An Analysis of the Cultural Content of High School and College English Textbooks[*]

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Communication occurs in contexts and those contexts cannot be separated from culture. We therefore claim that culture needs to be included in language teaching and learning and raise issues about the cultural content of the tools which play perhaps the most important role in how culture is presented in EFL contexts: textbooks. In the first half of the study we create a list of criteria for the analysis of cultural content in English textbooks based on the literature on evaluation of the cultural content in textbooks. We then analyze selected textbooks using those six criteria in order to find out to what extent cultural content is integrated in college English textbooks and whether there is any difference in cultural content written by native speaker writers and Korean ELT writers. Our results show in general it seems to be challenging for textbook writers to include balanced information about culture covering those six features in the limited pages of textbooks. Regarding the second research question, there was not much difference in cultural content between materials written by native speaker writers and those written by Korean ELT writers. The study proposes that textbook writers develop their own checklist to make more informed and appropriate cultural choices before the textbook is written.

I. INTRODUCTION

Language is a tool for communication among people who use that language, and the way in which language is used reflects the culture of a society. This relationship between culture and language has an important role in language learning, an argument which has been presented by theorists such as Valdes (1986), Byram (1989), Byram, Morgan, and Colleagues (1994), Seelye (1993), who emphasize the value of teaching culture to obtain

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language proficiency.

Nowadays there is no question that culture teaching has become an accepted part of the language pedagogy and it is well recognized that language and culture are interrelated, that it is not possible to teach a language without culture, and that culture is the necessary context for language use. Following the introduction of Chomsky's theory of linguistic competence, Hymes (1971) argued for the importance of social appropriacy of language forms, and this has contributed to the realization by language teachers that communication involves both grammatically correct and culturally acceptable ways of using language.

Where the language is learnt as a foreign language as in Korea, the target language society is normally geographically and psychologically distant. Therefore, culture teaching is an assurance that real people in real places use the target language as a normal means of communication. In these cases, culture teaching offers the opportunity for a carefully planned introduction to the new environment and should help to overcome prejudices and stereotypes which can prevent learners from coming to terms with the reality of the target culture.

Nevertheless, as Nelson (1994) points out, culture is often neglected in language teaching/learning or presented as a supplementary diversion to language instruction. There is an emphasis on linguistic proficiency in language classes, and therefore culture is likely to remain in the background, even though cultural competence must be one part of teaching English along with linguistic competence. Thus, Cook (1983) suggests culture as one of the 'real content' of language lessons, and argues that the goal of giving the students insights into different ways of life can be achieved through the provision of cultural content.

We argue with Cook that the teaching of culture should have a place within current language teaching, especially in EFL contexts like in Korea. At the same time the textbook is an essential element of English teaching and learning and plays a vital part in the everyday job of teaching and learning English. The importance of the textbook becomes even greater in EFL contexts where learners are exposed to English mainly through the textbook. If "the textbook can be a teacher, a map, a resource, a trainer, an authority, a de-skiller, and an ideology" (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999, p. 199), it is important to investigate whether there is a cultural element and what cultural message is being given in the textbook.

This paper critically examines the cultural content in EFL textbooks. The investigation consists of two parts. First, we create criteria for the analysis of cultural content in EFL textbooks and then analyze selected textbooks using those criteria in order to find out how and how much culture is integrated in EFL textbooks.

II.   REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1. Defining Culture in Language Teaching

Culture is an extremely simple term, but an extremely complicated concept, embracing nearly all aspects of human social life. According to Richards, Platt, and Platt (1992), "culture is the total set of beliefs, attitudes, customs, behaviors, social habits, etc. of the members of a particular society" (p. 94). For a long time there have been many attempts to define culture and to adopt culture into the language teaching by writers such as Brooks (1964), Nostrand (1966), Chastain (1976), and Seelye (1993).

Yet the place of culture in language teaching is still open to debate. It is generally accepted that there are two types of culture (Adaskou, Britten, & Fahsi, 1990; Chastain, 1976; Nelson, 1994; Valette, 1986). One is 'the history of civilization,' in Valette's words, and the other is 'anthropological or sociological culture.' Nelson (1994) refers to these two types as 'high culture' and 'sociological culture.'

These two types of culture are identified by Sterns (1993) as follows:

> The traditional concept of culture as great achievements, refinement and artistic endeavor, or in Brooks' terms 'formal culture' is widely referred to as 'culture with a capital C'. This contrasts with way-of-life culture, or in Brooks' terms 'deep culture', which is referred to as 'culture with a small c' (p. 208).

'High culture,' also referred to as 'culture with a capital C,' includes the study of literature, art, and music. These used to be the main reasons for language teaching. In contrast Brown (1980) and Seelye (1993), following Brooks and Nostrand in the 1960s and 1970s, advocate a definition of culture in language teaching as 'the way of life of a people' (as opposed to commendable achievements). Seelye stresses the importance of small c culture for intercultural classes by citing Brooks' argument that this culture represents its society without losing sight of individuals. Without knowing an individual's way of life and/or patterns of thought, communication cannot be completed properly. In this view, intercultural communication can be regarded basically as interpersonal communication from different cultures.

