



Representation of Western Culture in O' level English Language Textbooks

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ABSTRACT: *The current spirit in the field of sociolinguistics considers language as very active socializing agent which aims to transform identities and indoctrinate learners through English language pedagogy in schools. Teaching English in postcolonial era serves certain agenda. Such agenda is encouraged in L2 context through elitist private education in Sindh Pakistan. The present study uses Fairclough's (2003) modal of Critical Discourse Analysis to investigate the cultural messages encoded in Oxford English language textbooks at O' level Sindh Pakistan produced by Oxford University Press. The analytical devices for the analysis of the text used in the study include Presupposition / Assumption / Implicature, Identity, Representation, comparison and contrast, Foregrounding, Inclusion, Exclusion, Difference, Prominence, and Universalization. The study found that English language textbooks at O' level in Sindh present a western world to the L2 learners by dominantly exposing them to western culture including social practices, values and religion. The English language textbooks carry hidden agenda, that is, to westernize the learners and train them to accept western culture as acceptable norm while the negligence for learners' indigenous culture, religion, and traditions.*

Keywords: English language textbooks, culture, ideology, discourse, CDA

Introduction

It is not long ago that linguistics has started to be studied as a separate field of study in Sindh, Pakistan. The early linguistics used a positivist paradigm and mainly focused on linguistic features of the language including syntax, phonology, and grammar. This trend shifted in last few decades and language came to be regarded as a 'social fact' as noted by Saussure (1959). Language is now studied with an interdisciplinary approach which relates language to other branches of knowledge like sociology, psychology, philosophy, politics, gender studies, cultural theory and others. This approach has widened the scope of linguistics and many issues related with language are under study. This research is such an outcome.

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Textbooks taught in schools are considered to be major influencing forces for the students or learners in the schools. These textbooks function like other several factors which influence students in everyday life including family, school, teachers, media, and social interaction. However, the textbooks are regarded as more important than other factors as students in Pakistani society rely more on textbooks for the authentic knowledge. They believe that these textbooks including language and general both represent an absolute truth which cannot be questioned at any cost. The students at their elementary level of education obviously treat the knowledge as something true. At this level, they are not taught and trained to question the 'legitimate knowledge' of the textbooks. Pakistani schools generally teach students through textbooks and portray them as source of providing wisdom and leading them to material and spiritual development. Therefore, students have to spend most of the time with textbooks in doing different activities. This is due to the fact that, finally they are to be assessed from the same textbooks which they have read in the classroom.

In short, there is a deep relation between students and textbooks. Rehman (2002) maintains that textbooks construct learners' worldview, the way they look at the world. Mohamed (2015) maintains that textbooks are capable of bringing a change in society and they shape and construct it. The school textbooks influence the learners to a greater extent no matter which cultural background they belong to. He further specifies EFL textbooks and argues that writers of EFL textbooks have some cultural schemas in their minds and they compose books accordingly. Different students are influenced at different degree of level. The level of influence and the way learners are influenced is determined in accordance with the content taught in different schools in Pakistan. For instance, in public sector schools, students are exposed to local culture which contains national and local norms and values while in elitist and non-elitist private schools, the content is imported from the western countries where these materials are designed and produced.

English language textbooks produced internationally and locally perpetuate a set of certain ideological values. Taki (2008) noted in Iranian context that internationally produced EFL textbooks represent a certain discourse very much similar to western economy and consumerism whereas the locally produced EFL textbooks reflect the culture of local people. This case is same in almost all parts of the colonized world. This has come to be accepted by many scholars that textbooks present a certain way of looking at the world. Both in national and international context, scholars have questioned the textbooks as perpetuating knowledge which is legitimized with a certain political and cultural agenda (Apple, 1993; Rahman, 2002,

2006). One of the ways to explore such influence of textbooks is to critically look at the discourses and ideological messages of these textbooks which dominate learners in their everyday activities.

The present study is such an attempt. It uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)—a modal proposed by Fairclough (2003) to investigate the underlying ideologies within the English language textbooks taught at O' level in Hyderabad Sindh Pakistan. The textbooks chosen for CDA are English language textbooks published by Oxford University Press (OUP). The OUP textbooks are taught in elite schools in Hyderabad at O' level while the government schools teach English language textbooks produced by Sind Textbook Board (STB), Jamshoro.

