

Representations of cultural elements in the Finnish 8th grade EFL textbook On the Go 2

Janina Ikäheimo

Master's Thesis

English

Languages and literature

Faculty of Humanities

University of Oulu

Spring 2021

Table of Contents

1 Introduction.....	2
2 Research materials	4
2.1 On the Go 2.....	4
3 Key concepts and guidelines.....	8
3.1 Foreign language education and culture	8
3.1.1 English-speaking culture: From language of imperialism to internationalism	9
3.2 Foreign language education and assessment in Finland	14
3.2.1 Finnish guidelines for foreign language education	15
3.2.2 Teaching and assessing intercultural communicative competence.....	18
3.2.3 Learning materials and representations of culture	26
4 Analytical framework	32
4.1 Post-colonial criticism.....	32
4.2 Directed content analysis	33
4.3 Analysing cultural content in EFL textbooks	35
4.4 Drafting the tables.....	38
5 Analysing cultural content in On the Go 2	41
5.1 Units 1 and 2, Australia.....	41
5.2 Unit 3, Hong Kong.....	49
5.3 Unit 6, India	55
6 Discussion of Results.....	61
6.1 Cultural content in On the Go 2	61
6.2 Intercultural communicative competence in On the Go 2	67
7 Conclusions.....	71
References.....	73
Primary references	73
Secondary references	73

1 Introduction

In today's global world, English is used widely in interactions all over the world. As English language is estimated to be spoken by approximately 2 billion people (Rose et al, p. 3), it has undoubtedly become a central language of communication throughout the world. In Finland, English language is one of the three compulsory languages learnt in primary and secondary school, and thus it has a prominent position in the Finnish society even though it is not a Finnish national language (Hildén & Kanelinen, 2011, p. 162). In Finland, the guidelines are set in the Finnish National Core Curriculum 2014 (NCC 2014), which is a document that guides education in Finland and is renewed every 10 years by the Finnish National Board of Education¹ (FNBE) (FNBE, 2016). NCC 2014 indicates that cultural education is an important part of foreign language education: one of the three content areas set for foreign language teaching includes content area C1, "growing into cultural diversity and language awareness", three separate objectives of which include enforcing intercultural communicative competence, expanding worldviews, and building language awareness (FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3). Therefore, it can be said that good English language proficiency and intercultural communicative skills are crucial in today's world from the Finnish EFL education point of view.

As 98% of Finnish foreign language teachers use EFL textbooks and 95% EFL workbooks often when teaching (Luukka et al., 2018, p. 95), it is important to study exactly what kind of cultural content can be found in Finnish EFL textbooks and workbooks. Based on the wide use of EFL books in education, it can be said that EFL textbooks are an important part of EFL education in Finland, and that they form the structural base of the English courses provided in both secondary school and upper secondary school. When planning classes, courses, yearly schedules and goals set to the learners, teachers tend to rely on the ready-made sets of learning materials created by different publishers. Usually, one textbook series is used throughout primary or secondary school, allowing for continuity in teaching grammar, vocabulary and interactional skills. The textbook series are created to follow the objectives set by the Finnish National Core Curriculum, meaning that regardless of the series used, the students should acquire similar language skills.

One of these Finnish EFL learning materials is *On the Go 2*, which is a part of a textbook series published by SanomaPro in 2017 (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, 2017b). In this study, the cultural content found in *On the Go 2 Textbook* (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a) and *On the Go 2 Workbook* (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017b) will be arranged into tables based on theory and previous research.

¹ It might be worth mentioning that the English translation of NCC 2014 provided by FNBE is unofficial, so the translations found in there might not always correspond with the original Finnish language version.

The tables will be limited to four Units, or chapters of the textbook and workbook. The materials will be examined applying directed content analysis, and the cultural content found in these four Units will be listed in tables under appropriate categories. After forming the tables, analysis will be performed.

This study aims to answer three research questions: 1) What elements of culture can be found in the On the Go 2? 2) Are Non-Western cultures exoticized, and are they presented as inferior to Western cultures in some way? 3) How do the materials endorse intercultural communicative competence?

The analysis draws on previous studies and other background literature related to intercultural communicative competence and post-colonial cultural criticism, and the results will be compared to the objectives for language learning set in NCC 2014. Finally, some conclusions will be drawn based on the analysis and analytical framework.

2 Research materials

The research material will be introduced in this section. This study will focus on *On the Go 2 Textbook* and *On the Go 2 Workbook* (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, 2017b). While it would be interesting to study every available Finnish EFL textbook, it is not realistic to do so due to the constraints set for Master's. However, other textbooks provide interesting materials for possible future research. On the Go 2 is a learning material entity, which consists of a textbook, workbook, online content and teacher's materials. As the purpose of the study is to examine the cultural content available to the students, teacher's materials and online content will be left out. In future, this entity of On the Go 2 Textbook and Workbook is referred to as On the Go 2, and when referring to content found in either On the Go 2 Textbook or On the Go 2 Workbook, the terms Textbook and Workbook will be used instead of the complete titles (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, 2017b). The term textbook will also be used in connection to Finnish EFL materials, as most series directed to be used in Finnish classrooms consist of either a textbook or a textbook and workbook.

One of the three main objectives set for Foreign language education by the curriculum is entitled "growing into cultural diversity and language awareness" (FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3), making the goal of grades 7–9 of EFL teaching to familiarize the students with the different forms of English culture found across the globe. As studying the cultural content found in textbooks is the main goal of this study, the 8th grade textbook, On the Go 2, was selected. Other textbooks in the series, On the Go 1 and On the Go 3, do feature cultural content as well, but not as prominently as On the Go 2. The goal of On the Go 2 is to introduce various cultures where English is spoken, and each of the Units focuses on a different culture where English language is used. On the Go 2 focuses specifically on former British colonies. In this section, the structure and general contents of On the Go 2 are introduced.

2.1 On the Go 2

On the Go 2 is the second part of the EFL textbook series On the Go that was published by SanomaPro in 2017. The book follows the guidelines set to English language teaching on the 8th grade in the NCC 2014 by the FNBE (FNBE, 2016). On the Go 2 is divided into 9 chapters, which are entitled Units. Each Unit focuses on a specific topic. The themes found in the Units are connected to each other and together they seek to form an entity. The theme of On the Go 2 Textbook and Workbook (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, 2017b) seems to be the former colonies of Great Britain or members of

Commonwealth. The theme is not specified, but the introduced countries include Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong, India, America, Canada, and the Caribbean, which are all former colonies and members of Commonwealth. There are nine Units altogether, and two Units are spent on Australia and New Zealand, while one Unit is spent on each of the remaining countries.

Each Unit is divided into different sections. Some of these sections can be found in both On the Go Textbook and Workbook, while some are unique to either Textbook or Workbook. Generally, the Textbook includes texts, and the Workbook includes exercises connected to the texts. Some of the sections found in both On the Go 2 Textbook and Workbook include Start, Study, Know. The sections unique to Textbook include Listen and Talk (figure 1.), and the sections unique to Workbook include Grammar and Know (figure 2.). The contents of these sections are always similar: for example, Study includes main text, Listen includes listening exercises, and Grammar includes grammar exercises. The order of these sections may vary between Units, and not all sections are found in every Unit (figure 1; figure 2).

ON the **GO 2** TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Start	STUDY	Know	TALK	YOUR choice				
GAME: ON THE GO AGAIN 6									
UNIT 1 8	THE WEATHER FORECAST DOWN UNDER 9	A DAY IN THE LIFE OF LIBBY HARDING 10	CHORES ON THE FARM 14	BEAUTIFUL DAY, ISN'T IT? 16		LET'S GO AUSTRALIA! 18	WHAT'S UP DOWN UNDER? 20	LIVING UNDERGROUND 22	JESSICA WATSON: SOLO SAILING SENSATION 24
UNIT 2 26	PACKING FOR A HOLIDAY 28	CHRISTMAS – A SEASON IN THE SUN 30	THE SEVEN CONTINENTS 36	HOW DO YOU LIKE IT HERE? 34		DOWN UNDER ANIMAL QUIZ 38	G'DAY FROM BONDI BEACH! 42	HOW TO THROW A BOOMERANG 44	WALKING ACROSS AUSTRALIA 46
UNIT 3 48	HONG KONG FACTS AND FIGURES 49	LIVING IT UP IN HONG KONG 50	CITY LIFE 54	EXCUSE ME, ... 56		GAME: NAME THREE... 58	HELLO, HONG KONG! 60	MY SPACE SEE NGA LAN 62	BUTTERFLY LOVERS 64
UNIT 4 66	READY FOR BOARDING! 68	THE BIG KWI RACE 70		ARE YOU OKAY? 76		LET'S GO NEW ZEALAND! 78	THE RIGHT NOSE FOR THE JOB 80	TOWN FEARS SHARK ATTACKS 82	SCIENCE CORNER 84
UNIT 5 86	HEALTH AND WELLBEING 88	OUT IN THE OPEN 90		SERIOUSLY? 94		GAME: THE HUMAN BODY 96	HAVE A BLAST IN NZ! 98	THE AMAZING HUMAN BODY 100	TA MOKO IN NEW ZEALAND 102 MAUI AND THE SUN 104
UNIT 6 106	MY EXTENDED FAMILY 108	FAMILY RULES IN INDIA 110	WHAT ARE YOU LIKE? 116	I THINK SO, TOO. 114		LET'S GO INDIA! 118	INCREDIBLE INDIA 119	BOYS & GIRLS – WHAT ARE THEY REALLY LIKE? 122	
UNIT 7 124	BACKSTREET KIDS 126	BITES FROM THE BIG APPLE 128		I WONDER IF YOU COULD HELP ME? 132		A MAN ON A WIRE 134	GIGI COMMITS A CRIME 136	THE BIG BREAK 138	PLAYING WITH WORDS 140
UNIT 8 142	THE GREAT WHITE NORTH 142	GO CANADA! 144	NEWCOMERS 150	YOU CAN DO IT! 148		LET'S GO CANADA! 152	ODD FACTS ABOUT CANADA 154	HOCKEY LEGEND: WAYNE GREZKY 156	NORTH TO NORTH 158
UNIT 9 160	NATURE, FAR AND WIDE 162	LIVING WITH HURRICANES 164		YOU MUST BE JOKING! 168		GAME: LET'S CELEBRATE! 170	MUSIC IN OUR BLOOD 172	IS IT POSSIBLE TO LIVE WITHOUT MONEY? 174	PIRATES! 176 AROUND THE WORLD IN 80 DAYS 178
	REFERENCES 181	ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARIES 197	PHOTO CREDITS 230						

Figure 1. On the Go 2 Textbook: Table of Contents (Image: Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, pp. 4–5)

Sisällys- luettelo		Words	Start	STUDY	LEARN	LISTEN	WRITE	TALK	Clipboard	YOUR choice
UNIT 1	s. 6	s. 6	s. 8	A day in the life of Libby Harding s. 10	Remember: aikamuotoja s. 17 Pluskvamperfekti s. 23	Life Down Under: an interview with Libby s. 15	s. 16	Talk s. 25 Pronunciation s. 26	s. 27	Wordlist s. 28 Let's go Australia! s. 30 What's up Down Under? s. 32 Living underground s. 34 Jessica Watson: solo sailing sensation s. 36
UNIT 2	s. 38	s. 38	s. 40	Christmas – a season in the sun s. 42 Epäsäännölliset verbit s. 47	Konditionaali (-isi-muoto) s. 49 Remember: genetiivi s. 54 Remember: adjektiivien vertailu s. 55	Sid Seagull s. 56	s. 53	Talk s. 58 Pronunciation s. 59	s. 60	Wordlist s. 62 Down Under animal quiz s. 64 G day from Bondi Beach! s. 65 How to throw a boomerang s. 66 Walking across Australia s. 68
UNIT 3	s. 70	s. 70	s. 72	Living It up in Hong Kong s. 73 Epäsäännölliset verbit s. 81	Artikkelit s. 83 Remember: prepositioita s. 88	Picture this! s. 80	s. 80	Talk s. 89 Pronunciation s. 90	s. 91	Wordlist s. 92 Hello, Hong Kong! s. 94 My space s. 96
UNIT 4	s. 98	s. 98	s. 100	The Big Kiwi Race s. 102 Epäsäännölliset verbit s. 108	Verbin perusmuoto s. 111 Verbin ing-muoto s. 114 Remember s. 116	On the way to Hawaii s. 110	s. 109	Talk s. 117 Pronunciation s. 118	s. 119	Wordlist s. 120 Let's go New Zealand! s. 122 The right nose for the job s. 123 Town fears shark attacks s. 125 Science corner s. 127
UNIT 5	s. 128	s. 128	s. 130	Out in the open s. 132 Epäsäännölliset verbit s. 138	Yksikö ja monikko s. 137 Relatiivilauseet s. 139 Remember: artikkelit, genetiivi s. 144	Ready for a lifestyle chance? s. 147	s. 145	Talk s. 146 Pronunciation s. 147	s. 148	Wordlist s. 150 Have a blast in NZ! s. 152 The amazing human body s. 154 Ta moko in New Zealand s. 156 Maui and the sun s. 158
UNIT 6	s. 160	s. 160	s. 162	Family rules in India s. 164 Epäsäännölliset verbit s. 170	Remember: aikamuotoja, futuuri ja if-lause, konditionaali ja if-lause, sanajärjestys, artikkelit, persoonapronominin s. 172	At the hospital s. 171	s. 171	Talk s. 176 Pronunciation s. 177	s. 180	Wordlist s. 181 Let's go India! s. 182 Incredible India s. 183 Boys and girls – what are they really like? s. 186
UNIT 7	s. 188	s. 188	s. 190	Bites from the Big Apple s. 191 Epäsäännölliset verbit s. 197	Epäsuora kysymys s. 198	Going out s. 195	s. 195	Talk s. 203 Pronunciation s. 204	s. 205	Wordlist s. 206 A man on a wire s. 208 Gigi commits a crime s. 210 The big break s. 212 Playing with words s. 214
UNIT 8	s. 216	s. 216	s. 218	Go Canada! s. 219 Epäsäännölliset verbit s. 223	Remember: adverbit s. 225 Adverbien vertailu s. 226 Remember: relatiivilauseet, verbin perusmuoto, verbin ing-muoto s. 227	Visiting Canada s. 224	s. 222	Talk s. 232 Pronunciation s. 233	s. 234	Wordlist s. 236 Let's go Canada! s. 238 Odd facts about Canada s. 240 Hockey legend: Wayne Gretzky s. 242 North to north s. 244
UNIT 9	s. 246	s. 246	s. 248	Living with hurricanes s. 249 Epäsäännölliset verbit s. 254	Apuverbit can, must, may s. 256 Remember s. 259	Why we are here s. 255	s. 253	Talk s. 260 Pronunciation s. 261	s. 262	Wordlist s. 264 Music in our blood s. 266 Is it possible to live without money? s. 268 Pirates! s. 270

Figure 2. *On the Go 2 Workbook: Table of Contents* (Image: Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017b, pp. 4–5)

For example, the section Study, which includes the main text of the Unit, can be found in every Unit. The Study-section consists of a text which introduces the main theme of the Unit. The Study-text introduces new, relevant vocabulary, and grammar topics. Study-texts can represent different types of literature, such as a blog text, a script for a podcast, and a dialogue. The texts are either narrator-led or dialogue-based stories that tie into the theme of the Unit. The story introduced in Study often continues throughout the Unit. For example, in Unit 3, the Study-text tells a tale of a couple of friends visiting Hong Kong. Rest of the sections tie into this theme, either by furthering the learners' knowledge on Hong Kong, or by continuing the story of the friends.

Not all sections include cultural content or aim to further intercultural communicative competence. Sections like Grammar and Remember do not aim to deepen learners' knowledge on culture, and as such they do not provide much material to analyse. Instead, the focus will be put on sections that include more cultural content, such as Know, which introduces new themes which can be viewed as cultural, for example city life, the seven continents, and travel vocabulary, or Talk that often introduces elements of cultural customs, are inspected more thoroughly than those sections that do not offer cultural information. Another section that focuses on deepening the students' understanding of culture is Your Choice. Your Choice sections include versatile texts, contents of which vary from

board games and comics to news articles and blog texts. The idea of Your Choice is that the learner can choose the one that interests them specifically out of three to four different texts provided in each Unit. Something to note in the exercises found in Textbooks and Workbooks is that Textbook exercise numbers start with a T. For example, T115 refers to Textbook exercise 115, and 115 to Workbook exercise 115.

To summarize, this study examines selected Units from On the Go 2, with a special focus on sections that include more cultural content and seek to enforce intercultural communicative competence. Both On the Go 2 Textbook and On the Go 2 Workbook will be examined.

3 Key concepts and guidelines

This section introduces key concepts and guidelines used in this thesis. Their introduction has been divided into two sections: the first section is titled “Defining English-speaking Culture” and the second “Finnish Cultural Education”. The former section has one sub-section, which will focus on defining English-speaking culture in specific. The latter section focuses on the Finnish education system, and it has three sub-sections, the first of which focuses on the Finnish guidelines for foreign language education. The second sub-section introduces some theoretical background for teaching and assessing communicative competence. The third sub-section discusses language learning materials and how culture is portrayed in them. Altogether, this theoretical background will provide views on language and cultural education, which will be used when analysing the cultural content in *On the Go 2* (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, 2017b).

3.1 Foreign language education and culture

Defining culture is a rather difficult task, but it is necessary to be able to understand the connection between language education and how culture is perceived and taught. Milner and Browitt (2002), call it “one of the most widely used abstract nouns in the lexicon” (p. 1). In 1958, Tylor defined it in its widest sense, meaning that culture is a complex entity which includes skills and characteristics, like knowledge, religious beliefs, art, and customs that humans acquire as members of society (as cited in Hellemans 2017, p. 118). This concept of a complex whole has been criticized because it is based on homogeneity, coherence and continuity of culture (Wicker, 2015, p. 32), This raises questions on cultural compatibility as it encourages viewing cultures as separate, homogenous entities, and ignoring the fact that cultures have through interaction influenced others. Wicker (2015) suggests that ethnic groups and cultures should not be viewed as autonomous units, as they are no longer tied to nations or territories due to, for example, migration (p. 36). Another reason to abandon the nationalistic way of viewing culture is the increase in global forms of communication, which produces “transnational, transethnic and transcultural networks of communication and interaction” (Wicker, 2015, p. 37). In a similar vein, Larzén (2005) goes to define culture as a social and historical phenomenon that is acquired through interaction with the people and the world surrounding us (p. 27). To conclude, it can be said that culture is a transformative entity, which is more tied to personal identity than to national borders.

As culture is a large part of language teaching in Finland (see NCC 2014, FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3), it is important to try to define the connection between English language and culture in specific. Educating students about culture in addition to language is a value enforced worldwide in education. For example, the Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity issued by UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (2002) enforces embedding cultural pluralism in education in their plan of action. UNESCO (2002) highlights the increasing diversity of our societies, which makes it essential to ensure mutual and reciprocal understanding between cultures (pp. 62–63). These principles are intended to be implemented by facilitating the action plan, which elaborates on the connection between language and culture and aims to safeguard the linguistic heritage of the world by encouraging linguistic and cultural diversity in a positive manner at all levels of education (UNESCO, 2002, p. 64). Inclusion policies are also needed since cultural diversity is guaranteed by human rights. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), education should strive to promote respect for the rights and freedoms enforced in the declaration (the United Nations, 1948). The declaration also guarantees education as a universal right and declares that it “shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups” (the United Nations, 1948). In addition to the UDHR, which binds Finland as well, the Finnish Non-Discrimination Act, 1325/2014 § 7 (2014) states that it is the education provider’s duty to promote equality, and to ensure that the educational institutions draft a plan for the necessary measures for promoting equality. According to a guide issued by the Finnish National Board of Education, the purpose of this plan includes recognizing and changing prejudices, making diversity visible, and creating an educational institute where everyone feels included (Honkala et al., 2019, pp. 9; 54).

Thus, it can be said that the goal of Finnish education is to enforce cultural diversity. The aim of this section is to define culture and its connection to language. As the objective of this study is to find out what kind of cultural elements can be found in the Finnish EFL textbook *On the Go 2*, it is important to provide an analytical framework for defining culture overall, with a special focus on the English-speaking culture. The following sub-section discusses the various understandings of English-speaking culture from multiple viewpoints and provides an extensive definition of it especially in relation language learning and teaching.

