

An Analysis of Textbooks from a Cultural Point of View

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Abstract

The article analyses textbooks from a cultural point of view. It stresses upon the needs for cultural sensitivity on the part of authors. The research has also highlighted some cultural views which exist in one culture but, at the same time, may not be acceptable to the members of another culture. The research further investigates whether the authors of textbooks who belong to a specific culture can represent C1 and C2 in an appropriate way in a textbook. The analysis also focuses on cultural reflection both in text and visual material used in the textbooks. The research suggests that a textbook based on C1 and C2 culture representation should include the authors from both cultures.

An Analysis of Textbooks from a Cultural Point of View

Language and culture are interrelated. Kramsch (1998) describes language as a 'principal means' whereby the people conduct their social lives. She states that language in relation with 'context of communication' is interrelated with culture in 'multiple and complex ways'. Culture is present whatever the language discussion is. Language learning can be facilitated by having a careful selection of culture related material in textbooks. Textbook evaluation can help both learners and teachers to achieve their goal of language and culture learning. The previous study (Giaschi, 2000; Lesikin, 2001; Ndura, 2004; Nemati, 2009) shows that the textbooks have been evaluated from different perspectives (such as on the bases of textbook graphics, grammar, culture bias and vocabulary) but the present investigation makes an analysis based on culture representation in the textbooks used in Pakistan. There are a great number of L2 learners in Pakistan who have no direct connection with the target language speakers. Their cultural awareness mainly depends on textbooks available to them. Referring to the role of culture, Cortazzi and Jin (1999) explain the following three factors which play their role.

1. Teachers
2. Students
3. Textbook Authors

According to Cortazzi and Jin, a textbook is useful if learners, teachers and textbook authors share the same cultural values. If they do not share the same cultural values, then at least they should be familiar with the cultural norms of one another. The present study is intended to investigate the cultural representation in the textbooks used in Pakistan. In Pakistan, most of the schools follow the textbooks, composed by the foreign textbook authors whose detail will come later. As a result of that the ESL learners and the teachers in Pakistan share the same cultural values but not the

textbook authors. The foreign textbook authors do not belong to their culture. Due to this situation, there exists a cultural gap between the Pakistani ESL learners and the foreign textbook used in Pakistan. The research study will focus on the cultural unfamiliarity between the ESL learners and the foreign textbook authors in Pakistan.

Research Problem

The present study involves the problem which occurs between the foreign textbook authors and the ESL learners in Pakistan. These problems are based on cultural unfamiliarity on the part of textbook authors. The ESL textbooks, written by the foreign authors and used in Pakistan, basically reflect the two layers of cultures:

- a) The learners first culture (C1)
- b) The Anglophone cultures or the target language cultures (C2).

The present study addresses to the cultural gap which exists between the ESL learners in Pakistan and the foreign textbook authors. The core issue arises when the foreign textbook authors reflect the learners' first culture (C1) in a way that is not interesting to them. As a result of that a textbook may lose the learners' motivation in learning a second language. The present study has chosen the three following areas to address the research problem in the ESL textbooks in Pakistan:

1. The representation of the learners' culture through pictures in the textbook by foreign authors
2. The cultural stereotypes pertaining to the learners' first culture
3. The cultural sensitivity on the part of textbook authors

Research Questions

1. How does the cultural unfamiliarity appear when the foreign textbook authors reflect the second language learners in their textbooks through pictures?
2. Do the foreign textbook authors reflect cultural stereotypes in their textbooks because of having less cultural familiarity with the learners' first culture?
3. What are the cultural contradictions caused by the foreign textbook authors with respect to the learners' first culture?

