INTRODUCTION

Teaching culture and developing intercultural sensitivity have become the main concerns for language educators who prepare learners for the challenges of a 'globalised' world. This paper presents a model which can be used for evaluating language textbooks in terms of their efficiency and adequacy in teaching culture and in developing intercultural skills. The model is based on current theories of culture, theories of language learning, and of interculturality. Although the discussion is placed within the context of English language learning and teaching, the model is also useful for teachers of other languages and language program developers who need to select appropriate materials for enhancing cultural learning as part of language learning. It can be equally valuable in the context of culturally diverse groups of students and monolingual homogeneous classes where exposure to the target culture or other cultures is highly restricted. While it is recognised that cultural phenomena cannot be restricted to and fitted nicely into a rigid framework, the proposed model offers a starting point for discussion on culture teaching through language textbooks.

A MODEL FOR EVALUATING TEXTBOOKS

WHY TEXTBOOKS?

In this paper, 'textbooks' refer to commercially available books which are used in language teaching programs and are often designed for a wide range of clients. Several studies (Artzoe & Aguirre, 1987; Dechert & Kastner, 1989; Ramirez & Hall, 1990; Young, 1997) have assessed language textbooks in terms of their manifestation and dissemination of culture. Although there are many factors that contribute to students' cultural learning both inside as well as outside the language class, in a large proportion of language teaching situations learners have limited access to other sources of cultural knowledge.

Commercially available language textbooks are often the primary sources of cultural knowledge, especially in language teaching contexts where the teacher him/herself has not been immersed in the target culture either. Also, there is growing research evidence about the important role that textbooks play in developing cultural attitudes. For instance, Wright (1999) studied the factors shaping the attitudes of secondary education learners in Great Britain towards French and found that textbooks are viewed by learners of languages as having a significant influence on their attitudes towards the target culture, and that there is a significant positive correlation between this influence and the attitudes of many pupils.

Consequently, as Wright (1999) suggests, the onus is clearly on the writers of those textbooks to take seriously their responsibilities regarding the cultural aspect. Still language textbooks seem to have serious deficiencies in this respect. As Morgan (1995) states:

What is missing from most textbooks is a systematic discussion of the value systems underlying cultural behaviours or of differences between countries, or any investigation of parallel customs in English-speaking countries and communities. Only very rarely is there any recognition that our culture may be viewed quite differently from how we perceive it, by another culture with its own values and
priorities. The notion of stereotypes is only touched upon in a few textbooks and a systematic thinking through of how to handle contact with native speakers rarely appears. (Morgan, 1995, p.11)

THE LANGUAGE AND CULTURE NEXUS IN AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Before discussing the various aspects of culture in textbooks, it is important to theorise the intricate relationship between language and culture. Although it is recognised that culture and language are inextricable phenomena, the interrelationship between language and culture is highly complex. Language learning does not necessarily lead to the development of intercultural sensitivity, and by learning another language, we do not only access one particular culture, but also reach out to numerous other cultures. A few models have been developed (Lidcicato & Crozet, 2000) which illustrate the complex nature of the language-culture relationship. While these models are useful, they usually do not illustrate the higher level of complexity, which is the fundamental differentiation of the relationship between "a particular language and a particular culture" and the more general "language and culture" nexus.

This distinction is highly relevant, because while we can argue that there is no language without culture, as language is a social-semiotic (Holliday, 1978; Kromsch, 2002), a particular culture can be expressed through another language, a language which is separate from the one traditionally associated with that culture. In this way, we can express and gain access to various cultures which are fundamentally foreign to the "mediating" language. Examples for this scenario are abundant in the contexts of linguae francae such as French in North Africa or English in India, but our multicultural Australian society also meets this criterion. Considering the Australian multicultural learning context and the role of English as the leading language of intercultural communication, English language teaching to international students should aim at developing intercultural awareness in a broader context. This broader intercultural context is such that "language learners use their English to negotiate their way through cultural difficulties in complex multicultural situations in order to achieve their interactional goals, usually without the presence of native speakers" (Lidcicato, 2003, p. 8).