For the purposes of language learning, Hammerly (1982) identified three different types of culture: information culture, achievement culture, and behavioral culture. Behavioral culture, which refers to the sum total of a person's ways of living, is the type of culture Hammerly emphasized as most appropriate for language learning. Behavioral culture—specifically conversational formulas and kinetics—is the form of culture most important to successful communication. Sterns (1993) also maintains that culture teaching is to a large

extent behavioral and should lead to cultural proficiency. The learner is expected to acquire the skills to conduct himself or herself in socially appropriate ways.

In summary, views of the place of culture in language teaching may be broadly categorized according to whether the definition of culture rests on the outstanding achievements of the native speakers of a language or the particulars of their way of life. The first definition may be termed 'culture with a capital C' while the latter may be referred to as 'culture with a small c.' As seen above, 'deep culture' by Brooks, 'anthropological or sociological culture' by Valette, 'sociological culture' by Nelson, and 'behavioral culture' by Hammerly all belong to the small c culture. This view of culture apparently occupies the mainstream in language teaching.

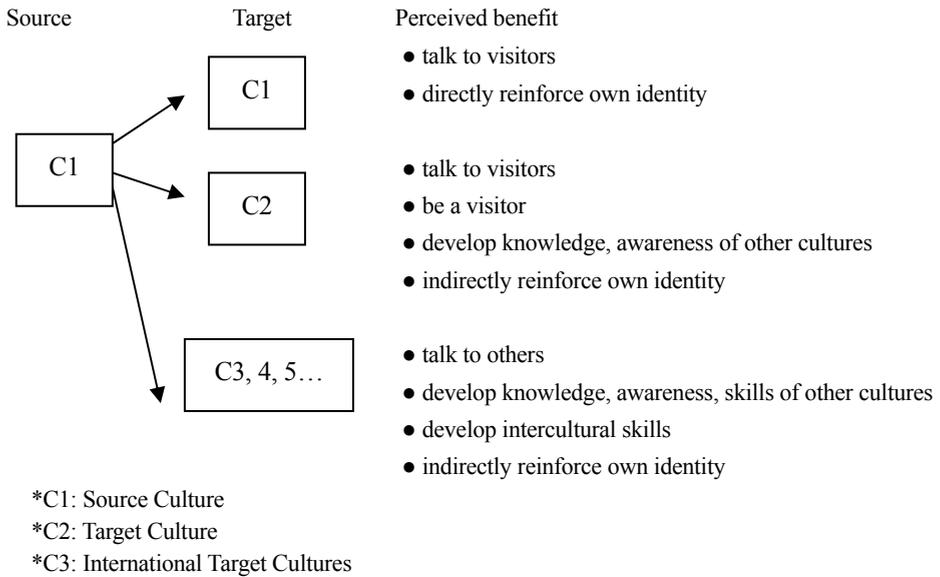## 2. Approaches to Teaching Culture in English Teaching

As we saw in *INTRODUCTION*, the importance of teaching culture is well understood in language learning, especially when language is learned as a foreign language. However, in many cases the problem of cultural domination occurs in culture teaching: Indeed, 'being at the receiving end of a virtually one-way flow of information from Anglo-American centers, the host country runs the risk of having its own culture totally submerged' (Alptekin & Alptekin, 1984). This would appear to refer especially to the situation of EFL in non-English-speaking countries. Thus, suggestions have been made to 'de-Anglo-Americanize' English, both in linguistic and in cultural respects, in order for the language to be in tune with the needs of the EFL learners in such countries as Japan (Nakayama, 1982, cited in Alptekin & Alptekin, 1984) and Venezuela (Thomas, 1983, cited in Alptekin & Alptekin, 1984)

In response to this problem, Alptekin and Alptekin (1984) suggest the idea of English as an international language with a variety of Englishes to be found in different countries, independent of the cultural norms and values of native English speakers. This provides a way of teaching culture with some consideration of the circumstances of the learners and having the learners' own culture included rather than insisting on loyalty to the target language culture.

Cortazzi and Jin (1999) introduce three cultures: source culture, target culture, and international target culture and argue that all three should be included in EFL textbooks. That is, culture learning does not mean only the awareness of target culture but also the awareness of source culture and international culture, and they all have significant roles for intercultural communication. Prodromou (1992) maintains a similar view: "English (…) as the foremost medium of international communication at the present time, is called upon to mediate a whole range of cultural and cross-cultural concepts, to a greater degree than in the past" (p. 39).

Three patterns in English textbooks reflecting cultures proposed by Cortazzi and Jin (1999) are shown in the diagram below.

FIGURE 1
Three Patterns in English Textbooks Reflecting Culture (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999, p. 204)

Source	Target	Perceived benefit
	C1	● talk to visitors ● directly reinforce own identity
C1	C2	● talk to visitors ● be a visitor ● develop knowledge, awareness of other cultures ● indirectly reinforce own identity
	C3, 4, 5…	● talk to others ● develop knowledge, awareness, skills of other cultures ● develop intercultural skills ● indirectly reinforce own identity

    *C1: Source Culture
    *C2: Target Culture
    *C3: International Target Cultures

1) Source Culture

Source culture refers to learners' first language (L1) culture. In EFL contexts, source culture of the learners is likely to be submerged into the dominant culture of the target language as mentioned by Alptekin and Alptekin (1984). Nelson (1994) argues that it is important to recognize and reflect learners' source culture in language teaching because when we eliminate learners' cultural background, we are denying and devaluing their L1 and culture, and hence their identities.