3.1.1 English-speaking culture: From language of imperialism to internationalism

English is one of the most widely spoken languages, which makes defining English-speaking culture a difficult task. The number of English-speaking people is rising fast, and English is used among non-

native speakers in absence of a native speaker rather often, meaning that instead of the existence of one standard English, English as a language has taken on a new, multicultural dimension which should be considered when teaching English as a foreign language (Larzén, 2005, pp. 41–42). Rose et al (2020) explain that English has moved from a national spoken language with fewer than 3 million speakers to a global language with around 2 billion speakers, meaning that nowadays first language speakers are a minority, and majority of English users are comprised of second, foreign and additional language speakers (p. 3). This has understandably piqued the interest of researchers, as the very essence of English language and English-speaking culture has started to change. This section explores the English-speaking culture and raises the question of what constitutes as English culture in today's globalized world. Gradually, the concept has evolved from the native-centred view focusing on British culture toward a more international view where all English speakers partake in English-speaking culture. The theories and paradigms that are introduced in this section include *post-colonialism*, *World Englishes*, *Global Englishes*, and *English as an international language*.

The first theory introduced is post-colonialism, since *On the Go 2* approaches English-speaking culture via introducing former British colonies (Daffue-Karsten et al. 2017a, 2017b). The post-colonialist viewpoint to culture chosen by *On the Go 2* is rather interesting, as colonization is admittedly an important part of British history, the fact exists that it is also one of the most controversial parts. The decolonization was a violent process, and the colonialist policies and attitudes are still reflected in the views of today in the form of racial discrimination as well as laws, infrastructure, buildings, educational system, and language (Hellemans, 2017, pp. 111–115). Britain's colonization started in the late 15th century and ended in the late 20th century (Hellemans, 2017, p. 115). Since colonization lasted for around four hundred years, it is understandable that it is used as the symbol of the influence of British culture around the world. However, the influence of British colonization has had a negative impact on the native cultures of these countries. Hellemans (2017) suggests that after decolonization, in many cases there was only a little left of the native cultures and traditions, thus the natives were left with a mixed identity (p. 116). As a result, there is not a lot left from the native cultures to put into English textbooks. Often colonised people appear to incorporate the ruler's culture, but according to Hellemans (2017), it is more of a show of subversiveness to the dominant culture rather than voluntary incorporation, that eventually leads to cultural hybridity (p. 132). These views provide some important insight to evaluating the culture featured in *On the Go 2*, as British Colonialism might have led to the disappearance and hybridization of native cultures found in these countries.

Cultural hybridity has not shaped only post-colonialist countries—it has shaped British culture as well. As an example of teaching British culture via exploratory practice, Jaatinen et al. (2011) mention a teacher using the English practice of afternoon tea as an example (p. 128). First, the teacher informs the students of the practice, and next in the way of exploratory practice the students got to emulate the tea-drinking experience in a classroom (Jaatinen et al., 2011, p. 128). After enjoying afternoon tea, the teacher asked to reflect on the experience and compare it to Finnish practices, which led to comparisons students' own experiences of similar relaxing moments, such as the moment after sauna (Jaatinen et al., 2011, p. 128). As the students seemed to understand the emotional and cultural meaning of drinking tea, the exercise proved successful. The students learned about both the informational side (vocabulary) and the cultural side (cultural practice) of afternoon tea. However, the question whether drinking tea is purely a British practice arises. While tea drinking could be perceived as the epitome of British culture, its origin is in China and through colonialism it became a British practice. Questions that might arise include the authenticity of British tea culture, and whether it somehow differs from Chinese culture. This goes to show that it is hard to define where the culture has originated from. In the regards of *On the Go 2*, this question of what constitutes as English-speaking culture is rather relevant as the native cultures of these countries is portrayed as English-speaking culture.

After post-colonialism, English language and culture was explained as the language and culture of the countries belonging to the Inner Circle of English language, which has then spread to Outer and Expanding Circles. This paradigm was introduced by Kachru, who is considered as a developer of the field of study known as World Englishes, which started from exploring linguistic variations of English especially found in post-colonialist countries and ultimately attempted to legitimize other forms of English (Rose et al., 2020, p. 6). World Englishes, according to Rose et al. (2020), aimed to challenge the position of power held by American and British English, and other “native” standards confined to settler colonies like Canada and Australia, giving the field socio-political qualities (p. 7). Interestingly, although America is a settler colony, like Canada and Australia, it is given a more prevalent position in language teaching. Thus, an effort to diffuse power relations, in Kachru's (in Rose et al., 2020, p. 7) model the inner circle comprises of other traditional bases of English, including Canada, Australia, and New Zealand in addition to Britain and the United states. These countries are used to reflect English culture in the SanomaPro's 2006 English textbook, *Spotlight 8* (Haapala et al., 2016). The second circle, the Outer Circle, is made up of countries which have been colonized by Britain, and where the former British rule still influences the countries in one way or the other; Singapore, Kenya, India, and Malaysia (Kachru in Rose et al., 2020, p. 7). The third circle, the

Expanding Circle, consists of countries where English is learned as a foreign language, as in Finland (Kachru in Rose et al., 2020, p. 7). The three circles eventually led to the categorization of speakers as either English as a native language (ENL), English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL) speakers (Rose et al., 2020. p. 8).

Rose et al. (2020) criticise the model for focusing on colonial history and failing to account for the multiethnic and multilingualist reality by positioning the inner circle as the new “norm” (p. 8). Accepting the criticism towards the highly hierarchical nature of the model, it is nevertheless possible to find some value in it. Kachru’s ideas regarding the spread of English language and culture show that there is no one native-speaking English country, which in turn challenges the term “target culture” used in both NCC 2004 and NCC 2014 (FNBE, 2004. FNBE, 2016). Larzén (2005) criticizes this term, as “English-speaking world is not one homogenous national culture, but a wide and disparate bulk of cultures spread all over the world, with sub-cultures at different levels” (p. 70). As a result of Kachru’s work on World Englishes, new paradigms have risen to describe the spread of English language and culture, which are listed by Rose et al. (2020) as English as a lingua franca, Global Englishes, and English as an international language (p. 6). Examining these terms will allow for a closer understanding of what English-speaking culture is considered to consist of today.

To start, English as a lingua franca (ELF) differs from Kachru’s model by treating English language as a diversity of different voices rather than one single entity that belongs to native speakers (House 2002, in Larzén, p. 41). Mauranen (in Jenkins et al., 2018) explains that lingua franca means a contact language between those who do not share a first language, and notes that despite some discussion on the exact definition of the context where the definition of ELF takes place, it is commonly used to describe situations where at least one of the speakers does not speak English as a native language (pp. 7–8). According to Rose et al. (2020), ELF emphasises the fluidity of norms, which are “variable and changeable with each ELF encounter, and are underpinned by the parameters of the context, the communicative aims of the discourse, as well as the needs of the interlocutors.” (p. 9). ELF in a pedagogical setting enforces the students to use and develop communication strategies, which allows the successful use of the language in multilingualistic and multicultural environments (p. 10). Similarly, Larzén (2005) claims that “the cultures form the background against which the common language of communication is shaped” (p. 41), which is why efficient communication requires for an understanding of different norms. On the other hand, there has been some debate on the connection between culture and communication in ELF research, and the role culture plays in communication. Baker (2018) suggests a view of culture as a dynamic rather than a nation-centred system: “a British person may be influenced by the notion of ‘British culture’..., and in turn their interactions may

contribute to characterisations of British culture, but their actions, beliefs and values are not synonymous with British culture” (p. 29). Interestingly, Baker (2018) argues that the link between language and culture might not be as strong as traditionally thought, at least not in the national level, since English users often draw from multiple cultural frames or references (pp. 29–30). Wicker (2015), for example, claims that although culture is a part of interaction, it does not equal a language or a text, as there is no cultural being, and culture cannot resist, adapt, or assimilate (p. 39). Wicker’s views are rather extreme, but they bring up an important point about how in today’s globalized world one’s cultural identity might not be tied to linguistic or national identity. As communication between individuals increases, cultural exchange also increases, and traditional nation-tied views on culture dissolve. Culture is not necessarily tied to language, but language can be used to express and explain culture in interaction. In addition, the relationship between language and culture is more complex and deeper than Wicker makes it seem. Cultural practices can be tied to language, as for example the word “sauna” awakens associations about different practices in Japan, America, Germany, and Finland. Although the practice of going to sauna is part of a Finnish culture, other cultures have adapted the practice and thus the meaning of the word has changed to suit the other cultures and practices. As it goes, it can be said that the relationship between language and culture is more multileveled and dynamic than Wicker claims. In this study, as NCC 2014 defines culture and language as a connected entity in connection to teaching, they will be viewed as one.

Global Englishes views English as a part of larger globalisation process and sets out to challenge the traditional ideologies by focusing on contact practices rather than the ideal of nativeness and regional English (Rose et al., 2020, p. 10). In the field of pedagogy, Global Englishes aims to raise awareness of the current, more complicated sociolinguistic landscape of English and to challenge the notion that learners should aim to use the language with L1 speakers (Rose et al., 2020, p. 10). English as an international language shares some similarities with world Englishes and ELF, being a little closer to Global Englishes and the idea of moving from the traditional division between native English and English as a second language, foreign language and additional English towards viewing English as an international language (Rose et al., 2020 p. 11). English as an international language is interested in the sociolinguistic, political, economic, and educational implications of the global spread of English, and how the language is used in society and language education (Rose et al., 2020, p. 11). Both models suggest moving away from the native-centred view on English language, and instead towards researching how English is used outside the native-foreigner setting as an international language of communication. This would mean that the definition of English-speaking culture would

also move from the idea of native culture, and instead move towards English language as a vessel of intercultural communication.

Since culture is no longer tied to national borders, language, or ethnicity, how can culture be defined? Is English culture the culture of all English speakers, or only the culture of British origin? Historically speaking, English culture would be English culture found inside national borders of Britain. However, as a result of colonialization, cultural hybridity, assimilation, and globalization, defining culture has become much more complicated. As this study focuses on seeking and coding cultural elements, a definition for what constitutes as culture in this study is needed. The definition of culture will include material culture, and immaterial products of culture found in textbooks, including cultural practices for example. In the purposes of this study, English-speaking culture is defined by the post-colonialist and ELF standards. NCC 2014 gives quite loose guidelines for cultural education, meaning that the selection of cultures was up to the textbook writers (FNBE, 2016). SanomaPro does not seem to explain the reasoning behind selecting the cultures featured in *On the Go 2* as representators of English-speaking culture, but as all countries featured in *On the Go 2* are post-colonialist countries, post-colonial criticism will be applied (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, 2017b). This conflicts with the NCC 2014 goal of examining ELF (FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3). On one hand, post-colonialist countries are a good example of ELF as they can act as an example of multilingualistic and multicultural environments where English is a central language of communication. On the other hand, the post-colonialist power relations are still part of the foundations of English language's central position in these countries. Thus, both ELF and post-colonialist views on English-speaking culture will be applied in analysis and conclusions. In addition, English as an International Language will provide a more modern approach to how to approach teaching English-speaking culture in the future.

3.2 Foreign language education and assessment in Finland

This section focuses on forming a view on foreign language education and assessment in Finland. The first sub-section will focus on the Finnish guidelines for foreign language education, which include the most important framework for Finnish education overall: The Finnish National Core Curriculum (NCC). The sub-section will form a holistic picture of Finnish foreign language education regarding the ideologies behind teachers' education and practical work. The second sub-section will focus on the practicality of teachers' work. Finnish teachers use learning materials quite often, and thus this sub-section focuses on what kind of view on culture the materials traditionally provide and whether this view corresponds the goals set by the NCC 2014.

3.2.1 Finnish guidelines for foreign language education

Textbooks are designed to follow the guidelines set for objectives of language learning. Thus, to be able to evaluate the textbooks, it is important to know the guidelines that form the foundation on which the textbooks and their contents are based. This subsection focuses on introducing the guidelines that direct the Finnish foreign language education. Firstly, the central ideology, German Didaktik, that steers the creation of the NCC will be discussed. After discussing the origins and creation of the NCC, the focal objectives of education that are promoted in the NCC 2014 will be introduced. As NCC is a document which is updated in every 10 years, the concepts found from the NCC 2014 are compared to the NCC 2004 to form a picture of where Finnish language education is headed, and how it has developed over the last decade. Lastly, the guidelines and objectives for language education in specific will be introduced.

One of the central concepts used to describe education by Tirri (2011) is the concept of German Didaktik. Didaktik is summarized by the importance of values that guide the teacher in the teaching-studying-learning process, and it can be found from the Finnish school system in the form of the NCC, which defines the values of teaching, to which the teachers conform (Tirri, 2011, p. 57). Tirri (2011) suggests that in Finland, the teacher's role is that of a moral educator regardless of subject matter they teach, as the goal of teaching is to follow and to apply these values through professionally trained teachers in the teaching-studying-learning process (p. 57). Vitikka et al. (2011) describe NCC as the basis of local curricula, which gives it a role as a tool for both teachers and administration (p. 83). The NCC is developed in collaboration between national and local authorities, which gives it an important role in the school system as a means of implementing educational changes (Vitikka et al., 2011, p. 83). The general goals of education are determined by The Council of State, and the FNBE develops the NCC that gives an outline for the local curricula, which are developed by education providers either as joint curricula or as schools' own curricula (Vitikka et al., 2011, pp. 85–86). Even if the curriculum is often considered as guidelines for locally planned curricula, Salo (2011) reminds that the Finnish NCC is an obligating norm upon which the teaching should be based on, meaning that creators of the curriculum should be held responsible for the kind of thinking and action they obligate teachers to follow (p. 61). This is the reason for why it is important to study the view on language and cultural education provided in the NCC; both teachers and creators of textbooks are obligated to follow the views and values on language, culture, and education, even if they do not incorporate the latest trends.

For example, the current NCC 2014 (FNBE, 2016) sets values, goals and guidelines for language teachers, assessors, and learners alike. Former NCC, NCC 2004, left more room for interpretation, but after 2004 they have been developed in a more subject-oriented and strict manner (FNBE, 2004). The NCC provides detailed guidance on aspects of teaching and assessment by seeking to ensure educational equality (Vitikka et al., 2011; Luukka et al., 2008). In addition to the pedagogical function, it also offers a specific understanding of knowledge and learning, defining the culturally important educational views (Vitikka et al., 2011, p. 88). The curriculum from 2004 also introduces the concept of “aihekokonaisuus” [cross-curricular theme], which tries to create a shift from subject-centered teaching towards more holistic education where some themes can be seen in all subjects (Luukka et al., 2008, p. 61). The cultural cross-curricular themes include cultural identity and internationality, communication and media skills, and man and technology (FNBE 2004, pp. 38–42). A similar concept can be found from the NCC 2014, titled “aiming for transversal competences” (FNBE, 2016, section 3.3). The transversal competences, abbreviated T, that touch on the topic of language and culture education include the concepts of thinking and learning to learn (T1), cultural competence, interaction, and expression (T2), multiliteracy (T4), ICT competence (T5), and participation, involvement and building sustainable future (T7) (section 3.3). The transversal competences are described in more detail in the NCC 2014, and they highlight the importance of the students’ own perception and thoughts, as well as knowing and appreciating their own cultural background and the surrounding linguistic and cultural landscape (section 3.3). The NCC 2014 also includes the section entitled “Special Questions of Language and Culture”, which enforces teaching that includes and supports the students’ linguistic acquirements and cultural backgrounds (section 9). Appreciating different languages and cultures, and encouraging bilingualism and plurilingualism, lingual awareness and metalinguistic skills are presented as the objectives in the section, as well as raising and using awareness of students own linguistic and cultural areas in teaching (section 9).

In addition to setting goals for cultural education as a transversal competence, the NCC 2014 sets detailed goals for foreign language education in secondary school. The portion focused on teaching foreign languages, “Foreign Languages” provides detailed accounts on the current concepts of knowledge, skills, learning, learning environment, work practices, and the aims and assessment criteria of learning (FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3). Thus, it can be said that it dictates the language teaching process. Goals set for “language pedagogy” highlight the importance of seeing all teachers as language instructors, and of the role of language as forming the framework for plurilingual and multicultural identity as well as the developer of interactional and information acquiring skills (section 15.4.3). One of the three content areas related to the objectives set for foreign language

education in NCC 2014 is content area C1, “Growing into cultural diversity and language awareness”, which includes three separate objectives of instruction for language education (figure 3).

Objectives of instruction	Content areas related to the objectives	Transversal competences
Growing into cultural diversity and language awareness		
O1 to promote the pupil’s ability to reflect on the values and phenomena related to the status of the studied language and to provide the pupil with prerequisites for developing his or her intercultural competence	C1	T1, T2
O2 to encourage the pupil to find interesting target-language environments that expand his or her worldview	C1	T1, T2
O3 to guide the pupil to observe the regularities in the target language and how the same concepts are expressed in other languages and to use linguistic concepts as support for learning	C1	T1, T4

Figure 3. Objectives of instruction set for Foreign Language Teaching in NCC 2014 (Image: FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3)

To summarize the objectives of language teaching, teaching should lead towards language awareness, awaken interest, and promote linguistic and cultural plurality. The focus should be on awakening the learner’s interest in the surrounding cultures and languages, and the learners should be encouraged to communicate in different authentic environments (section 15.4.3). The learners should be encouraged to appreciate different languages, the speakers of these languages, and different cultures (section 15.4.3). This differs from the NCC 2004 (FNBE 2004), which focuses more on grammar skills than cultural competence, and where the goals for cultural skills are set as knowing the target culture and understanding it against their own cultural background, as communicating and acting in everyday situations in a way deemed appropriate in the target culture, and as acknowledging the cultural affiliations of values (p. 141). Larzén (2005) criticizes the usage of term “cultural skills” in NCC 2004, and suggests the term “intercultural skills” instead, as it would better show that cultural skills require intercultural competence (pp. 70–71). In the NCC 2014, intercultural skills have replaced cultural skills, and the aim is to help the student recognize cultural features of communication and support intercultural communication skills (FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3).

The differences between the two curricula show the globalization and change in Finnish society. This claim is supported by Vitikka et al (2011), who note that the curriculum shows reflections of the Finnish national culture, as well as global discussions and comparisons (p. 93). Korpinen (2011) noted that the interviewed teachers seemed to describe the phenomenon of old-fashioned understanding of culture, which was described as cultural knowledge, while the more modern approach was cultural skills, and reckoned that this juxtaposition of understandings of culture goes to show the increasing

emphasize of cultural skills in teachers, teacher education and educationalists (p. 153). The differences in views on culture means that the successful implantation of the national curriculum requires teachers to agree on the set goals and aims. The teacher can get a sense of self-fulfilment through finding their work educationally meaningful and purposeful, making teaching more of a transformative tool than a mere process of transporting knowledge.

To conclude, the current trends in relation to language and culture education that are reflected in the curriculum include ELF, *language awareness* and *intercultural communicative competence*. As language awareness is only loosely tied to cultural education, ELF and ICC will be focused on. According to Hildén and Kantelinen (2011), language learning has slowly transformed from focus on structural correctness towards communicative competence, and the NCC 2014 reflects this change (p. 163). The NCC 2014 (FNBE, 2016) suggest that the language usage should be appropriate, natural, and meaningful, and that teaching should draw from the learner's personal interests (section 15.4.3). Cooperation between teachers and students is encouraged, as well as the usage of diverse teaching methods. In addition, students are guided to become active actors, and to familiarise with multilingualism and multiculturalism by practicing international communication (FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3). This implies that the teaching of cultural content should be based on learners' own interests, experiences and encourage positive attitudes and perceptions on culture. The teachers interviewed by Korpinen (2011) also highlighted the meaning of the students' own perception on culture by saying that cultural competence is based on understanding own environment and actions (p. 153). The teachers also thought that it was important to teach students cultural ambiguity, since it is important to understand that different cultures do thing differently without one way being better than the other (Korpinen, 2011, p. 135). This implies that learning materials should also challenge the students to think about their own culture and to reflect other cultures against it.