Teachers often use the terms "intercultural" and "cross-cultural" interchangeably, yet the two terms should have different definitions. Cross-cultural communication refers to the comparison of communication across cultures, and intercultural communication refers to communication between people from different cultures (see Suykens, 2003). In this paper, the focus is on interculturally, the ability to function effectively in contexts where communication is mediated through a second language. This paper problematises the factors that affect the process of meaning-making between two cultural stances, and the success of textbooks in providing appropriate support for language learners in developing these intercultural skills.

The model that follows grew out of a content analysis pilot project (Hatoss, 1998) conducted on English-language textbooks used for teaching business communication in the European context. The model has three main dimensions:

1. Input: text and visual input provided for language learners in textbooks
2. Method: the approach the textbooks take to "teach" intercultural sensitivity
3. Aims: the aims that textbooks set for teaching culture and developing intercultural skills.

THREE FOCUS AREAS FOR TEXTBOOK EVALUATION

The structure of the evaluation focuses on the following areas that reflect these dimensions:

- input factors
- cultural authenticity
- goals/motivations of the textbook writers and publishers.

Input factors

The following questions are asked about the textbooks:

- Does the input cater for a range of sociolinguistic variation?
- Are the speakers only from one social class, age group, cultural background, ethnic background, and linguistic background?

Language is a social phenomenon. As much as it is impossible to separate language from culture, it is equally impossible to separate language from its social aspects. More traditional language teaching practices do not cater for language variation and expect learners to acquire or learn only one, usually highly artificial and equally stereotypical language variety, spoken by one particular social class or group. As regards English in the past, it was common to treat the middle-class RP (Received Pronunciation — also often referred to as Oxford English or BBC English) as the only language variety available to learners of English. This variety has much more status and prestige than other dialects, and is highly valued in education. As well, certain economic, social, and political benefits tend to accrue to those who speak and write it (Trudgill, 1995, p. 7).

Modern language teaching methods require a more diverse selection of linguistic and cultural input where learners are not only taught a selected regional variety and the standard language forms associated with the higher social
classes, but also where they are provided with exposure to other language varieties, allowing them to develop comprehension in a wider range of sociocultural contexts.

By using this evaluation method framed with the relevant questions, the monolithic view of culture and language are replaced by a more finely-tuned selection of language input, more sensitive to various subcultures and language varieties, adopting a flexible and less stigmatised approach. While such variation in the past was unimaginable in language teaching, in contemporary language books there is an increased interest in language variation.

Another related dimension here is the ‘native versus non-native speaker’ debate. In the past, native speakers were considered to be the only sources of language input, while today there is a growing awareness of the value of non-native accents, as well as the ‘Englishes’ of the ex-British colonies, such as India among others.

In the context of English as an international language, the emphasis on language variation in textbooks is not only desirable, but rather a necessity, as this necessity is driven by the diverse target language situations for learners. The phenomenon of English becoming an international language requires an intercultural approach, where there is room for linguistic and cultural variation. The diverse ethnic and cultural composition of the emerging English-speaking speech communities and the pluricentric nature of the English language necessitate a shift from the purist Anglocentric orientation to English language norms to a more inclusive approach where language variation is used as an opportunity to teach and explore cultures, rather than being seen as an obstacle to progress.

While modern language textbooks have started to reflect the process of globalisation and there are signs that English is not treated only as the language of Britain and its former colonies, we still encounter situations in language teaching practices where only one accent is accepted. In some Asian countries, for example, the use of American English is the norm, and job advertisements are not secretive about the preference for American native speakers.

Language textbooks can only fulfil their role of developing intercultural sensitivity and acceptance of diversity if language diversity is adequately represented. Mere exposure to language variation is not sufficient, however. Language input needs to be accompanied by tasks which raise awareness of possible positive or negative attitudes towards different language varieties.

A further question can inform the evaluation, and relates to input factors: How rich is the language input in cultural references?

Before trying to measure the cultural input, we need to recognise that culture is not ‘countable’, not measurable with objective measures. The proposed model incorporates the concept of ‘cultural density’ which suggests that some texts are richer in culture-specific content and metaphorical meaning than others. Examples of culture-dense texts are found in the literature, and in simple everyday dialogues. Australian slang, for example, is a fertile channel for expressing Australian culture.