Secondly, when learners have a chance to talk to foreigners, the materials containing the content of source culture would be a good resource for a conversation. For example, if we see textbooks as merely a vehicle for the transmission of foreign culture, this may provide a ready source of comprehensible input, but it is likely to do so at the cost of opportunities for meaningful output. Learners need to be taught how to express their own cultural values in English, otherwise the language learning process will become a purely passive experience, hence the rationale for teaching the source culture. This is one of the foreign language education goals of culture teaching the 7th National Curriculum promotes.

Schema theory provides the theoretical background for understanding the role of the learners' source culture in comprehension, including reading comprehension. According to this theory, reading is an interaction between the readers' background knowledge and the reading text. Efficient comprehension requires the ability to relate the reading text to one's own background. It is well established that readers make use of culture-specific schemas in relating the text to the writer's intended meaning. Therefore, the use of the learners' own culture contributes to their ability to learn English rather than interferes with it.

Cortazzi and Jin (1999) cite examples of EFL textbooks, produced at a national level for particular countries primarily based on the content of the source culture, so that the source and the target cultures are identical, which is the first case in the diagram. The examples are *El libro de ingles* in Venezuela (Nuñez, 1988), *Spotlight on English* (Dede & Emre, 1988) in Turkey, and *English for Saudi Arabia* (Al-Quraishi, Watson, Hafseth, & Hickman, 1988).

There are many good reasons why the source culture should feature in English textbooks. However, English textbooks based on source cultures, unaware of the other's cultural view, can also be "a classic set-up for miscommunication" (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999, p. 205). Indeed, miscommunication caused by not knowing other cultures raises the importance of learning other cultures.

2) Target Culture

One of the main approaches to teaching culture is reducible to teaching the target language culture. According to this approach, it is expected that ESL or EFL textbooks should include elements of the target culture. The rationale for teaching the target language culture is that language and culture are inextricably tied (Byram, 1989). Thus, it is impossible to teach the target language without teaching its cultural content.

3) International Target Culture

International target cultures refer to cultures that are neither a source culture nor a target culture; these are a wide variety of cultures set in English-speaking countries or in other countries around the world using English as an international language. Although the term 'culture' generally refers to the culture of the target language, there is an increasing awareness of English as an international language in the intercultural communication. Teaching American or British culture makes little sense if English is to be used in Germany by Nigerians interacting with Koreans or Saudi Arabians.

It is fairly evident that there is an increasing recognition of English as an international language and English teaching as a global profession. ESL/EFL interaction is often the

process of negotiating meaning and identity in the context of other than the target culture. Developing intercultural competence is needed to help English learners to meet the needs of an increasingly multicultural and interdependent world. However, little work has been done on intercultural perspectives on ESL or EFL interactions (Nelson, 1994).

III. CRITERIA FOR ANALYSIS

1. Views of Cultural Analysis

The literature on the textbook evaluation of cultural content is not very extensive and writers differ in their interests and emphasis given to the role of culture in ELT textbooks (Cunningsworth, 1984; Harmer, 1991; Sheldon, 1988). There are, however, some writers who suggest the more thorough list of criteria for textbook evaluation of cultural content which served for our research purposes.

Firstly, Nostrand (1978, cited in Sterns, 1993) developed a format of a structured inventory referred to as the Emergent Model[1] which categorizes cultural topics under six large headings. The six large headings follow:

1. The Culture. Value systems, habits of thought, assumptions about reality, verifiable knowledge, art forms, language, paralanguage, and kinesics
2. The Society. Organized under institutions: familial, religious, economic-occupational, political and judicial, educational, intellectual-aesthetic, recreational, the mass media, stratification and mobility, social properties (le savoir-vivre), status by age group and sex, ethnic/ religious and other minorities
3. Conflicts. Interpersonal and intergroup conflict, intrapersonal conflict
4. The Ecology and Technology. Exploitation of physical resources, exploitation of plants and animals, demographic control, health care and accident prevention, settlement and territorial organization, travel and transportation
5. The Individual. Integration at the organismic level, intrapersonal variability, interpersonal variation
6. The Cross-Cultural Environment. Attitudes toward other cultures and toward international and supranational organizations

As Sterns comments, Nostrand's format is likely to be an aid in identifying main cultural

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[1] Nostrand (1978) calls the inventory the 'Emergent Model.' 'Emergent' because, while still an inventory, it is organized so as to favor its conversion to a model that will show the interaction of the parts.

themes, but does not seem to be easy to apply to the teaching syllabus.

Secondly, with the aim to keep the areas for a cultural syllabus to manageable proportions, Sterns (1993) suggests six topics which cover most of the aspects of culture teaching that the typical language learner seems to require. They are as follows:

- places (physical locations of the target language in an order of priority by native speakers; street plans or maps)
- individual persons and ways of life (local life style, ideas, values of the individual)
- people and society in general (various groups by social stratification)
- history (historical development; historical perceptions of the native speaker)
- institutions (government, schools, social welfare, economic institutions, the military and the police, religious institutions, political parties, media)
- art, music, literature, and other major achievement (artifacts commonly accepted in the target society)

Thirdly, Byram et al. (1994) propose criteria for textbook evaluation. The categories are as follows:

- social identity and social groups (social class, regional identity, ethnic minority, professional identity)
- social interaction (differing levels of formality, as outsider and insider)
- belief and behavior (moral, religious beliefs; daily routines)
- socio-political institutions (state institutions, health care, law and order, social security, local government)
- socialization and the life-cycle (families, schools, employment, rites of passage)
- national history (historical and contemporary events seen as markers of national identity)
- national geography (geographical factors seen as being significant by members)
- national cultural heritage (artifacts recognized by members)
- stereotypes and national identity (what are 'typical' symbols of national stereotypes)

2. Developing Criteria for Textbook Evaluation of Cultural Content

Based on the literature cited above we selected some main themes of cultural content and created six analytic criteria of our own. In this study we deal with all the culture as we discussed in *Approaches to Teaching Culture in English Teaching* for the investigation. Additionally, as Nelson (1994) says, in the grammar translation tradition culture as consisting of the arts, literature, and music would be appropriate, and in the communicative

paradigm culture as everyday life and social situations in which interactions occur would be proper. As the method of English teaching in Korea is moving from the grammar translation method to the communicative paradigm, two concepts of culture discussed in the *Defining Culture in Language Teaching* should be included. The six criteria are as follows.

1. Does the textbook contain information about **institutions** of source, target, and international target cultures?
2. Does the textbook contain information about the **art, music, literature,** and **other major achievements** of the three different types of culture?
3. Does the textbook contain information about **places** of significance and **history** of the three different types of culture?
4. Does the textbook contain information about the **social identities** and **social groups** of the three different types of culture?
5. Does the textbook contain information about **individual persons** and **ways of life** of the three different types of culture?
6. Does the textbook contain information about **stereotypes** and **national identities** of the three different types of culture?

The first three criteria are related to 'culture with a capital C.' *Institutions* are mentioned in all three source checklists, and they are the basic information which organizes a society. *Art, music, literature,* and *other major achievements* are mentioned in Sterns's and Byram et al.'s lists, and they are the cultural theme which has long been associated with the teaching of foreign languages such as English, French, and German in our country. *Places* and *history* are mentioned in two source checklists, and these are the target area that should be included especially when designing a syllabus for the foreign language learned at a distance.

The last three criteria are related to 'culture with a small c' and we consider them to be crucial elements for intercultural communication. *Social identities* and *social groups* will include the content of 'people and society in general' suggested by Sterns. *Individual persons* and *ways of life* have been the main focus in culture teaching following Brooks and Nostrand in the 1960s and 1970s.

Finally, *stereotypes* and *national identities* are in Byram et al.'s list and include information about typical stereotypes and the stereotyping processes of foreign groups. These can then be compared and contrasted with learners' own national views of themselves and their identities as a step to raising awareness of the nature of them.

The specific realizations of these criteria will depend on the level of learners. At the more advanced levels of learning we expect students to investigate in more detail and more

analytically the nature of the cultural items in the list. Byram et al. provided an example of more concrete proposals of these criteria (pp. 53-55). Although their criteria were originally designed as a checklist for the evaluation of courses for teaching German in Britain at the lower secondary level, the list includes comprehensive items, and thus we referred to the list for our investigation of college and high school textbooks.

IV.   PROCEDURES

1. Selection of the Textbooks

We were interested in investigating the cultural content found in the college English textbooks we are using in our teaching in the university. We decided to evaluate books at the lower intermediate level because these books are used by most university students when they take conversational classes as a required course.

In choosing the specific textbooks to be investigated, we obtained the textbook adoption lists of the universities from the two representative ELT book agencies in the area where our university is located. The lists showed that different textbooks are being used in different areas of the country, so we chose five textbooks that both the two lists showed are adopted most in the area where our university is located. So, our sample only represents the area where our university is located.

Another research interest was to see if the cultural background of the writer made any difference in the cultural content included in the textbook. Are there any differences in the number and type of items included in textbooks written by writers from the source (Korean) culture and those written by writers from the target (English native-speaking) culture.

Most of the popular college English textbooks are written by native speaker writers and there are few counterpart textbooks used in the university written by non-native speaker writers. We have therefore chosen the textbooks used in high schools, all of which are written by non-native (Korean) speaker writers. The textbooks used in high schools are presumed to represent the closest level to the textbooks used in university. Using the criteria we developed, we checked the cultural content of the eight English conversation textbooks for high school students approved by the government and chose the five textbooks which contained the most cultural items to compare them with the college English textbooks written by native speaker writers. The list of the textbooks we investigated is given in Table 1. E-A, E-B, E-C, E-D, and E-E mean Textbook A, B, C, D, and E written by English native speaker writers. K-A, K-B, K-C, K-D, and K-E mean Textbooks A, B, C, D, and E written by non-native (Korean) speaker writers.

TABLE 1
List of the Textbooks

	Title of the textbook	Writers	Publisher (Date of publication)
E-A	American Headway 1	Liz & Soars	OUP (2001)
E-B	English Upgrade 1	Helgesen, Brown, & Mandeville	Longman (2002)
E-C	Firsthand 1	Gershon & Mares	Macmillan (2002)
E-D	New Interchange 1	Richards, Hull, & Proctor	CUP (2001)
E-E	Up Close 2	Chamot et al.	Heinle & Heinle (2002)
K-A	High School English Conversation	Hak-sung Han & Su-Yeon Kim	Daehan Textbook Co. (2003)
K-B	High School English Conversation	Chung-Yeon Park et al.	Minjungseorim (2003)
K-C	High School English Conversation	Lee, B. et al.	Chunjaekyoyuk Co. (2003)
K-D	High School English Conversation	Ho-Yeol Lee et al.	Taerim Publishing Co. (2003)
K-E	High School English Conversation	Im-Deuk Kim et al.	Hyundai English Co. (2003)

2. Guidelines for the Investigation

For the investigation of this study we examined exercises to determine if they draw learners to content items in our checklist and checked to see if vocabulary items, examples, grammar structures, and drills were placed in cultural context. We also looked at photographs and illustrations to see if they are culturally related and examined dialogues for their cultural content.