The present study focuses only on cultural discourses found in OUP English Language textbooks. The term 'culture' is very broad in nature so in this study it will include customs, traditions, ideas, beliefs, religion, nationalism, social practices, and language. All these themes dominate the discourses of English language textbooks published by Oxford University Press.

Students, teachers and some academicians turn a blind eye to the issue of language textbooks as source of ideological indoctrination. They believe that access to any material is to facilitate learning. Thus, bringing any material in English language teaching will do nothing but effective learning. The students are thought to better learn if they are brought closer to target language group and the culture. They pay no heed to the fact that the textbooks shape learners' worldview and their ideological make up which they will use to see the world throughout their life. Galbraith (1984, p.131) calls it 'social conditioning' and comments that it influences the worldview. For instance, Sindh textbook boards serve the state's function while OUP textbooks serve the western agenda. OUP textbooks are likely to make students westernized, secular, liberal and materialistic. These secular and western elements are a threat to local culture of the learners including religion. The hegemonic agenda of the west is not questioned by the ESL teachers and learners. They rather take it as a symbol of pride, progress, and intellectual and material development.

The present research deals with CDA of the discourses disseminated through English language textbooks published by OUP. The works (e.g. Rahman, 2002; Nayyer, 2003; Saigol, 1995) and many others have employed content analysis of textbooks in schools. Very little research has been done in discourse analysis of the textbooks. Siddiqui (2014) has worked on gender analysis in films, songs, dramas, ads, and media using CDA and Yaqoob's

(2011) study employed CDA to investigate the discourse in Punjab textbook board and OUP.

This study is significant as it is context-specific. It deals with the language textbooks published by OUP in 2007 and taught in elite private schools in Hyderabad Sindh. The study uses textbooks of 2011 edition. The study critically analyses the ideological messages and the discourse in OUP textbooks. The study is also important in the sense that it familiarizes the ESL teachers with 'hidden curriculum' which makes up sum total of ideologies, beliefs, and values. The ESL teachers will be familiar with western discourses in ELT pedagogy. Besides, the study also familiarizes the common readers with the power of ideology, ELT discourses, and politics and political agendas involved in pedagogy and curriculum.

The study aims at bringing awareness of imperialistic agenda hidden in English curriculum in elite private schools which promote western culture and values into Asian societies. Based on the aim, the objectives formulated were to locate the major dominant features of western culture generally encoded in English Language textbooks taught at O' Level, Sindh Pakistan and to investigate the concept of 'hidden curriculum' in English language textbooks at O' level.

Based on the above objectives the following research questions were designed:

- What are the major dominant features of western culture encoded in ESL textbooks taught at Level in Sindh, Pakistan?
- Is the concept of 'hidden curriculum' true about English language textbooks at O' level?

The next section reviews the existing literature on reproduction of discursive practices through ELT textbooks, followed by the methodology and analytical framework used for the present research before discussing the findings of the study. The paper ends with conclusion.

Literature Review

The study of language in the past was comparatively done by analysing phonological and syntactic similarities and dissimilarities among different languages. Besides, historical evolution of specific languages was also investigated. Such an approach towards language study restricted the scope of early linguistics. The emergence of 'structuralism' as a linguistic philosophy in 20th century gave a new turn to linguistic study and language then started to be studied as a complex phenomenon which is very active part of society and meaning-making system—what we call semiotics. Many

language scholars in centre and periphery communities (e.g. Saussure, 1959; Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1995; Canagrajah, 1999; Rahman, 2002, 2006, 2010; Siddiqui, 2014) have studied language as social phenomenon which carries culture and values of speech communities. Not only this, these scholars also considered language as socio-political phenomenon, which is used by power to control the masses. Language, thus, is studied in relation to ideology, power, politics, discourse, gender, and curriculum.