Literature Review

The research study has focused on cultural reflection in ESL textbooks being used in Pakistan and written by foreign authors. Therefore the literature review reveals the theme of cultural representation in textbooks. Regarding cultural reflection, Ndura (2004) provides valuable information about cultural reflection in the ESL textbooks taught in the US. She highlights the cultural aspects (such as religion, national history etc) which are missing in the ESL textbooks. Her research also points out stereotypes as well (Ndura, 2004). Lesikin's (2001) research goes forward from the idea of cultural representation and relates the importance of cultural background with the power of the learners' decision making process. His analysis of four ESL grammar textbooks focuses on textbooks grammatical tasks, activities and the learners' decision making process. Lesikin's research provides the idea that learners' decision making process works better if grammatical tasks and activities are coupled with learners' cultural background information. His research proposes the solution for cultural differences in ESL textbooks. He explains that 'with a more open lesson format in ESL textbooks, created by teachers, even better teachers and students together, cultural differences might be

mediated' (Lesikin, 2001). Lesikin in his solution to cultural differences only considers students and teachers but another aspect which is of equal importance is the textbook author. Therefore the idea of cultural mediation should include the textbook authors, the teachers, and the learners as well. Lazaraton (2003) works provides the idea of culturally acceptable forms of behavior. Lazaraton emphasizes that 'cultural competence for L2 teachers involves knowledge not just about the L2 culture but culturally acceptable forms of behavior within the culture' (Lazaraton, 2003). The term 'culturally acceptable forms of behavior' refers to the cultural aspects which are acceptable in one culture but not favorable in another culture. Baker (2003) views the cultural awareness as 'understanding not only of the culture of language being studied but also of the learners' own culture' (Baker, 2003). Baker's research is limited to the concept of 'culture awareness' with respect to ESL/EFL learners and does not talk about the cultural awareness on the part of textbook authors, especially the foreign textbook authors whose textbooks are used by the learners, who belong to a different culture. Lesikin (2000) provides another aspect of culture representation on the basis of graphic devices and the comprehension of these graphics on the part of learners. Lesikin analyses two ESL grammar textbooks. He explains that 'the use of think-aloud protocol with students from a range of educational and cultural backgrounds could reveal the accessibility of a textbook's pedagogical knowledge and might supply clues to the kind of strategies needed to comprehend typographic and linguistics features characteristic of its complex text (Lesikin, 2000). His research stimulates the idea that a range of graphics based on cultural information can prove helpful for learners' comprehension of text. Jiang (2006) analyzes six ESL textbooks on the basis of contextual sensitivity. Through his research he suggests that linguistic structures should be included in ESL textbooks in combination with socio-cultural contexts. He associates the 'appropriate realization' of speech act and the 'level of directness' with the sensitivity of socio-cultural contexts (Jiang, 2006).

Lazaraton's (2003) idea of culturally acceptable forms of behavior and Lesikin's analysis of pictures and graphical devices for learners' comprehension have aided the current study. Lazaraton's research provides an insight to analyze ESL textbooks on the basis of cultural sensitivity. Similarly Lesikin's research concerning graphical analysis raises the concept of relating images in the textbooks to learners' cultural background. All the above studies provide one or the other aspect of culture, but none talks about the cultural gap which may exist between learners and textbook authors in different ESL language learning contexts. None of them talks about the cultural harmony between the textbook authors and the learners or the possible difficulties which can occur on the basis of cultural differences. Therefore, the present study aims to investigate how the foreign textbook authors reflect the ESL learners and their culture in the textbooks, used in Pakistan.

Method

The investigation has been made in order to analyze the ESL textbooks being taught in Pakistan. As it has been explained in the earlier section (Research Problem) that these textbooks include information about the target language culture (C2), and the learners' first culture (C1). The research study aims to investigate the representation of learners' first culture (C1) in the textbooks, written by the foreign authors. Three ESL textbooks have been analyzed which are used at the middle school level in Pakistan.

The ESL Textbooks in Pakistan

The ESL Textbooks written by Foreign
Authors

The ESL Textbooks Written by Local
Authors

The ESL textbooks, written by the foreign authors, are taught in private schools. These private schools are run by the private owners and the selection of the textbooks is at their disposal. These foreign textbook authors belong to the UK or the US. On the other hand, the ESL textbooks, written by the local authors, are used in government run institutions. For research purpose, only the textbooks, which have been written by the foreign authors and which are used in private schools, have been analyzed. The rationale behind this selection is that through these textbooks, the research study can investigate the cultural disharmony which may exist between the foreign textbook authors and the ESL learners in Pakistan. The following are the textbooks which have been analyzed:

- *English Alive* by John Seely (Seely, 2002) (2008 ed.)
- *New Oxford Modern English* by Nicholas Horsburgh (Horsburgh, 2001) (ed.2009)
- *Oxford Progressive English* by Rachel Redford (Redford, 2005) (2009 ed.)