When we counted the items, the unit of counting was the topic of the item for the three different types of culture. For example, when there were an American and a Korean high school timetables, we counted them as one item of the category of *Institutions* for the source and the target culture respectively.

In certain cases, we needed some clarification for tallying. For example, when we had a chapter on Famous Cities of the World, we counted Chicago or Nashville as one item of *Places* separately. However, when the name of a place was used in the exercise but with no information about it we did not include it. Another example is when we counted food items. Food was the most favorite item all the textbooks included. When all different dishes for the full course of the target culture were presented, we counted them all as one item of *Individual Persons and Ways of Life* of the target culture. In the same way, when multiple American movie scenes were presented, we counted them all as one item of *Arts and Major Achievements* of the target culture.

The two researchers checked the items separately and then one of the researchers

reviewed to see whether there were any differences in the items and their categories between two of them. When there was a difference, the two researchers discussed over it until they came to an agreement.

3. Research Questions

1) To what extent is cultural content integrated in college English textbooks?
2) To what extent is cultural content integrated in high school English textbooks
3) Are there any differences in cultural content between native speaker and Korean ELT writers?

V.   RESULTS AND FINDINGS

1. Research Question 1

This research question is concerned with the extent to which the examined college EFL textbooks address issues of culture, in particular the six categories developed in the checklist. The total number of cultural items in the five textbooks written by native speaker writers is 318. The total number of cultural items varies greatly for each textbook, 102 items being the largest number and 24 items being the smallest number. Of the five textbooks examined Textbooks E-A and E-D show a great deal of consideration of culture while Textbooks E-B, E-C, and E-E do not address the issue of culture significantly.

In terms of the three patterns of culture, 4 items of the source culture, 202 items of the target culture, and 112 items of the international culture are presented in the textbooks by native speaker writers. The target culture could include America, England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Jamaica, Ghana, and South Africa. However, it includes mainly America, England, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand in the textbooks examined. Some of those textbooks also present a number of cultural items of the international target culture. EFL textbooks written by native speaker writers are likely to attempt to include different source cultures from potential markets all over the world. As can be expected, they rarely contain cultural items on the source culture, that is, Korean culture.

In terms of the six categories included in the checklist, there is a tendency for the first three categories which are referred to as 'culture with a capital C' (206 items), *Institutions*, *Arts and Major Achievements*, and *Places and Histories*, to be noticed and included more in the textbooks. The other three categories which are referred to as 'culture with a small c' (112 items), *Social Identities*, *Individual Persons and Ways of*

Life, and *Stereotypes and National Identities* are less present. While the most frequent features are *Places and Histories* (145 items) and *Individual Persons and Ways of Life* (104 items), *Social Identities* (6 items) and *Stereotypes and National Identities* (none) are hardly represented.

Table 2 shows the numbers of explicit references to cultural items in the six categories of the five textbooks. C1, C2, and C3 mean the source culture, the target culture, and the international target culture. Category 1 means *Institutions*, Category 2 *Arts and Major Achievements*, Category 3 *Places and Histories*, Category 4 *Social Identities*, Category 5 *Individual Persons and Ways of Life*, and Category 6 *Stereotypes and National Identities*.

TABLE 2
References to Items in Six Categories of Cultural Content in Five English Textbooks
Written by Native Speaker Writers (Total Number of the Cultural Items in the Parenthesis)

Category	Textbook E-A (91 references)			Textbook E-B (42 references)			Textbook E-C (24 references)		
	C1	C2	C3	C1	C2	C3	C1	C2	C3
1	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
2	0	11	5	0	3	3	0	0	0
3	0	22	23	0	10	7	0	8	5
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	1	15	13	0	15	1	0	10	1
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	49	41	0	31	11	0	18	6

Category	Textbook E-D (102 references)			Textbook E-E (59 references)			Total
	C1	C2	C3	C1	C2	C3	
1	1	3	1	0	6	2	17
2	0	9	2	0	9	4	46
3	0	26	24	0	10	10	145
4	0	5	0	0	0	1	6
5	2	22	7	0	14	3	104
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	3	65	34	0	39	20	318

2. Research Question 2

The total number of cultural items in the five textbooks written by Korean writers is 316.

In the case of the textbooks written by Korean writers, we examined all the eight high school English conversation textbooks approved by the government. The number of cultural items ranges from 30 to 77. For the analysis five textbooks out of the eight were chosen which presented more items, 49 items being the smallest and 77 items being the largest number.

In terms of the three cultures, 100 items of the source culture, 160 items of the target culture, and 56 items of the international culture are presented in the textbooks by Korean writers. As might be expected, more attention is given to the source culture by Korean writers, and fewer items of the international culture are presented.