Language and culture are closely connected. Language reflects the cultural values of any speech community. Thiongo (1981) states that languages are dual in nature: they are used to communicate with people and also they carry culture of that particular social group. Wang (2011) is of the view that language is a part of culture and it plays a key role in developing culture as well. Culture cannot grow, or be nourished without language. Some sociologists believe that the availability of culture is due to language as language is the carrier of culture. Winona Laduke—a language activist said in the Indigenous People & Globalization (2001) seminar quoted in (Errington: 2008, p.16) that the teaching of our people concerning our relationships to the land are deeply rooted in our language. If languages are lost, one's philosophical, spiritual, economic experiences are lost. Language preserves the religious, cultural, philosophical, ideological and spiritual experiences of speaker's past. It is connected with human past, present and future. The loss of language is a loss to overall intellectual heritage of a particular social group; in its absolute absence, the people will feel alienated in spite of the fact that they belong to any particular geography. Language cannot be understood in terms of communication alone, we can also understand the unique cultural wisdom attached with it (UNESCO, 2003). Rayhner et al (2011) discussing on culturally appropriate education maintains that children should be given linguistically and educationally appropriate education. The importation of western education theories, culture, norms, and values is a serious challenge for the teachers. UNESCO has also paid a much attention to this aspect. In 2003, UNESCO report mentioned in Rayhner et al (2011, p.12) points out that the aim of education should be to develop awareness of the land that people belong to. Not only this, education should also train people to accept diversity. Therefore, there should be reformation in curriculum in a way that it promotes the indigenous and local history, culture, language and identity.

Language internalizes the values of dominant social group which are passed on to new generation through curriculum. Apple (2001) argues that curriculum is not neutrally made. The knowledge within curriculum represents certain perspective which belongs to any dominant group. This knowledge presented in curriculum is legitimate knowledge. Knowledge in

the curriculum internalizes ideological values of the dominant group. Apple (2001) further states that ideology reflected in knowledge takes three distinctive features: It has to do with legitimation, power conflict, and special style of argument.

A small number of studies have been conducted in Pakistan to show how language teaching is ideologically loaded phenomenon. Rehman (1998) in report maintains that language teachings books in Pakistan promote the values of nationalism and militarism. The textbooks which are taught in Pakistani schools are ideologically loaded from political, sociological and historical point of view. Since Zia's regime (1977-1988) islamization of education is imperative and can be evidenced in textbooks. Nayyer and Hoodbhoy (1985) mention that Pakistani textbooks with an exclusivist national ideology portrays Hindus as monolithically cunning and treacherous. Hindus are considered responsible for break up Pakistan, that is, separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan (We are currently part of). Aziz (1993) points out that Pakistani text books provide false information to the students and train them to grow up to be illogical, ignorant and biased. Ignorance and bias go hand in hand because one reinforces and encourages the other.

Akbar Sajid et al (2012) investigated morality in textbooks in Punjab, the province of Pakistan. They maintain that textbooks represent norms, ideas, beliefs and present them in the way that they become a common sense for the people. Ideologically loaded textbooks shape the mindset of the children who are target readership. Mahboob (2009) examines the relation between Pakistani English and Pakistani cultural values and suggest that English in Pakistan is used for Islamic ideology. English language textbooks promote the consciousness of Islam among the young learners in schools, colleges and universities. Jamalvandi (2013) notes that one of the functions of the textbooks is to provide learners with cultural aspects of language which in turn, fosters learner's knowledge of the target language. He further cites Cortaizz and Jin (1999) who maintain that textbooks play multiple roles. They act as a teacher, provide a map to the learners, trains the teachers and learners, exerts an authority, and promotes an ideology.

ELT textbooks in Pakistan are published by different publishers. And selection of the books differs from school to school. The state-run schools teach ELT textbooks published by the boards. In case of Sindh, these textbooks are produced by Sindh Textbook board, Jamshoro whereas elitist and non-elitist private schools teach different books produced by private publishers. These include Oxford, Step Ahead series, Gaba Series, Wide Range Publications, Rehbar publications to name a few. All these books taught whether in public sector or private schools promote certain cultural ideologies. Yaqoub (2011) in his PhD thesis uses CDA to examine the

cultural discourses in ELT textbooks published by Punjab Textbooks and OUP and find that ELT textbooks in Pakistan are full of cultural ideologies. The books represent different cultural ideologies which impart different worldview to the young students in school. Tahir and Iqbal (2012) maintain that it is an irony that ELT practitioners and academics in Pakistan have not paid any attention to the ideological messages which are promoted through English language textbooks in schools.

The students in elitist schools study the language textbooks which reflect the western culture and values (Rahman, 2002). Rahman (2002) comments that these texts aim to westernize the students. The dominant message in these textbooks is secular and liberal devoid of a child's religious and cultural values. Phillipson (2008) mentions several purposes of English worldwide, one being *lingua cultura*, that is, English carries the culture of those who speak it (Native Speakers) and used to promote English culture in the world. Phillipson (1992) shows that the role of English in the world is to support foreign policy, preserving and strengthening British and American interests in other countries and creating a market for Anglo-American goods, services and ideas. This entire project is accomplished through promoting English language globally and circulating the textbooks which comprise English Culture, ideology and values.