3.2.2 Teaching and assessing intercultural communicative competence

Evaluation and assessment are an important part of language teaching-learning-studying process. However, evaluating cultural skills provides a challenge. Cultural knowledge could be evaluated as a students' knowledge on material culture, but that does not even begin to cover the entirety of culture in relation to language use. In this sub-section, the issue of assessing a student's cultural competence will be considered. The central theory included is Byram's (1997) definition of intercultural communicative competence (ICC). Byram (1997) introduces the theoretical framework for the definition of ICC in the context of foreign language teaching and provides a brief introduction with some historical background on the topic of ICC. Firstly, assessment of cultural skills in Finland is

discussed as it is important in the context of ICC. Assessment in the context of ICC describes an individual’s ability to “communicate and interact across cultural boundaries” (Byram, 1997, p. 7). Clear and transparent definitions of assessment benefit the assessors, teachers, and learners alike. In Finland, the guidelines for assessment are based on the NCC 2014 (FNBE, 2016). The guidelines for assessment are based on the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) and the teachers are encouraged to use the *European Language Portfolio* as an assessment instrument (FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3). This subsection introduces the guidelines set for assessing cultural competence by NCC 2014, CEFR, and the European Language Portfolio, and compares them to the objectives of achieving ICC. As the NCC 2014 is a guiding document for education in Finland, Finnish foreign language textbooks are set to follow the guidelines. For this reason, it is important to go over the theoretical background set for assessing cultural competence. In addition to providing tools for assessing the individual student’s international communicative competence, the theories introduced here can be used to help in evaluating the Finnish English language textbooks.

Objective of instruction	Content areas	Assessment targets in the subject	Knowledge and skills for the grade 8
Growing into cultural diversity and language awareness			
O1 to promote the pupil's ability to reflect on the values and phenomena related to the status of the studied language and to provide the pupil with prerequisites for developing his or her intercultural competence	C1	Paying attention to questions related to the status of languages and intercultural competence	The pupil is able to reflect on phenomena related to the status of the studied language.
O2 to encourage the pupil to find interesting target-language environments that expand his or her worldview	C1	Development of world citizen skills through utilising the target language	The pupil is able to make observations on the possibilities for learning in target-language environments.
O3 to guide the pupil to observe the regularities in the target language and how the same concepts are expressed in other languages and to use linguistic concepts as support for learning	C1	Linguistic reasoning	The pupil is able to draw conclusions on regularities of the target language based on his or her observations, to apply the conclusions, and to compare them with the ways in which the same concept is expressed in some other language. The pupil is familiar with the key linguistic concepts of the target language.

Figure 4. *Assessment targets for content area C1, growth into cultural plurality and language awareness* (Image: FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3.)

When it comes to assessment at the end of the 9th grade, the NCC 2014 features guidelines for the knowledge and skills required for the grade 8. ICC is directly mentioned in objective O1 one of the three objectives of assessment directly connected to the content area C1 “growing into cultural diversity and language awareness” (FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3; figure 4). In addition to the three objectives tied to content area C1, another objective O8, a part of content area C3 of “evolving

language proficiency, interaction skills”, is connected to assessing cultural education, as its objective is to “help the pupil recognise cultural features in communication and to support the pupil in constructive intercultural communication” (FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3), and the required knowledge and skills include knowing the most important rules of politeness and considering key perspectives related to cultural practices. Altogether, these objectives suggest that the textbooks should aid the students in achieving ICC by featuring diverse cultures and teaching cultural practices. To conclude, The NCC 2014 enforces the importance of teaching language awareness, ICC and ELF in the guidelines for teaching and assessment (FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3).

In addition to the Finnish guidelines, the recent version of CERF will be taken into consideration as it sets the standards for language assessment today. As the NCC recommends using CERF to aid in assessment, the updated goals are relevant enough to be explored briefly. The culturally relevant guidelines for assessment include the goals set for achieving social competence, which is explained as students dealing with the social and cultural dimensions of language use in communication (Council of Europe, 2020). The 2020 edition of CERF enforces plurilingualism and pluriculturalism in addition to the scales introduced in 2001 (p. 11). CERF encourages the students need to take the role of a mediator and sees the world as a place where pluricultural repertoire/sociolinguistic competence is appreciated (p. 23). According to Kantelinen and Pollari (2011), the European Language Portfolio, which is linked to CERF, consists of a language passport, a language biography, and a dossier (pp. 171–172). The language passport aims to provide an overview of the student’s proficiency in different languages (Kantelinen & Pollari, 2011, p. 171). The language biography helps students plan, reflect, and assess their learning process and progress, and the dossier offers the students an opportunity to select materials to document and illustrate the achievements and experiences recorded in their language biographies and passports (Kantelinen & Pollari, 2011, p. 171). The main aims of the European Language Portfolio are to help students make their learning experience more coherent, to motivate them by acknowledging their efforts to extend and diversify language skills, and to provide a record of acquired linguistic and cultural skills for later consultation (Kantelinen & Pollari, pp. 172–173). Zedda (2008) promotes this type of project work in teaching languages and culture as well, as it narrows the gap between the study and use of language, or the language used in classrooms and outside (p. 62). The end results of projects can be presented to an outside authentic audience, or inside the learning context, and according to Zedda (2008), the outcomes include e.g., intensity of motivation, enhanced language skills, and increased content knowledge (p. 67).

ICC development started from communicative competence research, which brought up the issue of how to assess performance and linguistic competence in a language classroom. In 1986, Van Ek suggested the assessment should be modelled after first language speakers, which ignores the social identities and cultural competence of the learner themselves in any intercultural interaction (as cited in Byram, 1997, p. 9–11). In addition, Van Ek (1985, as cited in Byram 1997) created a framework for the objectives of comprehensive foreign language learning instead of focusing on second language learners, and according to Byram, “the model of six competences is a useful starting point for defining ICC, summarizing it as follows:

Linguistic competence: the ability to produce and interpret meaningful utterances which are formed in accordance with the rules of the language concerned and bear their conventional meaning . . . that meaning which native speakers would normally attach to an utterance when used in isolation (p. 39).

Sociolinguistic competence: the awareness of ways in which the choice of language forms . . . is determined by such conditions as setting, relationship between communication partners, communicative intention, etc., etc. . . . sociolinguistic competence covers the relation between linguistic signals and their contextual–or situational–meaning (p. 41).

Discourse competence: the ability to use appropriate strategies in the construction and interpretation of texts (p. 47).

Strategic competence: when communication is difficult [*sic*] we have to find ways of 'getting our meaning across' or of 'finding out what somebody means'; these are communication strategies, such as rephrasing, asking for clarification (p. 55).

Sociocultural competence: every language is situated in a sociocultural context and implies the use of a particular reference frame which is partly different from that of the foreign language learner; sociocultural competence presupposes a certain degree of familiarity with that context (p. 35).

Social competence: involves both the will and the skill to interact with others, involving motivation, attitude, selfconfidence [*sic*], empathy and the ability to handle social situations (p. 65)” (Van Ek, 1985, pp. 39–65) as cited in: [Byram, 1997, p. 10].

Byram (1997) however provides two critiques for Van Ek’s definition of communicative competence. Firstly, Van Ek (1986) ignores the position of ELF, thus making the EFL learner an incomplete native speaker, which in turn sets English language learners up for failure by setting an impossible target (p. 11). The learners are set up for an inevitable failure by demanding the same level of mastery over a language as an educated native speaker would have (Byram, 1991, p. 11). Baker (2018) agrees that ELF brings valuable insight into ICC research, even though ELF includes some power imbalances related to native speakerism, and thus is not as neutral towards cultural identity as is often claimed (p. 27). The second critique offered by Byram (1997) is an extension of the first one: even if it would be possible for an EFL learner to achieve the native level of speaking, it would be a completely wrong

competence, since this kind of competence creates “linguistic schizophrenia”, which forces the EFL learner to abandon their own language and cultural competence to adapt to another linguistic environment and acquire a native sociocultural competence and a new sociocultural identity (p. 12). This enforces the idea that language is tied to adaptation of native culture, which is problematic since defining a native speaker is a rather difficult task. As language is cultural in nature, there exists a hidden set of meanings and values that are conveyed through vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation of different cultural origins (Larzén, 2005, p. 27). Rose et al. (2020), also explain that a language speaker cannot become a native speaker without the acceptance of other native speakers, as “the native speaker identity, therefore, is like joining an exclusive club, where there are no membership criteria for joining, but rather other members and gatekeepers decide whether you are ‘club material’ (p. 13)”. As discussed in section 3.1.1, English language has ties to multiple cultures, and the two main groups regarded as native speakers, the Americans, and the English, also display differences in how English language is spoken and written. In the end, the best option is to move away from the concept of achieving “native” level in speaking, writing, and cultural skills.

In addition to deviating from native-centred assessment, Byram (1997) suggests adding aspects of non-verbal communication, and inter-group and cross-cultural relations to ICC (pp. 12–13). Non-verbal communication, dimensions of which include e.g. facial expressions and gestures, varies between cultures, and these variations in meanings associated with non-verbal communication create problems in communication and lead to confusion (Byram, 1997, pp. 12–13). As Larzén (2005) mentions, we do not tend to separate verbal from the nonverbal until cultural differences arise, for example in the way of nodding your head to convey the word “yes” which in some cultures means the opposite (p. 29). This is why language teachers should consider the triple reality of language speech introduced by Poyatos (1992, as cited in Byram, 1997, p. 13–14), which includes kinesics (gestures, manners) and paralingual dimensions (e.g. usage and meaning of loudness or whispering) of language learning, in addition to the traditional dimensions of language, like syntax and vocabulary, that teachers are more traditionally familiar with. Van Lier (2004) also emphasises on the importance of activity and perception, suggesting that language teaching should allow for the use of situational and conversational logic and which will eventually allow for language awareness (pp. 86–92). In this study, the non-verbal dimension of language will be considered when seeking the cultural elements found in speech and gestures in *On the Go 2*.

Although inter-group and cross-cultural relations consist more of research into communication and interaction between groups with minimal concern for language itself, they should be considered in

language teaching so that teachers can plan activities that encourage cross-cultural learning (Byram, 1997, pp. 15–17). According to Byram (1997), communicative competence can be thought about as a shared world instead of a world closed to non-native learners, to which learners can gain access via foreign language learning, and thus teachers should focus on equipping the learner with the ability to access and analyse cultural practices and encounters regardless of their status in a society (pp. 17–21). After all, learners are likely going to use the language in intercultural communication, where the other participant might not be a native language. Byram (1997) suggests a model of an “intercultural speaker (p. 21)” instead of emphasizing the assumption that language learners should aspire to native-level language skills, which allows for equality between language speakers and mutual respect between representors of different cultures and identities. Kramsch (2004, pp. 44–47, in Larzén, 2005, p. 42) suggests that for students to be able to achieve ICC, the teacher should be a linguistic/cultural expert that displays all attributes of ICC and is able to use language appropriately instead of only knowing about it.

	Skills interpret and relate (<i>savoir comprendre</i>)	
Knowledge of self and other; of interaction: individual and societal (<i>savoir être</i>)	Education political education critical cultural awareness (<i>savoir s'engager</i>)	Attitudes relativising self valuing other (<i>savoir être</i>)
	Skills discover and/or interact (<i>savoir apprendre/faire</i>)	

Figure 2.1
Factors in intercultural communication³

Figure 5. *Byram’s definition of the factors in Intercultural Communication* (Image: Byram, 1997, p. 34)

Next, the factors defining intercultural communication will be defined. These factors will be used later when analysing the results. Byram (1997) suggests that education is complemented by three different factors: attitudes, knowledge, and skills (p. 34). Attitudes are the pre-condition for cultural learning, and while they need to be positive, critical cultural approach should be kept in mind (Byram, 1997, p. 34). In the case of EFL learning materials, the texts should enforce attitudes that are positive and awake the curiosity of learners, while at the same time raising awareness of different values via reflecting and analysing the cultural content offered. Byram (1997) divides knowledge in two

categories: knowledge of social groups and their cultures in the learner's own country, and knowledge of interaction at individual and societal levels (p. 35). These categories complement each other: cultural knowledge is formed based on interaction between the individual and interlocutor (p. 36). Spinelli and Dolci (2008) also promote the importance of the support system cultural partners can provide in language class and in exchange programs in general, as they expose the students to "a more "real" target language and culture" (p. 381). In their study, Spinelli and Dolci (2008) discovered that after receiving help from their cultural partners in the classroom, the participants were able to better link the internal reality to the external, authentic world (pp. 381–382). The interlocutor, or the cultural partner, might be a character in the textbook who represents a foreign culture, enforcing the idea that the learner is in authentic interaction with a member of different social group and culture, but they might also be the teacher. This would mean that to make a classroom a more authentic environment, it is important for the teacher to have some experience of language and culture in authentic environments, and that textbooks are created by persons with similar experience to the characters they write about.

Finally, Byram (1997) states that skills are drawn from knowledge, and they are defined as the learner's ability to interpret and relate to the document studied, while utilizing consciously acquired knowledge (p. 37). Previous knowledge plays a large role when interpreting and relating to documents, and in regards of language learning, knowledge of different cultures is often required when working on different text materials. If the learner has no previous knowledge to draw on, they need to utilize their skills of discovery, described as the "ability to recognize a significant phenomenon in a foreign environment and to elicit their meanings and connotations and their relationship to other phenomena" (Byram, 1997, p. 38). Combining these three factors of previous knowledge, positive and curious attitude, and interpretational and discovery skills result in a successful interaction between an individual and an interlocutor, where ICC is displayed. Byram (1997) explains that this acquisition often happens in an educational setting, meaning that institutions, teachers and creators of learning materials all carry responsibility for cultural teaching (p. 43). Though Byram's views on ICC attempt to dissolve the power dynamics between natives and non-natives, it has been criticized for suggesting that culture is still tied to national levels (Baker, 2018, p. 32). Baker (2018) suggests that ICC should be replaced by the concept of intercultural awareness (ICA), which combines elements of ELF and ICC research (p. 32). As such, it would go to replace the national level view on the relationship between language and culture with a more fluid, complex and emergent view. However, since the NCC 2014 seems to rest on views provided by ICC research, it will be used when evaluating the textbooks.

In a similar vein, Hinkel (n.d.) focuses on English as a Second Language (ESL), and the importance of learning socio-cultural norms in means to attain second language (L2) socio-cultural competence. As an example, he mentions the phrase “thank you”: knowing how to say it does not mean that the learner has the knowledge of when to say it (p. 3). Hinkel (n.d.) divides culture into two categories of *visible culture* and *invisible culture* (p. 5). Visible culture covers cultural aspects that are “readily apparent to anyone and can be discussed and explained relatively easily” (Hinkel, n.d., p. 5), like for example literature, arts, history, and architecture, while invisible culture, in turn, covers cultural aspects that cannot be easily understood, since they often are beliefs and assumptions that most members of L2 culture themselves are not consciously aware of. These invisible parts of culture will most likely remain invisible to L2 learners unless they are taught together with other language skills and gaining knowledge on socio-cultural norms and principles is crucial since they define the norms of appropriate language use (Hinkel, n.d., pp. 6–7). These same principles can be applied to learning English as a foreign language. Spoken language, according to Hinkel (n.d.), often has *pragmatic function*, a socio-cultural purpose, in addition to a *linguistic form* that many teachers focus on (p. 14). Linguistic form can vary from direct instructions to asking. For example, the pragmatic functions of “close the window” and “could you close the window, please” are the same, but depending on which form is used, the speaker might get a different response from whomever the request is directed to. According to Hinkel (n.d.), any textbooks focus on forms of both polite and casual expressions, after all, dialogue is a common form of text found in textbooks, but they rarely focus on the socio-cultural variables of dialogue, which are part of everyday language use in L2 speaking environment (p. 15). As a practical example of a socio-cultural variable, in Finland, teachers and learners have a more casual relationship than in Great Britain. The phrases “hello” and “good day”, carry the same pragmatic function, but their usage varies depending on the relationship between the speakers. These kinds of socio-cultural variables might be difficult for Finnish EFL learners to understand, since in Finland, both the casual and the more formal form are accepted as an appropriate way to speak to a teacher. As Hinkel (n.d.) explains it, different ways to express pragmatical functions are often found in learning materials and appropriate language use is found curriculums, but the variability of politeness and appropriateness are concepts that are rarely focused on during language education (pp. 15–16). These features of language could be practiced during lessons by getting familiar with different forms and trying to use them in appropriate contexts. Other way to practice socio-cultural practices could be to view at the issue through the learners’ native language. For example, the teacher could ask how the student would make a question more polite in Finnish. This approach would work well in Finland since oral exercises are already done frequently during lessons. Luukka et al. (2008) explain that 63% of teachers evaluate that their students produce dialogues and conversations often

(p. 109). Even though oral presentations are done more infrequently, the time spent on oral exercises exceeds the time on written exercises, which 28% of teachers evaluate being done often (Luukka et al., 2008, p. 110). Korpinen (2011) reminds that the oral exercises are often based on exercises provided by EFL textbooks, meaning that they are often tied to the grammatical learning goals and do not represent authentic, culturally tied language usage (p. 148). As textbooks are used often in lessons, socio-cultural practices should be included textbooks in a way that promotes authentic language use instead of being tied to grammar.

To summarize, ICC formed by both knowledge and use. Knowledge is furthered by the learners' attitudes and skills of interaction and discovery, and all these features are shaped by education. Cultural education as a term is tied not only to the culture that is formed by products, but also to the socio-cultural practices, part of which include politeness appropriate language use, and more practical functions, like grammatical and linguistic features of language in mind when teaching EFL. Thus, the teacher should keep in mind not only the visible culture, but invisible culture, if the aim is to help learners achieve socio-cultural competence. Achieving ICC requires applying practice to real life situations, and to ensure this, students should be provided with possibilities to practice their language use in authentic situations.

3.2.3 Learning materials and representations of culture

In the previous section, ICC was discussed in connection to the goals of cultural education in Finland, and as mentioned, since learning materials are an essential part of EFL education, they should also enforce achieving ICC. These materials often are what EFL courses and lessons are built upon, and thus they have an important role in cultural education. This section aims to provide an overall view on learning materials and how they currently present culture. Korpela (2017) explains that Finnish education is successful partly since teachers can choose the learning materials they use (p. 22). "High-quality learning materials are an important factor in practical school work [SIC]. . . the production of textbooks and other materials is strongly emphasized. Materials are increasingly available in electronic form and online. (Korpela, 2017, p. 22)" Luukka et al. (2008) would go as far as to claim that Finnish learning materials work as a so-called hidden core curriculum (p. 64). Nyman (2011) in her study divided young teachers into a few categories, one of which is teachers who followed the textbook exactly and viewed it as a synonym for the core curriculum, and the other which consisted of teachers who went through the textbook selectively (pp. 105–107). This would mean that there is

some variance in how teachers use the textbook, but that it still acts as a common framework for especially young teachers to construct their lessons on. In a similar vein, the young Finnish teachers Nyman (2011) studied showed some difference in how they use the learning materials, meaning that the teachers' own values also have some effect. Nyman (2011) noticed that some teachers choose to only bring up culture when it is brought up in the textbook, while some expand upon the textbook and emphasize the meaning of cultural knowledge (pp. 105–107). This raises the question of exactly how often Finnish foreign language users use textbooks.

According to a questionnaire completed by Luukka et al. (2018), 98% of Finnish foreign language teachers use textbooks and 95% workbooks often when teaching, which is a large number in comparison to the corresponding numbers of 76% and 37% of Finnish mother tongue teachers (p. 94). Most of the more often used materials are designed to be used as learning materials, including textbooks, workbooks, printouts and web materials, and the least used materials include book literature, magazines, and students' own text materials (Luukka et al., 2018, p. 95). Even if the study is on the older side, it can be said that learning materials have held an important position in language teaching for a while, meaning that textbooks and workbooks are used continuously in foreign language classrooms around Finland. This raises the question of what kind of learning materials should be designed to ensure versatile language and culture education. Interestingly, despite the seemingly important role of learning materials in Finnish education, the matter of cultural content and cultural education in textbooks and workbooks has not been studied extensively. For this reason, this theory section aims to provide a framework for evaluating the cultural content found in textbooks.