For the analysis of ESL textbooks some of the previous checklists presented by researchers (Dary, Campo, & Zuluaga, 1999; Garinger & Alberta, 2002; Miekley, 2005) have been examined and then on the basis of those a final checklist has been devised out of them. Each textbook has been analyzed in the light of the following aspects.

1. Does the textbook reflect learners' preferences in terms of layout, design and organization?
2. Is the textbook sensitive to the cultural background and the interest of students?
3. Does the textbook contain enough variety of visual culture concerning first language culture?
4. Does the textbook contain cultural stereotypes?
5. Does the textbook contain learners' socio-cultural life?

The above checklist has been confined according to the research questions which have been discussed in the earlier section. Both the checklist and research questions aim to investigate about the cultural gap that exists between the foreign textbook authors and the ESL learners in Pakistan. Only those aspects of the checklist have been discussed, which are not in accordance with the aspects described in the checklist.

The second part of the research method concerns with a questionnaire (see Appendix A), which was managed at the school level (7th and 8th grade students) in

Pakistan. The questionnaire basically provides an answer to the first research question. It contains the pictures and close ended questions. The pictures describe the ESL learners' culture, and they have been selected from the three textbooks, mentioned above. Moreover, a total number of 275 students from three schools (OPF School & College, Islamabad, City Public School, Rawalpindi, Siddique Public School, Rawalpindi) responded to the questions in the questionnaire. The survey was basically aimed to know about cultural representation with respect to learners' first culture.

Findings

The section regarding findings consists of three subsections. These three subsections have been given in the table along with the data source where from it comes. Therefore, the table explains the source of data with respect to the sections in the first column.

Table 1
Sections and Data Source

Sections	Data Source
The Representation of Learners' Culture through Pictures	The pictures from three textbooks and the questionnaire concerning these pictures
Stereotypes	Examples from the texts/lessons/units inside the textbooks
Cultural Sensitivity	Examples from the texts/lessons/units inside the textbooks

The Representation of Culture through Pictures

The textbook pictures have been analyzed in order to know how the textbook authors, who belong to C2, display C1 in their textbooks and is basically related to the first research question. The analysis in this part has also focused on the principal of whether the ESL textbooks reflect the learners' preferences in terms of layout, design and organization. The three ESL textbooks cover a wide range of pictures. . Before going into further detail it is better to discuss the purpose of pictures in the textbook. Many textbook proposed checklists (Dary, et al., 1999; Garinger & Alberta, 2002; Miekley, 2005) recommend the learners' preferences in terms of layout design and organization. The three ESL textbooks which have been analyzed have included the front page pictures from the learners' native culture. These pictures exist well inside the textbooks along with the text. The question arises from what kind of message they carry. For this purpose the three ESL textbook pictures have been analyzed in the light of Giaschi's critical picture analysis of ESL textbooks. Giaschi (2000) describes the seven parameters for picture analysis in textbooks.

1. What is the activity of the picture(s)?
2. Who is active (the "protagonist") in the picture?
3. Who is passive (the "receiver") in the picture?
4. Who has the status in the picture?

5. What does the body language communicate?
6. What does the clothing communicate?
7. Where are the eyes directed? (Giaschi, 2000)