Shah et al (2014) worked on the culture in Oxford Progressive English series in Pakistan and highlights that ESL textbooks in Pakistan present the foreign culture—the culture of society which is purely American and British. The presence of abundant culture in ESL textbooks alienates the young learners from their own culture and values and tries to produce a group of youngsters who may be at the service of hegemonic interests and serve them in a better way. He further narrates that these textbooks are produced without taking learners' social and cultural backgrounds into the context. Therefore, they are learning something which is not their need as learners should know their culture, values and norms in the first place.

Ye (2010) shows concern over learning western values and culture. He calls it as 'cultural invasion'. According to him, the Chinese youth is coming closer to western culture, thus, celebrating Christmas, Valentine's Day, Halloween and other western customs and festivals. This situation positions Chinese at disadvantage as they are forgetting that they are Chinese. The same case is happening in Pakistan. Thus, the present study aims to question this phenomenon in the context of Pakistan by investigating the cultural discourses of the west in O' level ESL textbooks.

English language textbooks promoting discursive practices through its pedagogy is common phenomenon in most of the countries in world

today. Mohammad (2015) notes the perpetuation of racism in Libyan society through ELT materials produced in the white context for non-whites. According to him, when the textbooks are produced the discourse in them follows certain values and conventions which are selectively chosen. The purpose to select a specific discourse is to make certain ideological messages to be accepted by students in way that they become a 'common sense'.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Discourse Analysis is both a theory and method. It provides a not only framework to understand the discursive practices related to the discourse but also offers techniques to analyse the discourse linguistically. Van Dijk (2004) mentions that CDA deals primarily with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and injustice and inequality that result from it. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) cited in (Roger, 2004, p.2) state that critical discourse analysis is not only description and interpretation of discourses in social context but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work. Fairclough (1992 b) cited in Jorgensen et al (2002) defines discourse as an important part of social practice which both reproduces and changes knowledge, identities and social relations including power relations. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) as discussed by Fairclough, is an approach which attempts to investigate systematically the relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, event and texts; broader social and cultural structures, relations and processes; how such practices even texts are ideologically shaped by power (p.63). It is believed in CDA that discursive practices contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups, for example, between social classes, men and women, minority and majority. This reflects ideological objectives achieved through discourse. According to Van Dijk (2004). CDA is an approach to the study of text and talk, emerging from Critical Linguistics, Critical Semiotics, and in general from socio-political conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication. (p. 122)

He further argues that unlike other discourse analysts, critical discourse analysts take an explicit socio-political stance. They express their point of view, perspectives, principles and aims within their discipline and the society at large. In the course of formation of theory, they are political at each stage. Fairclough (1989) offers three formal features of the discourse: experiential, relational and expressive. 'Experiential relates to way in which text producer's experiences of the natural and social world are represented, that is, it is concerned with content, beliefs and knowledge. Relational feature of the text/discourse is related to the social relationships enacted in the text.

And, expressive feature has to do with subjects and social identities which are promoted in the discourse' (p.112).

Jorgensen et al (2002) are of the view that Fairclough employs detailed text analysis to investigate how discursive practices operate linguistically in texts. However, Fairclough criticizes linguistic approaches to the text analysis stating that textual analysis in term of linguistic approaches provides superficial understanding of the relation between text and society. An interdisciplinary approach is needed where textual and social analysis go together to show links between texts and societal and cultural structures.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) cited in (Yaqoob, 2011, p.46) define the prime aim of CDA as to deconstruct the underlying ideologies of discourse that produce unequal power relations in society. Rahimi and Sahragard (2006) call CDA as postmortem procedure through which come to know how actually discourse is constructed. For the present research, ideology has been considered as a set of explicit and implicit themes encoded in OUP 1 and 2 textbooks of English language. Thus, CDA proposed by Fairclough (2003) aims to expose underlying ideologies motivated by politics. Unfortunately, the young learners in Pakistan are unfamiliar with these underlying ideologies and culture which aim to transform their identities. Besides, the ELT practitioners, teachers and other stakeholder have paid no attention to these ideologies. In Pakistan, learning English is equated with acquiring higher status. If this learning takes place through western culture, the parents take it as a sign of prestige. The parents are not aware of the fact that such discourse is capable of bringing changes in their children morally and culturally. Thus, CDA in the present study takes such politically motivated discourse into consideration using Fairclough's (2003) modal.