Firstly, the question of how cultures are presented in learning materials should be considered. As mentioned earlier, the views used by *On the Go 2* textbook is based on the NCC. NCC 2014 defines the goal for English culture teaching as investigating cultures and lifestyles of countries, where English is the central language used in the society and as acquiring knowledge about some variants of English language (section 15.4.3). This definition differs from the NCC 2004, which set the goal of getting to know the target culture, often interpreted as meaning the Inner Circle of English (Larzén, 2005, p. 70). The new guideline leaves more room for interpretation about what kind of culture should be represented in the new textbooks, and *On the Go 2* reflects this by expanding from the culture of the countries found from the Inner Circle of English used in the previous SanomaPro textbook series *Spotlight* to post-colonialist countries where culture has been influenced heavily by English language and culture (Haapanen et al, 2016. Daffue-Karsten et al, 2017a, 2017b). As textbooks are used often

in Finland, it is important to create an understanding of how culture is described in them. According to Kirkebæk et al. (2013), culture can be thought as either pearls on a string: clearly defined, homogenous, and slowly changing, or as open structures: no clear borders, and constantly changing (pp. 4–5). The prior view is something that Finnish textbooks seem to enforce; culture is introduced as sum of facts and products rather than as a set of values or as ways of thinking and acting (Salo, 2011, p. 59). When it comes to how textbooks present cultures, cultural objects are a rather large part of cultural education, since they are easy to explain and include. For example, cultural knowledge is often tied to material examples, including artefacts, literature, arts, and foods. danger of enforcing material culture is as a result reducing a culture to a sum of the objects created by it. According to Hellemans (2017) material culture is the idea of connecting manmade material things to the surrounding culture (p. 10). The latter approach views culture as not fixed, but constantly changing, and sees people as belonging to several cultures instead of one, thus sharing/owning a membership in many cultural communities (Kirkebæk et al., 2013, p. 5). These approaches are rather different, since the other views culture as a product, and the other as more of a process or a set of readily changing practises. In a similar vein, Gómez Rodríguez (2015) suggests that culture should be considered as something transformative instead of static (p. 169). Cultures can thus be altered, and that they can change by themselves or via the influence of outside culture, much how British imperialistic governance of India affected Indian culture through the political power that it held as the dominant culture over the submissive Indian culture (Gómez Rodríguez, 2015, p. 169).

In addition to the view on culture, the approach to teaching and learning plays an important role in cultural education. Once again, Kirkebæk et al. (2013) mention two parallels: informational approach, and constructivist approach (pp. 5–6). Informational approach focuses on sharing information about cultural beliefs and practices via information, and results in an image of culture as a mere sum of products, facts, and items, connecting it to the pearls on the string-view on culture (p. 5). Constructivist approach focuses on students constructing their own understandings of the surrounding world and cultures (Kirkebæk et al., 2013, p. 6). Constructivist approach is a popular view in language education, since foreign language education helps students build their own identities through socialization (Salo, 2011, p. 43). Kirkebæk et al. (2013) remind that for constructivist language learning to take place, spontaneity and independent work from students is required, as unlike in the informational approach. the constructivist approach further presupposes that learning is problem and task-based (p. 6). Students should be taught to negotiate understandings of culture, and the emphasis is put on student motivation and learning goals, since active involvement, participation, and engagement is required (Kirkebæk et al., 2013, p. 6). Task-based learning is based on the students

learning by doing, and in contrast to traditional instruction, it shifts focus from grammatical correctness towards performing concrete tasks (Means, 2008, pp. 40–41). This method would be favourable when teaching culture, as studying grammar does not advance grammatical skills that would translate to speech and writing outside school environment (Salo, 2011, p. 60). Task based learning, a form of communicative language teaching, promotes meaning over form, meaning that as students develop in fluency, accuracy is sure to follow (Means, 2008. pp. 44–45). Same goes for culture: instead of internalizing information about culture, students experiment with cultures and gain experiences that they can use in authentic environments. On the SanomaPro (2021) website on On the Go-series reads that the series encourages students to actively use language in different ways, and that it brings out cultural differences in different situations where communication is needed (n.p.). Thus, it can be said that On the Go is advertised as enforcing constructivist language learning. The website also advertises that in addition to knowledge about nations and cultures, the everyday life of young people around the world is introduced, as well as different lifestyles (SanomaPro, 2021, n.p.). On the Go 2 textbook also encourages the student to be active: "...you also need to be active. You need to use English every day. Use it at school, but also when you're chatting online or joking around with friends. Remember not to worry too much about making mistakes. If you don't make mistakes, you'll never learn. (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, p. 3)" Thus, it can be said that the series is advertised as combining both traditional and more modern views on culture, and it seems to enforce both informational and constructivist approaches.

In addition to examining how learning materials present culture, this study examines how learning materials help the learner achieve intercultural communicational competence. Tomlinson (2008) states that learning materials should provide the learners with "exposure to authentic use of English through spoken and written texts with the potential to engage the learners cognitively and affectively (p. 4)". This means that the learning materials should be designed so that they simulate an authentic situation, which in turn stimulates the learners to think and feel. After all, most of the exposure to foreign language comes through listening and reading exercises provided in learning materials. However, as Tomlinson (2008) states, the learners' attention should be directed towards the language and discourse features offered in these texts, otherwise these features might go unnoticed (p. 4). Raising awareness of different features found in varying authentic texts supports the learners' skills of discovery. According to the questionnaire by Luukka et al. (2008), teachers use mostly the texts found from textbooks, and sometimes narratives and stories (p. 105). Since textbook texts are the most used text genre, it is important to try to find out what kind of texts modern textbooks include. Salo (2011) claims that textbooks provide a rather nationalistic viewpoint of cultures, and mainly

focus on stereotypic material culture instead of highlighting different ways of thought and action (p. 61). Salo (2011) explains that the nature of cultural education is in direct connection to the vague nature of the goals set for cultural education in the NCC 2004 as the learning materials are based upon these goals (p. 61).

In addition to featuring authentic materials, Tomlinson (2008) suggests that learning materials should encourage participation in meaningful communication (p. 5). This paralingual dimension of language use is encouraged in the NCC as well as in *On the Go* textbooks. Korpinen (2011) states that despite goals of encouraging socio-cultural learning, textbooks are often driven by grammatical learning goals and the language used in textbooks is often guided by these goals, and as a result, the used language strays far from authentic and meaningful communication by featuring rare expressions and cleaned-up language (p. 148). To summarize, the materials should further learners' language acquisition and development, and develop their communicative competence. Tomlinson (2008) offers examples on how different English learning materials endorse these skills (p. 6) They, for example, provide texts from different genres and text types, offer multimedia resources and aesthetically positive content, and help learners make discoveries (p. 6).

Tomlinson (2008) states that while textbooks help learners personalize and localize language learning experience, they also tend to underestimate the learners' language level and cognitive abilities, and present the learners with a "bland, safe and harmonious text (p. 7)". Gómez Rodríguez (2015) also suggests seeing culture as contentious, not only congratulatory, meaning that not only "correct" and "celebratory" opinions about culture should be expressed in textbooks, but instead, learners should be encouraged to get familiar with possibly controversial topics in addition (p. 170). Fenner and Newby (2000) criticize the lack of authentic texts as well and suggest that "there is a vast difference between a text relating or describing a specific phenomenon in the foreign culture, written by a foreign textbook author seen with the foreigner's eyes, and the text on the same topic written for children or young people within the native culture (p. 145)". Majority of the texts found from *On the Go 2* seem to be fictional texts written by a foreign author, which would classify them as inauthentic descriptions of native culture. According to Fenner and Newby (2000), encountering authentic texts is meaningful since they represent a personal encounter with the foreign culture, and in a way, materials created by non-native authors prevents the learners from being able to have an authentic experience of foreign culture (p. 146). Instead of seeing a foreign culture from presented from different perspectives and as a sum of negatives and positives, cultures and socio-cultural norms are presented in as safe way as possible. Fenner and Newby (2000) explain that traditional cultural education focuses on giving the learners means of coping in a foreign culture by having them reproduce and mimic language instead

of producing language on their own (p. 142). This way of presenting education as instruction on how to use language results in a subject-object relationship between the material and the learning. The foreign culture is presented as an object for observation, and the learners' own culture as the subject, which results in imposing own cultural values upon the object. This, in turn, may result in developing an attitude of power towards the foreign culture, which goes against the NCC objective of intercultural harmony. Language and culture are also often seen as separate entities instead of language as an expression of culture. Textbooks tend to reduce culture to factual knowledge, and while it is an important aspect of cultural knowledge, it is not how culture should be taught. Thus, Fenner and Newby (2000) suggest that foreign cultures should be approached as subject-subject relationship, meaning that education would be viewed as a dialectic process of development and personal growth towards cultural awareness. (pp. 142–143)

To conclude, considering the Finnish national curriculum and previous research, EFL learning materials should help the learners achieve intercultural communicative competence by displaying culture in various ways. Learning materials should not only include information on culture, but also encourage the students to compare and at times criticize other cultures, while being careful of stereotyping. In addition, authentic dialogues, materials, and exercises that encourage intercultural communication should be included in the learning materials. Learning materials should be written by an expert of the described culture to avoid attitudes of power between the learner's experience of own culture and the subject culture. These views on how learning materials should approach teaching culture will be taken into consideration when analysing the materials.

4 Analytical framework

In this section, the theoretical premise and methods used when analysing the textbooks are introduced. Firstly, cultural criticism will be considered. This section will provide viewpoints on the methodology used in this study, including cultural criticism, directed content analysis, and the methodology behind creating the tables used in analysing the textbooks. This study uses tables to help classify the cultural content found from textbooks and to showcase the amount of visible and invisible culture found in EFL textbooks.

4.1 Post-colonial criticism

When analysing cultural content, it is important to consider views provided by post-colonial criticism, as there are many things to consider when analysing cultures, especially non-western ones. This study uses the theory of post-colonialism to analyse the textbook content, as all the countries introduced in *On the Go 2* are former colonies. The colonialist idea of European identity as superior to non-European identities is interesting, as this idea has shaped the former colonies to the countries they are today (Said, 1978/1991, p. 7). Said's (1978/1991) concept of Orientalism, which has and might still affect the way Eastern countries are represented, should also be considered when studying *On the Go 2*, and how it presents countries like China and India for example. In short, Orientalism is about the relationship between the Westerner and the Non-Westerner; Us and the Other. According to Said (1978/1991), in literature the Oriental was presented as acting, speaking and thinking in a manner opposite to European—they are gullible, cunning, unkind to animals, uncivilized, lethargic, and devoid of energy and initiative (pp. 38–39). Whereas Oriental is irrational, depraved, childlike, and different, European is rational, virtuous, mature, and normal (Said, 1978/1991, p. 40). Said (1978/1991) explains that Europe is introduced as the Other's contrasting image, idea, personality, and experience, and this allows to create a framework that contains and represents the Oriental culture, allowing the Europeans to see Orientals as a phenomenon rather than individuals (pp. 40–42). The Orient was also seen as requiring Western attention, reconstruction and redemption, as it was backwards, degenerate, and as a result unequal to the liberal and correct West (Said, 1978/1991, pp. 206; 227). Representations of the Orient are not always negative, but they result in generalisations. As an example, Said (1978/1991) mentions that the Orient was sometimes presented as unclean, but beautiful: it was sensual, eccentric and malleable, meaning that it was also seen as a fantasy (pp. 187; 205).

The idea of the Orient generalizes and submits all Eastern peoples to the same stereotype, even though different ethnicities, cultures, and identities exist inside the Orient. As a result of presenting cultures through often negative way in contrast to Europeans, orientalism becomes connected to the alienation, or othering, of other cultures (Hellemans, 2017, p. 128). As the Orient is the Western fantasy rather than realistic description of the East, it is important to take in mind in cultural critical analysis the colonial ideology, as it has led to assumptions and opinions being presented as hard facts (Said, 1978/1991, pp. 130–131). Bhabha (1994/2004) however criticizes the polarity of Said's ideas, and suggests considering the hybridity of cultures which happens when multiple cultures interact, and when this interaction is driven by the colonial power (pp. 102–104; 160).

In addition to considering the Orientalist stereotypes in texts, Hellemans (2017) suggests looking into the concept of agency (capacity to act) when studying representation of often invisible cultures (p. 135). When studying textbooks, agency and representation matter as the texts are written as representations of certain cultures. The question is, what kind of character is given agency and thus represents the culture, and who remains invisible without possibility to influence one's own role in the surrounding environment. For example, the main character in *On the Go 2 Unit 3* is an Australian-Hongkonger, meaning that they might represent the culture through a different viewpoint in comparison to a Hongkonger (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a). Of course, national identity is not tied to cultural or ethnic identity, but the matter of representation remains, as the power of representing Hong Kong and Chinese culture is given to a person with a multicultural identity rather than a local.

To summarise, post-structuralist cultural criticism is about moving from clear structure towards a more subjective view on language and cultural studies. This study draws elements from both structuralist and post-structuralist cultural analysis, and most importantly, elements of postcolonial studies. In the textbook context, this means that it is important to study how the non-Western cultures are presented. Are they exoticized, and are they presented as inferior to Western cultures in some way? The question of what cultural aspects and materials are chosen to represent the culture, and what kind of characters are given agency in the texts. The possibility of hidden frameworks behind discourse are considered when analysing cultural content, and the problems of agency and representation will be contemplated.

4.2 Directed content analysis

The textbooks will be analysed using methods offered by qualitative content analysis, and more specifically, directed content analysis. Qualitative content analysis is directed towards studying text

data. Because On the Go 2 learning materials mostly consist of text, and the amount of text data found in them is relatively small, qualitative research methods will be used. According to Hsiesh and Shannon (2005), direct content analysis employs previous theory when gathering data, and the purpose of studies done utilizing direct content analysis is often to validate previous research or gain new information on a pre-existing phenomenon (p. 1281). The purpose of this thesis is to utilize existing theory to analyse cultural content found in Finnish EFL learning materials. Studies regarding visible and invisible culture in other countries' EFL textbooks were considered, but there exists little research on Finnish EFL learning materials. Hsiesh and Shannon (2005) suggest using pre-existing codes when classifying content found from the text data, which allows for immediate coding of the contents (p. 1282). The theory-based approach provided by directed content analysis is relevant since the focus of the study is finding and coding cultural elements first under different categories, which include: 1) holidays and celebrations, 2) locations, 3) entertainment and famous people, 4) food, 5) cultural artefacts, 6) arts and literature 7) cultural practices, 8) general knowledge, 9) history, and 10) religion. Then the cultural content will be coded under either visible culture and/or invisible culture, and lastly the categories will be examined, and their contents coded under one or more P's, which include products, practices and perspectives. After coding the content, it can be compared to the standards set for achieving ICC set by Byram, and to the post-colonialist views on Non-Western culture provided by Said. The strong theoretical base will both help identify the key concepts and turn them into initial coding categories, and ease finding cultural content and analysing the gathered data.

In the case that some of the content cannot be divided, Hsiesh and Shannon (2005) suggest that the data is written down and analysed later under a new code, since direct content analysis allows for coming up with new categories and subcategories for the data (p. 1283). Finally, the theory will guide the discussion, and the new categories and subcategories might either support or present contradictory views in comparison to the existing theory (Hsiesh & Shannon, p. 1283). However, when using existing theory, the theory can cause the researcher to view the data gathered with a strong bias. This concern is especially relevant when researching such an opinionated topic, as the researcher might have their own preconceived thoughts about representation of culture, especially when the results from earlier studies have shown that EFL materials do not offer cultural content. Another possible problem lies withing the selection of the analysed Units, as the researcher might see Non-Western cultures as more appealing and presume that they provide more cultural content. To avoid these problems, the entire book is carefully read through, and in addition to the content coded to tables, other content can be used too to form a more coherent picture on the cultural content.

4.3 Analysing cultural content in EFL textbooks

Culture has commonly been divided under two different subsections. Earliest division, which stems from Victorian England, is the division to high culture and low culture, which views one's degree of culture as greater or lesser (Hellemans, pp. 118–119). Culture can also be divided into elements of culture that are easily understood, including art, and culture that is more difficult to understand, including cultural practices. To describe this phenomenon, the terms capital C culture and small c culture have been used (Doyé, in Larzén 2005, p. 23; Dema & Kramer Moeller, 2012, pp. 78–79). Similarly, Gómez Rodríguez (2015) divides culture under two categories using the terms surface culture and deep culture (p. 171), whereas Hinkel (n.d.) uses visible and invisible culture (p. 5). This division of cultural elements to two categories might derive from the human focus on binary thinking, meaning focus on opposites (Hellemans, 2017, p. 79). This binary division is used as it offers some clarity for defining the type of culture found in textbooks, but it is important to note that it is important to not to seek out only a yes/no-answer to whether the textbooks provide invisible cultural content, but to consider the amount and type of cultural content as a whole.

Proposing a critical view on the display of culture in textbooks, Gómez Rodríguez (2015) analysed three different English as a foreign language textbooks. Similarly to the study by Hinkel (n.d.) where culture was divided into visible and invisible culture, culture is divided into two categories. Gómez Rodríguez (2015) classifies cultural aspects can be as either part of *surface culture* or *deep culture* (p. 168). The two terms are used to categorize the culture found in textbooks. Surface culture, like invisible culture, covers easily observable, and thus understandable, parts of culture. To analyse the three textbooks, Gómez Rodríguez (2015) examined the textbooks as an entirety, and then classified the topics (p. 171). These topics were then classified into two categories: surface or deep culture, based on a set of criteria created by himself. He explains this set of criteria as follows:

- Topics of surface culture: characterized as being static, congratulatory, neutral, and homogeneous.

- Topics of deep culture: characterized as being transformative, complex, contentious or congratulatory, and heterogenous. Gómez Rodríguez, 2015, p. 171)

Gómez Rodríguez (2015) formed a table of the textbooks' contents, dividing the cultural contents he found first into aspects like "holidays/celebrations" or "literature and the arts", and by then dividing these contents into either surface culture or deep culture (p. 174)

Table 2. Cultural Themes Found in Textbook 2

Aspect	Surface Culture	Deep Culture
Holidays/ celebrations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussion on holidays and traditions: a mariachi band, a Korean couple dressed in the traditional hanbok, Thanksgiving in the us, New Year celebration in Hong Kong, Rio de Janeiro's Carnival, Feast of Eidul-Fitr in Egypt. • Giving information about holiday traditions in learners' own countries. • Listening: ways to celebrate holidays in different countries. • Reading: holidays around the world (Thailand's Wet Water Festival, Ramadan [the month of fasting], and Simon Bolivar's birthday). • Reading: wedding traditions in English-speaking countries. • Lecture: a traditional wedding in India. 	None
Tourist places/ geographical sites	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourist information about Costa Rica's geography. • Conversations: main geographical sites in Australia and Alaska. • Listening: visiting Yosemite National Park in the us. 	None
Celebrities and entertainment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Article: Mahatma Gandhi and Albert Schweitzer. • Article: Famous Comics. 	None
Literature and the arts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recommended books. 	None
General cultural information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Article: The Invention of Printing. • Discussing governments around the world: a democracy, a monarchy, and a dictatorship. • Discussing controversial issues (censorship of books and movies, compulsory military service, lowering the driving age, raising the voting age). 	None
Customs/traditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourist information about places to shop (Hong Kong tailors). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radio program on table manners in Nepal; greetings, taboos, and dress in Thailand; male and female behavior and offensive behavior in Saudi Arabia.

Figure 6. *An example of how Gómez Rodríguez divided the cultural contents in EFL materials*
(Image: Gómez Rodríguez, p. 174)

The tables and the criteria for division of culture into two categories formed by Gómez Rodríguez forms a solid, easily understandable base for studying cultural content in EFL textbooks, and these ideas about culture in EFL textbooks presented by him are taken into consideration later when analysing and categorizing the contents of Finnish EFL textbooks into tables.

In addition to Gómez Rodríguez, Dema and Kramer Moeller's (2012) ideas will be also taken into consideration when creating the tables. The cultural content of the textbooks will be divided into either *products*, *practices* or *perspectives* based on the theoretical construct of the three P's introduced in the article. As discussed, language emerges from social interactions, and language cannot be truly learnt without gaining knowledge about culture in addition to language. Their definition of culture is

influenced by Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st century, and is inspired by “its Cultures goal, in which the term “culture” [...] includes the philosophical perspectives, the behavioural practices, and the products—both tangible and intangible—of a society” (Dema & Kramer Moeller, p. 78).