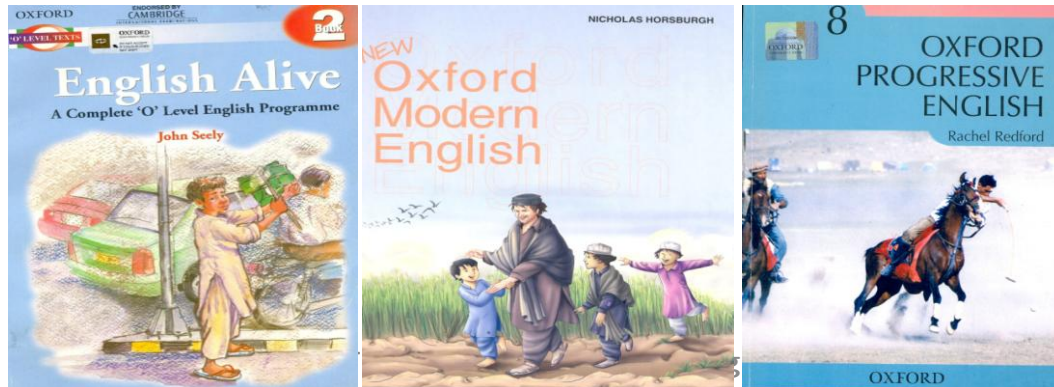


Fig: 2 The Three Textbooks Images

In light of the above parameters, the pictures of the textbook 'English Alive' and 'New Oxford Modern English' do not seem to reflect the learners' preferences. The learners' prefer not to be reflected in the way as they have been reflected by the textbook authors. In the picture which has been used as the front page cover in the textbook 'English Alive' the boy, the clothes and his overall picture reflects his condition of extreme poverty. In order to know the fact, students at 7th and 8th grade were shown the same picture and were asked the questions in the table below.

The results in the table reveal that the boy has been portrayed as a member of a poor family, whose poverty is cleared out of his appearance and surroundings. The last question in the table reveals that the learners do not want to be represented in the way as the boy has been presented in the picture. The last question in the above table reveals the gap between textbook authors and the ESL learners. The cultural awareness of a community also involves the knowledge about the likes and dislikes of the members of that community. Pramono (2005) relates the picture designs in the ESL textbooks to the construction of the mental model. According to him, "The proper picture designs may contribute much to the construction of an intended mental model of the depicted situation" (Pramono, 2005).

In the second picture (see Figure 2) which has been used as the front page of the textbook 'New Oxford Modern English' shows a scene from a typical village in Pakistan. In the picture, there are three children and one man. They all have been portrayed in a very happy way. No doubt the picture reflects the learners' cultural background but the clothes the three children wearing are full of patches. A close view of the picture makes this thing clear. From a Pakistani cultural point of view, the patches on clothes are a symbol of extreme poverty, and no one wants to be portrayed in that situation. Therefore, the clothes of these types are culturally unfavorable. The other thing in the picture which is questionable is that the two children have been shown without shoes. This again is a type of situation, which cannot be considered as the learners' preference. The children were shown the picture of one boy, who is at right in the picture and were asked the following questions.

Table 2
Picture Design

1. What is the boy doing in this picture?	selling flags	Waving flags	Celebrating the Pakistan Day
	165	42	68
2. The boy is wearing	a clean dress	a dirty dress	neither clean nor dirty
	246	18	11
3. The boy belongs to a	rich family	poor family	I don't know
	15	197	63
4. How do you know that the boy belongs to a rich family or a poor family?	By his clothes	By his face	By his surroundings
	148	90	37
5. Do you like the dress the boy is wearing?	yes	no	
	40	235	

The results in table 3 reveal that the boy in the picture has been considered as wearing a dirty dress, and belonging to a poor family. The last question in table reveals that all these things are visible out the dress what the boy is wearing in the picture (see Appendix A & B). The second question in the table 3 relates to the learners' preferences, and which show that the learners do not want to be represented in that way.

The third textbook front picture is about a famous game polo which is a famous regional game in Pakistan. The same picture was shown to the students along with the following questions in table 4.

The learners are able to guess what is going on in the picture, because it is about a famous game polo which is played northern part of Pakistan.

The results in the table 2 and 3 reveal that the cultural differences of these type occur when textbooks are designed by foreign authors. Even if the foreign authors understand the language demands very well, they need to be aware of the two cultures in regard of C1 and C2. This problem can be resolved if L1 and L2 textbook authors work together to design ESL textbooks. The cultural unfamiliarity appears in the textbooks, if there exists a gap between ESL learners and textbook authors.