Research Methodology

The present study is qualitative in nature. Qualitative Research involves the collection of extensive narrative data in order to gain insights into the phenomenon of interest. The data analysis includes the coding of data and production of narratives or descriptions. Ian Dey (1993, p. 167) proposes that 'Qualitative Research' has become a fashionable term which can be used for any method other than survey. It includes participant (and non-participant) observation, unstructured interviewing, group interviewing, the collection of documentary materials and the like. He continues it mentioning that the data produced from such sources may include field notes, interview transcripts, documents, photographs, sketches, video or tape recordings, and so on.

Document Analysis

Document Analysis is a form of qualitative research which involves researchers' interpretation of the document. It includes any text ranging from course textbooks to the political documents. Prior (2003) has conducted an extensive research on use of documents in research in social sciences and claims that documents are considered an important part of social scientific work. Prior was basically inspired by Weber (1978) who is thought to be the first to bring document research as a part of social inquiry.

Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is qualitative analytic method which helps the researchers identify, analyse and report patterns or themes within data. Braun and Clarke (2006) note that this method is helpful in describing the rich data through minimal organization. The researchers attempt to divide their data into themes and subthemes in order to understand the phenomenon.

Content Analysis

The content analysis is an old method in qualitative research which helps the researchers to investigate the meanings given to the text in a certain context. Das and Bhaskaran (2008) maintain that content analysis is one of the important methods as a scientific inquiry which helps to study social phenomenon such as prejudice, discrimination or changing cultural symbols. The researcher divides the document into themes and subthemes to understand the intended messages in the content. The present study though qualitative in nature does not touch upon the above discussed forms of social inquiry; it uses critical discourse analysis as an analytical framework to unleash the ideological messages and cultural representation in the selected textbooks.

Data Collection Source

Two books namely 'Oxford Progressive English-9 and 'Oxford Progressive English-10' published in Pakistan by Oxford University Press have been selected as data collection source for the present study. Both books are revised edition published in 2011. Each of Oxford Progressive textbooks contains ten units. In OUP (for grade-9) there are thirty-one lessons and in OUP (for grade-10) there are thirty-four lessons. These texts are divided into lessons, newspaper extracts, poems, short stories etc. The last unit in OUP for grade-10 comprises examination papers for practice of students. Most of these texts are written by foreign authors specially settled in United Kingdom (UK). All these lessons directly or indirectly are linked to education, religion, race, gender, nature, morality, war, society, culture, languages, health, general knowledge etc. However, the present research

focuses on only those lessons which are related to western culture. The culture being broad in nature carries various themes under its umbrella such as western nationalism, values, social practices, language, religion, music, arts so on. These lessons will be analysed using appropriate analytical framework of Fairclough (2003).

Analytical Framework

Fairclough's (2003) analytical framework has been employed in the present study for critical discourse analysis of the content related to culture in aforesaid English language textbooks. The analysis has been carried out at sentence level by selecting sentences randomly from the lessons linked to western culture. The reason for going at sentence level is that each passage contains a variety of themes in it so it is quite difficult to analyse a passage.

The present study has not applied Fairclough's (2003) analytical framework fully as some of its analytical devices are used for grammatical analysis of the sentences. The present study goes beyond it. Therefore, the author has followed those analytical categories which are used for analysis of textual issues in the above said model such as 'social events', 'difference', 'intertextuality', 'Assumptions', 'Representation of Social events', and 'Styles'. The analytical devices for the analysis of the text include Presupposition/ Assumption/ Implicature, Identity, Representation, comparison and contrast, Foregrounding, Inclusion, Exclusion, Difference, Prominence/ Reinforcement, and Universalization.

Data Analysis

The 'culture' is a broader term. It was, therefore, broken down into different components which have been classified as 'sub-themes' for the study. These sub-themes include: 1) Religion 2) Ideological representation which includes western worldview such as secularism and individualism 3) Language & literature 4) Customs & Traditions which includes all social practices such as social events, food, music, dresses, sports, adventure etc.

