

Journal of the National Council of Less Commonly Taught Languages

Volume 27



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The Journal of the National Council of Less Commonly Taught Languages, published annually by the Council, is dedicated to the issues and concerns related to the teaching and learning of Less Commonly Taught Languages. The Journal primarily seeks to address the interests of language teachers, administrators, and researchers. Articles that describe innovative and successful teaching methods that are relevant to the concerns or problems of the profession, or that report educational research or experimentation in Less Commonly Taught Languages are welcome. Papers presented at the Council's annual conference will be considered for publication, but additional manuscripts from members of the profession are also welcome.

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National Council of Less Commonly Taught Languages (NCOLCTL)

NCOLCTL is an organization dedicated to the teaching and learning of Less Commonly Taught Languages. Membership is open to individuals and organizations that share this interest.

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NCOLCTL's mission is to increase the number of Americans who choose to learn one or more of the less commonly taught languages (LCTLs) as a means of enhancing cross-cultural communication among citizens of the United States. NCOLCTL's work focuses on the less commonly taught languages which are becoming increasingly vital to the economic, social and political welfare of the United States. Furthermore, NCOLCTL seeks to improve the teaching and learning of these languages and to make them more generally available. We are the national voice for organizations and individuals who represent the teaching of these less commonly taught languages.

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NCOLCTL constitutes a national mechanism devoted to strengthening the less commonly taught language professions through enabling NCOLCTL members to work toward “shared solutions to common problems.” NCOLCTL principally directs its efforts toward building a national architecture for the LCTL field and in making the field’s resources easily accessible to language programs and individual learners around the United States.

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- Planning for and establishing a national policy for building the national capacity for the study of the LCTLs
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Editor's Introduction

Danko Šipka
Arizona State University

The spring 2020 issue features eight papers and one review article, representing various topics of interest to the entire NCOLCTL community and various languages in the field, and it comes in two volumes. In this volume, the first two papers *Life after Language Immersion: Two Very Different Stories*, and *Connecting Language Learning in the Classroom with the Local Community: Using Field Performance Tasks in Chinese Study Abroad Contexts* discuss immersion and study abroad, programs that augment our regular classroom activities. The next paper, titled *Temporal Sequencing and Narration in Learner Language: The Case of an Intensive Mandarin Chinese Program*, discusses the issue of narration, one of the key problems in presentative speaking and writing. Testing practices are front and center in *An Analysis of Testing Practices in College Korean Language Classrooms*. This volume concludes with a particularly interesting review article, entitled *Cultural Representations in Foreign Language Textbooks: A Call for Change*.

Cultural Representations in Foreign Language Textbooks: A Need for Change

Margherita Berti

University of Arizona

Abstract

Despite the limitations frequently pointed out by instructors and researchers, language textbooks continue playing a central role in foreign language education. Investigations of cultural representations in pedagogical resources suggest that textbooks tend to essentialize culture and scholars have called for the inclusion of diverse linguistic and cultural perspectives. Nevertheless, change has been slow. This article first summarizes findings of language textbooks analyses in relation to cultural representations. Next, implications of the findings of textbook analyses in relation to the teaching of culture in language courses are considered. Finally, concrete pedagogical suggestions for language educators are proposed to socialize beginner language learners into practices of reflection and interpretation utilizing the available pedagogical resources.

Keywords: language textbooks, culture, textbook analysis, intercultural competence

Introduction

Recent years have seen an increasing interest in the representation of culture in foreign language (FL) textbooks (e.g., Canale, 2016; De Vincenti, 2017; Hilliard, 2014; Kramsch & Vinall, 2015; McConachy, 2018; Risager, 2014; Sándorová, 2014; Sobkowiak, 2016; Weninger & Kiss, 2015). Fundamental questions related to these representations are what culture(s) and which topics should be included (Chapelle, 2016; Kramsch, 1988). While a single textbook cannot address the cultural richness of groups and individuals within and across countries, analyses have found cultural biases toward a “mother” country (e.g., France in the teaching of French) or a “single” culture (Wieczorek & College, 1994). Scholars have argued that cultural bias is not only manifested in overgeneralizations, simplifications, and stereotypes, but also in the presence or absence of certain topics (Dechert & Kastner, 1989; Ulrich, 2004). For example, Ramirez and Hall’s (1990) analysis of Spanish textbooks found that most Spanish-speaking countries were underrepresented, and references to people and issues beyond the middle to upper classes were absent. Similarly, Bateman and Mattos (2006) argue that there is a lack of viewpoints of members of different social classes. Others have claimed that textbooks portray the way authors and publishers conceive language and culture (Hilliard, 2014), thus resulting in materials constrained by market ideologies. Another issue highlighted in textbook research is the lack of pedagogical activities that embrace complexity, raise students’ awareness, and prepare them for intercultural experiences.