In terms of the six features included in the checklist, there are slightly more of the first three features which are referred to as 'culture with a capital C' (165 items) than the other three features of the 'culture with a small c' (151 items). The most frequent features are *Individual Persons and Ways of Life* (147 items) and *Arts and Major Achievements* (78 items). On the other hand, *Social Identities* (3 items) and *Stereotypes and National Identities* (1 item) are not frequently represented.

Unlike the textbooks written by native speaker writers, all the textbooks by Korean writers examined show similar levels of consideration of culture and there was no big difference in the amount of cultural items among the five textbooks. Another difference is that native speaker writers present cultural items as integrated in exercises. On the other hand, Korean writers sometimes present a long explanation of target culture items using a separate culture section which later invites learners to discussion. However, similar topics are discussed and the point of view is usually that of young people in the two kinds of textbooks written by native speaker writers and Korean writers. Table 3 gives the numbers of cultural items belonging to the six selected categories explicitly referred to in the five Korean textbooks.

TABLE 3
References to Items in Six Categories of Cultural Content in Five English Textbooks
Written by Korean Writers (Total Number of the Cultural Items in the Parenthesis)

	Textbook K-A (63 references)			Textbook K-B (53 references)			Textbook K-C (77 references)		
Category	C1	C2	C3	C1	C2	C3	C1	C2	C3
1	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	3	0
2	5	12	5	4	4	1	6	11	5
3	2	8	12	4	4	0	9	5	3
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
5	5	5	9	9	20	3	7	19	4
6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Total	12	25	26	18	31	4	25	40	12

Category	Textbook K-D (74 references)			Textbook K-E (49 references)			Total
	C1	C2	C3	C1	C2	C3	
1	2	3	0	0	2	0	15
2	2	6	1	8	3	5	78
3	6	5	3	6	4	1	72
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
5	17	27	2	4	14	2	147
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	27	41	6	18	23	8	316

3. Research Question 3

Research Question 3 asks whether there are any differences in cultural content written by native speaker writers and Korean ELT writers. To answer this research question, a more detailed investigation feature by feature is presented.

1) Institutions

While not many items of *Institutions* are addressed in the textbooks written by native speaker writers, the most frequent topic of this category in the textbooks examined is holidays. The other frequent topic is the American educational system. The movie ratings in the U.S. are presented in the two textbooks. A topic that brings out similarity or difference in comparable patterns of the three cultures is addressed in one of the textbooks examined by presenting work and school days of South Korea (C1) and Brazil (C3) alongside those of the United Kingdom and the United States (C2).

As in the textbooks written by native speaker writers, this category is not well represented in the textbooks by Korean writers. Two textbooks introduce the sales tax system in the U.S. and American movie ratings. The Britain's educational system is covered in one of the textbooks. One textbook uses a separate section and presents a detailed explanation of a target culture educational institution, the American school system, including extracurricular activities in American schools, social events American teenagers are involved in.

One finding is that Korean writers attempt to include discussion of source culture. The topics of the reunification of the two Koreas and the separated families are mentioned in the speaking exercises. Holidays of the source culture are discussed, including the themes of these occasions and how people celebrate them. Holidays of the target culture are then presented in the same manner.

There is some similarity in the cultural content of this category between the textbooks

written by native speaker and Korean writers. Similar topics, e.g., American movie ratings, educational system of the target culture, and holidays are shown in the Korean textbooks, too.

The literature on the textbook evaluation of cultural content reviewed suggests that this category includes the system of government—central, regional, and local—the educational system, social welfare, economic institutions, the military and the police, religious institutions, political parties, and the media including television, radio, and the press. However, only a small portion of these items are presented in the two kinds of textbooks written by native speaker writers and Korean writers, and the extent that these items are presented to is far from being the level of knowledge that native speakers normally possess on the basis of their own experience.

2) Arts and Major Achievements

Under this category, the textbooks written by native speaker writers include knowledge about and an appreciation of artists, musicians, and writers and their works, and other great figures and their achievements in the target and the international cultures. Some great figures included in the textbooks are Shakespeare, Picasso, Mozart, Einstein, Tiger Woods, George Washington, and Nelson Mandela. Another common feature of the textbooks included in this category are famous inventions of the world and American movie scenes.

Two textbooks contain a number of photographs of popular entertainers of the target and the international cultures. Famous events and life stories of famous people are often used as source content for dialogues, grammar exercises or reading activities. None of the textbooks examined address this cultural category in the source culture.

In the case of the textbooks written by Korean writers, the most common items are traditional arts of the source culture, and popular arts of the target and the international cultures. Traditional source culture items include a fan dance, the traditional drum, kayagum, pansori, Korean masks, and temples. Popular art items of the target and the international cultures are popular songs and artists familiar to Koreans. They are Pavarotti, the Beatles, Elvis Presley, Ricky Martin, and Billy Joel. One thing that needs to be mentioned is that although they are the artists familiar to Koreans, they are all male and they are the artists who would be familiar to adults rather than the musicians that young people actually listen to. American movies and theatrical performances of the target and the source cultures are shown in exercises. Great figures around the world, Pele, Karajan, van Gogh, Chanel, Schweizer, Einstein, and Tiger Woods are mentioned in speaking activities.

One textbook introduces cultural heritages of the source culture. The value of Hangeul, Gyeongbok Palace, the Tripitaka Koreana, and Seokguram are explored. General introductions to and comparisons of Italian, Chinese, French, and British cultures are

presented from a cultural perspective, albeit briefly. These are the few exceptions which attempt to put learners into a cultural perspective.