The lessons in both English language textbooks varied in terms of content and number. The tables below illustrate the picture more clearly:

Table 1

The Lessons in the Both English Language Textbooks in Terms of Content and Number

Grade	Total lessons	Western Culture	Lessons written by English Writers
9	31	14 (45%)	25 (81%)

Table 2

The Lessons in the Both English Language Textbooks in Terms of Content and Number

Grade	Total lessons	Western Culture	Lessons written by English Writers
10	34	17 (50%)	24 (71%)

The lessons are extracts from different genres including media and information articles, travel writing, memoirs, fiction and poetry from different countries like Cuba, Eastern Russia, China, Kenya, Pakistan, South Korea, Britain, USA, and Australia. However, the texts belonging to culture of English-Speaking countries are dominantly present.

CDA and Religious Instances

The religious instances related to Christianity which is dominant religion of the west are analysed below by selecting lines from the lessons randomly. The analytical categories used in the following lines include identity, representation, prominence, reinforcement and inclusion.

- *'Dear Grandpapa, he wrote, I am writing you a letter. I wish you a merry Christmas and I hope God will give you all sorts of good things.'* (OUP-9, p.62)
- *'Each year I decorate a Christmas tree, with trinkets from Bohari Bazar, Germany, Japan.'* (OUP-9, p.72)

These lines reflect the western culture. Christianity being dominant religion in the west is reinforced through these lines. Religion is closely connected with a person's identity. Horton and Hunt comment that religion does not merely relate to the beliefs and moral values, it is more than moral values. It offers worldview to the people. In western society, churches are organized and congregational prayers are performed. Thus, religion plays very important role in western society though there have been anti-religious movements and humanist philosophies have been devised. Religion is still considered very important in human life in western world. Therefore, celebrating Christmas event is very common in west. They decorate a Christmas tree and wish merry Christmas to each other on the auspicious day. In order to learn more about underlying ideological load of the sentences, we need to compare it with Pakistani society where Islam is an official religion of the country and dominantly present in society. Coming across Christianity in English Language texts can be conflicting for the learners in Sindh who practice Islam in their daily life. The Oxford English language books promote religious values to the learners without considering their affiliation with Christianity as a religion.

CDA and Ideological Representation

Ideological messages in the present study reflect western dominant liberal worldview, secularism and individualism. Oxford English language Textbooks are full of such instances where liberal worldview and individualistic perspective is promoted as this is a norm in western culture. The lines related to western liberal thoughts have been critically analysed by selecting lines from the texts randomly. The analytical categories are presupposition, representation, comparison and contrast, and foregrounding.

The racial discrimination against blacks which is historical conflict in western society has also been pictured in OUP ELT textbooks at O' level and present researcher has critically investigated racially loaded messages in lines below:

- *The white boy also has a stack of Tarzan cards. The black boy says that we can play a game in which we will win Tarzan cards from each other.*
- *The white boy keeps winning and also gets to keep both of the cards each time. (OUP-10, p. 31)*
- *The first white people to enter the valley were miners working in the California gold fields in 1849. (OUP-10, p. 49)*

The lines can be understood from representational point of view. Fairclough (2001) mentions that critical discourse analysis (CDA) explores social and political contexts in order to emancipate ideologies, hegemony, dominance and social powers. The above lines reflect the racial discrimination against blacks. English language is widely used for ideological agenda. Racial discrimination is one such agenda which is promoted through English language. Mohamed (2015) investigates the racism promoted in Libyan textbooks and concluded that English language presents a positive picture for 'whites' and 'blacks' are presented negatively. The lines selected from Oxford English language textbook of grade-10 represent 'white boy' as a winner who is not defeated throughout the game. The black boy loses the game! In another sentence the white people have also been represented as successful who are always busy in struggle and concerned about developments.

CDA and English Language and Literature

Oxford English language Textbooks recommended and taught at O' level also contain lessons giving higher value to English language & literature. There are many lessons and poems present in Oxford English books which are written by English writers including Shakespeare, D. H Lawrence, Percy Bysshe Shelley, H. G Wells, Charles Dickens and many others. English language books by Oxford University Press tend to bring learners close to

English literature so that they should understand English Culture, lifestyles, customs and traditions. To fulfil this aim, English language and literature are presented as symbols of progress and prestige. The present study critically evaluates the hidden agenda and ideology involved in language pedagogy. The following lines from a lesson in OUP-9 is such an example. The analytical categories used in analysis of the following lines include prominence, reinforcement, representation and inclusion.