Teachers and researchers have advocated for the inclusion of diverse linguistic and cultural perspectives that shift students’ positioning from “tourists” to critical thinkers;

however, bias and culture as factual information still persist (Canale, 2016). These representations are problematic because the absence of diverse topics and meaningful learning activities might perpetuate stereotypes and inadequately prepare students for today's globalized society. For instance, if students are only exposed to stereotypical and one-sided views of Italian people's features (e.g., the color of the skin) and values (e.g., religious beliefs and practices), when meeting a person from Italy who does not fit the textbook representation, students can feel unprepared for interactions with a "different type" of Italian person. Furthermore, if textbook activities only consist of recalling cultural information rather than reflecting on deeper cultural issues, students might not be ready for conversations that go beyond historical facts and famous geographical locations. To this end, this paper summarizes findings of language textbook analyses and argues that although pedagogical materials provide limited opportunities to develop students' intercultural competence and critical thinking skills concrete pedagogical actions can contribute to meaningful learning. The first section provides a brief overview of findings from recent research addressing representations of culture in FL textbooks. Next, implications of the findings of textbooks analyses in relation to the teaching of culture in language courses are considered. Last, concrete pedagogical suggestions for language educators are proposed to socialize beginner language learners into practices of critical reflection and interpretation using the available pedagogical materials.

Textbook Research in Foreign Language Education

The analysis of language textbooks is of central importance since such materials are often students' first source of culture.

Textbooks should facilitate the “cultivation of a critically reflective mind that can tell the difference between real and unreal, between information and disinformation, between ideas and ideologies” (Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p. 164). However, research has shown the opposite as the tendency in FL textbooks has been to present culture in a narrow and superficial way. Recent studies have focused on the representation of a variety of topics including food habits (e.g., Bateman & Mattos, 2006; De Vincenti, 2017), ethnicity (Hilliard, 2014; Thompson, 2013), pragmatics (McConachy & Hata, 2013), and intercultural competence (Forcelini, 2016; Hilliard, 2014; Kramersch & Vinall, 2015; Sobkowiak, 2016). In the literature, there appears to be an improvement in the representation of women and multicultural information. For example, Gray’s (2010) analysis of language textbooks from 1984 to 2003 found that there is a trend toward “feminizing content,” as earlier textbooks tended to be more sexist while later textbooks tended to represent women more fairly. Nevertheless, cultural content is still rather simplistic, ethnocentric (Kramersch 1988), and assumes homogeneity among language users (McConachy, 2018).

Bateman and Mattos (2006) investigated the treatment of food in six Portuguese textbooks. Within this theme, they examined the treatment of seven criteria, including practices, products, perspectives, and cross-cultural comparisons. Their findings show that cultural perspectives were absent, and cross-cultural comparisons did not engage students in thinking critically about their own culture. Only three textbooks included some information about Lusophone countries other than Brazil and Portugal, and food was often presented in decontextualized vocabulary lists. The authors concluded that

there is a need to give voice to people of different ethnicities, regions, and social classes to help students understand and respect different worldviews. In a similar study, De Vincenti (2017) selected and analyzed units related to food and eating habits in two Italian textbooks. The analysis showed that cultural sections were often found at the end of chapters, and in framed boxes, as monocultural information. Ethnic diversity was absent, even though as of 2015 foreign residents in Italy constituted 8.2% of the population. In another study, Thompson (2013) considered how five introductory Swahili textbooks represented Swahili users and their culture. The analysis confirmed Bateman and Mattos (2006) and De Vincenti's (2017) findings, in that pedagogical materials failed to teach culture in its diverse aspects by depicting a homogeneous East African culture. Thompson (2013) argues that a surface approach to culture promotes "cultural tourism," when instead critical questioning of cultural representations should be utilized to help students move away from an imagined and idealized culture. In these studies, issues of decontextualized cultural information, stereotypes, generalizations, and touristic perspectives are evident.