Table 3
Front Picture of Textbook

1. What type of dress the boy is wearing in the picture?	a clean dress	a dirty dress	Don't know
	82	180	13
2. Do you like the dress the boy is wearing?	yes		No
	24		249
3. What do you think the boy belongs to a	rich family	Poor family	Don't know
	15	220	40
4. How do you know that the boy belongs to a rich or poor family?	By his clothes	By his face	By his surroundings
	198	32	45

Table 4
Front Picture of Textbook

1. What is going on in this picture?	They are riding horses	They are playing
	35	240
2. If they are playing, then which game is this?	Horse racing	Polo
	32	243

Stereotypes

The findings regarding cultural stereotypes are based on the texts and pictures included in the textbooks. The three textbooks have been thoroughly examined, and only those examples have been included which relate to the learners' cultural background. The investigation of three textbooks, in the perspective of stereotypes, provides answer to the second research question raised in the earlier section.

Do the foreign textbook authors reflect cultural stereotypes in their textbooks because of having less cultural familiarity with the learners' first culture?

'Stereotyping is portraying one set of people exhibiting one set of values, behaviors and roles' (Ndura, 2004). In this perspective, it can be said that stereotyping is showing only one side of a picture and at the same time keeping the reality at the back of it. 'Humans often make assumptions about other people and stereotype them based on superficial cues' (Alvarez-Torres, Mishra, & Zhao, 2001). The stereotypes in three ESL textbooks have been differentiated on the basis of their themes in table 2.

Table 5
Stereotype Portrayal

Themes	English Alive	Oxford Progressive English	New Oxford Modern English
Marriage Child birth Professions	Stereotype 1 Stereotype 2	Stereotype 3	Stereotype4

Stereotype1

The first stereotype carries the theme of marriage. It is a general assumption about eastern women that their main role in life is to marry and then spend their whole life as a house wife. This stereotype has changed to a great extent. Women are playing their roles in many fields of life in Asian societies such as teaching, nursing, journalism etc. The textbook 'English Alive' contains the following stereotype relating the theme of marriage.

'Marry him and may God bless you with **ten children**'. (p.78)

This example has been taken from lesson 'The Watchman' written by R.K Narayan which has been written in the context of Asian culture. The story is about a girl who is unable to continue her studies because of her poverty and then the old man advises her to marry. In this way the old man finds the solution of her life problems in marriage. The stereotype is cultural in the sense that the women in Pakistan tend to have more children. This aspect is clear from the example above.

Stereotype 2

The second stereotype is related to the theme of childbirth. It is generally assumed about south Asian cultures that the people prefer to have a son as compared to a daughter. In other terms it is an assumption that the son is better than a daughter because he will do better in life. This stereotype has been selected from the textbook *English Alive*.

'I prayed to all gods in the world for **a son**. My wife bore me **eight children**. Only one daughter lives now and none of the others saw the eleventh year'. (p.79)The stereotype is cultural in the sense that the families across Pakistani culture prefer to have a son as compared to a daughter, and in the effort for a son, the women in Pakistan bear more children. This stereotype has less importance in Asian educated families.

Stereotype 3

The third stereotype carries the theme of professions. The stereotypes regarding professions have been sought throughout the text/lessons included in the textbook *Oxford Progressive English*. In these texts/lessons, there have been described many characters, concerning male and female professions. The division of these professions in textbook *Oxford Progressive English*, reveals stereotype in which male are considered superior with respect to their professions.

Table 6 shows the division of professions which have been depicted through different male and female characters.

Table 6
The Professions Shown in the Textbook 'Oxford Progressive English'

Male	Page No.	Female	Page No.
Inventor	26	Gardener	34
School Teacher	45	Housewife	48
Journalist	51	Housewife	54
Scientist	55	Fashion Model	59
Chef de train	61	Housewife	63
Professor	66		
Doctor	68		
Tailor	72		

The division of professions in the table 6 reveals that males have been shown with various professions from tailors to inventors and then scientists but the females have not been given due variety. In the whole textbook the female characters have been shown once as a gardener, once as a fashion model and thrice as a housewife carrying household activities. The stereotype in which women are considered dependent and performing household activities is clear in the textbook. This stereotype can be overruled by reflecting the due participation of women in different fields of professional life.

Stereotype 4

The stereotype about the theme of professions is also clear in the textbook 'New Oxford Modern English'. The following table reveals the gender wise distinction of professions in the textbook.