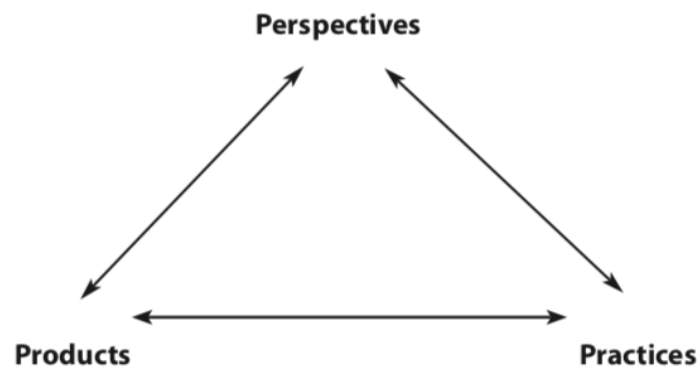


Figure 7. *The Culture Triangle that describes the relations of the 3P framework* (Image: Dema & Kramer Moeller, 2012, p. 79)

According to Dema and Kramer Moeller (2012), this triangle diagram that describes the relationship between the three P’s: products and practices derive from the philosophical perspectives that form the basis for a culture (figure 7). Practices include the social norms and behavioural patterns formed by a society, products represent the more often tangible, but in some cases intangible, objects made by the culture, and perspectives represent values, attitudes and assumptions held by the members of the culture (pp. 78).

Lastly, the concepts of agency and action will be considered when analysing the textbooks, as authentic intercultural interaction is an important part of ICC. The interaction between textbook characters can be seen as an example of intercultural communication, as the texts in *On the Go 2* are mostly dialogues. In addition, researching agency gives some insight to finding out possible colonialist views displayed in the dialogue. As the interactions often happen between a local and a tourist, the dialogues can also show some underlying assumptions and power relations. This is the reason why it is important to consider who is given agency in the texts, and what kind of roles different characters with different national and ethnic identities are given.

In this study, the cultural concepts found in the textbooks will be divided into aspects, and then into either visible or invisible culture, since this is a seemingly common concept in cultural studies related to EFL. The terms visible culture and invisible culture are selected to describe the cultural content, because they instantly give the impression of what the terms could mean without having to necessarily

explain the difference between the two. In addition to the division under the labels visible and invisible culture, these aspects will be first divided according to the construct of 3P's to gain a more well-versed view on the contents of the textbooks. This offers one more viewpoint to the cultural content, as perhaps one Unit presents cultural holidays and celebrations solely based on products, while the other as both products and practices. This gives more depth to the content analysis of the textbooks chosen.

4.4 Drafting the tables

As the methodology used is critical content analysis, the theory gathered beforehand will heavily influence the way in which the cultural content found in *On the Go 2* will be divided. Thus, the table will be created based on the methodology introduced in section 4.3. The tables are based on the tables made by Gómez Rodríguez (2015). However, some need for changes arose when drafting the tables, and thus they slightly differ from Gómez Rodríguez's (2015) final product. As explained previously, the terms "deep" culture and "surface" culture were changed to the more descriptive "visible" and "invisible" culture. The term "aspect" was changed to "category", as it also seemed more descriptive, and finally Kramer and Moeller's (2012) classification of three P's was added.

To be able to code the cultural content found from *On the Go 2*, both the *On the Go 2* textbook and *On the Go 2* Workbook will be read carefully. Next, the Units used in analysis will be selected, and the cultural content from each of the analysed Units is written down into the table². As the method used is directed content analysis, the theory gathered beforehand will influence the way in which the content is divided in the tables. The cultural contents are firstly classified under these pre-assigned categories (see figure 8). After this, based on how the cultural content is presented in the textbook, it will be categorized either under visible or invisible culture. Finally, the contents of each category will be overlooked and coded under the principles of three P's. The three P's include products, practices or perspectives. Each table will be based on one Unit, and since two Units focus on Australia, two tables are created for the section on Australia.

However, there was some content that did not fit into the pre-assigned categories, and thus when writing down the aspects, one category was added. Since there were some cultural material products, like the boomerang for example, that did not fit into the art and literature, food or general knowledge-categories, the category of cultural artefacts was added. In addition, some of the topics were more

² It should be noted that the possibility of errors or inconsistencies exist in the coding of data as culture as a concept is quite multifaceted.

complex to code under only one category, and as a result, they were marked into more than one category with some specifications about which part of the aspect is in which category. Similarly, some aspects did not seem to belong under either visible or invisible culture, resulting in coding them under more than one theme or under both visible and invisible culture, which have specifications on which part of the topic is visible culture and which part is invisible culture. One example of content that was classified as both visible and invisible culture is the practice of haggling introduced in Unit 3. Some specifications on what part of the topic is visible and which is invisible are made in the tables. Similarly, when classifying categories and their content under the three P's, the content most often could not be described as only products, practices and perspectives, and was thus coded as containing more than one P.

Category	Products, Practices or Perspectives?	Visible Culture	Invisible Culture
Holidays and celebrations			
Locations			
Entertainment, famous people			
Food			
Cultural artefacts			
Arts and literature			
Cultural practices			
General knowledge			
History			
Religion			

Figure 8. *The finished table*

To summarize, the texts, topics and exercises found in On the Go 2 have been read closely, coded, and the tables produced as a product of coding, analysed. Finally, the cultural content divided into the tables will be reviewed with the analytical framework in mind. The tables are followed by discussion on the Unit in question, where examples on different topics and how they affect cultural learning and teaching. In addition, the characters of the texts will also be reviewed with the principle of agency in mind. Who is given agency, and what does it say about the textbook's relation to culture?

Other things to keep in mind when analysing is how the Unit enforces ICC and what kind of aspects are more commonly found and what are on the rare side. At the same time, any common themes between the Units will be written down and discussed in section 6. The analysis will go about the texts in chronological order, and proceeds from the main text introduced in the textbook to the exercises that are connected to the text found in textbook and then in workbook.

5 Analysing cultural content in On the Go 2

In this section, the selected units and the tables created by analysing the cultural contents found in them will be analysed. This section has been divided into sub-sections by the countries that are the central focus. These countries are Australia, Hong Kong, and India. Since Australia is in two Units, these Units have been combined to one sub-section to make the amount of cultural content in Australia easier to visualize. In this section, the cultural contents of two different units found in the three textbooks will be analysed. The first objective was to get familiar with the contents of On the Go 2 Textbook and Workbook. After reading all Units and familiarizing with their contents, the Units used in the study were selected. There were two countries on which two Units were spent, Australia and New Zealand. One of these two were chosen as they should have larger portion of cultural content as there is more content overall.

Units 1 and 2 that are focused Australia were selected, as it seemed to have more cultural content on an initial look than the Units focused on New Zealand. Other Units seemed to have similar amounts of cultural content, and in the end Unit 3 (Hong Kong) and Unit 6 (India) were selected, as they seemed to provide more interesting cultural content in comparison to the other Units. To make conclusions on the cultural contents, it would be important to go over all Units, but due to the constraints of Master's, some Units must be left out. This brings up the question of the possible researcher's bias, and whether there is some unconscious reason to leave out New Zealand, America, and the Caribbean. For example, the idea of exoticism has made the Eastern countries seem more intriguing, as they would provide cultural content that clearly differs from the Western culture.

5.1 Units 1 and 2, Australia

In this sub-section, Units 1 and 2 are analysed. The topic of these two Units is Australia, and the contents of both Units are gathered into the same table, Table 1. As there were two Units to analyse, the amount of cultural content to be coded under different categories was quite large. Most of the aspects were quite easy to divide into different categories, but a few, like Uluru, did not belong to either locations or religion, but both. Similarly, the contents were easily categorized under either visible or invisible culture. The content was finally coded under products, practices and/or perspectives. There was a surprising amount of content that had to be coded under one or more P's. Lastly, the content was analysed with the analytical framework in mind.

Table 1. *Cultural content in Unit 1 and Unit 2, On the Go 2.* (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a pp. 8–45; 2017b, pp. 6–69)

Category	Products, Practices or Perspectives?	Visible Culture	Invisible Culture
Holidays and celebrations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Practices, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Christmas in Australia Discuss: comparing cultural practices surrounding Christmas 	
Locations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Products, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The map of Australia the Outback Uluru: a tourist location, The Great Barrier Reef, Sydney Harbour Bridge Cooper Pedy The Seven Continents Bondi Beach Byron Bay 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Distances in Australia The Seven Continents: language and nationalities
Entertainment, famous people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Products, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mad Max Jessica Watson 	
Food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Products, practices, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vegemite Bush tucker: kangaroo, witchetty grubs, goanna Barbecue “weird Lebanese dessert (2017a, p. 32)” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Use of water
Cultural artefacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Products, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Boomerang Water sports: boogie board/surfboard, snorkelling Christmas tree Sid Seagull 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sid Seagull: skin cancer/ozone layer
Arts and literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Products, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rabbit-proof fence: literature Aboriginal art, 256 B 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rabbit-proof fence: Aboriginal experiences
Cultural practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Practices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Finnish culture for tourists, T210, T211 What are Australians like, 239 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Small talk Discuss cultural differences, T105 B Cultural practices of indigenous people
General knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Products, practices perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Seasons in Australia Aboriginal words Australian English/slang Australian animals Boomerang: how to throw it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Outback: how life there differs School of the Air
History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Products, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 155: Information seeking about Australian history 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Boomerang: history
Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Practices, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Uluru: a holy place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Uluru: forbidden to climb on

The Study text T104 in Unit 1 talks about Libby Harding, who lives on a cattle farm in Queensland (Daffue-Karsten et al, 2017a, p. 11–12). The vocabulary for the main text introduces some terms

unique to Australian English, including “the bush”, “Outback”, and the “School of the Air” (Daffue-Karsten et al, 2017b, p. 6–7). In the Your Choice-section of Unit 1, the vocabulary also features an Australian English word, “bush tucker (p. 28)”. The Finnish translations for the terms have been written in italics, meaning that they differ somehow from the rest of the vocabulary, which is written in normal style. The significance of the italics is not explained, and it might not be clear to the reader just how these terms differ from the rest. It seems to be up to the teacher to notice and explain that these are concepts unique to Australia.

The text itself is about the distances in Australia, and the main character Libby’s family lives 300 km from the nearest town. This makes Libby’s life different. The daily life of Libby features some elements that differ from the daily life of many Finnish teenagers, including eating Vegemite, going to school online, avoiding poisonous snake attacks, and farm work. The culture introduced in the main text consists mostly of products, but some perspectives regarding the cultural practices of living in the Outback can be found, including the water shortage which affects water usage, and the practices of going to school online and not using internet daily. These differences in perspective and life overall are brought up in exercise T105B, where the students get to discuss, for example, the differences between their use of water, breakfast, family, shopping, spending time online (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, p. 13). Similar exercises can be found from every Unit, and they tend to be exercises done right after familiarizing with the main text.

In Unit 2, the cultural differences between Australian and Finnish holiday practices are brought up in exercise T207 B, where the students are encouraged to compare their way of spending Christmas to the Australian way. The questions include “How is an Australian Christmas different from Christmas in Finland? ... Nick says it’s more fun if lots of people celebrate Christmas together. What do you think?” (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, p. 33, p. 113). According to Jaatinen et al. (2011) intercultural learning happens when the student reflects their own experiences and compares them to the way that other people act, leading to better understanding of self and the other (p. 128). They call this practice “exploratory practice”, a method supporting the goals set by the European Language Portfolio, which encourages creating an open environment where the students can question, think and as a result, form their social and cultural identities (Jaatinen et al. 2011, pp. 129–130; FNBE 2016).

Unit 2 starts with T201, Australia Quiz, where the student’s general knowledge about Australia is tested. The Start-exercise T204 lets the students discuss their own opinions about Finnish holidays. This is tied to the main text, T205, “Christmas—a season in the sun”, where Australian Nick Byatt and Lebanese immigrant Najid introduce the Australian way of spending Christmas. Australian

Christmas is described as a six-week summer holiday, when everybody heads for the coast and spends their days on the beach or on the seaside. The distances are described as great, and Nick mentions that travelling can take up to 20 hours. During Christmas, Nick's family rents a cabin, and Nick and his friend Najid surf, swim, attend beach parties, and fly kites. Christmas decorations include a tree with coloured lights, but no special foods except many Australians make barbecue during holidays. Nick mentions that because Najid is Muslim, he does not celebrate Christmas, but that their families spend Christmas together. Nick explains that Najid's mother "brings some weird Lebanese dessert, and we share some small gifts (p. 32)." The main text offers some perspectives to how Christmas is celebrated in a non-traditional way in Australia, but it focuses more on the material culture of European-Australians.

The listening exercises found in Units 1 and 2 include an interview with Libby, which is mainly about snorkelling and the Great Barrier Reef, and a fill-the-gap exercise about funny Australian place names, and an exercise about Sid Seagull, a seagull mascot who advertises skin cancer treatment and prevention (2017b, pp. 15–16, p. 56). In an initial look, Sid Seagull is a cultural product, but as it advertises the complex cultural product of climate change and its effects, it can be read as both a part of visible and invisible culture. All in all, these exercises provide the students with perspectives about life in Australia. Other exercises provide chances for intercultural exchange as well. In Unit 1, exercise 122 is about the student assimilating to the life of Libby by answering questions about Libby, which offers a chance for intercultural exchange as the student tries to think from Libby's perspective (p. 16). The Write section in Unit 1 offers some chances for cultural exchange as well, as exercises 123 A and B are about imagining either being or visiting Libby (p. 16). 123 C and D about cultural differences as they are about the household chores the student does and their daily life (p. 16). Similar exercises are found in Unit 2's Write-section. In 227 A, the student is asked to imagine what their life would be like in Australia, in 227 B to interview other students about what they would do if they won the lottery, and in 227 C they are asked to choose a holiday and describe how they celebrate it (p. 53). Exercises A and C especially revolve around culture, as in A the student explores Australia, and in C the student familiarizes with their own culture. The Talk section includes exercises in socio-cultural practices, which develop intercultural communicative competence and understanding of invisible culture. The Talk section in Unit 1 is about small talk, which is a common cultural practice (Daffue-Karsten et al, 2017a, pp. 16–17. 2017b, p. 25). In the exercises, the students first hear small talk, and then practice it with other students. The information box about small talk does not actually introduce the concept of small talk, what it is and why it is done, and it would seem like the teacher is expected to explain the concept further (p. 25), similarly to Unit 2 where the Talk-exercises are about polite

conversation but does not explain their suggestion of answering to questions positively rather than negatively.

In Unit 1, the voluntary Choose-sections found in the workbook and the Your Choice-sections found in both Textbook and Workbook feature more cultural content (2017a, p. 20–25. 2017b, pp. 27–37). The Choose-section includes an exercise on the shortening of words typical to Australian English (for example: barbecue—barbie) and lets the student figure out the meanings of the shortened versions with the aid of Finnish translations. This exercise encourages the student to use Finnish as a language affordance and enforces the NCC 2014 objective C1 of exploring different variants of English (section 15.4.3). The Unit 2 Workbook exercises connected to Your Choice text T112, “Let’s go Australia” are information seeking exercises, which encourage task-based learning and IET-skills, as some of the answers are supposed to be found from the internet. For example, the questions in information seeking exercise 155 include “When did the Aboriginal people come to Australia? (p. 31)” “How big is the Aboriginal population today?” (p. 31), and “Who did the British bring to Australia in the 18th Century?” (p. 31), meaning that they aim to add to the student’s general knowledge about Australian history.

The other exercise where the student gets to seek out information is exercise 156, where the student either makes an advertisement for an Australian tourist location or introduces an Australian animal (p. 131). This exercise enforces the students’ skill of discovery, and lets the student pick the topic according to their own interests. The knowledge is mostly on visible level. Although the topics are more on the visible level, the students might come across some information about cultural practices or other invisible cultural aspects. As exercise 156 is about the students own interests, it encourages the student to be more open to the culture as they get to familiarize with it on their own terms.

Text T113, “What’s Up Down Under?” includes the most visible culture out of the texts in Unit 1, as it is packed with information about tourist locations and bush tucker (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, pp. 20–21). The locations include Uluru, The Great Barrier Reef, and Sydney Harbor Bridge, and bush tucker food includes kangaroo steaks, witchetty grubs and goanna-lizard (pp. 20–21). In addition to large amount of visible culture, the text features some invisible culture as well. The text ties the Uluru rock to the Aboriginal religion and describes it as a very important cultural place (p. 20). The informational box also informs the students that the rock is not supposed to be climbed due to its holy status, and instead recommends a guided walk around Uluru (p. 20). The section is filled with pictures, which make the text seem more appealing and interesting.

The foods selected to represent Aboriginal cuisine are rather interesting, and it can be pondered whether they are meant to add shock value. The cultural significance of witchetty grubs is described in what can be read as an unappetising way: “fat, juicy grubs (p. 21)”. In all fairness, this might just be the researchers own reaction to the description, as the text is written in what can be described as an overtly positive manner:

“Witchetty grubs is an Aboriginal word for these fat, juicy grubs. Healthy and very high in protein, they were a staple in the Aboriginal diet. You can eat them raw (they taste like almonds) or fry them. When fried, they become yellowish on the inside (just like a fried egg) and crispy on the outside (p. 21)”.

The reaction induced by the description might be connected to the concept of cultural glasses, meaning that it is hard to take off the cultural glasses through which you view the world (Hellemans, 2017. p. 119). What is normal in other countries might seem disgusting to us as we have been taught differently. Hellemans uses Mexican way of eating bee larvae as an example, as our culture has taught that eating larvae is not something you are supposed to do (p. 119). This brings up the question of whether the grubs were only introduced due to the shock value they hold, as in Finnish culture consuming bugs is not considered normal. Another question whether they are an authentic product consumed by Aboriginals daily. The other animals are not seen as traditionally edible in Finland either, as there are no edible lizards here and as kangaroos are usually familiar as cute, fluffy animals. In bush tucker, the pictures are of uncooked food, which enforces the unusuality of these dishes: if the picture of kangaroo steak were of a cooked steak with sauce and vegetables, would it be distinguishable from “our” cuisine? Same goes for goanna and the witchetty grubs. Surely, the Aboriginal cuisine would be easier to comprehend if either the animals were less exotic, or if the pictures were of cooked food? This might have something to do with Orientalism, where non-Western cultures are presented as backwards and uncivilized in comparisons to the more advanced and civilized Western cultures (Said, 1978/1991).

All in all, Aboriginal food is presented as inferior to Western cuisine: Australians “will grill almost anything over an open fire outside” (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, p. 21) and Aboriginals eat “bush tucker, which is all kinds of traditional Aboriginal food from the bush” (p. 21). The food they eat is what many Westerners might consider uncivilized, as Westerners go to a grocery store to do their shopping instead of going into the bush and eating whatever can be found from there. Even though the aboriginal bush tucker diet does include some foods that would be easily understandable to Finnish students, including berries that many students might have gathered from the forest themselves

as well, and nuts and fruits, these from our viewpoint exotic meats are chosen to represent their food culture. As a result, the Aboriginal food culture is alienated from Western food culture. The workbook exercises for T113 are mostly information seeking exercises, and they include multiple-choice questions and free-form questions about the main text. The goal of these exercises seems to be enforcing the student's close-reading skills. In addition, there is also an information seeking exercise, where the student introduces either a tourist location or a bush tucker recipe. Perspectives are also provided in text T114 is about opal mining in Coober Pedy, Australia. The setting is a dialogue between a teen, John, and their uncle, Dan, who lives in Coober Pedy and introduces the underground city and how people there live (pp. 22–23). The material cultural content includes a reference to how Mad Max was filmed there, the famous golf course, Faye Naylor's famous house and swimming pool, and the tourist industry of Coober Pedy (pp. 22–23). Some of the more invisible level information includes the fact that there are many nationalities living there. The last text, Your Choice text 115, "Jessica Watson: solo sailing sensation" (pp. 24–25), is an interview with the 15-year-old Jessica Watson who held the world record for the youngest person to sail around the world on their own. Jessica's interview provides the students with perspectives on what kind of lives real teens can lead in other countries.

The Your Choice texts in Unit 2 provide less information about Australian culture. The most cultural information can be found in T215, "How to Throw a Boomerang" and the workbook exercises associated with it (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, pp. 44–45. 2017b, pp. 66–68). The box containing information about the boomerang features some information about the history of the boomerang, including the division of non-returning and returning boomerang (p. 45). The Textbook exercise 252 associated with the text encourages the students to find out information about the indigenous people of the world, and exercise 252 in specific encourages the student to find out information about typical cultural features of people of their choice (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017b, p. 67). Similarly, in exercise 256 B the students are encouraged to find Aboriginal art, describe it, and write down their own opinions about it (p. 69). This encourages cultural criticism in a positive way, as the student is encouraged to reflect on art that they have personally selected instead of pre-selected pieces.