Although most items of this category are not presented from a cultural perspective, learners are provided with some knowledge and values that are commonly accepted in the speech community and that constitute a heritage of 'common literacy' of the target and the international culture.

3) Places and Histories

This cultural category is frequently represented in the textbooks examined. Most items are about *places*. The textbooks by native speaker writers generally deal with things that we can see in the cities, London, Paris, and Moscow, etc. and that we can do in the cities, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Flagstaff, Sydney, and Bangkok, etc. Street maps from the target culture are presented in all the textbooks examined. Some of the textbooks introduce shopping malls and a subway map of a city of the target culture. Seasons and the weather in some places around the world are presented.

In addition, one textbook presents a unit whose theme is places: towns and cities, the countryside, and hotels. For example, three cities are presented that are famous for their links to music: New Orleans, Vienna, and Liverpool as source content for the listening and speaking activity. World-class hotels in New York, Hong Kong, and London are introduced.

Another textbook also presents various places with different features of those places. For example, Nashville is described as the center of country music and the home of the Grand Ole Opry theater. In the unit whose theme is about leisure time, taking vacations in Egypt, Hawaii, or Alaska is suggested for the reading activity. City scenes in Mexico, Japan, and Australia are presented with their distinctive characteristics. The National Museum of Anthropology, the Palace of Fine Arts, and the Pyramid of the Sun in Mexico City are suggested as a valuable place to visit. The listening activity uses overall information of countries such as Japan, Argentina, and Italy as source content. Finally, geographical information about some countries is used in grammar exercises.

The most frequently presented items of *places* in the Korean textbooks examined include street maps of the target culture, subway lines and places connected to Seoul, and Jeju Island. In addition, tourist places in the world are mentioned in exercises. Places of the source culture include the Sejong Cultural Center, Namsan Library, Seoul Tower, the National Museum, and Gyeongbok Palace. Tour places in Korea like the Korea Folk Village, the Korean antique market in Insa-dong, Donggang for rafting, Mt. Seorak, and Jeju Island are presented.

In the case of the textbooks written by native speaker writers, the information about

Places is abundant and rich in so far as learners are provided with some sense of physical locations which are significant to the target culture and the international culture as well. However, they include no place of the source culture. While the places in the textbooks written by native speaker writers are presented with their special features, places are just mentioned in exercises but often without any specific feature of them in the Korean textbooks. Items of *Histories* are rarely presented in the two kinds of textbooks. Piecemeal historical items are presented in the quiz format and those items are far from being historical perceptions of the target or the international culture.

4) Social Identities

This category is about finding out how people view themselves in relation to various groups in society or in relation to society as a whole. How do people look upon other people in their society? Do they think of themselves as upper, middle, or working class? Are there social, racial or regional prejudices in their community? These observations are hardly explored in the textbooks examined. One item of the target culture, e.g., in what circumstances people address each other formally or informally is addressed in the textbook examined. This is related to conventions of verbal or non-verbal behavior in social interaction at differing levels of familiarity, as outsiders or insiders within social groups. This kind of information may save learners from embarrassing moments by allowing them to use proper language.

The other items are about young people of the target culture, i.e., what sports and fitness activities they engage in, what their daily activities are, and how they spend their free time. Annual expenses and spending habits of a typical adult and teenager are compared. This helps to build up a picture of routine behaviors within a social group.

As in the textbooks written by native speaker writers, these topics are rarely addressed in the Korean textbooks, with the single exception, which deals with the oppressed status of women in America and Korea as a topic for the dialogue practice.

5) Individual People and Ways of Life

This category is arguably the most important and various items of this category are dealt with in all the textbooks examined. The most common topic in this category, included in all the textbooks by both native speaker and Korean writers, is food of the three cultures and eating habits in different countries. Aspects of family meals, e.g., the food eaten, the seating arrangement, and the methods of serving dishes, and meals in different types of restaurants, ordering a meal and reading a menu, and cooking recipes are all addressed.

Pictures of rooms and household items of the target culture and homes of the

international culture are shown. Shopping practices in the store of the target culture are often talked about. Different people around the world talk about their favorite seasons and favorite things to do in their countries. Local life styles and daily routines, and jobs or careers of young people of the target culture are often integrated in the dialogues or exercises.

In addition to these common topics, the textbooks by native speaker writers address use of names and titles, introductions of the target culture, and different greeting customs of the three cultures around the world. Families, and family life and some issues related to American families such as children with working parents, single parents, marriage and divorce, and the elderly are used in the reading activity as invitations to discussion. Tipping guidelines in the U.S. and Canada give information about the way of life of the target culture. Dating customs of the U.S.—who asks out on dates and who pays on a date, as well as some personal topics that should be avoided—body size and age are discussed.

This category is well dealt with in the textbooks written by Korean writers as it is considered essential for culture learning. Especially, prominent is the difference in *Ways of Life* between the target and the source cultures in the separate culture section. Some cultural differences, and ways to avoid offending local people and to understand the customs in the target culture are discussed. Learners of the source culture are made aware of the customs and habits of local people they should follow when they go to a country of the target culture. Various topics are discussed and different table manners of the two cultures are a good example. Questions of the culture section then encourage exchanging ideas about different cultures.