- *With advance sales of 350,000 on Amazon UK and delivery planned for 500,000 copies UK-wide, marketing hype had forecast that HP6 would be the Books sensation of All Time. (OUP-9, p.21)*
- *In 390 stores throughout UK, the chain store W.H Smith was selling 13 copies per second, in comparison with the previous sales record of 8 copies per second....Yes, you've guessed it, HP5 Harry Potter and the order of the Phoenix.*

These lines related to the world famous and best-selling series of books called Harry Potter which is widely read by youth in the west. The series contain a range of elements: mystery, thriller, adventure, horror and romance. Besides, this series of novels written by J.K Rowling—a British author present Christian values specific to the western context. Oxford English language textbooks produce very positive picture about Harry potter by foregrounding it through a number of copies sold instantly. The phrase line '13 copies per second' produce curiosity among learners and prepare them to be ready to buy it and start reading. English literature is highlighted through Oxford English language textbooks and presented as universal code of conduct. The learners are socialized to attach themselves with English literature, cultures, and values as they can be prestigious only through attaining knowledge of English language and the literature.

- *In less than 10 years, Harry Potter has become one of the world's most recognized brands like Coca Cola, and McDonald's. (OUP-9, p.21)*

These lines reflect the western consumerism. Coca Cola and McDonald's are western products which are encouraged in non-western world for economic gains. Harry Potter is equated with these western products. Phillipson (2008) critically evaluates this situation and terms it as 'coca-colonization' meaning that west is executing its hegemony over the rest of world through its products like Coco Cola, McDonald's, English language & literature. Youth in the non-western world is being trained through these Oxford English Language Textbooks which represent western products as 'prestigious and precious symbols' without considering the western capitalistic agenda involved in it. Inclusion of such products mentally prepares the non-western minds to have access to these products. The publicity of the commodities is done through various sources including

media. Textbooks of English by Oxford University Press also have the same intention to publicize the western literature through its contents and alienate the non-western youth from their cultural heritage.

CDA and Social Practices (Customs & traditions)

Culture of any society is a set of certain social practices including norms, folkways, mores, laws, values, dresses, food, music, adventures and a lot. When teaching a language of any speech community, the cultural values are also transformed to the people who learn the target language. Thiongo (1981) believes that language and culture are closely interconnected and inseparable from each other. Language has dual character: used to communicate with people and also carries cultural load of the target community. Since most of the lessons in Oxford English Language Textbooks are written by English writers, they carry their worldview, and a particular ideological bent of mind. These writers propagate their context-specific elements to the non-western world especially those related to customary habitual actions, food, music, dresses, adventures, events and values. The following examples represent the western social practices encoded in OUP textbooks. The analytical categories used for the following analysis include representation, prominence, and comparison.

- *In the past, buffaloes roamed over the prairie, but these days they are confined to ranches like ours.*
- *At night Holmes, sleeps outside, but during the day he's in and out.*
- *He's heavy on the carpets, mind you, with those hooves, and all that weight—we have to be careful of those great horns, too. (OUP-9, p.48)*

These lines represent the western life-style and social practices. To better understand the implicit message in lines, we need to compare and contrast two contexts in relation to breeding animals. In eastern world, animals are kept in different places at a distance of human living, though, sometimes we can see 'dogs' as pet animals. In western social set up, keeping animals like dog, cats, horse, and bulls alike at home is a norm. They keep these animals especially cats and dogs very close to them even in sleeping beds. The above lines about a 'bull' namely 'Holmes' represent the emotional attachment of western world with animals that do not restrict them in separate places. They allow them to walk on carpets and roam around the rooms. In addition to keeping animals in home, the western world has also different sport which is specific to their context only. Look at the following lines:

- *Surfing is one of the most difficult sports to master.*
- *If you water-ski, skateboard or snowboard that might help a little but the only way to crack it is to be patient. (OUP-9, p.108)*

There are many sports in the world. Eastern and Western world have their respective sports. However, there are some sports like cricket, football, hockey which are found common in both contexts. The Oxford English Language Textbooks exclude eastern sports from the content and include only those which are related to the western culture. 'Surfing' is the sport specific to western world where there are big oceans and seas. In holidays specially, people go swimming and water-skiing. The prominence of such sport in Oxford English language textbooks is to propagate and promote western cultural practices while excluding others. Learners are trained and socialized to spend their holidays in sports like surfing, swimming or travelling around the world (see p.119 in Oxford English language textbook for grade-9 where Rachel Redford and her husband visit Siberia in holiday). These types of activities in holidays are costly for the underdeveloped countries like Pakistan. Science fiction is highly appreciated and widely read in western context.

The following lines from Oxford English language textbook for grade-10 show how 'cola' is made prominent.