In conclusion, these two Units feature a large amount of visible culture. The categories with most cultural content are Locations, Food, and General knowledge. The content in these sections supports the informational way of teaching culture. Nevertheless, there is some invisible culture content as well. Most of the invisible culture rises from informational content, as in the case of the Rabbit-proof Fence and Uluru. In addition, there is the topic of small talk, which is not tied to Australia in specific,

but still acts as a feature of invisible English-speaking culture. These features of invisible culture are not discussed in detail. For example, the reasons for the positivity of small-talk and the bad treatment of Aboriginals are left unexplained.

Another common feature between Unit 1 and 2 Your-choice exercises is the number of information seeking exercises, which encourage skills of discovery. The exercises often let the student choose topics according to their own interests, which in turn supports their interest in the diversity of the surrounding world. This is a method encouraged by NCC 2014 (section 15.4.3). These texts are meant to be worked on more independently, which explains the number of information seeking exercises included. This acts to enforce project-based learning and the goals set by the European Language Portfolio, as the exercises leave the student with a finished result that can be kept for future reference. Information seeking skills is also part of NCC 2014 objective C2 of enforcing language learning skills (section 15.4.3). In addition to information seeking exercises, the exercises that require comparing Finnish culture to Australian culture support positive, curious attitudes towards surrounding cultures, which is an important aspect of achieving ICC (Byram 1997, p. 34). Simultaneously, the students' knowledge of the cultures in their own culture is supported, as well as intercultural interactional skills that draw from this knowledge (pp. 35–37). Overall, Units 1 and 2 seem to answer all three objectives set for content area C1, as it includes information of variants of English as well as enforces ICC skills and cultural knowledge.

Regarding agency, throughout Units 1 and 2, agency is given to descendants of European-Australians except for the Lebanese immigrant Najid. Other characters include Connor, his grandma, dad and Alice, whose nationalities are not specified, and Finnish Tomi and Pia, and Norwegian Anne. These characters are not connected to the main topic of Australian culture as they are the characters in separate listening exercises. There is no mention of an Aboriginal character or a character with Aboriginal cultural or ethnic heritage until T216. This evaluation assumes about the characters' cultural background on the basis that there is no mention of them having Aboriginal relatives or cultural heritage. The first outright Aboriginal characters are found in Your Choice text T216, "Walking across Australia", which includes an extract from the book *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (2017 a, pp. 46–47). The main characters of this text are Molly, Daisy and Gracie, who have been taken from their Aboriginal parents and sent to live with white Australians, and who end up running away (p. 46). The lack of Aboriginal characters might be tied to the attempt to display English-speaking culture in Australia. However, as there are some features of Aboriginal culture, it shows that the writers of *On the Go 2* consider it a part of the Australian English-speaking culture.

In the end, the more informational approach might be explained by the fact that Units 1 and 2 are the introductory Units, and the content might be intended as easier to understand. Interestingly, when examining the three P's, it turns out that the majority of the cultural content is classified under perspectives. The content of 9 categories was classified under perspectives, 7 under products, and 5 practices. This goes to show that the amount of culture coded under visible and invisible culture provides a rather binary view to the culture. Many objects of visible culture might belong to visible culture but still provide cultural perspectives and practices.

5.2 Unit 3, Hong Kong

In this sub-section, Unit 3 is analysed (Daffue-Karsten et al, 2017 a, pp. 48–65. 2017 b, 70–97). The topic of Unit 3 is Hong Kong, a former British colony. Similarly to the previous table, cultural content was gathered, categorized, coded, and finally analysed.

Table 2. *Cultural Content in Unit 3, On the Go 2* (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a pp. 48–65; 2017b, pp. 70–97)

Aspect	Products, Practices or Perspectives?	Visible Culture	Invisible Culture
Holidays and celebrations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products, practices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dragon boat racing 	
Locations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Victoria Peak, Temple Street night market, Hong Kong as seen from the Sea, Nightly Light Show, Dragon's Back Trail 	
Entertainment, famous people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jackie Chan 	
Food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products, practices, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food stalls • List of Hong Kong foods • "meat from some unspecified animal (p. 52) 	
Cultural artefacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chinese medicine 	
Arts and literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Butterfly lover 	
Cultural practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practices, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Haggling: concept • Living in Hong Kong: tight spaces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Haggling: losing face • Listening exercise: Ann haggles with a vendor • Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese • Polite language • Living in Hong Kong: living with extended family

General knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General knowledge and facts about Hong Kong • Directions to Colosseum 	
History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mention of Hong Kong as a British colony 	
Religion			

Unit 3 presents the learners a large amount of visible culture found in Hong Kong an engaging way. The Textbook uses colourful visuals as means of making the topic of Hong Kong more appealing to the learner. The texts and exercises found from Unit 3 include a vast number of trivia about Hong Kong, and some knowledge about the history and culture. To give an example, the Start exercise T301 consists of facts about Hong Kong (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, p. 49). The Your Choice text T313 focuses also on facts about Hong Kong, its scenery, food and famous people (pp. 60–61). Your Choice text 314 is about the cramped living situation of an extended family residing in a small apartment, and Your Choice text T315 also introduces Chinese literature via a comic that tells a traditional Chinese love story (pp. 60–65). In addition to cultural products and practices, Unit 3 introduces the students to characters with diverse backgrounds and puts emphasis on discussion between representors of different cultures. In a similar way to Units 1 and 2, many of the exercises give the learner a chance to reflect the cultural differences between Hong Kong and Finland. For example, the writing exercise 318 encourages the learner to think about Finnish culture and what survival tips they would give to a foreigner (2017b, p. 80).

Unlike Units 1 and 2, the main text of Unit 3 introduces invisible culture in a well-explained manner. The practice of haggling is discussed, as the main text of Unit 3 introduces the concept of haggling and provides an example of a dialogue between a tourist and a vendor in listening exercise T304. After the concept is introduced, it is brought up in the workbook in exercises 306, 309, 312, and 315 (pp. 74–80). The learners are also encouraged to practice haggling in workbook writing exercise 318 (p. 80). These exercises remind the learners that they should take in mind the Asian concept of losing face when haggling over prices with vendors. Terms with cultural value, like losing face, need further explanation, and Unit 3 partly succeeds and partly fails in this. According to Van Ek (1986, in Byram 1997), part of achieving ICC is achieving linguistic competence, which includes the ability to produce and interpret meaningful utterances (p. 10). This leads to the idea that the learner should not only understand the literary meaning of the utterance, but also the conventional meaning. In the context of cultural competence, this means that the learner should also understand the meaning the cultural context adds to the utterance to be able to use it in a linguistically competent way. In the case of Unit

3, to be able to use the phrase “lose one’s face”, the student needs to understand the cultural context of the utterance. The direct Finnish translation ‘menettää kasvot’, which is provided in the vocabulary of Unit 3 Workbook is not enough (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017b, p. 71). It does not put the phrase into a meaningful context through which the learner could truly understand the meaning of the utterance. However, it can be argued that the text found in the main text of Unit 3 could provide this context. In the text, the term is put in the context of haggling. The main character, the Hong Kong resident Rohan suggests Australian Ann that she should not be aggressive, because it would make her lose her face (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, p. 52). When asked about what this means, Rohan explains it in the following way:

“Rohan: It’s complicated. It’s a Chinese cultural thing. It has to do with respect. You should never do something to make someone lose face. Avoid criticism, never lose your temper, always be polite. And smile. Smiling is very important. (p. 52)”.

This excerpt shows that the context provided in the text makes a cultural term easier to understand than a direct translation would. The definition of haggling and losing face is left lacking, as the text does not for example explain where haggling is practiced. Haggling is explained as a compulsory practice when buying anything but food. The description of where to haggle is left out. In the context of the Unit, it can be said that it suggests that haggling is a common practice in markets and not elsewhere, but this is not directly explained. In addition, losing face is described as a general Chinese cultural practice, and Rohan gives rather detailed instructions on the way to act in an interaction with a Chinese person. The practices surrounding losing face, such as smiling and avoiding criticism might differ according to region. As China is a rather large country with an ethnically diverse population, there might exist differences in the cultural practice of losing face and haggling. It can be said that On the Go 2 ends up generalizing the practice of haggling and losing face as a Chinese cultural thing which is always practiced, when the practices might differ depending on the relationship of the participants and the situation surrounding the interaction. The instructions provided are generally accepted as polite practices in China, and introducing the practice helps fill the O8 object of assessment set in NCC 2014 for teaching polite interaction.

The main text furthers the students ICC skills. The fact that the text is a dialogue between an Australian and an Australian-Hongkonger, a person who has grown up amidst two cultures, creates an image of the text as a conversation between cultures. Australian Ann acts as an individual, a tourist with assumable no previous knowledge of the culture, and Hongkonger Rohan as an interlocutor between Western and Asian cultures, as he explains different the socio-cultural practices and cultural

products to the foreign Ann. In this conversation, the learner can assimilate to the role of the listener to whom the cross-cultural main character talks about life in Hong Kong. After getting familiar with the main text, the learners are encouraged to further discuss the cultural differences between Finland and Hong Kong via the conversational exercises provided by the Workbook and Textbook. For example, some questions included in exercise T305 are:

“What should foreigners know about Finns and Finnish customs if they spend a holiday in Finland? ... Rohan explains to Ann that it’s important to be polite and smile all the time. What’s important in Finland? (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a p. 53.)”

One of the questions also touches on the foreign foods that learners have tasted, and other on haggling. This encourages learners to share and compare their knowledge on the products and perspectives of different cultures. Foreign foods are mentioned throughout the text. However, not all examples are positive. For example, Rohan’s description of food stall food as “meat from some unspecified animals (2017a, p. 52)” could be understood as a negative and even stereotypical way of describing East Asian food, and as such it does not enforce positive attitude towards the food culture found in Hong Kong. A similar phenomenon was visible in Unit 1 as well, where food culture of Aborigines was dubbed in a dubious way. The fact that Unit 3 also presents exotic foods in a negative way pronounces the “they’ll eat anything, unlike us”-line of thinking, and further enforces the idea of the West as clean and civilized and the Other as dirty and uncivilized.

The workbook further encourages the students’ interest in Chinese culture via exercises that require searching for information and creativity. In workbook exercise 318, the learners are encouraged to imagine what life in Hong Kong is like, what tips they would give to foreigners coming to Finland, and what customs Finns have (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017b, p. 80). The learner is also given the chance to further their knowledge about Hong Kong in the information searching exercises provided in the workbook, but since these exercises are found in the Your Choice section, they are not meant as a priority, but rather as additional exercises. The workbook in general is mostly made of fill-the-gap exercises, meaning that there is not much room to practice appropriate language use. The main focus seems to lie on learning vocabulary, since the number of exercises where the learner has to write whole sentences or discuss in English is little. The Your Choice segment of the workbook seems to provide the learners with different exercise types than the previous segments. The learners are instructed to, for example, draw cultural products in exercise 344, seek out information about Hong Kong foods in exercise 347, and to write about locations near their home in exercise 353 (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017b, pp. 94–97). The Your Choice text T314 also gives agency to Hongkonger Sze

Nga, who explains the practice of living in tight spaces in Hong Kong (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, p. 62–63). Your Choice text T315, the Butterfly Lovers, introduces a traditional Chinese love story, which introduces Chinese culture in the form of a comic (pp. 64–65). These two texts introduce Chinese culture in an interesting way, and T314 provides the student perspectives on the different living standards in Hong Kong in comparison to Finland.

Overall, Unit 3 aims to display Hong Kong in an overwhelmingly positive way. Rohan aims to help the learner relate to an unknown culture, and mainly acts to raise positive attitudes towards Hong Kong culture, socio-cultural practices, and people, tying it to the skills of interpretation and relating as well. Unit 3 is very colourful and filled with pictures of nature, locations, food, and buildings. It aims to raise the learners' interest in Hong Kong from a tourism point of view. The colourful visuals also encourage the learner to discover, as well as the information searching exercises in the workbook. The culture of Hong Kong and Asia in general is presumably unfamiliar to an average Finnish 8th grader, especially the culture of Hong Kong, which differs from mainland China in many ways. However, the text does not go deep into the Hong Kong and Asian culture. For example, the history, religion, and complex political relationship between mainland China and Hong Kong are overlooked. The colonization of Hong Kong is mentioned, but the way that it affected the local culture is left unexplained, as is the current political situation surrounding the difficulties Hong Kong has faced after joining China. The Unit also seems to mix Chinese and Hong Kong culture, as the difference between the two is not defined. Additionally, the concept of losing face is not explained in much detail, and the night market food culture is described in a negative manner.

Despite some problems, Unit 3 corresponds with the set of goals for cultural education. The entirety of content area C1 is supported by the interactional exercises found in both Textbook and Workbook where the learner is instructed to discuss their own culture in comparison to Hong Kong culture. Unit 3 aims to help the learners' ability to communicate with members of other cultures by introducing the socio-cultural practice of haggling. There is a missed opportunity to further fulfil objectives of content area C1, as Hong Kong's relation to the Commonwealth is not discussed. This could have been an opportunity to discuss the position of English language as a lingua franca or Hong Kong's past as a post-colonialist country and how it has affected the status of English language. Rohan is a Hongkonger, but he speaks in an easily understandable way without any recognizable accent, supposedly due to his years of living in Australia. As a result, the agency in the main text is given to an Australian-Hongkonger rather than a person who has grown up in Hong Kong. On the other hand, this acts as an example of how national identity is not necessarily connected to cultural identity. Similarly, to discussion on Commonwealth, this is a missed opportunity of displaying different English accents,

hearing of which would further encourage the learner to interact with foreign cultures. As in Unit 2, the agency is given to a local in Your Choice texts T314 and T315, where the agency is given to Sze Nga Lan, a Chinese Hongkonger and Zhu, the main character of a Chinese love story. The fact Unit 3 presents people of other nationalities does tie Unit 3 into goal O3 of noticing the rules and regularities found in English languages to further their language awareness.

With regard to practices, products and perspectives, the culture mentioned in Unit 3 consists mostly of products, mainly different Chinese foods, and Hong Kong locations. Content was coded under products 7 times, perspectives 4 times, and practices 3 times. This is due to the amount of factual knowledge that can be found in Unit 3. The Start segment, Study segment and the Your Choice texts all display products of Hong Kong to some degree. This reflects on the large amount of visible culture as well: cultural products are often easy to see and to understand, and thus they can be counted as visible culture. They can also be included in the visual keys provided in the text. The text does not provide many practices or perspectives. It should also be noted that although there is a smaller number of cultural contents coded as practices, they are explained in more detail than in Units 1 and 2. Although the explanation of losing face is lacking in some ways, a simple explanation is provided. The practice of haggling is discussed in a great amount of detail, and the students are encouraged to practice haggling during lessons. Even if the concept is not explained thoroughly, it is displayed in an interesting manner that attempt to awaken the student's curiosity to the cultural practices of the surrounding world. The oral exercises found in this Unit are mainly not tied to grammatical learning goals and represent a more authentic language usage that is tied to the surrounding culture, like the rules of haggling provided in the main text (Korpinen in Hildén & Salo, 2011). The content coded as practices and perspectives seem to align with the content coded as invisible culture, although some aspects of visible culture, such as the tight living spaces, can be coded as practices as well.

In the end, even though the main focus of the Unit lies in introducing Hong Kong via the visible culture, it manages to enforce ICC skills, and also the objectives set for cultural education introduced in the NCC 2014 (FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3). For example, sociolinguistic and sociocultural competence of the learner is enforced by providing examples on polite speech and gestures in Asian culture. Textbook exercise T311 in turn enforces strategic and social competence. In the exercise, the learners act out situations where they assume the role of someone helping a tourist, which endorses skills of interaction and interpretation (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a p. 57). In the end, Unit 3 gives the learners only a vague overlook of Hong Kong and its culture. On the one hand, some cultural practices are discussed, but on the other, many more cultural practices tied into Hong Kong and Asian

culture remain invisible to the learners. One of the main issues found in connection to cultural education in Unit 3 is the lack of authenticity of the texts, and how Hong Kong and China are represented in as celebratory of a way as possible. The cultural practice of haggling and losing face is also generalized as a Chinese thing, whereas there might be regional differences in the practices.

5.3 Unit 6, India

Unit 6 focuses on the meaning of family in India. Unit 6 content found in *On the Go 2* (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, 106–123. 2017b, pp. 160–187). This content was, similarly to the previous section 4.1.1., read through carefully, compiled into the table found, and finally analysed.

Table 3. *Cultural content in Unit 6, On the Go 2.* (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, pp. 106–123; 2017b, pp. 160–197)

Aspect	Products, Practices or Perspectives?	Visible Culture	Invisible Culture
Holidays and celebrations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products, practices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holi-festival 	
Locations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taj Mahal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taj Mahal: cultural meaning
Entertainment, famous people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mahatma Gandhi • Rahul Vadiya 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mahatma Gandhi: human rights
Food			
Cultural artefacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yoga, chess, rulers, decimal system, flushing toilet 	
Arts and literature			
Cultural practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perspectives, practices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian weddings • Differences between old and new generation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Living with extended family • Gender inequality in India • Inequality in the standard of living • Indian culture and family • Differences between old and new generation • Arranged marriage • Indian cultural practices (exercise
General knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian Map • The age division of the population of India • Information seeking exercise: facts about India 	
History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The past of India • Geography of India • Languages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The past of India: colonialism
Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products, practices, perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hinduism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hinduism, bindi

Unit 6 focuses on discussing the meaning of family in India, a topic that supposedly provides a lot of base for introducing practices and perspectives that differ from Western ones. Unit 6 succeeds in opening possibilities for discussion about the meaning of family and equality between men and women in different cultures. The main text, T605, focuses on the meaning of family in India. The main text features a worried mother who is unwilling to let her daughter go to a concert even if she is accompanied by a male relative. It compares the lives of Indian mother and her children, a boy, and a girl. The mother of the main character worries about her daughter's behavior and suggests that she should be escorted by friends that she knows well and that she should not let her father see her go out dressed in an unacceptable way. The girl is unhappy with the unequal treatment between her and her brother and wants more liberties like her Indian cousin living in Canada, which makes the focus of the text gender inequality in India in comparison to other countries. (Daffue-Karsten et al, 2017a, pp. 111–112)

At the first glance, the topic seems very political, but at the same time, it is something deeply tied to the culture. Byram (1997) mentions that political topics give realistic representation and raise questions about the learner's own society, later adding that questioning morals is especially important in secondary school (p. 45). This seems intentional, as the political topics introduced in the text are woven into the different conversational and written exercises provided in both workbook and Textbook. In addition, some more visible aspects of the culture are deepened in the exercises. The large number of conversational questions provided in Textbook exercise T606 and workbook exercise 612 give the teacher a chance to discuss the learners' own opinions about family practices in Finland in comparison to other cultures, and their own attitudes towards foreign cultures and practices (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, p. 112, 2017b, p. 166). For example, some of the conversational questions and topics provided in the Unit include:

“Do Finnish parents treat their sons and daughters the same way? Give some examples.

Pavani's mother says that life in Canada is different from life in India. What things might be different? (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017b, p. 115)”

“It's different being out late at night if you're a girl. (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, p. 116).”

To make expressing opinions on these topics easier, the grammatical section found in the Textbook Unit 6 includes information on agreeing and disagreeing, making it clear that the Unit focuses on introducing and discussing opinions on the topic. Providing a base for discussion about cultural

differences supports the base values introduced in section 3 of NCC 2014 (FNBE, 2016), most importantly the goal of promoting gender equality and raising the knowledge on other cultures, and the values and religions of other cultures (pp. 27–28).

The workbook deepens the story via small written and conversational exercises. The exercises revolve around same themes as the main text, focusing on inequality and family relations. The text also compares the lives of the old and the new generation, an issue that the learners can relate to regardless of their culture. The text also includes a small box of additional information on family relations in India titled “Family Background” (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, p. 112). The text in this box brings up the issue of arranged marriage in India, explaining that in Indian culture, marriages are seen as a union between two families rather than a marriage between two people in love. There seem to be some topics that could be read as generalizations of Indian culture surrounding family relations, such as the claim of Indian parents having more influence on their children and being stricter with their daughters. It is also claimed that arranged marriages are very uncommon in educated Indian families. Similarly, to how Unit 3 explained the concept of losing face, the socio-cultural topic of arranged marriage is further discussed in the Textbook and workbook. Conversational topics surrounding arranged marriage and gender equality found in the Textbook include:

“If you have an arranged marriage, can you learn to love the other person over the years?”