Other analyses looked at how intercultural competence and critical thinking are fostered in FL textbooks. Sobkowiak (2016) conducted a mixed-methods content analysis of 20 English textbooks used in Poland. Although the materials provided some opportunities to contrast and compare foreign cultures, they did not encourage students to think more deeply or analyze their own interpretations and responses. Kramsch and Vinall (2015) examined 27 Spanish textbooks published from the 1950s to the 2000s. Their analysis shows that the main weaknesses of textbooks were the restricted positivistic

tourism discourse, the factual information, and the shallow treatment of diversity. The authors argued that the presence of a standard language and culture promotes disengaged interaction, lacking deeper questioning and awareness of cultural ambiguities. Kramsch and Vinall (2015) advocate for broadening and reframing FL textbooks' cultural content to engage students in critical reading. Hilliard (2014) examined topics, images, audio material, and cultural information in four English language textbooks. By looking at the overall textbooks' structure and the cultural content at the micro and macro levels, Hilliard (2014) found a limited scope of topics, underrepresentation of minority groups, a limited range of accents in the audio material, and generally a lack of in-depth cultural activities targeting the development of students' intercultural communicative skills. In today's globalized world a lack of intercultural approaches is problematic because language learners are very likely to meet people from diverse cultures, and ethnocentric stances could lead to unsuccessful intercultural experiences.

Investigations of culture in FL textbooks provide insights about the content that students are exposed to when learning a new language. The literature suggests that textbooks tend to essentialize culture and cultural biases toward one country and a single culture. The representation of diverse ethnicities, regions, social classes, and perspectives is currently missing. Furthermore, students are not invited to engage in cross-comparisons and critical reflections (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013), thus perpetuating stereotypes and ethnocentric perspectives. Canale (2016) states that while it is important to consider how culture is portrayed, not much attention has been paid to the interaction between learners and textbooks. More

investigations from such perspective are necessary to further understand FL classrooms' ecologies and how pedagogical materials are being used.

Implications for Language Teachers

Although scholars advocate for the development of learners' intercultural competence (e.g., Byram & Wagner, 2018; Wilkinson, 2012), current research suggests that FL textbooks have given little attention to the challenges posed by globalization (Kramsch & Vinall, 2015). In pedagogical materials the focus is still on culture as a fixed product, rather than fluid perspectives and plural norms. What is missing in textbooks is the variety of facets and behaviors of different cultural groups, originating from the dynamic interactions between cultures, values, practices, and identities (De Vincenti, 2017). Since textbooks still play a central role in language instruction, especially in lower-level FL courses, the findings from analyses of representations of culture have significant implications.

The first implication is that textbooks should expose students to a variety of communities and countries. Focusing on one mother country can give students the mistaken idea that, although the FL is spoken in multiple nations, cultural practices are essentially the same everywhere. Additionally, since culture is dynamic and diversified also within one single country it is vital that students are exposed to such differences. In lower-level courses the FL textbook might be the primary source of the studied culture and a monocultural perspective can foster the assumption that the represented culture applies to all target language users. Wieczorek and College (1994) suggest that the percentage of "other countries" could be

proportional to the number of speakers in such countries. For instance, if 10% of all speakers of French are from Belgium, then one would expect to find that same percentage of cultural and linguistic information pertaining to Belgium. Textbook publishers should diversify cultural resources and language teachers should supplement their lessons with multimodal materials that expose students to different ethnicities, perspectives, practices, and traditions.

The touristic viewpoint found in FL textbooks is also problematic since this perspective can give students a stereotypical perception of the target culture. For instance, the depiction of famous landmarks and well-known historical information positions language learners as superficial tourists without a deeper engagement with the studied culture (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Furthermore, the excessively positive discourse (i.e., the lack of critical issues or current problems in the other countries), as noted by Kramersch and Vinall (2015) and Hilliard (2014), might lead to intolerance toward negative information about foreign cultures. Teachers should help students shift their viewpoint from an outsider to an insider perspective, and find their “third place” (Kramersch, 1993) from which students understand and mediate the home culture and the target culture. This third place can be viewed as a unique space where teachers and learners are engaged in creating “a culture of a third kind through the give-and-take of classroom dialogue” (Kramersch, 1993, p. 23). In this way, students leave behind touristic facts and initiate intercultural dialogues based on their previous intercultural experiences and reflect on hidden aspects and meanings. This approach is especially important for beginner language learners, since

cultural discussions are often left at the end of the chapters, which present a stronger emphasis on grammatical proficiency.