Table 7
The Gender Wise Distinction of Professions in the Textbook 'New Oxford Modern English'

Units	Male	Page No.	Female	Page No.
2	Chauffeur	6-9		
4			Housewife	18-22
5			Farmers	27
6			Farmer	32
8	Hunter	46-49		
9	Teacher	54		
10	Hunter	59-62	Housewife	59-62
12	Poet	71-73		

The number of professions regarding females is very limited in the textbook. In regard of professions women have been portrayed as farmers and housewives throughout the textbook. The pictures in the textbook also display women working in fields or performing household tasks. The following two pictures have been included in the textbook with two poems 'Solitary Reaper' (by Wordsworth) and 'To Autumn' (by John Keats).

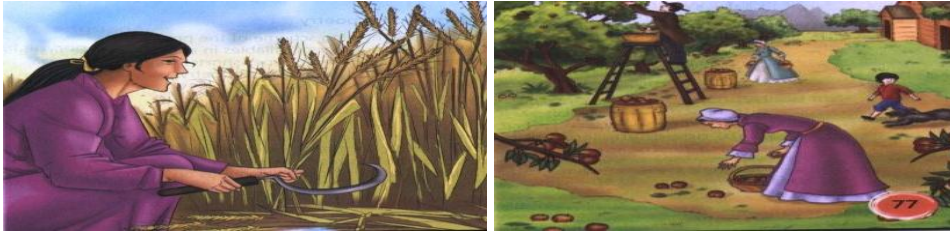


Fig:3 The Women working in fields

These pictures as a whole present a portrayal of typical woman of Asian society in which the women are limited to fields. The women have extended their role to other fields as well.

The above examples concerning stereotypes reveal the textbook authors partial knowledge of the culture of the ESL learners in Pakistan. Stereotypes are general assumptions, which are made on based on limited knowledge about a community. Therefore, the presence of stereotypes in the ESL textbooks, answers to the second research question that the foreign textbook authors reflect cultural stereotypes, because of having less familiarity with the learners' culture.

Cultural Sensitivity

The three textbooks have also been analyzed in the light of the following aspect mentioned in the checklist.

Are the textbooks sensitive to the cultural background and interest of learners?

Moreover, this section responds to third research question, which is as followed:

- What are the cultural contradictions caused by the foreign textbook authors with respect to the learners' first culture?

The three textbooks have been considered in order to find cultural contradictions. Only the textbook *English Alive* contains examples concerning the issue. The data, concerning this section, comes from texts/lessons/units inside the textbook.

Cultural comparison and cultural differences are a source of creating cultural awareness but apart from these differences and similarities there also exists a small number of cultural differences, which become controversial in another culture. These differences are based on religion. The example of this type can be taken from Indian culture. In India the animal cow is regarded as a sacred animal. It is called a holy cow from religious point of view. However, contrary to this in other parts of the world it is a considered a good source of milk and meat. Therefore, an ESL textbook author will have to be culturally sensitive when compiling an ESL textbook for Indian ESL learners. The other example of cultural sensitivity is again based on religion. In Islamic countries, it is a religious obligation not to eat pork meat, whereas in other parts of the world this obligation does not exist. Similarly, the concept of *halal* is also controversial outside Islamic community. Again in the perspective of ESL textbooks, it is the author's responsibility to feel these differences.

The textbook 'English Alive' also contains some of the cultural differences of the above type in the perspective of Asian culture. The examples of these types of expressions are:

Kirks had neither chicken nor **pigs**. (Page 10)

I don't understand anything about **Halal-walal**. (P. 36)

The first expression in the textbook has been used in order to explain the pathetic condition of an English family and the reason for being culturally unfavorable in the first expression is clear from the above illustrations due to the use of pork meat. The second expression has been associated with a Hindu character and the lesson is about the time of separation between Pakistan and India. The expression *halal* reveals the reality that the Muslims usually use *halal* meat but the expression is undesirable when the word *halal* comes in combination with *walal* (a borrowed expression from Urdu language). In Urdu language (First Language of the Pakistani ESL learners) if the word is derogatory or ordinary, then the people use the term like *walal* with it. Therefore, the term '*halal-walal*' carries opposite meaning to the concept of *halal*. The word *walal* in reality does not carry any sense but is used with the word when you express your dislike about a thing.