“Why do you think people who have arranged marriages have fewer divorces than people who have love marriage?” (2017a, p. 113)

To further help the learners understand the concept, an exercise on the contents of the info box is offered. Exercise 608 requires close reading of the “Family Matters” section of the main text (Daffue Karsten et al., 2017b, p. 165). It asks the learners to find out what is told about the arranged marriages in the text, further helping the students understand the socio-cultural differences between how different cultures understand the concept of marriage. This promotes the learners’ socio-cultural competence by familiarizing the learner with a foreign concept. In addition to thoroughly discussing the concept of arranged marriage, the workbook provides listening exercises and fill-the-gap exercises, which aim to deepen the learners’ understanding on the issue of gender inequality, and the generational differences in Indian culture in comparison to Finnish culture. The following instructions for a topic in written assignment 621 are an example of a written exercise that encourages the learner to express opinions on the topic.

“Pavani wants the same rights as her brother. Write a dialogue that Pavani and her parents have about treating boys and girls equally (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017b, p. 171).”

As mentioned, other exercises add to the main text and aim to deepen the learners’ socio-cultural knowledge as well. Fill-the-gap exercise 611 deepens the topic of gender inequality by providing the learner with the brother’s point of view, and 612 features a conversation between the mother and the father where they discuss the events of the main text (2017b, p. 166–167). Some other topics would benefit from similarly detailed description, like the exercise T601 where the practice of living with the extended family, including unmarried aunts and in-laws, is mentioned but not further explained.

Overall, the Workbook exercises surrounding the main text seem to support the learners’ understanding of different cultural practices. It provides the learners with new information about the topic by weaving information to fill-the-gap exercises and translation exercises. It also encourages the learners to express their own opinions regarding the topic by having them assume the role of Pavani in exercise 612 and 171 (2017b, p. 166, p. 171). The instructions for 612 translate as “How would you answer your parents if you were Pavani? Express your opinion in a polite way with a few sentences. (2017b, p. 166)” This exercise helps them understand the interlocutor and empathize with the feelings gender inequality awakes, which in turn increases their skills of relating, and also their skills of interaction. Additionally, 612 encourages the learners practice an appropriate way of expressing their opinions to their parents in a polite way. On the other hand, the question of authenticity of the opinions expressed by the characters can be raised. However, it is worthy to note that India is a rather large country, meaning that there might be some differences in attitudes depending on where the person lives. The attitudes towards womens rights and arranged marriages might be different in urban and rural areas, but On the Go 2 seems to generalize Indians as opposing to womens rights in comparison to Indians living in America. This makes India seem uncivilized in comparison to America, and in the end enforces Orientalist views of generalizing the Orient under the same stereotype (see Said 1978/1991).

The Your Choice segments of both the workbook and the Textbook help to deepen the learners’ knowledge of Indian culture by including information seeking exercises 642 and 643 with questions like “what do you call the long dress that many Indian women wear? (Daffue-Karsten et al, 2017b, p. 182)”. Most of the new knowledge discovered via exercises 642 and 643 is visible knowledge, although text T614 itself touches on topics of invisible culture. It includes information India’s colonization, Mahatma Gandhi’s role as a political leader, Taj Mahal’s role as a burial site, the defining features of Hinduism, and the inequal wealth distribution in India (Daffue-Karsten et al.,

2017a, pp. 119–121). However, these topics of invisible culture have been simplified, presumably to make them easier to understand. For example, the influence of colonization on Indian culture is simplified as follows. “That is also why English is so widely spoken there and why they drive on the left in India. (p. 119).” Despite this, the text manages to deepen the learners’ knowledge on Indian history and culture. As in Units 1 and 2, the texts that deepen the student’s cultural knowledge the most are the texts is found in the Your Choice segment, meaning that it serves to provide additional information.

Regarding attitudes, Unit 6 seems to include more discussion about the negative sides of Indian culture than Unit 3. Similarly to the previous Units, the conversational exercises where students compare and criticize other cultures help the learner find new perspectives and to assimilate their own experiences with different cultural phenomena to other culture. In this case, the phenomena are arranged marriage and gender equality. The topics are quite political, and it is difficult to say whether the Unit endorses positive or negative attitudes towards Indian culture. On the one hand, the culture is celebrated in the Your Choice text T614, where different Indian inventions, and Gandhi and Hinduism are introduced (pp. 119–121). On the other hand, the same text presents India as a culture of contradictions where the wealth gap between the rich and the poor is large. Even though this does not enforce positive attitudes, it serves to remind the learner that a culture can be viewed through other than strictly celebratory means.

As is the case with Unit 3, little content is coded under practices and perspectives. In Unit 6, the code products appear 7 times, code perspectives 6 times, and practices 3 times. In a similar way to Units 1 and 2, there is a surprisingly high number of perspectives provided in the text. Although there exists less categories coded under practices, there is more content in these categories than in previous Units. In addition, similarly to Unit 3, Unit 6 seems to focus more on objectives O1 and O2 than O3. Unlike in Unit 3 where most of the main characters do not speak English with a distinctive accent, the main characters display a recognizable Indian accent when speaking English, thus displaying variations of English language. The authenticity of this accent can be questioned, especially since the list of voice actors is hard to find, but there exists an attempt of featuring variations of English.

Unit 6 succeeds in fulfilling goal O1 by enforcing ICC. It displays more controversial topics and socio-cultural practices than Units 1, 2 and 3, but again, the authenticity of the texts can be questioned. Some aspects of invisible culture are only mentioned, and not explained further. When the Units are studied individually, Unit 6 appears to feature the most invisible culture. Indian culture is discussed more in depth than Chinese culture, and there is a balanced number of aspects of invisible and visible

culture. Unit 6 succeeds in presenting possibly controversial topics in addition to the positive features of Indian culture, and it gives the learners opportunities to question their own and other cultures' values, raising their critical cultural awareness.

6 Discussion of Results

This section will include conclusions on the cultural content in On the Go 2. This section is divided into two subsections. In the first sub-section 6.1 entitled “Cultural Content in On the Go 2”, the cultural content found in the Units will be discussed. The four analysed Units will be compared and some common features between different Units and how they portray culture will be introduced. In addition, some features outside the analysed Units will be added to support the conclusions made. The sub-section will aim to answer two of the initial research questions: 1) What elements of culture can be found in the On the Go 2? 2) Are Non-Western cultures exoticized, and are they presented as inferior to Western cultures in some way? Additionally, the Units will be compared to the set of objectives for content area C1 “growing into cultural diversity and language awareness” found in the NCC 2014. In sub-section 6.2, entitled “Intercultural Communicative Competence in On the Go 2”, the Units and how they help the students achieve ICC will be examined. The sub-section will answer the final research question: 3) How do the materials endorse intercultural communicative competence?

6.1 Cultural content in On the Go 2

This sub-section will include a discussion of the findings made when critically analysing the cultural content found in the four different Units. The methods of post-colonial criticism will be applied when evaluating the cultural elements found in On the Go 2 in general. Next, On the Go 2 and the cultural elements found in it are analysed through products, practices and perspectives. Lastly, whether the Units follow the C1 set of goals named “growing into cultural diversity and language awareness” found in the NCC 2014 will be evaluated (section 15.4.3).

Units 1 and 2 provide a superficial look into the Australian culture, but they both provide a vast number of perspectives into the lives of Australians. The amount of visible culture is large, while Australian cultural practices are not discussed in detail. Units 1 and 2 provided an informational approach to Australian culture. Most of the cultural elements were coded under locations, foods, cultural artefacts, and general knowledge. Many cultural elements were also difficult to code in a straightforward manner so elements like “Uluru” were placed under more than one category. This leads to the conclusion that Units 1 and 2 succeeded in providing many different perspectives to Australian cultural elements.

Similarly, Unit 3 included many cultural elements. Unit 3 gave a superficial look into the culture of Hong Kong. Unlike Units 1 and 2, Unit 3 focused more on products, like food and geography, and practices, like haggling, rather than perspectives. There were not many topics that could be coded under invisible culture. Some topics had parts of both visible and invisible culture, but many were easily coded under either one. In comparison to Units 1, 2 and 3, Unit 6 succeeded in providing more topics of invisible culture in India. It had many current topics, like gender inequality, woven into the main text and different exercises. It seemed to encourage the learners to discuss on topics strongly tied to culture, like the meaning of family and inequality. In Units 1 and 2, there was more diverse displays of invisible culture, as nearly every category had features of invisible culture coded under it, unlike in Units 3 and 6, the majority of invisible culture was found under the aspect of cultural practices. This might be due to cultural practices being an aspect that can easily be associated with culture more difficult to comprehend without looking into it. Interestingly, Units 1 and 2 succeed in presenting invisible culture as something that can be found in any element, while Units 3 and 6 present invisible culture through only cultural practices. However, the division between visible and invisible culture is more complex than originally thought, and many topics had to be coded under both visible and invisible culture.

Another interesting discovery was made when researching the agency of different characters in the texts found in *On the Go 2*. When comparing the intercultural interactions shown in the texts, the setting of a patient cultural interlocutor and a curious tourist was found regularly. The first instance of an interview-like scenario happens in Unit 1, T114, when Uncle Dan introduces Jack to the mining town of Coober Pedy (Daffue-Karsten et al., 2017a, pp. 22–23).

Jack: “Phew! It sure is hot! Is your house much further? I hope you have air conditioning.”

Uncle Dan: “I don’t need air conditioning—it’s very cool inside the house. And it’s convenient in lots of other ways, too. If you need another shelf, no worries! You just dig one out. And you can play your music as loud as you like. Nobody will complain. The walls are totally soundproof.”

Jack: “The ideal place to have a party!”

Jack: “... Hey, what language are those guys speaking? They’re not locals, are they? There seems to be quite a lot of tourists around. I didn’t expect that. Isn’t this a mining town?”

Uncle Dan: “We’ve got almost 45 different nationalities living in Coober Pedy, so those guys are probably local residents. But you’re right, almost everybody in town makes living from opal mining. But we get a lot of visitors, especially since we built

that fancy underground hotel. So many locals also work in the tourist industry. They do mining tours, run the shops, the art gallery, and so on. Look, that's the entrance to the underground camping ground." (p. 23)

As can be seen in these excerpts, the setting seems rather traditional: the uncle acts as an interlocutor of the mining culture and Jack is a tourist to whom Coober Pedy is introduced. Dan acts as an experienced, kind informant, while Jack interviews him about the living conditions in Coober Pedy. When Jack makes an assumption about the town, his uncle gently corrects him. A similar setting can be found in many of the dialogue-based texts in *On the Go 2*. For example, in Unit 3, Main text T303, Ann plays the role of a curious tourist, while local Rohan is the gentle instructor. In Unit 5, Your Choice text T513 is about a student named Suze who interviews Maori tattoo artist Manu Horomia for a school project:

Suze: "Tattoos on the lips? That sounds very painful! You told me earlier that most Maoris today choose a modern tattooing needle, because it's faster and more precise. How was it done in the past?"

Manu: "Traditionally people used albatross bones or sharks' teeth. The design was cut into the skin, and the ink rubbed into the cuts. The process was so painful that you could not have it all done at once. Nowadays it's becoming popular to have moko done in the old way, especially among young people. They're very brave!"

Suze: "Tattoos cut into your skin? With bones? They're crazy! ..." (p. 103).

Suze seems to have no prior knowledge about Maori practice of Ta Moko-tattooing, and Manu Horomia acts as an interlocutor who introduces this cultural practice to Suze. When Suze asks questions, Manu answers in an elaborate manner, even though Suze makes arguably insensitive comments about the traditional practice. Similar scenario appears in Unit 8, when Canadian students discuss their nationalities.

Sam: "That's an excellent point, Kingsley. Canada is very multicultural. That's definitely part of our culture. Just look at the three of us! You're black, I'm Jewish, and Tara is... Well, what are you exactly, Tara? I never thought about this before. You sort of, kind of look Chinese, but I know for a fact you're not. Where does your family come from?" (p. 145)

Again, Sam makes an assumption about Tara and words his question in a disrespectful manner. Tara, however, answers patiently, and explains her ethnic heritage in a detailed manner. She does ask Sam whether he has noticed that they are always saying that they are Canadian and something else, referring to the fact that all of them have multicultural identities. It would have been interesting from Tara to note that Sam did not ask for the detailed family history of Kingsley but instead focused on

the more ethnically ambiguous-looking Tara. In another text in the same Unit 8, the Your Choice text T819, the interviewer is Katariina Stoddard, and the interlocutor Osmo answers her questions in a similar manner to earlier texts. Katariina brings up the stereotype of a hard-working Finn, and Osmo explains the background behind this stereotype.

All these examples seem to show that the interlocutors are always given the role of a patient local who takes time to explain things about their culture, nationality and ethnicity to the people asking questions in a sometimes-insensitive manner. This reduces the non-Western characters to representors of their culture as a phenomenon rather than individuals who have their own interests. As Said (1978/1991) explains, The Western culture is presented as contrasting to the Other in image, personality, and experience (pp. 40–42). These assumptions about difference in personality are visible especially when the cultural practices are commented on in a negative or an impolite manner, like when Suze exclaims that Maori are crazy for tattooing with bones and when Sam insensitively asks Tara about what she is, not who she is. The interlocutors are not given similar room for negative reactions about Western culture and practices, and they always remain kind, understanding and patient. Similar negative attitudes can also be found when examining how Non-Western foods are described in the Units. As discussed earlier, in Unit 1 bush tucker is presented in a negative way, in Unit 2 the Lebanese dessert is described as weird, and in Unit 3 Hong Kong night market food as being prepared from unspecified animals. There are some foods that are described in a more positive manner, for example, dim sums, pecan and apple pie, and maple syrup are mentioned. Notably, the foods described in a positive manner are mostly of Western origin. It would seem like Non-Western foods are described in an inferior way, again enforcing Said's ideas of Orientalism (1978/1991).

As the purpose of textbooks is to provide an example of how to competently communicate interculturally, these dialogues give the impression that all individuals are representatives of their culture who know everything about the target culture and are ready to answer any questions the other person might have, even if they are presented in an intolerant or a negative manner. In reality, intercultural communication is not always as positive as it is made to seem. Not everyone is willing to answer detailed questions about their heritage or cultural concepts. As one of the objectives for grade 9 is to know important rules of politeness, it would be more beneficial to feature dialogues where cultural concepts are discussed in a polite and positive manner (FNBE, 2016, section 15.4.3). Unit 3 does succeed in discussing the practice of losing face in a polite manner, as Ann goes to follow Rohan's instructions without questioning him or the sensibility of these cultural practices, but many other Units feature more negative attitudes towards Non-Western cultural practices.

With regard to products, practices, and perspectives, most of the cultural topics could be divided under products. Interestingly, the differences in appearances of perspectives and products is not as large as initially assumed. Content was coded under products 21 times, perspectives 18 times, and practices 11 times. There is clearly a smaller number of practices, but *On the Go 2* succeeds in providing different perspectives. In all four studied Units, categories coded under products include locations, entertainment, cultural artefacts and general knowledge. The category coded under perspectives in all Units was history, and under practices holidays and celebrations and cultural practices. Products and perspectives were found in nearly every category, when practices were found in holidays and celebrations, food, cultural practices and religion.

The variance shown in categories coded as products has to do with how the reader interprets the text – most cultural content that are included in the Units are different products of a certain culture. Products are easy to compare to the products of the learners' own culture. Perspectives and practices proved harder to define in relation to culture presented in the textbooks, and often topics had to be classified under more than one label. Explaining cultural perspectives in an easily understandable way is not always simple. As to why there are more products introduced, it can be assumed that products offer an easy way to get familiar with a new culture. They represent the culture in a tangible way. For example, Hong Kong is characterized via its food, an aspect of culture that the learners can easily see. The differences between the learners' own food culture and the interlocutor's food culture are easy to see and understand, especially in the globalized world where foods of different cultures are available everywhere. Even if they have no personal experiences with eating dim sum, they can imagine what it would taste like based on their own experiences of Chinese food.

It is appropriate to problematize the extensive use of products in cultural education. When analysing objects, Hellemans (2017) reminds that not all cultural objects have survived to this day, for example, the objects left behind by minorities, like the illiterate and females, are bound to have existed at some point (pp. 19–20). Contrarian cultural interpretation and cultural Marxism provide us with the means of analysing the reason behind the apparent disappearance of minorities, as a cultural Marxist sees objects as direct reflections of the society and the minds of its people, and cultural objects directly reflect our values and norms (p. 21). In contrary, when an object is interpreted in the ways of contrarian cultural interpretation, the researcher can reflect on the implicit norms and values it expresses, of which the creator of the object might not necessarily be aware of these (pp. 21–22). To put it shortly, they reflect the underlying values of a society, not the mind. Both viewpoints evoke thoughts on the interpretation of cultural objects; whether it is intentional or not, cultural objects carry

reflections of our society's values and norms. The intention of textbook writers might not be to enforce cultural stereotypes, but the end result might come out as just that. Culture is not only reduced to a sum of objects created by it, but to a sum of selected privileged objects created by it. These privileged objects were found in the form of a boomerang, foods like kangaroo and dim sum, cultural practices like yoga and haggling, and even in entertainment through actors, when Jackie Chan, an actor popular in both West and China, is portrayed instead of other Chinese actors.

Next, *On the Go 2* and the objectives set for cultural education in NCC 2014 are considered. As discussed earlier, Finnish learning materials are based on the objectives set for Finnish upper secondary school education in NCC 2014 (FNBE, 2016). These objectives are fulfilled by *On the Go 2*. Objective O1 is fulfilled in that all Units enforce ICC to some degree and offer some information on the position of English language around the world and the values and phenomena related to it. Since the countries included in the learning materials are commonwealth countries, it would be appropriate to offer some information on the position of Britain as a former empire, why these countries originally were colonized, and what effect colonization had on their cultures and languages. Units 2 and 6 briefly mention colonization of Australia and India, but the past and current complicated political situation surrounding Hong Kong is ignored, which in turn introduces the question of what kind of criticism is allowed in textbooks.

O2 is likewise fulfilled since all Units encourage the students to find out information about interesting language-environments and to expand their worldviews. Many *Your Choice* texts especially encourage familiarization with other cultures, as in Units 1 and 2 where the students are encouraged to find out information about bush tucker, Aboriginal art and indigenous people, for example. Content that would fulfil the objective O3 of finding out regularities in the target language is harder to find, since out of the studied Units, only Units 1 and 2 explain the differences of Englishes spoken in Australia. There are no comparisons made between the English spoken in Hong Kong and how it differs from British or American English. As all objectives are filled, *On the Go 2* fulfils the requirements set for content area C1, "growing to cultural diversity and language awareness (section 15.4.3)". However, it should be noted that although *On the Go 2* fulfils the objectives set for C1, some othering stereotypes of Non-Western cultures can be found.

6.2 Intercultural communicative competence in On the Go 2

As stated before, Byram (1990) defines ICC as a sum of attitudes, knowledge, and skills. In this section, these three aspects are introduced as objectives for cultural teaching in On the Go 2, and how the analysed Units aim to enforce the ICC of the learner in co-operation with the teacher. In addition to introducing the factors of achieving ICC, Byram (1997) has set a list of objectives for teaching ICC, which includes goals for attitudes, knowledge, and skills. Next, this list of objectives will be compared to the Units.

Firstly, the question of attitudes in On the Go 2 will be considered. Byram (1997) describes attitudes as “curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one’s own. Opportunities to explore, discover and question own values. (p. 50)”. Later, he specifies that in terms of teaching and learning, the learner should be interested in the other culture, and the interlocutor’s experiences, while at the same time seeking other perspectives and evaluations and assimilating their own cultural phenomena to the other culture’s phenomena (p. 57). The objective of introducing different attitudes seems to be a bigger part of Units 1, 2 and 6 than Unit 3. In Units 1 and 2, many perspectives to Australian culture are provided, but they are not questioned in a similar way as in Units 3 and 6. The students are encouraged to ponder the differences between Australian and Finnish cultures, but different cultural perspectives are not built into the texts as in Units 3 and 6. In Units 3 and 6, understanding unfamiliar perspectives is made easier by constructing the main text of dialogue between an individual who comes from the outside of the culture and an interlocutor. The student learns about different values as socio-cultural practices are explained through different religious and cultural values in Units 3 and 6. In Unit 6, the students are encouraged to form and discuss their own opinions on the topic of gender equality, which enforces critical thinking. Units 3 and 6 also encourage the learners to engage with conventions of both verbal and non-verbal culture found in other countries: Unit 3 offers an exercise on haggling, and Unit 6 supports critical thinking through the conversational exercises. Units 1 and 2 provide some topics for discussion as well, including the differences between life in rural Australia and how holidays are celebrated in Australia and Finland.