Finally, the dearth of critically-oriented learning activities impedes the development of students' intercultural voices. Byram (1997, 2014) has argued that the overarching goal of language education involves fostering intercultural citizenship skills. However, this goal is unlikely to be achieved with current FL textbooks. In this case, a critical approach to language education could help teachers and learners recognize that pedagogical materials are commercially situated and developed according to publishers and authors understanding of language, culture, and learning.

Supposing that FL textbooks will not evolve, educators still have the opportunity of using pedagogical materials in a critical way. For instance, when evaluating a cultural representation teachers might pose the following questions to themselves: "How does the resource allow learners to make connections between their own lives and experiences and the target language and its speakers?" or "What sort of learning will the resource enable?" In the classroom, teachers may ask students "Does the resource present a cultural aspect from the viewpoint of the target culture, from another culture's perspective, or from the perspective of the writer?" or "Are you in a position to judge? Why? Why not?" (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). In this fashion and through a critical lens, any material or cultural representation becomes an opportunity for learning. The teacher positions herself as a facilitator, eliciting cultural interpretations from students and helping them develop skills of intercultural competence.

From Research to Practice: Suggestions for Language Teachers

To assist instructors in understanding how to teach culture from a non-essentialist perspective, this section provides concrete pedagogical suggestions on how to use the language textbook for intercultural learning. Although pedagogical materials may lack connections between the culture and students' own cultures, and opportunities to engage with content in an in-depth way are insufficient, language educators should understand that all types of materials can be interpreted and utilized from a critical lens. First, teachers should explain to students that learning materials are written from the perspective of the authors, the reviewers, the publishers, and so forth. Thus, biases, prejudices, and stereotypes will arise in such resources. Second, a cultural representation provided in a FL textbook needs to be interpreted, questioned, and evaluated. For example, one textbook may present a picture and description of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, a shopping mall and a major landmark in Milan, Italy. As students read the text and analyze the image, the teacher poses the following questions, "Why choose the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II in this chapter? Why is it relevant here and what kind of information does it provide us? Do you think that in this case we may be dealing with tourist knowledge? In your experience, where would you find something similar in other cultures and countries? Thinking about individuals who live in Italy, how are they portrayed in this picture? Is there something or someone missing here?" In this fashion, the teacher provides students with questions that link students' experiences and understanding of the studied culture with textbook content.

Another textbook may require students to read a brief text about university students' life in France and complete a matching exercise with questions referring to the text. The text might only mention students who live in France, without taking into consideration French speakers in other countries, e.g., Belgium, Martinique, Tunisia, and so forth. Thus, the teacher can first investigate students' knowledge about where French is spoken and then ask to research the life of university students in other French-speaking countries. As a result, learning becomes a collaborative process in which students share their experiences and investigations. Through this type of activity, students are encouraged to reflect on the French culture found in the FL textbook as well as the aspects that are omitted in such materials. Students and teachers become analysts who examine and reflect on the learning materials with their particular backgrounds and understandings of other cultures.

Conclusion

This paper discussed the issue of cultural representations in FL textbooks. Since the treatment of culture in pedagogical materials can have a significant impact on students' perceptions, its examination is of central importance. Recent findings show that FL textbooks do not stimulate students to go beyond stereotypical, generalized, and simplistic representations of culture. Cultural content assumes homogeneity among language users and culture is presented as factual information. As a result, culture is stripped away from its complexity, variability, and subtleness (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Implications for language teachers were discussed and practical pedagogical suggestions to help students become interculturally aware were proposed. All in all, a critically-

oriented approach can help learners develop inquiry skills and reflective practices.

Future research should explore how meanings are generated in the educational setting through the interaction among materials, students, and the teacher. While such investigations might not result in concrete changes in FL textbooks, they can inform future language teaching practices and contribute to students' intercultural and critical thinking skills. A methodological shift in the educational setting that focuses on purposeful teaching and learning, rather than the acquisition of ready-to-consume knowledge, is strongly needed.

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