The textbooks by native speaker writers and Korean writers as well offer learners the opportunity for a planned introduction to the target culture. However, most items in the two kinds of textbooks are about cultural products (e.g., food, clothing) and cultural practices (e.g., tipping, eating habits) and only rarely about cultural perspectives (e.g., why Americans tip) (Kramsch, 1993) although some textbooks attempt to invite discussion of some issues from cultural perspectives.

6) Stereotypes and National Identities

This category was adopted from Byram et al.'s list, and includes a comparative element (e.g., British students might compare their stereotypes of Germans with German stereotypes of the British as a step to recognizing the nature of stereotypes and transcending them, or at least putting them into perspectives). The same point can be made about other people's stereotypes of the country and people to whom learners themselves belong and vice versa. Or one may argue that uncomfortable social realities—such as racism or sexuality—should be included in textbooks. It is evident that culture teaching

should help to overcome prejudice and stereotypes which can prevent learners from coming to terms with other cultures and their people.

Issues of this category are not addressed in the textbooks written by native speaker writers. Textbooks by Korean writers briefly mentions about the stereotypes by other people that Americans are too direct and complain too directly and the common belief that British are formal and Americans are casual in manner of speaking. It is hoped that more discussions of this category should be included in textbooks and the learner will decide that stereotypes are not factual and discard them.

V.   DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this study we have attempted to raise issues about the cultural content in EFL textbooks which play perhaps the most important role in how culture is presented in EFL contexts. In addition to the target culture, we stressed the importance of including the source culture of the learner and the international culture as well. The investigation of cultural content shows that the ten textbooks—five by native speaker writers and five by Korean writers—we examined include a fairly good variety of cultural items in terms of the six criteria we developed. In general, the importance of culture in language teaching has been recognized by language teaching practitioners and this tendency has been reflected in the textbooks. Especially, in the latest 7th National Curriculum revision, culture has been an important issue added into the part of foreign language education. Korean writers seem to have well understood the importance of culture and to include culture in the textbook.

In terms of the three cultures, the target culture items predominate in the textbooks by both native speaker writers and Korean writers. Almost none of the source culture is addressed in the textbook written by native speaker writers. It is obvious that native speaker writers lack explicit resources of the Korean culture. On the other hand, as can be expected, more of the source culture items are represented in the textbooks by Korean writers. Including the source culture items is significant in that they are the only things that will offer learners of the source culture opportunities for output. Regarding the international culture, including much of its in-depth information might not be easy because of the lack of cultural knowledge, limitations of the textbook, and the narrow range of the way in which the learner's needs have been perceived by the author.

'Culture with a capital C' had been traditionally emphasized in language teaching. It is now arguably well recognized that 'culture with a small c' is as important as 'culture with a capital C' for language teaching and learning. The investigation of the incidence of each category showed that the number of the first three categories referred to as 'culture with a

capital C' is larger than that of the last three categories referred to as 'culture with a small c.' The unbalance between the two kinds of culture was more noticeable in the case of native speaker writers (208 to 110 items) than in the case of Korean writers (165 to 151 items).

In the process of developing the six criteria it was argued that the checklist included the topics the typical language learner is most likely to require. However, feature by feature investigation showed that some features such as *Institutions*, *Histories*, *Social Identities*, and *Stereotypes and National Identities* are hardly addressed. Again, it may be challenging for textbook writers to include balanced information about culture covering those six features in the limited pages of textbooks.

Particularly, the textbooks by Korean writers often present items of *Individual Persons and Ways of Life* in comparable manners that bring out similarity or differences of the target and the source cultures. Learners are made aware of the difference in the way of life practices, values, and day-to-day interactions to some extent. Although a variety of topics are covered, most items are about cultural products and practices but rarely addressed from cultural perspectives.

In the first half of the study we have tried to reduce the vast encyclopedic nature of the culture concept to manageable proportions to develop a list of features. Although we looked at several schemes to culture and attempted to find out common themes of culture, there was the problem of the vastness of the culture concept and we had to adopt a more selective and differentiated approach. Therefore, there are obvious omissions in our analysis of cultural content for textbooks. These omissions can only be addressed through other investigations that consider culture from a different viewpoint.

Secondly, we assumed that our investigation was situated in the EFL setting in Korea with the population of college learners in mind. However, when writing textbooks, writers consider diverse populations by responding to the following questions: Who are the students using the textbook? Who are the teachers using the textbook? What is the purpose of the textbook? What, if any, method or approach is being used? Where will the textbook be used? Depending on the answers to these questions findings of this investigation should not and cannot be seen as an unchangeable truth but, instead, as an initial consideration of the issue of including features of culture.

A number of textbook checklists exist for analyzing or evaluating the cultural content of textbooks after the textbook has been written (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999). This study proposes with Nelson (1994) that textbook writers develop their own checklist like the one we employed in our study to make conscious cultural decisions before the textbook is written.

Making conscious cultural decisions calls for cultural awareness. Achieving cultural awareness is, however, a process; we move along a continuum in the direction from less cultural awareness to more. It is our hope that this study has increased the awareness of the

cultural components of evaluating or writing EFL textbooks and materials and that this awareness leads to more informed choices—that will operationalize the awareness by evaluating or writing culturally informed and culturally appropriate textbooks.

Finally, we are well aware that merely presenting cultural information is not enough to allow learners to use culturally appropriate language. How to teach culture is another important issue but this discussion was beyond the scope of this paper.

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