On the other hand, other types of texts, such as academic writing and business letters, are relatively less loaded with culturally implicit
language. Usually, where specific cultural knowledge is necessary to decode the messages and translate them from the meaning construction system (conceptual system) into the meaning prompting system (grammar and lexicon), we talk about culturally dense language. For example, understanding a simple conversation on the beach between two Australian surfers can be a major challenge for a language learner, or even a native speaker of English who is not familiar with surfing culture.

Another important question to consider here is whether linguistic input is provided in its sociocultural context. Although communicative approaches to language teaching are widely adopted in current textbooks, sometimes the sociocultural context of various communicative events is not presented adequately. An example is when the textbook provides a dialogue in a bookshop between a customer and a shop assistant but fails to point out that the participants are a lecturer and a student working in a university bookshop or two students. The sociocultural context needs to be clearly identified, including the participants’ ages, cultural backgrounds, and relationship, as this will influence the degree of formality, the choice of words, the use of body language, honorifics, and other aspects of language use (see Figure 1 for a model for evaluating the culture-in-language of textbooks).

Yet another aspect for consideration is paralinguistic input. When analysing textbooks for the purpose of teaching culture, we also need to consider such aspects as nonverbal communication. Students may learn about various gestures and their meaning, but it is equally important to teach the students about the appropriate use of these gestures, such as in which situations to use and with whom. It seems that the Gricean maxims are also applicable to the discourse of culture, e.g. the maxim of quantity is always of great importance in intercultural encounters. For a discussion on Grice’s maxims refer to Wardhaugh (1998, pp. 287-90.) How much body language should be used? Obviously, textbooks that are part of whole-course kits and that have a video component, have an advantage in presenting nonverbal communication rules to learners. However, even if there is no video footage alongside the printed textbook material, textbooks may include simulation activities that require students to practice such behaviour.

Semiotics remind us that we teach culture even when we don’t intend to or are not aware of doing so.

A classic example is the Baffa Baffa game (Baffa Baffa is from Simulation Training Systems and formerly known as Simlia 11), often used in training intercultural skills for business communication. Participants need to follow a set of prescribed rules of behaviour, then they need to reflect on those, e.g. ‘You come from a culture where people stand close to each other and touch each other’, or ‘You come from a culture where people do not look each other in the eye to communicate respect’. Such activities are particularly useful when learners do not have direct access or exposure to the target culture.

In addition to verbal and nonverbal input, it is necessary to include in the evaluation the elements which bear semiotic reference but are not essentially linguistic. These may include pictures, sound (e.g. music), people’s names, and names of organisations and artefacts. Semiotics remind us that we teach culture even when we are not intending to or are not aware of doing so. It is rather encouraging that modern English language textbooks use pictures which portray contemporary English-speaking societies (such as Australia) as multicultural. These pictures have a powerful semiotic effect and they can reduce or reinforce cultural stereotypes. Use of these images may then be beneficial for intercultural learning, e.g. the pictures can serve as starting points for discussion and reflection.

A fundamental question in evaluating cultural input is to consider how the textbook defines culture. According to Hofstede (1984), culture is the ‘collective programming’ or the ‘software’ of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another. This definition expresses that culture is a system of specific knowledge, i.e. the shared understanding of the ways of thinking, acting, and speaking which are usually taken for granted in interaction.

When examining the culture-intrinsic characteristics of a textbook two main questions emerge. Firstly, does the textbook provide visible as well as invisible elements of cultural knowledge (‘surface culture’ versus ‘deep culture’)? These invisible elements of culture incorporate cultural values and orientations and are more difficult to teach. Secondly, does the textbook provide elements of ‘high culture’ as well as ‘popular culture’? Sadly, culture teaching is often limited to ‘boutique multiculturalism’ when cultural learning happens on a superficial level.
Boutique multiculturalists will always stop short of approving of other cultures at a point where some value at their centre generates an act that offends against the canon of civilised decency as they have been either declared or assumed. (Fish, 1997, p. 378)

This superficial treatment of culture should be avoided. However, as the above quotation indicates, language teachers often run on difficult ground when teaching about value systems that are significantly different from those acquired in the first culture, usually through the first language.