- *There was a stall selling many lovely drinks and there was also a fridge full of bottles of orange and Coke. (OUP-10, p.61)*

These lines reflect western food habits. We need to understand the hidden message of these lines by considering the prominence given to 'Coke' which is western product. Western Capitalism aims to sell their commodities like 'Coke' in non-western world. Thus, the presence of these words is not accidental but intentional. When industrial revolution took place in Europe and different products were manufactured in west, they were more than enough for western society. Therefore, they planned to sell surplus commodities to Asia, Africa and Latin America. To gain this target, it was first necessary to train the minds in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to feel the need of these commodities. Western writers produced such literature and exported it into the non-western world and psychologically motivated them to buy these commodities. Since then, these tactics of capitalism are in action. Oxford English Language Textbooks are replete with such examples which propagate Coca Cola, McDonald's and other fast foods. Having presented the findings of CDA related to Oxford university English language textbooks, the following section presents the findings of interviews.

Findings

The present study investigated English language textbooks taught at O' level in Sindh in elite private schools. English language Textbooks at O' level are published by Oxford University Press. These textbooks promote western values and culture to the elite class and present a secular and liberal

worldview to the learners (Rahman: 2010). Many studies have been conducted in the past investigating culture, ideology and values promoted in the curriculum in general and English curriculum in particular. Phillipson (2008) notes that English plays the role of 'lingua cultura' worldwide. English language promotes and propagates western values and has an agenda. In Pakistani context, a few scholars (e.g. Saigol, 1995; Rahman, 2002; Nayyer, 2003) have embarked upon the content promoted in textbooks. These scholars conducted content analysis of school textbooks. Very little research on discourse analysis has been done which was selected as an analytical modal for investigating the cultural values in Oxford English Language textbooks of O' level in the present study.

However, some researchers (see, Yaqoub, 2011; Siddiqui, 2014) used critical discourse analysis approach to investigate the discursive practices in the discourse in textbooks and other genres including media, songs, newspapers and daily practices. The present study was an attempt to contribute to little existing knowledge on discourse analysis as a tool to investigate dominant cultural practices in English language textbooks published by Oxford University Press taught at O' level in private schools in Sindh Pakistan. The present study employed Fairclough's (2003) Critical Discourse Analysis as an analytical framework for the study.

The study had twofold purposes: it aimed to locate major dominant features encoded in English language Textbooks at O' level in Sindh Pakistan. Besides, it also aimed to investigate the 'hidden curriculum' or 'a latent agenda' which is propagated through aforesaid English language textbooks. The study found that English language textbooks produced by Oxford University Press which is worldwide publication service for providing English instructional material promote western culture.

English plays a role of 'lingua cultura' as noted by Phillipson (2008). In our context like Sindh, English language is equated with prestige, honour, and material progress. Moreover, English is taken to be symbol of 'true literacy'. Anybody who knows English is considered as educated. Such societal stereotypes ignore the fact that English language also carries a cultural load and certain agenda for the Third World countries. Learners in third world countries are socialized to be western in their thinking and actions through indoctrination in western religious and social practices, ideological make-up, and preference for western language and literature. The Textbooks contain negligible amount of material on indigenous religious, cultural, political and linguistic heritage.

Conclusion

Any language among mainstream populace is supposed to be neutral phenomenon devoid of any ideological and political motives. English language in Sindh is highly appreciated. Parents like their children to talk to people in English language. Elite private schools fulfill such dream of parents by providing them a complete English atmosphere and making them communicative in English language. These private schools teach curriculum which is either published by foreign publishers or Oxford University Press. The present study investigated cultural discourse in ELT textbooks taught at O' level in private schools in Sindh.

The study used Fairclough's (2003) analytical modal of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to locate major dominant features in English language textbooks for grade-9 and 10. The study found that English language textbooks by OUP contain lessons on western culture including ideology, religion, social practices dominantly. The textbooks offers lessons on individual choice of an action, freedom, adventures, western lifestyles, dresses, customs and traditions, Christianity and liberal worldview. The English language textbooks carry hidden agenda, that is, to westernize the learners and train them to accept western culture as acceptable norm while the negligence for learners' indigenous culture, religion, and traditions is to train them to take their own heritage as universally unacceptable norm. The present study thus recommends that the English language textbooks need to be balanced in terms of content. These ELT textbooks should be contextualized by incorporating the elements of local culture and religious values which they learners actually belong to.

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