to name a few). This evinces a mismatch between some social issues which are not addressed in the textbook (such as gender and sexuality) and the social reality of learners. Along the same lines, textbook representations can be said to naturalize heteronormative ideology by favoring some representations over others (cisgendered, heterosexual characters) and by excluding any identity options that can be considered non-conforming. By construing a particular type of heteronormative prosody (recurrent appearance of heteronormative characters, situations and environments) and by the absence of any defying visual representation, task or text, gender and sexual identities are exclusively represented within the boundaries of heteronormativity and, more precisely, assumed heterosexuality.

However, the way in which through classroom talk the teacher and the students come to voice their views and negotiate the potential meanings of visual representations show that the ideological work of the textbook can be negotiated even when its discourse does not favor such negotiation. The fact that this beginner EFL class was a warm and informal environment for learners can be a key factor in students' articulating their voices about contents which, in other contexts, could be considered "unsafe" or problematic. To this, we should add that they are negotiating the representation of "the other" (represented characters in the textbook) but not the representation of "real people"—including those of other learners in the actual classroom—which can construe the interaction as a relatively safer debate.

While this critical point is not strictly resolved by the teacher (she closes this episode by asking students to go back to work), it is important to mention that her management of topics and conversational turns in the classroom, her regulation of students' talk and her own participation in the conversation allowed learners to voice their views, negotiating Spike as a gendered character and, more indirectly, negotiating their own interpretations of social reality.

6   Conclusions

The two ethnographic examples presented illustrate how (unexpected) aspects of visual representations can be attended to and negotiated in different ways and for

different purposes in the textbook production process and in the classroom. To explore this, attention needs to be paid to representation and negotiation as situated multimodal (and not solely linguistic) phenomena. This shows why a partnership between multimodality and ethnography comes in handy for textbook discourse analysis.

The analysis of these negotiations shows the complex ideological and interactive work behind apparently static products (textbook representations). Our focus on the negotiation of heteronormative visual representations points to the dynamics of situated agency and the ideological assumptions (about textbooks and about gender/sexuality) that are sometimes reproduced and other times defied in social interaction. The negotiation of (visual) representations in textbooks is a socially-bound practice which is guided by both ideological (Dendrinos, 1992) and practical (Thompson, 2013) motivations. Our analysis of a critical point in the textbook production process shows the contextual and practical constraints social actors—such as textbook developers—face during the process of producing representations. This helps us capture practical limitations over ideology and structural power in producing representation. For instance, while heteronormative ideology led producers to assume there was something wrong with Nico's image (his breasts) that require attention and potential exclusion, practical constraints made them keep the image (but making it less prominent). On the other hand, our analysis of a critical point in textbook use in the EFL classroom shows how ideology can operate in simple tasks that are in appearance practical and mundane and in which issues of gender and sexuality are not expected to be brought up. For instance, the listening comprehension task analyzed expected learners to focus on the truth value of some comprehension questions. However, a student attended to a particular aspect of a visual representation in the textbook page which became gendered through classroom interaction.

Our findings are to be taken as merely indicative of some of the many ways in which textbook discourse can be negotiated in interaction. However, these findings suffice to show the complexity behind value construction in ELT textbook discourse. If discourse is taken as "static representations", then contents, values and ideologies can be explored in terms of structural agency by analyzing the ways in which textbook producers shape their imagined audience and attempt to guide their semiotic processes. On the contrary, if textbook discourse is taken as a semiotic process, then we can ethnographically study how contents, values and ideologies constructed in textbook discourse are negotiated by the audience. We believe this is a key issue for exploring textbook discourse in inter/action.

Based on the above discussion, we hope this approach to textbook analysis fosters more ethnographically-driven research about ELT textbook use in the classroom and, in particular, about ELT textbook production, which is still an underresearched area.

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