Consideration should also be given to the actual learning outcomes from the cultural input provided in textbooks — the question arises as to whether textbooks can cause students to change their values acquired through their primary socialisation in their first language. Second-culture learning such as is a highly complex process, and the idea that cultures are ‘teachable’ or ‘learnable’ is highly contested. Byram, for example, states that the power of primary socialisation in one cultural environment is such that late acquisition of another cultural identity is not the same as bicultural primary socialisation (Byram, 2003, p. 55). Paulston (cited in Byram, 2003, p. 57) also claims that learners may be able to adapt in behaviour but not in values and beliefs.

We still need to ensure that the input provided in the textbooks is not limited to superficial and tangible elements of cultural knowledge. For example, when we teach students about Australian culture, we should not only focus on tangibles/observables such as Australian food, history, and animals. Rather, we should try to provide input which makes students reflect on deeper cultural aspects, such as orientations to time, space, and values in society.

**Cultural authenticity**

The second aspect of the evaluation focuses on authenticity. Questions are asked about the textbooks such as: Is the cultural input authentic? Are learners likely to encounter these in the target language situation?

Some textbooks are obviously aimed at teaching cultural ‘knowledge’. However, this knowledge may not be authentic. Cultural input should be up-to-date, useful information which enhances intercultural communication. In other words, the knowledge teachers can expect from students context can, on the other hand, enrich students’ learning experience and allow them to develop an understanding of the variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

**Implicit teaching method**

This cultural authenticity aspect of the textbook evaluation model incorporates methodological considerations. Questions to be asked of a textbook’s intrinsic method include whether teaching culture is explicit or implicit. In other words, does the textbook actively teach culture?

Traditional grammar-based methods of language teaching have not placed much focus on explicit teaching of culture. Sometimes, for example, a textbook’s explicit explanations about honorific rules have not been sufficient to build up students’ confidence in trying to behave in a culturally appropriate manner in the ‘foreign’ environment. As argued by Fitzgerald (2003, p. 221):

...when cultural differences are not made explicit, the values and norms reflected in the Australian, British and American textbooks used in classes, together with the teachers’ often intuitive knowledge, are passed on, unquestioned, and the students are expected to learn about them by some form of osmosis. There is growing evidence that culture is not made accessible in this way; moreover, it can breed resentment when it is assumed that the teaching methods used are always acceptable, and that the values and norms expressed are universally applicable.

Explicit teaching of culture develops critical intercultural speakers who are constantly confronted with different values, different perspectives, traditions, and ways of interpreting the world.

Learning a culture is very complex, and the idea that cultures can even be taught is a highly contested one.

The cultural representation of the target society has to be valid. Questions to be asked may include whether the textbook is delivering the images of the culture that it professes to be delivering. For example, a textbook teaching Australian English containing only Anglo-Celtic images and other such Anglo cultural elements will hardly provide a fair representation of contemporary Australian society. A wider view of the multicultural, multicultural nature of the Australian
(see Guilherme, 2002, pp. 124–30). Critical intercultural speakers are in a constant dynamic negotiation with the outside world. These skills need explicit attention in teaching materials. We are likely to see more authors emphasise more explicit culture-teaching methods.

An initial consideration for examining the teaching method is to examine whether the method is cognitive or experiential. While Kramch (1993) suggests that cognitive and experiential learning are both important in the cultural learning process, she argues that we should aim at an appropriate balance of the two. Met and Byram (1999) emphasise the experiential dimension of cultural learning. They claim that it makes learning more effective through capitalising on the benefits of a multicultural learning environment, as opposed to factual ways of learning culture, for example through studying anthropology or linguistics.

Further questions about the textbook’s method could include an examination of whether the textbook allows students to ‘reflect’ on cultural input, or whether students are merely ‘exposed’ to cultural input. In constructivist pedagogies, reflection is a crucial part of the learning and teaching process. In semantics, meaning is defined as a ‘fluid, flexible, and on-the-spot phenomenon with the human mind as a pattern organiser and builder rather than a rule-following logical calculator’ (Kecskes, 2004).

For this active organisation and building of meaning, we need to ensure that students are involved as active participants rather than merely being exposed to the linguistic and cultural input. A common feature in language textbooks is that there is only limited. If any, focus on reflection. Learners are expected to ‘pick up’ the cultural differences without consciously reflecting on them, and without raising their awareness of their first culture. This cultural reflection should be treated as a cyclical process, rather than the more common, and highly simplified, linear approach where learners start from their own culture and progressively ‘acquire’ a second culture at the other end of the continuum.