The above discussion reveals that all the cultural contradictions are based on religious differences, and no doubt religion is the part of culture. The examples discussed above answer to the third research question by pointing out, firstly, what are the cultural contradictions found in the textbooks with respect to the learners' first culture and, secondly, what is their origin? Cultural contradictions vary from culture to culture. Therefore, it is the textbook authors' responsibility to take care of these cultural contradictions which may happen between the target language culture and the learners' first culture.

Discussion

A textbook can be effective and interesting to learners from both culture and language point of view if it brings cultural harmony between C1 and C2. The presence of cultural contradictions is a sign of author's partial knowledge of learners' culture. The solution to this problem is that the textbook authors belonging to C1 and C2 should work in collaboration to represent both cultures. Moreover, most of the L2 learners in Pakistan have no direct contact with the target language community, and they only rely on information which is available to them through textbooks. Therefore, the textbooks designed for L2 learners must reflect a wide range of the learners' first culture and the target language culture.

The most important thing is that before the revision of every edition of textbooks, authors should conduct a survey to know what the problematic areas are for learners and what type of changes can make it more effective. Adopting a student centred approach may prove helpful for the learners. Similarly, the survey should be introduced on the part of teachers. The connection between an author, a teacher and a learner is important for textbook effectiveness both from language and culture point of view, no matter, even if the author belongs to C1 or C2.

Conclusion

The research study concludes with the idea that ESL textbook authors should have an awareness of both C1 and C2. In this way, the textbook authors can realize the similarities and differences between two cultures. The awareness of both cultures on the part of authors can also overcome the problem of stereotypes or general assumptions about a culture. According to Kramsch, intercultural communication helps learners to overcome 'the stereotypes they entertain of each other as individual and as members of

a social group' (Claire Kramersch, 2001). The proposition in this regard is to have a collaborative effort on the part of authors belonging to C1 and C2.

In order to understand the cultural differences, the textbook authors, the learners and the teachers in Pakistan should be brought closer to one another. A textbook that is effective in one community or culture may not show that much output in another community due to the difference in culture. Therefore ESL textbook authors should design one textbook specific to the learners' of one culture. This type of textbook then is better able to concentrate on the learners' language requirements. Cortazzi and Jin (1999) say "A cultural focus on intercultural competence has communicative ends but there are further important advantages: It may not only encourage the development of identity, but also encourage the awareness of others' identities and an element of stabilization in a world of rapid change" (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999). Therefore, the study concludes with the following recommendation, that the authors both from C1 and C2 should work in collaboration, in order to have the culturally familiar textbooks. This can help to overcome the problem of cultural unfamiliarity between the textbook authors and ESL learners.

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Appendix A

Learning through Pictures

Thank you for taking the time to review and fill out this survey for my class project. The information gathered will be used for studies and will be completely confidential. You do not need to include your name or any other personal information.

1. Which year of the school are you in?

Please look at the picture and answer the question related to it.

2. What is the boy doing in this picture?

Check one:

- Selling flags
- Waving flags
- Celebrating the Pakistan Day

3. The boy is wearing

Check one:

- a clean dress
- a dirty dress
- Neither clear nor dirty

4. The boy belongs to a

Check one:

- rich family.
- poor family
- I don't know



5. How do you know that the boy belongs to a rich family or a poor family?

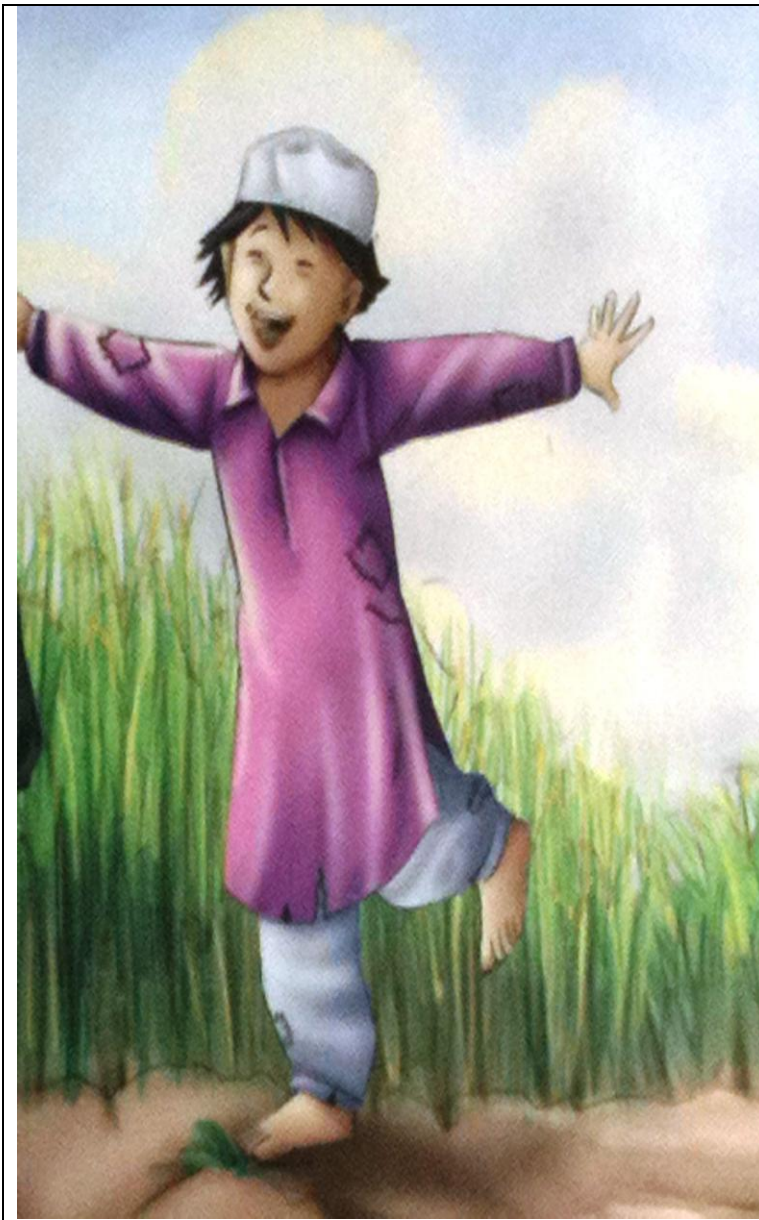
Check one:

- By his clothes
- By his face
- By his surroundings

6. Do you like the dress, the boy is wearing?

Yes

no



7. What type of dress the boy in wearing in the picture?

Check one:

- a clean dress
- a dirty dress
- don't know

8. Do you like the dress the boy is wearing?

Check one:

- yes
- no

9. What do you think the boy belongs to a

Check one:

- rich family
- poor family
- don't know

10. How do you know that the boy belongs to a rich or poor family?

Check one:

- by his clothes
- by his face
- by his surroundings



11. What is going on in this picture?

Check one:

- They are riding horses.
- They are playing.

12. If they are playing, then which game is this?

Check one:

- Horse Racing
- Polo

Appendix-B Results

1. Which year of the school you are in?	7th	8th
	145	130

2. What is the boy doing in this picture?	selling flags	Waving flags	Celebrating the Pakistan Day
	165	42	68

3. The boy is wearing	a clean dress	a dirty dress	neither clean nor dirty
	246	18	11

4. The boy belongs to a	rich family	poor family	I don't know
	15	275	63

5. How do you know that the boy belongs to a rich family or poor family?	By his clothes	By his face	By his surroundings
	148	90	37

6. Do you like the dress the boy is wearing?	yes	no
	40	235

7. What type of dress the boy in wearing in the picture?	a clean dress	a dirty dress	Don't know
	82	180	13

8. Do you like the dress the boy is wearing?	yes	no
	24	249

9. What do you think the boy belongs to a	rich family	Poor family	Don't know
	15	220	40

10. How do you know that the boy belongs to a rich or poor family?	By his clothes	By his face	By his surroundings
	198	32	45

11. What is going on in this picture?	They are riding horses	They are playing
	35	240

12. If they are playing, then which game is this?	Horse racing	Polo
	32	243