Next, how the Units present knowledge is discussed. The Units focus on furthering the learners’ knowledge of Commonwealth countries quite well. Knowledge is described by Byram as “Knowledge: of social groups and their products and practices in one’s own and in one’s interlocutor’s country, and of the general processes of societal and individual interaction (p. 51)”, and it can be said that the Units fulfil this definition quite well. They both compare the individuals’

countries to the interlocutors' countries and ponder the relationships between countries with different traditions and practices to some degree. However, neither of the Units focus on why India and Hong Kong have been colonized, and how this colonization has affected these countries, their socio-cultural practices, spoken languages and culture in general. The Units highlight some of these socio-cultural differences, but they are not explained thoroughly. The learners are provided with historical and geographical knowledge about the target countries via maps. Some information searching exercises encourage the learners to find out more information about different locations, but this information usually deals with visible culture.

Byram (1997) also mentions that the learner should be able to achieve contact with the interlocutors (p. 51). This is achieved in an artificial way, and the learners do not achieve authentic connections. Thus, Units 1, 3 and 6 support the learners' skills of discovery and interaction only to some degree. In Unit 2 the Your Choice text Rabbit-proof fence provides some authentic descriptions of culture, but other Units seem to mostly feature text written by the textbook creators. SanomaPro (n.d.) advertises the series by claiming that On the Go 2 presents the everyday lives of youth around the world. However, these lives are not authentic, since the majority of the Study texts and Your Choice texts feature fictional characters have been created by the writers, and they do not necessarily represent the culture correctly. As a result, the texts found in On the Go 2 seem to lack in authenticity. Most of the texts do not have cited sources, meaning that they have been written by the textbook creators, and there is no information on the cultural background of the textbook creators, meaning that they might have no background knowledge on the socio-cultural practices mentioned in the textbooks. This might even lead to negative stereotypes of the target culture, as in Unit 3 where the Chinese way of eating unspecified animal meat was mentioned. This goes for many of the Units, as mentioned in section 6.1 where the negative attitudes of the individuals and interlocutors are discussed. To prevent forming negative stereotypes towards foreign cultural practices, the teacher should remember to be critical of the information the learning materials present, especially when the writers of the textbooks do not come from the cultures presented in the materials.

As far as authentic and appropriate language usage goes, On the Go 2 prepares the students for real life situations where intercultural communication happens. Units 3 and 6 feature people with whom the majority of learners do not share a native language with. This gives the learners opportunities to develop their skills of intercultural communication as they see examples of interactions where other participant does not speak English as their native language. Interestingly, many characters from Units 3 and 6 speak English grammatically correctly and without a distinctive accent. In Units 1 and 2, the

main characters speak with an Australian accent. This kind of grammatically perfect dialogue presented in the main texts does not give the students examples of authentic dialogue, and makes intercultural communication seem simple. Intercultural communication is presented as a happening in situations in which both participants speak English with native-level fluency, which does not enforce the learners' skills of interpretation, since they do not see the misunderstandings intercultural communication can result in. Only including audio of a communicational situation also ignores the paralingual and kinesic dimensions of language learning. Some of these features are recognized and mentioned in the Units, such as the meaning of not smiling in Hong Kong, but they are mostly ignored.

By featuring non-authentic communicational situations where the socio-cultural and inter-cultural aspects of language are ignored, the learning materials might also possibly increase the linguistic schizophrenia of the learners and make them feel that they are not ready for intercultural communication unless they speak English on a native level. The fact also is that most of the communication happens between the learners themselves, most of whom come from a similar socio-cultural environment. Thus, the learner has no chance for authentic interactions with members of other cultures. The authenticity of the texts could be improved in a few ways. They could be written by interlocutors from the target culture, or the writers could use advisors from other cultures, since as Fenner & Newby (2000) mentioned, authentic texts represent a personal encounter with the foreign culture in the world of learning materials where authentic interactions cannot be achieved (p. 146).

Byram (1997) also mentions the importance of critical cultural awareness and political education, which is explained as "an ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries" (p. 52). Out of the four Units studied, critical attitudes were directly portrayed in only Unit 6. Unit 6 presented the learners with controversial cultural practices of arranged marriage and gender inequality. As explained previously, negative attitudes were displayed, but outright criticism towards other cultures was not found. For example, Unit 2 mentioned the treatment of Aboriginals, but did not offer critical views on the colonial rule in Australia. Similarly, Unit 3 briefly introduced the concept of losing face, but the socio-cultural background of haggling was not introduced, and it did not explain the consequences of losing face in Asian cultures. Some of the exercises in all Units encouraged comparison between cultures but not necessarily critical thinking. The conversational exercises and written assignments found in Unit 6, however, did encourage critical thinking, and both the Textbook and Workbook introduce the learner different characters who all have their own perspectives to the topic. In the end, even if only Unit 6 enforces critical thinking, all Units offer the learners a large number of different

perspectives, practices, and products, which are meant to help the learners understand the target culture and to increase their knowledge. When combined, the offered elements of both visible and invisible culture enforce the learners' ability to identify, interpret, evaluate, and mediate different cultures.

All in all, Units 1, 2, 3 and 6 succeed in making different cultures more approachable to the students, and partly promote the achievement of ICC. On the one hand, the Talk-exercises teach the students appropriate language use along with its practical linguistic functions (e.g. small talk, agreeing), but on the other hand the main texts convey that negative attitudes and impolite remarks are okay in discussion. The learners are taught how to navigate in a multicultural world where communities have different socio-cultural practices. Units 1, 2, 3 and 6 provide the students a vast amount of knowledge on both visible and invisible culture and support the learners' motivation to learn about the surrounding world by offering easily approachable culture with many colourful visual cues to provoke interest. As mentioned, the amount of invisible culture is small, and the number of products is large in comparison to the number of practices and perspectives. The acknowledging and understanding of cultural differences which often appear in practices and perspectives is important if the learner wishes to achieve ICC. Putting more emphasis on invisible culture and especially different cultural practices would better tie the Units to the objectives set for ICC in education.

7 Conclusions

In this section, conclusions will be drawn on the base of analysis and discussion of result. Overall, there is a large amount of cultural content in *On the Go 2*. Cultural content was found in every Unit, and there was variation in products, practices and perspectives chosen to represent cultures. English was used as a language of interaction, but most of the culture displayed in the studied Units was either result of cultural hybridity, such as in the case of Australia. The overall perspective seemed to be more on the local cultures of these countries rather than on English-speaking culture in specific. In addition, focus was put on the stereotypical cultural products, as in the case of Hong Kong and India, making the cultural content seems one-sided. Some cultures are also shown in more positive light than others in *On the Go 2*. The political situation of Hong Kong and the negative sides of Asian culture of politeness and losing face are not explained when Indian culture is criticized more openly. Similarly, the controversial topic of colonial rule in Australia and in Commonwealth countries overall is not brought up, even if the post-colonial status and the consequences of these countries would provide an important topic. The topic of colonialism would provide the students with important information about exactly how English became the language of international interaction it is today.

The studied Units also enforce the objectives set for achieving ICC, even if some of Byram's (1997) objectives are not fulfilled. Despite some problems in representations of intercultural communication, *On the Go 2* enforces positive, curious attitudes, knowledge about other cultures, as well as skills of interaction and discovery. As *On the Go 2* promotes ICC, expands the students' knowledge of cultures and variants of English, it fills the objectives set for cultural education in NCC 2014. Some room for improvement remains, especially in the way other cultures are presented. When analysing the contents from the post-colonial criticism point of view, Non-Western cultures and people are still stereotyped and presented as inferior to Western cultures and exoticized. The negativity towards other cultures might not be intentional, but regardless of intentions, the colonialist ideas of Western superiority are enforced. In the end, the materials offer a good starting point for cultural education in 8th grade, but the cultural elements should be expanded or added on by the teacher to ensure growing to cultural diversity and language awareness.

Currently, the texts provided in *On the Go 2* teach cultural education in a more traditional way. The culture is viewed as an object for observation. The texts are created by foreigners, which, according to Fenner and Newby (2000), enforces the subject-object relationship between cultures. *On the Go 2* does not offer authentic texts from different genres, which would offer authentic information on different socio-cultural phenomena in addition to helping the learners make discoveries. Instead, they

offer relatively safe texts that present cultures in what appears at a first glance as a positive manner as possible. Unit 6 offered the learners some food of thought, but it did not directly criticize the inequality between men and women. This shows that these Units want to present controversies but try to refrain from drawing any definite conclusions. Instead, drawing conclusions about other cultures is left up to the student.

To conclude, all studied Units feature visible and invisible elements of cultural. The learners' understanding of invisible culture is often furthered in the discussion exercises, writing exercises and Your Choice texts and exercises. However, many of these exercises are optional parts of the unit, and especially Your Choice texts are meant as material for independent study. So, in the end, going through the content that includes more information on foreign cultures is left up to the teachers. Some cultural concepts are not explained fully and left to the teacher's responsibility as well. For example, the reason as to why boys and girls are treated differently in Indian families, is not explained thoroughly. This could mean that the teacher is assumed to have some degree of knowledge on the cultural practices around the world, or that these concepts do not require further explanation. As the theories and pragmatics of English language and English-speaking culture are being constantly updated, it would be beneficial for the teacher to continuously educate themselves instead of solely relying on learning materials. Learning materials might not necessarily be up to date in the views they provide, and as the study has showed, textbook representations of culture are at times problematic and negative. This leads to the thought that educating the learners on cultural practices should not be the sole responsibility of the EFL book, even if they act as a good starting point. Thus, even if the learning materials offer a good base for cultural education, the teacher should not solely rely on the materials. It would be beneficial for the teacher to get familiar with the materials and the cultural concepts presented in them and be ready to either provide new knowledge or deepen the knowledge offered in the materials. In future, learning materials hopefully move towards the more modern approach to English as a language of global interaction instead of focusing on the native-centred, post-colonialist views of English-speaking cultures. It would be interesting to see teaching of English move away from the native-centred setting towards how English is used in different societies outside the native-foreigner setting often presented in learning materials. In addition, the texts provided could also be more authentic, and would hopefully be written by members of the cultures presented in them to avoid negative stereotyping and inauthentic images of different cultures and their practices.

References

Primary references

Daffue-Karsten, L., Ojala, A-M, Ojala S, Peuraniemi, J, Semi. L, Vaakanainen, M. (2017a). *On the Go 2 Textbook* (1st ed.). Helsinki: SanomaPro.

Daffue-Karsten, L., Ojala, A-M., Ojala S, Peuraniemi, J., Semi. L. ja Vaakanainen, M. (2017b). *On the Go 2 Workbook* (1st ed.). Helsinki: SanomaPro.

Finnish National Board of Education (FNBE). (2016). *The National Core Curriculum 2014*. Helsinki: Next Print Oy.

Secondary references

Baker, W. (2017). English as a Lingua Franca and intercultural communication. in J. Jenkins, W. Baker & M. Dewey (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca* (1st ed.). (pp. 25–36) Routledge. <https://doi-org.pc124152.oulu.fi:9443/10.4324/9781315717173>

Bhabha, H. K. (2004). *The Location of Culture*. Routledge. (Original work published in 1994).

Byram, M. (1997). *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence*. Multilingual Matters.

Council of Europe. (2020). *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*. Cambridge University Press.

Dema, O. & Kramer Moeller, A. J. (2012). Teaching Culture in the 21st Century Language Classroom. in T. Sildus (Eds.), *Touch the World: Selected Papers from the 2012 Central States Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages*. (pp. 75–91). Crown Prints.

Fenner, A-B., Newby D. & European Centre for Modern Languages. (2000). *Approaches to Materials Design in European Textbooks: Implementing Principles of Authenticity, Learner Autonomy, Cultural Awareness*. Council of Europe.

Finnish National Board of Education (FNBE). (2004). *Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2004* [The National Core Curriculum 2004]. Vammala: Vammalan kirjapaino.

Gómez Rodríguez, L. F. (2015). The Cultural Content in EFL Textbooks and What Teachers Need to Do About it. *Profile*. 17, 2, pp. 167–180. Bogotá. <https://doi.org/10.15446/profile.v17n2.44272>

Haapala, M. Kangaspunta, R. Lehtonen, E. Peuraniemi, J. Semi, L. & Westlake, P. (2016). *Spotlight 8* (5th ed.). SanomaPro.

- Hellemans, B. (2017). *Understanding Culture : A Handbook for Students in the Humanities*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Hildén, R. & Kantelinen, E. (2012) Language education – Foreign Languages. in H. Niemi, A. Toom & A. Kallioniemi (Eds.), *Miracle of Education: The Principles and Practices of Teaching and Learning in Finnish Schools*. (pp. 161–176). Sense.
- Hinkel, E. (n.d.). Culture and pragmatics in language teaching and learning. EliHinkel.org. http://ww.elihinkel.org/downloads/Culture_and_Pragmatics.pdf
- Honkala, S. Lempinen, M. Nousiainen, K. Onwen-Huma, H. Salo A. & Vacker, R. (2019) *Mukana! Tasa-arvo- ja yhdenvertaisuustyö toisella asteella* [With you! Equality - and equity work in upper secondary school]. National Board of Education. Grano Oy.
- Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005) Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15 (9), pp. 1277–1288. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687>
- Kantelinen, R. & Pollari, P. (2011). Alakoululainen kielisalkun käyttäjäksi. Tutkimus- ja kehittämisprojekti Itä-Suomen yliopistossa [Primary school pupil as the user of the European Language Portfolio. Research- and development project in University of Eastern Finland]. in R. Hildén. & O-P. Salo (Eds.), *Kielikasvatus tänään ja huomenna – Opetussuunnitelmat, opettajankoulutus ja kielenopettajan arki* [Language Education Today and Tomorrow – Curricula, Teacher Education and Everyday Practice]. (pp.147–165) WSOYpro
- Kirkebæk. M. J., Du, X. & Aarup Jensen, A. (2013). The Power of Context in Teaching and Learning Culture. in A. Aarup Jensen, A., X. Du. & M. J. Kirkebæk. (Eds.), *Teaching and Learning Culture : Negotiating the Context*. Sense Publishers.
- Korpela, S. & Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Finland). (2017). *Education in Finland, Key to the Nation's Success*. Education Finland. https://www.educationfinland.fi/sites/default/files/2019-11/finfo_education_in_finland_en.pdf
- Korpinen, A. (2011). Kuvailusta kohtaamiseen: kulttuurienvälinen oppiminen vieraan kielen opetuksessa [from describing to facing : intercultural learning in foreign language teaching]. in R. Hildén. & O-P. Salo (Eds.), *Kielikasvatus tänään ja huomenna – Opetussuunnitelmat, opettajankoulutus ja kielenopettajan arki* [Language Education Today and Tomorrow – Curricula, Teacher Education and Everyday Practice]. (pp.147–165) WSOYpro
- Larzén, E. (2005). *In Pursuit of an Intercultural Dimension in EFL-teaching: Exploring Cognitions Among Finland-Swedish Comprehensive School Teachers*. [Doctoral Dissertation, Åbo Akademi] Åbo Akademi University Press.
- Luukka, M.-R., Pöyhönen, S., Huhta, A., Taalas, P., Tarnanen, M., & Keränen, A. (2008). *Maaailma muuttuu – Mitä tekee koulu? Äidinkielen ja vieraiden kielten tekstikäytännöt koulussa ja vapaa- ajalla* [The World is Changing – How about the School? In-school and out-of-school Text Practices in Mother Tongue and Foreign Languages]. University of Jyväskylä & Centre for Applied Language Studies. Jyväskylän yliopistopaino

- Mauranen, A. (2017). Conceptualising English. in J. Jenkins, W. Baker & M. Dewey (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca* (1st ed.). (pp. 7–24) Routledge.
<https://doi-org.pc124152.oulu.fi:9443/10.4324/9781315717173>
- Means, T. (2008). Task-Based Instruction of Intermediate Italian: A Research-supported Model. in E. Occhipinti (Eds.), *New approaches to teaching Italian language and culture: Case studies from an international perspective*. (pp. 40–61) Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Pub.
- Milner, A. & Browitt, J. (2002). *Contemporary cultural theory: An introduction* (3rd ed.). Routledge.
- Nyman, T. (2011). Vastavalmistunut vieraan kielen opettaja ”oikeassa” työssä: haaste opettajankoulutukselle ja koululle [A recently graduated foreign language teacher in ”a real ” job: a challenge for teacher education and the school] in R. Hildén. & O-P. Salo (Eds.), *Kielikasvatus tänään ja huomenna – Opetussuunnitelmat, opettajankoulutus ja kielenopettajan arki* [Language Education Today and Tomorrow – Curricula, Teacher Education and Everyday Practice]. (pp.101–121) WSOYpro.
- Records of the General Conference, 31st session, Paris, 15 October to 3 November 2001, v. 1: Resolutions
- Rose, H., Syrbe, M., Montakantiwong, A. & Funada, N. (2020). *Global TESOL for the 21st century: Teaching English in a changing world*. Multilingual Matters.
- Said, E. W. (1991). *Orientalism*. London: Penguin. (Original work published in 1978).
- Salo, O. (2011). Kulttuuri perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteissa. Kenen kulttuuria on tarkoitus opiskella? [Culture in the National Core Curriculum. Whose culture is meant to be studied?]. in R. Hildén. & O-P. Salo (Eds.), *Kielikasvatus tänään ja huomenna – Opetussuunnitelmat, opettajankoulutus ja kielenopettajan arki* [Language Education Today and Tomorrow – Curricula, Teacher Education and Everyday Practice]. (pp. 41–64) WSOYpro
- SanomaPro. (n.d.). *On the Go*. SanomaPro. Retrieved February 7, 2020, from <https://www.sanomapro.fi/sarjat/on-the-go/>
- Spinelli, B. & Dolci, R. (2008). In a Cross-cultural Transition: A Short Term Stay case study. In E. Occhipinti (Eds.), *New approaches to teaching Italian language and culture: Case studies from an international perspective*. (pp. 373–402) Cambridge Scholars Pub.
- The Finnish Non-Discrimination Act. (2014). 1325/2014.
<https://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/kaannokset/2014/en20141325.pdf>
- The United Nations. (1948). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.
<https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>
- Tirri, K. (2012). The Core of School Pedagogy. Finnish Teachers’ views on the educational purposefulness of their teaching in H. Niemi, A. Toom & A. Kallioniemi (Eds.), *Miracle of Education: The Principles and Practices of Teaching and Learning in Finnish Schools*. (pp. 55-66). Brill | Sense.

- Tomlinson, B. (2008). *English Language Learning Materials: A Critical Review*. Continuum.
- UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. (2002). *Records of the General Conference, 31st session, Paris, 15 October to 3 November 2001, v. 1: Resolutions*. Unesco.
- Van Lier, L. (2004). The Semiotics and Ecology of Language Learning : Perception, voice, identity and democracy. *Utbildning & Demokrati*, vol 13, nr 3, 2004, pp. 79–103.
- Vitikka, E. Krokfors, L. Hurmerinta, E. (2012) The Finnish National Core Curriculum: Structure and Development. in H. Niemi, A. Toom & A. Kallioniemi (Eds.), *Miracle of Education: The Principles and Practices of Teaching and Learning in Finnish Schools*. (pp. 83-96). Leiden, Boston: Brill | Sense.
- Wicker, H. Debating Cultural Hybridity. in Professor P. Werbner, & T. Modood. (Eds.), (2015). *Debating Cultural Hybridity : Multicultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*. Zed Books. (pp. 29–44).
- Zedda, A. G. (2008). What Can Be Obtained From Project Work? A Case Study. in E. Occhipinti (Eds.), *New approaches to teaching Italian language and culture: Case studies from an international perspective*. (pp. 62–83) Cambridge Scholars Pub.