Pedagogies of critical thinking and post-structuralist theories of learning provide useful frameworks here. As Guilherme argues, critical cultural awareness ‘may be defined as reflective, exploratory, diagonal, and active stance towards cultural knowledge and life that allows for dissonance, contradiction, and conflict as well as for consensus, concurrence, and transformation’ (Guilherme, 2002, p. 219).

Another focus for examination of a textbook’s method would be to ask questions about the extent to which the material leads to the formation of stereotypes or to the extent it acknowledges and promotes the ‘atypical’.

Language teachers need to treat stereotypes as a starting point for discussions, rather than allowing them to form outcomes of cultural learning. The best way of dealing with stereotypes is to start a discussion on how students see their own culture, then move on to discussing stereotypes existing about their culture. Then students should reflect on these stereotypes and test whether such stereotypes fit into their own image of their own culture. More creative activities may ask students to interview members of the target culture about the stereotypes that other cultures form about them.

Allocating a separate lesson to the topic of stereotypes will not solve the problem of stereotypes "affecting" language learning. Continued awareness-raising tasks may be continually integrated into each task to avoid erroneous understanding being fostered.

Essentially too, an evaluation of a textbook should include a focus on whether the textbook builds on, or promotes understanding about the first culture. Scholars agree that an essential part in intercultural learning is language learners’ developing a self-awareness. Learners need to develop an awareness of their own cultural orientation in order to use this as a reference point for understanding the primary cultural orientation of the speakers of the target language. This process can be facilitated by using case study scenarios where learners express their views on a certain incident from their own cultural perspective.

Some textbooks have adopted this case-study reflection approach and present problem-solving tasks to the students where an important part of the activity is developing self-awareness. Such activities are highly valuable, facilitate critical thinking and reflection, and promote learner autonomy. Such learning contexts are less likely to reinforce stereotypes. Good textbooks value students’ first culture by promoting the idea of cultural relativism, and by ensuring that the learning/acquisition of the second culture does not happen in a competitive context and does not require the replacement of first culture. Rather, it is an ‘additive’ process, widening perspectives and enhancing intercultural tolerance.

Goals and motivations of the textbook writers and publishers

The third aspect to be examined in textbook evaluation concerns the goals and/or motivations of textbook authors and publishers. Questions to be asked during the process of evaluating textbooks include the extent to which the textbook requires learners to adopt the behaviour and norms which are characteristic of the target culture.
When asking what the textbook authors/publishers want learners to achieve at the end of the course, a key related question is: To what extent does the textbook require learners to adopt the behaviour and the norms of the target culture? This can vary between two extremes: total assimilation into the target culture on the one hand, and reflection on the other.

Assimilation is a form of acculturation (Berry, 1980) and its relevance to second language learning has been discussed by a number of authors (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Schumann, 1976, 1978, 1986). Schumann’s model for second language acquisition is based on the principle that the success of acquiring a second language in a target language situation depends on the degree to which a learner ‘acculturates’. By acculturation, Schumann means the social and psychological proximity with learners of the target language group. He believes that learners can be placed on a continuum that ranges from high to low social and psychological proximity with speakers of the target language (Schumann, 1986, p. 379).

Schumann (1986) distinguishes between two types of acculturation. In the first type, learners are socially integrated with the target group and, as a result, develop sufficient contacts with target language speakers to enable them to acquire the target language. In addition they are psychologically ‘open’ to the target culture, such that ‘input’ becomes ‘intake’. The second type of acculturation is where learners regard the speakers of the target language as a reference group whose lifestyle and values they consciously or unconsciously desire to adopt. According to Schumann, both types of acculturation are sufficient to cause acquisition of the target language, but he emphasises that adoption of the lifestyle and values of the target language group (characteristics traditionally associated with the notion of acculturation) is not necessary for successful acquisition of the target language.

While some degree of cultural adjustment is necessary for the success of second language acquisition, a shift in values may have negative influences on the learner’s self-perception and ego. Therefore, as Krashen (1991, p. 235) argues, an intercultural approach should abandon the native speaker as ideal or norm, and instead focus on the learner’s biculturalism. Liddicoat and Crozet (1997, p. 68) also emphasise the importance of maintaining a certain distance from the target culture. According to this approach, the development of intercultural competence does not mean that learners are to be assimilated into the target culture. Instead, they have to find their own ‘third position’ between the two cultures involved.

The contentious issue is the concern that learners will assimilate. According to hermeneutic philosophy, ‘we can neither assume that complete understanding of others is possible, nor that we are completely barred from understanding across personal and cultural distances’ (Conie, Dan, Burton, Higgins, Kelly, & Sullivan, 2000, p. 385). If this philosophy is adopted, it may well be true that the concept of assimilation needs redefinition.

People cannot assimilate; they cannot get rid of their traditions and culture. They may act on the surface as if they have assimilated, but in fact this may just cover some underlying tensions which come about as a result of externally or internally imposed assimilative forces. Textbooks therefore need to be examined with regard to their instructions and the facilitative language used. Questions to be asked include: Does the textbook suggest that learners need to replace their behaviour with the ways accepted in the target culture? Are learners allowed to keep a distance?

Biculturalism (Krashen, 1991, p. 235) can include learners keeping their
1. Does the linguistic input cater for sociolinguistic variation (social dialects and foreign accents, etc.)?
2. Is the linguistic input culturally dense (idioms, expressions, slang)?
3. Is the textbook successful at developing students' pragmatic competence?
4. Is there paralinguistic input (e.g. non-verbal communication)?
5. Is there any non-linguistic semiotic cultural input (pictures, etc.)?
6. Does the textbook teach high culture (culture with a capital 'C') such as literature, the arts?
7. Does the textbook teach low culture (culture with a small 'c') such as everyday lifestyle?
8. Does the material teach surface culture only (e.g. food, dressing, and other visible elements of culture)?
9. Does the material teach deep culture (orientations, values, non-visible and non-tangible elements of culture)?
10. Is culture represented as monolithic?
11. Is culture represented as dynamic?
12. Is the cultural input a true reflection of the target culture?
13. Is the cultural input representative of the cultural knowledge that native-speaker peers would have?
14. Does the textbook teach cultural knowledge explicitly?
15. Is culture learning experiential (culture is to be experienced) or cognitive (learning facts)?
16. Does the textbook lead to stereotype formation?
17. Does the textbook cater for the atypical and individual?
18. Has first culture a role in teaching second culture?
19. Does the textbook aim at assimilating learners into a second culture?
20. Does the textbook encourage reflection?

Table 1: Checklist of questions for examining cultural content in language textbooks

Traditional culture and values, but adding the values of the newly encountered culture and, in more general terms, becoming more accepting of difference. The textbook's method should, therefore, include an approach where critical thinking is a key to the development of bicultural and multicultural personalities.

CONCLUSION

When evaluating textbooks as mediators of culture, we need to consider numerous factors which reflect the complex interrelationship between language and culture. The model presented in this paper provides a summary of these main considerations under three main dimensions:

1. Input: what cultural and linguistic input facilitates cross-cultural learning and promotes intercultural communication
2. Teaching methods: what methods are best to facilitate cross-cultural learning
3. Goals: what our aims should be in teaching culture.

All these three dimensions include several considerations. Deeply based in the theories of culture, theories of language, theories of learning, and theories of acculturation. It is important that these three dimensions are considered in an integrated way, where input is not separated from the teaching method and the aims of language teaching. When analysing textbooks, each unit of analysis (e.g. a dialogue) needs to be evaluated according to all the three dimensions.

Textbooks are an important tool for teaching culture in most foreign/second language teaching/learning contexts. They should offer an opportunity to language teachers and learners to develop intercultural sensitivity through reflection. The input in these textbooks needs to be provided with appropriate methods and be driven by realistic goals which move away from traditional ethnocentric approaches and promote the development of bilingualism as well as biculturalism. The model presented provides a starting point for this evaluation process.

The proposed model has some obvious limitations as it is problematic to fit every aspect of culture teaching into one framework. Still, the model was developed from a more pragmatic perspective: to provide some hands-on practical guide to language teachers and language program developers. A checklist of questions which was developed on the basis of the proposed model is provided in Table 1. It is hoped that the model will orient language teachers working in a wide range of contexts either in Australia or overseas.

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